

Congress and ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees, the General Secretaries of the Congress, the local Secretaries of the Congress for the year, not exceeding six in number, and all the members of the All-India Congress Committee for the year, shall in addition be *ex officio* members of the Subjects Committee.

ARTICLE XXV.

The President of the Congress for the year shall be *ex officio* Chairman of the Subjects Committee, and he may nominate 5 delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.

CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTS

AND

INTERESTS OF MINORITIES.

ARTICLE XXVI.

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates, as a body, object by a majority of $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of their number; and if, after the discussion of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates as a body, are by a majority of $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of their number opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped; provided that in both these cases the $\frac{2}{3}$ ths mentioned above shall not be less than $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total number of delegates assembled at the Congress.

(b) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

VOTING AT THE CONGRESS.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Ordinarily, all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes as laid down in Rule 21 of the "Rules" hereto appended, but in cases falling under Article XXX. of this Constitution or whenever a division is duly asked for in accordance with Rule 22 of the "Rules" hereto appended, the voting at the Congress shall be by Provinces only. In cases falling under Clause (1) of Article XXX, each Province shall have one vote to be given as determined by a majority of its delegates present at the Congress. In all other cases of voting by Provinces, the vote of each Province, determined as aforesaid, shall be equivalent to the number of representatives assigned to the Province in constituting the All-India Congress Committee.

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THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Reception Committee of the Province, in which the Congress is held, shall remit to the British Committee of the Congress through the General Secretaries of the Congress half the amount of the fees received by it from delegates, subject to a minimum of Rs. (8,000) three thousand.

GENERAL SECRETARIES.

ARTICLE XXIX.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall have two General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall be responsible for the preparation, publication and distribution of the Report of the Congress, and they shall submit a full account of the funds which may come into their hands and a report of the work of the year to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall be previously sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees.

(b) The All-India Congress Committee shall make adequate provision for the expenses of the work devolving on the General Secretaries, either out of the surplus at the disposal of the Reception Committee or by calling upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make such contribution as it may deem fit to apportion among them.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF RULES.

ARTICLE XXX.

No addition, alteration or amendment shall be made (1) in Article I. of this Constitution except by a unanimous vote of all the Provinces, and (2) in the rest of this Constitution or in the "Rules" hereto appended except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Provinces, provided, in either case, that no motion for any such addition, alteration or amendment shall be brought before the Congress unless it has been previously accepted by the Subjects Committee of the Congress for the year.

RULES
FOR THE CONDUCT AND REGULATION
OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS MEETING

(As adopted by the Congress of 1908, 1911 and 1912.)

1. The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily hold an annual session at such place as may have been decided upon in accordance with Article III. of the "Constitution" and on such days during Christmas week as may be fixed by the Reception Committee. An Extraordinary Session of the Congress shall be held at such town and on such days as the All-India Congress Committee may determine.

2. Each Congress Session shall open with a meeting of the delegates at such time and place as may be notified by the Reception Committee. The time and place of subsequent sittings of the Session shall be fixed and announced by the President of the Congress.

3. The proceedings on the opening day and at the first sitting of each Congress Session shall, as far as possible, consist of :—

- (a) The Chairman of the Reception Committee's inaugural address of welcome to the delegates
- (b) The adoption of a formal resolution, to be moved seconded and supported by such delegates as the Chairman of the Reception Committee invites or permits, requesting the President elected by the Reception Committee or the All-India Congress Committee, as the case may be, to take the chair, no opposition by way of a motion for amendment, adjournment or otherwise being allowed to postpone or prevent the carrying out of the said resolution.
- (c) The President's taking the chair and his inaugural address.
- (d) Reading or distribution of the Report, if any, of the All-India Congress Committee and any statement that the General Secretaries may have to make.

- (e) Any formal motions of thanks, congratulations, condolences, etc., as the President of the Congress may choose to move from the chair.
- (f) The adjournment of the Congress for the appointment of the Subjects Committee and the announcement by the President of the time and place of the meetings of the delegates of the different Provinces for the election of the members of the Subjects Committee and also of the first meeting of the Subjects Committee.

4. No other business or motions in any form shall be allowed at the opening sitting of the Congress Session.

5. The Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside over the assembly at the first sitting until the President takes the chair. The President of the Congress shall preside at all sittings of the Congress Session as well as at all meetings of the Subjects Committee. In case of his absence and during such absence, any ex-President of the Congress present, who may be nominated by the President, and in case no ex-President is available, the Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside at the Congress sitting; provided that the Subjects Committee may in such cases choose its own Chairman.

6. The President or the Chairman shall have, at all votings, one vote in his individual capacity and also a casting vote in case of equality of votes.

7. The President or Chairman shall decide all points of order and procedure summarily and his decision shall be final and binding.

8. The President or Chairman shall have the power, in cases of grave disorder or for any other legitimate reason, to adjourn the Congress either to a definite time or *sine die*.

9. The election of the members of the Subjects Committee shall take place at meetings of the delegates of the different provinces held at such place and time as may be announced by the President. Each such meeting, in case of contest shall have a Chairman who will first receive nominations, each nomination being made by at least two delegates, and then after announcing all the nominations he may ask each delegate to give in a list of the members he votes for, or he may put the nominated names to the vote in such order as he pleases, or if there are only two rival lists, he shall take votes on these lists and announce the result of the election and forthwith communicate the same to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

10. The Subjects Committee shall deliberate upon and prepare the agenda paper for the business to be transacted at the next

Congress sitting. The General Secretaries shall, as far as practicable, distribute among the delegates a printed copy of the agenda paper for each sitting before the sitting commences.

11. At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows :—

- (a) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.
- (b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXX, of the "Constitution" and which 25 delegates request the President in writing before the commencement of the day's sitting to be allowed to place before the Congress, provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

12. Nothing in the foregoing rule shall prevent the President from changing the order of the resolutions mentioned in Rule 11 (a) or from himself moving from the chair formal motions of thanks, congratulations, condolences or the like.

13. The proposers, seconders and supporters of the Resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee shall be delegates and shall be selected by the said Committee. The President may allow other delegates to speak on the resolutions at his discretion and may allow any distinguished visitor to address the Congress. Nothing in the foregoing, however, shall prevent the President from moving from the chair such resolutions as he may be authorised to do by the Subjects Committee.

14. An amendment may be moved to any motion provided that the same is relevant to the question at issue, that it does not raise a question already decided or anticipate any question embraced in a resolution on the agenda paper for the day and that it is couched in proper language and is not antagonistic to the fundamental principles of the Congress. Every amendment must be in the form of a proposition complete in itself.

15. When amendments are moved to a motion, they shall be put to the vote in the reverse order in which they have been moved.

16. A motion for an adjournment of the debate on a proposition may be made at any time and so also, with the consent of the President or Chairman, a motion for an adjournment of the House. The President or Chairman shall have the power to decline to put to vote any motion for adjournment if he considers it to be vexatious or obstructive or an abuse of the rules and regulations.

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17. All motions, substantive or by way of amendment, adjournment, etc., shall have to be seconded, failing which they shall fail. No motions, whether those coming under Rule 11 (b) or for amendment, adjournment, closure, etc., shall be allowed to be moved unless timely intimation thereof is sent to the President with the motion clearly stated in writing over the signatures of the proposer and seconder with the name of the Province from which they have been elected as delegates.

18. No one who has taken part in the debate in Congress on a resolution shall be allowed to move or second a motion for adjournment or amendment in the course of the debate on that resolution. If a motion for adjournment of the debate on any proposition is carried, the debate on the said proposition shall then cease and may be resumed only after the business on the agenda paper for the day is finished. A motion for adjournment of the House shall state definitely the time when the House is to resume business.

19. A motion for a closure of the debate on a proposition may be moved at any time after the lapse of half an hour from the time the proposition was moved. And if such motion for closure is carried, all discussion upon the original proposition or amendments proposed to it shall at once stop and the President shall proceed to take votes.

20. No motion for a closure of the debate shall be moved whilst a speaker is duly in possession of the House.

21. All questions shall be decided by a majority of votes, subject, however, to the provisions of Articles XXVII. and XXX. of the "Constitution." Votes shall ordinarily be taken by a show of hands or by the delegates for or against standing up in their place in turn to have the numbers counted.

22. In cases not falling under Article XXX. of the "Constitution" any twenty members of a Congress sitting may demand a division within 5 minutes of the declaration of the result of the voting by the President and such division shall be granted. Thereupon the delegates of each province shall meet at such time and place as the President may direct and the Chairman of each such meeting shall notify to the President the vote of the Province within the time specified by the President.

23. Every member of a sitting of the Congress or of the Subjects Committee shall be bound (a) to occupy a seat in the block allotted to his Provinces, save as provided for in Rule 30; (b) to maintain silence when the President rises to speak or when another member is in possession of the House; (c) to refrain from hisses or interruptions of any kind or indulgence in improper and un-Parliamentary language; (d) to obey the chair; (e) to with-

draw when his own conduct is under debate after he has heard the charge and been heard thereon, and (f) generally to conduct himself with propriety and decorum.

24. No member shall have the right at a Congress sitting to speak more than once on any motion except for a personal explanation or for raising a point of order. But the mover of a substantive motion (not one for amendment or adjournment) shall have the right of reply. A person who has taken part in a debate may speak upon an amendment or motion for adjournment moved after he had spoken. The President or Chairman shall have the right to fix a time-limit upon all speakers, as also to call to order or stop any speaker from further continuing his speech even before the time-limit expires, if he is guilty of tedious repetitions, improper expressions, irrelevant remarks, etc., and persists in them in spite of the warning from the President.

25. If a person does not obey the President's or the Chairman's orders or if he is guilty of disorderly conduct the President shall have the right, with a warning in the first instance, and without a warning in case of contumacious disregard of his authority, to ask such member to leave the precincts of the House and on such requisition the member so ordered shall be bound to withdraw and shall be suspended from his functions as a member during the day's sitting.

26. If the President considers that the punishment he can inflict according to the foregoing section is not sufficient, he may, in addition to it, ask the House to award such punishment as the House deems proper. The Congress shall have the power in such cases of expelling the member from the entire Congress Session.

27. The Reception Committee shall organise a body of such persons as it may deem fit for the purpose of keeping order during the meeting of the Congress or of its Subjects Committee or at divisions. There shall be a captain at the head of this body and he shall carry out the orders of the President or the Chairman.

28. Visitors may be allowed at the sitting of the Congress on such terms and conditions as the Reception Committee determines. They may at any time be asked to withdraw by the President. They shall be liable to be summarily ejected from the House if they enter the area marked out for the delegates, or if they disobey the Chair, or if they are guilty of disturbance or obstruction, or if they are in anywise disorderly in their behaviour.

29. The meetings of the Subjects Committee shall be open only to the members of that Committee and the meetings of the delegates of each Province at divisions shall be open to the delegates of that Province only, subject in either case to the provisions of Rule 27.

30. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President as well as the Secretaries may, at their discretion, accommodate on the Presidential platform : (1) Leading members of the Congress. (2) Distinguished visitors. (3) Members of the Reception Committee. (4) Ladies, whether delegates or visitors, and (5) Members of the All-India Congress Committee.

31. The foregoing rules shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Provincial or District Conferences organised by the Provincial Congress Committees as provided for in Article VI. of the "Constitution."

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Adopted at the Meeting of the Convention Committee held at Allahabad on the 18th and 19th April, 1908.)

ARTICLES I.-XXX. Same as in the Constitution subsequently adopted by the Congress and as set forth above.

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE XXXI.

(a) The Committee appointed by the Convention at Surat on 28th December 1907 for drawing up a constitution for the Congress should exercise all the powers of the All India Congress Committee till the formation of the latter at the next session of the Congress.

(b) The Secretaries of the said Convention Committee shall discharge the duties of the General Secretaries of the Congress till the dissolution of the next session of the Congress.

