

REPORT
OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIRST SESSION

OF THE

ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE
OF THE MODERATE PARTY

HELD AT BOMBAY
IN THE EMPIRE THEATRE

ON THE 1ST AND 2ND NOVEMBER 1918.

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All-India Conference of the Moderate Party.

RESOLUTIONS

*Passed at its First Session held at Bombay in the Empire Theatre on the
1st and 2nd November 1918*

UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF THE
HON'BLE MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

I

LOYAL HOMAGE.

This Conference offers its loyal homage to the throne and person of His Majesty the King-Emperor and expresses its gratification at the announcement by His Majesty of the intended visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, where, the Conference is confident, a warm and enthusiastic welcome assuredly awaits him.

*Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.*

II

INDIA AND THE WAR.

The Conference rejoices at the decisively hopeful turn which the Great War has taken in favour of Great Britain and her gallant Allies and fervently hopes that the war will soon end in the complete triumph of the ideals for which the Allied Powers were compelled to unsheathe their sword, and expresses its determination to ensure that until the final victory is won, India will continue to render to Government unstintedly and whole-heartedly whatever assistance and service she can in the successful prosecution of the war.

*Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.*

III

THE REFORM PROPOSALS.

This Conference cordially welcomes the Reform Proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India as constituting a distinct advance on present conditions both as regards the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and also a real and substantial step towards the progressive realisation of "responsible government" in the Provincial Governments in due fulfilment of the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917. As such this Conference accords its hearty

support to those proposals and, while suggesting necessary modifications and improvements therein, expresses its grateful appreciation of the earnest effort of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to start the country on a career of genuine and lasting progress towards the promised goal.

Proposed by :—Sir Narayan Chandavarkar of Bombay.

Seconded by :—Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar of Amraoti.

Supported by :—The Hon'ble Nawabzada Syed Altaf Ali
Chowdhury of Bogra

And by :—Rai Bahadur Mahendra Chandra Lahiri of
Serampore.

Carried unanimously.

IV.

REJECTIONISTS AND REACTIONARIES.

This Conference regards all attempts at the condemnation or rejection of the Reform Scheme as a whole as ill-advised and, in particular, protests emphatically against the reactionary attitude assumed towards it by the Indo-British Association and some European public bodies in this country which is certain to produce, if successfully persisted in, an extremely undesirable state of feeling between England and India and imperil the cause of ordered progress in this country. This Conference, therefore, most earnestly urges His Majesty's Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom to give effect to the provisions of the Scheme and the suggestions of its supporters in regard thereto as early as possible by suitable legislation.

Proposed by :—Sir Hormusji A. Wadya of Bombay.

Seconded by :—The Honourable Mr. R. P. Paranjpye of
Poona.

Supported by :—Babu Sachindra Prasad Basu of Calcutta.

Carried unanimously.

V

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

- (a) This Conference, while making due allowance for the necessities or drawbacks of a transitional scheme, urges that having regard to the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917, and in order that the progress of India towards the goal of a self-governing unit of the British Empire may be facilitated and not unduly delayed or hampered, as also with a view to avoid the untoward consequences of a legislature containing a substantially elected popular element being allowed merely to indulge in criticism unchecked by responsibility, it is essential that the principle of "responsible government" should be introduced also in the Government of India simultaneously with a similar reform in the Provinces. There should, therefore, be a division of functions in the Central

Government into 'reserved' and 'transferred' as a part of the present instalment of reforms and the Committee on division of functions should be instructed to investigate the subjects and make recommendations.

- (b) While, as suggested above, some measures of transfer of power to the Indian Legislature should be introduced at the commencement, provision should be made for future progress towards complete responsible government of the Government of India by specifically authorising the proposed periodic Commissions to inquire into the matter and to recommend to Parliament such further advance as may be deemed necessary or desirable in that behalf.
- (c) This Conference recommends that the composition of the Council of State should be so altered as to ensure that one-half of its total strength shall consist of elected members.
- (d) This Conference urges that legislation of an exceptional character, having the effect of curtailing ordinary rights such as the freedom of the press and public meetings and open judicial trial, should not be carried through the Council of State alone, or in spite of the declared opinion of the Legislative Assembly of India, except in a time of war or internal disturbance, without the approval of the Select Committee of the House of Commons proposed to be set up under the Scheme, unless such legislation is of a temporary character and limited to a period of one year only, the said legislation being in any case made not renewable without such approval in the last resort.
- (e) The power of certification given to the Governor-General should be limited to matters involving the defence of the country, foreign and political relations, and peace and order, and should not be extended to "good government" generally or "sound financial administration."
- (f) The Indian element in the Executive Government of India should be one-half of the total number of members of that Government.

Proposed by :—The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani of
Allahabad.

Seconded by :—Mr. M. V. Joshi of Nagpur.

Supported by :—Mr. J. J. Vimadlal of Bombay.

(The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri dissociated himself from clauses (c) and (d) of this Resolution).

(Except for his personal dissent on the two clauses).

Carried unanimously.

VI.

INDIA AND FISCAL FREEDOM.

Saving such equal and equitable Imperial obligations as may be agreed upon as resting on all parts of the Empire, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Legislature, should enjoy the same power of regulating the fiscal policy of India as the Governments of the self-governing Dominions enjoy of regulating their fiscal policy.

Proposed by :—The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy of
Bombay.

Seconded by :—Rai Krishnaji of Benares.

Supported by :—Mr. S. S. Halkar of Rangoon (Burma).

Carried unanimously.

VII.

PROVINCES.

- (1) (a) The status and emoluments of Ministers should be identical with those of Executive Councillors, and the Governor should not have greater power of control over them than over the latter.
- (b) Whatever power may be given to the Governor-in-Council to interfere with the decisions of the Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effects on the administration of the reserved subjects, corresponding power should be given to the Governor and Ministers in respect of decisions of the Governor-in-Council affecting directly or indirectly the administration of the transferred subjects.
- (c) The proposal to appoint an additional Member or Members, from among the senior Officials, without portfolios and without vote, for purposes of consultation and advice only, but as *Members of the Executive Government* in the Provinces, should be dropped.
- (d) Heads of Provincial Governments in the major Provinces should ordinarily be selected from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom.
- (e) No administrative control over subjects vested in Provincial Governments should be "reserved" in the Central Government, particularly in respect of "transferred" heads.
- (f) The Government of India should have no power to make a supplementary levy upon the Provinces; they may only take loans from the latter on occasions of emergency.

TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

- (2) This Conference recommends that the largest possible number of subjects should be included in the "transferred" List in every Pro-

vince as the progress and conditions of each Province may justify and that none mentioned in the Illustrative List No. II appended to the Report should, as far as possible, be "reserved" in any Province.

Proposed by:—The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, of Poona.

Seconded by:—Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul of Lucknow.

Supported by:—The Hon. Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna

Also by:—Babu Bhabatosh Ray of Calcutta

And by:—Babu Rajendra Nath Ganguly of 24 Pargannas.

Carried unanimously.

VIII.

FRANCHISE, ELECTORATES, &c.

- (a) The Franchise should be as wide and the composition of the Legislative Council should be as liberal as circumstances may admit in each Province, the number of representatives of the general territorial electorates being fixed in every case at not less than one-half of the whole Council.
- (b) The elected element in the Provincial Legislative Councils should be four-fifths of the total strength of the Councils, at least in the more advanced Provinces.
- (c) The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of tax-payers their due representation by *election*, and the interests of important minorities and the "depressed classes" should be adequately safeguarded.
- (d) Mahomedan representation in every legislature should be in the proportions mentioned in the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916.
- (e) In the case of any community, for which separate special electorates may be deemed at present necessary, participation in the general territorial electorates, whether as voters or candidates, should not be permitted.
- (f) It shall be left to the option of an individual belonging to a community, which is given separate representation, to enrol himself as a voter either in the general or the communal electorate.

Proposed by:—Prof. H. G. Limaye of Poona.

Seconded by:—Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar

of Sivaganga.

Supported by:—Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan of Bombay

And by:—Mr. Mahbubul Huq of Alipur (Calcutta).

AMENDMENT.

At this stage, an amendment was proposed to clause (c) of this Resolution, so as to make it read as follows :—

“(c) The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of tax-payers their due representation by *election*, and the interests of those communities or groups of communities in Madras and the Bombay Deccan and elsewhere who at present demand special electoral protection should be adequately safeguarded by introducing a system of plural constituencies in which a reasonable number of seats should be reserved for those communities till the first Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry.”

Proposed by :—Sir N. G. Chandavarkar of Bombay.

Seconded by :—Mr. A. B. Latthe of Belgaum.

Supported by :—Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar
of Coimbatore.

The amendment, on being put to the vote, was *carried by an overwhelming majority*.

The original proposition with the amendment was then put to the vote and

Carried unanimously.

IX.

SOME OTHER SUGGESTIONS.

I

- (a) It should be provided that when the Legislative Assembly is dissolved by the Viceroy or the Legislative Council is dissolved by the Governor, a fresh election should be held and the new Council summoned not later than four months after the dissolution.
- (b) Some provision should be made for the appointment and co-option of qualified Indians on the periodic Commissions proposed to be appointed every ten or twelve years and it should further be provided that the first periodic Commission shall come to India and submit its recommendations to Parliament before the expiry of the third Legislative Council after the Reform Scheme comes into operation and that every subsequent periodic Commission should be appointed at the end of every ten years.
- (c) The Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils should have the right to elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS.

II

- (a) This Conference thanks the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for recommending that all racial bars should be abolished and for recognising the principle of recruitment of all the Indian public services in India and in England instead of any service being recruited for exclusively in the latter country.
- (b) This Conference strongly urges that Indians should be nominated to 20 per cent., to start with, of King's commissions in the Indian Army and (2) that adequate provision for training them should be made in this country itself.
- (c) All racial inequalities in respect of trial by jury, the rules made under the Arms Act, *etc.*, should be removed and the latter should be so amended as to provide for the possession and carrying of Arms by Indians under liberal conditions.
- (d) A complete separation of judicial and executive functions of all District Officers should be made, at least in all major Provinces, at once and the judiciary placed under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the Province.

Proposed by :—The Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat of Poona.

Seconded by :—Mr. Natesh Appaji Dravid of Nagpur.

Supported by :—Mr. Valchand R. Kothari of Poona.

Carried unanimously.

X

INDIA OFFICE AND PARLIAMENT.

This Conference, while generally approving of the proposals embodied in the Report regarding the India Office and Parliamentary control, urges

- (a) That the administrative control of Parliament over the Government of India exercised through the Secretary of State should continue except in so far as the control of the legislature on the spot is substituted for the present Parliamentary control.
- (b) That Indian opinion should be represented on the Committee appointed to report upon the organisation of the India Office and the evidence of Indian witnesses invited.
- (c) That at least a major part of the cost of the India Office should be borne by the British Exchequer.
- (d) That until the India Council can be abolished by substituting Indian control for the control of Parliament over the affairs of India, it should be a mere advisory body with its strength reduced to 8 members, four of whom should be Indians.

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

XI
DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND
AND
ORGANISATION IN INDIA.

- (a) This Conference appoints a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, to select a deputation to proceed to England, at a time to be determined by the Committee in consultation with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to urge on British statesmen, members of both Houses of Parliament, political associations, the Press and the British public generally, the wisdom and necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and giving legislative effect to it at an early date with such modifications and improvements as have been formulated or suggested in the foregoing Resolutions.
- (b) The said Committee, with power to add to their number, should also take steps to form a properly constituted permanent organisation of the Party with branches in the various Provinces with a view (1) to do sustained work for the political progress and the moral and material welfare of the people, (2) to give combined 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 country in support of its views, methods and policy.

COMMITTEE.

1. The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea—*Chairman*.
2. The Hon. Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha—*Vice-Chairman*.
3. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar—*Vice-Chairman*.
4. The Hon. Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee.
5. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar.
6. Sir Benode Chundra Mitter.
7. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.
8. The Hon. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose.
9. The Hon. Sir Gangadharrao M. Chitnavis.
10. Sir Hormusji A. Wadya.
11. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.
12. Mr. M. V. Joshi.
13. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammed Shafi.
14. The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain.
15. The Hon. Nawabzada Syed Altaf Ali Chowdhuri.
16. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
17. The Hon. Dr. Tej Pahadur Sapru.
18. The Hon. Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter.
19. The Hon. Dr. A. Surahwardy.
20. The Hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay.
21. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.

22. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad.
23. Pandit Manohar Lal of Lahore.
24. The Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye.
25. Babu Satyanand Bose.
26. Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray.
27. Mr. D. C. Ghose.
28. Mr. V. R. Kothari.
29. Mr. N. M. Samarth, and
30. The Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. } *Secretaries.*

Proposed by :—Mr. N. M. Samarth of Bombay.

Seconded by :—Mr. D. C. Ghose of Calcutta.

Supported by :—Mr. V. R. Gupte of Poona.

Carried unanimously.

XII

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

Proposed by :—Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad of Bombay.

Seconded by :—The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
of Poona.

Carried with acclamation.



First Day's Proceedings.

Friday, 1st November 1918.

THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF THE MODERATE PARTY assembled ^{Opening of the Session.} in Bombay on Friday, the 1st November 1918, in the Empire Theatre. The theatre was filled to its utmost capacity by the delegates from the various Provinces and by invited visitors. Precisely at 2-30 p.m. the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, the President-elect of the Conference, arrived and was received at the entrance by the Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and other office-bearers of the Conference. He entered the hall in a procession headed by the volunteers and the Secretaries of the Reception Committee and followed by the Vice-Presidents of the Reception Committee. On his appearing on the platform he received an ovation from the assembly. All the delegates and visitors rose in a body and cheered and greeted him with cries of "Bande Mataram".

PROMINENT PERSONS ON THE PLATFORM.

There were about 150 persons seated on the Platform, among whom, ^{Prominent Persons on the Platform.} besides the Hon'ble Sir D. E. Wacha, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, President-elect, were :—Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Sir Mahadev Bhaskar Chaubal, Sir Jamsetji Jeejéebhoy, Bart., Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Sir Hormusji A. Wadya, the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Sir Jagmohandas Varjeevandas, Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas Kalandas Parekh, Mr. N. M. Samarth, Mr. N. V. Ghokhale, Mr. W. A. Chambers, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Shrimant Sampatrao Gaikwad (brother of H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar), Mr. Kershaspi R. Dadachanji, late Dewan of Baroda, Mr. Rahimtulla Currimbhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, the Hon'ble Mr. Pandurangrao A. Desai, the Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat, the Hon'ble Captain Dr. C. Fernandez, the Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna, Sardar Rustomji N. Vakil, Dr. H. M. Masina, Dr. A. G. Viegas, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth, Rao Bahadur Thakorram Kapilram, Dewan Bahadur Ganpat Sadashiv Rao, the Hon'ble Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter, the Hon'ble Syed Alltaf Ali of Bogra, Rai Bahadur Mahendra Chandra Lahiri, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Mr. Jatindra Nath Bose, the Rev. Mr. B. A. Nag, Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, Mr. G. M. Gupte, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mr. Husseinbhai A Lalji, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. Raoji Vinayak J. Shankarshet, Dr. K. E. Dadachanji, Mr. K. R. Dadachanji, Mr. Ramchandra Bhaskar Mantri, Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Mr. Jeevanji Limji of Ilay, Mr. H. C. Coyajee, Mr. Cowasji Jehangir, Mr. F. S. Taleyarkhan, Mr. Moreswar W. Pradhan, Mr. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press, Mr. M. D. Altekar, Rai Krishnaji of Benares, Mr. S. S. Halkar of Burma, Mr. K. D. Wacha, and many others.

A THOROUGHLY REPRESENTATIVE BODY.

Representative and cosmopolitan character of the Conference.

Besides the members of the Conference seated on the Platform there were members of the Reception Committee and delegates from the Bombay Presidency and other parts of the country, who occupied the orchestra stalls and other portions of the theatre. The total number of those who attended the Conference as members thereof was computed to be more than 500. Among them were well-known representatives of the Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi and Indian Christian communities, and a notable feature of the Conference was the presence therein of the representatives of the Backward classes (Marathas, Lingayats, Jains, &c.) of the Deccan and of the Depressed classes. That portion of the non-Brahmin community of the Madras Presidency which repudiates the extreme views put forward in its name by a section thereof was also represented at the Conference.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha, Chairman of the Reception Committee, rose amidst loud applause. He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, before I begin my address, I request you to hear our General Secretary who will give you an idea of the numerous telegrams and letters we have received from people who have been unable to come on account of the prevalence of the influenza epidemic not merely in their own province but in many cases in their own houses.

NUMEROUS TELEGRAMS AND LETTERS FROM SUPPORTERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

Telegrams and Letters of support.

Mr. N. M. Samarth.

Mr. N. M. Samarth, General Secretary of the Conference, then rose and said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will read out to you a few extracts from the numerous telegrams and letters that have poured in during the past two or three days and nights from some of the many supporters of the Conference in the different parts of the country. I think about 130 telegrams have been received till noon to-day. Some more have been received since and are pouring in even now. They will either be announced at the commencement of to-morrow's proceedings or a summary of them will be sent to the press for publication. I am sure you will all be gratified to know that the telegrams and letters we have received show that the idea, started by our two great veteran leaders, of holding a separate All-India Conference of the Moderate Party in order to organise the forces of sober opinion in the country and accord the hearty support of the better mind of India to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, has been warmly and cordially welcomed by thoughtful persons throughout the length and breadth of this country. (*Cheers.*) I bespeak your patience, Ladies and gentlemen, while I read out to you a summary of those telegrams and letters.

The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga (Darbhanga) wires :—
 "I fully hope under your able and experienced guidance the Conference will be a great success."
 Telegrams and Letters of support.
 Mr. N. M. Samarth.

The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Kasimbazar (Madhupur) wires :—
 "Still feeling weak. Regret inability to attend."

The Maharaja Sir Pradyut Kumar Tagore (Calcutta) wires :—
 "Extremely regret inability attend Moderates' Conference to support Reform Scheme owing to prevalence of epidemic which has prevented so many other Bengal representatives from proceeding Bombay. I beg you to convey kindly my cordial sympathy and hearty support to the Conference and I wish it every success."

The Raja Saheb of Dighapatia (Jalapahar) wires :—
 "Extremely regret my inability attending Conference owing illness in the family. Wish Conference all success."

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar wires :—
 "Regret inability attend owing health. Wish all success to Conference."

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad) wires :—
 "I deeply regret inability attend Conference owing to cases of influenza in family. Trust Conference will be successful under guidance of far-seeing and tried leaders like yourself and President. Best interests of country require that we should support reforms pressing at the same time for necessary modifications and expansion making it clear to reactionaries here and in England that while proposed reforms are none too great for our capacity for self-government we accept them as earnest of greater reforms in near future. They place us in a position of advance and give us appreciable power for further and surer progress towards democracy." (*Cheers.*)

Sir Benode Mitter (Calcutta) wires :—
 "Confined absolutely to bed. Exceedingly sorry and miserable for failing to attend. Wish Conference all success."

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Bose (Nagpur) wires :—
 "Deeply regret feeble health prevents me joining Hon'ble Banerjea and Party on their way to Conference. Considerate and discriminating support of Reform Scheme essential to our political future which is gravely jeopardised by unreasonable opposition swayed by passion and prejudice at this momentous crisis in our constitutional progress. Concentration of opinion of persons ready to grasp the hand of friendliness that is extended to us and co-operate with Governmnet to make the Scheme the success it deserves

Telegrams
and Letters
of support.

Mr. N. M.
Samarth.

is urgently called for in our best interest. May complete success attend the Conference." (*Cheers.*)

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadharrao M. Chitnavis (Nagpur) wires :—

"Regret weakness after severe illness which prevents my attending the Conference. Fully sympathise. Wish success."

The Hon'ble Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar (Calcutta) wires :—

"Extremely regret my inability to attend the Conference owing illness. Wish success."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Anand Swarup (Cawnpore) wires :—

"Cordially sympathise with Conference object. Regret inability to attend. Support Reform Scheme generally."

Rai Bahadur H. Mitra (Khandwa) wires :—

"Hearty sympathy with the Conference in its patriotic endeavours to save Reform Scheme from being wrecked by the hostility of its opponents in India and England."

The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain (Lucknow) wires :—

"Regret unavoidable absence. Whole-heartedly support Conference and wish it complete success."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy (Nagpur) wires :—

"Main principles of the Reform Scheme entitled to our full support, encouragement and sympathy. The wreckage of the Scheme by unreasoning and cliquish opposition will prove disastrous to the best interests of India. Sincerely wish proceedings full measure of success and I wholly associate myself with you all in your laudable and patriotic efforts." (*Cheers.*)

President, Ganjam People's Association, (Behrampore, Ganjam) wires :—

"18 representative leading people, landholders, vakils, merchants express hearty support Conference's object."

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. A. Deshpande (Nagpur) wires :—

"Regret inability to attend. Heartiest sympathy with the aims. With all success."

Rao Bahadur R. P. Godbole, and Rao Bahadur K. B. Marathe and Rao Bahadur R. T. Kirtane (Poona), wire :—

"Wish success. Save Reforms."

Rai Saheb A. P. Patro of Behrampore (Ganjam) wires :—

"Hearty support Conference. Accept Reform Scheme."

Rai Bahadur Nagendra Dey (Bilaspur) wires :—

"Know my sympathy."

Mr. K. S. Nayudu, President, Municipal Council, Wardha, wires :— Telegrams and Letters of support.
 “Heartily sympathise with patriotic endeavour of Conference to save Reform Scheme from being wrecked by opponents.” Mr. N. M. Samarth.

Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagvat (Akola, Berar) wires :—
 “Heartily in sympathy objects of Conference. Illness prevents attendance.”

Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit (Nagpur) writes :—

“My hearty sympathy with the Conference in its patriotic endeavour to save the Reform Scheme from being wrecked or whittled down by the hostility to it of its opponents in England and in India. Hope the Conference will be completely successful.”

Mr. Ananda Chandra Roy (Dacca), President, Dacca People's Association and Secretary, Eastern Bengal Landholders' Association, wires :—

“The Moderates of Dacca beg to assure the Conference their fullest sympathy with its object and proceedings.”

Mr. Ratnasabapathy Mudliar, President, Taluq Board, Coimbatore, wires :—

“Heartily sympathise Conference objects. Wish success.”

Rao Bahadur Keshav Govind Damle (Akola, Berar) wires :—

“My full cordial support to aim and object of this Conference. Firmly trusting in its patriotic endeavour to serve India's best interests on such momentous occasion by fearless expression of mature political convictions accepting and supporting published Reform Scheme generally.”

Mr. D. C. Sen Gupta (Allahabad) wires :—

“Very sorry sickness at home prevents attending. Wholly support Conference. Wish it success.”

Mr. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (Sivaganga) wires :—

“Wish every success Moderates Conference. Express hearty sympathy with Conference in its patriotic endeavour to save Reform Scheme. Sivaganga sends four delegates. Influenza detains some more. Our hearts there.”

Mr. Siva Subramanyam, Vice-Chairman, Coimbatore Municipality, wires :—

“Heartily supporting objects of Conference. Wishing all success.”

Mr. Dwarakanath Chakravarti (Calcutta) wires :—

“My full sympathy in supporting a scheme which is a step towards a defined acceptable goal.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Radhakishen Das (Lucknow) wires :—

“Entirely with you.”

Telegrams
and Letters
of support.

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Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra (Calcutta) wires :—

“ Deeply regret inability attend Conference. Strongly support its objects. Wish it complete success.”

Professor G. B. Kolhatkar (Poona) wires :—

“ Regret inability attend. Wish Conference success.”

Letters and wires have been received from the following gentlemen sympathising with the object of the Conference and supporting the Reform Scheme :—

Rao Saheb Sahasrabudhe; Rao Saheb Deshpande; Mr. Ghudekhan Badabux; Messrs. Ladhuram, Murlidhar, Lakshminarayan, (Ellichpur); Messrs. J. N. Basu (Darjeeling); Govindlal Purohit (Jubbulpore); Pooniah Chetty (Coimbatore); Shanker Rao Chitnavis (Nagpur); Madhavrao Bapurao Khinkhede (Nagpur); Ranganatha Chari, (Berhampore); Jogendra Nath (Seoni); Messrs. Brahma, Jayavant, Ganesdas, Devle, Khare, Chandwaskar, Nagarkar, Jamkhindikar, Joshi, and Mudholkar (Amraoti, Berar); Mr. Landge (Yeotmal); Mr. Bhalchandra (Yeotmal); Mr. Rodrigues (Yeotmal); Mr. Minakshi Sundara Mudaliar, (Coimbatore); Rai Bahadur D. Chowdhury (Raipur); Messrs. Nilmani Ghatak; Panchanan Majumdar, B. L.; Hari Gopal Chatterjee, B.L.; Kabiraj Lalbehari Majumdar; Kali Prasanna Chakravarti, Editor, *Samachar*; Kristna Chandra Agarwala, Editor, *Gaurdutt*; Promothnath Misra; Kali Prasanna Shaha, B. L.; and Dr. Purna Chandra Chakravarty, (Malda); Dr. Suhrawardy Seraj-UI-Eslam Mahoob Ally, (Calcutta). Messrs. G. B. Khadilkar, Debicharan Nirgum, A. G. Pandhera Pande and Khan Bahadur Mullena, Chairman, District Council, Balaghat; Thakur Mahadeo Singh (Fyzabad); Mr. Satyananda Bose (Calcutta); Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow); Rao Bahadur Mundale (Yeotmal); Editor of the *Herald* of Dacca, and Editor of the *Asha* of Berhampore; Mr. Mathuradas Ramchand (Hyderabad, Sind); and Pandit Manohar Lal of Lahore, who wires :—

“ Almost every house afflicted with influenza in Punjab towns. Five patients my house. Can say nothing about possible attendance. Great regret. Punjabis' best wishes for your success.”

Mr. M. K. Apte of Dhulia, the Hon. Mr. Ariff of Calcutta and others have also sent letters and wires of support.

The Parsi High Priest, Sham-ul-Ulma Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana (Bombay), writes :—

“ Pray excuse me for my non-attendance at the ensuing meetings of All-India Conference of Moderates, which is owing to my present ill-health. I need not write that I fully appreciate

the noble object involved in the movement, and sincerely wish it perfect success. Telegrams
and Letters
of support.

I am proud to think that the pre-eminent pioneer of this Conference is a Parsi-Zoroastrian of exemplary rectitude and sense of honour." (*Loud applause.*) Mr. N. M.
Samarth.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (Madras), regrets that he is unable to attend the Conference on account of illness in his family and says:—

"I am in entire sympathy with the aims and objects of the Conference and wish it every success."

Rai Bahadur Baikuntha Nath Sen, Chairman, Reception Committee, Calcutta Congress, 1917, wires:—

"Extremely regret inability to attend Conference which has my full sincere sympathy. Wish Conference complete success."

Mr. B. L. Mitter (Calcutta) wires:—

"Extremely sorry inability to attend Conference representing responsible Indian opinion. Wish Conference every success."

Khan Bahadur Adarji M. Dalal (Broach) wires:—

"Wish Conference success leading new India to ordered healthy political growth. God-speed to Moderates' veteran helmsmen."

Telegrams of hearty sympathy and support have also been received from Messrs. M. S. Krishnaswami and D. Shesh Aiyar of Sivaganga; Mr. Dheer Narain Chand of Purnea; Mr. J. N. Roy of Calcutta; the Hon'ble Munshi Narayan Prasad Ashtana of Allahabad; the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Pandit Bishen Dutt Shukul of Sihora, Mr. Radhakishan Badhwar of Ferozepore and others.

Babu Manohar Lal of Fyzabad forwards a copy of the resolution passed at a recent public meeting held there, giving "hearty support" to the Reform Scheme and to this Conference.

Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakar Menon of the "*Indian Patriot*" (Madras) writes:—

"I should have gladly attended the Conference if my health permitted. My inability to do so is a matter which I extremely regret. I heartily wish the Conference complete success and hope it will exercise the steadying influence which has served us so much in the past." (*Cheers.*)

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay of Patna (Behar) wires:—

"Deeply regret untoward circumstances prevented my attending Conference. Others of Bihar Council who intended joining wish me to state that Council by resolution passed unanimously at meeting thirteenth September identified with our view Reform Scheme. Heartily wish Conference success."

Telegrams
and Letters
of support.

Mr. N. M.
Samarth.

Among other telegrams received since the summary I have now read out to you was prepared, there is one from Mr. R. D. Mehta of Calcutta, and one from the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi of Lahore, who wires as follows :—

“Influenza epidemic and sickness in family prevent my coming Bombay. Wish Conference every success. Memorable declaration of 20th August last year, and Chelmsford and Montagu Reform Scheme as substantial instalment provide basis for evolution of Constitutional Party and invite communal co-operation for gradual realization of ultimate goal of self-government within the British Empire.”

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer. I have done. I feel certain that it has given you immense pleasure to know that our Conference has evoked sympathy, support and warm response from the large body of Moderate opinion throughout the country and blessings from many a quarter for the patriotic endeavour of our veteran leaders to save the Reform Scheme. (*Cheers.*)

Address

OF THE

HON'BLE SIR D. E. WACHA,

Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Address of
the Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

The Hon.
Sir D. E.
Wacha.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Wacha, who then rose to welcome the delegates, was received with an outburst of applause. He made the following prefatory remarks, and read the first two paragraphs of his Address before calling upon his son Mr. K. D. Wacha to read the rest of it on his behalf :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—A word about the telegrams just read out to you. As has been already pointed out to you by the General Secretary, they show how wide is the sympathy for this Conference. This Conference is a success already, as I see before me, and if many of these well-known, important, and influential members, who have not been able to attend it, were present here to-day, it would have been a much greater record of success than the gratifying rally of Moderates that I witness before me. (*Cheers.*) With these preliminary remarks, I now begin my Address.

“Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Reception Committee of this Conference, allow me please to offer you a most cordial welcome for your attendance on this historic occasion. I need not say how greatly the Committee appreciate that spirit of patriotism which, at the call of duty, has inspired you to respond to their invitation and how pleased they are to see gathered around them from all the important centres those who have long been recognised as representing the maturer and better mind of the country.

2. Fresh as is the genesis of this Conference in your mind, I advisedly refrain from referring to it. It is sufficient to say that when the din and strife of faction has been hushed, when the mist of misrepresentation has completely disappeared, leaving the horizon of politics as clear as the azure sky, when the many regrettable events which followed in the wake of the declaration of the new Charter of popular liberty are forgotten and buried, and when above all, sanity and serenity of thought have regained their previous supremacy, the wisdom which dictated the course that has culminated in this Conference, will, I firmly believe, be amply justified.”

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Mr. K. D. Wacha then read the remaining portion of the Address, which is given below :—

“3. It seems to me, Gentlemen, that amid the din of conflict, little or no heed was paid to the fundamental aims and objects of our national movement, of which the Congress represents the political side. To me it is a matter of the deepest regret that some of those, with whom these aims and objects were not infrequently the theme of public exhortation and instruction, should have consciously or unconsciously, given them the go-bye. However, those aims and objects, as explained by the late Mr. Hume, whom they revere and adore as “the Father of the Congress,” are writ so large that he who runs may read.

4. Mr. Hume had explained, as those of you who were closely associated with him from the outset in his work of Indian regeneration are fully aware, what were the fundamental aims and objects of that movement. They were to voice the volume of considered Indian public opinion with sobriety and to co-operate in the work of the Government with a view to bringing about by perseverance and patience, fortified by knowledge and experience, the general advance of the country, politically, socially and intellectually, with full reliance on the sense of justice and fair play of the great British nation whom an inscrutable Providence in his wisdom has called upon to govern India, as the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had frequently impressed on the minds of his countrymen. (*Cheers.*)

5. It will be in your recollection how in his memorable speech at Allahabad, on 30th April 1888, Mr. Hume expounded the origin, aims and objects of the Congress. An extract from that speech at this juncture will prove neither unuseful nor uninteresting. Mr. Hume said :

“The Congress was intended to foster a wider enthusiasm and a more genuine public spirit by concentrating the most strenuous efforts on great national problems and by diminishing the absorption in local and purely selfish interests—to educate all who took part in it, not merely in the arts of public speaking and debate, developing the faculty of thinking out clearly opinions, and expressing them lucidly to others, not merely in habits of accuracy and research, but also in the practice of self-control, moderation and willingness to give and take—to educate them in fact into what has

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been described as a genuine parliamentary frame of mind, to familiarize the country with the methods and working of representative institutions on a large scale, and thus, as this familiarity grew, to demonstrate to the Government and the people of England that India was already ripe for some measure of those institutions to which the entire intelligence of the country so earnestly aspires." (*Hear, Hear.*)

I leave it to you to say in how many respects the aims and objects so tersely and clearly pointed out by Mr. Hume have been unheeded or ignored during the last few years. Aye, how few of the present generation of Congress-men have firmly borne in mind those objects. Are we not entitled to enquire how far they have practised the faculty of thinking clearly, accurately and independently on the representative institutions which the genius of the freedom-loving Anglo-Saxon race has so conscientiously endeavoured to grant them in response to the legitimate aspirations of the Intelligentsia of the country? May we not also inquire where may be perceived that practice of self-control, moderation and willingness to give and take? Do we not rather hear all around us the cry of unreasoning negation! Where, again, may we inquire is that "parliamentary frame of mind" which Mr. Hume so earnestly wished that men of the Congress should cultivate? Lastly, may we not inquire whether the method now so thoughtlessly pursued is one wherewith to win the support of the democracy of Great Britain in the present constitutional struggle? Rather, is there not the fear among you, who better understand the situation from your long experience and intimate knowledge of public affairs, that recourse to hasty or thoughtless action must eventually prejudice in no little degree the very cause we have at heart, and alienate the generous sympathy and liberal instincts of the British people? (*Hear, Hear.*)

6. Ample evidence of the aims and objects of the Congress may be discerned in the series of Resolutions which the Congress passed from year to year from the date of its institution. They are indeed an education by themselves in Indian problems of pith and moment, which he who runs may read. A close study of these, as well as the addresses delivered by distinguished Presidents of the sagacity and statesmanship of Messrs. Bonnerji and Dadabhai Navroji, of Sir P. M. Mehta, B. Tyabji, Surendranath Bannerji, Romesh C. Dutt, Ananda Bose, Lalmohun Ghose, Bhupendranath Basu, Sir S. Nair, Sir Rash Behari Ghose, G. K. Gokhale, Bishen Narayan Dar and of Mr. George Yule, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton and Sir S. P. Sinha, is certain to induce that sanity and sobriety of thought which, unfortunately, is all too scarce. The Public Services, military expenditure, separation of judicial and executive functions, simultaneous examinations, education in all its branches, sanitation, industrial advancement, amelioration of the impecunious peasantry, and a score of other topics, many of which still await a final solution, were brought forward on the Congress platform as time and occasion inspired, and discussed with an accuracy of facts, a breadth of view and self-restraint which would have reflected credit

on any advanced deliberative assembly in the world. These subjects, again, were argued with an earnestness and singleness of purpose which would have rejoiced the heart of any sincere lover of his country. Beyond, however, the Resolutions on these subjects, there were those touching the reform of the obsolete Legislative Councils first instituted in 1861. It was mooted at the very first session of the Congress, and hammered in at each succeeding Session till the advent of the late Sir William Wedderburn in 1889, as President of the Fifth Session, accompanied by the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, that redoubtable parliamentarian and the true friend of India and Indian aspirations. That Congress formulated the broad outlines of the Reform Scheme which Mr. Bradlaugh, soon after his return to England, crystallised in the form of a Bill of his own drafting and introduced in the House of Commons. You, however, are fully aware of the practical counsel that great politician gave to our assembled countrymen at the historic Congress of 1889: "Not only do not expect too much, but do not expect all at once. Don't be disappointed if, of a just claim, only something is conceded." (*Cheers.*) None of us here can aver that that advice has lost its force even after this long tract of years.

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7. The rest is history. But it was the efforts of the early Congresses which eventually brought into operation the expanded Councils of 1892. That was the first substantial harvest which the original builders of the Congress were able to reap. But ten years of further well-reasoned and constitutional agitation, at the opening of the Twentieth Century, resulted once more in a further reform as embodied in the Morley-Minto Scheme. And here we are to-day the recipients of a further reform of a substantial character which, when put into operation, will fulfil in due course that political destiny for which our countrymen have yearned these many years past. (*Cheers.*)

8. But, Gentlemen, we are living in other times. The old order of things which fairly served the country for the last half a century is rapidly passing away. Its exit is being quickened not a little by the war which, we are rejoiced to see, has secured a glorious triumph to the gallant British and their brave Allies during the past few weeks (*cheers*), and which, it is to be hoped, will prove the glad harbinger of a lasting and enduring peace in the months to come. (*Cheers.*) As in other matters, so in this the war has now quickened the pace of all forms of social and political growth. It is the part of practical statesmanship to take cognisance of the changing times. Shepherds of State as much as leaders of public opinion have to guide their respective charges on the straight path by the light of the past. The past can never be obliterated; it serves as a beacon to illuminate the path of statesmen and people alike. History is nothing but past politics. Under the circumstances it is only by the light of history that the future of the governance of this country can be shaped. It can only be wisely fashioned, moreover, when the method and manner of conducting constitutional struggles, which have carried us so far forward in our national development, are faithfully followed. Political pretentiousness can never yield that success. For it is needful to remember that immaturity of political

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thought, combined with the exuberance of indiscipline, has invariably wrought mischief in all constitutional movements. Thus it goes without saying that the same serenity and sanity of mind, the same spirit of patience and perseverance, of toleration and sobriety which characterised the deliberations and utterances of our distinguished leaders in the past are imperative at the present hour. Opinions may differ but opinions have to be founded on knowledge. Short views are views formed in darkness. They are parochial and, therefore, fatal to great reforms calculated to advance the further progress of a people. We have to see the harbour with a clear vision and carefully steer the bark of progress midst the surrounding shoals and quicksands in order to bring it to the haven of safety and rest.

9. New ideals are welcome, for we cannot do without the service of the idealists, and the enthusiasm, patriotism and energy of our young men. None is more welcome in our ranks than the ardent rising generation, who bring to political movement freshness and vigour. But I would ask them to remember that ideals are dangerous, rather than beneficial, if they are not based on broad views and an all-embracing patriotism. Moreover, however splendid our ideals, there is no short cut to constitutional development; in politics the short cut has always been found to be the longest way round. Enthusiasm is a great and vital force; faith moves mountains; but both enthusiasm and faith need the guidance of experience, without which they can accomplish nothing durable. While therefore holding fast to our ideals, let us never lose sight of the practical difficulties to the early attainment of those ideals. As an able writer recently observed in this connection:—

“Of the many combatants engaged in the warfare of ideals few have the courage to face the certainty that their dreams will be fulfilled to-morrow. Our confidence in legislating for the new Jerusalem is immensely far off. The remoteness of the event permits a freedom to the wings of fancy which would be sadly curtailed if there were any prospect that we ourselves might have to live in the world we are recreating. Most Utopias have been constructed in the interests of generations so distant from the age in which the constructors lived that the question, ‘How would you like it yourself’, has seldom occurred. The remoteness of the fulfilment coupled with uncertainty, of which most dreamers are dimly aware, gives rise to an element of irresponsibility which is deeply characteristic of all our idealisms.”

And I may also recall in the same connection the following lines of the popular American poet which contain the essence of all practical wisdom in the domain of human affairs:—

We have not wings, we cannot soar,
But we have feet to scale and climb,
By slow degrees, by more and more,
The cloudy summits of our time. (*Cheers.*)

10. We are now on the eve of entering on a great period of reconstruction. We shall have to sweep away by slow degrees the forms and

images, the superscriptions and the trappings which now encumber the ground. Our first business as reformers is to clear away the survivals that can no longer justify themselves. The process will be slow requiring no little patience. A positive policy will have then to be adopted which will make a complete breach, slowly but surely, with the obsolete past and prepare the foundations for a solid edifice. What did Sir Henry Cotton, that other valued friend, say in his great speech as President of the Bombay Congress of 1904? "The process of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means. Many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy * * * In the continuous and gradual development of representation, and the increase of your power and influence in India itself, involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, we shall find the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal of Indian aspirations." It is for you, Gentlemen, to say, whether this advice is not as true to-day as it was when given a few short years ago.

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11. The foundation of a new constitutional fabric now to be laid in this country is unlike that of any other constitutional edifice in the world. There is, however, no question that the foundations are being laid broad and deep by the combined statesmanship of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford (*cheers*), in a material degree, in harmony with the expressed sentiments and wishes of the people. The work of completing the edifice, brick by brick, and laying the crowning stone will entirely depend on our own energy (*cheers*), aptitude and capacity for governing ourselves. It is a most arduous and uphill task which for successful accomplishment will need the co-operation of all, Indian and British alike; we cannot afford to dissipate our energies in fruitless controversy. The transitional period, which will immediately commence on the passing of the Reform Bill in Parliament, will be the most critical one and watched with the keenest interest by our generous rulers. On the wisdom and ability with which we carry out the provisions of the Parliamentary Statute will depend our future constitutional progress towards responsible self-government. Whatever may be the imperfections of the measure before us, it should be our duty to work it whole-heartedly, with singleness of purpose, so as to achieve for it the success we desire. The imperfections, I need not say, are bound to be removed with the experience of revolving years. It will be, therefore, prudent for you, gentlemen of the Conference, who are not the advocates of "The All or the Nothing" creed, to accept the salient features of the scheme, so prolific of good; all minor details may well be left to find their true solutions. Experience is a great teacher and I will leave it to time and experience to deal with those details, as well as imperfections which are to be detected. No constitution prepared by human foresight and human energy has ever been known to be perfect. Constitutions can never be made to order. At the best they grow with the growth of years and become stronger with their own inherent strength. The Reform Scheme has now been heartily accepted by an overwhelming majority of the better minds of the country as a first definite advance towards the

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steady realisation of full responsible self-government, as pronounced in that memorable declaration of 20th August 1917. (*Cheers.*) Let us with one heart and mind make a supreme effort to secure for it that success which our rulers so sincerely wish and which the British Democracy, who have already assented to it by their representatives in Parliament, will rejoice to see.