(c) The President and Secretaries of the Convention Committee should, in consultation with the Secretaries of the several Provincial Sub-Committees, arrange for the holding of a meeting of the Congress during Christmas next in accordance with this Constitution.

(d) For the year 1908, the Reception Committee, may in electing the President, consult the Provincial Congress Committees in the beginning of October, before the end of which month, the Provincial Congress Committees, on being so consulted, shall make

their recommendations and the rest of the procedure prescribed in Article XXIII, should be followed and completed, as far as possible, before the end of November,

RASHBEHARY GHOSE,

President, Convention Committee.

DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA,

DAJI ABAJI KHARE,

Hony. Secretaries, Convention Committee.

The rules for the conduct and regulations of the Congress as framed by the Convention Committee were substantially the same as those subsequently adopted by the Congress and as set forth above.

TENTATIVE RULES
IN REGARD TO CERTAIN MATTERS CONNECTED
WITH THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

*(Framed by the Committee appointed by
Resolution I. of 1887.)*

I.

There shall be yearly, during the last fortnight of each Calendar year, a meeting of the delegates of the people of India which shall bear the name of *The Indian National Congress*.

II.

It shall from year to year assemble at such places and on such dates as shall have been resolved on by the last preceding Congress; it being, however, left open to the Reception Committee (Rule XII.) (should any real necessity for this arise) to change, in consultation with the several Standing Congress Committees (Rule III.), the place fixed by the Congress for some other locality.

III.

There shall be, as resolved at the 2nd National Congress (XIII. of 1886), Standing Congress Committees at all important centres: These Committees are at present as in Appendix I., but the Congress may at any sitting add to or diminish the number of these Committees, or alter their jurisdiction. The delegates from any jurisdiction attending a Congress shall form the Standing Congress Committee for that jurisdiction for the ensuing year and they shall have power to add to their number and appoint their own executive. There is at present a General Secretary holding office at the pleasure of the several Congress Committees but henceforth a General Secretary shall be elected at each Congress for the ensuing year.

IV.

It shall be the primary duty of all Standing Congress Committees to promote the political education of the people of their several jurisdictions *throughout the year*, and to endeavour, by the circulation of brief and simple tracts and catechisms written in the vernacular of that people, by the holding of public meetings

at important centres and by sending competent men round to lecture and explain these subjects, and by all other open and laudable means, to imbue the intelligent and respectable classes everywhere with a healthy sense of their duties and rights as good citizens. Care has to be especially taken to impress the people with a conviction, 1st, of the immense benefits that the country has derived from British rule, and, of the sincere desire that pervades the British nation to do the very best they can for the people of India; 2ndly, with the same idea of the more important shortcomings of that rule, due partly to the unavoidable ignorance of the rulers of the real condition of the ruled, and partly to the failure of these latter to make known in a definite and intelligible form their wants and wishes, and 3rdly, with the knowledge that all defects in the existing form of the administration may surely, though perhaps slowly, be amended, if the people will only unite in loyal, temperate and persistent demands for the redress of grievances through such persons as they may choose as exponents of their views.

V

To enable the several Committees to carry out his great work successively, they are empowered to create as many sub-committees, (to each of whom a definite sphere of action be assigned), within their jurisdictions, as may be necessary and possible, and they are further empowered to associate themselves with any existing Associations and work with them and through their various branches and sub-committees.

VI

Each year, each Standing Congress Committee shall report fully the work that it has done during the year, accompanying the same, as far as may be practicable, by English translations of all the tracts, leaflets and the like that it may have issued during the year; such reports shall be in English, and shall be so despatched as to reach the Secretary of the Reception Committee (Rule XII.) on or before the 15th of December, and shall be laid before the Congress and duly considered thereat.

VII

It shall be the duty of all Standing Congress Committees, in consultation with their Sub-Committees, and as many of the leading men resident therein as may be possible, to divide their several jurisdictions into such electoral circles as may to them seem to be most likely in the existing state of the country to secure a fair representation of the intelligent portion of the community, without distinction of creed, caste, race or colour. Such circles may

be territorial, or where local circumstances require this, may each include one or more castes, or professions, or Associations of any kind. Except in the cases of Associations, all delegates shall be elected at Public Meetings held for the purpose. In the case of Associations, delegates shall be elected at General Meetings specially convened on that behalf.

VIII

Delegates may be of any creed, caste or nationality, but must be residents in India and not less than 25 years of age

IX

It shall be the duty of all Standing Congress Committees to send out, three months before the date fixed for the Congress, special notices to each of their electoral divisions calling upon each to elect the number of delegates assigned under their scheme to such division, as also one or more provisional delegates who will, in case of the death or inability to attend to any of the elected delegates, take the places of these without further election, and to forward to them—the Congress Committee—a full list of such delegates with all particulars in the form given in Appendix II. It will be the duty of the Standing Congress Committees not only to issue such notices, but see that they are acted upon, deputations from their number proceeding, where necessary, to the centres of the divisions. Provided that in case any electoral division fails to elect the required delegates, the Committee is empowered to cancel such division and create in its place another division more ready to do its duty. Each Standing Congress Committee shall forward a complete list (in the form given in Appendix III.) of all delegates and provisional delegates elected for their entire jurisdiction to the Reception Committee, so that the same may reach the latter on or before the 15th of December, and it shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to remind the Standing Committee that they are due, and failing to receive these lists to telegraph for them persistently and to bring to the notice of the Congress any serious neglect of this rule.

X

It shall be the duty of each Standing Congress Committee, at least one month before the date fixed for the Congress, to ascertain the cheapest and best routes and modes of conveyance by which the several delegates of their jurisdictions can reach the Congress, the time that will be occupied in transit, and the cost of the journey by both 1st and 2nd class, single and return, and to notify the same to each of the delegates and provisional delegates elected within their jurisdiction.

XI

It shall be the duty of each Standing Congress Committee to notify, so that such notification shall reach the Reception Committee on or before the 1st of November, the subjects that the people of their several jurisdictions desire to see discussed. Provided that such subjects shall be of a national character, that is to say, of a nature affecting the whole country, and not provincial, and that in regard to each subject the exact resolution which it is desired to pass be also transmitted, along with, whenever the latter is practicable, the names of the gentlemen who are prepared to propose or support such resolutions.

XII

The Standing Congress Committee of the jurisdiction in which the Congress is to be held shall, not less than six months before the date fixed for the Congress, associate with itself all the leading inhabitants of the place where the Congress is to be held, who may be willing to take part in the proceedings, and with them constitute itself a Reception Committee.

XIII

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee (a) to notify to all the Standing Committees their appointment, and to invite them to proceed to call for delegates and to send in before the appointed date the list of the subjects which the people of their jurisdiction desire should be discussed as required by Rule XI; (b) to collect and provide the funds necessary for the entertainment of the delegates and other purposes essential to the holding of the Congress; to arrange for a suitable Meeting Hall; for the suitable lodgment of the delegates of other jurisdictions; for the food of the delegates during their stay, due regard being had to the customs, local or religious, of each, and generally to arrange for everything necessary for their convenience and comfort, and (c) to maintain a constant correspondence with all the Standing Congress Committees, and generally, so far as may be, assure themselves that the necessary work is duly proceeding in all jurisdictions.

XIV

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to obtain, from the several Standing Committees the list of subjects referred to in Statute XI, reminding them and giving them ample warning that lists not received by the 1st of November cannot be attended to, and on the 1st of November to proceed to consider such lists.

and after eliminating all subjects (if there be any such) of a clearly provincial character, or unsupported by definite resolutions intended to be proposed in regard to them, to compile the rest into one list in the form given in Appendix IV, and print and despatch the same by the 15th of November in sufficient numbers to the several Standing Committees to enable these to distribute copies to each delegate and provincial delegate, and the several Standing Committees shall be responsible for their immediate distribution accordingly.

XV

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee, as soon as possible after its constitution, to select and communicate to the several Standing Congress Committees the names of those gentlemen whom it considers eligible for the office of President, and in correspondence with them to settle who shall be invited to fill that office, and thereafter when, and agreement thereon has been come to, to communicate with the gentlemen finally approved by all, or a considerable majority of the Standing Committees, and generally to do all that may be necessary to settle the question of the Presidency at least one month before the Congress meets.

XVI

Of the subjects circulated under Rule XIV, for information, only those shall be brought forward and discussed at the Congress which shall be finally approved by a committee (to be called the Subjects Committee) consisting of the President-Elect and one or more representatives of each jurisdiction (selected by all delegates who may be then present at the Congress station) which shall meet on the day previous to the inaugural sitting of the Congress. Provided also that this Committee shall be empowered to add any subjects to those included in this list that may for any reasons appear to them specially deserving of discussion, framing at the same time the resolutions that they desire to see proposed in regard to them, and further, to modify as may appear to them necessary, any of the resolutions propounded in regard to the subjects included in the list which they have accepted for discussion. Provided further, that the Committee shall at the same time settle, so far as may be possible, those gentlemen who are to be invited to propose, second and support the Resolutions, and shall put themselves into communication with them, and that they shall at once frame a list of the approved subjects and resolutions in the form given in Appendix V, and shall print the same so that a copy may, if possible, be placed in the hands of each delegate at the inaugural sitting of the Congress.

XVII.

It shall be the duty of the Chairman of the Reception Committee to preside at the commencement of the inaugural sitting of the Congress, and after delivering such address as he and the Reception Committee may consider necessary to call upon the assembled delegates to elect a President and after such election to instal the said President in the chair of office.

From and after the installation of the President, he shall direct and guide the entire proceedings of the assembly, he being empowered in all cases, except as hereinafter provided, in which differences of opinion arise or doubts occur, either himself, to rule what course should be taken when his ruling shall be final, or to take a vote from the assembly, when the decision of the majority shall be final.

Until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee have been discussed (and this in such order as the President may direct) and disposed of by the adoption, rejection or modification of such resolutions, no other business shall be brought before the Congress. But after this, if there be time for this, any delegate who shall have given notice in writing at the commencement of the sitting to the President, of his desire to have a particular subject discussed, and definite resolution, which he sets forth, proposed shall have a *right* and a delegate who at any time previous to rising shall have given such notice *may*, with the permission of the President rise and ask the President to take the sense of the assembly as to whether such subject shall be discussed. No speaking at this stage shall be allowed. The President shall simply read out the subject and the proposed resolution and make any such remarks as he considers essential and take a vote of the assembly as to whether the subject shall or shall not be discussed. If the vote is in the affirmative the proposer shall then set forth the subject and the resolution he therein proposes with such explanations as he considers necessary and then, after due discussion, the question shall be disposed of in the usual way. If the vote is in the negative, the subject shall be at once dropped.

ADDENDA.

ADDENDUM TO RULE XII.

It is to be distinctly understood that the Reception Committee cannot provide accommodation or food for any one but delegates and at most for one servant each for any delegates who absolutely require such attendance. All delegates who can do without a special servant of their own should do so, the Reception Committee will provide attendance for their guests. If any delegate desires to bring with him friends or family or more than one servant he must notify the same at least 20 days before the Congress meets to the Reception Committee, stating the number of persons he intends to bring, the number of rooms or the kind of house he requires and the amount he is willing to pay for the same, and the Committee will endeavour to have the required accommodation ready. Unless such timely notice be given, the Committee, though they will still try to assist their guest's friends, can take no responsibility in regard to them. Under no circumstances can any one not a delegate, or the one servant of a delegate, be accommodated in any of the quarters provided by the Reception Committee for the delegates.

RULE XVI.—(*Revised*).