12. It is not for me, standing before you as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference, to enter into the many merits of the scheme. Properly speaking, it is the province of our esteemed and eloquent Congress veteran (*cheers*), whom you have by your unanimous suffrage so wisely elected your President, to expound it in his own lucid terms. All I wish to say here is that my own views are those already expressed in the Memorandum which I and my esteemed co-signatories and co-workers submitted to the public in July. The Reform proposals have, by universal consent, been deemed to constitute a solid monument of the industry, ability and far-sighted statesmanship of their distinguished authors. They have been conceived from a lofty point of view and in a spirit which is even broader in some respects than that of the Congress itself. India should express with one voice its sense of gratitude for this memorable work which will add another and brighter page to the annals of British Indian rule. (*Hear, Hear.*)

13. And now, Gentlemen, before I resume my seat may I venture to make one suggestion which is calculated, I think, to advance those liberal views which you, who are all assembled in this Conference, entertain. My suggestion is that on the conclusion of your proceedings you will, in your respective provinces, follow the laudable example of Bengal and make every effort to inaugurate a liberal organisation to propagate and advance the views you hold. (*Cheers.*) Let us all fearlessly and resolutely pursue the aim and object for which this Conference has been held. Let us steadily maintain a broad outlook with a unity of purpose, never relaxing those sound principles on which we have taken our firm stand. Let us hold aloft our own banner on which are inscribed Trust and Hope and slowly but steadily march straight to the goal of our aspirations for the attainment of which the elders of the Congress have borne the burden and heat of the day for thirty years and more." (*Loud and continued applause.*)

Formal Resolution requesting the President-elect to take the Chair.

Formal
Resolution
requesting
the Presi-
dent-elect to
take the
Chair.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Wacha :—Ladies and gentlemen, I now call upon Sir Narayan Chandavarkar to move the formal resolution that the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea do take the Presidential Chair of this Conference.

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
varkar.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar :—Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, ladies and gentlemen.—I beg to move the formal resolution that the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea (*applause*) do take the

Chair as President of this Conference of all the Moderates of India. Formal Resolution requesting the President-elect to take the Chair.
(Applause.) It is unnecessary, in moving this resolution, that I should dwell on even the main details of the public career of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea which has made him one of the most prominent publicists and patriots of India and enabled him to render service to his motherland which will always stand enshrined in the hearts of all his countrymen throughout the length and breadth of this country. Sir N. G. Chanda-varkar.
(Applause.) The Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address which has been read out, has reminded us to-day that Mr. Hume was the father of the Indian National Congress. I beg to supplement that fact by another fact which, I believe, is not widely known and which even my friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea appeared to me when I met him last at Calcutta to have clean forgotten, that if Mr. Hume stands in the history of India as the father of the Indian National Congress, if Mr. Hume had that idea put into his head by Lord Dufferin when he was Viceroy of this country, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea is the grandfather of the Indian National Congress. *(Loud applause.)* Before the idea was taken up by Lord Dufferin and suggested to Mr. Hume and Mr. Hume formulated it into concrete shape, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in the early eighties of the last century, in 1883, in the columns of the "*Bengalee*", from week to week, propounded the idea of an annual assembly of all the representatives of the whole country meeting from year to year, formulating and giving expression to the just aspirations of the people of this country and welding them into a political and social whole, so that India might, under the ægis of British rule, take her due rank in the scale of nations. I know and the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea also knows, that when he was formulating that idea, and pressing it with all the energy of his pen and tongue, it was scouted, ridiculed and opposed as a visionary idea, as the dream of a dreamer and stigmatised as impracticable by no less a person than Sir Kristodas Pal, who was then one of the most prominent of our public men, the doyen of Indian journalists, who said that in order to secure solid progress in India, it was necessary first to weld the people of a province into a whole and after some years to think of a national assembly of the representatives of the people of India meeting from year to year. The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea, however, stuck to his idea with the result that we now witness. The Indian National Congress, therefore, owes its existence in its original inception to the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea, and to-day I repeat, when I am proposing to you this formal resolution as to his election as President of this Conference, I ask you to christen him the grandfather of the idea of the political unity of India. *(Applause.)* Nearly 40 years have elapsed since the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea began his public career and these 40 years have been crowded with events of a life which has been most fruitful, full of strenuous energy, a life during which he has been working with his pen and tongue here, there and everywhere; and to-day before his countrymen, the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea stands as the picture of physical health, moral health and mental health, a man who, the more he ages, the younger he grows in the service of his country. *(Applause.)* We cannot, therefore, have a better man, a man with a riper experience, greater eloquence, more mental energy and greater purity of life than

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have distinguished the career of the life, public and private, of our veteran patriot, statesman and leader. (*Applause.*) With these words, I ask you, brother delegates, to unanimously pass this Resolution requesting the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea to take the Chair as President of this Conference. (*Loud applause.*)

Rao Baha-
dur R. N.
Mudholkar

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar :—Ladies and gentlemen, it is to me a matter of the deepest personal gratification that I should, on this important occasion, have been called upon to second this Resolution regarding the election to the presidential Chair of our great friend and leader, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. Gentlemen, I have had the pleasure and the honour of working as a humble Lieutenant of his on occasions when what we are seeking to-day was being asked for in a humble manner nearly 28 years ago. Surendra Nath Banerjea—the word Mr. had better be dropped behind his name, because great men do not stand in need of these prefixes—has been devoting all his best energies, his matchless eloquence and his commanding genius for the elevation of his country and the betterment of his countrymen. He has in the midst of persecution, in the midst of official obloquy, in the midst of innumerable difficulties, striven to work out that form of government for India which seems now to be in sight. Gentlemen, there was a time when the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea was considered, if not a rebel, at any rate, a revolutionary. The ideas which he and his colleagues were putting forward were deemed so utterly out of place and inapplicable to Indian surroundings, that the improvement of the Legislative Councils, their expansion and the enlargement of their functions, on which our energies had to be concentrated in the beginning, were considered as entirely out of place and hopeless of application. But all along, undeterred by official opposition or obloquy, he has been working steadily for the improvement of the political position of his countrymen in order that they may attain to that position which the announcement of 20th August 1917 recognises as the legitimate due of India, namely, the establishment in due course of full responsible government in India. Gentlemen, even so far back as the eighties, it was steadily kept in view that the reforms which we were putting forward were only as a kind of spade-work to be done for the edifice which ultimately had to be reared in this land, namely, the establishment of responsible government controlled by Indians and all people who have cast in their lot in India. Gentlemen, after years of strenuous work, our goal, the promised land, is now in view and when the announcement of 20th August 1917 was made, we hoped that the entire progressive party would hail the announcement as the consummation of their wishes. We all know that at that time, it was hailed on all sides but later on, however, certain views began to be promulgated and we now see that the progressive party which has shown that its demands were being accepted became divided and our enthusiastic and energetic friends of the new generation, anxious to bring about the establishment in one day of a state of politics which must take years to be established, are following a course which jeopardises the fruition of our efforts. This has made it necessary that those who consider that the present scheme is one which has in it

the beginnings of a definite advance towards our goal, should give expression to this feeling and support the scheme as it deserves. At this time, we have obtained the invaluable guidance and leadership of the man who first started the idea of a national assembly for India. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, it is more an honour to us than to him to ask him to preside on this occasion and I have, therefore, very great pleasure in seconding the proposition moved by my friend Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. (*Loud applause.*)

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Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani :—Sir Dinsha Wacha, ladies and gentlemen, regretting, as we naturally must, the necessity that arose for us Congressmen to organise and meet in this separate Conference, it is a source of legitimate satisfaction to us all that we meet under the auspices of some of the veteran leaders of the Congress who have guided our public activities for the last generation or two. Those who may criticise or taunt us for having stayed away from the special session of the National Congress that was held in this city some time ago may well be asked to consider whether we are faithful or whether we are wanting in fidelity to the traditions and policy of the National Congress when we are here with a senior Ex-President of the Congress as Chairman of the Reception Committee (*hear, hear*), when the proposition now before you has been moved by another Ex-President and supported by a third Ex-President and that proposition is that the senior-most of all Ex-Presidents and the one living Ex-President who presided twice over the Congress should be the President of this Conference. (*Hear, hear, and loud applause.*) When, gentlemen, a couple of days hence, the resolutions that this Conference will have passed will be widely known and read in the country, I am confident that every thinking man will recognise in these resolutions a more faithful continuity of the well-known policy of the National Congress than in the pronouncement which has been recently made, it may be, at a larger but, I feel sure, not a wiser or more patriotic assembly. The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea is the connecting link between the past and the future. He and other veteran leaders of ours have sometimes been taunted as being "men of yesterday." Yes, they are no doubt "men of yesterday" who, having laid yesterday the foundations of the progress which has been made, are here to-day, to help us and lead us in our hopes and realisations of to-morrow. (*Applause.*) For 42 years now, that is for a longer period than the majority of us in this hall have been in this world, the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea has, by day and by night, in the newspaper press and on the public platform, in Congress and in Conference, in Legislative Councils and in the Corporation, in this country and in England, served the cause of Indian nationalism with an ability, a devotion, a persistence and a determination which may extort our admiration, but which most of us will not be able to emulate. (*Applause.*) To most of us of the rank and file of the Congress, the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea has been an inspiration (*hear, hear*), to most of us from the days of our school and college, he has stood for the ideal of public service and it is a rare good fortune for us that to-day he and Sir Dinsha Wacha and our distinguished leaders should be still with us to guide us. Speaking ten years ago at the Madras Congress of 1908, that is the first session of the Congress

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saved from the wreckage of Surat, the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea, moving a resolution on India's grateful appreciation of the Morley-Minto scheme of reforms, described Lord Morley as the Simon de Montfort of the Indian Parliament of the future. Lord Morley himself had stated that it was no part of his ambition to plant Parliamentary institutions in this country. Ten years have passed and to-day we are here to accord our hearty support to a scheme of reforms which has thrown overboard the idea of autocracy and personal government for India and which has recognised in the most authoritative manner that the goal of British policy in this country is complete responsible government. (*Applause.*) I feel sure I give expression to the strong hope and united prayer not only of us in this hall to-day, but of our countrymen at large, when I say that we look forward to the day when the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea himself will be leading the Legislative Councils of the future which will be of a really Parliamentary character. (*Applause.*) It is unnecessary for me to say more in support of the proposition that has been placed before you. I only express my and your sense of deep gratitude to the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea for having accepted the Presidency of this Conference and been able to come here in spite of his numerous public engagements and of the state of ill-health in Bengal which has prevented most other stalwarts from coming here. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to support the proposition unanimously. (*Loud applause.*)

The President takes the Chair.

The resolution was then carried amidst loud acclamation and the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, after being garlanded by the Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Wacha, was inducted into the Presidential Chair amidst loud and deafening cheers and cries of "Bande Mataram."

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The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, who, on rising, received an ovation, said :—Sir Dinsha Wacha, ladies and gentlemen,—to-day we meet under the shadow of a great devastating world-conflict ; but, happily for us and for all the nations of the earth, peace is in sight. President Wilson has very justly characterised the war as a struggle for liberty and it is also a war on behalf of democracy. We rejoice to find that democracy is the dominant note of the day in all parts of the civilised world and that happily the clouds are now rolling away and peace is within sight. I hope and trust in the interests of humanity that that peace will be a just and durable peace, and that when the terms of settlement have been adjusted and arrived at, India will be placed firmly and safely on that road which would lead to the consummation of our cherished desires towards self-government. (*Applause.*) For the measure of our sacrifice has been commensurate with the measure of our capacity and the measure of our resources. We have done our best. We do not claim anything as a reward or recognition, but the enhanced national self-respect and national consciousness of which we

have afforded so many demonstrations within the last few years ought to challenge the admiration of Englishmen and raise us to the status of a free people. (*Applause.*) There has emerged, in connection with this war, the idea of a league of nations. I do not know whether that idea will ever materialise ; but if it does, I hope and trust that India will have a voice and place in that league of nations. Ladies and gentlemen, I desire to thank you most heartily for the great honour which you have done me by asking me to preside over the deliberations of this Moderate Conference, the first of its kind. I must say that I have been overwhelmed by the kind references which have been made to me personally by my friend Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and my friend Mr. Mudholkar and, last but not least, by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani. I cannot say that I deserve those things, the good things that are said of me. I ascribe them to the partiality of friendship, but at the same time these references must stimulate whatever of strength and fervour that is still left in me to dedicate my life to the service of my country. (*Applause.*) Ladies and gentlemen,—there is a special appropriateness both as regards time and place in holding this first session of the Moderate Conference. To-day is the sixtieth anniversary of the great Proclamation of Queen Victoria. Here in Bombay, in 1885, 33 years ago, the Indian National Congress first saw the light. Bombay, the capital of Western India, which its patriotic citizens are proud to call the first city in Asia, was the cradle and the nursery of the Indian National Congress. From here the movement grew and spread until the Congress became under the leadership of “the men of yesterday” a vast national organization which from 1885 to 1917 voiced the national sentiment, moulded and focussed the national aspirations and stirred the Government into the paths of political reform. May the stars shine as auspiciously upon the great Conference which to-day is launched into being. May it grow and thrive and prosper until, representing all that is best and truest and sanest in the public life of the country, it serves to help forward the progressive realization of responsible government in India and the fruition of the cherished hopes associated with the inauguration of that great experiment.

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THE WORD “MODERATE.”

Sir, I confess I do not like the word “Moderate.” I use it because it has come into vogue and because it connotes qualities—the qualities of prudence, moderation, and self-restraint—which I greatly value and which, I hope and trust, when the heat and the dust of the present controversies will have been allayed, will become the enduring assets of our national life. I myself would prefer the term “centre group of the nationalist party” as applicable to ourselves. For we are and always have been the centre, the focus, the starting-point of all rational political activities standing between the extreme views of reactionaries on the one hand, and of thoughtless and reckless reformers on the other, seeking to guide, control and regulate them, and to lead them on into useful and fructifying channels, in conformity with our environments and the high ends of national progress. I desire to employ in relation to ourselves a term which is in use wherever Parliamentary Government in some form or other prevails and which will be understood by all who,

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in other parts of the world, are working for the same cause. I look forward to the day when we shall become a world-wide party in politics and take our place among those who, in other fields and other countries, inspired by the same principles and animated by the same motives, are seeking to advance the cause of human progress by steady and rational methods, avoiding the dangers of cataclysm and the equally serious menace of stagnation.

REVOLUTION AND EVOLUTION.

We, call us for the Present the Moderate Party if you like, are the friends of evolution and the enemies of revolution. We abhor revolutions alike in our own interests and those of the Government. We deprecate all methods calculated to develop or strengthen the forces of revolution. We have witnessed the nameless horrors of revolutions in France, in Russia, and in other countries, how too often they have been followed by reaction and repression and the enthronement of despotic authority. The execution of Charles I was followed by the autocracy of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell. The French Revolution was the precursor of the military despotism of Napoleon Bonaparte and the unsettlement of the social and political order in France, with its prolonged agony, lasting for nearly a century. The revolutionary movement in Russia has inaugurated a reign of terror which humanity contemplates with a shudder. Let us beware of revolutionary movements and those wild and extravagant ideals which, as all history tells us, are their breeding-ground. Nor are the rulers of men left without light and guidance from these cataclysms. Injustice revenges itself with compound interest, says Carlyle, in French Revolutions and events of that order. The longer the dues of nations are kept in arrears, the heavier becomes the payment. For the truth cannot too often be repeated—it should be burnt in upon the souls of men in authority—that reforms indefinitely postponed or inadequate in their scope and comprehension prepare the ground for revolution. They are the seedlings upon which the revolutionary instinct feeds and from which it derives its sustaining and vitalizing influence. The Moderate Party is the friend of stable and orderly progress, resolute in its denunciation of methods which in the name of liberty are calculated to weaken the foundations of social and political order, strengthen the hands of the Executive Government for purposes of repression and offer a plea for postponing the day of India's political emancipation.

OUR CREED.

Our creed is co-operation with the Government whenever practicable, and opposition to its policy and measures when the supreme interests of the Motherland require it. Our guiding principle is—“co-operate when we can; criticize when we must”. It is not “criticize when we can; co-operate when we must.” We deprecate opposition for the sake of opposition. Opposition must always produce excitement and unrest and is justified only by the ample reward of all legitimate opposition which is the redress of national grievances and the enlargement of popular rights. No one can say

that those who led the opposition against the partition of Bengal and got the 'settled fact' unsettled do not know how to conduct a campaign of opposition if the circumstances require it, or that in the course of less than a dozen years they have gone back upon their ancient political principles. We raised aloft the standard of opposition and clung to it with undying faith, even in moments of the deepest darkness and depression; and our faith was justified by the result, because it was a faith founded upon the absolute justice of our cause and the righteousness of the methods which we followed. Let the occasion arise, and let me assure you and all else whom it may concern that we of the Moderate Party, and I am sure I am permitted to speak in their name and on their behalf, are prepared to repeat the same chapter in our national history. (*Cheers.*) But God be thanked, the times are changed—the angle of vision of our rulers has undergone a profound transformation. A change, a welcome change, has come over the spirit of their dreams, and they have extended to us the hand of fellowship and friendship. Let us grasp it with alacrity and enthusiasm and, in co-operation with British statesmanship, let us march forward to the accomplishment of the high destinies that under the Providence of God are in store for us. It is because the leaders of the present-day Congress movement will not recognise the change, the profound change in the spirit and the policy of the Government, and persist, despite the altered conditions in a campaign of opposition, that we are here on this platform holding a separate Conference of our own, where, in an atmosphere of harmony, of unity of views, ideals and aspirations, we can formulate our proposals with regard to the great constitutional issues with which we stand confronted to-day.

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THE REFORM PROPOSALS.

The message of the 20th August 1917 marks an era in the history of our political progress. It is the greatest of our charters, greater than the Charter Act of 1833, or the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, or even the Despatch of the 25th August, 1911, promising to us the boon of provincial autonomy. It represents a striking and memorable departure in the history of our relations with the British Empire. It marks the termination of the old and the inauguration of what I may call the new regime. For the first time the objective of British rule in India is clearly defined; and the message proclaims, as if with a resonant blast on a golden trumpet, the great mission of England in the East. The vessel of State is no longer to drift aimlessly without rudder and compass, but is to be steered slowly, steadily and majestically, into its haven of rest, under the guidance of British statesmanship aided by the co-operation of the people of India. Self-government within the Empire is to be the end and aim of British rule, and it is to be attained by progressive stages of realisation. Such is the message of the 20th August, 1917. In the words of the illustrious authors of the Report:—

“The time has now come when the sheltered existence which we have given India cannot be prolonged without damage to her national life; we have a richer gift for her people than any we have yet bestowed upon them. Manhood within

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the Empire represents something better than anything she has yet attained.”

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A high moral purpose thus pervades the great declaration and inspires the framers of the Report in making their proposals. England desires to confer upon our people a gift, greater, richer, nobler far than any she has yet bestowed—the gift of an elevated manhood, of responsible public life, of increased and increasing national self-respect, the inevitable concomitants of the enjoyment of free institutions.

MISTRUST OF THE PEOPLE.

And here I must pause for a moment to refer to the charge of mistrust of the people which, it is alleged, the authors of the Report exhibit in their proposals. Such a charge is inconsistent with the spirit and essence of the noble message which I have just quoted and with the general breadth and liberality of the proposals themselves, which in the opinion of all, friends and foes, critics and advocates alike, are admittedly a great advance upon the existing state of things, and in the opinion of many, and they form the majority, constitute a definite stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. In judging of the proposals contained in the Report we cannot overlook the qualifying clauses. Responsible government, under the terms of the declaration of the 20th August, 1917, is to be attained by and through progressive stages. We cannot go behind that declaration. We of the Moderate Party take our stand upon it, ‘the basic pledge’ to quote the words of H. E. the Viceroy. We cannot repudiate it because we have not been consulted, or because it is a foreign Government that issued it; and taking our stand upon it and consistently with its spirit and essence, we may press for modifications and improvements. But the announcement is there—our pillar of smoke by day, our column of fire by night. Full autonomy, Provincial or Imperial, we cannot have all at once. The stages are indicated in the Report. They are progressive in their character. There can only be a difference of opinion about the pace. The question of mistrust does not and cannot arise in view of the qualifying conditions of the ‘basic pledge’. The whole fabric of reform, which is admittedly an advance upon the existing state of things, is based upon the confidence of its framers that the people of India will rise to the height of the occasion and justify the great experiment.

THE LIMITATIONS.

The limitations are dictated by the caution of statesmanship and by considerations of expediency. They give shape and form to the qualifying clauses of the message. The message is the message of a Coalition Government consisting of statesmen belonging to different parties. The recommendations based upon it must, before they can be placed on the statue-book, run the gauntlet of Parliamentary criticism and be acceptable to the great British democracy. Say what you like, the English people are essentially conservative in their character and temperament. Behind the Radicalism of the most Radical, there is

an underlying vein of caution which Imperial responsibilities have imposed upon the national character. In inaugurating a great experiment, in making a new departure in the government of the greatest dependency the world has ever seen, the average Englishman, no matter what may be his political nomenclature, Liberal, Conservative or Radical, is swayed by the traditional caution of his race; he will move but slowly and steadily. The illustrious framers of the Report must have borne this fact in mind and in submitting their Report felt bound so to frame their proposals as to make them acceptable to all classes of British politicians, and it must be said to their credit they have been marvellously successful in their effort. When the proposals were first introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Montagu, they were greeted with a chorus of approval. Members of Parliament, belonging to opposite schools, vied with one another in supporting the scheme in its general outlines. Sir John Rees and Commander Wedgwood found themselves ranged on the same side. It was a triumph of cautious statesmanship. This unanimity of support, where we should have expected a division, barring, of course, the artificial agitation got up by Lord Sydenham and his party, is a striking testimony to the wisdom of the authors of the Report in submitting proposals that commended themselves to the general acceptance of the British public. His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to observe the other day, while presiding at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, that he and the Secretary of State had gone as far as it was possible for them consistently with the message of the 20th August, 1917. Whatever differences of opinion there may exist with regard to this view, it is impossible to dispute the fact that the proposals have been cast upon lines which on the whole have received a gratifying measure of support from the British public. They introduce important constitutional changes with safeguards which rouse no misgiving or suspicion among the Conservative elements of British society. I therefore dismiss the plea of mistrust of the people brought against the framers of the Report. The Report does not go far enough in some respects from our standpoint. It may in our judgment need modification and improvement. But caution, even when carried to the verge of timidity, is not mistrust. Caution is an intellectual quality; mistrust is a moral distemper: and when widely divergent opinions have to be conciliated, boldness has to be combined with caution. I cannot leave this part of my subject without paying the tribute of my admiration, in which I am sure you will join, to the illustrious authors of the Report. It is not for me to anticipate the verdict of history, but when the heat and the excitement of the present controversies will have disappeared and things are seen in their true perspective, a grateful posterity will recognize Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu as among the truest benefactors of the Indian people and the Report will take its place among the great State papers of this generation, worthy to be ranked with Lord Durham's Report on the question of Canadian Reform.

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STEADY CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS THE AIM OF THE CONGRESS.

Let us not overlook the fact that we of the Congress, from the time that we took up self-government within the Empire as the prin-

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cial plank in our platform, have advocated steady, gradual and progressive advancement. So far back as the year 1902, speaking as President of the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad, I observed :

“ We have no higher aspiration than that we should be admitted into the great confederacy of self-governing States of which England is the august mother.”

And then I added and this is the most relevant part of the statement :—

“ We recognise that the journey towards the goal must necessarily be slow and that the blessed consummation can only be attained after prolonged preparation and laborious apprenticeship. But a beginning has to be made.”

“ Prolonged preparation and laborious apprenticeship ” are the words I used sixteen years ago as indicating the stages through which we must pass in order that we may qualify ourselves for a full measure of self-government. The late Mr. Gokhale (*cheers*), speaking as President of the Benares Congress in 1905 urged the same view in similar language. He said :—

“ For better, for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire itself. That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one. For it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility, required for the proper exercise of the political institutions of the West, can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only. . . . While, therefore, we are prepared to allow that an advance towards our goal may be only by reasonably cautious steps, what we emphatically insist on is that the resources of the country should be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people, by means of education and in other ways, for such advance.”

Mr. Gokhale used almost prophetic language. He repeated that we must pass through a period of apprenticeship before we can come to the next stage in our progress, and this is exactly what the scheme provides—gradual stages of advance, all in sight, one following another, not indeed automatically, but as we prove our fitness and establish our capacity. Now, let us hear what India's other great political saint said in what may be regarded as his political testament, the last great pronouncement that he made as a public man. Speaking as President of the Calcutta Congress of 1906, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji observed :—

“ It is no use telling us, therefore, that a good beginning cannot be made now in India for what Mr. Gladstone called ‘ living representation.’ The only thing needed is the willingness

of the Government. The statesmen at the helm of the present Government are quite competent and able to make a good beginning so that it may naturally in no long time develop itself into full legislatures of self-government like those of the self-governing Colonies.”

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Thus Mr. Dadabhai Navroji speaks of “a beginning which will develop itself into full legislatures of self-government.” There is thus to be in the opinion of one of the greatest of Indians, “a beginning and a development.” But this is not all. The first article of the Congress creed, its basic principle, embodies the views of the Presidents of the Congress to whom I have referred. The Article says :—

“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 responsibilities 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 administration and by promoting national unity and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.”

Thus, according to the basic principle of the Congress such as the Congress was, self-government is to be attained by “a steady” gradual reform of the existing system of administration, and the principle embodies the definite and pronounced views of three ex-Presidents, two of whom representing the greatest names in modern Indian annals. They declare that a beginning has to be made, that our progress must be gradual, and that we must pass through a period of laborious apprenticeship before the final goal is reached. Does not the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme substantially comply with these conditions? It places the final goal within sight. It provides intermediate stages of loyal co-operation and laborious apprenticeship which are to qualify us for the attainment of the fullest measure of responsibility. I am, therefore, justified in holding that if the illustrious men, now alas dead and gone, who made the Congress what it was, were now in our midst, if Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, W. C. Bonnerjee, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir William Wedderburn and others had been spared to us to lead and guide our counsels, they would have welcomed with alacrity the Reform proposals as formulated by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, subject, of course, to the necessary improvements. They are in conformity with the principles laid down by the great Congressmen of the past whose memories we venerate and whose precepts are our guide. It is said of the ancient kings of Arragon and Castille that when they found themselves confronted with difficult problems, when their minds hesitated and their judgments wavered, they appealed to the venerable oracles of their ancestors for illumination and guidance. May we not in the same way with bended knees and in a spirit of pious reverence approach the great oracles of the Congress? And we know what their verdict would be.

CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME.

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I am well aware of the objection that will be urged. It will be said in reply that the latest pronouncement of the Congress on the subject is the Congress-League scheme which was authoritatively adopted at Lucknow in December, 1916, but which is cast upon different lines. Now that scheme was avowedly a transitory arrangement. It was framed before the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. It did not and could not deal with the new situation created by the message of the 20th August. There is no mention in it of responsible government. The great message deals wholly and solely with responsible government and provides for its progressive stages. The Congress-League scheme creates, in the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, a directorate with an executive subordinate to the Legislature, but not removable at its pleasure. It creates opportunities for full free criticism, but does not provide for responsibility. A new situation having been created by the message of 20th August, a new programme had to be followed; and the special session of the Congress adopted such a programme. Recognising the scheme as a factor which has to be dealt with, it sought to work into its frame-work the leading features of the Congress scheme with the result that it practically transformed it out of recognition. It amounted to rejection by a flank movement. Our procedure is different. As I have already observed, we take our stand upon the basic pledge of the 20th August, and our suggestions for the modification and expansion of the scheme are in entire conformity with the spirit and essence of the great pledge, not seeking to tamper with it or to go beyond it, but to keep within its broad and beneficent lines. We recognise that no private Bill has, in these days, any chance in Parliament. Here is our chance, our only chance; which has occurred after ceaseless and strenuous effort extending over the life-time of a generation by the most illustrious of our men, and the plainest considerations of patriotism and expediency demand that we should not in the exuberance of our zeal or in the wantonness of our indiscretion allow this chance to slip by. It may never again occur. There are tides in human affairs, says the great master-singer, which, taken at the flood, lead to fortune. Such a tide has set in in our favour with an irresistible current. Let us ride on its crest until we are swept by its onrushing flow into the Promised Land, the dream of the greatest, the widest and the noblest of our race. (*Cheers.*)

OUR FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES.

And here I must pause to refer to the fundamental differences between the two wings of the nationalist party which have brought about this Conference. It was not without a wrench that we seceded from the Congress, and absented ourselves from its Special Session held in August last. To many of us, to me in a special sense, the absence was painful. Some of us have contributed to build up the great national institution with our life-blood. There was no sacrifice which we were not prepared to make, no toil which we were not ready to undergo, for the sake of the Congress. We watched it at its birth, nursed it at its

cradle, and rejoiced with parental jubilation at its growing maturity. My venerable friend, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, was present at the first meeting of the Congress in 1885 in this city, and though I had not that great honour and privilege, yet from 1886 to 1917, I attended every session of the Congress, save and except the one held at Karachi. We have helped to rear up this great national organisation and to steer it through the perils of childhood and the temptations of adolescence and manhood, and now when we are within view of the crowning reward of our life-long labours, we find the voice of conflict and controversy, of bitter opposition, charged with the elements of personal and partisan rancour, raised in what had been the temple of our national unity, and the healing counsels of moderation, of prudence, and expediency, dictated by the highest patriotism, consecrated by the noblest examples, cast to the winds. We could not but secede; for the difference between those who had captured the machinery of the Congress—call them Extremists for want of a better name—and ourselves were fundamental, and that upon a matter equally fundamental—of supreme and vital importance—*viz.*, the question of self-government for India. The Congress was an organisation for the attainment of self-government, the opening words of the first Article of the Constitution of the Congress being :—

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“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 responsibilities of the Empire, on equal terms with those members.”

The Congress exists—the Congress was called into being—for the attainment of self-government. But we knew that extreme views would prevail at its last special session; we knew that the Scheme would be condemned there and the interests of responsible government jeopardized. The Congress was a means to an end, the attainment of self-government. We sacrificed the means for the end, the organization of the Congress for the sake of self-government in India. (*Cheers.*)

THE PREMONITORY SYMPTOMS OF THE SPLIT.

We made the sacrifice in anticipation of coming events and the sequel shewed that our fears were abundantly justified. Even before the publication of the Report, the Extremist leaders, their organisations, and their organs in the Press, had assumed a hostile and even bellicose attitude in regard to proposals of which they knew little or nothing. On the 2nd June, 1918, fully five weeks before the publication of the Report, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee sounded the tocsin of alarm, as if a great danger was impending and preparations had to be made to meet it. They issued a circular in which they said :—

“You keep yourselves ready to hold public meetings to attend the Congress and the Conferences in very large numbers and to fearlessly criticise the proposals if they fall short of our ideal.”

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On the 8th July, the very day of the publication of the scheme (and the scheme, be it understood, covers 179 printed pages of foolscap), Mrs. Besant thus wrote in her own organ, *New India* :—

“The scheme is unworthy to be offered by England or to be accepted by India. It is petty where it should have been large, banal where it should have been striking. There is about it no spacious and far-seeing statesmanship, no constructive genius, no vision for India of even future evolution into freedom.”

On the same day, the 8th July, a manifesto condemning the scheme was issued by fifteen gentlemen of Madras in which they said :—

“The Scheme is so radically wrong alike in principle and in detail that in our opinion it is impossible to modify or improve it. Nor do we think it possible to devise any system of safe-guards against the mischievous working of the whole complex scheme. It cannot consequently form the basis of discussion or compromise by the people or their representative. . . . We are satisfied that unless the present scheme is altogether abandoned as to the political reform of the Government of the country and another substituted, embodying principles or plans in consonance with the inalienable rights of the people of this country to achieve responsible government, which is different in nature and magnitude from a vaguely recognized right of co-operation, a deep, widespread and enduring national discontent would be the consequence.”

On the following day, the 9th July, the day after the publication of the Scheme, Mr. Tilak wrote : “The Montagu scheme is entirely unacceptable,” and his paper the *Kesari* said : “It has dawned, but where is the sun?” All this appeared within twenty-four hours of the publication of a scheme of considerable length and of immense complexity, dealing with problems difficult and delicate, which had taken the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, the Government of India and the authorities concerned nearly six months to elaborate. (*Laughter*). Could the Report have been carefully read by those who were so early in condemning it? No wonder that Commander Wedgwood should have said that the Indian opposition did not count. But the mischief had been done. The cry raised by the Extremist leaders was taken up with eager avidity by their followers; and in their various Conferences at Madras, in Calcutta and Akola, they condemned the scheme as “unsatisfactory,” “disappointing,” “unacceptable.” At some of these Conferences, the Moderate representatives tried to reason and to argue but all in vain. Bitter passions had been roused. The Moderates were howled down. At Akola, an ex-President of the Congress, specially invited to attend the Conference, had to withdraw with his friends after a vain effort at a reasonable understanding. We of the Moderate Party had to decide whether we should attend the Special Session of the Congress, where these extreme views were likely to dominate its

counsels and to lend them the weight of our authority, or to abstain from all participation in its deliberations? As I have said, we decided to abstain; and it can no longer be said that the Resolutions of the special sessions of the Congress represented the united voice of India. I claim that our abstention had a moderating influence (*Cheers*) upon the views of the Extremist leaders. It is but the bare truth to state that our firm and courageous stand has had the effect of somewhat modifying the wild and extravagant opinions that found so much favour in the early stages of the discussion. We no longer hear the words "undiscussable" or "unacceptable" or the cry of "rejection in toto." We have emerged from that stage. The frontal attack has given place to a dexterous flank movement so prominently in evidence in the deliberations and the Resolutions of the Congress. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State are thanked for their good intentions, and their genuine effort is even appreciated, but the Scheme remains where it was—it is declared to be unsatisfactory and disappointing, unless and until certain suggested modifications, which will transform it out of shape, have been accepted. The earnestness of the attempt is recognised but the achievement is belittled. Our view is wholly different. We regard the proposals, in common with the various Legislative Councils in the country which have yet spoken on them, as an advance upon the existing state of things and a definite stage towards the progressive realization of responsible government. We press for modifications and expansion upon the lines of the message of the 20th August, 1917. Specially do we urge this view in connection with the Government of India, but I will say this—that if unfortunately no advance is made, I trust this will not be the case, even then we shall be ready to accept the scheme as an improvement upon the existing state of things and an advance (it may be only a small advance) towards responsible government. The Extremist leaders would reject the Scheme unless the fundamental changes which they have suggested were embodied in the proposals. The cry of rejection still lurks in their attitude, though in a somewhat disguised form. There being this difference in fundamentals, a common platform was out of the question. No useful purpose is served by a patched-up truce. Let each party worship in its own temple according to its own lights and convictions. "I do not believe", said Mr. Gandhi, "that we should at a critical moment like this be satisfied with a patched-up peace between the so-called Extremists and the so-called Moderates, each giving up a little in favour of the other. I should like a clear enunciation of the policy of each group or party."

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ATTEMPT AT COMPROMISE.

It has been said that we should have attended the special session of the Congress, urged our views and, if outvoted, then and then only should we have seceded and held this Conference. This procedure did not commend itself to us. We did not wish to add to the bitterness of a situation which was already sufficiently painful, by a heated controversy on the Congress platform. If we were outvoted as we were sure to be, we felt that the influence of a Moderate Conference with

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the stigma of defeat (which did not represent the real sense of the country) would weaken our just influence and take away from the weight of the deliberations of our Conference. It would be the Conference of a defeated party. I may here add that I tried my best to come to an understanding but all in vain. On the 7th August, full three weeks before the meeting of the Congress, I wired to the Joint Secretary and to Mrs. Besant to postpone the special session of the Congress for a short time for an interchange of views which might help to bring about an understanding. The request was not complied with, and at the last moment, just 24 hours before the sitting of the Congress when a final effort at reunion was made, it was far too late, the psychological moment having passed by.

There is yet another consideration in this connection which is not to be overlooked. While the Scheme is being opposed in England by the Indo-British Association, Lord Sydenham, Sir John Hewett and others of that ilk, the *Morning Post*, the *Spectator* and other such papers, and while Lord Curzon is withholding his support from it—while, in India, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Calcutta Trades' Association, the European Association, the Anglo-Indian Association, the South-Indian Liberal Federation, the Madras Dravidian Association, the New Zemindars' and Landholders' Association of Madras, the Moslem Defence Association, the Islamia League, etc., etc., are all opposing the Scheme—should Congressmen also oppose it, though from a different point of view and increase the difficulties of our friends in England and help to wreck the Scheme? Yet this is what the Special Congress did. Hence this Conference has become an urgent national necessity.

THE SOUNDNESS OF OUR POSITION.

And the soundness of our position with regard to the Reform proposals cannot be questioned. In the first place, it is supported by all our English friends, by the great organs of English public opinion interested in the political advancement of India and by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Polak wired out to this country to say that it would be perilous to reject the scheme. What did this ominous message mean? It implied that if the scheme was dropped in consequence of our opposition, the prospects of responsible government would be indefinitely postponed. The British democracy, in view of our opposition, would say "well, if you don't want it, we drop the scheme altogether." And is there any other scheme to take its place? None that I know of.

OPPOSITION TO THE SCHEME.

Indeed the opposition to the scheme raised by the Extremist leaders and their followers is a real difficulty in our way which has to be met and overcome. Lord Sydenham, in the debate which took place in the House of Lords early in August, quoted Mr. Tilak in support of his condemnation of the Scheme and in urging that it should be dropped

It is a strange alliance. Once again the truth is illustrated that extremes meet. But it is an alliance, not indeed ratified by convention or consent (though both parties want the same thing, *viz.*, the rejection of the scheme), which is disastrous to the best interests of India; and our English friends are insistent in their appeal to us to unite in our support of the Reform Scheme and to unmistakably demonstrate our acceptance of it. Sir Herbert Roberts says:—

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“The prospects of carrying the proposed reforms will depend very largely on the concentration of the utmost Indian support. Details must be considered later on, but at the present juncture it is imperative that India’s acceptance of the Report as a whole should be unmistakably demonstrated.”

The *Manchester Guardian* complains that the extremists are playing into the hands of Lord Sydenham and his party and, by adding to the difficulties of the Government, may make it reluctant to proceed with the reforms at all. It is a warning-note which should appeal to all patriotic Indians, and we may be sure that the *Manchester Guardian*, a tried friend of the people of India, would not write in this strain, if the danger was not real. In the hope that all interested in the cause of Indian reform may recognise the gravity of the situation, I quote an extract from it:—

“The danger-point in the career of the Montagu-Chelmsford report was clearly indicated in the course of yesterday’s debate in the House of Commons. It is the danger which lurks in the course of all schemes for the enfranchisement of an unrepresented or incompletely represented class or sex or nation. There comes a stage in the demand for such enfranchisement when the principle is accepted by the majority of moderate men. But every concrete proposal for its realisation has to run the gauntlet of a double opposition, on one side from extremists of the all-or-nothing type, on the other hand from a section of stern and unbending conservatives. The two sections play into one another’s hands. The extremists get more angry with the moderates than with the out-and-out opponents. The out-and-out conservatives make play with every utterance of extremists. Between them, a Government committed perhaps to a moderate scheme finds reason after reason for delay in its concrete application. Each delay stimulates the extremists to wilder speech, or perhaps to desperate action, and so plays again into the hands of the conservatives. Demands rise in the scale, and as the difficulty of satisfying them increases, the reluctance of Government to do anything at all grows in proportion.”

Similar testimony comes from the London Correspondent of the *Hindu*, who thus summarizes the views of the friends of India in the House of Commons in regard to the Reform proposals:—

1. The scheme now promulgated, although it falls short of what most of us desire and of what India is entitled to claim, is a

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- reasonable instalment of that full responsible self-government which is now the acknowledged goal of statesmanship.
2. It concedes many of the reforms for which Indian Nationalists have been striving for a generation past.
 3. There is nothing in it to prevent a further advance towards more complete self-rule at a comparatively early date ; on the contrary, it clearly opens the way to the full accomplishment of Indian nationhood within a reasonable period of time.
 4. In discussing the scheme we must have regard to the principles on which it is based and not make too much of minor imperfections and subsidiary details.
 5. The scheme has many drawbacks, as will appear in course of examination and discussion, but they are out-weighed by the advantages which will accrue to India from its general adoption.
 6. Given adequate support, it is possible to carry the main features of this scheme into effect ; but if it is rejected outright or menaced by undue criticism resulting in its withdrawal or series mutilation, there is nothing else to take its place.
 7. No party in the State can attempt to carry, under present circumstances, a more liberal measure of Indian reform than this.

We would do well to lay to heart the warning-note which has been raised in the messages I have quoted. They point out to us the dangers which beset our path. They call upon us to give adequate support to the Reform proposals. India's acceptance of the proposals must be unmistakable, says Sir Herbert Roberts. If they are opposed, there is nothing else to take their place, so say our friends in the House of Commons. What then is our duty? I should like to appeal to all, Extremists and Moderates, to rally to the support of the Scheme. Our detailed criticisms may be valuable, but let us not magnify their importance and wreck the scheme in our insistence upon their acceptance. Responsible government is assured. The intermediate stages are transitional, and their smooth working and their ultimate success will largely depend upon the co-operation between the Government and the representatives of the people. It is the spirit more than the paper-guarantees that counts ; and though we must have some of these guarantees to begin with and to set us up on the road, far more will depend upon the atmosphere that is created and upon the spirit of mutual help, mutual confidence and mutual co-operation which the inauguration of the great experiment will not fail to engender, to foster and to stimulate. Let us rely upon these impalpable and invisible forces, and we shall not have relied upon them in vain. How few are the paper-guarantees of the British constitution and how that venerable and wonderful institution has worked out its development, in spite of them, above them and beyond them? Take the safe-guards which

have been provided. I am sure that in the actual working of the Scheme, many of them will be found to be superfluous. I am perhaps talking in a somewhat optimistic vein. I have throughout my life been an optimist of the most confirmed type. Age has not abated the ardour of my optimism ; and I have found that it always pays morally, if not commercially. The ominous warning which has been given by our friends and to which I have referred means that the Scheme may be dropped owing to our opposition and the prospects of responsible government indefinitely postponed. Do not indulge in the foolish talk about the intervention of President Wilson or what may transpire at the Peace Conference. Let us descend from these aerial flights of the imagination to the hard, solid ground of facts, and deal with them, in the cold, clear, colourless atmosphere of sober reason and good sense, as they have been presented to us by our English friends so deeply interested in our political progress.

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NOT YET OUT OF THE WOOD.

We are not indeed out of the wood. The recent debate has opened our eyes to the gravity of the situation, to the rocks ahead. Lord Sydenham leads the anti-Indian party in Parliament and out of Parliament. We have a complaint against you, citizens of Bombay, for he was your Governor. To us people of Bengal, it is a matter of pride and gratification to find that after Lord Sydenham had sat down, having done as great a disservice as he could to the people whose salt he has eaten and whose friend he professes to be, Lord Carmichael, our late Governor, rose to reply to him, and said in his quiet but impressive style, "there could be no standing still, no swerving from the path which led to responsible government" and that "if we rejected the Scheme, many Indians would consider that we had committed as bad a breach of faith as any Government had ever been guilty of." Strong language this, coming from one of the temperament of the late Governor of Bengal, but it would not have been used if the occasion did not require it. Lord Sydenham, on this occasion, somewhat deviated from the beaten track of his accustomed arguments. No longer did he stand forward as the champion of the masses or of the military classes. These weapons by frequent use had apparently become blunt. He broke new ground on this occasion. He spoke *for* the Viceroy and the Indian Civil Service as if they needed his advocacy and were not able to take care of themselves. He urged that if the proposals were given effect to, the authority of the Viceroy would be weakened and the present standard of the Indian Civil Service destroyed ; yet, it was a Viceroy who was one of the authors of the Scheme and it was the Executive Council of the Viceroy, consisting of the most distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service and entitled fully to speak in their name and on their behalf, who unanimously supported it. Nor is this all. It appears that the Secretary of State and his Council among whom are many distinguished representatives of the Indian Civil Service, backed by an influential deputation, have entered into an unholy combination to reduce the authority of the Viceroy and "to destroy the high standard of the Civil Service." The idea is too

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ridiculous to be seriously entertained, and we are surprised that so irresponsible an utterance should have proceeded from one who not long ago occupied the responsible position of Governor of Bombay. But we live to learn. (*Cheers.*)

THE ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT.

But though we may dismiss the arguments of Lord Sydenham as unworthy of serious consideration, the attitude of the British Government as disclosed in the speech of Lord Curzon is a matter of grave concern and even anxiety. Lord Curzon somewhat separated himself from the Secretary of State and the India Office, as if they were not a part of the Government, and observed that "the Government was uncommitted in the matter, because they had not the time to consider it." "Their inability," Lord Curzon went on to add, "to make up their minds at the present moment was not only due to the great pressure resulting from the preoccupations of the war, but to the fact that they had not yet received that information which they pledged themselves before Parliament to await before making up their minds." Now you will permit me, on your behalf as well as on my own to enter our respectful but emphatic protest against this non-committal attitude. I hold that the Government stands committed, irrevocably committed, by a series of proceedings to which it has been a party. There is no escape from this position, as I shall presently show, at least in the judgment of the people of India, the party most vitally concerned. In the first place, we have the message of the 20th August, 1917. It was the message of the British Cabinet of which the Secretary of State for India was the spokesman, and it was announced in Parliament by the mandate of the Cabinet. In pursuance of this message and with a view to give effect to it, the Secretary of State came out to India accompanied by a Deputation, and that with the full concurrence of the Cabinet. In due time, the Report was submitted and was published for criticism again with the full consent of the Cabinet. Now, I ask, if the Report had not been generally approved of by the Cabinet, would they have allowed it to be published? The permission for its publication implies a general acceptance by the Cabinet of the principles and provisions set forth in the Report. But let me proceed. Within the last few days, two Committees recommended in the Report, the Committee on Franchise and the Committee on Transferred and Reserved subjects, have been appointed, and, we may take it again, with the full concurrence of the Cabinet. The appointment of these Committees by or with the assent of the Cabinet, implies that the division of transferred and reserved subjects and the recommendation in the Report that the electorates should be based upon as broad a franchise as possible are accepted by the Cabinet or at any rate are regarded by that body as worthy of consideration. In view of these facts, I confess I fail to see what justification there is for the British Government to hold now, at this late hour of the day, that its attitude is one of non-committal. Step after step has been taken with the concurrence of the British Government to give effect to the message of the 20th August, and to the proposals contained in the Report. If not in words, at any

rate by its deeds, the Government stands pledged to carry out the great message even according to the spirit and substance of the proposals contained in the Report.. Let us hear what an independent observer, Mr. William Archer, says on this subject in the *Fortnightly Review* of August last :—

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“ If ever one people stood pledged to another, we stand pledged to India. The formal pronouncement of August 20th, 1917, declaring “ the progressive realisation of responsible government in India ” to be “ the policy of His Majesty’s Government,” passed wholly unchallenged in either House of Parliament. In pursuance of that policy and on the invitation of the Viceroy, the Secretary of State proceeded to India to investigate on the spot the conditions of the problem. A winter’s work resulted in the production of this Report, signed by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, which, having been officially given to the world, must be presumed to have received—in principle, at any rate—the sanction of the Government. Could any cause of action have been more carefully calculated to awaken in the Indian people the most confident expectation of the dawn of a new era in the political history of their country ? There must be time, of course—the pronouncement said so explicitly—for mature consideration and criticism. No one can reasonably object to that. But India would have very just ground for resentment if the necessary consideration were unduly postponed, and the subject were dropped out of sight.”

A PROPOSED SELECT COMMITTEE.

But disappointing as Lord Curzon’s statement was in the House of Lords in respect of the attitude of Government, even more unsatisfactory were his observations regarding a proposal made by Lord Selborne for the appointment of a Select Committee of both Houses to enquire into and report upon the whole question of constitutional reforms. The Earl of Selborne suggested that when the Government were prepared with their recommendations to Parliament, for consideration, it would be a convenient way of dealing with the matter, by the aid of a Select Committee of the two Houses. Lord Curzon said that the suggestion of the noble lord was one worthy of consideration. “ It had been before the minds of the Government, and no doubt at a later stage an announcement would be made on the subject.”

Now I desire to enter my most emphatic protest against the proposal to appoint a Select Committee of both Houses to deal with the recommendations of the Government on the eve of the introduction of the Bill. This would mean postponement ; it would involve delay and might even come to shelving the measure ; and in the meantime the popular impatience would grow, and popular discontent would deepen and spread. What would have satisfied popular aspirations now would be out of date a year hence. Time is a great factor in popular concessions. The story of the Sybiline books embalms

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an eternal truth applicable to all departments of life. We pray that the blunders of British administration in Ireland may not be repeated here, and that the words 'too late' may not be written on British policy in India in the most psychological moment of her history. What need is there for an enquiry by a Select Committee of both Houses in view of the full, the ample, the comprehensive Report submitted by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India? "The great point," says Mr. William Archer, whom I have already quoted, "is that the Bill to be founded on the Report should be brought in as soon as possible." The feeling in India should be taken note of; and delay caused by the appointment of a superfluous Select Committee to thresh out details which have already been most carefully considered by the highest authorities would aggravate the situation which is already one of great tension and would be little short of a political blunder of the gravest magnitude. I can only hope that the British Government will not commit this mistake; and may I appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India to intervene betimes and prevent this unnecessary postponement in the enactment of a measure which the people of India are looking forward to with a degree of hope and expectancy such as they had never before felt in relation to any great public question?

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY.

I have observed that we are not out of the wood. There is no royal road to political advancement. The journey of the children of Israel to the Promised Land lay through the trackless desert; and the Prophet of their race had only a glimpse of the glories of Canaan from the heights of Pisgah. The Biblical story is typical of the sacrifices to be incurred and of the dangers and difficulties to be faced in the grand march to the land of freedom. We are indeed more fortunately situated; for we reap the fruits of the glorious heritage of experience which the freest nation in the world have laid in store for the benefit of mankind. Nonetheless we have our troubles, our difficulties and our dangers. There is the Left Wing amongst our own countrymen, professing advanced views, who would improve the scheme away; there are Lord Sydenham and his followers who would not move at all; and lastly, there is the local Anglo-Indian community with their Chambers of Commerce and their political organizations half-inclined to follow the lead of Lord Sydenham. I could only wish that the Anglo-Indian community had thrown in their lot with us and stood by us in this struggle for political advancement. The whole Indian movement for constitutional freedom bears upon its face the imprint of its English origin. It is the direct product of our contact with the West, of our familiarity with English culture and the stirring lessons of English history. The founder of the Indian National Congress was an Englishman; its most prominent workers in the early days of its growth and development were Englishmen, now alas dead, but whose memories are enshrined in our grateful hearts. One of the earliest Presidents of the Congress was an English Merchant of Calcutta, an ex-President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. From the modern representa-

tives of English commerce and culture we had a right to expect a full measure of co-operation in the great task upon which the Government of India is now embarked and which in its culmination will mark the indissoluble union between England and India, by making India an equal partner in the great confederacy of the free States of the Empire. But we have been disappointed. We fear the extremists here as elsewhere have had their way. Extreme opinions have a fascination all their own for those who have no definite or settled convictions, or only a superficial acquaintance with the orderly march of human events. Their minds are a blank and the extremists capture them with fatal facility. Englishmen having a stake in this country and residing therein have like other sections of the community a right to be adequately represented in the Legislative Councils under a responsible government, but to say that the measure of responsible government such as is proposed under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme would be disastrous to the interests of the country, and would leave the masses unprotected, or that it would disturb economic conditions and dislocate trade and commerce is to indulge in the language of wild and baseless panic. It is safe to assume that the Government of India, which is primarily responsible for the well-being of all sections of the community and for the due preservation and expansion of trade and commerce and which might be expected to be thoroughly familiar with the condition of the country, would never think of starting proposals which would have such disastrous results. Governments are all, by temperament and tradition, cautious. Indeed they are over-cautious and very slow to move. That the Government is at all moving demonstrates that the balance of advantage is all in favour of the movement.

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But let me pass on from authority and discuss the matter on its own merits. The changes proposed under the Scheme are not of a catastrophic or revolutionary character. The advance is slow, so slow that many of us think that it would have been better if the pace were quicker. The Anglo-Indian community manifest deep concern in the well-being of the masses and the interests of trade and commerce. Let me consider each of these questions separately. As regards its masses, let me ask, who could be better guardians and protectors of them than their educated countrymen? They are the bone of our bone and the flesh of our flesh. We claim to be their natural leaders, their heaven-appointed guardians. If we had the power as we have the will, we should be their trustees; and in the political activities of the last thirty years we have shown how eminently qualified we are for this exalted function. Every question affecting the masses has, since the political awakening of modern India, received the closest and most sympathetic consideration of their political leaders. Who are they who in season and out of season have urged the Government to introduce primary education, who are they who have pressed for the abolition of the salt-tax, the reform of the Police, the separation of judicial and executive functions, the raising of the taxable minimum of the income-tax—all questions intimately connected with the well-being of the masses? The last striking illustration of our concern

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for the masses was afforded by the unanimity with which the non-official Indian members of the Indian Legislative Council urged, when voting for £45 millions of war-grant, that no taxes should be levied which would press upon the poor classes—a view which the Government accepted with cordiality. Then as regards the protection of the masses, it has to be borne in mind that in the first five years, among the reserved subjects to be under the control of the Government, will be Law, Police and Justice. Thus when the experiment of responsible government begins, the Police protection of the masses will be, as now, in the hands of the Government. It is only when the experiment succeeds and the Indian ministers rise to the height of their responsibility that the Government of India will make over to them the branches of the administration affecting Law, Police and Justice. As for the larger questions of trade and commerce, they will be under the control of the Government of India which it is not proposed to modify in any way at present, though we wish this could be done. Altogether therefore the apprehensions of the local European community are unfounded. I invite them to reconsider the matter aided by the common sense and business-aptitudes of their race and I am sure that they will revise their attitude and join us in the holy work, so worthy of the best traditions of Englishmen, of inaugurating the beginnings of responsible government in this ancient land, where many of them have passed the best years of their life-time, and which some of them have made the land of their adoption.

THE REFORM SCHEME : PROPOSALS FOR THE PROVINCES.

So far I have said nothing about the Reform Scheme. The matter has been discussed threadbare in the Press, on our public platforms and in our Conferences. I take it, that with the general features of the Scheme, every one is more or less conversant; I further take it that there is amongst us absolute unanimity in favour of the views that the Reform proposals represent a distinct advance upon the existing state of things and that there is an overwhelming consensus of opinion that they constitute a definite stage towards the progressive realization of responsible government. It is upon the reform of the provincial administrations that the authors of the Scheme concentrate their attention; and its merits are to be judged by their proposals in this connection. Let me briefly indicate their proposals. They recommend that every province, major or minor, big or small, excepting, of course, the North-Western Frontier Province and Burma, should have a Governor and Council, which means that the Indian element is to be associated in the work of the highest Council of every Indian province. Secondly, they recommend a complete division of Provincial and Imperial finance, a reform which we have been urging for the last thirty years, but so far in vain. Then they propose that there should be a substantial majority of elected members in every Provincial Council to be returned by electorates constituted upon as broad a franchise as possible. The Executive Government is to consist of a Governor and two Councillors, of whom one is to be always an Indian, and Indian ministers to be appointed by the Governor whose number

in the major provinces cannot be less than two in view of the subjects that are proposed to be transferred, and in the minor provinces, there will be at least one such minister. The effect of this arrangement will be that in the major provinces, the personnel of the Executive Government will have an Indian majority, and in the minor provinces, there will be an adequate representation of the Indian element. Thus, both in the Legislature and on the Executive Government of the major provinces, there will be an Indian majority, and in those of the minor provinces there will be an adequate representation of Indian members. The Budget will be prepared by the Executive Government as a whole, and will be submitted to the Legislative Council for adoption, and the Resolutions of the Council on the Budget will be binding on the Government, save and except any item in the reserved subject in regard to which the Governor may certify that it is necessary for the public safety and tranquillity or for the discharge of his responsibilities in connection with the reserved branches of the administration. It is a special power, and as such, I take it, will be used only on emergent occasions. Lastly, I come to the division into reserved and transferred subjects which constitutes perhaps the most vital feature of the Reform proposals. Certain subjects which are called transferred will be made over to Indian ministers to be appointed by the Governor. What these transferred subjects are to be will be determined by the Committee that has been appointed. We are not however left altogether in the dark about this matter. The transferred subjects are to include Sanitation, Education, Local Self-Government, Co-operative Credit Societies, Agriculture and so forth. Now I desire to invite your attention to the nature and character of some of the subjects that are to be transferred to Indian ministers. Among the transferred branches are those which, in my opinion, and I think in the judgment of all impartial men, are nation-building subjects. Let us take one of them for instance,—Education. The control of primary and technical education is to be made over to Indian ministers. What does that imply? It means this—that the Indian ministers or the representatives of the educated classes will be brought into actual living contact with the illiterate masses of their countrymen, shaping, guiding and moulding their minds and aspirations, leading them onward and upward to the upbuilding of a true national life. It is quite clear that the illustrious framers of the Report who made the recommendation were anxious that an Indian nation should spring up, which is to be the basis of responsible government. Then there are to be Standing Committees attached to departments or groups of departments; these Committees to consist of members to be elected by the Legislative Council. Their capacity would be advisory, but they would be trained in executive and legislative work. Lastly, members may be appointed to positions analogous to those of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries. All this is an indication of the genuine desire on the part of the framers of the Report to prepare a training ground for the future ministers of a responsible government.

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You have, in these recommendations, the beginnings of responsible

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government and a definite stage towards its realization. You have responsible government at the first start though in a somewhat indirect way. You have a larger measure of it in the intermediate stage, and practically complete autonomy after ten years. Let me illustrate this.

The Indian ministers are to hold their offices during the lifetime of the Legislative Assembly, that is to say for a period of 3 years. They will be eligible for reappointment in the event of their being re-elected by their constituencies. Therefore, their continuance in office as Ministers after their first term of office will depend upon the suffrages of their electorates. From the very first it will be their duty, as it will be their interest, to try to please their electors and to obtain from them a re-election for the second term. It seems to me, therefore, that the accountability of these Ministers to their electorates begins from the very first stage, but more than that. Their responsibility to the Legislature is enforced in a more direct way. The supplies, relating to the transferred branches, will be voted by the Legislative Council. In the case of an unpopular Minister, the Legislative Council may refuse to grant him the supplies. Thus, even in the first stage, I say there is responsibility to the electorate in a modified form and, in a larger measure to the Legislative Council. And, after 5 years, the salaries of the Indian ministers will be placed on the estimates and voted upon every year, and after 10 years, there will be complete responsibility. You have responsibility or the beginnings of responsibility at the first stage, a greater measure of responsibility at the intermediate stage, and a complete measure of responsibility at the final stage.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

I am sorry I am not able to speak of the proposals relating to the Government of India in the same strain. The message of the 20th August lays down that responsible government is to be introduced by progressive stages. Surely it may be possible to introduce a stage, it may be only a small stage, in the Government of India. But there are no signs of it. There are no transferred branches, no popular ministers, no definite popular control over any section of the Budget. His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say that the authors of the Report had gone as far as it was possible for them. We are grateful, deeply grateful for the recommendations so far as they go; but I submit that it is perfectly consistent with the letter and the spirit of the message of the 20th August to introduce, in part at least, the system of responsible government in the Central Government also. We earnestly hope that this part of the recommendations will be revised and enlarged before their final adoption by Parliament.

OTHER PROPOSALS.

But the Report contains proposals other than those immediately connected with the question of responsible government, but intimately bearing on the general problem of Indian advancement. In the speech with which His Excellency the Viceroy opened the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1917, His Excellency observed

that the Indian constitutional problem was divisible into three parts, all interlinked and interdependent upon one another. In the first place, there was the question of the Indianization of the Services. In the next place, there was the problem of local self-government, and lastly, there was the question of constitutional reform, involving the reconstitution and the expansion of the administrative and legislative machinery of the Government. With regard to the first of these questions, *viz.*, the Indianization of the Services, a distinct advance is recommended in the Report though we may yet have our criticisms to offer upon the detailed proposals. All racial bars are to be abolished; a system of appointment to all the public services is to be established in India. In the Indian Civil Service, the percentage of appointments to be filled by Indians is to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts every year, increasing annually by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

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In the domain of local self-government, the Report recommends complete popular control over local bodies as far as possible. Apart from the increased authority over local affairs which this recommendation, if given effect to, will confer upon local representatives, its value from the popular and political point of view is not to be over-estimated. The local bodies, thus reconstituted and liberalized, will serve, in the words of Lord Ripon's great Resolution, as instruments of popular and political education. As such they will help to foster and to strengthen the electorates of the future, so indispensable to the success of any system of responsible government.

COMMISSIONED RANKS.

The Report deals mainly with the question of constitutional reform. But the political problem is bound up with cognate considerations which in practical life act and re-act upon one another. We claim as part of our right as citizens of the Empire to bear arms in its defence on a footing of equality with British subjects in other parts of the Empire. We claim the right by the blood of our countrymen shed on the battle-fields of Flanders, of Gallipoli, of Mesopotamia, of Palestine and of Eastern Africa. It has cemented our union with the Empire, but it has also established our claim to equal citizenship and the equal opportunities which the Empire affords to all her children. As we urge this right, our good wishes follow those who are now fighting the battles of the Empire, and our sympathies go out to the near and dear ones of those who have fallen in this great world-conflict. May India commemorate in a suitable manner, by an All-India memorial, the heroism of those who have fallen fighting for the Motherland and for justice and freedom? "The demand has become insistent," as the authors of the Report rightly observe, "since the outbreak of the war," and the Delhi Conference of the Princes and the People of India, which met in April last with His Excellency the Viceroy presiding, recorded a unanimous resolution urging the more liberal grant of King's Commissions to Indians. With regard to this important matter, the Report says:—

"It is not enough merely to assert a principle. We must act on it. The services of the Indian army in the war and the

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great increase in its numbers make it necessary that a considerable number of commissions should now be given. The appointments made have so far been few. Other methods of appointment have not yet been decided on, but we are impressed with the necessity of grappling with the problem. We also wish to establish the principle that if an Indian is enlisted as a private in a British unit and His Majesty's army, its commissioned ranks also should be open to him. The Indian soldier who fights for us and earns promotion in the field can reasonably ask that his conduct should offer him the same chances as the European beside whom he fights. If he is otherwise qualified, race should no more debar him from promotion in the army than it does in the Civil Service ; nor do we believe that it is impossible to carry this principle into effect without sacrificing paramount military considerations. We feel sure that no measure would do so much to stimulate Indian enthusiasm for the war."

We trust that in this crucial matter of the admission of Indians into the commissioned ranks of the army, the principle of equality will be asserted and the prejudices which have so long denied us justice, equal treatment and equal opportunities will wholly disappear. Our rulers are as much on their trial as we are, and by their deeds, and not only by their professions, will they be judged.

THE INDUSTRIES.

The political problem is indissolubly linked with the industrial. Political discontent has sometimes its roots, and always draws its sustenance and inspiration from economic conditions. Hunger and revolution are twins that are born together and walk through life together, while economic prosperity is a stimulus to orderly political advancement. It is such advancement that the authors of the Report propose to foster and encourage, and naturally enough, they call prominent attention to the question of our industrial development. We need not rake up the dismal record of the extinction of our indigenous industries. It can serve no useful purpose, but will only help to recall unpleasant memories that must interfere with the healing operation of the conciliatory measures which the Government is about to inaugurate. Suffice it to say that the "laissez faire" policy of isolation and detachment which the Government have hitherto followed in the matter of our industries is discountenanced in the Report, and the Government is invited "to follow a forward policy in industrial development," not merely, to quote the words of the Report, "to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to stand before the world as a well-poised up-to-date country ; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government service or to a few over-stocked professions ; in order that money lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community ; and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more

practical ends and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay upon them." The Presidential Address.

In the concluding words of the sentence which I have just quoted the indissoluble union between the industrial and the political problem is recognised. The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. A forward step has indeed been taken in this direction by the appointment of the Industries Commission. That Commission has closed its labours and published its Report. Too often have Commissions and Committees reported. Too often valuable time has been wasted in the prolonged consideration of their recommendations which have at last found their resting-place in the dusty recesses of the Secretariat from which they have never emerged into day-light. Indian opinion will not tolerate any trifling with the recommendations of the Industries Commission or any disposition to waste time over them. It will insist upon the simultaneous solution of the industrial and political problems. The Government must place itself at the head of the industrial movement and help forward the development of our industries as other Governments have done, so that India may become self-contained, self-reliant, a store-house of the Empire, its strongest bulwark in the East against the machinations of its foes, open and secret. India is an epitome of the world. Illimitable are her resources. If they could have been utilized, even to a moderate extent, how priceless would have been the measure of our help in this crisis of the Empire. In the highest interests of the Empire, we call upon our rulers to endow India with the fullest opportunities and the amplest facilities for her political and industrial development; so that the Empire, strengthened and fortified by the loyalty and devotion, accentuated by their self-interest, of three hundred millions of our people, may bid defiance to any combination that may be formed against it and may gaze with serenity upon those vicissitudes which have wrecked the fortunes of States and Thrones which rely upon the paramountcy of a ruthless militarism as the bulwark of their power.

PARTY IN POLITICS.

To-day is the first day of the first session of the Moderate Conference. To-day we enter upon the threshold of a new epoch in the history of our national evolution. To-day marks the starting-point of a new party organisation in our midst. It is the natural and inevitable product of our political growth. It means the vitality of life and not the stagnation of death. When the national consciousness has been roused, when political feeling has spread far and wide among a community and when politics has passed from the stage of amateurish work into the serious business of life, the formation of party organisations and their division into groups become inevitable. That is the history of political organisations all over the world. To some of us it may be a wrench to form ourselves into a new party though with the old ideas; but we must move on with the times and the developments of the times, and face a situation, however unpleasant it may be to some of us, with equanimity and courage and even with tolerance and charity for those who may not worship with us in the same temple and who in moments of forgetfulness may be apt to misjudge us and to pelt stones at us.

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CENTRE GROUP OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

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We begin work to-day as the centre wing of the nationalist party. We have arduous duties before us. We need for their due performances the ardour of youth, the maturity of experience and the undying faith which is the mainspring of all public movements. It is this faith which built up the Indian National Congress. It is this faith combined with work which will rear up our new organisation. We want to over-spread the country with a net-work of organisations. Above all, we want men to work them—men fired with apostolic fervour who will go from town to town, from district to district and from province to province and spread the glad tidings of great joy, the blessed lessons of patriotism combined with devotion, moderation and self-restraint, so needful in the new era which is about to dawn upon us. Where are these men? I am sure they will not be wanting in the ranks of the great party, whom I have the honour to represent here to-day. Is the fire which glowed in our bosoms thirty years ago, now extinct, or are there none amongst us to wear the mantles of those who have died in the service of the country and whose memories we adore?

DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.

There is a crowning achievement yet in store for you that invites you and must stir your deepest feelings. You are within measurable distance of victory. Victory may be said to be within your grasp if you are true to yourselves. You have only to follow up the work of the past and to crown it. The question of responsible government is now before the British public. Your enemies are hard at work to undo the gracious pledge of a beneficent Government. Your friends here professing advanced views, who call you timid, vacillating, weak and even not wholly disinterested, are playing into their hands with a blindness that we must all deplore. The situation is grave, critical, pregnant with the fate of future generations. Will you allow judgment to go by default? Will you not send your best men, representing the culture, the wealth, the public spirit of this great country to plead before the bar of British public opinion, to support the scheme with such modifications, as may be necessary, and to avert the grave peril with which the future of self-government is threatened? They will, I am sure, plead with an irresistible eloquence. For Heaven touches with celestial fire the lips of those who plead for justice and freedom. The gift of tongues will be theirs. The fishermen of Gallile had that gift. *Saraswati* will sit on their lips. And they will plead before the most freedom-loving nation in the world, reborn, purged with the baptism of fire, after the war. I assure you of the fullest measure of success. The organisation of a deputation to England to express your views upon the Reform Scheme is the most serious work to which you must at once address yourselves. Choose your delegates, name them, send them forth on their blessed errand with your prayers and good-wishes and the benedictions of Almighty God will attend them.

OUR WORK HERE.

But there is also other work before you. Each era entails upon its children special obligations, and each individual has his share in

the discharge of those obligations. A new era has dawned upon us, the enduring achievement of those illustrious men who have lived and died for their country. Their labours and sacrifices have brought us in sight of the promised land. They have fallen in the grand march. We are the inheritors of the fruits of their splendid devotion. Talk of the time-forces, of the impetus to human freedom which the war has given. No one seeks to belittle them. But do not eliminate the personal elements in the grand evolution of Indian freedom. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Salute the great dead of India. I am a hero-worshipper to the marrow of my bones. The mighty stream may flow on in its majestic course without spreading the beneficent treasures of its fertilising load to far-off lands. Who were they who tilled and toiled and prepared the ground for those life-giving seeds which are now about to be planted and which in the fullness of time will ripen into a rich harvest of freedom? But for the Congress and the work of the great leaders of the Congress in the past, India would not have been prepared for, India would not have asked for, the great boon which our rulers have promised her and of which we hope she will soon be the recipient. Blessed be their memories! The most distant generations of India will cherish them with affectionate reverence. Their task is done. Creators of modern India, they sleep the blessed sleep of the good and the true. Lost comrades now in heaven, may your spirits be ever-present with us, lifting us to a higher manhood, a nobler nationhood, tempering the fervour of our patriotism with moderation and self-restraint, blending harmoniously the ideal and the practical in our public life, softening the acerbities of our debates with the spirit of sweet reasonableness and of tolerance and charity!

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OUR NEW DUTIES.

The work of propagandism is well-nigh finished; that was the achievement of the old era. The work of construction will be the destined portion of the children of the new age. To that task you and I must address ourselves. The political enthusiast who has roused the feelings of his countrymen and has created the most stupendous transformation in modern India, to whom all honour is due, must now give place to the practical statesman. Comparing great things with small, we have had Indian Mazzinis, without Mazzini's revolutionary ideals, appealing to their countrymen with impassioned fervour to rally round the banner of Indian constitutional freedom; but now we want Indian Cavours, who, aided by the genius for construction, will lead us on through wary, steady and progressive stages, without disturbance, without dislocation, with due regard to existing conditions to the final goal of full and complete autonomy. That is the great work before you, the mission of the present age, the legacy which it has received from the past. No reaction, no revolution; but steady, continuous, unbroken progress broadening from precedent to precedent, until, we have become equal partners in the great Confederacy of free states, rejoicing in their indissoluble union with England and the Empire. (*Cheers.*) There are the electorates to be created, filled with citizens, manly, loyal and patriotic, inspired with a true sense of their civic rights and obliga-

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tions, safe-guarded by the strongest of all safe-guards, the bulwark of responsible public life against the gusts of wild ideals, pestilential in their fury and disastrous in their consequences. For this great work we need all the patriotic enthusiasm, all the capacity for self-sacrifice, all the moderation and self-restraint we have shown in the past. A new chapter is opening out in our history. We are undoubtedly the inheritors of an inspiring past: let us prove ourselves the progenitors of even a greater and nobler future. We claim to have helped to create modern India. Now, let us aspire to a higher and nobler distinction. Let us be the makers of India of the future, a free and rejuvenated India, where good-will and amity will prevail among all sections of her vast population, where co-operation with the Government will be substituted so far as may be, for opposition,—an India, rejoicing in the freedom of her institutions, in the growth of her commerce and her industries, in the expansion of her agricultural resources and in the creation of the amplest opportunities for the fullest development of those gifts and faculties with which an All-Bounteous Providence has so plentifully dowered our people. If we can help forward by ever so little this noble consummation, great will be our reward in the blessing of Almighty God, in the approbation of our consciences and in the loving regard of a grateful posterity which will salute the names and adore the memories of those who have prepared for them the noblest of earthly possessions, the heritage of an enlarged freedom.

Standing before the bar of history at the parting of the ways, listening with ears attuned to the voices of the future, to the foot-falls of coming generations, marching to the goal of freedom, may I appeal to you to address yourselves to this task, and I am sure I do not appeal in vain.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I have a word to say not to the Government of India, but to the British Government at home. I have a warning note to sound. It was my high privilege to have appealed to my countrymen to co-operate with the Government in view of the new policy of conciliation and concession inaugurated by the message of the 20th August and ratified by the recommendations of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State. My appeal has evoked a sympathetic response throughout the country which was conspicuously in evidence in the debates of the last autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council. We have endeavoured to do our duty. The Government must fulfil its part. The attitude of the British Government in England in regard to the Reform proposals is, so far as one can judge, unsatisfactory and even ominous. If the enactment of the Reform proposals is unduly postponed, if they are whittled down in any way, if the whole of what is recommended is not given (and I think that in regard to the Government of India, there ought to be a greater advance) there will be grave public discontent, followed by agitation, the magnitude of which it would be difficult to exaggerate. (*Cheers.*) We want peace and rest. We want steady progressive

development accomplished by co-operation between the people and the Government. We firmly believe that the Reform proposals with modifications on the lines of the message will accomplish this great object. But this bright prospect will, if the Reform proposals are dropped, or their beneficent scope curtailed, be overshadowed by the dark cloud of contention, controversy and agitation, the future of which none can divine; there will be agitation on the one hand, intense, bitter, widespread, accentuated by deep national discontent, all parties joining in it; there will be repression on the other, leading to God alone knows where. Is this a prospect which any Government can contemplate with equanimity? Are the days of the anti-partition agitation to be renewed, aggravated a hundred-fold by the intenser public life of the India of to-day? Is India to be converted by the unwisdom of our rulers into a greater Ireland? Let the British Cabinet make its choice. But I have no doubts, no misgivings. The good-sense of the British democracy will prevail; its freedom-loving instincts will assert themselves. It cannot be that the civilized world has spent its blood and treasure, and that India has taken her part in the supreme sacrifice of the nations, in order that this ancient country, the home of a great civilization, may continue to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, barred out of the heritage of universal freedom. The Prime Minister has told us that the principle of self-determination was no longer to be circumscribed by considerations of latitude and longitude, and the Secretary of State has assured us that India must be firmly set on the road to complete self-government. Are these messages of hope and sympathy to be cast to the winds and the seeds of deep and abiding discontent sown in the public mind of India? Lord Carmichael said the other day that if the Scheme was dropped, many Indians would believe that the Government had committed as bad a breach of faith as any Government had ever been guilty of. The same impression will be created if the Scheme is whittled down. (*Hear, Hear.*) "British power and influence," said Lord Ripon on a memorable occasion, "rest upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our arms." Let nothing be done by the rulers of India to shake this faith which, after all, is the strongest bulwark of States and Thrones. (*Loud and long-continued applause.*)

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The President :—The names of Members of the Subjects Committee will be presently given and the Subjects Committee will meet at 5-45 p.m. The Conference will meet at 11-30 a.m. to-morrow.

The Conference then rose for the day.

The Subjects Committee.

EX-OFFICIO.

President.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea,
Chairman of the Reception Committee.
2. The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha, Kt.

The Subjects
Committee

*Vice-Chairmen of the Reception Committee.*The Subjects
Committee.

3. Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B.
4. Sir Mahadev Bhaskar Chaubal, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., B.A., LL.B.
5. Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, Bart.
6. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L.M., F.C.P.S.
7. Sir Hormusji A. Wadya, Kt.
8. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B.
9. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh, B.A., LL.B.
10. The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
11. Mr. W. A. Chambers, F.R.I.B.A.
12. Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.

Secretaries of the Reception Committee.

13. Mr. N. M. Samarth, B.A., LL.B. (*General Secretary*).
14. Mr. K. Natarajan, B.A.
15. Mr. Jehangir B. Petit.
16. Mr. Rahimtulla Currimbhoy.
17. Mr. H. P. Mody, M.A., LL.B.
18. Mr. Husseinbhai A. Lalji.
19. Mr. G. M. Gupte, B.A., LL.B.
20. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B.
21. Mr. N. M. Joshi, B.A.

ELECTED.

Bombay.

22. The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt.
23. The Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.
24. The Hon'ble Captain Dr. C. Fernandez, M.D., I.M.S. } *Representatives,*
25. Dr. A. G. Viegas, L.M.&S., F.C.P.S. } *Indian Chris-*
26. Mr. Peter A. Baptist. } *tian Com-*
27. Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, M.A., LL.B. } *munity.*
28. Mr. Ramchandra Bhaskar Mantri.
29. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, B.A., LL.B.
30. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A.
31. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, M.A., LL.B.
32. Mr. F. S. Taleyarkhan.
33. Mr. V. F. Taraporevala, B.A., LL.B.
34. Dr. Pherojshah N. Daruwala, B.A., LL.D.
35. Mr. Cowasji Jehangir.
36. Mr. J. J. Vimadalal, M.A., LL.B.
37. Mr. D. P. Kamble (Mahar), *Representative, Depressed*
Classes.
38. Mr. R. S. Navalkar, B.A., LL.B.
39. Mr. Moreshwar W. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B.
40. Mr. S. R. Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.
41. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M.A.

42. Mr. V. S. Ravut.
43. Mr. Abhechand Govindji Desai, B.A., LL.B.
44. Mr. Chunilal D. Mehta, B.A., LL.B.

DECCAN & S. M. C.

45. The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., B.Sc.
46. The Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat, B.A.
47. Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, B.A., LL.B.
48. Prof. H. G. Limaye, M.A.
49. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, B.A.
50. Prof. G. C. Bhate, M.A.
51. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B.
52. Mr. V. K. Mainkar, B.A., LL.B.
53. Mr. Hari Narayan Apte.
54. Mr. Vasudev Rajaram Gupte, B.A., LL.B.
55. Mr. Gopal C. Bhate, B.A., LL.B.
56. Mr. A. V. Patvardhan, B.A.
57. Mr. N. G. Virakar, B.A., LL.B.
58. Mr. L. R. Gokhale.
59. Mr. S. G. Vaze, B.A.

CARNATIC.

60. The Hon'ble Mr. Pandurangrao A. Desai, B.A., LL.B.
61. Rao Bahadur Raghavendrarao Kembhavi.
62. Mr. Moro Balvant Marathe, B.A., LL.B.
63. Mr. A. B. Lathe, M.A., LL.B.
64. Mr. V. R. Kothari, B.A.
65. Mr. P. R. Chikodi, B.A., LL.B.
66. Mr. A. P. Chaugula, B.A., LL.B.

} *Represent-*
atives, Back-
ward Classes.

GUJARAT.

67. Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth, B.A., LL.B.
68. Rao Bahadur Thokorram Kapilram, B.A., LL.B.

BENGAL.

69. The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter, M.A., B.L.
70. The Hon'ble Nawabzada Syed Altaf Ali Chowdhury.
71. Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray.
72. Mr. D. C. Ghose.
73. Mr. J. N. Basu.
74. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu.
75. The Rev. B. A. Nag.
76. Rai Bahadur Mahendra Chandra Lahiri.
77. Mr. Bhabatosh Ray, B.L.
78. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghosh, B.L.
79. Mr. Sures Chandra Dutt.
80. Mr. Rajendra Nath Ganguly.
81. Mr. Satish Chandra Ray.
82. Mr. Dines Chandra Das Gupta.
83. Mr. Abinash Chandra Seal.

The Subjects
Committee.

84. Mr. Mahbub-ul-Huq, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.
85. Mr. Surendra Mohan Maitra, B.L.
86. Mr. Sures Chandra Goswami.
87. Mr. Chuni Lal Bhadury.
88. Mr. Nanda Gopal Bhadury.
89. Mr. Anukal Chandra Moitra, M.A., B.L.
90. Mr. Basant Kumar Chowdhury.
91. Mr. Surendra Nath Bhaya, B.L.
92. Mr. Mahendra Nath Ghose.
93. Mr. Jogendra Mohan Sinha, B.L.

MADRAS.

94. Mr. M. G. Mukunda Raja Iyengar, B.A., B.L.
95. Mr. P. A. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.
96. Mr. A. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
97. Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
98. Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, B.A., B.L.
99. Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, B.A.
100. Mr. R. Surya Narayan Rao, B.A.
101. Mr. N. V. Sarma, B.A.

UNITED PROVINCES.

102. The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
103. Rai Krishnaji.
104. Babu Gauri Sankar Prasad, B.A., LL.B.
105. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul.
106. Mehta Krishna Ram, B.A., LL.B.
107. Rao Vaijnath Das Shahpuri.
108. Dr. Sobha Ram, B.A., M.B., D.Ph.
109. Pandit Chandrika Prasad Tewary.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

110. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C.I.E., B.A., LL.B.
111. Mr. M. V. Joshi, B.A., LL.B.
112. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. A. Deshpande.
113. Mr. N. R. Mudholkar.
114. Mr. Natesh Appaji Dravid, M.A.
115. Mr. D. T. Mangalmurti, B.A., LL.M.
116. Mr. Raghunath Krishna Thombre, B.A.

BURMA.

117. Mr. S. S. Halkar, B.A., LL.B.
118. Mr. Ranchoddas Harjivandas.



The Second Day's Proceedings.

Saturday, 2nd November, 1918.

The Conference resumed its sittings at the Empire Theatre at 12 noon, on Saturday, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea presiding.

There was a large number of delegates and visitors present.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Wacha :—Ladies and gentlemen, we have received 30 more telegrams since we met yesterday and one of them is from Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, President of the Congress held at Lucknow in 1916. We have received in all more than 160 telegrams and letters. A list of those received since the announcement made yesterday afternoon will be supplied to the Press. ^{More Telegrams and Letters of Support.}

The following is the list of the telegrams and letters referred to above :—

The Hon'ble Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar (Faridpur); Babu Harihar Chakravarty (Mymensing); Mr. Dattatraya Bhaskar Nadkarni (Karwar); The Hon'ble Rai Sankar Sahai Saheb (Jhansi); Babu Sri Ram (Mirzapur); the Hon'ble Mr. Sorabji Mehta (Nagpur); Messrs. Dravid and Deshpande (Yeotmal); Mr. R. B. Joshi (Poona); Dewan Bahadur Vurgese (Calicut); Babu Suresh Chandra Basu (Deogarh); Babu Manmath Nath Sen (Calcutta); Babu Priya Nath Sen (Dacca); Rai Chunder Nath Mitter (Calcutta); Mr. M. N. Basu (Calcutta); Rai Bipin Behari Bose (Calcutta); Lala Ram Raghubir Lal (Fyzabad); Lala Ganpati Rai, Barrister-at-Law (Lahore); Seth Mathura Prasad (Chindwara); Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru (Fyzabad); Mr. K. C. Nag, Barrister-at-Law, (Mymensing); Munshi Narsingh Prasad (Gorakhpur); Babu Ram Prasad (Purnea); Mr. Nedungadi, Chairman, Municipality (Calicut); Rai Durga Prasad (Balaghat); Seth Balbhadra Prasad (Balaghat); The Hon'ble Mr. R. V. Mahajani (on behalf of himself and his father Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreswar Mahajani of Akola, Berar); Secretary, District People's Association (Vizagapatam); The Rev. K. T. Paul (Calcutta); Rao Gopaldas Shahapuri (Benares); Mr. Gobind Bhowal (Dacca); The Hon'ble Mr. Ariff (Calcutta); Mr. Atul Chandra Dutt (Chittagong); Babu Dwarka Nath Chakravarty (Calcutta); Rao Bahadur Gopaldas Viharidas Desai (Nadiad); Babu Mani Lal Sen (Calcutta); Rai Bahadur Radhaballab Chowdhury (Sherpur); Babu Sanat Kumar Das (Chittagong); Mr. M. Sambandam Mudliar, Chairman, Municipality (Coimbatore); Babu Tarit Bhushan Roy (Madhupur); Babu Trilokinath Kapur (Akbarpur); The Hon'ble Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Saravadhikary, late Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University; and others.

Resolution I.

LOYAL HOMAGE.

Resolution
I.

The President :—Ladies and gentlemen, we begin the work.

Loyal
Homage.

The first resolution has to be put from the chair and I will read that resolution :—

The Presi-
dent.

This Conference offers its loyal homage to the throne and person of His Majesty the King Emperor, and expresses its gratification at the announcement by His Majesty of the intended visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, where, the Conference is confident, a warm and enthusiastic welcome assuredly awaits him.

I do not know that any words of mine are needed to recommend this resolution to your unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance. (*Applause.*) We begin the session as loyal subjects of His Majesty by offering the homage of our hearts to His Gracious Majesty and furthermore, we rejoice at the announcement made by His Majesty that the heir-apparent to the British Throne, the future King of the British Empire, will also be visiting India very shortly. I have no doubt that we shall accord him a warm, enthusiastic and loyal welcome when he visits our shores. With these words, I beg to put this resolution and I hope you will carry it standing.

The resolution was then declared carried, the audience standing.

Resolution II.

INDIA AND THE WAR.

Resolution
II.

The President :—The next resolution is also to be put from the chair. It reads as follows :—

India and
the War.