Of the subjects circulated under Rule XIV. for information, only those shall be brought forward and discussed at the Congress which shall be finally approved by a Committee (hereinafter designated the Subject Committee) consisting of the President-Elect, the General Secretary and one or more of the representatives of each jurisdiction which shall meet as early as possible on the day previous to the inaugural sitting of the Congress and with necessary intervals for food and rest continue sitting until the work is completed. It shall be the duty of each Standing Congress Committee to select specially and arrange for the despatch of one or more of its delegates, so that he or they may arrive in good time for and represent their views at the Subject Committee which besides these specially selected delegates may include a limited number of gentlemen selected by the other delegates present at the time, should the President-Elect consider this necessary to ensure an adequate representation of all sections of the community. It shall not be open to any delegate or body of delegates or any Standing Congress Committee, not present or represented at the opening of the Subject Committee to question later on, its proceedings or demand that the work of selecting

subjects be done over again, but it will be open to any and all who may be dissatisfied with the programme of the Committee to propose amendments to any or all the resolutions they have approved, or when all the subjects approved by them have been disposed of, to move for the discussion for other subjects, as provided in other rules. The Subject Committee is empowered to add any subjects to those included in the last circulated under Rule XIV. that may for any reasons appear to them specially deserving of discussion, framing at the same time the resolutions that they desire to see proposed in regard to them, and further, to modify as may appear to them necessary, any of the resolutions propounded in regard to the subjects included in the list, which they have accepted for discussion. The Committee shall at the same time settle, so far as may be possible, those gentlemen who are to be invited to propose, second and support the resolutions, and shall put themselves into communication with them, and they shall, before separating, frame a list of the approved subjects and resolutions in form given in Appendix V. and shall print the same so that a copy may, if possible, be placed in the hands of each delegate at the inaugural sitting of the Congress.

RULE XVIII.—A

It is desirable that the President should have, sitting with him on the platform, and constituting a sort of Council, that he can consult in case of necessity, one or more of the leading delegates from each jurisdiction. There are places on the platform according to the standard plan, for 22 such Councillors, and these shall be apportioned as follows to the jurisdictions of the several Standing Congress Committees, *viz.*, to that of Calcutta 4 of Bankipore 1, of Benares and Allahabad taken together 2, of Lucknow 2, of Lahore 2, of Karachi 1, of Surat 1, of Bombay 3, of Poona 1, of Nagpore 1, of Madras 4. The delegates of each jurisdiction present on the morning of the inaugural sitting, must elect these their representatives and notify their names before noon on the day of such sitting to the Secretary of the Reception Committee. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and a special Secretary, to be selected by the President, will also occupy the platform on the immediate right and left of the President.

RULE XVIII.—B

On or before noon of the day of the inaugural sitting, the President-Elect, in consultation with the Chairman of the Reception Committee, shall nominate 8 or more gentlemen not themselves delegates, as wardens of the assembly and shall invest them with a conspicuous badge and a wand of office. It shall be the duty of these wardens throughout the Congress to see that the

delegates take the places assigned to them; that the pathways are kept clear, the arrangements of the Reception Committee rigidly respected and generally order maintained in all particulars. It shall be the duty of all delegates to comply at once and unhesitatingly with any requests made to them by the wardens.

RULE XVIII—C

No one, not a delegate, shall be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter before it. No delegate shall be allowed to address the assembly except from the platform. The Subject Committee will usually have arranged for proposers, seconders, and supporters, and at times for other speakers on each resolution, and these will, when no amendment is proposed, have precedence of other persons who desire to speak, but after these have spoken, these others shall be called on to speak in the order in which they may have submitted their names (very clearly written in full, in ink) to the President. Provided that when it seems clear that the Congress is of one mind on any subject and does not desire further speaking, the President may, at the close of any speaker's address take the sense of the assembly as to whether further discussion is necessary and proceed accordingly. When one or more amendments have been duly notified, then after the proposer and seconder of the original resolutions have spoken, the proposers and seconders of the amendments shall be called on in the order in which the amendments were filed, and after this the supporters of the original resolution and the amendments shall speak in turn, and after these, again, all other speakers in the order in which their names have been registered.

No original proposer of a resolution shall, without the express permission of the President previously obtained, speak for more than 15 minutes. No other speaker shall, without the express permission of the same officer previously obtained, speak for more than 10 minutes and, as a rule, speakers are expected to confine themselves to five minutes. The President will touch a gong once to warn each speaker when the time allotted to him is drawing to a close, and he will touch it a second time when that period has elapsed and he considers that the speaker should cease speaking, and when the President does thus a second time touch his gong, the speaker shall thereupon, then and there close his address and leave the platform unless called upon by the assembly generally, to proceed. Each speaker on ascending the platform for the purpose of speaking shall give one card on which his name is very clearly written in full in English, as also the name of the jurisdiction to which he belongs, to the Short-hand Reporter employed by the Congress and similar card to the President's Secretary, and the latter shall read it out distinctly to the assembly before the speech commences.

RULE XVIII.—D

When considerable difference of opinion is proved, by the course of the discussion, to exist in the assembly in regard to any question before it, the President may, at any time, temporarily suspend business and inviting to the platform such other delegates as he considers necessary, with these and his Concillors, as a Special Committee, proceed to endeavour to work out a solution of the difficulty which will commend itself to all parties, or to the great majority of these. Should this prove impracticable he will resume business and take the sense of the assembly as to whether further discussion shall be allowed or the several amendments (the last, first, and so on) put in the usual way. But should, as will generally be the case, a compromise be arrived at by the Special Committee, unanimously or by majority of at least two-thirds he shall, on resuming the chair, first read out the resolution thus arrived at and then either himself explain its bearings on the matters in dispute, or call upon some one else to do so, and after such explanation put this at once to the assembly. If it be not carried, he will proceed as above directed, but if carried, the discussion will be considered closed and assembly will proceed to the next subject and resolution on the programme. Such resolutions will appear in the summary, as "Proposed by a Special Committee and carried by a majority unanimously, or, by acclamation"—as the case may be.

RULE XIX.—A

Without the special permission of the President, which shall only be granted, when this appears to him essentially necessary, no amendment shall be proposed, of which due notice in writing signed by at least five delegates shall not have been given to the President at the time of his taking the chair or before business commences, on the day on which the resolution which it is proposed to amend is discussed. The notice shall set forth the resolution, to which it is proposed to move an amendment, the exact words of the amendment, and the whole resolution as it would stand were the amendment carried. In introducing each resolution for discussion the President shall mention fully each amendment thereon of which he has received notice, so that all delegates may clearly realise the points which are to be in debate, and all including the proposers, etc., of the original resolution frame their speeches accordingly.

RULE XIX.—B

To allow for the presentation of notices of amendment and the like, including general protests by all the Hindu, or Mahomedan delegates as a body against the proposing of any particular resolution, the President shall always take his seat one half hour before business commences.

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RULE XIX.—C

The President may at any time during a debate himself explain or call upon the proposer, or any other delegate, to explain more fully the whole or any portion of an original resolution, which appears to him to be being misunderstood by the speakers or the assembly.

RULE XIX.—D.

It may sometimes occur that in the hurry and heat of debates where but little time can be conceded to each subject, (especially where amendments on amendments are admitted by the President) that the resolution actually passed by Congress, though perfectly clear and intelligible, are yet needlessly involved, tautological, or otherwise verbally defective. It shall, therefore, be the duty of the President, in consultation with the General Secretary, if possible, day by day, otherwise at any rate immediately at the close of the session, to review most carefully each of the resolution and while preserving intact their meaning, to correct so far as may appear to him really necessary, all literary and verbal oversights, retaining in all cases so much of the exact original wording as may be possible, consistent with the proper discharge of the duty above imposed upon him.

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FOR THE

STANDING CONGRESS COMMITTEE

(1) The Standing Congress Committee must, under the Tentative Rules, consist in the first instance of all those delegates who attended the last Congress, and these should associate with themselves all those gentlemen who attended as delegates at any previous Congress and all other leading members of the circle who sympathize in the movement. Of course the large body thus formed cannot be expected to work at details. The majority of the members have not the time to attend to a huge series of these. If any matter of great importance arises, they must of course assist with advice, and if required money also, but the regular routine

* These suggestions are the result of the practical experience gained in working out the electoral system in Madras and must of course be only taken *quantum valeant* and open to such modifications as each Standing Committee finds necessary or expedient.

work, of which there will necessarily be a good deal, must be done by a small number of real workers whom the committee must appoint: men whose circumstances permit to give a fair share of time and attention to the work, and who are so really and earnestly interested in this that they will not grudge either.

(2) The first point, then for every Standing Congress Committee, as soon as it is constituted, is to appoint a secretary or secretaries and a small, strong, Executive Committee—all of them men of the class just referred to—with instructions to hold a meeting *without fail*, one *every* week, on a fixed day, at a fixed hour, at a fixed place, two to form a quorum. All work pertaining to the Standing Congress Committee to be disposed of by these weekly meetings, by such members of the Executive Committee as are at present. No one should afterwards be competent to question such decisions on the score, that only 2 or 3 were present; if more were not present, that is their own fault, and all must cheerfully accept, and be bound by the decision of those who did take trouble to be present.

(3) The most important work of the Executive Committee is to create (if this has not already been done) and consolidate the electoral division. The electoral divisions must be so arranged as to cover every portion of the circle* and include every section of the community. One main object in elaborating them is to insure that delegates shall fairly represent every creed, class, race, and section of the community inhabiting the circle. This can only be achieved in most circles by constituting electoral divisions of two classes, viz., first, territorial, each to include, (a) a portion of a city, or (b) a whole city or town (c) with a portion of district adjacent to it, or (d) a town with the entire district to which it pertains, or (e) in very backward portions of the country, a town together with 2 or more neighbouring districts, and, second, sectional, each to include a special community or an association, or groups of either of these. A glance at the Appendix will show how this has been managed at Madras, it being noted that the divisions printed in Italics, though duly constituted, have not yet agreed to act, but letters have been addressed to them which with such replies as they may elicit, will later be published.

Of course the divisions must, as a rule, be worked out in consultation with leaders in each, and these must be constituted Sub-Committees. The very essence of the scheme is that there should be a *working* local Sub-Committee in and directly responsible for each division, whether Territorial or Sectional, and as the divisions are created so must these Sub-Committees be created.

* The circle is that tract of country over which the standing Congress Committee has jurisdiction.

In constituting divisions, regard must be had to the men available for Sub-Committees. The smaller and more manageable the divisions, the better no doubt—but then it is no use constituting a division unless you have in it men who will form a Sub-Committee and *work* the division. Very often, therefore, divisions will have to consist of entire districts at the headquarters of which alone can men of the requisite education and public spirit be found.

The divisions settled, the numbers of delegates that each should return as a minimum (which each is absolutely pledged to send, no matter how far off the Congress be held), should be fixed by dividing the total number for the circle (at 8 per million for the total population thereof) over the several divisions with due advertence to their relative importance and the advance that they have made in political and general education and then adding thereto as will be necessary in all metropolitan circles at any rate, such additional delegates as may be essential to secure a really comprehensive representation of all the interests embraced in the circle.

It may be that some of the divisions such, for instance, as the European Chambers of Commerce, the Jewish Community in Bombay, the Armenian Community in Calcutta, the European Planters in Assam, Sylhet and Cachar—the Universities (which are to a great extent official, the fellows being nominated by Government, and not elected by the graduates as they should be), etc., may decline to co-operate and act, but they must be none the less invited and pressed to do this and constitute divisions. Only, in the schedule, those declining to act must be printed in *Italics*.

The schedule thus prepared should have the formal assent of the entire Standing Congress Committee, or if every member cannot, as often happens, be got hold of, of a large majority thereof—a copy of it should then be sent to the General Secretary. This schedule will represent what the circle is pledged to; it will be open to the circle, until at any rate the entire Congress rule otherwise hereafter, to send as many *more* delegates on any occasion it finds necessary or desirable.