The Presi-
dent.

The Conference rejoices at the decisively hopeful turn which the Great War has taken in favour of Great Britain and her gallant Allies and fervently hopes that the war will soon end in the complete triumph of the ideals for which the Allied Powers were compelled to unsheathe their sword, and expresses its determination to ensure that until the final victory is won, India will continue to render to Government unstintedly and whole-heartedly whatever assistance and service she can in the successful prosecution of the war.

The resolution divides itself into three parts. First, we rejoice at the happy turn of events at the seat of war ; secondly, we express the fervent hope that victory, complete victory, will attend the arms of the Allies followed by the triumph, which is the more important part, of those ideals for which the Empire stands ; and lastly, we pledge ourselves to dedicate whatever resources we possess to the service of the Empire in this great crisis. (*Applause.*) That has been the feeling of India and we desire to give expression to that feeling. I put this from the chair and I take it that it is the unanimous desire of this Conference that it should be carried. (*Applause.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

The President :—I will now call upon Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar to move the next resolution.

Resolution III.

THE REFORM PROPOSALS.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (Amraoti):—Mr. President, **Resolution III.**
 Ladies and Gentlemen, in response to the command from the chair, **The Reform Proposals.**
 I wish to lay before you the first business proposition of this Conference. **Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.**
 It is a proposition which might be well called *the* proposition of this Conference. Gentlemen, it is a matter of common knowledge that it was under a sense of imperative duty that this special Conference had to be called together to give expression to the conviction which we entertain that, taken as a whole, the reform proposals formulated by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and the Rt. Honourable Mr. Montagu constitute in themselves a distinct advance over the present state of things and that they are the first and most important definite stage of progress towards that ideal,—towards that goal—the establishment of full responsible government in India. It is because we are convinced that this is, despite some drawbacks, despite some deficiencies, the general character of the proposals that we felt it incumbent upon us to separate and have a special Conference of our own. It is a matter of deep regret and to none more than to those who, for 40 or 50 years, have been working for the elevation of India to have to separate themselves from that great body, that great organisation, which they called into existence for rendering service to their country and to which they devoted their best energies, capacities and time.

Now, gentlemen, as our President pointed out yesterday, it was with a wrench of the heart that he and others who, like him, have, in season and out of season, in times of the greatest difficulties and trials, worked zealously and hopefully for the Congress, felt it necessary for them to stay away from the special session of the Congress. Gentlemen, I am not going into the details of that controversy. The fact is there that many of our countrymen whose enthusiasm and energy we acknowledge and who, we hope, will, before long, again come and join forces with us, that at this time, they have been carried away by passion and prejudice into an attitude of condemnation of a measure of reform which deserves anything but condemnation. Gentlemen, let us remember what it is that the Congress has been asking and working for all these years, what it is that the delegates representing the Congress went to England to ask from the great British democracy. What we said to them there was “we are British subjects, we are proud of being British subjects, but we want to be made full British citizens, we want to be clothed with all the rights and duties of British citizenship.” This was what we asked for years, what men like my friend Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea and Mr. Gokhale and others went to England to plead for. Now, by the announcement, that momentous announcement, of the 20th August 1917, the justice of our demands is acknowledged and the goal of British statesmanship is defined to be the establishment of responsible Government in India. Now that is what we have been praying for and that has been recognised

Resolution III. and is put forward as the definitive ideal of the British Government.
The Reform Proposals. It is a matter of deep sorrow to us that our countrymen should consider that as unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

Gentlemen, as we all know, immediately after the announcement was made, arrangements were effected for the visit of the Secretary of State for India to consult the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and to put himself in communication with people of all shades of opinion, of different classes and communities, as to the steps which have to be taken for giving effect to that announcement and for making a march towards that ideal. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and the Rt. Honourable Mr. Montagu went over the whole of India and after having consulted hundreds of our people they sat in Delhi for months to formulate the scheme. That scheme has been formulated and placed before the country. That scheme is, as I said, a distinct advance over the present state of things. That scheme divides itself into five parts ; the first part is that which deals with local self-government and in that sphere the scheme acknowledges that the control of local self-government should be with elected non-officials. This is a complete acknowledgment of our demands in that domain of the Government of India. The next thing, which that scheme deals with, is the form of Government in the Province ; and in regard to that, let us see what it is proposed to do. It promises practical Provincial autonomy in purely provincial matters, a thing which has been pressed by the Congress for years upon the Government ; the establishment in all the minor provinces of a Council with a Governor at the head—that is what the Congress-League Scheme demanded ; the reservation of half the number of executive councillorships to Indians ; the elected majorities in the Legislative Council, the number of which is to be substantially increased ; general direct representation on the territorial basis on a broad franchise ; complete separation of Imperial and Provincial revenues and the freedom of the latter from the control as a rule of the central Government and of the Secretary of State ; the power of determining and sanctioning the budget, that is the power of the purse, handing it over to the control of the Legislative Council which will have a preponderating elected element ; the control of departments closely connected with the material well-being of the people and their educational and economic advance ; the creation of a minister or ministers chosen from out of the elected members, though selected by the Governor, who will be able to secure the support of the majority of the Council ; legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council ; the right of the popular minister to participate as a rule in the deliberations connected with the control of departments which remain untransferred ; elected advisory standing committees of legislative councils on departmental matters to familiarise the elected members of the Council with the process of administration and to make the relations between the Executive and the Legislature more intimate ; the provision for the appointment of persons in the position of parliamentary Under-Secretaries ; the right to those other than the interpellators to put supplementary questions.

This is what the scheme which is formulated proposes to give. In fact, so far as these things are concerned, it grants exactly what the Congress has been demanding for years past; and yet, it is called “unsatisfactory” and “disappointing”—words which we are glad to say, in one way, have taken the place of “total rejection”, “unacceptability” and so on. Supposing the scheme had stopped here, could any person bringing to bear upon this matter a sober judgment and full realisation of the difficulties and limitations under which we have to work,—could any such person have been able to say that in itself this is not a distinct advance over the present state of things. (*Hear, hear.*) As it is, the scheme in regard to the provinces does not stop here; it possesses one important feature which we must all remember. Other reforms, other proposals, the Reform Bill, the Government of India Bill of 1892, and the Morley-Minto reforms of 1908 began and ended with this. But the present scheme possesses in it not a mere vitality but an arrangement by which progress and advance are secured at fairly near stages. After the first five years of the trial of the new system, the Government of India will have to consider the application of the Legislative Councils for an enlargement of their functions. Now, gentlemen, it is a very important thing to bear in mind that if we but put our shoulders to the wheel, if we work in that spirit of co-operation, of fellow-feeling, and of comradeship and carry on our labours in the Legislative assemblies with that sense of responsibility which ought to guide all possessors of power, will any Governor-General, will any Government of India, be able to withstand the demand for more power made by persons who have proved their capacity to perform the work entrusted to them? Then there is another thing which we have got to see. After a period of 10 years, the whole system has to be re-examined; in other words, what further advance is to be made in regard to the Provincial Government and in regard to the Government of India and so on—all that has to come up for consideration before a Commission. Now what is it that the Congress has been asking for years and years? The Congress said that in former times, there used to be an enquiry into the affairs of India by a Commission at the time of the renewal of the charter of the East India Company and that there has been no such enquiry afterwards. Now this scheme proposes that there should be an enquiry into the affairs of India every 12 years. That again is a great provision for securing further advance. The essence of the scheme is this; it recognises that responsible government has to be established in India, but as full responsible government cannot without serious risk be established to-day, we have to make advances towards it by progressive stages and the scheme proposes that a number of departments, fairly large, fairly important, should be handed over to the administration of ministers who would be selected from amongst the elected members of the Council and in regard to which the responsibility will lie with the minister. This is a most important feature, the essential feature, of the scheme and it has a most important bearing upon our further progress, upon our proving our capacity for all the great rights which we demand. So far as the Provincial Government is concerned, we have every reason to be satisfied with what has been done. It is true

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Proposals.

Rao Baha-
dur R. N.
Mudhol-
kar.

Resolution that there are certain emergency provisions and other things in regard to
111. which modifications and improvements which are in consonance with the
The Reform spirit of the announcement of 20th August will be suggested later on ;
Proposals. but what we want to do is this ; we want to keep the announcement
Rao Baha- before us and we are suggesting improvements and modifications which
dur R. N. are in keeping with the spirit of the principles underlying the whole
Mudhol- scheme.
kar.

When we come to the Government of India, the proposals are not nearly so liberal ; but in justice to the distinguished authors of the scheme, let us admit that there is even here some advance though not of an appreciable character and what advance is proposed is hedged round with certain limitations which may affect the operation of those liberal principles which are acknowledged. (*Hear, hear.*) That is a matter in regard to which we should not, in any way, entertain great fears for this reason : that assuming for the sake of argument that all these things are kept, it is after all a transitional arrangement, an arrangement of an experimental character, and if we prove that we are capable of discharging our functions satisfactorily in the Provincial Councils, we will have, after the expiry of 10 years, every right to demand that the same principles to the same extent should be applied to the Imperial Government also. Now in regard to the Government of India there will be certain improvements suggested, but, as I have said, gentlemen, let us assume that no change whatsoever is made in the scheme, even then I, for one, honestly believe and I am satisfied by a close study of the scheme that it would be a most distinct advance over the present state of things and a definite stage towards the approach of that goal which we have in view.

With these words, I commend the resolution to your acceptance.
(Loud applause.)

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
varkar.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar(Bombay) :—Ladies and Gentlemen—As my friend, the mover of this resolution, in the hurry of his looks homewards to catch the train, forgot to read his resolution, I will read it out to you before seconding it and making my observations thereon. The resolution reads as follows :—

This Conference cordially welcomes the Reform Proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India as constituting a distinct advance on present conditions both as regards the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and also a real and substantial step towards the progressive realisation of "responsible government" in the Provincial Governments in due fulfilment of the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917. As such this Conference accords its hearty support to those proposals and, while suggesting necessary modifications and improvements therein, expresses its grateful appreciation of the earnest effort of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to start the country on a career of genuine and lasting progress towards the promised goal.

I am giving expression not only to my inmost sentiments, but also to the cherished convictions of all those who belong to the Moderate Party when I say that this resolution, the terms of which I have read out

to you just now, has been put in the forefront of our to-day's programme, because it stands and sounds as the dominant key-note of the policy which has actuated us as members of the Moderate Party. (*Applause.*) The resolution speaks of the reform scheme of Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy, firstly, as a distinct advance on the present state of the administration in India; secondly, it speaks of that scheme and its proposals as a real and substantial advance in the direction of a step towards responsible government; and lastly and most fittingly, it expresses its sense of high appreciation of the services which the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have rendered not only to India but to the British Empire by securing to us a prospect which I hope will be fructified, the prospect of this first step in our aspirations after responsible government within the British Empire.

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III.

The Reform
Proposals.

Sir N. G.
Chandavarkar.

First, I take up this question of the scheme being a distinct advance on the present state of the administration in India. It is a distinct advance because it makes changes of a material character which really upset the present bureaucratic state of the administration and give us power which in the beginning must be regarded as a precursor of greater things to come; and without going into details of the proposals,—for I take it that you are all acquainted with them,—let me remind you of this: is it not a great and distinct advance on the present state of things when in our provincial governments, we have legislative assemblies, the majority of whose members will be elected, when, for all practical purposes, the power of the purse will be substantially given to these legislative assemblies and when half the number of the members of the Executive Councils will be Indians and when by means of these assemblies and these ministers, we in this country will be able to regulate and control for good the provincial administration? Remember, gentlemen, not so many as 50 years ago, when Lord Mayo came out as Viceroy to India, he started what is well-known as the Decentralisation Scheme. The finances of the country were in an embarrassed condition and in order to improve the financial condition of India, he sent out proposals of a Decentralisation Scheme and he then formulated his resolution which has become classic in the political literature of this country. When that resolution was sent to the provincial Governments, in the year 1871, one of the Executive Council Members of the Madras Government, Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot as he then was, afterwards Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, brought out a Bill in the Legislative Council of the Government of Madras, a substantial provision of which was this—that the budget of the Provincial Government should be scrutinised by the Members of the Legislative Council, like the Appropriation Bills in the House of Commons, and that the Members of the Legislative Council should have the power of the purse. In these days, when we speak of the bureaucrats of this country and criticise sometimes very severely the members of the Civil Service, I recall to my mind this fact which is a gratifying one that Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot, a bureaucrat as he was, proposed that measure and spoke of it in the highest of terms of gratification and said that thereby the Madras Government were laying the foundation of self-government for the British Empire. (*Applause.*)

Resolution III.

The Reform Proposals.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

But unfortunately, Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot had counted without his host. A barrister, a British barrister, with a very large and lucrative practice in Madras, a Member of the Legislative Council, Mr. J. D. Mayne, the author of the "Commentary on the Indian Penal Code," got up and said :—" This is revolutionising British administration in India ; if such a measure as this were passed, the British will have to get out of the country." Lord Mayo and the other members of the Government of India, frightened at that, asked the Government of Madras to withdraw that measure from the Legislative Council. In 1886, when the Indian National Congress proposed no more than this most modest measure, namely, that the budget of the Government of India and the budget of each Provincial Government ought to be presented to the Legislative Councils only for discussion, not for anything else, Lord Dufferin said, in one of his speeches, that the Indian National Congress had proposed a highly revolutionary measure and that the proposal came from a microscopic minority of educated Indians. Gentlemen, that was said by the Viceroy of India in 1886 ; but only 10 years ago, Lord Morley introduced that proposal into the Statute book and the financial statement of the Government of India and the budget of each Provincial Government have been presented for discussion to our Legislative Councils and that experiment has been spoken of by all as an experiment which has highly succeeded ; and on that state of things, what is the power which is given to us so far as the Provincial Governments are concerned, by this Montagu-Chelmsford scheme ? It gives to Provincial Legislative assemblies, in effect and in substance, the power of the purse, and that alone constitutes the scheme a distinct advance on the present state of the administration in India.

Secondly, when we speak of the dominant key-note of the Moderate Party and of the scheme as a substantial step, I ask you to judge that principle of ours by two or three cardinal principles of ancient and modern polity of the constitution ; for remember, when people in these days are using those catch-words of "self-determination," "self-government" and "democracy," and when President Wilson is often referred to as the author of those words which have become the current coin of the day, we are apt to forget the very cardinal principle of every democratic constitution from which are derived these words "democracy", "self-government" and "self-determination"; the cardinal principle of which the father is that founder of the liberty of the ancient Greeks of Athens from whom all democracy, self-government and all real notions of liberty have been derived by all the nations of the earth of modern times ; for it was said by Solon and it is a fact which every school-boy knows but which every school-boy is made to forget in these days, it was Solon who, when he gave a democratic constitution to Athens, said that he gave a constitution, not the best fitted for the Athenians but one which, under the circumstances, was tolerable to the prejudices and diverse classes of the Athenian population. (*Applause.*) That principle runs through the English constitution, that principle of Solon the Wise runs through the American constitution and that principle should run through all healthy constitutions which are to

be enduring, lasting, beneficent and of real good to the people of the country. (*Applause.*) Applying that principle of Solon the Wise to the actual conditions of this country, the one essential merit of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is this : 40 or 50 years ago, Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, spoke of the present Government of India and the administration in this country as a Government of incessant change, where, he said, the rulers of the country go to the country and govern for a period of years and their existence in that country is limited by climatic conditions so that they come and go and have no solid permanent stake in the country. They rule us as statesman and when they have put in their term of office and acquired their right to pension, they do not stay in the country and give it the benefit of their experience and of their statesmanship but they drain the moral and mental wealth of the country to England. I have been myself a bureaucrat, but I am an asset to you all, because I live in the country. (*Applause.*) Lord Salisbury said that that makes the Government a despotism. Now the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme upsets that character of the bureaucratic administration of the country and enables us, the people of India, to have a solid, real and substantial stake in the administration by associating us with the administration of the country. Remember that when it does so, it enables us to acquire the art of statesmanship. The other day one of your colleagues on the Imperial Legislative Council, Mr. Ironside, after having sat with you and mixed with you, said in a speech at one of the public meetings at Calcutta " Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and my other Indian friends are jolly good fellows, very good to work with, very eloquent, very resourceful," but, he said, " they are wanting in statesmanship." I am not going into the vexed question as to whether we Indians have acquired that art of statesmanship or not, but a criticism of that kind comes with ill grace when we have been shut out of all practical work of statesmanship (*applause*), when we have been kept hitherto merely as critics and have not been given an opportunity of showing that we have the stuff of statesmanship in us and that if we are only allowed a trial, we could show that we are worthy. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, I have briefly indicated to you the material lines on which we can support these two propositions that it is a distinct advance and a substantial step in the scheme which we are now discussing. There are other remarks which I ought to make and I shall make them very briefly. One remark which I ought to bring especially to your notice is this : no scheme which makes a change in the constitution of the country can be regarded as perfect ; we are all human beings and the highest statesmen are human beings and therefore if we wish really to judge fairly and justly of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, I say what we ought to do is, having regard to this fact which I have placed before you, to love the scheme first and criticise it afterwards. (*Applause.*) Be lovers first and critics afterwards. But there are some amongst my countrymen, very nice gentlemen, whom I would almost worship though they speak harshly against us, on whom I would heap like St. Paul coals of fire, who want to hate first and criticise afterwards. Let us

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III.

The Reform
Proposals

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Resolution III. love first and criticise afterwards. Yet, gentlemen, so far as the scheme is concerned, remember one thing. By associating us with the administration, the scheme gets rid of an anomaly which has been the bane of this administration and which has proved the bane of all administrations that have not lasted. It is said that we, educated Indians, form a microscopic minority, that we do not represent the masses, that if we get power in our hands, we will use it to our advantage with the result that the masses will be nowhere. I do not wish to go into that vexed question which has been debated over and over again and anything that I may say will never satisfy our opponents whether in England or in India. But I wish to point out one thing and it is this: any administration if it is to be effective, if it is to be efficient, must be an administration based upon the principle that there must be a practical community of interest in the work of administration between the rulers and the ruled. What has happened up till now? The rulers,—I will not describe them as foreign, because I regard the Britons as one of our own, but who, somehow or other, by social traditions and by climatic conditions, cannot live in this country,—when they pass laws they no doubt consult us, but after all, if you want to do anything for a man, even if you want to punish him, you must ask him where the shoe pinches. Therefore, the work of administration must be in our hands, because we know where the shoe pinches; but it is said that the educated classes cannot know where the shoe of the administration pinches the masses. That is an argument which is used now by Lord Sydenham to frighten away the British Parliament from the scheme. I regard it as a hob-goblin argument; it is now used to frighten away the British Parliament. I am aware when the American constitution was laid down, there were reactionaries in America who said: “you are laying down a constitution the result of which will be that in your Senate, in your Congress, in all your Legislative assemblies, the majority will consist of the aristocracy and the educated people and the masses will be nowhere.” But, said the Federalists, “that may be. But we are after all of one blood; we are all one people, and we can know more than any one else what community of interests between us is.” Therefore the educated classes do not stand divorced from the masses. From this point of view—I think you will agree with me—that the last point made in this resolution is one which ought to be endorsed by you with one unanimous sentiment, namely, that we all owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy for having put forward boldly this reform scheme. It is susceptible of changes and modifications; but after all is said and done, this gives us the root of responsible government. It is a great thing to get the root and when we get the root, we can have the tree. It lays the foundation of responsible government, it makes us start, and it will depend upon us what to make of it and as we go on and prove our worth to have more and more of the rights of responsible government, I am quite sure that God in His Providence will bring us to the promised land. (*Applause.*)

Before I conclude, I wish to make two remarks with regard to two of the opponents of the scheme. I mean one gentleman, who is an

Indian, who is now writing and speaking against the scheme and the others are those who are always saying that India is not fit for self-government. When I speak of the Indian gentleman, I refer to Dr. Nair. I myself personally, and now standing before you, I, a gentleman and you, all gentlemen, I, a moderate and you, moderates, I am bound and you are bound morally before God and ourselves to speak of every one of our opponents as gentlemen. What does it matter if they differ from us and traduce us and abuse us? We are gentlemen and let us treat them as gentlemen. When I speak of Dr. Nair as a gentleman it is not as a matter of policy, but I wish to speak of him with the highest respect as a gentleman who, although I do not agree with him, must be criticised in every way worthy of ourselves as gentlemen and of him as a gentleman. I will not characterise him as he has been characterised as a charlatan, because if I describe him as a charlatan we deserve to be described as charlatans ourselves.

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Now, there is one fact that I should like to put before Dr. Nair who is making much of our social and religious differences,—of our caste differences. I will not go into that vexed question; but I will put one question before him and one point before you and it is this: it has puzzled me and it has agreeably surprised me, that in this controversy over the scheme, I have examined and I have tried to find out every religious and social reformer of the day who has made any reputation, who is worth being spoken of as a religious or social reformer, who has suffered caste iniquities, who has been persecuted and who has every reason therefore to be vexed with the Indian community and the Indian aspirations, and I will say all, 99 per cent., of our religious and social reformers are on the side of the reform scheme. I will not ask Dr. Nair and those who sympathise with him “what have you done for religious and social reform all these days, now that you come forward and use this hob-goblin argument?” But I trust the British public, who have brought the Kaiser to his knees, are not likely to be frightened away by hob-goblins and I hope this argument will not succeed.

My last point is this. I hesitate to speak on it with the freedom which I should otherwise have allowed myself, but it is one on which I think I ought to speak, because I can lay claim to speak about it with the voice of authority. I see that already attempts are made in some quarters in India and particularly in England to damn this scheme of Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy by putting forward facts of revolutionary crime which have been brought out in the report of the Rowlatt Committee. Gentlemen, I have had opportunities recently of studying the psychology of the revolutionary movement in Bengal from the inside. When I was invited to undertake that task by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, at first I hesitated. I knew it was an odious task, but I took it up because I have spent several years of my life not merely in the legal profession as a lawyer, but I can claim to be also a socialist lawyer who has taken some part, however humble, in the public life of the country, social, religious and political and I wanted to know from the inside what the psychology of the revolutionary movement was. This is not the occasion for me to

Resolution III. express all my opinions derived from the reading of the literature and the interviews I had with some of the revolutionaries who have been interned and who spoke to me with freedom, all my opinions derived from the side-lights, social and political. But if that Rowlatt Committee's report and the facts of revolutionary crime in Bengal or in any other country are to be used against the reform scheme, I say that any one who has studied the literature and gone into the question and studied the psychology of the movement, will come to the conclusion that revolutionary crime in India and especially in Bengal is due to the fact that repressive laws come first and revolutionary movements next. (*Applause.*) On some occasion, I shall perhaps write on this subject at greater length, because, without doing it, I shall not be discharging my duty to the British Government whose salt I have eaten and to my own country; but for your information and even more than you, for the information of Parliament before whom the Rowlatt Committee's report is soon to be discussed, I shall place three facts which I hope will be utilised and made known throughout, especially to the Members of Parliament. The three facts are these: when we speak of revolutionary crime in Bengal, we all know that that crime is attended with what is called *Bhadralok* dacoities, dacoities in which respectable people, well-dressed people, high-class people take part. That is the old tradition in Bengal. The Parliamentary Committee of 1813 contains a document, an official document, to show that the Governor-General then informed the Directors of the East India Company that these dacoities, the *Bhadralok* dacoities, are very much rampant throughout the province of Bengal and the Government enacted laws of the most rigorous character, but the more rigorous they made their laws, the more the dacoities flourished. Afterwards, Government tried saner methods of reforming the administration and then there was an end to them. Now come to another fact. The Rowlatt Committee has treated the history of the present revolutionary crime and the *Bhadralok* dacoities in Bengal to a date which is much more recent than really history speaks of. In 1883 there was the Ilbert Bill agitation. I do not know whether you understand what I mean by the Ilbert Bill agitation, because a good many of you probably were not born then. (voices, 'we know.') Very well, you know it. The agitation in Bengal was of a most curious character. In 1884 there were *Bhadralok* dacoities in Calcutta and almost everywhere. Putting these two facts together the "Hindu Patriot" of that day edited by two gentlemen, Rajendra Lal Mitter and Kristodas Pal, referred to this circumstance and said that the dacoities which disappeared again came to the front in 1884 soon after the Ilbert Bill agitation. Lord Ripon came and tried healing measures of legislation and a liberal policy and these dacoities disappeared. Then comes the partition of Bengal and then come the boycott agitation and revolutionary crime. These cannot be accidents. There is a repressive policy, an illiberal policy, and dacoities crop up. Lord Lytton says that the Proclamation of the Queen cannot be given effect to and dacoities crop up; Lord Curzon partitions Bengal and dacoities crop up. I have put two and two together. These are the three facts. Remember them and let us press them home to the minds and consciences and the bosoms of the British public, especially

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Members of Parliament. I, for one, think,—and having studied the literature of the revolutionary crime in Bengal from the inside, my conviction has deepened—that the only effective way to prevent revolutionary crime is the experiment of liberal measures of administration, such as shadowed forth in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. There are, I know, opponents who have come forward and tried their best to kill this scheme. There are many European merchants who think that the country is not ripe for it, but in spite of this opposition, I see healthy signs. Your British merchants of the present day in India—What a contrast to the British merchants of 30 or 40 years ago! Whenever any liberal measure was proposed in the interests of the people of this country, they used to tear themselves into frenzy and there used to be what is called a white mutiny. Now the British merchants are a little broad-minded. Although they are still narrow and separate, they think that we are after all advancing and that England's conscience and India's conscience has been roused because the world's conscience has been roused and God above has been preparing the whole world and the British Empire and India in particular, for a future which, I hope, we deserve with that love of the country, with that love of humanity which India claims for us as her sons. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

The Hon'ble Nawabzada Syed Altaf Ali (Bogra):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution. In doing so, I think I need hardly say anything after the most excellent and most convincing speeches just delivered by the proposer and the seconder. I think they have made it clear that this resolution ought to be accepted and I feel certain that you, gentlemen, will have no hesitation in doing so and carrying it with acclamation. (*Applause.*)

Rai Bahadur Mahendra Chandra Lahiri (Serampore):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in response to the call from the chair which is to me in the nature of a mandate, coming as it does from the revered guru of whom I am a humble disciple, I deem it really a pride and a privilege to be permitted to take part in the proceedings of this All-India Conference of the Moderates which is indeed a brilliant assemblage of men of light and leading from the various parts of India, representing wealth and rank, education and culture and presenting a unique spectacle even for the Gods to see, and of so much importance from the point of view of political rights and privileges calculated to further the best interests of the country. Ladies and gentlemen, this is almost the first time that I have openly joined the Congress, or rather the Conference, which is the offspring of the parent institution, although I have long been in full sympathy with its aims and objects. My connection with Government as a pleader at a mofussil station in Bengal has hitherto stood in my way, which fortunately for me and others in a similar position, is no longer so. On the contrary, it has been converted into a bed of roses not only for us who have been connected with Government but for one and all holding moderate views because Government officials have already taken the Moderates into confidence, thanks to the unflagging zeal, the sober enthusiasm, the keen intellect, the sound judg-

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ment, the wise statesmanship, the strong foresight and above all, the life-long devotion to duty in the cause of the country of, among a few others, our first and foremost leader who so worthily fills the chair at this Conference and who is rightly called the "maker of India," the "uncrowned King of Bengal", under whose feet many of our countrymen for two generations have had the good fortune to sit. (*Cheers.*) I am one of them. Gentlemen, you will further find that I have been connected with an important municipality in Bengal, as our learned President knows, since December 1887 and I am in a position, both from my personal knowledge and experience thus extending over 31 years, to make out the difference between the so-called boon of local self-government conferred upon the people, though with the best of intentions by that noble Lord Ripon of blessed memory, and the proposals that are now embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The former is but a mockery of self-government, because the leading strings are being held by officials and pulled by them almost at every stage, while the latter is surely a distinct advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, however much our opponents may say to the contrary.

With these few words, ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution which has been ably moved and seconded and I think we cannot do better than give a hearty welcome and support to it ; as loyal subjects, we cannot do better than accept the reform scheme as it is, and then suggest modifications for further improvement. Therefore, it is quite in the fitness of things that we should place on record our approval and acceptance of the scheme and our sense of the deepest gratitude to the illustrious authors of the scheme. (*Applause.*)

The President :—You have heard the resolution read out. It has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. I take it that it is the unanimous wish of the Conference that it should be passed.

The resolution was then put to the vote and declared unanimously carried.

The President :—I now call upon Sir Hormusji A. Wadya to move the fourth resolution.

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Sir Hormusji A. Wadya :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution entrusted to me and which I have great pleasure in proposing for your acceptance runs thus :—

This Conference regards all attempts at the condemnation or rejection of the Reform Scheme as a whole as ill-advised and, in particular, protests emphatically against the reactionary attitude assumed towards it by the Indo-British Association and some European public bodies in this country which is

certain to produce, if successfully persisted in, an extremely undesirable state of feeling between England and India and imperil the cause of ordered progress in this country. This Conference, therefore, most earnestly urges His Majesty's Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom to give effect to the provisions of the scheme and the suggestions of its supporters in regard thereto as early as possible by suitable legislation.

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I am sorry, Sir, that I cannot speak on this resolution as I should have liked to do. I have been for some time under orders which, though they do not proceed from any department of Government, I dare not disobey and unhappily those orders include an injunction against making a speech in public. However, standing before you this afternoon, I cannot resist disobeying those orders to some little extent and making a few remarks. Those of us who have thought it proper to work and bring about the assemblage of this Conference have done so not hastily, not hurriedly, but after great and mature deliberation. We took time to consider the scheme of Mr. Montagu and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and we came to the honest conclusion that it was a scheme worthy of British statesmanship to offer, worthy of Indian patriotism to accept and worthy besides of all the friends of India and the British Empire to support actively in the way it should be. (*Applause.*) Our task in this country in carrying out this scheme from stage to stage will be no doubt a difficult one. But at the same time, it will be an unavoidable task. We should avail ourselves, gratefully avail ourselves, of all the assistance our English friends in India can give us, because they can bring to our help their practical capacity to make India deserve the great future that is chalked out for her. But while accepting that let us be careful to put our attitude towards these English friends of ours beyond all doubt and I venture to say that our attitude towards them is this—With them, if they will, without them if they will not, in spite of them if they refuse to come to our side and seek to hinder or thwart us in our efforts to do what we are bent upon doing—to attain for our country the secure enjoyment of the blessings of that only divine right, which the civilised world acknowledges to-day, the divine right of self-government. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that has been moved for your acceptance by my friend Sir Hormusji Wadya really places in a clear light the position of the Moderate Party with regard to the other parties in this country and in England. On the one hand, the resolution asks us to consider our relations with and to a certain extent our position to one party which is ordinarily called the Extremist Party and on the other hand the resolution asks us also to dissociate ourselves from the attitude taken by another party which is headed by the Indo-British Association. Therefore, the position of the Moderate Party, which has been appropriately called the central party in Indian politics, is well-defined. On the one hand, the left wing of the party wants us to go very rapidly, very violently and almost without any regard of consequences, and, in fact, their attitude has been illustrated by the remarks and by the judgment

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passed by them upon the Montagu-Chelmsford report even before it was published, certainly before it could be well considered and thought out. In the beginning, before the scheme was published, one of the leaders of the Extremist party, Dr. Sir Subramania Iyer, told us that "If any scheme does not give us the final goal of full responsible government in India but only indicates the steps towards its realisation it should not be accepted." I think the Moderate Party can very well say that it shall have nothing to do with an uncompromising attitude of this type. Again, Mrs. Besant wrote in her paper as follows:—"The scheme is unworthy to be offered by England or to be accepted by India. It is petty where it should have been large, banal where it should have been striking. There is about it no spacious and far-seeing statesmanship, no constructive genius, no vision for India of even future evolution into freedom." In this case, we can very easily say that we do not accept these opinions as regards the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Not only that, but we believe that if the considered judgment of a large party like this is not brought out into prominence, we have great fears that the whole scheme may be torpedoed from the over-enthusiasm and recklessness of the left party in this country. (*Hear, hear.*) We may be told that after all that attitude has been slightly altered and we may be brought face to face with the resolutions passed by the Congress. But even there, we cannot fully associate ourselves with what has been done by them; for instance, when they tell us that a certain definite period should be fixed in the Statute at the end of which full responsible government should automatically come into existence, whatever may be the measure of success meanwhile of the experiment that has been tried. In six years they want us to pass the full examination in the Master of Arts degree when we begin as it were to learn our parliamentary alphabet just now, so to speak,—when they seriously pass a resolution to that effect, how can we join hands with them? That attitude we cannot adopt; for if that attitude is adopted, the scheme, as I have said, will be torpedoed, and blown up—by our opponents. Further, we must take into account the considered opinions of our friends in England. Nobody in England thinks that the scheme is bad, because it does not go far enough. The only danger in England is that the scheme may be rejected in England where, after all, it has to be passed, because people there might consider that it goes too far. Therefore, when we are passing our judgment on this scheme, we must take a sane and practical point of view and see how far it is practicable to advance and whether our over-enthusiasm is not likely to lead to the whole scheme being rejected at once. In this connection I was surprised to read some remarks in the "*New India*." You might remember that soon after the scheme was published, our representatives in England, the Members of the British Congress Committee, wired to India, saying that they generally approved of the scheme, although in details they might not agree, and asked for instructions from the regular organization in India. Mrs. Besant, in her paper, wrote that "she was ashamed" of our friends, who have been rendering service to us for so many long years, doing valuable work for us,—work, which after all, was a thankless task. She said she was ashamed of those friends

who have been working for us and said that they had no business to express that opinion. This is the way in which the sympathies of our English friends are alienated by these persons,—a sure way to see that all such schemes are rejected and do not come to fruition. Therefore, I say, on the one hand, speaking to our friends of the Extremist Party, that we shall not support them in their unreasoning opposition to the scheme, and we must see what is practicable, what is best, and to what extent we can mitigate the mischief of their opposition. Again, we tell our other opponents who may be regarded as represented by the Indo-British Association :—“ our friends, you are rather too reactionary ; the times are moving too fast for you. We cannot stand still ; the world is moving forward at a continually accelerated pace and therefore if you persist in your attitude, if you persist in saying that we must be stationary, if you persist in saying that we must not move, you will have to remain behind.” Therefore, that attitude also is not for the good of the country.

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What after all is this Indo-British Association and who are its leaders ? The Indo-British Association, in spite of its high-sounding name, is engineered by a single individual whom we know very well in Bombay, our late Governor Lord Sydenham. Now when we criticise the actions of individuals, our lawyer friends will tell us that we must look to their antecedents. Lord Sydenham, when he tells us that India is lacking in this and that, it has caste prejudices, there is no widespread education and so on and so on, we would like to ask Lord Sydenham what *he* did to remove these defects and to bring about the needed reforms when he had the destinies of this Presidency in his hands for six years. I will give one or two illustrations. Take primary education. It was *not* the Government that was fighting the battle of primary education ; it was the popular leaders headed by the late Mr. Gokhale who raised the question. We clamoured for Mr. Gokhale's bill, but when it was referred to the various Local Governments for opinion, one of the most reactionary opinions expressed by any provincial Government was from the Government of Lord Sydenham himself. Does it lie in the mouth of Lord Sydenham to come and tell us now that India is lacking in education and that education has not advanced far enough ? (*Hear, hear.*) Take another illustration. His Lordship tells us that India is rent by so many distinctions of creed and caste. In his own regime, a small attempt was made in the Supreme Legislative Council to make a small beginning to get rid of caste distinctions. I refer to the Bill brought by the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra-nath Basu to legalise intermarriages between the various communities ; and that Bill again was referred to the various provincial Governments for their opinion, and, there again, the most reactionary opinion was expressed by the Government of our great friend Lord Sydenham. He told us that the Bill was a cloven hoof and was intended to bring together all communities, and therefore we should offer the strongest opposition we could to this Bill because if this was passed, a time might come when all the communities in India might come together and it would be a political danger to us. (Cries of '*Shame*'.) Hence, by his own actions, he did not allow the various communities to come together and now he comes for-

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ward to tell us that because the various communities did not come together we should not make progress. Take another illustration. There was another Bill brought in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj about child protection. There again, Lord Sydenham, who is talking about religious superstitions, somehow found people whose names he would not disclose, unnamed people, who said that in that very salutary measure they thought that their religion was involved and that therefore it should not be passed by the Imperial Legislative Council. These then are the antecedents of our Lord Sydenham. (*Hear, hear.*) How much weight, therefore, are we going to attach to the arguments brought forward by him with regard to matters in which he did not lift even his little finger to remedy the defects but in which, on the contrary, he did his utmost to see that those defects were not removed or remedied? In the case of a man like that, all that I need say is that his opposition is scarcely ingenuous. It is interested opposition. He does not want to abate a jot of the racial claims that a certain section of the people like him would like to keep up in this country. He and others like him do not want to do anything to abate one jot of their vested interests or claims. In this matter, therefore, I think the opposition of the Indo-British Association is not really an honest opposition, and, therefore, I think that it would be right to tell the powers that be to disregard opposition of that character. "If you are going to yield to opposition like that," let us tell them "there would be no way for the salvation of India by gradual evolution." As our President told us yesterday, "the only way left would be revolution and a resort to methods very much stronger than the Moderate Party is advocating at present." We do not want to be led on to those methods, but if opposition of the type of the Indo-British Association is persisted in, I am afraid there would not be two or three parties but the whole central party and the left party too would probably gravitate to the extreme left and there will be only one party, the revolutionary party. Therefore, we tell the powers that be that they must take care how much importance is to be attached to these two movements—on the one hand the left and on the other hand the right. We must tell them: "Do not follow either of these." The ways of both are fraught with danger to the future of the country. The Moderate Party holds the happy mean between these two methods, and, therefore, it is the methods of the Moderate Party that have to be followed.

In this connection, I might mention that we want the scheme to be carried into effect as early as possible by suitable legislation, as pointed out in the last line of the resolution. Time is passing away quickly; a few months more and the agitation would grow stronger and stronger, and, therefore, we must act according to the proverb '*Bis dat qui cito dat.*' 'He gives twice who gives soon'. Therefore, the reforms must come as soon as possible because every day's delay is dangerous. As an illustration of this fact, I may point to the debate in the House of Lords, telegrams of which came yesterday, and we will find, if we read between the lines of that report of the debate, that signs are getting more and more ominous, and, therefore, we must tell Parliament, in whose

hands after all the destinies of this country are laid, that they should not listen to these obstructionists or oppositionists, that the situation is getting more and more difficult and therefore the reforms must be given effect to as early as possible. If the methods of either of these parties are successfully persisted in, then I am afraid the cause of the orderly progress of India is likely to be endangered. The world is moving very fast, and, therefore, it is the bounden duty of our rulers, and it would be a most statesmanlike policy on their part, to give effect to the scheme as early as possible without whittling it down and without avoidable delay. With these words, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. (*Loud applause.*)

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Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Calcutta):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution, as it stands on the paper, resolves itself into two parts. The first of it is addressed to a section of our own countrymen whose attitude it is difficult to understand,—who have unfortunately thought it proper to condemn the reform scheme and, in effect, to reject it altogether, while the latter part of it is addressed to the great European community who have equally unfortunately assumed a hostile attitude towards the reform scheme. I wish, first of all, very briefly to make a few observations on the attitude of a section of our own countrymen and then to speak a few words about the attitude of a certain section of the European community towards the scheme, on whose indulgence we cannot expect to have any special claim. Brother delegates, I told you in the very beginning that the position taken up by our friends, the extremists, is difficult to understand and I will tell you why. Up to the 20th August 1917 the extremists, in common with all of us, had been clamouring for certain rights and privileges that were denied us by the Government; and the Indian National Congress that was until recently the great exponent of responsible public opinion in India and had under its wings all the different shades of political opinion in the country with diverse views in politics—the great Indian National Congress had been demanding for the last 30 years all these rights and privileges. But after the 20th of August 1917 when this announcement was made and after the great historic document of the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy was published, promising to us and outlining for us the assured path of responsible government for our country, since that date some of those very people, who had been clamouring for years for self-government like that of the Colonies by a steady reform of the existing system of administration, turned away their faces from that document and said in their meetings and conferences that they would have nothing to do with the proposed reforms. We asked them, why? They told us that, since Government did not give them all that they wanted, they were not going to have any of them. Their position, brother delegates, seems to me to be like the position of a long-suffering patient, who, when the doctor comes and gives him rice for the first day because of his ill-health, refuses absolutely to take rice unless he is given a full dinner with a long course of delicious dishes such as the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha gave us last night. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Their position is: We must

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have a full dinner or none at all. We of the Moderate Party say that through ages of sufferings, through long suffering, we must admit, our lungs and limbs have become weak,—we would rather have this rice first of all and then sometime after, when we have gained sufficient strength, we shall go in for a full course of dinner. I may go further and say that in that case we need not wait for the doctor's advice but we may freely order a dinner to our satisfaction. (*Applause.*) That is our attitude, and for using this discretion in this matter of the reform scheme we have been stigmatised in the extremist press; we have been snubbed on the extremist platform. One extremist journal—I do not know whether it is extremist or moderate—at any rate, one journal in this city of Bombay characterised this Conference of the Moderate Party as a *purdah* party. Certainly, the citizens of Bombay were shocked, because Bombay is not like Bengal a *purdah*-ridden country. Bombay has long ago discarded the *purdah*. But this journal to my horror characterised this gathering as a *purdah* party. Unfortunately the editor of this journal could never dream that yesterday when the screens of this *purdah* were removed, the whole of Bombay found that behind the *purdah* were gathered together from the different parts of India all that was best, dearest and noblest in Indian politics. (*Applause.*) You, Sir, who have devoted 42 years of your public life towards the betterment of your countrymen have been snubbed as “a man of yesterday,” and the “men of to-day,” who are now the kings of the Congress and are now running the Congress, are trumpeting to the whole world that they have become the custodians of public opinion in India. Let me scrutinise their vaunted claim for a moment, for when votes were taken on the reform scheme in the Imperial Legislative Council on the motion of this “man of yesterday,” it was found that all the ex-presidents of the Congress who were present in that Council, except perhaps one, who appears to have been absent at the time, voted solidly with the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea on this question of the reform scheme; and I now put it to you, brother delegates, who are the better representatives of Indian public opinion? Those that have been the ex-presidents of the Congress which means that the public opinion of India had voted them to the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress—are they the better representatives of the people, or those who have yet to make their mark and prove their worth not by self-assertion and abuse and destructive criticism but by putting in solid, substantial, constructive work for their country (*applause*) just as these “men of yesterday” have done by 40 years of public service towards the betterment of India?

Yet another journal asked in its impatience about the reform scheme, “it has dawned, but where is the sun?” To this extremist friend and to this extremist journal, my answer is: Brother, have patience. If you really believe that it has dawned, then take it as gospel truth that the sun is inevitably there, for without the sun how could dawn come, heralding a new epoch to the millions and millions of my countrymen who have been groaning under the weight of accumulated wrongs. The God of all Nations has watched our sorrows and sufferings, has

heard our sobs; and lo! the dawn has come to put an end to our long night of sorrows, and when it has come, I appeal to my extremist friends to say whether or not the sun is there, sure and certain. It is only the small clouds and the morning mists that have screened the sun. Wake up, my extremist friend, rub your eyes, welcome the dawn, and you will find the sun is there and he will, in due course, come out in all his glory and with his effulgent rays. (*Applause.*)

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**Rejectionists
and Be-
actionaries.**

**Mr. Sa-
chindra
Prasad
Basu.**

I have spoken about the attitude of our extremist friends. I shall say a few words about the attitude of that section of the European community which is hostile to the reform scheme. The burden of their song is that the educated classes can never represent the masses. The interests of the masses, they say, will suffer in the hands of the educated people. Brother delegates, I hope you will pardon me if I put a pertinent question to these European gentlemen: Do they presume to say—I mean Lord Sydenham and others of his way of thinking who have just now begun to shed crocodile tears for the masses,—do they really presume to say that they or the members of their Indo-British Association or of the Anglo-Indian Associations in India can better represent the Indian masses than their natural leaders, their own countrymen? (*Cries of 'no, no.'*) Principal Paranjpye has just now referred to the controversy regarding the introduction of primary education in India. The leaders of the Indian National Congress such as the late Mr. Gokhale wanted to make education free and compulsory for the masses. Now Lord Sydenham was your Governor for some time. What did he do for making education free and compulsory which educated people wanted for the masses? He opposed it. He had ample opportunities—splendid opportunities—as Governor of this Presidency to put into practice the sympathy for the masses which he now professes. But did he raise his little finger to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes, the masses? The European communities, particularly all these different European Associations all over India, who have suddenly developed this great love for the masses and the Indian poorer people, have they ever identified themselves with our agitation in connection with indentured labour, with the repeal of the Assam Coolies Act, with the repeal or modification of the Salt tax, and various other grievances which directly affect the masses? With what face can they come to-day and say that these Indian people cannot represent the Indian masses? No. These people have laid themselves open to the charge of meanness at this critical hour of the Empire. A great statesman once said that a mean mind and a great Empire can never go together.

They say even the darkest cloud is not without its silver lining and in that light this world-war has brought this blessing to us that we have been in a position to understand each other to-day. England admits in no uncertain words and terms that England needs the help of India, and India also shows and acknowledges that she cannot do without England. She also has the need of England's help and sympathy and its guiding hand and out of the scrimmage and slaughter when, after the war, a mighty Empire will come out, that Empire must stand on the

Resolution IV. fundamental principles of live and let live, stand by me and I will stand by you. On that principle, on that watch-word only, can a big Empire stand, grow, and progress. Brother delegates, this is now an age when nations are crumbling, when all that is weak and defective in our ideals must go and give rise to a new ideal which is now coming to us, which is the ideal of the League of Nations. Isolated existence, as the extremists have directly and indirectly hinted times without number, isolated existence, existence absolutely free from any alliance with the biggest nations of the world, that is almost quixotic and absurd. He who runs may read the lesson. Any thoughtful man can at once understand that England with all her allies, with all her resources in men and money, took four long years to bring victorious peace within sight, and is it not sheer midsummer madness to think that India can live, grow and prosper absolutely isolated and free from all connection either with England or any other power in the world? Therefore, brother delegates, I cling to the ideal of the League of Nations not as a slave. After the war, when this mighty Empire will come out in all its glory, India will have a place and must have her place with all other nations of the world on terms of equality under the ægis of the British crown and, if I may borrow an analogy from science, as the different colours, although they are white, black, green, blue and red and so forth, all these different colours, when they are chemically combined, lose their different colours and produce the intense glow of white, so also although there are different races, different nations, some are black, some are white, some are copper-coloured and some are coloured, all these different nations, all these different colours, all these different religions, will be fused, combined and welded together into a mighty nation through the chemical affinity of love and co-operation and, from out of the ruins of this war, there will come out by our combined effort a greater Empire, a bigger Empire, such as Cæsar could not build and Napoleon could not conceive and which even the modern Kaiser—there is a close analogy in the names, Cæsar and Kaiser—which even the modern Kaiser could not, in his wildest of dreams, have dreamt or imagined. With these words, brother delegates, I place this resolution before you. (*Loud applause.*)

The President :—You have heard the resolution, gentlemen, duly proposed, seconded and supported. I take it that it is the unanimous wish of this conference that this resolution be passed. The resolution was then put to the vote and declared carried unanimously.

Resolution V.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Resolution V. **The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani** (Allahabad) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I am asked to place before you runs as follows :—

Government of India. (a) This Conference, while making due allowance for the necessities or drawbacks of a transitional scheme, urges that having regard to the terms of the announcement of August

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20, 1917, and in order that the progress of India towards the goal of a self-governing unit of the British Empire may be facilitated and not unduly delayed or hampered, as also with a view to avoid the untoward consequences of a legislature containing a substantially elected popular element being allowed merely to indulge in criticism unchecked by responsibility, it is essential that the principle of "responsible government" should be introduced also in the Government of India, simultaneously with a similar reform in the Provinces. There should, therefore, be a division of functions in the Central Government into 'reserved' and 'transferred' as a part of the present instalment of reforms and the Committee, on division of functions, should be instructed to investigate the subjects and make recommendations.

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- (b) While, as suggested above, some measure of transfer of power to the Indian Legislature should be introduced at the commencement, provision should be made for future progress towards complete responsible government of the Government of India by specifically authorising the proposed periodic Commissions to inquire into the matter and to recommend to Parliament such further advance as may be deemed necessary or desirable in that behalf.
- (c) This Conference recommends that the composition of the Council of State should be so altered as to ensure that one-half of its total strength shall consist of elected members.
- (d) This Conference urges that legislation of an exceptional character, having the effect of curtailing ordinary rights such as the freedom of the press and public meetings and open judicial trial, should not be carried through the Council of State alone, or in spite of the declared opinion of the Legislative Assembly of India, except in a time of war or internal disturbance, without the approval of the Select Committee of the House of Commons proposed to be set up under the Scheme, unless such legislation is of a temporary character and limited to a period of one year only, the said legislation being in any case made not renewable without such approval in the last resort.
- (e) The power of certification given to the Governor-General should be limited to matters involving the defence of the country, foreign and political relations, and peace and order and should not be extended to "good government" generally or "sound financial administration."
- (f) The Indian element in the Executive Government of India should be one-half of the total number of members of that Government.

As you see, gentlemen, this resolution is a very important one. It is scarcely possible nor is it perhaps necessary for me to set out in full the reasons in support of the various clauses embodied in this resolution within the time allotted to a speaker at this Conference. Besides, the reading of the resolution itself has made a big hole in that allowance of time. I am aware that it is not possible to continue this Conference beyond this evening, but, in spite of that circumstance, I hope our venerable President will be a little indulgent in the enforcement of the time-limit in the case of this resolution.

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In the last two resolutions which you have unanimously passed, the position of this Conference in relation to the reform scheme has been made absolutely clear and unmistakable. We are not of opinion that the reform scheme is by any means perfect; we do not think that it is proposed as a part of this scheme to introduce all the reforms, constitutional and administrative, which in our considered judgment are required in the interests of this country or are capable of being exercised by us without detriment to those interests. But at the same time we frankly recognise that a most genuine endeavour has been made by the illustrious authors of the scheme to fulfil the pledge that was made solemnly on the 20th August 1917, that the first direction in the step of responsible government, the first instalment of reform, should be introduced as soon as circumstances permit it; and we recognise with equal frankness that when these proposed reforms are carried into effect, our political position will be substantially in advance of existing conditions, and as practical men who are aware that it has not yet been given to any body of non-official reformers to get all they ask for in the manner, to the extent and at the time they ask for it from any Government, foreign or indigenous, constitutional or despotic, we recognise that, having regard to the totality of circumstances, our best interests require that we should accord hearty support to this scheme.

We have stated that under any circumstances we want this reform scheme to be carried into effect. We further make it clear that any whittling down of the reform scheme will not be tolerated by even the best supporter of this scheme. There are many in this country for whose opinion nothing but respect is due, who think that we should not go too far in support of the scheme for the reason that the modifications and improvements which we ourselves consider desirable will stand less chance of being accepted by men in authority if we make it clear that we are prepared to accept the scheme without those modifications and improvements. Whatever may be said in justification of this position, we have said that there are modifications and improvements that should be introduced, and we say that the scheme should be safeguarded at all costs against the attacks made upon it by those who want more as well as by those who either want no progress to be made at all or want only a smaller progress to be made.

Having made this position clear in the two foregoing resolutions, we proceed in this resolution now before you, and in the resolutions that will be put before you after this has been carried, to indicate what in our opinion are those modifications and improvements which can be taken into serious consideration by His Majesty's Government and the Parliament of the United Kingdom and which can be inserted in the scheme without any detriment to the framework of the scheme, which can be inserted in it without the criticism being levelled at us by the authors of the scheme that while pretending to support it we are trying to alter it beyond recognition. I claim that everyone of these clauses in this resolution could be inserted in the scheme without any vital part of the scheme being affected and without any deviation from the basic principles of the announcement of 20th August last. It is true, in the

third formula enunciated by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State they say distinctly that the authority of the Government of India in essential matters must remain indisputable, but a careful perusal of this resolution will show that we do nothing to affect that indisputable authority in the most vital matters—the defence of the country, foreign political relations and maintenance of peace and order. We do not attack any provisions which the authors of the report thought it necessary to insert in order to ensure that that indisputable authority in essential matters shall be preserved unimpaired. The position of those who have to advocate changes in the Government of India has been rendered in recent weeks even more difficult than before on account of the utterances made by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Home Member in the Imperial Legislative Council and by the utterances of some of our friends in England. Among those friends, are Sir Theodore Morrison and the Round Table group. These critics are whole-heartedly with us in advocating reform. They candidly recognise that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have produced a scheme which cannot be dismissed at first sight, which cannot be seriously curtailed, but which must be considered and given effect to as far as practicable. At the same time, both the Round Table group and Sir Theodore Morrison shake their heads and say they are nervous about the proposed changes in the Government of India, while in this country even such an enthusiastic supporter of the scheme as my friends the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has been stumping the country during the last three months in order to impress the people with the absolute necessity of modification of the third formula and of pressing for considerable changes in the proposals as they relate to the Government of India. Some of our English friends are nervous even about the changes which the authors of the scheme have proposed.

I think, Mr. President, that we can claim that in this Resolution we had avoided the peril of either putting forward proposals capable of being dismissed as undeserving of serious consideration by Parliament or suggesting improvements which the bulk of our own countrymen may justly consider as not going far enough. You will find in the first clause that we plead for no more than the recognition, at the present stage, of the principle of the first instalment of substantial reforms which will lead to the introduction of the idea of responsible government, to however small an extent, in the Government of India simultaneously with the reform on that basis to a larger extent in the Provincial Governments. The criticism has been made that no one has indicated what departments in the Government of India can be transferred and placed in charge of ministers, as has been proposed in the case of the Provinces, and that unless a clear indication is given of this, it must be presumed that the critics themselves are not sure of their ground. I say this criticism is not either fair or just. In the case of the Provinces, the authors of the scheme have started by indicating how the division of functions should be made, what departments of the administration can be included in the transferred lists and what should not be, and they have appointed a Committee in order to investigate the whole subject, in order to take evidence from competent official and non-official witnesses, to ascertain

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the opinions of Local Governments and to recommend to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty's Government what exactly should be the departments which shall be transferred in the Provinces. In the case of the Government of India, they have given no such indication, but they have merely taken up the position that no such progress could be made there at present. We say in this resolution that, after accepting the principle that a similar change, though not to the same extent, should be made in the Central Government, supplementary instructions should be issued to the Committee on division of functions to indicate what subjects should remain "reserved" in the Central Government and what may be placed in the "transferred" list. The Indian Industrial Commission has proposed that there shall be a separate Department of Industries in the Central Government. I have my own view of the soundness and utility of this particular recommendation, but assuming, for the sake of argument, that the view of the Commission will prevail, I maintain without any fear of reasonable contradiction that Industries can be made and should be made a "transferred subject" in the Central Government. There are again Departments like Salt, Income-tax, General Stamps, Post Office and Railways. We have now made it clear that whatever revenue the Government of India may require for the military defence of the country shall be provided for by the Legislature. It does not seem to me that there will be any insuperable difficulty in arranging for the inclusion of some of these subjects which are concerned purely with internal domestic administration in the category of "transferred subjects" under the administrative control of a Minister, care being taken to retain what safeguards may be necessary in order that the money that the Government of India may require for the defence of the country shall always be found. This is merely a tentative opinion. I will ask those who say that the difficulty in introducing this division of functions in the Government of India is really insuperable to answer one question. Do they propose, when the next instalment of reforms shall be introduced, that there shall be a further stage reached in the Central Government, or, do they think that until the final stage of complete responsible government is reached in the Provincial Governments, the constitution of the Central Government shall remain more or less as it is and that the principle of progressive realisation of responsible government shall be applicable only to the provinces, the principle applicable in the Central Government being that there will be a sudden transformation of the character of that Government from non-responsible to responsible government? I do not think that any one in authority will say that the latter is contemplated. If it is not, and if at a subsequent stage, this question of a division of functions in the Central Government has to be grappled with, I ask why it should not be grappled with now and why the committees which have reached this country and will commence their labours in a few days should not be instructed to consider this subject also.

The second clause refers to the proposed periodic Commissions. Readers of the Report would have noticed that while the functions of

the periodic Commission in relation to the progress made in the provinces are very clearly stated, the language of the authors of the Scheme is rather obscure and does not indicate equally clearly that they expect the periodic Commission to investigate the conditions with regard to the Central Government and propose reforms leading up to responsible government in that part of the governmental machinery. This clause (b) of the resolution is intended to make our position clear to the effect that there should be definite instructions to these periodic Commissions to consider the case of the Government of India also.

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Clause (c) refers to the Council of State. It is unnecessary for me to take up your time by an attempt at explaining the machinery that is proposed for the Government of India so that there may be a combination of the popular Legislative Assembly with a substantial majority of elected members therein with another house of the legislature through which the Central Executive Government may get legislation passed which it may consider necessary for the due discharge of its essential functions. It is proposed that there should be a Council of State, and the authors of the Scheme say that the strength of that Council should be 50, out of whom 21 will be elected and 29 nominated; and of these 29 nominated members, 4 are to be non-officials according to the authors. Our proposal amounts to no more than this—Instead of saying that there should be 25 officials and 25 non-officials elected and nominated, we say there should be 25 elected members and 25 nominated members. If they want to retain the 25 official members, I do not think we shall have any objection to that. Let them do away with the nominated non-official element if they like. If it be urged that by having 25 elected members and 25 official members, you will jeopardise the position of the Executive Government and render the enactment of essential legislation possible only by the vote of the President, the Viceroy, I reply that these 25 elected members will include not merely the lame, the halt and the blind among us, Indians, but also representatives of the European community. It has been freely recognised and the course of the agitation on the reform scheme has made it still clearer during the last few weeks that there is not much identity in the point of view of the non-official Europeans and the Indian representatives of this country. For all practical purposes, it has been demonstrated ever since the establishment of Legislative Councils in India that the elected non-official European representatives are like officials; they do not ordinarily vote with us but vote for the Government view. It is very rarely, if ever at all, that the contingency will arise of all the 25 elected members being present and voting solidly against the Executive Government. Even when such a contingency arises, the President will have two votes, his first vote and the casting vote and the proposed legislation can surely be saved, if necessary. Apart from that circumstance, the fact that all the elected members drawn from various sections of the population with different views combine against a Government measure would show that the Government measure must be particularly ill-advised and it will be statesmanship to drop it.

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Next, we deal with certain restrictions which we consider essential on the liberty of the Executive Government in getting its legislation carried through the Council of State, legislation of an extraordinary character affecting the elementary rights of citizenship relating to public meetings, freedom of the press and open judicial trial. The criticism has been uttered that these reforms suffer in their utility, because when they are in full force, it will be still possible for the Executive Government, in utter disregard of public opinion and the voice of the Legislative Assembly, to place upon the Statute Book such ill-advised measures of a far-reaching character as the Seditious Meetings Act, the Indian Press Act, etc., and therefore some safeguard must be devised for the assertion of these elementary popular rights. In this clause, we make it clear, first of all, that on occasions of emergency, whether it is due to war conditions outside or any internal disturbance, the Executive Government will be able, in spite of the opinion of the Legislative Assembly, to get what laws it wants passed for the duration of one year, and if it wants the same laws to continue after the duration of one year, even then we say it may disregard the Legislative Assembly, but in that case it should get the approval of the proposed Select Committee of the House of Commons. It cannot be said by any critic of this clause that we are showing less than due regard for the powers, the reserved powers, that should be vested in any strong Executive Government. We do recognise, by limitations and reservations made in the demands embodied in this clause, the truth of the observations made by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in his letter to the Press written from Calcutta towards the end of July last that even in the most popular governments a strong Central Government is desirable in the public interests and we are, in this Resolution, paying due regard to that important consideration. At the same time we show no less equal regard to the paramount consideration that these elementary rights of citizenship, which have been invaded rather too freely by Government, should be regarded as more important than the Executive Government have chosen to do sometimes.

In clause (c) we say that the power proposed to be reserved to the Governor-General to certify certain matters in order to take them out of the purview of the Legislative Assembly shall be merely those affecting the defence of the country and foreign political relations and peace and order and not those which could be brought under the all-embracing phrase "good government and sound financial administration." In saying this, we do not necessarily show any distrust of the Executive. We do not necessarily show that we feel that the Executive is bound to abuse the discretion vested in it. Just as the authors of the Reform Scheme, when imposing restrictions and limitations, claim that they do not show any distrust of the Indian politicians but that they only take a precaution, which statesmanship suggests, to avoid any breakdown of the administrative machinery, and just as we accept many of those safe-guards and limitations as combining caution and liberality, so we too, in this clause, without showing any distrust of the Executive Government, without betraying a feeling that the Executive Government

will necessarily abuse the discretion vested in it, take care to provide, in order that those who may be arbitrarily disposed may not be able to act under that temptation, a salutary safeguard by suggesting a most desirable and reasonable restriction with regard to this power of certification proposed to be vested in the Governor-General.

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Lastly, we say that one-half of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians. In this connection, I should like to emphasise the point that if there are transferred subjects in the Government of India in charge of the Ministers, we do not say that the Indian Executive Councillors and these Ministers combined should form a majority of the Executive Government. We say the Indian Executive Councillors and such Ministers as may be appointed to be in charge of certain subjects shall together form one-half the total of the Executive Government. Therefore, the criticism cannot be levelled against us that we are seeking in the Central Government for such concession to us as is proposed to be made in regard to the Provincial Governments in the Reform Scheme.

I think, ladies and gentlemen, on a consideration of the six clauses of the resolution, on a consideration of the safeguards and reservations that we ourselves have put in, it will be conceded by reasonable men that we are not asking for anything that is extravagant or dangerous or unsafe to ask for, or anything which cannot be rightly inserted into the frame-work of the Scheme, consistently with the announcement of 20th August last, but we can claim to be acting with due regard to our position as supporters of the Scheme and not as its opponents. Acceptance of our suggestions will have the double effect of giving legitimate satisfaction to the entire body of supporters of the Scheme, and at the same time it will make the Scheme itself more conveniently workable and thus facilitate hearty co-operation between Indian public men and the permanent officials in the Government, the one condition which the authors of the Scheme recognise as most necessary for the success of the reforms proposed by them to be introduced. For these reasons, Mr. President and gentlemen, I ask you to accept this Resolution. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. M. V. Joshi (Nagpur):—Ladies and gentlemen, almost every thing that is possible to be said has been so lucidly explained by my predecessor that very little remains for me to say; but in spite of that fact, it is as well to emphasise the principles embodied in this resolution. As Resolution No. 1 is the basic principle on which stands the Moderate Conference of all India, this resolution embodies the unanimous opinion of the country not only of the Moderates but also of the Extremists or the Nationalists. Everybody is agreed that in the Government of India no element of responsibility is inserted in the proposals that have been put forward by the authors of the Scheme, and all that we ask in this resolution is that a principle similar to that which is embodied in proposals in regard to the Provincial Governments should be brought into operation in the Government of India. Gentlemen, you are aware that there will be very many momentous questions to be dealt with in the near future. Peace is coming and soon after that, there

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Resolution V. Government of India. Mr. M. V. Joshi. will be so many important questions to be dealt with by the Government of India that if no element of responsibility is introduced therein, I think we shall be at a great disadvantage. I am not going to expatiate on the merits of our proposals. It is clear that almost the whole of the country is at one, whatever it may be on other matters, on the point that in the Government of India the declaration of the 20th of August 1917 has not been adhered to, and that the Reform proposals are not consistent with that declaration. Now gentlemen, all these six clauses of the Resolution compare very favourably with the modifications suggested by the National Congress. It must have struck you that they are 13 in number in the National Congress scheme. They have suggested 13 modifications, rather an unlucky number. (*Laughter.*) Ours are six, a very moderate number. However, you will see that we have not deviated from the two cardinal principles. The first is the natural anxiety of the framers of the Report to keep the Central Government as strong as possible, unimpaired in its authority in essential matters, especially to get whatever emergent or essential legislation it wants for the purposes with which it has specifically to deal. We do not curtail any of their rights that are intended to be kept for a strong Central Government, but at the same time we want to introduce a certain amount of responsibility for both purposes, for the purpose of education and for the purpose of seeing and finding out whether the same sense of responsibility that ought to guide us in the Provincial Government will also be exhibited in any degree in the Government of India, so that the Commission that may come here after ten years may be able to say that in the Government of India also we have shown adequate sense of responsibility and statesmanship. On both these grounds, therefore, namely, retaining the aim of the authors to keep the Central Government as strong as possible and at the same time to introduce an element of responsible government in the Government of India, we have made these suggestions.

Out of all these points, Nos. 2 and 5, clauses (b) and (f), require a certain amount of emphasis. You will see that in clause (b) we have asked that the Commission that will sit after 10 years and subsequent periodic Commissions also should investigate into the affairs of the Government of India. As to clause (f) our point is that we do not want a repetition of the interpretations that are often put by Viceroys and high officials on equivocal or vaguely worded expressions. You remember probably the words—I do not want to quote them—of the Proclamation of 1858 and you know how they have been attempted to be interpreted, differently from we understood them to mean, by masterful Viceroys and others as they liked. Therefore, we do not want to leave a loophole in the phraseology of the Reform Scheme and so it is suggested, in the clause of the Resolution I am referring to, that whatever the powers necessary for the Government of India for public peace and tranquillity, which, we say, should be retained, the words “good government and sound financial administration” are too wide and too vague to be left as they are and therefore they should not be included in the matters to which the Governor-General’s power of certification is to apply. This is the

principle of this clause of the Resolution, and I do not think I need say anything further in support of this Resolution. I have great pleasure in seconding it. (*Loud applause.*)

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Mr. J. J. Vimadalal (Bombay):—Mr. President and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which has been so ably and eloquently proposed and seconded before you. You will have seen that the main item in the Resolution relates to the Government of India ; and in proposing this Resolution we say that while the Scheme is a distinct advance on the present conditions both as regards the Provinces and the Central Government,—while the Scheme, so far as the Provinces are concerned, does constitute a real and substantial step towards responsible government,—so far as the Government of India is concerned, the Scheme fails to provide in any way for this latter step and we therefore request that in some small measure this step be taken simultaneously with the advance provided for in the Provincial Governments and that we may have the assurance given to us that those changes are to come in the Government of India as definitely and as surely as they are clearly and happily guaranteed to us in the Provincial Governments by the distinguished authors of the Scheme in a spirit of genuine and broad-minded statesmanship. (*Applause.*) All the objections, which have been urged in the Reform Report to the present state of things, to the effect that it has resulted in engendering a spirit of criticism which is devoid of responsibility, will apply to the enlarged Legislative Assembly that is proposed for the Government of India with a large majority of the elected members, unless some improvement is made in the Scheme, some beginning is made in the direction of real responsible government, to however small an extent, so far as the Government of India also is concerned. Now, gentlemen, I have looked into the Scheme. I have read it through and I have searched through it for the arguments which have induced the illustrious authors of the Report to make this omission. I have only found in one place that they are not prepared to take this step. Why they are not prepared to do so is not clear. In another place it is stated that they want to retain in the hands of the Government of India the powers of preserving law and order, etc., in the State. Now our proposals do not even suggest that we want to take away any of the powers which the Government of India propose to reserve to themselves and which the Scheme wants to reserve to the Government of India for preserving order in the State. Those powers along with others have been already reserved to Provincial Governments and we do not go so far as to say that we should take them away from the Government of India when we contend that those powers may be retained in the Provincial Governments. But, we say, while preserving those powers, there is ample room for making a start for going along the way of responsible government in the Government of India as well as in the Provinces ; and we say this because we feel that while the Announcement of 20th August last has made no exception, no difference, the Scheme has made an exception in regard to the Government of India, and if that exception is allowed, there will be unnecessary delay in the realisation of responsible government which the authors say is the ultimate goal of

Mr. J. J.
Vimadalal.

Resolution V. His Majesty's Government and which the Announcement has widely proclaimed to the world. Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to support this resolution and the pleasure is enhanced by the fact that I belong to a community that has made its home here for twelve long centuries and established itself, so that our interests have been practically identified with the interests of the country at large (*applause*) because, gentlemen, I feel that we, all the Parsees of to-day, owe a deep debt of gratitude to this country for having given us a refuge twelve centuries ago when we were driven out of our land, so that we owe a deep debt to India, although it has been to a large extent discharged by great philanthropic Parsees who have worked for the regeneration of India. We, who come in the wake of great leaders like Sir Phirozsha Mehta (*cheers*) and Dadabhoi Naoroji (*cheers*), take up the banner that they lifted and we shall do what we can to further the growth and advancement of this ancient and vast Empire. (*Applause.*) Let me assure you, gentlemen, that we Parsees will be with you shoulder to shoulder in the progressive march which Great Britain has wisely proclaimed throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

In fine, a word more, gentlemen, and I have done. It has been said by an opponent of the Reform Scheme that "the dawn has come, but that the sun is not visible." Why has that been so with him and others like him, when we here say that we see the sun rise and that we are glad to see equally the morning coming in? Why is it that our friends have not seen the sun rise? It is because instead of looking at the horizon where the sun rises in mellow light, our friends have been gazing expectantly at the zenith and want to see the splendour of the sun there where he shines highest. Our friends of the Extremist Party wish that morning should be noon, and therefore they have been disappointed. (*Applause.*) We remind them of the familiar Gujarati proverb that "mangoes do not ripen because we are in a hurry." Things must take their own proper course. We say we have seen the sun rise in the Report published and placed before us, and we bow to that sun and patiently wait for the moment when in due course of time the sun shall attain the full splendour and light in the zenith. We Parsees pay homage to the sun as he rises because we believe that he gives us the very light of our life and the life of our light. We see that the sun of India's political regeneration has risen on the horizon. Let us all, Parsees, Hindus and Mahomedans, bow to that sun and do homage to that sun and hope and pray that with the joint endeavours of the Government and of all the communities concerned, that sun shall rise to splendour step by step progressively until we shall find it shining high in the heavens giving us strength and warmth as he rises and rises until full responsible government is achieved in this country. (*Applause.*) May it be given to us to work for that noble cause. Now that the labours of so many of our elders like our President have come to fruition, I pray that it may be given to us of the younger generation to follow in their wake, to be inspired by their faith and to emulate their strenuous work so that we may be able, in our own life-time, to see that sun attain full splendour and glory and worship him with a devout soul as we now pay our sincere and devoted homage to that sun as he now rises. (*Loud applause.*)

The President:—The Resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. I take it all of you are in favour of it. (The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri went up to the President and spoke to him).

Resolution V.
Government of India.
Dissent as to Clauses (c) and (d).

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri:—Gentlemen, the President has been pleased to allow me a couple of minutes in which to explain a certain qualification that in my mind I feel when I join you in supporting this resolution. It is due to me that I should make a personal explanation, and due to you as well. I am not satisfied that the provision we recommend in clause (d) of this resolution is quite expedient and from that clause I wish humbly to dissociate myself. From clause (c) also I wish very diffidently to dissociate myself. I have spoken and written on this subject now before you, and, even after the very able and telling speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, I am not convinced that I was mistaken in the view I took of the suggestions embodied in those two clauses.

The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

The President:—I am sorry I made that mistake, but in the enthusiasm of the hour, I quite forgot the promise I made to my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. I now place the resolution before you and take votes on it.

The resolution was then put to the vote and (except for the personal dissent of the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on clauses (c) and (d) of it) was declared carried unanimously.

Resolution VI.

INDIA AND FISCAL FREEDOM.

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy (Bombay):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to move the following resolution:—

Resolution VI.
India and Fiscal Freedom.

Saving such equal and equitable Imperial obligations as may be agreed upon as resting on all parts of the Empire, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Legislature, should enjoy the same power of regulating the fiscal policy of India as the Governments of the self-governing Dominions enjoy of regulating their fiscal policy.

The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.

Although this question has been placed lower than it ought to be, it is as great and important as the other Resolutions which have preceded this Resolution. The reason is that under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, we are going to get our share as Indians in controlling the departments of different administrations and those departments will work for the uplift and amelioration of the condition of the people of this country. How are these departments going to uplift the nation and ameliorate their condition if they have no money? And this Resolution specially refers to the money question. If we want that our people should have mass education and good sanitation, money is the chief thing that we want. Now, at present the condition of the country is such that we cannot raise more taxation to get this money and for that purpose we want more wealth in the country and if we get fiscal freedom for us we will adjust the tariffs so that our industries may prosper and

Resolution VI. the wealth of the country may increase and we may get more money by taxation. So this question also is of great importance.

India and Fiscal Freedom.

The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj.

Now, Sir, on this resolution the opinion of the country is unanimous. There is no diversity of opinion and no conflict of views on this question among Indians of all shades of political thought. As the President has rightly said in his speech, hunger and rebellion go together and therefore to stop this hunger and secure tranquillity we want the condition of the people to be improved. Various suggestions have been thrown out to us by the Allied Economic Unions,—preference within the Empire, and other such resolutions passed at the Paris Economic Conference and other Committees which have been appointed about trade after the war. But we are sorry to see that no direct or serious attention has been paid to Indian wants. Now Parliament passed a resolution which has been referred to in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme that other Colonies and parts of the Empire will be consulted in the Imperial Conference, and we want that we should get proper representation so that our Indian Members who may be selected for the Conference may be enabled to lay our claim before that body. I trust that the Colonies who have prospered under their own free fiscal policy will support us, for I do not believe that they would not like us to be of the same equal status and as prosperous as they are. I hope that the country will still, in the press and on the public platform, agitate and emphasise this matter much more than hitherto because it is a question of our life and death. After the war other countries will go in for what may be called the trade-war and we must be prepared for this contingency.

The first paragraph of this Resolution refers to the fact that we want to be under the Imperial tariff within the Empire. We are proud of our relations with the Empire and if there are any drawbacks, still we welcome those drawbacks even, because we want to be part of the Empire, and therefore if we have obligations to fulfil in the preference which may be established in the Empire, we will willingly share that obligation, but at the same time we want that our own fiscal policy must be left entirely in the hands of the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly. I, for my own part, will even go further and be satisfied if free power is given to the Government of India to have its own fiscal policy unfettered by extraneous considerations in favour of competing rivals.

Now, I will come to the other matter, and that is the Industrial Commission. When the Industrial Commission was appointed, there was a loud cry in the country that the question of fiscal policy ought to have been referred to it. I myself feel that way, but as it was not left to us, we could not say anything on the matter, but as the report of the Industrial Commission is out, you will find that the Commission in several paragraphs has recommended that unless certain industries are protected, they can never flourish in this country. (*Hear, hear.*) That shows that we need protection in some respects and to a certain extent to foster our industries so that we may be able to hold an equal position in the Empire, and prosper industrially on our own lines.

The other matter is that the Munitions Board have also proved that many industries can be very well started in this country if the Government assist us in starting those industries. We have helped His Majesty's Government and the Allies in this war in a good many ways, but we would have helped them much more, 50 per cent. more than what we have done, in supplying materials if we had our industries in a good condition. To strengthen the Empire, I think it is essential that the Government of the United Kingdom should give us fiscal freedom. The question will be asked whether Indian capital is ready to be invested in the country. This has been amply proved and admits of no doubt,—witness, for example, the large amount of Indian capital invested in the Tata Steel Works and the Tata Industrial Bank and many cement companies, coal companies, soap companies and others. So, I think there will be no question about that. I also wish to draw the attention of this Conference to another point,—a very important point—which deserves to be emphasised, namely, that, when after the war new industries are started and new concessions are given, the Indian capitalists and Indian investors must be given the first opportunity to avail themselves of them. The first chance should be theirs. If they fail, then alone should others be allowed to step in. With these few words, I beg to propose the Resolution. (*Applause.*)

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The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy.

Rai Krishnaji (Benares) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy has already placed before you the reasons which make it necessary that fiscal autonomy should be given to India. I hope you will permit me to place before you another phase of the matter. Fiscal autonomy is an all-important question. It is our right that we should possess the power of imposing protective duties, if need be, and so it is our duty to fit ourselves to use that power efficiently and effectively. In my opinion, two things are essential for this—one is, factories for making machinery of all sorts and the other, ship-yards for making steam-ships of the modern type. The Industrial Commission has made strong recommendations for starting such factories. Fortunately all the materials that are required for this are available in India. I hope we shall also consider the best way of starting steam-ships on modern lines. When we have these industries, then and then only we can effectively use this weapon of fiscal autonomy. I should like to say one word more to Englishmen, and to the members of the British Colonies. We want this right not to curtail our trade, but to improve our commerce. That commerce can only be improved with the improvement of foreign trade. With protective duties it is possible that we may curtail the import of certain articles which we get now. But it will not mean the curtailment of our imports, it will rather mean that our imports will increase as our Industries grow and national wealth increases so that it will mean only the changing of the present beaten path of trade or channel of commerce and not stopping or reducing imports. In fact, fiscal freedom for India will promote trade, accelerate production of wealth and afford to this country better opportunities and better means of rendering greater service to the Empire. With these words, gentlemen, I beg to second this resolution. (*Applause.*)

Rai Krishnaji.

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Freedom.**

**Mr. S. S.
Halkar.**

Mr. S. S. Halkar (Rangoon):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly tell you that this Resolution goes to the root of the prosperity and happiness of the country. The Report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy has recognised that there is need for a distinct advance in administration and other matters, and it has also recognised that there should be a vigorous advance made and a forward policy inaugurated in industrial matters as well. The Report clearly recognises that India ought to become industrially a self-contained country. This country has large resources of water-power, large resources of raw materials, but still all lying practically untapped and undeveloped. Need I tell you that the prosperity and happiness of the country depend upon the industrial development of the country? It is as clear as anything to all that there is apparently a conflict of interests,—Indian and British—but if you go on co-operating with them as you try to co-operate with them in administrative matters, that conflict will come to an end; and I dare say, in course of time, in India there will be a large development in industrial matters. I need not quote examples as to how fiscal freedom is important and necessary. We have recently had the import duty, and we have seen how very large profits have been made by the piece-goods merchants and cotton traders; and in Bengal you have seen there is no excess profit tax and the jute manufacturers enjoy large profits. You should also remember that jute cultivators do not enjoy even the pre-war prices. That is quite a different matter, but all the same it goes to show how important it is to have fiscal freedom for our own country. Further, you will see that India possesses forests which are ten times those of Spain and Portugal put together, but they have not been developed even to one-hundredth extent. The income from the forests to the Government of India is not even 2 annas per acre, but still we, who have been enjoying peace, order and good security under the British Government, have not appreciated the importance of co-operation and organization in industrial matters. It is only last December when I saw the Congress was attended by nearly 10,000 but in the Industrial Conference there was not even one-half of this number. Why do they not take interest in industrial matters as they take in political matters? It may be, because we have succeeded to some extent in political matters. I tell you, if we co-operate with the British Government, without having a conflict of interests, and contribute capital and employ skilled labour, and make use of our raw materials, I have no doubt whatever that we shall succeed to a very large extent. I have myself dabbled in an industry which is a very small one. It is known as “destructive distillation of wood.” In destructive distillation, you find a sort of smoke wasted. If you collect it and condense it with the help of sulphuric acid, you could produce acetic acid which fetches not less than Rs. 125 per pound. I produced it with the help of Japanese experts and succeeded, and the Munitions Board of Rangoon promised me help. A sample was sent and they said that it was a good commercial sample. I mention this simply to show that the impression that the Government are not helping us industrially, to the extent that they should do, is not well-founded. I need not detain you further. I appeal to you to pay larger attention to industrial matters and to this question

of the freedom of fiscal policy or fiscal power for India, in respect of which there is no difference of opinion among Indians and, I may add, the Government; for it is clear that all are united in this, that there should be larger fiscal powers given to the people than they enjoy at present. (*Applause.*)

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Mr. S. S. Haikar.

The President :—You have heard the Resolution duly proposed seconded and supported. I take it that it is the unanimous wish of the Conference that it should be passed.

The resolution was then put to the vote and declared carried unanimously.

The President :—It is quarter to three now. We shall now adjourn and come back at 3-30 P.M. There are a few more Resolutions to be gone through and we shall finish.

The Conference then adjourned for lunch.

The Conference re-assembled after lunch at 3-30 p.m.

Resolution VII.

PROVINCES AND TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Poona) :—Mr. President and brother delegates, the Resolution that I wish to move runs as follows:—

Resolution VII.
Provinces and Transferred Subjects.
The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

- (1) (a) **The status and emoluments of Ministers should be identical with those of Executive Councillors, and the Governor should not have greater power of control over them than over the latter.**
- (b) **Whatever power may be given to the Governor-in-Council to interfere with the decisions of the Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effects on the administration of the reserved subjects, corresponding power should be given to the Governor and Ministers in respect of decisions of the Governor-in-Council affecting directly or indirectly the administration of the transferred subjects.**
- (c) **The proposal to appoint an additional Member or Members, from among the senior officials, without portfolios and without vote, for purposes of consultation and advice only, but as Members of the Executive Government in the Provinces, should be dropped.**
- (d) **Heads of Provincial Governments in the major Provinces should ordinarily be selected from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom.**
- (e) **No administrative control over subjects vested in Provincial Governments should be "reserved" in the Central Government, particularly in respect of "transferred" heads,**

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(f) The Government of India should have no power to make a supplementary levy upon the Provinces; they may only take loans from the latter on occasions of emergency.

TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

(2) This Conference recommends that the largest possible number of subjects should be included in the "transferred" List in every Province as the progress and conditions of each Province may justify and that none mentioned in the Illustrative List No. II appended to the Report should, as far as possible, be "reserved" in any Province.

Speaking to you this morning, Mr. Mudholkar said as to the Reform Scheme that, so far as it touched the Provincial Governments, we have every reason to be satisfied with what has been done. That is a remark to the general tenor of which we agree. It is true in the main but it is subject, as you know, to a great qualification and to many exceptions. The number of headings under which this Resolution is distributed shows you that there are a number of points in regard to which the scheme is susceptible of improvement in our opinion even as regards the Provincial Governments, but, even more than that, we have to remember that the work of the Committees which have recently been appointed is likely to affect very much the character of the improvements we are going to have in the Provincial Governments. As it has been clearly pointed out, it depends very much upon the nature of the reports of these two Committees whether we shall be able to say at the end that the improvements granted in the case of Provincial Governments have been really substantial and satisfactory.

I am precluded from referring to one of the Committees, the one on the Franchise and the Electorates, but No. 2 of this Resolution refers to the work of the other Committee on reserved and transferred subjects and with regard to that, I am free to state that I am in perfect agreement with the opinion embodied in this Resolution. Clearly there are some Provinces in India with regard to which even complete provincial autonomy may not be an unreasonable or an impracticable proposition. You are aware that the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council have recently declared their deliberate judgment that in their Province at least, no subject need be reserved at all. But like practical people, they go on to suggest that if such reservation should be necessary, such and such subjects may be transferred at the outset. There are no doubt other Provinces in our country which are not half so advanced as Bombay, and with regard to which a large number of subjects might have to be reserved and that is why our proposition is worded very cautiously and we recommend that as far as possible in every Province the maximum number of transferable subjects should be transferred. I very much wish personally it were part of the terms of the reference to the Committee itself. But that is not so. All that can be done now is that this Conference should deliberately record its opinion and transmit it to the Committee so that they may be guided by this spirit in their work.

The Report, as you know, has for its principal feature in regard to Provincial Governments a system of diarchy which is tolerable only

as a measure for a transitional period. The Report recognises the inherent difficulties of this two-fold arrangement, the same Executive Government purporting to act as one whole in all important matters, but likewise operating in two distinct spheres and coming together only as a matter of form in certain respects. The inherent difficulty, however, has to be faced as they say ; it has been accepted as a necessary evil with great reluctance by the authors of the report, and I think we are accepting this same arrangement with still greater reluctance. (*Hear, hear.*) But accepting the arrangement, we have got to see that it works as satisfactorily as may be possible in the circumstances. Now that part of the Executive Government which is to be in charge of the reserved subjects is the Executive Council. The part of the Executive Government which is to be in charge of the transferred subjects is to be called " Minister or Ministers." The Report says, if the Ministers and the Executive Council are to work together in harmony, it is necessary that the members of either party should be actuated towards the members of the other by complete goodwill and public spirit. That is so, and I do trust,—I take it that you will all agree with me—I do trust and the whole of India trusts that the Ministers, when they are appointed from amongst the elected part of our Legislative Councils, will be found to possess these virtues of mutual goodwill and public spirit and a spirit of reasonable compromise to the extent to which you may find the virtues in the members of the Executive Council. In fact, I fully believe that with the Legislative Council, with the elected part thereof behind them, our Ministers will be quite up to the mark, and they will be found not only in regard to these virtues but also in regard to the qualities of efficiency and care for the welfare of the general State by no means inferior to their brethren on the Executive Council. (*Hear, hear.*) But it is absolutely necessary, if they are to function at the highest level, that they should be placed on terms of perfect equality with the members of the Executive Council. The fact that we have not had sufficient administrative training hitherto in responsible government has been regarded in the Report as a reason perhaps for suggesting that the Ministers should occupy a position not quite equal to that of Members of the Executive Council. We greatly demur to that. Not only do we think that it is essentially unjust in itself, but we also think that by so placing the Ministers a little below the level of the Executive Council we shall be starting them with a heavy handicap. It will be impossible for them to show good work ; and that accord and harmony and goodwill which is so much desiderated on all hands will be very difficult to get between the people who are not exactly co-ordinate. It is therefore necessary that, in regard to status and emoluments and in every other respect, the Ministers should be placed on terms of perfect equality with the members of the Executive Council.