The schedule thus worked out, the Executive Committee next have to bring home to each Sub-Committee* its responsibility for

* Each Sub-Committee can add to its numbers such leading residents of its division as are willing to co-operate heartily in the work, and each must appoint a Secretary for correspondence with the Executive Committee.

its division making it clear to them that there are two main branches of their responsibility—(a) in regard to delegates, (b) in regard to the education of the people.

As to (a), they are answerable for causing the selection, not in a hurry at the last moment, but, during the year, after the consultation with all the most influential and intelligent of the inhabitants of their division of really suitable delegates to attend the Congress. They must in this selection weigh all matters; they must look to position, influence, intelligence, education and unblemished character. They must try and have all combined; but if this be not possible, they must remember that the last is the most important, the last but one the next most important, and so on. They must, of course, arrange either that the delegates selected are well able to bear the expense of the journey, etc., or that the necessary funds for the purpose are duly collected in the division.

So far as may be possible all persons selected as delegates should understand English sufficiently well to be able to take an intelligent part in the proceedings of the Congress, without the need of any one to explain or interpret to them.

Beside the 1, 2, or 3 delegates that they are required to send up from their division by the electoral scheme, the Sub-Committees should also always select one or more extra or provisional delegates, who, in case of death, sickness, or other restraining cause, preventing the attendance of any delegate, may be prepared at once, without further action, to take the defaulter's place.

Of course, in all places where there are a good number of Mahomedans, they should endeavour to have at least one delegate a Mahomedan.

As to (b) they should charge themselves with the political education of all the respectable inhabitants of their division. They need not, at present, trouble themselves with the quite ignorant low caste people, labourers, and the like, who have virtually no stake in the country, and no sufficiently developed intelligence to be as yet associated in the work; but all respectable ryots, petty shopkeepers, artisans, as well as the higher classes, should be made to understand something of their rights and duties as good citizens—something of the leading political question of the day—something of the support that in their own interest they are bound to accord to those who are endeavouring to secure for their fellow-countrymen and themselves, rights, privileges and power, that will enable them to do away with many of the chief grievances of which the country now justly complains.

Now they can do this partly by the wide circulation of elementary tracts, and partly by going round their divisions and lecturing from place to place on these matters.

As to tracts, the Congress Catechism, in simple language, in all the vernaculars of the circle, will be provided for them by the Executive Committee, but they will have to realise and pay to this Committee the 10 or 20 Rs. that the 1,000 to 2,000 copies that they will need for their divisions will cost. As to lecturing they must enlist in the work every competent man within their divisions, and arrange amongst themselves, so that at least every town and village that contains 500 inhabitants and upwards, is visited and lectured in by some one not less than once a year.

These are the principal duties of the Sub-Committees but besides this they must keep themselves in communication with the Executive Committee, and carefully carry out all subsidiary instructions that they receive from them.

(4) The Executive Committee should arrange for holding a Conference at some suitable central locality of all the Sub-Committees and take care that these are all made to understand and realise thoroughly their duties and their responsibility to their country and countrymen for the due performance of these.

(5) The Executive Committee must at once arrange for the translation of the catechism into all the vernaculars of its circle, taking care that the language is simple, and adapted to the comprehension of the ordinary ryot, and adding in the last two replies, all such local matter as they consider necessary for the guidance of their people. They must get these clearly printed, and as cheaply as possible (the cost ought not to exceed Rs. 10 per 1,000, and they must then insist on the Sub-Committees speedily providing the funds for the number of copies requisite for their several divisions, which will range from one to two thousands, probably according to number and degree of advancement of their people.

(6) Each member of each Standing Committee must contribute a small sum of Rs. 5 or 10 each, as may be settled locally, to the Executive Committee to put them in funds for printing these catechism and other papers, and where copies are obtained from other Executive Committees, paying for these. But as explained, the major portion of this will be recovered from the Sub-Committees, so that it will not often be necessary to apply to the Standing Congress and it is believed that no member of this will grudge this small donation once in a way.

(7) The Executive Committee should draw up a regular scheme so as to ensure every single electoral division being visited,

at least once in every twelve months, by a competent member of its own body or of the General Standing Committee, who should deliver one or more lectures at its headquarters, and satisfy himself that the Sub-Committees are really doing their duty or if not, put them in the right way. If there be any difficulty in getting members, each to attend to, say one division once in the year, it will be a matter for deep regret. Every true-born son of India *ought* to be proud of the opportunity of thus promoting the enlightenment of his fellow-countrymen, and strengthening his country's cause, even at some minute sacrifice of time, comfort and convenience, such as the required work entails.

(8) Further the Executive Committee, in consultation from time to time with the members of the Standing Committee, must thoroughly mature a scheme for raising, when the time comes to make a call for this, a Permanent Congress Fund, at a rate of not less than Rs. 3,000 or more than Rs. 5,000 per million of population.

(9) It will be observed, that, realising the fact that the Standing Congress Committees will, in many places, mainly consist of leading public men already fully occupied, these suggestions contemplate relieving them of all detail work, and of all compulsory attendance (though each and all *when able to do so*, can attend and take part in the regular fixed weekly meetings of the Executive Committee) at ordinary meetings. But it is expected of them that they shall, once in a way, when they can afford the leisure, satisfy themselves that the Executive Committee are really carrying out the work efficiently that—they shall individually be at all times ready to afford to the Secretary, or the member of the Executive Committee, advice on any special point, or the support of their influence in any special matter—and that they shall at the outset make a small donation to place the Executive Committee in funds for their printing works.

In the case of any really important matters having to be decided, a general meeting of the Standing Congress Committee will be called by the Executive Committee after personal enquiries from as many of the members as possible, so as to ensure the fixing of the most generally convenient date and hour. One such meeting will certainly be required some time before the next Congress takes place and possibly, one or two others, but the Standing Committee will be troubled as little as possible, only in fact when it is really necessary and when consequently none of them will grudge either the time or the trouble.

If at any time any 3 of the members of the Standing Committee consider, for any reason, that a general meeting should be

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called, they will notify the same to the Executive Committee, explaining their reason for the same in writing and the Committee will arrange accordingly.

On the 1st of May, and each succeeding month, the Executive Committee will report progress, succinctly circulating the report, which should be informal, confidential and as brief as possible, to each member of the Standing Congress Committee, who shall be answerable for reading and promptly sending it on.

It is very desirable that a copy of this Report should be simultaneously sent to the General Secretary for record and for the information, where necessary, of other circles.

APPENDIX B—SURAT PAPERS.

I. THE CONVENTION.

After the adjournment of the 23rd Indian National Congress *sine die* under the most painful circumstances on the afternoon of the 27th December, a large number of the leading delegates met the same evening at about 4 p.m. in Sir P. M. Mehta's quarters to consider what steps should be taken to continue the work of the Congress.

At this meeting it was unanimously resolved that a National Convention be held at Surat on the next day (28th Dec.) and the following notice calling the Convention was issued :

The 23rd Indian National Congress having been suspended *sine die* under painful circumstances the undersigned have resolved with a view to the orderly conduct of future political work in the country to call a Convention of those delegates to the Congress who are agreed :—

(1) That the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and participation by her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members is the goal of our political aspirations.

(2) That the advance towards this goal is to be by strictly constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of existing system of administration and by promoting *National Unity*, fostering public spirit, and improving the condition of the mass of the people.

(3) And that all meetings held for the promotion of the aims and objects above indicated have to be conducted in an orderly manner with due submission to the authority of those that are entrusted with the power to control their procedure, and they are requested to attend at 1 P.M. on Saturday the 28th December 1907 in the Pandit lent for the purpose by the Working Committee of the Reception Committee of the 23rd Indian National Congress.

(Signed) Rashbehari Ghose. Pharozeesah M. Mehta.
Surendranath Banerjee. G. K. Gokhale. D. E. Wacha.
Narendranath Sen. Ambalal Sakarlal Desai. V. Krishnaswami
Iyer. Tribhovandas N. Malvi. Madan Mohan Malaviya. Daji

Abaji Khare. N. M. Samarth. Gokuldas K. Parakh. Chimanlal H. Setalwad. Hari Sitaram Dikshit. Ambica Charan Musumdar. A. Chowdhury. Ganga Persad Varma. Mulchand Fessumul. Abbas Tayabji. Tulsidas Shewandas. A. Nundy. S. Sinha. Bhalohandra Krishna. Gokaran Nath Misra. Saugamlal. Govind Sahay Sharma. Teji Babadur Sapru. V. Ryrn Nambiar. Deora Vinayak. Hussain Tyabji. M. V. Joshi. R. N. Mudholkar. J. F. D'Mello. J. B. Petit. Ishwar Sha Ran. Parmeshvar Lall. N. Subba Rau. Krishna Kumar Mitra. J. Chowdhry. A. H. Ghazanavi. L. R. Gokhale. C. V. Vaidya. Ram Garudh. R. P. Karandikar and others.

II. THE EXTREMISTS' VERSION.

A Press Note containing an official narrative of the proceedings of the 23rd Indian National Congress at Surat has been published* over the signatures of some of the Congress officials. As this Note contains a number of one sided and misleading statements, it is thought desirable to publish the following account of the proceedings :—

PRELIMINARY.

Last year when the Congress was held at Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Congress, consisting of Moderates and Nationalists, *unanimously* resolved to have for its goal Swaraj or Self-Government on the lines of the Self-Governing Colonies, and passed certain resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. The Bombay Moderates, headed by Sir P. M. Mehta, did not at the time raise any dissentient voice, but they seem to have felt that their position was somewhat compromised by these resolutions, and they had since then been looking forward to an opportunity when they might return to their old position regarding ideals and methods of political progress in India. In the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Surat in April last, Sir P. M. Mehta succeeded by his personal influence in excluding the propositions of Boycott and National Education from the programme of the Conference. And when it was decided to change the venue of the Congress from Nagpur to Surat, it afforded the Bombay Moderate leaders the desired-for opportunity to carry out their intentions in this respect. The Reception Committee at Surat was presumably composed largely of Sir Pherozshah's followers, and it was cleverly arranged by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to get the Committee nominate Dr. R. B. Ghosh to the office of the President, brushing aside the proposal

* For this Official Note, see page 109.

for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai, then happily released, on the ground that "we cannot afford to flout Government at this stage, the authorities would throttle our movement in no time." This was naturally regarded as an insult to the public feeling in the country, and Dr. Ghosh must have received at least a hundred telegrams from different parts of India requesting him to generously retire in Lala Lajpat Rai's favour. But Dr. Ghosh unfortunately decided to ignore this strong expression of public opinion. Lala Lajpat Rai, on the other hand, publicly declined the honour. But this did not satisfy the people who wished to disown the principle of selecting a Congress President on the above ground, believing as they did that the most effective protest against the repressive policy of Government would be to elect Lala Lajpat Rai to the chair.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale was entrusted by the Reception Committee, at its meeting held on 24th November 1907 for nominating the President, with the work of drafting the resolutions to be placed before the Congress. But neither Mr. Gokhale nor the Reception Committee supplied a copy of draft resolutions to any delegate till 2.30 P.M., on Thursday the 26th December, that is to say, till the actual commencement of the Congress Session. The public was taken into confidence only thus far that a list of the headings of the subjects likely to be taken up for discussion by the Surat Congress was officially published a week or ten days before the date of the Congress Session. This list did not include the subject of Self-Government, Boycott and National Education, on all of which *distinct* and *separate* resolutions were passed at Calcutta last year. This omission naturally strengthened the suspicion that the Bombay Moderates really intended to go back from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress in these matters. The press strongly commented upon this omission, and Mr. Tilak, who reached Surat on the morning of the 23rd December, denounced such retrogression as suicidal in the interests of the country, more especially at the present juncture, at a large mass meeting held that evening, and appealed to the Surat public to help the Nationalists in their endeavours to maintain at least the *status quo* in these matters. The next day a Conference of about five hundred Nationalist Delegates was held at Surat under the chairmanship of Srijut Arabindo Ghose where it was decided that the Nationalist should prevent the attempted retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the president if necessary; and a letter was written to the Congress Secretaries requesting them to make arrangements for dividing the house, if need be, on every contested proposition including that of the election of the President.

In the meanwhile a press note signed by Mr. Gandhi, as Hon. Secretary, was issued to the effect that the statement, that certain resolutions adopted last year at Calcutta were omitted from the Congress programme prepared by the Surat Reception Committee, was wholly unfounded; but the draft resolutions themselves were still withheld from the public, though some of the members of the Reception Committee had already asked for them some days before. On the morning of 25th December, Mr. Tilak happened to get a copy of the draft of the proposed constitution of the Congress prepared by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. In this draft the object of the Congress was thus stated; "The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire" and etc. Mr. Tilak addressed a meeting of the delegates the same morning at the Congress Camp at about 9 A.M. explaining the grounds on which he believed that the Bombay Moderate leaders were bent upon receding from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress on Swaraj, Boycott and National Education. The proposed constitution, Mr. Tilak pointed out, was a direct attempt to tamper with the ideal of Self-Government on the lines of the *Self-Governing Colonies*, as settled at Calcutta and to exclude the Nationalists from the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed an indispensable condition of Congress membership. Mr. Tilak further stated in plain terms that if they were assured that no sliding back of the Congress would be attempted the opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn. The delegates at the meeting were also asked to sign a letter of request to Dr. Ghosh, the President-Elect requesting him to have the old propositions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education taken up for reaffirmation this year; and some of the delegates signed it on the spot. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer of Madras, Mr. Kharandikar of Satara and several others were present at this meeting and excepting a few all the rest admitted the reasonableness of Mr. Tilak's proposal.

Lala Lajpat Rai, who arrived at Surat on the morning of that day, saw Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde in the afternoon and intimated to them his intention to arrange for a Committee of a few leading delegates from each side to settle the question in dispute. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde having agreed, he went to Mr. Gokhale to arrange for the Committee if possible; and Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde returned to the Nationalist Conference which was held that evening (25th December). At this Conference a Nationalist Committee consisting of one Nationalist delegate from each Province was appointed to carry on the negotiations with the leaders on the other side; and it was decided

that if the Nationalist Committee failed to obtain any assurance from responsible Congress officials about the *status quo* being maintained, the Nationalists should begin their opposition from the election of the President. For the retrogression of the Congress was a serious step, not to be decided upon only by a bare accidental majority of any party, either in the Subjects Committee or in the whole Congress (as at present constituted), simply because its session happens to be held in a particular place or province in a particular year ; and the usual unanimous acceptance of the President would have, under such exceptional circumstances, greatly weakened the point and force of the opposition. No kind of intimation was received from Lala Lajpat Rai this night or even the next morning regarding the proposal of a Joint Committee of reconciliation proposed by him, nor was a copy of the draft resolutions supplied to Mr. Tilak, Mr. Khaparde, or any other delegates to judge if no sliding back from the old position was really intended.

On the morning of the 26th December, Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, Arabindo Ghose and others went to Babu Surendranath Banerjee at his residence. They were accompanied by Babu Motilal Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* who had arrived the previous night. Mr. Tilak then informed Babu Surendranath that the Nationalist opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn, if (1) the Nationalist party were assured that the *status quo* would not be disturbed ; and (2) if some graceful allusion was made by any one of the speakers on the resolution about the election of the President to the desire of the public to have Lala Lajpat Rai in the chair. Mr. Banerjee agreed to the latter proposal as he said he was himself to second the resolution ; while as regards the first, though he gave an assurance for himself and Bengal, he asked Mr. Tilak to see Mr. Gokhale or Mr. Malvi. A volunteer was accordingly sent in a carriage to invite Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to Mr. Banerjee's residence, but the volunteer brought a reply that Mr. Malvi had no time to come as he was engaged in religious practices. Mr. Tilak then returned to his camp to take his meals as it was already about 11 A.M. ; but on returning to the Congress pandal an hour later, he made persistent attempts to get access to Mr. Malvi but could not find him anywhere. A little before 2-30 P.M., a word was brought to Mr. Tilak that Mr. Malvi was in the President's camp, and Mr. Tilak sent a message to him from an adjoining tent asking for a short interview to which Mr. Malvi replied that he could not see Mr. Tilak as the presidential procession was being formed. The Nationalist Delegates were waiting in the pandal to hear the result of the endeavours of their Committee to obtain an assurance about the maintenance of the *status quo* from

some responsible Congress official, and Mr. V. S. Khare of Nasik now informed them of the failure of Mr. Tilak's attempt in the matter.

FIRST DAY.

It has become necessary to state these facts in order that the position of the two parties, when the Congress commenced its proceedings on Thursday the 26th December at 2-30 P.M., may be clearly understood. The President-Elect and other persons had now taken their seats on the platform; and as no assurance from any responsible official of the Congress about the maintenance of the *status quo* was till then obtained, Mr. Tilak sent a slip to Babu Surendranath intimating that he should not make the proposed allusion to the controversy about the presidential election in his speech. He also wrote to Mr. Malvi to supply him with a copy of the draft resolutions if ready, and at about 3 P.M. while Mr. Malvi was reading his speech, Mr. Tilak got a copy of the draft resolutions which he subsequently found were published the very evening in the *Advocate of India* in Bombay clearly showing that the reporter of the paper must have been supplied with a copy at least a day earlier. The withholding of a copy from Mr. Tilak till 3 P.M. that day cannot, therefore, be regarded as accidental.

There were about thirteen hundred and odd delegates at this time in the pandal of whom over 600 were nationalists, and the Moderate majority was thus a bare majority. After the Chairman's address was over, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal proposed Dr. R. B. Ghosh to the chair in a speech which though evoking occasional cries of dissent, was heard to the end. The declaration by the Dewan Bahadur as well as by Mr. Malvi that the proposition and seconding of the resolution to elect the President was only a formal business, led many delegates to believe that it was not improbable that the usual procedure of taking votes on the proposition might be dispensed with; and when Babu Surendranath Banerji, whose rising on the platform seems to have reminded some of the delegates of the Midnapur incident, commenced his speech, there was persistent shouting and he was asked to sit down. He made another attempt to speak but was not heard, and the session had, therefore, to be suspended for the day. The official press-note suggests that this hostile demonstration was pre-arranged. But the suggestion is unfounded. For though the nationalists did intend to oppose the election, they had at their Conference held the previous day expressly decided to do so only by solidly and silently voting against it in a constitutional manner.

In the evening the Nationalists again held their Conference and authorised their Committee, appointed on the previous day, to

further carry on the negotiations for having the *status quo* maintained if possible, failing which it was decided to oppose the election of Dr. Ghose by moving such amendment as the Committee might decide or by simply voting against his election. The Nationalists were further requested, and unanimously agreed, not only to abstain from joining in any such demonstration as led to the suspension of that day's proceedings, but to scrupulously avoid any, even the least, interruption of the speakers on the opposite side, so that both parties might get a patient hearing. At night (about 8 P.M.) Mr. Chuni Lal Saraya, Manager of the Indian Specie Bank and Vice-Chairman of the Surat Reception Committee, accompanied by two other gentlemen, went in his un-official capacity and on his own account to Mr. Tilak and proposed that he intended to arrange for a meeting that night between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale at the residence of a leading Congressman to settle the differences between the two parties. Mr. Tilak agreed and requested Mr. Chuni Lal if an interview could be arranged to fix the time in consultation with Mr. Gokhale, adding that he, Mr. Tilak, would be glad to be present at the place of the interview at any hour of the night. Thereon Mr. Chuni Lal left Mr. Tilak, but unhappily no word was received by the latter that night.

SECOND DAY.

On the morning of Friday 27th (11 A.M.) Mr. Chuni Lal Saraya again saw Mr. Tilak and requested him to go in company with Mr. Khaparde to Prof. Gajjar's bungalow near the Congress Pandal, where by appointment they were to meet Dr. Rutherford who was trying for a reconciliation. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde went to Prof. Gajjar's, but Dr. Rutherford could not come then owing to his other engagements. Prof. Gajjar then asked Mr. Tilak what the latter intended to do; and Mr. Tilak stated that if no settlement was arrived at privately owing to every leading Congressman being unwilling to take any responsibility in the matter upon himself, he (Mr. Tilak) would be obliged to bring an amendment to the proposition of electing the President after it had been seconded. The amendment would be to the effect that the business of election should be adjourned, and a Committee, consisting of one leading Moderate and one leading Nationalist from each Congress Province, with Dr. Rutherford's name added, be appointed to consider and settle the differences between the two parties, both of which should accept the Committee's decision as final and then proceed to the *unanimous* election of the President. Mr. Tilak even supplied to Prof. Gajjar the names of the delegates, who in his opinion should form the Committee, but left a free hand to the Moderates to change the names of their representa-

tives if they liked to do so.* Prof. Gajjar and Mr. Chunni Lal undertook to convey the proposal to Sir P. M. Mehta or Dr. Rutherford in the Congress Camp and asked Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde to go to the pandal and await their reply. After half an hour Prof. Gajjar and Mr. Saraya returned and told Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde that nothing could be done in the matter, Mr. Saraya adding that if both the parties proceeded constitutionally there would be no hitch.

It was about 12-30 at this time, and on the receipt of the above reply Mr. Tilak wrote in pencil the following note to Mr. Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee.—

"Sir,—I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please announce me.

Yours Sincerely,
B. G. TILAK,
Deccan Delegate (Poona)."

This note, it is admitted, was put by a volunteer into the hands of Mr. Malvi, the Chairman, as he was entering the pandal with the President-Elect in procession.

The proceedings of the day commenced at 1 P.M., when Babu Surendranath Banerji was called upon to resume his speech, seconding the election of the President. Mr. Tilak was expecting a reply to his note but not having received one up to this time asked Mr. N. C. Kelkar to send a reminder. Mr. Kelkar thereupon sent a chit to the Chairman to the effect that "Mr. Tilak requests a reply to his note." But no reply was received even after this reminder, and Mr. Tilak who thought he was allotted a seat on the platform was sitting in the front row of the delegates' seats near the platform-steps, rose to go up the platform immediately after Babu Surendranath, who was calmly heard by all, had finished his speech. But he was held back by a

* The names given to Pro. Gajjar were as follows:—United Bengal—Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, A. Chaudhari, Ambikacharan Mazumdar, Arabindo Ghose, Ashwinikumar Dutt. United Provinces—Pandit Madan Mohan, Jatindranath Sen. Punjab—Lala Harkisental, Dr. H. Mukerji. Central Provinces—Raoji Govind, Dr. Munje. Berars—R. N. Mudholkar, Khaparde. Bombay—Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak. Madras—V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Chidambaram Pillai; Dr. Rutherford. This Committee was to meet immediately and decide on the question at issue. The names of the Nationalist representatives in the above list, except Mr. A. K. Dutt, were those of the members of the Committee appointed at the Nationalist Conference on the previous day.

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likelihood of Mr. Tilak's amendments being carried by a large majority and the election of President afterwards taking place smoothly and unanimously. But neither Dr. Ghose nor any other Congress officials seemed willing to tactfully manage the business as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji did last year.

Dr. Ghose's speech though undelivered in the Congress pandal had been by this time published in the Calcutta papers, and telegrams from Calcutta received in the evening showed that he had made an inoffensive attack on the Nationalist party thereon. This added to the sensation in the Nationalist camp that evening, but the situation was not such as to preclude all hope of reconciliation. Sriji Motilal Ghose of the *Patrika*, Mr. A. C. Moitra of Rajshahi, Mr. B. C. Chatterji of Calcutta and Lala Harkisen Lal from Lahore accordingly tried their best to bring about a compromise, and, if possible, to have the Congress session revived the next day. They went to Mr. Tilak on the night of 27th and the morning of 28th to ascertain the views of his party, and to each of them Mr. Tilak gave the following assurance in writing:—

“Surat, 28th December, 1907.