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Nor should the Governor of the Province think that he can treat the members of the Ministry in a way different to that in which he can treat the members of the Executive Council. He ought not to think that the Ministry can be easily interfered with while interference with the Executive Council should be altogether rare or perhaps unknown

Resolution VII. in the constitution. Still there are passages in the Report which seem to indicate that the authors of the report contemplate the Governor having a power to interfere now and then with the Ministers. Of course, if he became quite constitutional, as in the more advanced constitutions the Governor is, he will have to uphold the part of the Ministers, though he is called the Governor, while those who are called the Ministers will be the real rulers; but till that time the Report proposes that there should be what is called an "Instrument of Instructions" by which the Governor should be guided in regard to his Ministers. We fully hope that nothing in this Instrument will be inserted which will justify the Governor in differentiating between the Executive Council and the Ministry. He should have no more power of touching the decisions of the Ministry than he can have of touching the decisions of the Executive Council. If he takes very good care when he overrides the decisions of the Executive Council, he ought to take equally good care when he overrides the decisions of the Ministry.

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Nay more, we proceed in clause (d) to indicate another point which seems to be necessary from the language occasionally employed in certain paragraphs of the Report. In certain paragraphs of the Report to which I am alluding, there is perhaps a suspicion that the decisions of the Ministry, with regard to their own transferred subjects, might, in cases, be such as to interfere with the administration of the reserved subjects. I have no doubt that we all agree that such will be the case, for the division between transferred and reserved subjects is arbitrary and is likely to cause great confusion, and we should not wonder at all if in the daily practical administration it happens that the decisions of one part of the Executive Government do interfere, inconvenience and incommode the operation of the other part of the administration. In such cases, there is a provision made for the Governor and the members of the Executive Council acting together now and then to interfere with the operations of the Governor and the Ministry acting together. We hope and trust also that complete reciprocity will be established in this matter, so that if the operations of the Executive Council should interfere with the administration of transferred subjects by the Ministry, this part also should have a similar power to override and interfere with and make representations to the other part of the Government. In that way we want to place all on a complete footing of equality so that as little friction as possible will be generated in the working of this complex machinery.

Coming to clause (e), it protests against the somewhat peculiar arrangement which the Report suggests and some importance naturally attaches to it because we believe that the inconvenience and friction, which, we anticipate, will arise in the working of this machinery will be greatly aggravated if this principle of Executive Councillors without portfolio and without vote should be brought in. The fear is that in the Executive Government, the Ministry and the Executive Council taken together, the Indian elements will preponderate and the Governor, if he happens to be a man out from home, might be a man himself without practical experience of Indian administration and he would like to have

at his command abundance of advice from those who are equipped fully with this element in which he is himself lacking. It is believed that the elected part of the Legislative Council, having never acquainted itself with the details and the inner working of any branch of administration, might not itself be able to supply this element of practical experience. It is, therefore, suggested that the Governor must have it in his power to nominate, to be members of the Executive Government, certain senior officials who may be heads of departments or who possess technical knowledge which they may place at his disposal whenever he should choose to call them into consultation. We object to this for this reason—we appreciate the necessity for the Governor and the Ministry and every body who is responsible having as good advice from practical administrators as possible. But in all fully developed constitutions, they do not work in the dark ; men who are responsible have not, always or generally, practical experience, but they have practical experience at their command, because the heads of these departments, the technical advisers of Government, are all there always as officials, salaried officials of Government, bound to advise the Governor and his Ministry whenever called upon to do so. Take, for instance, England where you often hear of the same Minister holding at one time one portfolio, say the portfolio of War and in the next six months transferred to Agriculture, then coming back to the head of the Ministry of Munitions. Men are shifted about according to their own personal conveniences and the idiosyncrasies of the other members of the Cabinet. But they manage to get along because they are masters of the general principles of administration in the first instance, and, in the second place whatever practical experience they may lack in their own person, they are able to supply the deficiency by calling to their aid, whenever they feel the advice necessary, the advice of these departmental heads. That ought to be enough in India as well. Why these departmental heads should in India alone, before they give advice, which they are competent to give and which they are bound to give at the same time, why in India alone, they should further require to be placed on a footing of equality as members of the Executive Government with the Ministry and the Executive Council, I fail to understand. (*Hear, hear.*) This is giving disobedience, insubordination and reluctance to enter into the new arrangements a premium ; and I think the authors of the Report have gone very much out of the way in showing extra tenderness to the officials not only in this place but in other places as well, where their salaries and pensions are taken into consideration. I make no doubt that the authors of the Report are moved by the desire to conciliate them as much as possible, because they know by past experience, just as you and I know, that the organised passive resistance of the service is one of the greatest obstacles to reform in this country ; and it is necessary that they should be kept in good humour, but their co-operation and goodwill has a price which should never be exceeded. We must not teach them to believe that they will yield to the future Government that which they are under a moral and official obligation to yield only if an extraordinary consideration is shown to them. The advice which they are competent to give they are bound to give as soon as called upon to do so, not necessarily

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only when they are placed on a footing of perfect equality. The arrangement proposed in the Report is bound to lead also to no small inconvenience and disadvantage. Where you have five or six people among whom papers have to be circulated, the inconvenience that is caused is great enough but where the Executive Government is enlarged by the addition of a number of such people who have to be brought together probably from different parts of the Province for specific occasions, the difficulties will be enormous. The circulation of papers will become a matter of immense difficulty and besides, as you all know, where men of practical experience versed in the minutiae and details of administration, versed in practical affairs in one way or another, large or small, sit alongside with persons who are not so well equipped with the details and the former class of people outnumber the latter, the tendency will be for the latter to subordinate their judgment unduly. Great principles are likely to be given the go-by to and the result will be that while there may be excellent efficiency in regard to the routine and details of the administration, there is likely to be a falling off in the grasp of the vitality and the progressive character of higher principles of administration. That is the great danger which is likely to be brought into the administration by the inclusion of heads of departments without portfolios and without votes.

About clause (d) I think I need not say much. I think here too the Report makes a somewhat retrograde recommendation that it should be open to the members of the Indian Civil Service and other services, when they are considered fit for the purpose, to be appointed heads of Governments. I think it is a dangerous principle that is enunciated. I know many people who are so competent in the Indian Civil Service; I know as a class, if appointed to the highest office, they will prove equal to the task, but as a class, by the very course which they have to undergo as officials, by the very grinding which for 30 years they are put to, they become unfit to initiate a broad-minded measure of reform or to contemplate progress on a definite scale. Efficiency of the smaller kind they understand and they are always willing to further it, but real constitutional progress and the grasp of fundamental principles which a rapidly growing national life ought to place in the forefront—these, they are not specially strong in understanding. I think, therefore, that the Report is rather weak in that part of it where it recommends that Governorships of Provinces could also be open to members of the Indian Civil Service. We wish to put a corrective there, and we do so by clause (d).

As regards clause (e) “no administrative control over subjects vested in Provincial Governments should be ‘reserved’ in the Central Government, particularly in respect of ‘transferred’ heads.” I wish to make one observation about that and then conclude. We have said in another part of our proceedings to-day that we want the Central Government also liberalised in a manner similar to the liberalisation in the Provincial Governments. Now, amongst the many reasons which seem to me to justify that recommendation, there is one, and it is that

which underlies the spirit of this recommendation. The Government of India is under our new arrangement to have an overseeing power over the work and operations of the Provincial Governments. It is even clothed with the power of overriding the decisions of Local Governments in certain matters and it has got a concurrent power of legislation. Now having all these powers of interference, occasionally with the administration of Local Governments, we are very anxious that the spirit which animates the Central Government should be the same as or similar to that of the Local Government. If the Local Governments were liberalised answering to the need of the new popular regime, the Executive Government of the Central Government being still unliberalised, remaining bureaucratic as it were, we think that this overriding and interfering power will not be exercised in beneficent and healthy ways. (*Hear, hear.*) To understand the work of a popular Government, you need a strong popular element in the Government of India as well and, it is because of that, that we have made this recommendation that the Government of India should be liberalised. But supposing that the entire work of the Provincial Government was to be supervised, not by the popular party or by the whole Government where the popular party has a voice in the Central Government, but by that part of the Central Government which is still bureaucratic, then the danger to the popular administration will be just the same. It is not enough to introduce it there, but it is necessary to see that that popular element is brought to bear on the character and the work of the Provincial Governments. That is secured by clause (e) of the Resolution. We do not want that the administrative control over the work of Provincial Governments, especially under the transferred heads, should be interfered with by the unreformed bureaucratic power of the Government of India. Where such interference has to be exercised, it should be exercised by the Government as a whole or perhaps preferably by the popular element but perhaps the popular element will be too large an order at present, and, therefore, we say :—"No administrative control over subjects vested in Provincial Governments should be 'reserved' in the Central Government, particularly in respect of 'transferred' heads."

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VII.

Provinces
and
Transferred
Subjects.

The Hon.
Mr. V. S.
Srinivasa
Sastri.

About clause (f) I have not much to say. It seems to me that clause (f) is defensible on the footing that the arrangements of finance in the new regime are of a totally new character. We divide the finances available in the country into Provincial and Imperial and erect the two into two different systems, and we propose that the Imperial Government, aided and supplemented by the contributions from the Provincial Governments, will be normally in a position to find the finances necessary for its maintenance, while the Provincial Governments, with the necessary deduction of the Imperial contribution, will find themselves normally in possession also of the finances necessary for their purpose. Having these two independent systems, it will be rather inconvenient further to provide in the Government of India the power to upset the whole of this whenever they like in the name of emergency, for we know there are emergencies and emergencies; our idea of emergency is not likely to be the same as that of the Central Government having a lot of

Resolution VII. expenditure,—scientific schemes, very attractive plans of improvement, strategic railways of one kind or another, all of which are likely to consume money to any extent that it may be possible for them to find. It is very well that in the new regime we are going to restrict them, to certain heads and also to restrict their powers of levying taxes. If, as the Report proposes to do, we give them power to impose additional sums in the name of emergency on these Provincial Governments,—these poor Governments will not then know what finances they will have; for the moment, they may have a little surplus, probably hoping that in the course of the next ten years they will be in a position to undertake a very large scheme of educational or other improvement; but suddenly an emergency occurring in the interval will sweep it all away into the coffers of the Imperial Government, and the Provincial Governments will be at their wits' end then, notwithstanding the ingenuity of our Ministers in devising fresh methods of taxation. We, therefore, desire that when the Central Government want money, they should not take it away in the shape of contributions, but their rapacity should be checked by this provision that they should regard every additional contribution that they shall take as a loan to be repaid in the course of a few years. Then the Provincial Governments will be in the position of creditors able to treat with their debtors and tell them "we shall want this money in so many instalments distributed in so many years; we expect you to pay so much interest." That will be a great check on the disposition of the Central Government to make inordinate levies on the Provincial Governments. That is the reason why we recommend clause (f). I have run through the various clauses of the Resolution now and probably have taken as much time as you have been willing to give. I commend this Resolution to your acceptance. (*Loud applause.*)

Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul.

Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul (Lucknow):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, after the very lucid and comprehensive speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, I do not think I can add anything to the discussion of the subject very usefully. However, as I have been called upon to second the Resolution, I would say a very few words regarding the second part of this Resolution. Though it is perhaps admitted—at least we are convinced—that some of the major Provinces, say, for instance, Bombay and Madras and Bengal, are prepared to bear the whole burden of Provincial autonomy, it has been generally conceded that, for some time to come, it will be better if we content ourselves with all other subjects excepting Law, Police and Justice, *i.e.*, that these subjects should be left in the hands of the Executive Council and should be regarded as reserved subjects. But there is no reason why all other subjects should not be amongst the transferred subjects. If you go through the Illustrative List, which has been incorporated in the report, you will find that even land revenue and some other subjects are not included in it. By proposing this Resolution we urge on the Government that at least in the major Provinces subjects like land revenue and others should be amongst the transferred subjects. As regards other Provinces, those Provinces where even subjects like land

revenue cannot be transferred from the very beginning, we have to provide safeguards against certain other dangers. This is generally conceded even by the opponents of the Scheme who have now given a general reluctant support to the Scheme, though they still withhold their whole-hearted support and have attacked it in other directions. They say that as to transferred and reserved subjects, we are all prepared to concede that Indians are fit for local self-government; that is, they say local self-government could be a transferred subject. They go so far as to say that primary education could be a transferred subject; but so far as secondary education is concerned, they are very reluctant and they oppose the idea of making secondary education a transferred subject. The same about the provincialization of minor "industries." The European mercantile community is raising a hue and cry over this question and says that, if any part of commerce and industry be placed amongst the transferred subjects in the hands of Indians, it will be a bad day for them. So you will find that even in regard to some of these subjects, that is, minor industries and secondary education, which are included in the Illustrative List No. II, the transference of these subjects is opposed by the European community here and our European opponents in England. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to urge on the Government that in all the Provinces at least the full Illustrative List No. II should be amongst the transferred subjects; and this is what we urge in the second part of the Resolution. With these few words, I second the Resolution. (*Cheers.*)

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Provinces and Transferred Subjects.

Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul.

The Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me of addressing this distinguished assembly on this proposition; but as the time allotted to a speaker is brief, I shall follow the example of my immediate predecessor and confine myself only to the second part of this proposition, but not without endorsing every word which the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has said in support of the first part of the proposition under the heading 'Provinces'. In regard to transferred subjects, the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has made reference to the report of the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council who have asked for a transfer of all the subjects. I may be permitted to mention that they have only asked for it on the assumption that perhaps one single Province might be singled out for the benefit of having all the so-called reserved subjects transferred; for the report of the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council lays down clearly what it expects and what it would like to have. Mr. President and gentlemen, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report gives two Illustrative Lists and the second Illustrative List explains the views of the authors as to the particular subjects that they would like to see transferred, and in regard to that, I may be permitted to quote an extract which is found in the columns of that very pro-Indian weekly, the "Nation," which said that if all the subjects which are shown in the Illustrative List No. II are transferred to popular control in India, India will have nearly as large a measure of Home Rule as was promised to Ireland under the Suspended Act. (*Applause.*) This, ladies and gentlemen, shows that the authors have treated us or have proposed to treat us

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very generously indeed. But before we endorse all that they have said, perhaps the country at large will await the decision of the Committee which has just arrived and which will before long receive evidence and compile its report, and we trust that that report would transfer as many possible subjects as they conveniently can. During their long connection with this country, the British Government have made no pronouncement which has aroused greater enthusiasm or greater interest in the country as the report on constitutional reforms—not even the Queen's Proclamation which, the President appropriately observed, celebrated its 61st anniversary yesterday. Ladies and gentlemen, the report reveals a very genuine desire to confer responsible government on this country as early as possible. If it has not been possible to do so right at once, it is because of the varying conditions, the varying local conditions, in the different parts of the country. This is a point perhaps which is lost sight of by those who do not see eye to eye with us. They quote instances of Canada and Australia and South Africa, which they say received self-government as it were by one stroke of the pen. But they conveniently forget that conditions there were different inasmuch as the different provinces there were more alike and the people more homogeneous. To attempt anything similar in this country would, in the words of the Report, amount to taking a precipitate plunge from total irresponsibility to complete responsibility with perhaps its concomitant evil of a complete breakdown. This is what the authors have tried to provide against. They have told us in different parts of the Report that they have given due consideration to the various proposals which were placed before them in the Legislative Councils and by other Bodies or persons, but finally, although the system of diarchy may not be the most perfect one, they have hit upon this particular system as the best for the present conditions of India. Mr. President and gentlemen, it is a very gratifying sign that, in the Illustrative List No. II, both primary and secondary education are contemplated by the authors to be handed over as transferred subjects, though, as I see, the previous speaker has expressed some doubt in regard to the transfer of secondary education in certain Provinces. I suppose he anticipates opposition from the official quarters, but I do hope that the wishes of the authors of the report will be carried out in entirety so far as primary education and secondary education are concerned. The reason why I lay emphasis on this is that if India has not advanced to the extent that we want, it is because of the percentage of illiteracy in this country. It is a matter of genuine regret to me and I am sure to all of you, that some of our prominent leaders some time back were not unanimous in the idea of introducing compulsory education as was contemplated by the late lamented Mr. Gokhale. If that were done, the authors of the Report would not have cause to complain of the paucity of electorates or to complain that literacy had not advanced in this country; and this system of diarchy would perhaps not have been introduced at least in the advanced Provinces. Therefore it is a matter for gratification that primary education and secondary education are contemplated to be handed over to the Ministers and I trust that profiting by the mistakes of yesterday and converting them into stepping-stones for to-morrow's

success, the Ministers of every Province who may be in charge of the portfolio of Education will, by degrees, introduce compulsory education, so that, within a generation or less, it will be possible for India in every single Province to claim every subject as a transferred subject, and let us hope that that hope will be realised within the lifetime of the most senior amongst us. (*Applause.*)

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Babu Bhabatosh Ray (Calcutta):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, sincerely believing as I do that the Reform Scheme ought to be saved at all costs, I think it necessary that I should simply recall to your minds a story that was told me in my early days, which I believe was familiar to all of you also in your early days. Once upon a time a mountain was in labour and it was a sight for the gods to see. People mustered in thousands in order to see what came out of this travail. Hell was dancing with joy as it is doing to-day on the battle-fields and from every point it was a matter that elicited the admiration of the other regions. When the agonies of the mountain came to a stop, it was for the people to find out what was the result. What did they see? Of course, hell could not think and the Heavens also could not think what was the result. The peoples had to purchase a telescope, if there were telescopes in the time of Æsop, to see that a mouse was strutting out. Sincerely as I believe that the Ministers who will be our own countrymen and whose status should be like the status of the Councillors of Government, who are so proudly situated in their positions, sincerely as I believe that the Ministers should carry the same status and emoluments, would it not be worth your while to save the trouble of purchasing a telescope by supporting this Resolution and by commending it to the British Parliament and others. With these words I commend it to you. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Babu Bhabatosh Ray.

Babu Rajendra Nath Ganguli (24 Parganas):—Mr. President, fellow-members, ladies and gentlemen, I have no desire to inflict a long speech on you. I am not a platform orator or speaker. This is my first speech on a political platform and I have deliberately chosen to make this maiden effort under the guidance and leadership of that veteran hero of hundreds of platforms, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. (*Applause.*)

Babu Rajendra Nath Ganguli.

Our esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, has very lucidly explained the several items of this Resolution and I do not think I can improve on his elucidation. Still, I think I should point out to you in my own way that some of the clauses of this Resolution have a general aim and some others have some particular aim. The general aim of this Resolution, as embodied in clauses (a), (b), (c) and (e), seems to be to guard against a remark which is to be found in paragraph 261 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. I beg to draw your particular attention to this sentence in that Report. The paragraph deals with the appointment of the periodic Commission and the sentence to which I refer is this:—The Commission is “to recommend the retransfer of other matters to the control of the Governor in Council if serious mal-administration were established.” That sentence appears to me to be

Resolution VII. something that is very alarming, and it is alarming on this ground—
Provinces and Transferred Subjects. the periodic Commission may, if they like and if they find reasons to do so, re-transfer certain subjects which already form part of the transferred subjects; and possibly the effect of it would be that the transitional stage would for ever remain the transitional stage and it would never progress, and we shall find it very difficult to achieve the final goal which is the attainment of complete responsible government. To guard against this re-transfer of the already transferred subjects by the periodic Commission, it is necessary that the several clauses of this resolution should be borne in mind—clauses (a), (b), (c) and (e). If the status and emoluments of the Ministers be not of the same character as those of members of the Executive Council, certainly the Ministers themselves will scarcely feel that they were fairly treated nor are they likely to wield the same authority and evince the same responsibility in the discharge of their respective duties as the more favoured members of the Executive Council and necessarily their work will suffer and then with this unsatisfactory record of their work the periodic Commission will pounce upon them and upon the Provincial Legislature and take away from their control certain subjects which were already included in the list of transferred subjects.

Babu Rajendra Nath Ganguli.

Clause (b) of the Resolution aims at restraining undue interference on the part of the Governor in Council in matters which are particularly in charge of the Ministers. Clause (c) is a very necessary clause. It is meant, as I understand it, to keep in their proper place and not allowed to intrude into and form part of the Executive Government of a Province the members of what is known as the heaven-born service, amongst whom you may find men of the type of Sir John Hewett, who would, in season and out of season, instil into the minds of the Governor certain reactionary measures and would prove a stumbling block to the realisation of responsible government. Clause (e).—"No administrative control over subjects vested in Provincial Governments should be 'reserved' in the Central Government, particularly in respect of 'transferred' heads."—is also a very necessary clause for the reason of the general aim to which I have referred just now.

As regards the second portion of this Resolution, regarding transferred subjects, I think Illustrative List No. II gives the irreducible minimum. I should have much liked to introduce into this List the subjects of law and police, but I am not so sanguine whether these two subjects would also be included in that List. I think I have mentioned all that I could say by way of supplementing the remarks of our esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. With these words, I beg to support this Resolution. (*Applause.*)

The President :—Gentlemen, this Resolution has been proposed, seconded and supported. I take it you are all in favour of it.

The Resolution was then declared carried unanimously.

Resolution VIII.

FRANCHISE, ELECTORATES, ETC.

Prof. H. G. Limaye (Poona):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Resolution which I beg to move runs as follows :— Resolution VIII.

- (a) The franchise should be as wide and the composition of the Legislative Council should be as liberal as circumstances may admit in each Province, the number of representatives of the general territorial electorates being fixed in every case at not less than one-half of the whole Council. Franchise, Electorates, &c. Prof. H. G. Limaye.
- (b) The elected element in the Provincial Legislative Councils should be four-fifths of the total strength of the Councils at least in the more advanced Provinces.
- (c) The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of tax-payers their due representation by *election* and the interests of important minorities and the "depressed classes" should be adequately safeguarded.
- (d) Mahomedan representation in every legislature should be in the proportions mentioned in the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916.
- (e) In the case of any community, for which separate special electorates may be deemed at present necessary, participation in the general territorial electorates, whether as voters or candidates, should not be permitted.
- (f) It shall be left to the option of an individual belonging to a community which is given separate representation to enrol himself as a voter either in the general or the communal electorate.

The Resolution, which you have just adopted, has given to you the outline of the Provincial Governments, the composition of these Governments, the powers and position of the Members of the Executive Council and of the Ministers and also the lists of transferred and reserved subjects, not of course in detail but in broad outline. The Resolution, which I beg to propose now, gives to you the foundations on which the superstructure of the Provincial Legislature and Government is to be erected. It deals in the first paragraph with the general principles which underlie this foundation. In the first place, we say that the franchise should be as broad and wide as possible. This is a principle which has been accepted in the Report of the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy. In the same manner, it has been laid down that the composition of the Legislative Councils should be as liberal as circumstances may admit. This also is a principle accepted in the Report. It is said there that the elective majority should be of a substantial character. We say it should be four-fifths, at least in a Province like Bombay. Thirdly, it has been made very clear in our Resolution that the general territorial electorate should

Resolution VIII. be not less than one-half of the whole Council and this also is a principle which impliedly may be said to be accepted in the Report, where the distinguished authors set their face, generally speaking, against all communal electorates.

Franchise, Electorates, &c.
Prof. H. G. Limaye.

If we take the Resolution as a whole, first, we have the composition of the Council, that is the total strength in each Council; secondly, we have to consider the question of the electorates and the franchise. First then, with regard to the numbers, in the second paragraph we say that in these Councils, as I have already pointed out, four-fifths of the total strength should be elected at least in the more advanced provinces. You will see the Resolution is as cautiously worded as you can possibly wish; in fact, speaking for myself, I would have proceeded further, because after all, even if the Councils are wholly elected, it is not the whole sphere of Government that is entrusted to them, but it is only some portion of the Government's functions that is handed over to them, and in regard to the question as to what part of the functions of the Government is to be transferred to the control of elected members, when that is settled, it naturally follows that there is not much to be said in favour of restricting the proportion of the elected members. However, I need not press the point. As I have said, the Resolution proceeds on most cautious lines; and that is why it says that only four-fifths shall be elected at least in the advanced provinces, thereby implying that in some provinces the Council may not consist of four-fifths elected members, having regard to their less advanced condition.

Then after that, we proceed to the second question as regards the electorates and the franchise. In regard to this question of franchise, we have to apply the test usually applied in such cases. In the case of representative bodies it has been observed that the representative bodies should be a true image of the nation and it is for that purpose that we should have the franchise on as broad and wide a basis as possible. Otherwise, if we do not make the franchise as broad and wide as possible, there will be important classes of the people who will be left altogether unrepresented; and in that case whatever powers and privileges might be enjoyed by the Legislative Councils, those powers and privileges might be said to be the monopoly of a privileged few. As a matter of fact most of you know the history of England, and you will bear me out when I say that even in the constitution of England itself, although Parliamentary rule was established by the Revolution of 1688, Parliament, as the true image of the nation, could not be described as such until quite a recent period. It has been said that the Reform of 1832 completed the work of the Revolution of 1688, and to a certain extent it is correct but only to a very limited extent indeed; and that is because it did not make the House of Commons a true image of the nation. It simply equalised the franchise and it was only by the great Reform Acts of Mr. Gladstone in 1888 that the House of Commons might be said to be truly representative of the great masses of the people, and it is as a result of that that we have the Independent Labour Party, representing the great masses of the working people of England, coming into prominence

since then. That will show you how it is not enough for our purposes to secure a substantial majority of the councils made up of elected members, but we must also secure that these elected members truly represent the great body of the people, and for that purpose we propose what is embodied in clause (c) here in the Resolution. It says:—"The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of tax-payers their due representation by *election*, and the interests of important minorities and the 'depressed classes' should be adequately safeguarded." There are no special recommendations made here. That is a work which is going to be done by the Committee of which our worthy President of to-day has been appointed one of the members. So we do not deal with them but we simply say that the franchise should be wide and broad.

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Franchise, Electorate &c.

Prof. H. G. Limaye.

Then we come to the vexed question of electorates. I call it a vexed question because it has given rise to all sorts of difficulties and to all sorts of demands. Sometimes I am tempted to call those demands extravagant. But extravagant or otherwise, there are those demands and we have to see what to do with them. For the purpose of satisfying these people who feel that their interests will be jeopardised by a system of territorial representation, we have to give them a definite assurance that their interests will not be endangered anywhere, and this clause has been put in here, namely, that the interests of minorities and the "depressed classes" should be adequately safeguarded. In the Report itself, as also in the instructions to the Franchise Committee, Government, have laid down certain principles especially with regard to minorities and they say that the minorities may be represented by nomination and then provision may be made for representation by proportional election or there may be seats reserved for them in multiple and plural constituencies. So far as the first is concerned, representation by nomination, the resolution says definitely that we shall not have anything whatever to do with nomination whether it is a question of the depressed classes or of the minorities or of the backward majority—whosoever's interests are endangered,—all this shall be provided for by election and not by nomination, so that that question is altogether set at rest. Then we come to consider the other alternative. In this, my own view is that we are following perhaps too closely—I am almost tempted to use the words slavishly—the English model. Only the other day, the English Parliament refused to pass proportional representation in England. The question of vested interests does not arise in India alone. Some Anglo-Indians and others say in disparagement of our claims and aspirations that India is an Eastern country. Only the other day when that debate took place in the House of Lords, one of the noble Lords remarked that India was an Eastern country. For my own part, I am not ashamed of the term "Eastern." India is an Eastern country. I want to ask these noble Lords whether there is any charm in the word "Western." Are the Western people really so advanced as is sometimes presumed? Most of you know the history of the legislation with regard to the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, and, as they used to say, the deceased wife's sister figured rather too frequently in the transactions

Resolution VIII. of the British Parliament. Where then is the question of the representation of minorities? For our part, we are perhaps thinking too much of a particular minority. We altogether ignore the minorities that exist among the literate classes. Just take the question of difference between the Extremists and the Moderates. If you look at the state of public feeling at the present moment, the Moderates, I am afraid, will go to the wall and the Extremists will carry the day. (*Cries of 'No, no.'*) Well, it is a question of opinion, it is a question of views, I think you will concede, however, if I say that there is just a chance of the Moderates going to the wall. If they do not go to the wall, so much the better.

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Electoralates,
&c.**
**Prof. H. G.
Limaye.**

The President:—They will not—they cannot—go to the wall. (*Applause.*)

Prof. H. G. Limaye:—Well, then there may be some others that will go to the wall.

The President.—Yes, alter it that way and say that the Extremists will go to the wall. (*Applause.*)

Prof. H. G. Limaye:—Supposing there is some important section of the advanced classes that is likely to be left unrepresented, is it not our duty to look to their representations as well? And that can be done only by resorting to proportional representation. For my part, I consider it is a matter of serious regret that this question of proportional representation should not be studied and followed carefully in India as much as it should be. I am prepared to say that, if the principle of proportional representation is applied to Indian conditions and to conditions in other countries alike, many of the evils of the present electoral system would disappear. If this solution of the question did not prove acceptable to the British Parliament, it was simply because there was the question of vested interests there. Even in the political field, there is a good deal of conservatism. Just as they talk of Eastern and Western people, there was a sort of superstition about the single member constituency, and this gives rise to the many acts of injustice that are committed in the name of what I would call merely arithmetical justice and not political justice to all parties in the formation of a truly representative legislature, which should reflect in its composition a real image of the nation. If these single member constituencies are given up and if we have multiple of plural constituencies, then without having recourse to proportional representation, some of the evils would no doubt disappear, but if we have proportional representation, the votes of minorities would not be wasted as they are at the present moment but would be made available at their full strength to make sure of their own representative. I do not want to go here into the details of proportional representation. But I cannot help emphasising my view that if we accept proportional representation and make it available for use in India, many of these inequalities and difficulties we complain of will disappear. Supposing that proportional representation is not accepted, we have to provide for safeguards for the representation of minorities and the depressed classes and the backward majority. There is no definite proposal made here. If I were to make a proposal, I would say

by all means, reserve some seats for them in plural constituencies. That would be a very good way out of the difficulty. The terms of the Resolution are absolutely of a general character, so that we do not want to tie down the hands of the members of the Franchise Committee which is going to begin its work soon.

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Electorates,
&c.

Prof. H. G.
Limaye.

Lastly, we come to two or three points relating to the question of the special privilege of separate electorates. Very often what happens is that they have double representation as at the present time in the case of the Muhammadans. They enjoy special rights of special representation and they again take part in the general election. To provide against this repetition we have this provision made in clause (e) which says:—“Participation in the general territorial electorates whether as voters or candidates should not be permitted.” In the case of communities which have communal electorates, we say in clause (f):—“It shall be left to the option of an individual belonging to a community, which is given separate representation, to enrol himself as a voter either in the general or the communal electorate.” In certain cases the members of the community may feel that they would not be serving the cause of the country rightly if they continue in their separate or communal electorates. Or, perhaps, I am tempted to think that there are certain backward communities which in the general mass of backward communities, would be altogether swamped and they would like to throw in their lot with the general territorial electorates rather than with any special electorates. If that is so, we wish to safeguard their interests and respect their wishes, and consequently it has been provided here that if they want to enrol themselves as voters in any territorial electorate they may be allowed to do so.

There remains the question of Muhammadan representation and about this a good deal has been said. It is said that if we want to set our face against excessive representation of Muhammadan interests, (*at this stage the President sounded the gong*) there may be a good deal to be said with regard to this. (*The gong was again sounded.*) A few words more, and I shall have done, Sir. There is a saying that the origins of noble houses and sacred rivers should not be too closely investigated; it is rather an unholy affair, and the representation of Muhammadan interests will perhaps fall under that category. It is a solemn compact worked out between the two parts of the Indian nation and arrived at by them. It does not lie with us to lightly throw it away or go back upon it. For myself, I feel that the time might come, at no distant date, let me hope, at which all these misgivings and feelings of distrust will vanish, and then these two communities will join together and they may themselves agree to cancel this special agreement or at least modify its terms or reject it altogether. It is for these two communities together to decide the matter and when that is done, naturally the national and the general electorates, which we want, will be easy of accomplishment. With these words, ladies and gentlemen. I move the Resolution. (*Applause.*)

Resolution
VIII.

Franchise,
Electorates,
&c.

Mr. A.
Ranga-
swamy
Aiyangar.

Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar (Sivaganga) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, much as I should like to give a complete scheme of electorates and franchises, still with the limited information and time at our disposal, we can but indicate the general lines on which the scheme of the electorates and franchises should be based ; and it is with that view that the various clauses embodied in this resolution have been framed. I shall confine myself to clause (d) of this Resolution. Clause (d) deals with Muhammadan representation. That has been fixed by the various leaders of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities by what is known as the Congress-League compact. We all know that the proportion of the Muhammadan and Hindu representation was fixed in that memorable session of the Congress, which was held at Lucknow, and which I had the honour of attending, after a good deal of discussion and deliberation, and that represents the ultimate decision arrived at by Hindu Congressmen and Muhammadan Leaguers, and Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, in referring to it, say :—“ We are not aware of anything other than that a few figures were arrived at after negotiation.” We plead guilty to the charge that we arrived at the figures by negotiation. What is the fault ? What is that negotiation after all ? It is that spirit of compromise which Mr. Montagu says elsewhere we must bear in mind. In connection with some other subject, he says : “ give and take.” This is what we have exactly done. We have given and taken and it would not be right to lightly brush aside the spirit of compromise that underlay a proposal like that. We are anxious to show our Mussalman brethren that whatever the view of the Government may be with regard to their excessive representation, the Hindu leaders, whether Extremists or Moderates, stand by that engagement made at Lucknow.

Then with regard to clause (c). That clause gives the broad outlines of the true principles on which electorates should be formed. It says :— “ The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of tax-payers their due representation by *election*, and the interests of important minorities and the ‘ depressed classes ’ should be adequately safeguarded.” With regard to minorities and depressed classes, their interests should be safeguarded but we do not definitely say whether by election or by nomination or by some other means. In this connection, I wish to point out the general fallacy underlying certain movements when they urge that only a member belonging to a particular community is competent to represent that community and its interests and none else. For instance, for the depressed classes, I can find no better representative than Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. He will represent the interests of the depressed classes much better than any representative of that community itself. So the notion that members belonging to a particular community alone can safely represent the interests of that community is not a sound doctrine. A word here as to the agitation in Madras will be relevant. Coming as I do from Madras, I hope I may be permitted to say a word in connection with the new outcry from Madras. The large class of non-Brahmins—they would not come under minorities—want a system of communal

electorates for themselves, although they will constitute a majority in the new electorates. To anticipate discussion a little, I want to enter my most emphatic protest against that. I have a two-fold objection. Not only is the basis of their agitation wrong, but also the agitation itself, even if the basis is correct, is premature. I will illustrate my statement. Eight years ago, Dr. Nair, the head of the present movement, was a democrat; and he stood for election to the Madras Corporation, and we, who belonged to Triplicane division, a Brahmin-ridden division, returned Dr. Nair and a Brahmin candidate was out-voted. I voted for him and all the other Brahmin graduates voted for him, and Dr. Nair was brought into the Council by a large number of Brahmin votes, (*Hear, hear.*) If the present Dr. Nair is the Dr. Nair of 1909 or 1910, am sure no Brahmin will hesitate to give his vote to him. Then again, Mr. Habibullah Sahib was a Muhammadan, and he was returned to the Madras Legislative Council by a large majority of Hindu voters as against a Hindu candidate for a Hindu seat. So that wherever merit is found, whether in a Brahmin or a non-Brahmin or a Muhammadan, the Brahmins will be prepared to put aside all considerations except the interests of the country. (*Applause.*) Then, I have already told you that the agitation is itself premature, and it is premature for this reason. All the arguments in favour of communal representation are based on the present basis. Here we are going to have a different system of election and franchise—a wider franchise—and if we give the new system a trial and if, after the trial, the non-Brahmins do not find adequate representation, then I can understand their grievance. We are overhauling the whole system. Let us wait and see how the new system will work under the proposed scheme. My own impression is that under the new system of direct voting a large number of Brahmin candidates will not find their way, and there will come a time when the Brahmins of Southern India will cry for special communal representation for themselves. I am sure the tendency is not even now imperceptible in election to Taluk Boards, District Boards, etc., where we find non-Brahmins succeeding, even Brahmin voters voting and supporting them. The whole system must be given a trial and if the non-Brahmins have a case, it can be only at the next Commission of enquiry that they may put forth their case, if they have a case at all. So I say, the whole agitation is premature. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan (Bombay):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I begin by assuring you that I am going to be very brief. I desire to confine myself to two observations mainly by way of emphasis. The first observation that I wish to make is to impress upon you the importance of this Resolution which has been placed before you. It seems to me that it is one of the most important Resolutions on the agenda paper, for on the correct decision on the question of franchise and electorates would depend to a large extent the success of the whole Reform Scheme. The Resolution, therefore, wisely places before you that the franchise should be based on as broad a basis as possible. If we are to have responsible government, it follows that every section of the

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Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar.

Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan.

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Franchise,
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&c.

Mr. Mirza
Ali Maho-
med Khan.

community, every tax-payer, so far as possible, should be represented by election, and the rights of the minorities and the depressed classes should be duly safeguarded. I do not propose to read clause (c), but I propose to draw your attention to the principles embodied in that clause. The second observation which I desire to make is, if you would bear with me for a moment, in my character as a Mussalman. The vast majority of Moslem opinion has declared itself for communal representation and separate election; but there is a minority of opinion which holds that there is no use dividing the two great communities of India into two water-tight compartments and that the best interests of the country would be served if there is a fusion between the two. It was, therefore, a happy idea which introduced clause (f) into this Resolution, and I regard it as a very important clause and I shall beg leave of you to refer to it. It amounts to this: In those communities which have separate communal representation, it should be open to any member of that community to declare himself for the general electoralates and then to have a vote in the general electorate forfeiting all claim to his communal electorate and be a candidate at the general electorate, if he chooses to be a candidate there. This is really laying the seed of the future fusion between the two great communities, and I hope that this seed may germinate and that sooner or later, I trust sooner than later, there will be a fusion between the two communities, and to use a well-known metaphor, the two great communities will become the two eyes of the fair damsel, and there would be no difference between the two communities and sections, when communal representation shall have served its purpose, and the only distinction that we shall recognise and strive for will be 'devoted allegiance to the Motherland.' (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. Muh-
bubul Huq.

Mr. Muhbubul Huq (Calcutta):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the previous speakers have already dwelt on nearly all the salient points of the Resolution. I therefore wish to confine myself to the clause which touches the interests of the community to which I have the honour to belong.—I mean clause (d). It is manifest to all of us that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme marks a new era in the history of constitutional reforms in India. We Muhammadans are anxious for the progress of the Indians as a whole towards the goal of responsible self-government. We do not grudge any favour shown to any other community, but, at the same time, we are equally anxious that our interest are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the administrative and legislative machinery of the government of the country. We are the inheritors of a great race with a record, brilliant, glowing and inspiring, which any nation can be proud of, but for reasons which I do not wish to dilate upon here, we are lagging behind in the race of progress; and it is the duty of the non-Mussalmans to see that we go forward and keep pace with them in the general march towards the goal of responsible self-government. We, Mussalmans and non-Mussalmans, have to sit as well as to sail together in the same boat. We are, as it were, the two eyes of Mother India. Therefore, gentlemen, it was a red-letter day in the history of India when the Hindu-Moslem *rapprochement* was arrived at in the joint scheme of the Congress and the Muslim

League. Besides, two Viceroys and one Secretary of State for India have already recognised the claims of the Mussalman community to separate communal representation in the Legislative Councils in India. Therefore, I feel sure that what is given by one hand will not be taken away by the other. But, at the same time, I wish that my Muhammadan friends, if they are desirous at all of having an advance on the existing condition of things, will deem it their utmost duty, while heartily supporting the proposed reforms, to make good their case before the Committee appointed to deal with the questions of franchise and electorates. With these few words, I have great pleasure, as a member of the great Muslim community, in supporting the Resolution. (*Applause.*)

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Mr. Muh-bubul Huq.

The President:—I now call upon Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who wishes to move an amendment to one of the clauses of this Resolution.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar:—I have an amendment to move to clause (c) of this Resolution. The amendment is the result of an understanding arrived at between members of the Subjects Committee holding different sets of opinions on the subject of adequate representation of important minorities and what have been called the “backward communities” and the “depressed classes.” In the Subjects Committee there were sharp differences of opinion with the result that the Subjects Committee, by a majority, allowed clause (c) as drafted in the Resolution to stand. But as that was not approved of by those who belong to what are called the “backward communities” and the “depressed classes,” it was thought desirable that there should be further deliberation upon this subject in a private conference and this private conference has at last resulted in the amendment which I am just now going to read to you. That amendment has been accepted by the President, has been accepted by all others who held a somewhat different view and it is no longer a contentious amendment, because my friend Prof. Limaye, the mover of the Resolution, has already suggested in his speech that such an amendment would have his hearty approval, and what I am going to propose is one which promotes harmony and which settles, so far as this Conference is concerned, the vexed question by means of an arrangement which is the result of mutual and satisfactory understanding. I will now read it out to you. For clause (c) substitute the following:—“The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of tax-payers their due representation by election, and the interests of those communities or groups of communities in Madras, and the Bombay Deccan and elsewhere, who at present demand special electoral protection should be adequately safeguarded by introducing a system of plural constituencies in which a reasonable number of seats should be reserved for those communities till the first Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry.” I hope and trust and pray that this amendment may be passed unanimously by you so that the controversy might be set at rest. (*Applause.*)

Amendment to clause (c).

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

Mr. A. B. Latthe (Belgaum):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as this amendment has already been proposed, I do not wish to detain you. I shall finish my speech very soon in a few words. Sir

Mr. A. B. Latthe.

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Amendment to clause (c).

Mr. A. B. Latthe.