“Dear Sir,—With reference to our conversation and principally in the best interests of the Congress, I and my party are prepared to waive our opposition to the election of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose as President of 23rd Indian National Congress, and are prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive, provided, *firstly* the last year's resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education are adhered to and each expressly reaffirmed; *Secondly*, such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghose's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalists Party are omitted.

Yours &c., B. G. TILAK.”

This letter was taken by the gentlemen to whom it was addressed to the Moderate leaders but no compromise was arrived at as the Moderates were all along bent upon the retrogression of the Congress at any cost. A Convention of the Moderates was, therefore, held in the pandal the next day where Nationalists were not allowed to go even when some of them were ready and offered to sign the declaration required. On the other hand, those who did not wish to go back from the position taken up at the Calcutta Congress and honestly desired to work further on the same lines met in a separate place the same evening to consider what steps might be taken to continue the work of the Congress in future. Thus ended the proceedings of the 23rd Indian National Congress;

and we leave it to the public to judge of the conduct of the two parties in this affair from the statement of facts hereinbefore given.

SURAT.
31st December, 1917. }

B. G. TILAK,
G. S. KHAPARDE.
ARABINDO GHOSE.
H. MUKERJEE.
B. C. CHATTERJEE.

Appendix to the Extremists Version.
HOW THEY WANTED TO GO BACK.
THE CONGRESS IDEAL.

At the Calcutta Congress, under the presidentship of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, it was resolved that the goal of the Congress should be Swaraj on the lines of the Self-governing British Colonies, and this goal was accepted by all Moderates and Nationalists without a single dissentient voice. The resolution on Self-Government passed there is as follows:—

*"Self-Government :—*This Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India and that as steps leading to it, urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out." (Here followed certain administrative reforms such as simultaneous examinations in England and India, reform of Executive and Legislative Councils, and of Local and Municipal Boards.)

The Congress Reception Committee at Surat did not publish the draft Resolution till the commencement of the Congress Sessions: but a Draft Constitution of the Congress, prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, was published a day or two earlier. In this draft the goal of the Congress was defined as follows:—

"The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire and a participation by her in the privileges and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with the other members; and it seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and improving the condition of the mass of the people."

"Those who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress, shall be members of the Provincial Committee."

"All who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress . . . shall be entitled to become members of a District Congress Committee."

"From the year 1908, delegates to the Congress shall be elected by Provincial and District Congress Committees only."

Remarks:—It will at once be seen that the new Constitution intended to convert the Congress from a national into a sectional movement. The goal of Swaraj on the lines of the Self-governing colonies as settled last year, was to be given up; and in its stead Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members (not necessarily self-governing) of the British Empire was to be set up as the *ultimate* goal evidently meaning that it was to be considered as out of the pale of practical politics. The same view is expressed by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in his interview with the correspondent of the *Times of India* published in the issue of the *Times* dated 30th December, 1907. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale must have taken his cue from the same source. The *reform* of the existing system of administration, and not its gradual replacement by a popular system, was to be the immediate object of the Congress according to this constitution; and further no one, who did not accept this new creed, was to be a member of provincial or district committees or possibly even a delegate to the Congress after 1908. This was the chief feature of retrogression, which Sir P. M. Mehta and his party wanted to carry out this year at a safe place like Surat. It is true that the old resolution on Self-Government was subsequently included in the Draft Resolutions published only after the commencement of the Congress Session. But the Draft Constitution was never withdrawn.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

The Calcutta Resolution on the Swadeshi Movement was as follows:—

"The Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi Movement and calls upon the

At Surat, the Draft Resolution on the subject was worded as follows:—

"This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi Movement, and calls

people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice."

Remarks:—Last year the words "even at some sacrifice" were introduced at the end after the great discussion and as a compromise between the two parties. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale or Sir P.M. Mehta now wanted to have these words expunged, converting the old resolution into a mere appeal for preference for the indigenous over imported goods.

upon the people of the country to labour for its success by earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and stimulate the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference, where possible, over imported commodities."

BOYCOTT MOVEMENT.

The Calcutta Resolution was as follows:—

"Having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representations to Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against partition of that province was and is legitimate."

Remarks:—This subject was not included in the list of subjects published at first but seems to have been subsequently inserted in the Draft Resolutions, when the first omission in the list was severely noticed in the press. The words *Boycott Movement* in the old Resolution have, however, been changed into *Boycott of foreign goods*.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The Calcutta Resolution was as follows:—

"In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education for both

The proposed Resolution at Surat was:—

"Having regard to the fact that the people of the country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representatives to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that Province was and is legitimate."

The proposed resolution at Surat runs thus:—

"In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education for both

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boys and girls and organise a system of education—Literary, Scientific, Technical—suited to the requirements of the country on National lines and under National control."

boys and girls and organise an independent system of education, Literary, Scientific, Technical—suited to the requirements of the country."

Remarks :—The change is significant inasmuch as the word "on National lines and under National control" are omitted in the Surat draft, for "control" is the most important factor in this matter. The phrase "an independent system" does not convey all that is desired.

K.P.P.

III. MR. GOKHALE AND THE EXTREMISTS' VERSION.

The Extremist version of what occurred at Surat, which was under preparation has at last been published. It is full of gross mis-statements, some of which concern me personally, and these, with your permission, I would like to set right in your columns.

1. The version says :—"It was clearly arranged by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to get the (Reception) Committee to nominate Dr. R. B. Ghose to the office of President, brushing aside the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai." Dr. Ghose had been nominated for the office of President by all the Provinces consulted except Berar. The overwhelming preponderance of opinion in the Reception Committee at Surat was also in his favor. The reason why I attended the meeting of the Reception Committee at which the nomination took place was that rowdiness had been threatened to make its proceedings impossible as at Nagpur unless the proposal of the Extremists to elect Lala Lajpat Rai was accepted. The Reception Committee had barely a month at its disposal for making the required preparations, and any hostility to it on the part of a section however small would have meant abandoning the Congress Session at Surat. I went there as Joint General Secretary of the Congress in the interests of harmony, and for the time may appeal to those who wanted to bring forward Lala Lajpat Rai's name proved effective. The harmony brought about lasted till Mr. Tulak's emissaries from Nagpur repaired to Surat and stirred up trouble about a week after the meeting of the Reception Committee.

2. I am charged with "brushing aside the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai" on the ground that "we cannot afford to flout the Government at this stage. The authorities would throttle our movement in no time." This unscrupulous distortion of stray sentences from a private conversation, taken apart from their context, has now been pushed to such lengths that it is necessary to put aside the feeling of delicacy that has hitherto restrained me in the matter. The conversation was with two Extremist gentlemen of Surat with whom I discussed the situation at some length prior to the meeting of the Reception Committee on the 24th November. I pointed out to these gentlemen the unwisdom of bringing forward Lala Lajpat Rai's name for the Presidency of the Congress, and this I did on three grounds :—

First, that with only a month at disposal of the Reception Committee for making arrangements which, in other places, had

taken at least three to four months, any division among the workers at Surat was most undesirable as it was sure to hamper the progress of their work.

Secondly, that there was absolutely no chance of their carrying their proposal about Lala Lajpat Rai, their strength being only five or six out of about two hundred, who were expected to attend that afternoon's meeting and that the rejection of Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai's name would only be a painful and wanton humiliation for him and thirdly and lastly, that though Lala Lajpat Rai had been personally restored to freedom, the larger question of principle involved in his deportation had yet to be fought out, and it would best be fought out by keeping up the feeling of the country united and intact behind him, and that this feeling was sure to be divided if one section of the Congress tried to run him as a party candidate. I next pointed out that there were other ways in which we could all honour Mr. Lajpat Rai, and then I added, "if your object is simply to flout the Government, I can understand your proposal." To this one of the two gentlemen said, "Yes, even if we do nothing else, we want to show that we are prepared to flout the Government." I thereupon said, "I don't believe in such flouting. The Congress must, of course, express its condemnation of Government measures when necessary, but it has other important work to do. We cannot do without the help and co-operation of Government in many matters at our present stage." The conversation then turned to what our goal should be, and what the Congress should try to do. And the gentleman in question—a young man who had only recently returned from England.—urged on me his view that the Congress should work for absolute independence, and that it should try to teach the people of the country to hate the present foreign Government as much as possible. It was in reply to this that I said, "you do not realise the enormous reserve of power behind the Government. If the Congress were to do anything such as you suggest, the Government will have no difficulty in throttling it in five minutes." It is out of this conversation that the story which has been kept going for some time past with a hundred variations has been concocted. There were about twenty people present when the above conversation took place.

3. "The Hon. Mr. Gokhale was entrusted by the Reception Committee at its meeting held on the 24th November 1907, for nominating the President with the work of drafting the Resolutions before the Congress."

This is not correct. No resolution whatever was passed on the matter at the meeting of the Reception Committee. About the beginning of December, when I went to Bombay from Poona, I

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was informed by one of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee, Mr. Manubhai Nanabhai, that the Working Committee had decided to ask me to undertake the drafting of the Resolutions to be laid before the Subjects Committee. I was at that time pressed with other work, and so I suggested that the drafts should, in the first instance, be prepared by either Mr. Manubhai himself or by his colleague Mr. Gandhi, and that I would then touch them up if required. Mr. Gandhi wrote back at once to say that he could not undertake the work as he had no time. Mr. Manubhai began to collect the material necessary for drafting the resolutions, but he was so terribly overworked that he too could not give any time to the actual work of preparing the drafts, and at last about the 15th December, he told me that I should have to do the whole work in that respect myself.

4. "Neither Mr. Gokhale nor the Reception Committee supplied a copy of the Draft Resolutions to any delegates till 2-30 P.M. on Thursday, the 26th December." This was due to the fact that printed copies were not till then available. On the 15th December, I settled the headings of the Resolutions in Bombay, but I could get no quiet there for the work of drafting, and so I went to Poona on the 19th December to prepare the drafts. It was by no means easy work. The Resolution that gave the greatest trouble was about the proposed reforms. I wrestled with it as well as I could in Poona, but I could not produce a satisfactory draft. When I arrived in Surat on the morning of the 24th, the Draft Resolution on the proposed Reforms was still not ready. I then gave the other drafts to Mr. Gandhi, Secretary of the Reception Committee, in charge of this work, who immediately sent them to the press.

For the draft on the Reform proposals I asked for a day more. There were, however, a thousand things to distract one's attention and though I gave to the draft all the time I could spare on the 24th and the morning of the 25th I was not able to finish it. So, with much regret, I asked Mr. Gandhi to get the other drafts printed leaving a blank in the place of the Resolution on Reform proposals. Now Surat is a small place and its printing resources are not equal to those of Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, and the press took a day to give printed copies of the drafts to Mr. Gandhi. It was only when I went to the pandal at 2-30 P.M. on the 26th that I learnt from Mr. Gandhi that copies had arrived from the press, and the first printed copy which I myself saw was the one which I procured from Mr. Gandhi to pass on to Mr. Tilak who had just then asked Mr. Malvi for a copy. The copies were available in good time for the deliberations of the Subjects Committee which, in the usual course, was expected to sit then

afternoon and for whose use alone the drafts have always been prepared.

Three things must here be noted. First, though the Draft Resolutions have in previous years been published beforehand, whenever there has been time to do so, it is not true that they have *always* been so published. Last year, for instance, at Calcutta, some of the Draft Resolutions were not ready till the last minute, and this, in spite of the fact that our Calcutta friends had much more time at their disposal than the one month in which Surat had to make its preparations.