Narayan Chandavarkar, who proposed this amendment, has already informed you that it has been arrived at in a spirit of compromise. I accept that compromise, and, therefore, I need not add much of my own to what he has said already. The only remark I wish to make on the subject is that various methods have been suggested for the purpose of securing proper representation of the various communities in India in the reformed legislatures. Of course, I am in a position to say that the method which has been proposed now in the present amendment is one which should be acceptable and, I feel confident, which will be acceptable to all the sections of the public who require special electoral protection under the present conditions and, therefore, I second the amendment which has been put forward by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, and which has my hearty approval. (*Applause.*)

Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar.

Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar (Coimbatore):—Mr. President and brother-delegates, I am grateful to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar for the trouble he has taken to bring about this compromise. As you are aware, the non-Brahmins of the Southern Presidency are anxious to have their own electorates just as the Muhammadans have secured for themselves. They do consider that special separate electorates would be a more satisfactory arrangement for securing proper representation for themselves than mixed electorates such as the one proposed. But still as a compromise, I am very happy to accept it, so that we might have harmony here in this Conference and in the country. I may state, gentlemen, that the non-Brahmins of Southern India are as patriotic as the people anywhere else. Some of the leaders of the so-called non-Brahmin movement can show as good a record of public work behind them as any of the Brahmin leaders in the Madras Presidency. But if in this matter of representation they find it necessary to raise their voice and show their intense feeling, it only shows the state of things prevailing in Madras. The conditions prevailing in my Presidency are such that it has become necessary for them to insist on communal representation without which they fear there would not be proper representation of their classes. Therefore, I would appeal to you not to judge of them hastily or ungracefully. I repeat that there are among them people who are animated by the same public spirit and the same sense of duty to their country as anybody here. With these few words I accept the amendment; I cordially support it and I am very grateful to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar for the trouble he has taken in bringing about the compromise embodied in this amendment. (*Applause.*)

Amendment put to the vote and earned by an overwhelming majority.

The President:—You have heard the Resolution moved, seconded and supported, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has moved an amendment with regard to which there seems to be, I take it, general unanimity of opinion. I take it that you all accept the Resolution and the amendment. If so, I will put the amended Resolution to the vote. I declare the amended Resolution carried. (*Cries of 'not carried', 'there are some against.' 'No, no, carried, carried.'*)

The President:—Well then, those who are against the amendment will please raise their hands. (*Very few raised their hands.*)

Those for the amendment will please raise their hands. (*An overwhelming majority raised their hands.*)

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as amended
carried.

The President :—There you are ! Wasn't I right ? I now put to the vote the original proposition with the amendment inserted therein which you have carried and I trust it will be passed by you all without a dissentient voice.

The Resolution, as amended, was then declared carried unanimously.

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SOME OTHER SUGGESTIONS

AND

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat (Poona):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we have dealt so far in the previous part of the agenda with the main modifications which, we think, are desirable to be made in the Reform Scheme. We now come to other suggestions and with your permission I shall read Clause (a) of the first part of the Resolution. That Clause says:—

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It should be provided that when a Council is dissolved by the Governor, a fresh election should be held and the new Council summoned not later than four months after the dissolution.

In this clause, I am afraid, there is a slight inaccuracy which I wish to point out. It is not only in the Provincial Government that the Governor has the power of dissolution, but even the Governor-General has the power of dissolution so far as the Legislative Assembly is concerned. What is contemplated by the framer of this Resolution is with reference to the power of the Governor in Provincial Legislative Councils only. It should be the same—and it is intended, I take it, to be the same—in respect of the dissolution of the Government of India's legislature. Now this power of dissolution is a safeguard in the hands of the Governor or the Governor-General and what we want is something like an antidote to the safeguard, a safeguard to a safeguard, namely, that the popular government should call upon the Governor or the Governor-General within four months to summon a meeting of the Council and not to keep legislation at a standstill for more than four months. The Reform Scheme has been compared by some people to something like a motor car, and this power of dissolution is something like an emergency brake, which is in the hands of a Governor or a Viceroy. We only ask that he should not keep his hands on the brake for more than four months. I believe that this is in consonance with the powers of dissolution given and exercised in other countries.

Coming now to the second point, we ask here for, and we only refer to, the most elementary right which all people have of being heard by their own peers, by their own equals. Clause (b) runs as follows:—

(b) **Some provision should be made for the appointment and co-option of qualified Indians on the periodic Commissions proposed**

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to be appointed every ten or twelve years, and it should further be provided that the first periodic Commission shall come to India and submit its recommendations to Parliament before the expiry of the third Legislative Council after the Reform Scheme comes into operation and that every subsequent periodic Commission should be appointed at the end of every ten years.

It may be said by some people that the recent appointment of the two Committees, the Franchise Committee and the division of Functions Committee, gives an index that, in all probability, on the periodic Commissions as well, we might have Indian opinion represented; but my answer to that is that we need not expect that Mr. Montagu will remain at the helm of affairs at the end of ten years, and who knows that any new friend of India like Lord Sydenham may not be at the helm of affairs. In that case, it is absolutely necessary that there should be an obligatory provision in the Statute that Indian opinion shall be represented in the *personnel* of the periodic Commissions. Secondly, we also ask in this clause that the first periodic Commission should visit India before the expiry of the third Legislative Council after the Reform Scheme comes into operation. In the Scheme it has been laid down that the periodic Commission will visit India at the end of ten years, that is, it will visit India during the currency of the fourth Legislative Council, and by the time they finish their recommendations and report to Parliament, probably the fourth council will be at an end. That means it will be twelve years instead of nine. What we want is that any Commission which will recommend whether any of the Provinces is fit for complete "responsible government" should visit India before the expiry of nine years or before the expiry of three terms of the Legislative Council. I hope you will accept the suggestion embodied in Clause (b).

The third clause of the first part of this Resolution reads:—

- (c) **The Legislative Councils should have the right to elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents.**

If you read the Scheme and read the particular paragraph where it has been laid down why the Governor should be President of the Legislative Council, you will find the illustrious authors of the Scheme think that, as the new Legislative Councils will have a large number of members unaccustomed to debate, it is necessary for controlling the debate that the Governor should himself be the President. I demur to that proposition. I believe our country has produced,—in fact every major Province, at any rate, has produced,—such masterful men that in every one of those Provinces we can show men, each one of whom could creditably discharge the duties of even the Speaker of the House of Commons; and we can point to our worthy President of this Conference to show that not only in Provincial Councils and Conferences but even in the House of Commons we have men fit enough for conducting the debate. (*Applause.*) Further, there is no reason why the Governor should have the power of nominating the Vice-President. The reason assigned is that as the Governor will not be able to preside every time, it is necessary for him to have a nominee of his own to take

his place while the Legislative Council is in session. I should think that, if there is any necessity to have a Vice-President, then the popular element in the Legislative Council should alone have the power to nominate a Vice-President of its own choice. I can quite understand some people, at any rate, thinking that the Governor's presence may have a moderating influence on the debate, but I cannot understand why even the Vice-President who is only to be a *locum tenens* should be a man nominated by the Governor himself.

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The Hon. Mr. B. S. Kamat.

Coming to the second part of the Resolution, we say :—

- (a) This Conference thanks the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for recommending that all racial bars should be abolished and for recognising the principle of recruitment of all the Indian public services in India and in England instead of any service being recruited for exclusively in the latter country.

So far as the racial bar is concerned, it is not a new principle at all. All racial distinctions have been abolished by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, if not earlier, but in Indian administration, particularly bureaucratic administration, theory is one thing and practice is another, as everybody knows. It is with the view of removing these practical difficulties that the authors of the Scheme have laid down that no racial bar shall be allowed in future. I ask you to accept theoretically the non-existence of the racial bar, but we do regret that the racial bar *does* prevail as we find in every-day administration. Only the other day, some questions in our local Legislative Council were asked as to whether any Indian member of the Indian Civil Service was allowed to be a Secretary to any department in the Bombay Secretariat or whether any Indian has been allowed to be an Under-Secretary and the reply to that was that not a single Indian member of that distinguished Service had been appointed Secretary or Under-Secretary to Government. I ask you if this is not, in practice, invidious racial bar. The same thing is found in the Police Department so far as Superintendents of Police are concerned. Although, theoretically, there is no racial bar, still in practice the racial bar is felt and the door is not open fully; it is open only partially and reluctantly to some Indian Members to fill these responsible posts.

In the next Clause, we say :—

- (b) This Conference strongly urges that Indians should be nominated to 20 per cent., to start with, of King's commissions in the Indian Army and (2) that adequate provision for training them should be made in this country itself.

I must express my own sincere regret that we should relegate this important question to a subordinate position on the agenda paper like this. In any country where the people have to be self-governing, the first essential qualification for them is to have military training, and absolutely equitable distribution of high posts of position, trust and responsibility in the Army and, therefore, I think we are going a very small extent in asking for 20 per cent. only of King's commissions for Indians. The war, as everybody knows, has proved up to the hilt that the Indian soldier is equal to, if not better—I would say he is even

Resolution IX. better in some respects—than the British soldier so far as his valour, courage, power of endurance and efficiency and ability are concerned. *Some other suggestions and administrative matters.* If, in the earlier phase of the war, on the western front, the tide of German rush was stemmed by anybody, and a disaster averted, it was, as is well known, by the timely intervention, the courageous stand, the pluck and the dash of the Indian soldier. (*Applause.*) In the face of this, is it not high time that this bar which is nothing but a racial bar should be removed and that King's commissions should be thrown open more liberally than hitherto to the Indian soldier, and the scions of respectable Indian families? If there is a military college in India, where the people, whether Hindus or Mahomedans or Parsis or Christians, would be given proper military training, I am certain that many a young Indian would be stimulated to join the Army and defend the Empire. I might further say that so far as valour and efficiency are concerned, his achievements will be far superior to those of the British soldier of the present day. It is therefore absolutely necessary that, in the interests of responsible government, this particular clause should be accepted by you all with unanimity.

The Hon. Mr. B. S. Kamat.

Coming to the next clause, of trial by jury, which is an old friend of ours, and the Arms Act which is a still older friend of ours, the clause says:—

- (c) **All racial inequalities in respect of trial by jury, the rules made under the Arms Act, etc., should be removed and the latter should be so amended as to provide for the possession and carrying of Arms by Indians under liberal conditions.**

Now, so far as the Arms Act is concerned, I believe we must hang down our heads with shame that for many years we have allowed this inequality to remain in the Statute Book. If at all we now in this year in this Conference, in this year of grace, aspire to have full responsible government in a short time, I believe it is absolutely necessary that every man should be allowed to carry Arms irrespective of this racial bar. If in the Native States of the Nizam's dominions, they are allowed to carry Arms, I really wonder why in an advanced province like Bengal or Bombay or Madras, Government should be afraid of allowing Indians to carry Arms.

Lastly, we come to a still older friend—the separation of judicial and executive functions. Clause (d) says:—

- (d) **A complete separation of judicial and executive functions of all District Officers should be made, at least in all major Provinces, at once and the judiciary placed under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the Province.**

I need hardly think that it is necessary to say anything on this proposition which has figured on the agenda of the Congress for two or three decades. Ladies and gentlemen, I have dealt with all the parts of the proposition before you and I need only say now that I move the Resolution and trust you will all accept it with unanimity when it is put to the vote by the President. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Natesh Appaji Dravid (Nagpur):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—We are all pressed for time, and this Resolution strings together, I think, a number of disjointed topics. Two of them deal with the legislature, one deals with the periodic Commission, and four or five other items deal with miscellaneous matters. If I were to deal with everyone of them, I should have to make five different speeches for which you and I have no time. I shall, therefore, content myself with a few observations. With regard to clause (a), I think the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri remarked that it is merely due to inadvertence that the provision for resummoning within a certain time the Legislative Councils, after they have been dissolved, has not been put in. It could not have been contemplated by the authors of the Reform Scheme that when the power of dissolution is given, there should be no power for resummoning. There is very great force in that suggestion and I think it is likely to be accepted. With regard to the particular Province, from which I happen to come, there is a feeling in some quarters, which is not universally shared, that this power need not be claimed for the members of the Legislative Councils. This is not a feeling which is universal, but there are certain influential gentlemen who are of opinion that for the first ten years we need not be in a hurry to get this power. As my personal view agrees with this portion of the Resolution, I have great pleasure in supporting it.

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Mr. Natesh Appaji Dravid.

Then again about the other suggestion, I am sure Indians would be appointed in the periodic Commissions but it is desirable to make assurance doubly sure by making this suggestion specifically and having it accepted.

With regard to the rest of the clauses, which refer to administrative matters, there is one general principle running through them all. They appear to me to show the vicious principle which has animated the administration till now,—the racial bar. Over and over again, we read in the Report that there should be a definite break with the past. We do not want to carry any cargo which belongs to bygone days. We do not want to carry all this mixed cargo which should be thrown overboard. We want to start afresh under better auspices and better and newer fittings and motive power. As in the Civil Service, so too, I think, in the Army there should be a certain minimum laid down for Indians, but, in order that there may not be any cataclysmic change, we say that 20 per cent. will be enough for the present. With regard to the Arms Act also, we desire that all trace of the racial bar should be removed. With regard to the last clause, the separation of the judicial and executive functions, it has been an old friend of ours in session after session of the Congress. Heaven knows when this much-needed reform in our system of administration will be effected. It affects prejudicially the smooth working of the administrative machine in some of its important parts. For instance, it affects the land-revenue administration, and, if that subject is included in the "transferred" list, as I think it should be, at least in the Bombay Presidency, is it desirable to put a handicap in the beginning on the Minister who may be placed in charge of land-

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Mr. Natesh Appaji Dravid.

Mr. Valchand R. Kothari.

Mr. Valchand R. Kothari (Poona):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—In asking you to support this Resolution, I should like to emphasise particularly that part of it which deals with our demands in regard to military matters. Practically by this resolution we urge on the attention of the Government the need of providing for us increased association and responsibility in all branches of the administration, civil as well as military. If India is to attain the goal of self-government within the Empire, it is quite obvious that Indians must control not only Imperial and Provincial legislation but also have their fair share of association and responsibility in regard to the Army and the Navy. That is the goal towards which we have to strive, towards which even the British Parliament is going, I hope, to help us to progress, as early as possible. So, if that goal is to be attained without avoidable delay, there is no reason why we should not begin now, albeit to a limited extent, even in the case of the Army and the Navy. The concession of 20 per cent. of King's Commissions to Indians has been only moderately, surely not extravagantly, demanded by us. If Indian troops can, as they have shown, fight bravely the battles of the Empire, there is no reason why there should not be found among the warrior classes of India men who would lead and command an army with credit to themselves and glory to their King and country. (*Applause.*) On that principle it is that we base this attitude of ours, this demand of ours, and I hope you will all pass this Resolution unanimously. (*Applause.*)

The President:—This Resolution has been proposed, seconded and supported. I take it that it is the unanimous wish of the Conference that it should be passed.

The Resolution was then put and declared carried unanimously.

Resolution X.

INDIA OFFICE AND PARLIAMENT.

Resolution X.

India Office and Parliament.

The President.

The President:—Here is a Resolution to be put from the Chair and I put it to you accordingly. I am sure this Resolution will meet with your acceptance and all will be in favour of it.

The Resolution is as follows:—

This Conference, while generally approving of the proposals embodied in the Report regarding the India Office and Parliamentary control, urges—

- (a) That the administrative control of Parliament over the Government of India exercised through the Secretary of State should continue except in so far as the control of the legislature on the spot is substituted for the present Parliamentary control.

- (b) That Indian opinion should be represented on the Committee appointed to report upon the organisation of the India Office and the evidence of Indian witnesses invited. Resolution X.
India Office and Parliament.
- (c) That at least a major part of the cost of the India Office should be borne by the British Exchequer. The President.
- (d) That until the India Council can be abolished by substituting Indian control for the control of Parliament over the affairs of India, it should be a mere advisory body with its strength reduced to 8 members, four of whom should be Indian.

The Resolution was declared carried unanimously.

Resolution XI.

DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND AND ORGANISATION IN INDIA.

Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay), who, on rising, was received with loud cheers, said :—Ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply obliged to you for the cordial welcome that you have given—the warm reception that you have accorded—not to me personally, as I understand it, but to the idea of organising and holding this All-India Conference of the Moderate Party at this juncture in the best interests of our Motherland, which you and I love no less dearly, no less zealously, no less devotedly than those of our countrymen who oppose us and revile us. (*Applause.*) Allow me to thank you all from the bottom of my heart for your sincere sympathy and whole-hearted support, without which this Conference would not have been the marked success that it has proved to be.

I now request your attention to the Resolution that I am going to move before you. You will see from the agenda that it is as regards “Deputation to England and Organization in India.” I will take first the first clause of the Resolution, which deals with the necessity of sending a Deputation to England on our behalf. I will take the latter part of the Resolution later on. The first clause reads thus :—

- (a) This Conference appoints a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, to select a deputation to proceed to England, at a time to be determined by the Committee in consultation with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to urge on British Statesmen, members of both Houses of Parliament, political associations, the Press and the British public generally, the wisdom and necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and giving legislative effect to it at an early date with such modifications and improvements as have been formulated or suggested in the foregoing Resolutions.

The names of the Committee, referred to herein, are printed on the agenda and some more have since been added, but I am not going to read out the names just now.

I think you will all agree that a Deputation consisting of thoughtful, influential, well-informed, weighty and, as far as possible, first-class men in the public life of this country, representing our school of political thought, should go to England in order to impress upon both Houses of Parliament, British Statesmen, the Cabinet, the Press, and the British public generally, the absolute necessity and wisdom of their supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and doing nothing which may

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result in burking or balking the Scheme or wrecking it or in any way whittling it down. (*Hear, hear.*) Our task has become the more difficult and, therefore, the more imperative, on account of, I am sorry to say, the mistaken and unfortunate attitude of hostility which has been taken in regard to the Reform Scheme by a section of our own countrymen. I need not take you over the contents of the letters which I deemed it my duty to write to the Press in regard to this matter, appealing to all thoughtful Indians to support and save the Reform Scheme and asking the people to understand and appreciate the spirit in which our departed leaders have worked in the past and have tried to do good to the country,—I mean, the late Sir Pherozechah Mehta (*applause*), Gopal Krishna Gokhale (*applause*), and our Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji. (*Applause.*) The attempt of these great leaders and patriots throughout their strenuous fight for their country's rights was always to steady and moderate public opinion in the country without deviating from the straight path which they had marked out for themselves and their countrymen, namely, the attainment of self-government within the British Empire by a steady reform of the existing system of administration, as expressly laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution itself. (*Applause.*) I, Sir, have been a humble camp-follower in the ranks, and have, to the best of my ability, tried to imbibe the teaching of those great departed leaders. I have been asked, what is the difference between you Moderates and those who are called Extremists? Well, Sir, to my mind, the real creed of the Moderates may be summed up in the words:—"Neither a sycophant nor a demagogue." (*Applause.*) A genuine Moderate would not bend his knee before either Government or the people, for, in either case, it is sycophancy. (*Hear, hear.*) I know not, Sir, what it is to bend my knee before any one except before God in my daily prayers (*loud applause*), and whatever I consider to be right, according to my lights and according to my reason, I will say frankly, freely and fearlessly to Government or to the public. (*Applause.*) Whether it pleases them or not is not my concern. What is good to them I will administer, however unpalatable the dose might be. (*Hear, hear.*) I consider that that is the real attitude of the Moderates as distinguished from their opponents, the Extremists, who dare not say to the people what might displease them. (*Loud applause.*) That attitude of the Moderates is illustrated and enunciated in the Presidential address in the eloquent terms which our President alone can command. "Co-operation with Government, wherever possible, opposition whenever necessary." That being the guiding principle of the Moderate Party, we must strive to do everything in our power to co-operate with Government in this matter and see that the Reform Scheme is saved and the country started as early as possible on a career of responsible government.

Some of our critics have asked—"Why do you want to support the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, when you were yourselves parties to the framing and drafting of the Congress-League Scheme which was adopted at Lucknow in 1916?" The answer to that question and to that criticism will be found in the "Memorandum on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme" which appeared over the signatures of

our veteran leader here, the Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha, and eight others, towards the end of July last. The reasons are given there in detail. A perusal of that document will show that while the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme has, in point of fact, embodied, wholly or substantially, 26 of the Congress demands, it has deviated from the Congress-League Scheme on two particulars only, with the result that while it has avoided the defects of that Scheme, it has formulated proposals, in so far as provincial re-construction and progress are concerned, which are unquestionably superior in conception and design to the Congress-League frame-work. If that is the conclusion which any unprejudiced man,—without any bias one way or the other—would arrive at, I ask, what is his duty? Is it his duty to stick to the inferior Congress-League Scheme and give up or reject a superior Scheme? On the contrary, fairness and candidness would dictate the acceptance of the superior Scheme. That has been our attitude, and that attitude is dictated further by our regard and solicitude for the rising generation of our countrymen. The Reform Scheme embodies proposals which open up before the youth of our country for whom we naturally have great sympathy—for, they will be the citizens of to-morrow—they open up, before the younger generation of Indians, opportunities for service and distinction, in the provincial legislatures of their country, such as were never dreamt of by us who framed the Congress-League Scheme (*applause*), namely, those which inevitably follow from the idea and growth of what is called “responsible government,” that is to say, a form of government, the basic idea of which is a Ministry controlling the departments of the administration and liable to be removed from office by a vote of want of confidence passed by a popularly elected legislature,—an idea, which the Congress-League Scheme entirely lacked. Further, the Reform Scheme provides assured lines, regulated lines, upon which progress towards complete responsible government is made certain, mainly by the capacity and wisdom, talent and tact, sagacity and statesmanship, foresight and constructive ability, of the elected representatives of the people, from among whom alone it will be obligatory upon Government to select the Ministers. These are the opportunities held out by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme to the rising generation of our countrymen,—opportunities which were denied to us in our own days of youth and vigour. That being so, would it be right for us to say or do anything which would amount to a rejection or condemnation of the Reform Scheme and prevent our own young men from reaping the full benefit of it? It is in the interests of the rising generation that we should whole-heartedly support and accept the Reform Scheme and not throttle it and kill it by short-sighted, mistaken, suicidal opposition. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

The necessity and wisdom of the course we have adopted will further be apparent to any one who is not blind enough to disregard the danger signal hoisted in England,—the attitude of active hostility which has now been openly assumed towards the Reform Scheme by some very influential persons in England and by some English officials and merchants in India, in either case, under the *imprimatur* of the Indo-British Association. If you read the ominous telegram in the local evening

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paper just out, you will agree with me in thinking that the engineered opposition to the Scheme in England, reinforced by the unfortunate utterances and attitude of some of our own countrymen, is increasing in volume and strength to such an extent that the Scheme may be imperilled and either delayed and shelved or wrecked or whittled down unless we put forth our best efforts here and in England to support it and save it. Lord Middleton's motion was no doubt lost, but lost by a very narrow majority. And, if you read the speeches made during the debate, they will give you an idea of the dead set that is being made by some of the most influential noble Lords of the House against the Reform Scheme. Take, for instance, Lord Lansdowne. What does he say? He says that the announcement of August 20, 1917, is not binding on the House. He questions the basic idea of it, namely, the progressive realisation of responsible government in India. He says, India is not fit for it and India should not have it. If you will have a little patience, I will read out to you just a sentence or two from the cabled report of his Lordship's speech. The telegram says:—"Lord Lansdowne sympathised fully with the policy of closer association of Indians with Government and the development of self-governing institutions, but the intimation that our goal was the earliest possible realisation of full responsible government seemed to him full of danger." His Lordship went on to say that "he viewed with the greatest apprehension" the proposal "to impose Western institutions" upon India, and observed that "to place India alongside the self-governing dominions was a dream." And so on and so forth, in the same strain of opposition to the very basis of the announcement and the Scheme, Lord Lansdowne made his speech during that debate. I feel certain that many a noble Lord, when the Bill comes up before the Upper House, will put up a fight and a strong fight against it. It is, therefore, necessary to rally sober, weighty, influential and responsible opinion all over the country in favour of the Scheme and to give vocal expression to it and demonstrate to the British public that the whole body of such opinion is for acceptance of the Scheme. We must support Mr. Montagu and our other friends in England in their earnest endeavour to give us the Scheme, which, whatever the inevitable imperfections of a diarchy, is, after all, a sympathetically and carefully devised plan for our progress towards responsible government on assured and regulated lines by virtue of the machinery inherent in the Scheme itself. We must tell the British public, the British Press, the Cabinet, and influential members of both Houses of Parliament and of whatever party, that if they allow the reform proposals to be endangered or whittled down by the interested and factitious opposition that is being engineered in England and in India against it, they will be committing a political blunder of the greatest magnitude in the history of the British Empire. (*Loud applause.*) Ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken more than enough---much more than I intended to do---on the first part of this Resolution.

I pass on now to the next part of the Resolution, namely, clause (b), which says:—

- (b) **The said Committee, with power to add to their number, should also take steps to form a properly constituted permanent organi-**

sation of the Party with branches in the various Provinces with a view (1) to do sustained work for the political progress and the moral and material welfare of the people, (2) to give combined 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 country in support of its views, methods and policy.

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I attach equal importance to this part of the Resolution. I need hardly dilate on it. But this much I will say that I appeal to you all to support the proposed organisation of our Party and to work for its consolidation and growth sincerely, earnestly, untiringly and, above all, undeterred by difficulties. Many of you perhaps—I know, many of my friends, at any rate,—were doubtful whether any successful attempt could be made to rally Moderate opinion in the country, within such a short time, even under the banner of our veteran patriots and leaders, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea and Sir Dinsha Wacha. I said to them:—“If you make an attempt—an earnest attempt—you will certainly find the Moderates rallying under the banner of their trusted tribunes and venerated leaders. You have only to put your shoulders to the wheel, and, I dare say, you will succeed.” Some of them said that I was too optimistic. They had reasons to think so. The time was short. An organisation had to be somehow improvised. The influenza epidemic had commenced to rage and spread all over the country. Besides, there were the virulent attacks of the Extremist press which was misrepresenting us and maligning us. I said to myself:—“After all there is nothing like moral force—nothing half so forceful under the sun to surmount difficulties as sheer moral force.” (*Applause.*) If your cause is right and righteous, if you do not deviate from the path of duty and rectitude, and work for your cause strenuously, courageously and faithfully—“Heart within and God o’erhead”—be sure, whatever the difficulties and whatever the trials,—be sure, as day follows night, that your selfless efforts are eventually bound to be crowned with success. (*Loud applause.*) I feel,—pardon me, ladies and gentlemen, for saying so—I do feel gratified and delighted that the small effort I made under the guidance and at the trumpet-call of our venerated Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Dinsha Wacha, and in conjunction with my colleagues who helped me loyally, faithfully and zealously, has proved so successful in spite of the difficulties we have had to face. As I said, at the outset, the credit of it belongs to you also, for many of you have come from long distances and all of you have contributed to the success of this Conference. This Resolution casts upon you a further obligation which, I hope and trust, you will discharge with earnestness and zeal in order that we may have a properly constituted permanent organisation of our own party. Once there is such a separate permanent organisation of the Moderate Party, you will find that the vast bulk of sober opinion in the country, which now is quiescent and unorganised, will combine and grow in strength and soon assert itself and exercise a steadying influence upon its public life. Talent, capacity, knowledge, experience, patriotism, statesmanship, will be found, even as things stand to-day, more in our organisation than out of it. (*Hear, hear.*) It will be increa-

Resolution XI. singly so, as you go on organising yourselves throughout the country. I earnestly appeal to you all to do so. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you once again for the hearty support you have given to the organisers of this Conference and trust that you will not only pass this Resolution but give effect to it with enthusiasm and devotion to the cause which all of us have at heart. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

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Mr. N. M. Samarth.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar :—You have not read the names. Some names have been added.

Mr. N. M. Samarth :—I beg your pardon, ladies and gentlemen, I forgot to read out the names. The Committee, as it stands now, will be as follows :—

COMMITTEE.

The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea—*Chairman*.
 The Hon. Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha—*Vice-Chairman*.
 Sir N. G. Chandavarkar—*Vice-Chairman*.
 The Hon. Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee.
 Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar.
 Sir Benode Chundra Mitter.
 The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj.
 The Hon. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose.
 The Hon. Sir Gangadharrao M. Chitnavis.
 Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.
 Mr. M. V. Joshi.
 The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammed Shafi.
 The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain.
 The Hon. Nawabzada Syed Altaf Ali Chowdhuri.
 The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
 The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.
 The Hon. Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter.
 The Hon. Dr. A. Surahwardy.
 The Hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay.
 Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.
 Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad.
 Pandit Manohar Lal of Lahore.
 The Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye.
 Babu Satyanand Bose.
 Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray.
 Mr. D. C. Ghose.
 Mr. N. M. Samarth, and
 The Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. } *Secretaries.*

A member of the Conference, sitting in the Orchestra, suggested the name of SIR HORMUSJI A. WADYA which was accepted.

Mr. D. C. Ghose and Mr. V. R. Gupte.

Mr. D. C. Ghose (Calcutta) :—Gentlemen, I will not detain you a moment longer than is absolutely necessary. I have great pleasure in seconding this Resolution.

Mr. V. R. Gupte (Poona) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this Resolution has been so ably moved that I do not think anything

need be said by me. But I would not leave this Resolution without saying just one word. I feel that the duty of the Moderates is not only to hold annual conferences or periodic conferences, but to do solid work in the country. A member of the Moderate Party in certain places finds that he stands all by himself without any organisation to back him. (*A voice: 'Not in Bengal'*). It is so only lately in Bengal, but I am speaking of the Deccan. We want a central organisation and that need will be satisfied by the proposed organisation. It is not merely the duty of the Moderates to secure the constitutional reforms which are so badly wanted for India, but I think the greater need exists for working them out successfully in the country. We might get the reforms; we may have, however, cause to regret, on account of our want of organisation, that the reforms came when we were not prepared to work them successfully from the point of view of sober statesmanship. That predicament should be saved to us. We must, therefore, have an organisation ready before the reforms come to the country so that the Moderate Party may assert itself and show to our opponents in England that their prognostications about India, namely, that India cannot work the reforms at all, and that they will prove fatal to the best interests of the country, were baseless and unjustified. We should prove to our opponents in England that India can work this Scheme successfully after all and that India stands in need not only of the proposed measure of reform but further development as early as possible.

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Mr. V. R. Gupte.

Mr. N. M. Samarth :—There is one more name, which is to be added to the names of the gentlemen constituting the Committee. That name is of Mr. V. R. KOTHARI,—a Graduate of our University and who has attended this Conference as a representative of the backward classes. As some of you may know, he is Editor of the *Jagaruka*, a Marathi weekly published at Poona and well-known as a powerful organ of the backward classes. I take it you permit the name to be added.

The President :—The Resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. I take it that you are all in favour of it.

The Resolution was then declared carried unanimously.

The President :—I omitted to put in two or three words in Resolution IX which has been accepted by you. No fundamental change is contemplated but it is an omission, and I solicit you will permit me to supply the omission which is due to myself; I take upon me the full responsibility of that omission. The words I wish to add in Resolution IX will make clause (a) of the first part of that Resolution read as follows :—“It should be provided that when the Legislative Assembly is dissolved by the Viceroy or the Legislative Council is dissolved by the Governor,” etc., etc. I am sure you will accept the addition.

Resolution IX.

Some verbal alterations.

The President.

This addition was accepted.

The President :—Then in clause (c) the same verbal alteration, namely,—“The Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils should have the right,” etc. I think that is agreed to.

This addition was also agreed to.

Next Conference.

Next Conference. **The Hon. Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter** (Calcutta):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in asking you all in behalf of the Moderates of Bengal to visit our town of Calcutta when the next Moderate Conference will be held. Whenever the Committee determines that it is necessary to hold the next Moderate Conference, we are ready to welcome you to our town.

The President:—Next year, I suppose.

The Hon. Mr. P. C. Mitter:—Next year or even earlier, whenever the Committee thinks it necessary, we will welcome you. It is in the fitness of things that Bombay, where the first Congress was born, should be the town where the first Moderate Conference should hold its sittings. It is equally in the fitness of things that Calcutta, where the second Congress was held, should be the place for the second Moderate Conference to be held. I hope, gentlemen, you will all gather at Calcutta in large numbers. (*Applause.*)

Resolution XII.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

Resolution XII.

Vote of Thanks to the President.

Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad.

Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad (Bombay):—Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasant duty to ask you to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our worthy President, Babu Surendranath Banerjea. (*Applause.*) Ladies and gentlemen, invaluable and very remarkable as have been the services rendered by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea in his long career of public usefulness to his country, I may be permitted to say that he has put the coping stone to these services by having consented to preside over this, the first Conference of the Moderate Party. At a very critical juncture in the history of this country, he came forward with a readiness and with his usual patriotism to rally to the cause of the Reform Scheme, in the best interests of the country, what is the sane, what is the sober and, I may venture to add, the influential opinion in this country. What effect the acceptance of the Presidentship of this Conference by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea had, throughout the country, is very well known to you and the great success which this Conference has achieved in this city is in a very large measure due to the manner in which the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea conducted the proceedings. (*Applause.*) Ladies and gentlemen, we are all proud of him, the whole of the country is proud of him; and we in Bombay are particularly grateful to him for having come over at the call of Bombay to preside over this Conference. Ladies and gentlemen, we have prolonged our proceedings to a late hour, and as our worthy President is going back to-night, I will not detain you any further. I will call upon you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to him. (*Loud applause.*)

The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Poona):—Ladies and gentlemen, I am seconding this proposition and I have great pleasure in doing so. In fact, I consider it an exceptional good fortune that I have been asked to second this proposition; for the President, whom we are

honouring at the present moment, is one who has probably many times as many pupils as he has taught in his classes, pupils whom he has never seen, but whose lives he has touched to fine issues in a manner of which he may not himself be conscious. I have never had the privilege of sitting in the forms of the Ripon College in Calcutta, but I may assure the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea that if he can, he might recognise and admit in me one of his most admiring and faithful pupils. (*Applause.*) I learnt my first lessons, if I may say so, in public spirit in the year 1883 when one of my masters, himself characterised by much public spirit, read in the year 1883, when I was in the Matriculation class, an extract or two from the fascinating address that Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea had been recently delivering. One of them, I specially remember, was on the idea of Indian unity, the idea of one nationality, which, much before the Congress, he had made popular and highly appreciated in the land. I am sure thousands like me in this country have read his speeches and have likewise had the rare good fortune of listening to him. I listened to him, I remember now quite vividly, in the year 1887 for the first time when he came to Madras as a delegate of the Third Indian National Assembly and jumped upon the platform, as he himself said: "I jump upon the platform as one of Mr. Chandavarkar's school-boys." That was with reference to a small controversy they had in those days over the Indian Arms Act. For 35 or 40 minutes thereafter, I remember he held the whole Madras audience under a spell which, however often I have since heard him, I have only seen repeated; Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea is a shining example of patriotism. (*Applause.*) His life is a perfect example of what devotion to public duty should be; the trials that in early life he had to undergo as a patriot, the sufferings that, along with many of his great contemporaries, some of whom, alas, are no longer with him to-day, the sufferings that he had to undergo, the obloquy, the persecution, the great amount of unpopularity and the odium that amongst officials he long suffered, the experience even within the jail that he had at one time to undergo, the constant proximity which he had always had with deportation, the ruin of his college, the blasting of his reputation—when one thinks of all these things that he has suffered during 40 years it makes one sad that at this time of day some men should be found in this country who accuse him of having turned his back on the country (*Voices of 'Shame'*), that there should be found some, alas! even among the young people who believe him to have been guilty of truckling to officials, of having sold his country for the sake of office or a personal title. Seventy years now—what is it to him, the prospect of an office or any title? (*Hear, hear and Applause.*) Any title that may be conferred upon him will be honoured by being associated with him. (*Applause.*) It pains me to think of the way in which his great name is treated by a few irreverent people in this land where reverence for age is enjoined and ought to be a common characteristic of all, both young and old.

Resolution
XII.

Vote of
Thanks to
the Presi-
dent.

The Hon.
Mr. V. S.
Srinivasa
Sastri.

Gentlemen, amongst the peculiar features that attracted me in his long public life is the steady faith, the undimmed belief that he still entertains

Resolution
XII.

Vote of
Thanks to
the Presi-
dent.

The Hon.
Mr. V. S.
Srinivasa
Sastri.

in the virtue of constitutional agitation. If ever man in this country, after Dadabhai Naoroji, has had to pass through burning and scorching fire of criticism and of denunciation by officials, it was Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. (*Hear, hear.*) If ever man could be justified in saying 'Do not put faith in the British,' that is Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea with his long record of failure and disappointment. If ever there is a man who is entitled to say "we cannot make anything of all this political agitation" he it is who may be entitled to say so, but does he say so at this age, in spite of so much adverse experience, in spite of the great disappointment, and I must say, in spite, Sirs, of the occasional humiliation to which he has been subjected? He stands forward still to-day young, younger than many of us associated with him in public work, young and strong in his devotion to public service, youngest perhaps amongst us all to-day in his robust optimism as to the character and nature of the reform scheme. He has now come forward, bringing this faith, this robust optimism, this unconquerable moderation, this spirit of compromise which has helped the Congress to build up its strength very much, he has brought it away from the Congress for the service of this Moderate Conference. Now think where we should be in this Moderate Conference but for the Honourable President. I cannot contemplate a Moderate Conference without him. I know some brave souls amongst us entertained the idea, probably even before he himself did so, but their idea would never have embodied itself, would never have borne fruit in this enthusiastic Conference, if at an early stage Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea had not declared his determination to come away from the Congress and bless this Conference with his inspiring presence. I do think that as this Conference has had his great services and the services of the Hon'ble Sir Dinsha E. Wacha, whose life-long work in the Congress is equally well-known (*Loud and continued applause*), this Conference is bound to attract great, respectful and considerate attention from all the authorities, whether in England or in India. The deliberations of this Conference, not so numerous, it may be, as another great assembly in this country, not so enthusiastically, I may even say, propagated in the country, the proceedings of this Conference will, nevertheless, in my opinion, contribute not an inferior element towards the solution of the great problem that awaits us. I take leave to think that if we look forward hopefully to a new regime in this country, to a time when the great reform scheme shall have come into existence and shall be in operation, it is because we have had this Conference presided over by the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea, because he has come in time to put the coping-stone, as the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad said, to his great services, and save the reform scheme, which, I am fully persuaded, ran, until the other day, serious risk indeed of being wrecked. In saving the reform scheme, he has saved the fortunes of future India. (*Applause.*) He has done the greatest service to this country which even in his long career he has rendered. I trust and hope and fervently pray, as I have no doubt you will all do, that he will live long enough to render even greater services. (*Applause.*) To you, young men in particular, who listen to me from the gallery, I wish to address one word with a full sense of responsibility. I have been blamed

in the past for remarking that perhaps amongst the political enthusiasts of your age, there is a diminution of that peculiarly Hindu quality of reverence for age, which, in this country of ancient sages, has always been the distinguishing mark of the relations between master and pupil. I very much wish that in fashioning your lives, in yielding your heart's homage, in regulating your attitude towards your elders, whether you happen for the moment to agree or not to agree in their opinions and in their judgments, in all those relations of your life you will exhibit a chivalry, a magnanimity, a reverence for age, which in the West is not always observed in schools and colleges and political and other gatherings. I could much wish that you resolve that while imitating everything that is valuable in the West you would not imitate the idol-breaking tendencies that are too often observable in those who fashion their lives blindly and carelessly on western models. My young friends, whatever you may do, spare the old, spare the great, spare the mighty ones that have laboured amongst you; above all, spare him who occupies the Chair to-day. Spare him, and honour him, I say, for his silvery hair, spare him and honour him for his golden tongue (*hear, hear*), for none has the gift of eloquence, none has the gift of touching the young mind to the finest issues of which it is capable in such a measure as he. Spare him and honour him, I exhort you, for the greatness of his services, for his great and undimmed fame, for the great example he leaves you, if only you could cherish it with the proper spirit, the undying example he leaves you of fearless, persistent, useful and honourable devotion to the cause of this country. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri :—For one moment, I am going to usurp the privilege of the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea by putting this particular proposition to the vote. I hope you will stand in your places and honour him.

The Resolution was carried with acclamation, all standing in their places.

The President was then garlanded amidst loud applause and cries of 'Hurrah'.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, who, on rising, was received with very loud cheers, said :—Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think I use the language of convention or exaggeration when I say that this is one of the supreme moments of my life and that I find words inadequate to express the surging feelings that are now at the present moment throbbing through my heart. The kind words of my friend Mr. Setalvad, the devoted feelings of attachment and affection which have been exhibited by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, have touched me to the quick. I find in them the amplest compensation for the labours, for the efforts and even for the obloquy to which I have been subjected from some of my countrymen at this moment. You, Sir, have prayed for my long life; I have lived fairly to a great age, but whether my life be long or short, whether length of days be given to me

Resolution XII.

Vote of Thanks to the President.

The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

President's concluding Address.

The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.

President's
concluding
Address.

The Hon.
Mr.
Surendra
Nath
Banerjee.

or not, I give you the assurance that they will be dedicated to the service of the Motherland. (*Applause.*) For 45 years I have served the Motherland with all the devotion, with all the affection, with all the reverence that I could command. Domestic bereavements, greatest calamities, Government disfavour, anathemas of friends, of near and dear ones, have not prevented me from rendering that service, which I felt was due to the supreme goddess of my heart—my Motherland. (*Applause.*) My young friends—who are within the sound of my voice,—may I appeal to you to emulate that devotion which has been alike the pride and the privilege of my life. I have suffered the severest domestic calamities. At the present moment, I stand stunned under the weight of the greatest of them, but it is the devotion to my Motherland, it is the distraction which my public duties afford, that render me the only consolation that I have in this life. Ladies and gentlemen, as I have said yesterday, we are entering upon a new epoch in the history of our country, an epoch which is the legacy of great men who have worked for us and died for us; oh! let us qualify ourselves for that epoch by devotion, by courage, by charity, by tolerance and, so far as the young are concerned, by reverence for the great dead that have passed. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and gentlemen, I must congratulate you upon the success of this Conference. The war-fever has partially interfered with the success, but still we have had more than 500 delegates in all. Mark that we had only 75 delegates when the Indian National Congress was first started in this city. (*Hear, hear.*) Nay more, take note of the figures of the delegates in some of the preceding years of the Congress. In 1911 when the Congress was held in Calcutta the number of delegates amounted to 300; in 1912, the following year, when the Congress was held at Bankipore, the number was 250 and at Karachi in the following year, the number was 250. At our first Moderate Conference, despite the war-fever, despite the sedulous efforts of our opponents to discourage our men from attending this Conference, we have been able to muster together not less than 500 men. (*Applause.*) But that is not all. That does not sum up the record of our success achieved under adverse circumstances. Not less than 160 that definitely promised to come have been prevented from coming by the war-fever. That means more than 660. Nor is this all. From Bengal, we are only 60. I think, but for the war-fever, I should have had with me a contingent of 200 delegates present. My friends here despair, apparently some of them in the Deccan, I am sorry to say, despair, of the future of the Moderate Conference and the fortunes of the Moderate Party. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has described me as an optimist. I am an optimist to the marrow of my bone; and age has not abated the ardour of my optimism. (*Applause.*) The older I grow, if I do not become the younger, at any rate the faith that is in me deepens and grows and illumines the closing years of my life. (*Applause.*) It seems to me as if with the illumination of that faith which is in me, it seems to me, as if I saw the angel of my faith uplifting the veil separating me from the present to the future, and revealing to me the glories of the Motherland enjoying prosperity and blessings of Responsible Government.