Secondly, never before in the history of the Congress was an attempt made as at Surat to attach an absurdly exaggerated importance to the Draft Resolutions. Everyone knows that these drafts bind nobody, and that they are merely material laid before the Subjects Committee for it to work upon. I don't remember a single Congress at which the Subjects Committee did not make important and sometimes even wholesale alterations in the drafts placed before it by the Reception Committee. The final form in which Resolutions have been submitted to the Congress has always been determined by the Subjects Committee and the Subjects Committee alone.

Thirdly, no Reception Committee has ever in the past merely reproduced the Resolutions of the previous Congress on its agenda paper for the Subjects Committee. The Calcutta Reception Committee of last year did not merely reproduce the Benares Resolutions, neither did the Benares Committee reproduce the Bombay Resolution. Every Reception Committee has exercised its own judgment as to the wording of the Draft Resolutions, and the Surat Committee or those who were working for it were merely following the established practice when they prepared their own drafts.

5. "While Mr. Malvi was reading his speech, Mr. Tilak got a copy of the Draft Resolutions, which he subsequently found were published the very evening in the *Advocate of India* in Bombay, clearly showing that the reporter of the paper must have been supplied with a copy at least a day earlier." The reporter must have procured a copy from Mr. Gandhi as soon as copies arrived from the press and must have wired the Resolutions to his paper, or it is possible that he may have obtained a proof from the press before copies were printed. Certainly no printed copies were available to me till I went to the pandal on the 26th. I wanted to give a copy to Lala Lajpat Rai that morning, but could not do so as no copies had arrived from the press till then.

I now come to the wording of the Draft Resolutions.

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Coming to the wording of the Draft Resolutions, I would like to point out at the outset that the cry set up by Mr. Tilak in connection with these drafts was his third attempt to discredit the Surat Congress since the middle of November.

He began by denouncing the change of venue from Nagpur to Surat and by misrepresenting, beyond all recognition, the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee which decided upon the change—and this, without even the excuse of ignorance, since he was personally present at the meeting of the Committee and knew exactly what had taken place.

When he found that he could not make much impression on the country by these attacks, he played his second card. He started his agitation to have the election of Dr. Ghosh set aside in favour of Lala Lajpat Rai. In this, however, he was foiled by Lala Lajpat Rai's own letter which put an effective extinguisher on the agitation.

Then the cry was raised that it was the intention of the Reception Committee to drop certain resolutions altogether this year. The ball was set rolling by a telegram from Poona to certain Madras and Calcutta Papers about a week before the meeting of the Congress that the Reception Committee had made up its mind to omit certain resolutions from its agenda paper and that there was intense indignation in the "Nationalist circles" in consequence. This manufacture of "Nationalist indignation" was pushed forward so energetically that, when I went to Bombay on the 22nd December, I found a considerable amount of feeling stirred up in certain quarters against the Reception Committee on this account. On that day I met Lala Lajpat Rai and he asked me what the truth was about the resolutions in question. I told him that the resolutions were all there with slight verbal alterations made in one or two of them to remove ambiguity and that the Subjects Committee would decide in what form they should finally be submitted to the Congress. I understand that Lala Lajpat Rai communicated the substance of this conversation that same evening to Mr. Tilak. In spite of this communication, Mr. Tilak definitely and deliberately stated at the Extremists' Conference at Surat on the 24th December that the Reception Committee had decided to omit the resolutions and this naturally caused great excitement among the delegates assembled! Mr. Gandhi, the local secretary in charge of the resolutions, came to know of this in the evening and he immediately issued a Press Note contradicting Mr. Tilak's statements as wholly unfounded.

But the cry was kept up the whole of the next day, i.e., the 25th. On that day, in the afternoon, Lala Lajpat Rai, who was going to visit the Extremist Camp, asked me if he might personally

assure the leaders on that side that they were under a misapprehension about the resolutions and that they would find them all on the agenda paper when it arrived from the press. I readily agreed and Lala Lajpat Rai went and gave the assurance. That same evening I addressed about 200 delegates in the Madras tent of the Congress camp, especially for the purpose of removing the misapprehensions and there I not only assured them that the resolutions were all on the agenda paper, but also mentioned the exact verbal alterations that had been made. About 11 P.M. that night I met Babu Ashwani Kumar Dutt of Barisal at the President's residence, and I repeated to him what I had told the Madras delegates and he expressed himself satisfied. The next day, *i.e.*, on the 26th, on going to the pandal as soon as I heard of the copies having arrived from the press, I procured and gave one to Mr. Tilak as I have mentioned in my last letter. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was sitting by Mr. Tilak at the time and I heard it afterwards from him that he asked Mr. Tilak if he was satisfied that the resolutions were all there and Mr. Tilak had to admit that it was so. Only the slight verbal alterations that had been made would have to be amended. And now as regards the wording of the four Resolutions :—

(a) Taking Self-Government first the Extremists' version says : "At the Calcutta Congress, under the Presidentship of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, it was resolved that the goal of the Congress should be *Swaraj* on the lines of self-governing British Colonies." This is not accurate. The word *Swaraj* was not used in any of the resolutions of the Congress last year though it was used by Mr. Dadhabhai in his own speech. Neither was there any mention of a goal in any of last year's resolutions. What last year's Congress had done was to prefix a preamble about Self-Government to certain specific proposals of reform and that preamble was in these words :—"This Congress is of opinion that the system of government obtaining in the Self Governing Colonies should be extended to India and that, as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out." Now a reference to this year's draft resolutions will show that the whole of this resolution, preamble and all, was reproduced by the Reception Committee on the agenda paper with only a slight alteration in one of the clauses rendered necessary by the appointment of two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council. Mr. Tilak, however, compares last year's resolution on Self-Government, not with this year's draft resolution on the same subject, but with the preamble to another draft resolution—that on the constitution of the Congress, and he charges the Reception Committee with "a direct attempt

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to tamper with the ideal of Self-Government on the lines of the Self-Governing Colonies as settled at Calcutta." Now the portion of the preamble to the proposed constitution referring to Self-Government was as follows: "The Indian National Congress has, for its ultimate goal, the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire and a participation by her in the privileges and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with the other members." This is interpreted by Mr. Tilak as meaning that "the goal of *Swaraj* on the lines of Self-Governing Colonies, as settled last year, was to be given up and in its stead Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members (not necessarily self-governing) of the British Empire was to set up as the ultimate goal." I should have thought it incredible that any one with any pretension to a knowledge of practical politics could put such an atrocious misconception on the preamble of the draft constitution, but for the fact that Mr. Tilak has actually done it.

Whoever talks of the form of Government obtaining in the Crown Colonies or Dependencies of the British Empire as Self-Government? Whoever talks of their participating in the privileges of the Empire? However, as soon as Mr. Tilak's construction was brought to my notice, I at once altered the expression, "Self-Government enjoyed by other members of the British Empire," to "Self-Government enjoyed by the Self-Governing members of the British Empire," so as to leave no room for his ludicrous objection and it will be seen that the Convention afterwards used this wording for its creed. In this connection, I would like to observe that it is most curious that Mr. Tilak should obarge me with a desire to abandon the idea of Self-Government, as in the *British Colonies*, being the goal of our aspiration. Ever since I began to take an active interest in the national affairs this has been a part of my political faith. In the prospectus of the Servants of India Society which was started in June 1905, I have mentioned this goal in clear and explicit terms. "Self-Government on the lines of English Colonies," the prospectus says, "is our goal." From the Presidential Chair of the Congress at Benares in December 1905, I declared the same thing. "The goal of the Congress," I then stated, "is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves and that, in course of time, a form of Government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the Self-Governing Colonies of the British Empire." In 1906, in a Paper read before the East India Association in London, on "Self Government for India" I elaborated the same idea. On the other hand, Mr. Tilak has not always known his own mind in this matter. After the Benares Congress, Mr. Sbyamji Krishna-

varma denounced me in his *Indian Sociologist* for my idea of Self-Government on Colonial lines and later on Mr. Tilak following Mr. Shyamji's lead joined in that denunciation in his *Kesari*. Last year, however, Mr. Tilak veered round to the position that the goal of our political works was of equality for the Englishman and the Indian in the British Empire, but this year again at the Extremists' Conference he coquetted with the views of the Bengal School of Extremist politicians and yet it is Mr. Tilak who attributes to me a desire to alter the resolution of last year on this subject.

(b) As regards *Swadeshi*, there never was the least intention to alter a single word in last year's resolution and it was by a mere accident that the words, "even at some sacrifice," happened to be left out in the Reception Committee's drafts. It happened this way. The report of the Calcutta Congress was not out when the draft resolution were prepared. So far the text of last year's resolutions I had to rely on a newspaper file. Now, the only file I had with me containing those resolutions was of the journal *India* which had published all the resolutions of last year in its issue of 1st February 1907. As no change of even a word was contemplated in the resolution on *Swadeshi*, I had got one of my assistants merely to copy it from the *India* and include it among the drafts. Unfortunately the text, as published in *India* was defective and did not contain the words, "even at some sacrifice," as a reference to the issue of that journal of 1st February, 1907, will show.

And the omission, perfectly unintentional, remained unnoticed till the meeting of the informal Conference which followed the Convention when the words which had been left out were at once restored. It is unnecessary to say that they would have been similarly restored if the Agenda paper had gone as usual to the Subjects Committee for consideration.

(c) In the resolution on Boycott, the only verbal alteration made was to substitute the words "the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal" for the words "the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal" and the resolution was placed under Partition as the Boycott approved was "by way of protest against the Partition." The change in the wording had been rendered necessary by the unfair and unjustifiable attempt made by an Extremist leader from the Congress platform last year and by Mr. Tilak and others in the Press throughout the year to construe the phraseology employed last year as approving a universal boycott of all forms of association with the Government.

(d) In regard to National Education the slight alteration made was only with the object of improving the phraseology with-

III. MR. GOKHALE & THE EXTREMISTS' VERSION. 1711

out altering the meaning in any way. It must be mentioned here that the wording adopted last year on this subject had not been considered in the Subjects Committee, there being no time for doing so. In last year's resolution, the word "National" appeared three times—national education on national lines and under national control. It appeared to me that the words, "a system of national education" suited to the requirements of the country and "independent of Government" really expressed all that had to be expressed and that this phraseology was more restrained and more in accord with what was being actually attempted in different parts of India. It will thus be seen that, in drawing up its draft resolutions on the four subjects, the Surat Committee had not intended or attempted any alteration in meaning, though verbal changes had been made here and there to remove ambiguity or to improve the phraseology. I have already pointed out that in making such changes, it was only following the practice of previous years. Moreover, as I have stated in my last letter, there were only drafts that bound nobody and the Subjects Committee would have determined the final form in which they were to be submitted to the Congress. All the storm raised in connection with them was really more to discredit the Surat Committee than for furthering any national interests, real or fancied.