Applause.) Having that vision, that inspiration, that spiritual guidance, is it possible to abate by one inch the undying faith which is in me, to support which my life has been dedicated, the faith as to the prospects of the Moderate Party. No! Sir Dinshaw Wacha, you and I are robust optimists. (*Loud applause.*) Old veterans are here with abundant measure of faith for the future of the Moderates. (*Applause.*)

President's
concluding
Address.

The Hon.
Mr.
Surendra
Nath
Banerjee.

The Extremists are not in a majority in my vocabulary. (*Hear, hear.*) They may be—strong phrases come to my lips but I will not use them—a shouting fraternity; they may be like the chirping grasshoppers who, because they chirp, imagine that they are the only denizens of the earth (*applause*), while the great animals are nowhere. That is the case with the Extremists in Bengal, and I trust that my friends in other parts of India will reduce them to the same position as they have been reduced there. It all depends upon ourselves. We have this organisation; let us work for this organisation, devote ourselves to it, let missionaries come forth. Make me a missionary; I am prepared. I told my friends the other day, cancel that appointment of the Imperial Council, send me forth in that mission, give me time and I will conquer the universe. (*Applause.*) Are there not amongst you young men ready and able to do this, to follow the example of those who have gone before? I hope and trust that the organisation, which has been formed, will work laboriously, diligently, vigorously and that next year when we meet, we shall meet with a record of great services rendered to the Conference's cause, with a record of the triumphant march of that call from one part of India to another.

I have been carried away by thoughts regarding the future of the Moderate Party. That future is, to my mind, full of hope and promise; the beginnings of a great future have been truly and well laid. The Conference has been a great success, due largely to the activities of the Reception Committee, and, above all, the unselfish, the strenuous, the self-denying labours of my friend Mr. Samarth (*applause*), who, for the last three months, has known no higher duty than to serve the Conference. I am sure his great example, his splendid example, will spread far and wide and others will come forward to follow him and make this Conference the organisation of the noblest, the truest, the highest spirits in the land. Let it be a guarantee,—the Moderate Conference and the Moderate organisation,—let it be a guarantee to the success of responsible government. (*Applause.*)

One word more and I have done. I desire to thank the volunteers for the great services they have rendered. (*Applause.*) I understand that they come from the Deccan, belonging to the Deccan Volunteer Corps. 28 years back, I was at Poona, as President of the Poona Congress, and I remember the self-denying labours and the devotion of the Poona volunteers on that occasion. I trust they are the legitimate descendants, intellectual and moral, of the men who served me in that year. I do not know that I need detain you any further. It is time for me also to depart, for the train will not wait for me. I thank you most heartily for the great reception you have given me, for the loving affection

President's
concluding
Address.

**The Hon.
Mr.
Surendra
Nath**

Banerjea.

Three cheers
for the Hon.
Mr. Surendra
Nath

Banerjea.

Three cheers
for the Hon.
Sir Dinsha

Edulji
Wacha.

The
Conference
dissolved
with three
cheers for the
King
Emperor.

which runs through that reception, and I trust it means your unfaltering determination to make the organisation of the Conference a grand success which it deserves to be.

Farewell, I wish you good-bye. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Wacha then called for three cheers for the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. The call was ringingly responded to throughout the Theatre with the utmost enthusiasm.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri then called for three cheers for the Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha, which call also was equally enthusiastically responded to.

With three cheers for the King-Emperor, the Proceedings terminated at 6-10 p.m., the President announcing that the Conference was dissolved.



APPENDIX.

List of Members and Supporters

OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE

ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF THE MODERATE PARTY

held at Bombay on the 1st and 2nd of November, 1918.

(Those who intimated that they were unavoidably prevented from attending the Conference are marked with an asterisk.)

Province—BOMBAY.

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race, or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
1	The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha, Kt.	Parsi.	<i>Ex</i> -President, Indian National Congress; Member, Imperial Legislative Council; <i>Ex</i> -President, Bombay Municipal Corporation; Mill Agent—Jiji House, Ravelin Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
2	Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	<i>Ex</i> -President, Indian National Congress; Retired High Court Judge; <i>Ex</i> -Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University—Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
3	Sir Jamshetji Jeejeebhoy, Bart.	Parsi.	Mazagaon Castle, Bombay (10).
4	Sir Dorab J. Tata, Kt. ..	„	Navsari Building, Fort, Bombay (1).
5	Sir Mahadev B. Chaubal, B.A., LL.B., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Late Member of the Executive Council of H. E. the Governor of Bombay—Modi Baug, Ganesh Khind Road, Poona.
6	Sir Bhalechandra Krishna Bhatavdekar, Kt., L. M., F.C.P.S.	Brahmin.	<i>Ex</i> -President, Bombay Municipal Corporation; <i>Ex</i> -Member, Bombay Legislative Council—Churney Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).
7	Sir Hormusji A. Wadya, Kt. ..	Parsi.	Barrister-at-Law; President, Deccan Sabha, Poona—37, Marine Lines, Bombay (1).
8	Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Kt., B.A., LL.B.	Brahma-kshatriya.	Advocate, High Court; Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University; <i>Ex</i> -Member, Imperial Legislative Council; <i>Ex</i> -Member, Bombay Legislative Council—Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6).
9	W. A. Chambers, Esq. ..	Englishman, Christian.	Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects—Standard Buildings, Fort, Bombay (1).
10	The Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bania.	Vakil, High Court; Member, Bombay Legislative Council—New Queen's Road, Bombay (4).

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race, or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
11	Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court—Girgaum Road, Bombay (4).
12	Narayan Madhav Samarth, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Vakil, High Court; <i>Ex-Member</i> , Bombay Legislative Council; Member of the Senate of the University of Bombay—Girgaon, Bombay (4).
13	The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, B.A., L.T.	Brahmin.	President, Servants of India Society; Member, Imperial Legislative Council—Poona City.
14	The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt.	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Mill-owner; Member, Imperial Legislative Council—13 Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).
15	The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., B.Sc.	Brahmin.	Member, Bombay Legislative Council; Member of the Senate of the Bombay University; Principal, Fergusson College—Poona City.
16	The Hon'ble Captain Dr. C. Fernandez, M.D., I.M.S.	Christian (R. C.).	Member, Bombay Legislative Council; Medical Practitioner—Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).
17	The Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.	Parsi.	Member, Bombay Legislative Council—Canada Building, Fort, Bombay (1).
18	The Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat, B.A.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Member, Bombay Legislative Council; Merchant—Ganesh Khind Road, Poona.
19	The Hon'ble Mr. Pandurangrao A. Desai, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Member, Bombay Legislative Council; Pleader—Bijapur.
20	Sir Jagmohandas Varjeevandas, Kt.	Hindu, Kapole Bania.	Merchant—Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
21	Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, Kt.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant and Millowner—Warden Road, Bombay (6) or 12, Hummum Street—Fort, Bombay (1).
22	The Hon'ble Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, B.A.	Hindu Bania.	Merchant; Member, Bombay Legislative Council—"Malabar Castle", Ridge Road, Bombay (6).
23*	Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph. D., LL.D., K.C.I.E.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Late Professor, Oriental Languages, Deccan College—"Sangamashrama", Poona.
24	Kershaspji R. Dadachanji, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Late Dewan of Baroda—"Belle View", Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
25	Khan Bahadur Jamshetji Ardesar Dalal, M.A., LL.B.	"	Late Minister of Education, Baroda; Pensioner and Public Auditor—105, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
26*	Shams-ul-Ulma Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, B.A.	"	Parsi High Priest—Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
27	Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph. D., C.I.E.	"	Secretary, Parsi Panchayat—"Fatma Lodge," Colaba, Bombay (5).

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race, or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
28	Sorabji E. Warden, Esq. ..	Parsi.	Merchant—37, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
29	K. Natarajan, Esq., B.A. ..	Brahmin.	Editor, <i>Indian Social Reformer</i> ; Member of the Senate of the Bombay University—Empire Building, Fort, Bombay (1).
30	Rahimtulla Currimbhoy, Esq. .	Mahomedan.	President, Municipal Corporation, Bombay; Merchant and Mill-owner—13, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).
31	H. P. Mody, Esq., M.A., LL.B. .	Parsi.	Advocate, High Court—Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
32	Jehangir B. Petit, Esq.	Merchant—"Mount Petit," Pedder Road, Bombay (6).
33	Husseinbhai A. Lalji, Esq. ..	Mahomedan.	Merchant—9 Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
34	Gajanan Martand Gupte, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Advocate, High Court—102-A, Hill Road, Bandra.
35	Dattaram G. Dalvi, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court—Churney Road, Bombay (4).
36	Narayan Malhar Joshi, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Member, Servants of India Society; Joint Secretary, Social Service League, Bombay; Joint Secretary, the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association—Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).
37	N. F. Kanny, Esq.	Parsi.	Retired Merchant—Chinoy Mansions, Middle Colaba, Bombay (5).
38	Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Mahomedan.	Solicitor, High Court; Member of the Senate and Syndicate of the Bombay University—17, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).
39	Khan Bahadur Dr. N. H. Choksey, M.D., F.C.R.S.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner—Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay (7).
40*	Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherji Dalal, B.A.	..	President, District Local Board; Managing Trustee, Parsi Panchayat—Broach.
41	Sardar Khan Bahadur Rustomji Jehangirji Vakil.	..	Merchant; President, District Local Board; Honorary First Class Magistrate; <i>Ex-Member</i> , Imperial Legislative Council—Ahmedabad.
42	Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, B.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court; <i>Ex-Member</i> , Bombay Legislative Council; President, Ahmedabad Municipality—Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad.
43	Rao Bahadur Thakorram Kapilram, B.A., LL.B.	..	Vakil, High Court—Athwa Lines, Surat.

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race, or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
44	Ramchandra Bhaskar Mantri, Esq.	Somwanshi Kshatriya Pathare Prabhu.	Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation; Pensioner; Landed Proprietor—"Bhaskar Bhuvan", 1st Gamdevi, Grant Road, Bombay (7).
45	Rao Saheb Manaji Rajooji ..	Telugu Vanjari.	Contractor—Kamathipura 3rd Street, Bombay (8).
46	Dr. Prabhakar Sadashiv Shilotri, M.A., Ph.D., Garth Fellow in Economics, School of Political Science, Columbia University, City of New York.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Banker; Managing Director, Prabhakar Shilotri & Co., Ltd.—Medows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
47	Dr. Accacio Gabriel Viegas, L.M. & S., F.C.P.S.	Christian (British Goan).	Medical Practitioner—Chowpatty Sea Face, Bombay (7).
48	Peter A. Baptist, Esq. ..	Christian (R. C.)	Manager, Morarji Gokuldas Mills—Mathew Road, Chowpatty, Bombay.
49	Dr. Edalji Manekji Modi, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. (Edinburgh), F.C.S. (London).	Parsi.	Honorary Presidency Magistrate; Merchant; Scientist and Technical Chemist; Partner and Proprietor, E. Modi & Co.—Meher Building, Tardeo, Bombay.
50	A. B. Latthe, Esq., M.A., LL.B. .	Jain (Maratha).	Landholder and Pleader; Editor, <i>The Deccan Ryot</i> , an English weekly published at Poona in the interests of the Backward Classes—Belgaum.
51	Valchand Ramchand Kothari, Esq., B.A.	„	Editor, <i>The Jagaruk</i> , a Marathi weekly published at Poona in the interests of the Backward Classes—1464, Kasba Peth, Poona City.
52	Pandit R. Chikodi, Esq., B.A. . .	Lingayat.	Editor, <i>Vibhakar</i> , an Anglo-Canarese weekly published at Belgaum in the interests of the Backward Classes—Sheri Galli, Belgaum.
53	Annappa Phadepa Chaugula, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain.	Landholder and Pleader—Belgaum.
54	Dagdooji Parshram Kamble, Esq.	Mahar.	Late Shunting Master, Bombay Port Trust Railway; Honorary Secretary, Somwanshiya Mahar Santh Society; Representative of the Depressed Classes—Dagad Chawl, Byculla, Bombay (8).
55	J. R. Gharpure, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Honours).	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court; Author "Hindu Law"; Member, Senate, Bombay University—Angre's Wadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).
56	Vishvanath P. Vaidya, Esq., B.A., M.R.A.S.	„	Barrister-at-Law; Member, Senate, Bombay University—121, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
57	Bhulabhai J. Desai, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Anaval Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court; Member, Senate, Bombay University—Warden Road, Bombay (6).

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58	F. S. Taleyarkhan, Esq. ..	Parsi.	Barrister-at-Law—Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6).
59	V. F. Taraporwala, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	„	Barrister-at-Law—Orient Building, Chowpatty, Bombay (7).
60	Dr. Pherojshah N. Daruwala, LL.D. (London), B.A., LL.B. (Bombay).	„	Barrister-at-Law—147-A, Khetwadi 12th Lane, Bombay (4).
61	Cowasji Jehangir, Esq. ..	„	Barrister-at-Law—23, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
62	Jehangirji Jamshedji Vimaladal, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	„	Solicitor—Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
63	R. S. Navalkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Pathare Prabhu.	Vakil, High Court—4 A, Bhai Jivanji's Lane, Thakurdwar, Bombay (2).
64	Moreswar W. Pradhan, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Vakil, High Court—Sai Pradhan Baug, Ghorebunder Road, Santa Cruz, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.).
65	Sadashiv Ramchandra Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court—96, Hill Road, Bandra.
66	M. D. Altekar, Esq., M.A.	„	Editor, <i>New Review</i> —Haji Cassum Blocks, French Bridge, Bombay (7).
67	Vasantao S. Ravut, Esq. ..	Somavanshi Kshatriya Pathare.	Merchant—New French Bridge, Chowpatty, Bombay (7).
68	Abhechand Govindji Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania.	Vakil, High Court—“Keshavashrama,” Girgaon, Bombay (4).
69	Chunilal Dayaram Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Vakil, High Court—5, Bhaskar Lane, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).
70	Jamshedji Manekji Antia, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Vakil, High Court; President, Surat and Rander Municipality—Nanpura, Surat.
71	Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court; President, Ahmednagar Municipality; Hon. Organizer, Co-operative Societies; Honorary Secretary, Ahmednagar Educational Society—Near City Library, Ahmednagar.
72	Rao Bahadur Vinayak Narayan Khopkar.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Retired Deputy Collector—196, Civil Lines, Poona.
73	Prof. Hari Govind Limaye, M.A.	Brahmin.	Professor of History and Political Science, Fergusson College; Member, Senate, Bombay University—Fergusson College, Poona City. (<i>Since deceased</i>).
74	G. K. Gadgil, Esq., B.A. ..	„	Barrister-at-Law—Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
75	Prof. G. C. Bhate, M.A. ..	„	Professor, Fergusson College; Member, Senate, Bombay University—Fergusson College, Poona City.

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race, or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
76	G. R. Abhyankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader—Sangli (S. M. C.).
77	V. K. Mainkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Do. do. do.
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Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
254*	Narayan Waman Tilak, Esq. ..	Indian Christian.	Editor, <i>Dnyanodaya</i> , American Marathi Mission's weekly organ; Superintendent, "God's Darbar," an independent, indigenous Christian Mission—Satara.
255	Narotam Vithaldas, Esq. ..	Bania.	Proprietor, Connaught Iron Works—2nd Khetwadi Lane, Bombay (4).
256	Nanabhai Vithaldas Choksey, Esq.	"	Pleader; Municipal Councillor—Nanpura, Surat.
257	Nowroji Fakirji Damania, Esq., F.C.R.A., F.A.A.	Parsi.	Public Accountant and Auditor—Garden Lane, Sethna House; 11th Lane, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay (4).
258	Nowroji Rustomji Warden, Esq.	"	Architect—No. 10, Wodehouse Road, Middle Colaba, Bombay (5).
259	Nusserwanji Sorabji Gazdar, Esq.	"	Contractor—Canada Building, Fort, Bombay (1).
260	P. Karunkar Nair, Esq. ..	Brahmo.	Journalist—Room No. 17, Railway Hotel, Charni Road, Bombay (4).
261	P. Padmanabha Iyer, Esq. ..	Madras Brahmin.	Journalist—c/o "Advocate of India," Fort, Bombay (1).
262	Pallonji Sorabji Kapadia, Esq...	Parsi.	Merchant—Taher Building, New Charni Road, Bombay.
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264	Prof. Dr. Pandurang Damodar Gune, M.A., Ph.D.	Brahmin.	Professor, Fergusson College, Poona City.
265	Pandurang Kison Mansaram Naik, Esq.	Pardeshi Gavandi Hindu.	Contractor; Municipal Councillor, and Landlord—Poona City.
266	Pandurang Vithal Patil, Esq. .	Hindu, Vanjara	Pleader—Hill Road, Bandra.
267	Pestonjee Cowasjee Sethna, Esq.	Parsi.	Merchant—Patell Mansion, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
268	Pestonji N. Wadia, Esq. ..	"	Fellow, Bombay University—Opposite Kemp & Co., Ltd., Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).
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275*	Raghunath Damodar Garud, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Landholder—Garud Garden, Dhulia (West Khandesh).
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314	Sorabji C. Chubwala, Esq. . .	Parsi.	Proprietor, S. C. Chubwala & Co.—Fort, Bombay (1).
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331	Vasantryao Anandrayo Dabholkar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Honorary Presidency Magistrate; Member, Municipal Corporation—Esplanade Cross Road, Bombay (2).

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336	Rao Saheb Vishnu Anant Pat- wardhan.	„	Government Pensioner; Pleader—Sada- shiv Peth, Poona City.
337	Vishnu Mahadev Rane, Esq. . .	Maratha.	Assistant Secretary, Social Service Lea- gue, Parel Settlement—15, Green Building, Ripon Road, Bombay (12).
338	Vishnu Narayan Kumbhare, Esq., M.A.	Brahmin.	Assistant Superintendent, N. E. School; Lecturer and Teacher—234, Sada- shiv Peth, Poona City.
339	Vishnu Sadashiv Phadnis, Esq.	„	Landholder—Khanapur (Dist. Belgaum).
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343	Yadav Balkrishna Bahalkar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Editor, <i>Khandesh Vaibhav</i> ; Member, Dhulia Municipality; Vaidya—Dhulia (West Khandesh).
344	Yadneshwar Vasudeo Bhandar- kar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court—Khotachi Wadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).
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346	Rao Saheb Yeshwant Vinayak Randive.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Retired Mamlatdar—Thana.
347*	Mathuradas Ramchand, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu (Bhatia).	Pleader and Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind).

Province—BIHAR AND ORISSA.

348*	The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameswar Singh, K.C.I.E.	Brahmin.	Maharaja of Darbhanga; late Member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa—Darbhanga.
349*	The Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja Saheb of Kanika.	Hindu.	Elected Representative of the Land- holders of Bihar and Orissa in the Imperial Legislative Council—Kanika —Rajlali, Cuttack.

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350*	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay.	Hindu.	Elected Representative in the Imperial Legislative Council on behalf of the Non-Official Members of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa—"Krishna Bhuvan," Bankipur, Patna (Bihar).
351*	Ram Prasad, Esq.	"	Purnea (Bihar).
352*	Dheer Narain Chand, Esq.	"	Purnea (Bihar).

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353	S. S. Halkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Advocate—18-B, Merchant Street, Rangoon (Burma).
354	Ranchhoddas Harjiwandas, Esq.	"	Rice Merchant—91A, Mogul Street, Rangoon (Burma).

Province—PUNJAB.

355*	The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, C.I.E.	Mahomedan.	Member, Imperial Legislative Council; Barrister-at-Law—Lahore (Punjab).
356*	Pandit Manohar Lal, M.A.	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law—Lahore (Punjab).
357*	Lala Ganapati Rai	"	Barrister-at-Law—Lahore (Punjab).
358*	Lala Radha Kishen Bhadwar.	"	Banker—Ferozepore City (Punjab).

Province—BENGAL.

359	The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.	Brahmin.	President, Indian National Congress held at Poona (1895); also Ahmedabad (1902); Member, Imperial Legislative Council; Editor, <i>The Bengalee</i> —126, Bow-bazar Street, Calcutta.
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361*	The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy, K.C.I.E.	Brahmin.	Maharaja of Kasimbazar; Member, Imperial Legislative Council;—Calcutta.
362*	Raja Pramada Nath Roy of Dighapatia.	Kayastha.	Raja of Dighapatia; Late Member, Imperial Legislative Council—Calcutta.
363*	Maharaja Pradyut Kumar Tagore.	Brahmin.	Calcutta.
364*	The Hon'ble Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E.	"	President, Indian Industries Commission; Member, Bengal Legislative Council; &c., &c.—6 and 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
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366*	Sir Benode Chandra Mitter, Kt.	Kayastha.	Late Advocate-General, Bengal—10 Elysium Row, Calcutta.
367	The Hon'ble Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., LL.D.	Brahmin.	Late Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University; Member, Bengal Legislative Council; Solicitor and Vakil, High Court—20, Suri Lane, Calcutta.
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390	Dr. Ahi Blusan Mukerji ..	Brahmin.	Sub-Assistant Surgeon; Medical Practitioner—Burdwan.
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395	Anukulchandra Moitra, Esq., M.A., B.L.	„	Pleader—Pabna.
396	Ashutosh Ray, Esq., B.L. ..	„	Pleader—Tangail.
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398	Atul Chandra Nath, Esq. ..	„	Pleader—Chittagong.
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618*	President, Ganjam People's Association.	Ganjam.
619*	C. S. Ratna Sabapathy Mud- liar, Esq.	Hindu.	President, Taluka Board—Coimbatore.
620*	Ranganatha Chari, Esq.	Berhampore, District Ganjam.
621	Rupanagudi Suryanarayana Rau, Esq., B.A.	..	Gooty (Madras Presidency), C/o Servants of India Society, Poona City.
622	S. Krishnaswami, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil—Sivaganga.
623	S. V. Kamesvara Rau, Esq., B.A., B.L.	..	Vakil Berhampore—District Ganjam.
624	Sadanand Mahanty, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Christian.	Vakil—Ganjam.
625	R. K. Shammyam Chettiar, Esq.	Hindu.	Banker and Merchant—Coimbatore.
626*	Sashi Bhushan Rath, Esq. ..	Oriya.	Journalist ; Editor, <i>The Asha</i> —Berham- pore, District Ganjam.
627*	Secretary, District People's Association.	Vizagapatam.
628	Rao Saheb Shirgaoker ..	Hindu.	President, Muttancherry Municipality— Cochin.
629*	Siva Subramanyam, Esq.	Vice-Chairman, Municipality—Coimba- tore.
630	T. Karunakaran Nair, Esq. ..	Nair.	Nedungadi Bank—Palghat.
631	T. M. K. Nedungadi, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Printer and Publisher—Calicut.
632	T. M. Appa Nedungadi, Esq.	High Court Vakil ; Municipal Chairman —Calicut.
633	T. P. Narayan Nair, Esq. ..	Nair.	Banker—Ottapalam.
634	U. B. Gopal, Esq.	Hindu.	Electrician ; Mechanical Engineer, Dutt's Steam Saw Mills—Kallagi.

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
635	U. B. Srinivas Rao, Esq. ..	Hindp.	Special Magistrate and Municipal Councillor, c/o Messrs. U. B. Dutt & Co.—Calicut.
636	V. Achuthan, Esq.	„	Engineer, Calicut Oil Mills—Calicut.
637	V. Gopalan Nair, Esq. ..	Nair.	Agent, Nedungadi Bank—Calicut.
638	V. M. D. Nair, Esq.	„	Agent, Nedungadi Bank—Calicut Town.
639	V. M. Madhavan Nair, Esq. ..	„	Chief Assistant, Nedungadi Bank—Calicut.
640	V. Raghunatha Iyer, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Chief Accountant, Calicut Oil Mills—Calicut.
641	V. Venkatasubbaiya, Esq., B.A.	„	Servants of India Society, Roypetta—Madras.
642	Vengayil Kunji Krishna Nayanar, Esq.	Hindu.	Tali Paramba Post—N. Malabar.

Province—CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

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644*	The Hon'ble Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Kt., C.I.E.	Bengalee Kayastha.	Member, C. P. Legislative Council; Advocate—Nagpur.
645	Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B., C.I.E.	Brahmin.	Late Member, Imperial Legislative Council; <i>Ex</i> -President, Indian National Congress; Advocate—Amraoti (Berar).
646*	M. B. Dadabhoy, Esq. ..	Parsi.	Late Member, Imperial Legislative Council; Advocate—Nagpur.
647	M. V. Joshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ..	Brahmin.	Late Member, C. P. Legislative Council; Advocate—Nagpur.
648*	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Pandit Bishendutt Shukul, B.A.	Sarjupari Brahmin.	Taluqdar, Honorary Magistrate, 1st Class; Elected Representative of the Landholders of C. P. in the Imperial Legislative Council—Sihora Road (E. I. R.).
649*	Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani, M.A.	Brahmin.	Retired Educational Officer, late Director of Public Instruction, Berar; Author and Man of Letters in Marathi Literature—Akola (Berar).
650*	Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, M.A. (Cantab).	„	Late Member, Imperial Legislative Council; Barrister-at-Law—Nagpur.
651*	The Hon'ble Mr. Sorabji Mehta.	Parsi.	Member, C. P. Legislative Council—Nagpur.
652*	Shankarrao Chitnavis, Esq. ..	Kayastha Prabhu.	Retired Divisional Commissioner (C. P.)—Nagpur.

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653*	The Hon'ble Mr. R. V. Mahajani, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Member, C. P. Legislative Council; High Court Pleader—Akola (Berar).
654*	Khan Bahadur H. M. Mulak ..	Mahomedan, Shiah.	Merchant, Craddock Town—Nagpur.
655*	Rai Bahadur H. Mitra ..	Bengalee Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law—Khandwa (C. P.).
656*	Rao Bahadur Keshav Govind Damle, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Late Member, C. P. Legislative Council; High Court Vakil—Akola (Berar).
657*	Rao Saheb Keshav Vaman Brahma, B.A., LL.B.	..	High Court Vakil—Amraoti (Berar).
658*	Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundale, B.A., LL.B.	..	High Court Vakil—Yeotmal (Berar).
659	Natesh Appaji Dravid, Esq., M.A.	..	Member, Servants of India Society—Nagpur.
660*	Ramkrishna Moreshwar Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	..	Honorary Secretary, Co-operative Central Bank; Vice-Chairman, Taluq Board; Honorary Secretary, Divisional War Committee; Pleader—Amraoti (Berar).
661*	Rai Bahadur Debendranath Chaudhuri, B.A., B.L. ..	Bengalee Brahmin.	Pleader and Landlord; President, Municipal Committee; Member, District Council—Raipur (C. P.).
662*	Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagwat, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil—Akola (Berar).
663*	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. A. Deshpande	Member, C. P. Legislative Council; Pleader—Amraoti (Berar).
664*	Rao Saheb Ganesh Nagesh Sahasrabudhe.	..	Pleader and Landholder; Vice-Chairman, Municipality—Ellichpur (Berar).
665*	Rai Bahadur Nagendra Dey ..	Bengalee Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law—Bilaspur (C. P.).
666*	Ramkrishna Raoji Jayavant, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Pleader—Amraoti (Berar).
667*	Madhavrao Bapurao Kinkhede, Esq.	Brahmin.	Advocate—Nagpur.
668	The Hon'ble Mr. Madhavrao Deshpande.	..	Member, C. P. Legislative Council—Nagpur.
669	D. T. Mangalmurti, Esq., B.A., LL.M.	..	High Court Vakil—Nagpur.
670	N. R. Mudholkar, Esq.	Pleader—Akola (Berar).
671	Raghunath Krishna Thombre, Esq., B.A.	..	Journalist—Nagpur.
672*	A. G. Pandhera Pande, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Balaghat (C. P.)
673	A. B. Rau, Esq.	Amraoti (Berar).

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
674*	Seth Balabhadhra Prasad ..	Hindu.	Honorary Magistrate—Balaghat (C. P.).
675*	Rao Saheb Bhalchandra Rao..	Brahmin.	Yeotmal (Berar).
676*	B. R. Landge, Esq.	„	Landholder—Yeotmal (Berar).
677*	Rao Saheb Deshpande ..	„	Ellichpur (Berar).
678*	Rao Saheb Devle	„	Amraoti (Berar).
679*	Rai Durgaprasad	„	Balaghat (C. P.).
680*	G. B. Khadilkar, Esq.	„	Do.
681*	Ganes Das, Esq.	Hindu.	Amraoti (Berar).
682*	Govind Lal Purohit, Esq. ..	„	Jubbulpore (C. P.).
683	J. D. Sanghavi, Esq.	„	Amraoti (Berar).
684*	B. W. Joshi, Esq.	Brahmin.	Do.
685*	K. H. Chandwasker, Esq. ..	„	Do.
686*	K. S. Nayudu, Esq.	Hindu.	President, Municipal Committee—Wardha (C. P.).
687*	Pandit Kanhaiyalal Pathak, B.A.	Brahmin.	Superintendent, Durbar Office—Ajaigarh (C. I.).
688*	Keshav V. Jamkhindikar, Esq.	„	Amraoti (Berar).
689*	Seth Ladhuram	Hindu.	Ellichpur (Berar).
690*	Seth Mulidhar	„	Do.
691*	Seth Laxminarayan	„	Do.
692*	M. R. Mudholkar, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Amraoti (Berar).
693*	Seth Mathuraprasad	Hindu.	Chindwara (C. P.).
694	Mirza R. Beg, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Amraoti (Berar).
695	Motiram Tukaram Wankhade, Esq.	Maratha, Mali.	Secretary, V. S. Panchayat ; Secretary, 9th Session, Mali Educational Conference ; Secretary, C. P. and Berar Mali Education Society ; Director, Central Bank, Ellichpur ; Agriculturist, Author, Preacher ; Ellichpur District—Kagajgaon (Berar).
696*	N. V. Dravid, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader—Yeotmal (Berar).
697*	N. B. Nagarkar, Esq.	„	Amraoti (Berar).
698*	Rodrigues, Esq.	Christian.	Yeotmal (Berar).
699*	Y. K. Deshpande, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Pleader—Yeotmal (Berar).
700*	Ghudekhan Badabux, Esq. ..	Mahomedan.	Ellichpur (Berar).

Province—UNITED PROVINCES.

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
701*	The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E.	Hindu Kshattriya.	Talukdar, (Land-owner); Elected Member, Imperial Legislative Council, on behalf of the Landholders of the United Provinces—Kurri Sudauli (District Rai Bareli), (U. P.).
702	The Hon'ble Raja Moti Chand, C.I.E.	Vaishya, Agrawal.	Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Chairman, Municipal Board; Anratgarh Palace—Benares.
703*	The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Elected Member, Imperial Legislative Council, on behalf of the Non-Official Members of the U. P. Legislative Council; Advocate, Allahabad High Court, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.
704*	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Anand Swarup	Kayastha.	Pleader; Chairman, Education Committee; Vice-President, Bar Association—161, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
705*	Raja and Rai Bahadur Lalta Prasad.	Vaishya, Agrawal.	Zemindar and Banker; Chairman, Municipal Board—Pilibhit (U. P.).
706*	Rai Bahadur Lala Bishambhar Nath.	..	Rais, Zemindar, Banker, Merchant, Mill-owner; Late Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Member, Municipal Board; President, U. P. Chamber of Commerce; President, Hindu Sabha,—"Srinivasa Singh", Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
707	The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.	Brahmin.	Editor, <i>The Leader</i> ; Elected Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Member, Board of Education, Board of Industries, Sanitary Board and War Board; Vice-President, U. P. Chamber of Commerce; Director, "The Newspapers, Ltd."; Member, Court and Council of the Hindu University of Benares—14/A, South Road, Allahabad.
708*	The Hon'ble Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court; Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Member, Board of Education—George Town, Allahabad.
709*	The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain, B.A.	Brahmin.	Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Member, Sanitary Board, also of War Board; Member, Court of the Hindu University of Benares; President, District Congress Committee; Member, All-India Congress Committee; Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Oudh, Golaganj—Lucknow.
710	Rai Krishnaji	Hindu.	Rais, Zemindar and Banker; Member, U. P. Board of Industries; Member, Court of the Hindu University of Benares; Honorary Magistrate, Phatak Rangildas—Benares City.

Serial No.	Name with Scholastic or Honorary Distinctions, Titles, etc.	Caste, Creed, Race or Religion.	Profession, Calling, Occupation, etc., and Address.
711*	The Hon'ble Lala Madhusudan Dayal.	Vaishya.	Zemindar and Banker; Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Member, U. P. Board of Industries—Hapur (District Meerut) (U. P.).
712*	The Hon'ble Radha Kishen Das.	Hindu.	Member, U. P. Legislative Council—Lucknow.
713*	The Hon'ble Rai Sankar Sahai Sahab.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court; Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board; Joint Secretary, District Board; Secretary, Macdonnell High School; President, Bar Association, Jhansi (U. P.).
714*	The Hon'ble Lala Sukhbirsinhe	Vaishya.	Zemindar; Chairman, Municipal Board; Member, U. P. Legislative Council—Muzaaffarnagar (U. P.).
715*	Munshi Narsinh Prasad, M.A., M.R.A.S.	Kayastha.	Vakil; Late Member, Legislative Council—Gorakhpur (U. P.).
716	Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tewari, M.A.	Brahmin.	Member, Servants of India Society; Editor, <i>The Abhyudaya</i> —6, Bank Road, Allahabad.
717	Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, B.A.	„	Zemindar, Agra; Member, Servants of India Society; Editor, <i>The Hindusthani</i> —Aminabad, Lucknow.
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720*	Thakur Mahadeo Singh, B.A. ..	„	Vakil—Fyzabad (U. P.).
721	Dr. Manohar Lal Saheb ..	Buddhist.	Medical Practitioner; Honorary Secretary, District Board—Aligarh (U. P.).
722	Pandit Kailas Narayan Dubé, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Vakil; Zamindar—Baragaon Gate, Jhansi (U. P.).
723*	Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Fyzabad (U. P.).
724	Munshi Parmeshwar Dayal Amist, B.A.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court; Zamindar—Hamirpur (U. P.).
725	Radha Mohan, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Khattri.	Vakil—Machharatta Mohalla, Jaunpore (U. P.).
726	Babu Raj Narayan Saksena, B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court; Secretary, District Congress Committee, Jhansi (U. P.).
727	Sarju Prasad Shrivastavya, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Vakil; Zamindar—Basti (U. P.).
728	Dr. Sobha Ram, B.A., M.B., D.P.H.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner—Bulanala, Benares City.

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729*	Babu Sri Ram	Khatti.	Rais; Vakil; Member, Municipal and District Board; Honorary Magistrate; Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board; Mirzapur (U. P.).
730	Sri Siverudranath Basu, Esq. .	Bengalee Kayastha.	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate—Chaukhamba, Benares.
731*	A. P. Sen, Esq.	Brahmo.	Barrister-at-Law—2, Banks Road, Lucknow—also, 58, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
732	Rai Braj Narayan Gurtu, M.A. .	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Zemindar; Registrar, Benares Hindu University—Sagra, Benares Camp.
733	Babu Braj Narayan Saksena, B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha.	High Court Vakil; Editor, <i>The Cawnpore Gazette</i> ; Municipal Councillor—Grand Parade, Cawnpore.
734	Babu Jagadish Sahae	„	Zemindar; Member, Municipal Board—Jhansi (U. P.).
735	Birendra Nath Sen, Esq. ..	Bengalee Baidya.	Merchant; Member, Municipal Board—C/o Sen & Co., the Mall, Cawnpore.
736	Pandit Chandrabhal Bajpai ..	Kanyakubja Brahmin.	Taluqdar, Kardaha Estate—Unao (U. P.).
737	Pandit Chandrika Prasad Tewary.	Brahmin.	Manager, <i>The Abhyudaya</i> —Allahabad.
738	Charu Chandra Das, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bengalee Kayastha.	Advocate—“Villa Maya,” Gorakhpur (U. P.).
739*	Devendra Chandra Sen Gupta, Esq.	Bengalee Baidya.	Merchant—Johnstonganj, Allahabad.
740	Durga Prasad, Esq., B.A. ..	Khatti.	Zemindar—“Laksa Garden,” Benares City.
741	Dwarka Prasad Singh, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Pleader—117, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
742	Babu Ganga Prasad Roy ..	Bhumihar Brahmin.	Pleader—Azamgarh City (U. P.).
743	Babu Gauri Sankar Prasad, B.A., LL.B.	Vaishya, Agrawal.	Vakil, High Court; Zemindar; Merchant; Honorary Secretary, Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha—Bulanala, Benares City.
744*	Rao Gopal Das Shahpuri ..	Nagar Brahmin.	Zemindar and Banker—Kotwalpura, Benares City.
745	Babu Gur Prasad Dhawan, B.A.	Hindu.	Landlord; Member, Court and Council of the Benares Hindu University—Kamacchas, Benares City.
746	Munshi Gulzari Lal, B.A., LL.B. .	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court; Trustee and Vice-President of the Committee of the Kayastha Pathashala—George Town, Allahabad.
747	Hari Har Saran Lal Shrivastavya, Esq.	„	Accountant (Head Clerk)—No. 16, Maqbul Gunj Lane, Lucknow.

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748	Jagjivannath Takru, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court; 2, Bank Road, Allahabad.
749	Mehta Krishna Ram, B.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahmin.	Landlord; Secretary, "The Newspapers, Ltd."; Manager and Joint-Editor of <i>The Leader</i> —14/A, South Road, Allahabad.
750*	Lala Ram Raghubir Lal ..	Hindu.	Fyzabad (U. P.).
751	Shri Ram Bajpai, Esq... ..	Brahmin.	Servants of India Society—6, Bank Road, Allahabad.
752	Shyam Beharilal Bhatel, Esq.	Brahmin, Sanatan Dharmi.	Rais and Banker; Member, District Board; President, Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, Etawah—Village Birazee, Post Ekdil, District Etawah (U. P.).
753*	Babu Trilokinath Kapur ..	Khattri.	Rais; Chairman, Bench of Magistrates; also of the District Board—Tanda (District Fyzabad) (U. P.).
754	Rao Vaijnath Das Shahpuri ..	Nagar Brahmin.	Zemindar and Banker; Director, "The Newspapers, Ltd."—Kotwalpura, Benares City.

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755*	Debicharan Nirgum, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Balaghat (C. P.).
756*	Khan Bahadur Maulana ..	Mahomedan.	Chairman, District Council, Balaghat (C. P.).
757*	Babu Manohar Lal	Hindu.	Chairman, Reception Committee, 7th U. P. Political Conference; Chairman, Public Meeting held at Fyzabad in support of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme—Fyzabad (U. P.).
758*	Raoji Gangadhar Khot, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder; President, Public Meeting of the Citizens of Belgaum in support of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme held on 25th August, 1918—Belgaum.
759	Hatim E. Attari, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Commission Agent—112-114, Nagdevi Street, Bombay.
760	N. E. Kurwa, Esq.	"	C/o Hatim E. Attari, Esq.—112-114, Nagdevi Street, Bombay.
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762	Zainool H. Karachiwala, Esq. .	Mahomedan.	Merchant—31-33, Nagdevi Street, Bombay.
763*	Vinayak Abaji Davane, Esq. ..	Kayastha Prabhu.	Pleader, Dahanu (Thana District).

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764*	P. H. Gadre, Esq., B.A., LL.B. .	Brahmin.	Pleader, Nasik.
765*	G. K. Phadke, Esq., B.A. ..	„	Kalyan (G. I. P. Ry.).
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768	S. G. Tumne, Esq.	Brahmin.	Khot of Borowli, residing at Jite, Post Forwadi, Taluka Mangaon, District Kolaba.
769	G. S. Kumble, Esq.	Hindu.	Secretary of the Firm of J. V. Padamsey & Co.—1, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
770	Kaikhosro Maneckji, Esq. ..	Parsi.	Editor and Proprietor, <i>Bombay Samachar</i> —Frere Road, New Modikhana, Fort, Bombay (1).
771	Barjorji Nowrosji Apyakhatiar, Esq.	„	Editor, <i>Hindi Punch</i> —305, Chowpatty Sea Face, Bombay (7).
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778	Master Kanji Karamshi ..	Hindu.	Head Master, Mandvi School—Kharek Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (2).
779	Rao Bahadur Vishwanath Narayan Sathaye, B.A.	Brahmin.	Retired Deputy Collector—Sholapur.
780*	A. B. Hinglokewalla, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil—Vadifalia, Surat.
781	Shivlal T. Dongli, Esq. ..	„	Wadhwan City (Kathiawar).
782	Homee F. Setna, Esq.	Parsi.	Proprietor, Grand Hotel; Agent, Norwich Union Life Insurance Co., and Royal Fire Insurance Co.—Dhondi Road, "Dhondy Abad," Deolali (G. I. P. Ry.).
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785	Hormusji Dorabji Bhatena ..	Parsi.	C/o D. N. Mehta, Esq., 56, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).
786	Jamshedji Ardesnur Pavri ..	,,	Do. do.
787	Pranjivan Hargovindas Gandhi, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	14, "Viller Villa," Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.).
788	S. C. Rana, Esq.	,,	Panalal Terraces, C/48, Grant Road, Bombay (7).
789	K. S. Kanga, Esq.	Parsi.	The Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Navsari Buildings, Fort, Bombay (1).
790	Ramechandra Vinayak Paralkar, Esq.	Hindu.	C/o Wace Corfield & Co., 24, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay (1).
791	Dhondu Ramji Hande, Esq. ..	,,	Kalyan (G. I. P. Ry.)