The Extremist Statement speaks of certain attempts made by certain gentlemen to arrange "a compromise" and it mentions three gentlemen as having undertaken to speak to me—Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. Chunilal D. Suraya. Of these, Mr. Chunilal never saw me in any such connection. Lala Lajpat Rai had a brief talk with me—it was on the 25th December in the evening at the Railway Station when we had gone there to receive the President—about a proposal made by Mr. Tilak that five men on his side and five men on the other side should meet together and settle the wording of the different resolutions. I pointed out to Mr. Lajpat Rai that it was the business of the Subjects Committee to settle the wording and that a Committee such as Mr. Tilak suggested had never been appointed before. Moreover it was easy for Mr. Tilak, whose followers were meeting in a Conference day after day to nominate five men to represent his side, but amidst the excitement and bitterness of feeling then prevailing, what five men, I asked, could claim the authority or undertake the responsibility to act in the name of the other delegates? And I said to him, "let the Subjects Committee meet to-morrow and let us see if any differences remain to be adjusted. And, if any remain, you can make this proposal to the Subjects Committee." Lala Lajpat Rai saw the force of this and did not press the suggestion further. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee mentioned to me on the opening day

of the Congress, only a few minutes before going to the Pandal, that he had had a conversation that morning with Mr. Tilak and that Mr. Tilak had said to him that if he (Mr. Banerjee) and myself guaranteed the passing of the four resolutions in the same form as last year, there would be no trouble in connection with the President's election. I pointed out to Mr. Banerjee how Mr. Tilak had shifted his ground—how, till the previous evening, the cry was for an assurance that the four resolutions would be on the agenda paper and how he now demanded a guarantee that they would be passed in the same form as last year and I said, "it is outrageous that Mr. Tilak should make such a demand and threaten now with trouble. How can any individual member with any sense of responsibility guarantee what would be done by Subjects Committee not yet appointed or by a Congress of sixteen hundred delegates? These men denounce us in one breath for autocracy and, in the next, they ask us to take upon ourselves such an impossible responsibility." The conversation then ended. Before passing away from this point, I would like to contradict here, in the most emphatic manner possible, the report to which such wide currency has been given, that Mr. Tilak tried three times at Surat to see me and that every time I declined to see him. There is not a word of truth in this report. Mr. Tilak never gave me to understand directly or indirectly that he wanted to meet me at Surat. He never wrote to me or sent me word with any one to express such a desire. He never came to my place and to my knowledge he never tried to meet me anywhere else.

Only one more matter in the Extremists' Statement concerns me personally. It is the version that it gives of what took place first between Mr. Malvi and Mr. Tilak and then between Dr. Ghosh and Mr. Tilak, when Mr. Tilak came to the platform to move the adjournment of the Congress. This version is in direct conflict with the official version issued immediately after the break-up of the Congress over the signatures of Dr. Ghosh, Mr. Malvi, Mr. Wacha and myself. Now, all four of us had heard every word of the conversation that took place between Mr. Tilak on one side and Mr. Malvi and Dr. Ghosh on the other. On the other hand, though the Extremist version is signed by five gentlemen, four of the five were not on the platform and could not have heard a syllable of what was said. The conflict between the two versions thus means the word of us four is against the word of Mr. Tilak and there I am content to let it stand. Here I must close and I would do so with one observation. The Reception Committee of Surat had not departed in a single particular from the established practice of the last twenty-two years. It had made its arrangements for the holding of the Con-

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gress and for the comfort of the delegates in the usual way. It had prepared the agenda paper for the Subjects Committee in the usual way. It had elected the President under a special rule adopted by the Congress itself last year. Having made these preparations in the course of single month, for which cities like Calcutta and Bombay have taken three to four months—having turned its nights into days for the purpose—it awaited for the Congress meeting and conducting its deliberations in the usual way. On the other hand, all the innovations were on Mr. Tilak's side. He set up a separate camp of his own followers. He harangued them daily about the supposed intention of the Reception Committee and the high-handedness of imaginary bureaucracy in the Congress. He made from day to day wild and reckless statements, some of which it is difficult to characterise properly in terms of due restraint.

He created a pledge-bound party to vote with him like a machine, whatever the personal views of individual delegates might be. He demanded guarantees from individual members on the other side unheard of in the history of the Congress. On the first day some of his followers by sheer rowdiness compelled the sitting to be suspended. On the second day when the sitting was resumed there was no expression of regret forthcoming for the discreditable occurrence of the previous day and though one day out of three had been already lost, Mr. Tilak himself came forward to interrupt the proceedings again by a motion of adjournment. Under the mildest construction this was a move of obstruction, pure and simple, for as long as the rule under which the Reception Committee had elected Dr. Ghosh remained unrescinded, there was no possible way to get that election set aside. On the platform Mr. Tilak openly and persistently defied the authority of the Chair. Over the painful incidents that followed, it is perhaps best now to throw a pall. But in all this, I do not see where the responsibility of the Reception Committee comes in.

CALCUTTA,
13th January, 1908. }

G. K. GOKHALE.

IV. EXTREMISTS' VERSION CONTRADICTED.

It is with great reluctance that I take up my pen to write on an event, the tragical nature of which cannot be felt more acutely by any one than by those who for the last twenty years and more have been devoting their best energies to the one great national institution, which gave hope of a better future, and who struck steadfastly to it when the leaders of the newly arisen new party were trying to stab it by ridicule, misrepresentation and calumny. Having been an eye-witness of all that happened on the two memorable days, the 26th and the 27th of December, I thought that deplorable, disgraceful and utterly unworthy of gentlemen as those occurrences were, even those who had so far forgotten what they owe to themselves, to the country and to posterity as to have indulged in rowdyism and open violence, would, despite party passions, admit the real facts and express their sorrow for the grievous mistakes committed by them. It is therefore humiliating—nay, disgusting to see that men of education and position, who must be regarded as representatives, have shown an open disregard for truth which augurs ill for the progress of our motherland. Whatever room for misapprehension there might have been as to the intentions and plans of the Bombay leaders and whatever scope one or two unintentional acts or omissions might have afforded for criticism there could be those who would not wilfully disregard the evidence of their senses. No doubt the whole rowdyism, unseemly squabbles and resort to sticks and physical violence, which disgraced the last session of the Congress, was due to the Extremists and that the responsibility for the *fracas* lies upon the leaders of that party. It appears that Mr. G. Subramania Iyer has written to the *Hindu* stating that he has modified the views which he had first expressed. I have not seen the latter, but, if the criticism which the *Hindu Prakash* makes on it is well based, I must say, it is curious if Mr. Iyer throws on the Moderates any responsibility for the disorderly scenes on the 26th and the attack of the 27th. He was sitting next to me on the first day and when the din of cries, shouts and unparliamentary terms was raised against Mr. Surendranath Banerjee by some Nagpurians, Benares and Madrasis, he became very angry and exclaimed excitedly: "This is most disgraceful, most shameful. This is all due to Tilak and Kharade. They are responsible for all this." He further said to me "this is all the doing of your Central Provinces. Nagpur has brought troubles on the Congress." I felt that taunt and replied sharply

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"your rebuke is, I must admit, sorrowfully true so far as men of my province are concerned, but are there not 8 or 10 Madrasis, who are even wilder than they?" On the 27th, he was, again, not far from me and saw all the incidents and when we met again shortly afterwards he threw the whole blame on those same persons. On both occasions, the remarks were voluntarily made. On the following days, I remonstrated with several Berar Extremists and told them what Mr. G. Subramaniya Iyer had said, leader though he was till late of the Extremist party of the Madras Presidency.

Every one, who has the least regard for truth, will unhesitatingly say that every word in the statement issued under the signatures of Dr. Ghosh and Messrs. Malvi, Wacha and Gokhale is true. It is now well known from what quarter the shoe came and that it was aimed at Sir P. M. Mehta. It is a wicked lie to say that it was aimed at Mr. Tilak. It can be proved by the testimony of hundreds of eye-witnesses that signals were given by prominent Extremists and that thereon a number of persons from the Central Provinces and Berar, some of whom were delegates and some visitors, rushed to the platform wielding big long sticks. When Mr. Tilak was escorted, he was surrounded by more than 50 of his followers armed with these lathies. Is it usual for delegates or even visitors to carry about lathies? One fact throws a most lurid light on the affair. Among the Extremist delegates and visitors taken from Berar were gymnastic teachers, gymnastic proclaimed touts, workmen from factories, fitters, oilmen, etc. There were, I am told, barber delegates from Nagpur, who for the money spent on them, made some small return by shaving the Nationalist delegates. These men are too poor to pay their travelling expenses, much less, their delegation fee. Who supplied the money and what was the object in taking such persons? For, most of them do not know English and have never taken part in public matters. With my own eyes, I saw Extremist delegates, holding two degrees, brandishing long and powerful sticks or rushing wildly and frantically at the occupants of the platform. I myself stopped the progress of a chair which was hurled at either the President or Sir Pherozeshah. The man picked up another and I snatched it away from him. He was then thrown down by some Gujarati gentlemen. He was a visitor from these provinces. Why did he rush on the platform? I rebuked sharply some C.P. graduates who were rushing towards Sir P. M. Mehta, who was being taken out by the hind entrance. They said, "we have no grievance against you. We want to punish these Parsee rascals." What again is the meaning of Mr. Khaparde rushing to the platform with a thick stick uplifted? Only half an hour previously he had like Mr. Tilak declined to take his seat in the chair reserved

for him on the dais. Two Patels from the Akote Taluq who were staying in my quarters received on the 27th at about noon a warning from two men of their caste who lived in the Nationalist camp that day there would be enacted scenes far worse than those of the previous day and advised them either to stay away or to occupy back seats. These gentlemen tried to communicate the warning to me but they could not succeed. A well-known Extremist of these provinces has been taking credit that he sent me word "begging" me to leave the prominent seat I occupied on the platform. The word never reached me and even if it had I would not have left my place. All the same the fact is significant. Then again scan the list of Nagpur delegates and their occupations and literary qualifications. Not that the educated graduates were behind the uneducated rowdies in creating disturbance. But the extraordinary advent of the unruly element leaves little room for doubt that the whole disturbance had been planned, organised and deliberately brought about.

To me it is small comfort that hooliganism was shown by Extremists and not by Moderates, and I would not have written a word for publication in regard to these disgraceful performances, but for the monstrous lies that are studiously being circulated by the foolish, misguided sinner and their culpable and designing leaders. Rowdysm and violence are bad enough but to add wicked untruthfulness to it is infamous. The facts are all plain and lie on the surface and if people would only drive away the cloud of dust which the breakers of the peace purposely raise in order to conceal the real issues, there would be little room for doubt as to where the guilt lies.

The campaign of vilification of the Moderate party was commenced in the first fortnight of January last by Mr. Tilak at Allahabad where the people and especially the young men were exhorted to pull down their leaders and the high ideal was impressed upon them that morality had no place in politics. Mr. Khaparde followed in a few days by a most outrageous speech at Nagpur in which the Moderate leaders were called "infamous," "the most debased of human kind," etc., and the fraternity of men who ventured to hold views different from those of the "New School" was questioned. In about 4 weeks more came the meeting at Nagpur for the formation of the working Committee when a respected old C. P. leader of 60 years of age was greeted with a shoe, burning powder was sent in a letter to the President of the meeting, Dr. Gour, and threatening letters were sent to some other prominent men. Simultaneously with this and four months after this, the *Kesari* at Poona and the *Deshasewak* at Nagpur

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carried on a regular crusade against those members of the Moderate party whose opposition to Mr. Tilak's Presidentship was feared by them. Week after week and month after month men like Mr. Gokhale became the subjects of the foulest calumnies and most wanton perversions of truth. It would be well if the articles in these papers and others of that school are translated word for word so that the whole Indian world might know how low have fallen those from whom much was expected. It is dispiriting to see the literary and moral garbage on which the new generation of Maharashtra is sought to be brought up.

The occurrences of 22nd September at Nagpur (which were the direct offspring of the spirit created and fed by these writings) are well known. The concerted rowdiness within the hall, the pre-arranged hooliganism outside and worse than all the shameless effrontery with which these proceedings are white washed and defended (which are the most distressing developments of the "New Spirit") need not be recounted.

Then came the All-India Congress Committee's meeting in which after refusal by Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde to adhere to the compromise which they had accepted only three or four hours previously, the resolution was arrived at to transfer the venue of the Congress to Surat. And then followed the most vitriolic, venomous and bitter attacks on Sir P. M. Mehta, Mr. Gokhale and the Surat people, the language of which would put to shame even the street brawlers. It deserves to be noted that the *Deshasevak* and other Tilakite papers distinctly used the threat that no efforts would be spared to make a Congress at Surat impossible.

First, a difficulty is sought to be created by dragging in Mr. Lajpat Rai's name against his expressed wishes. Even when he definitely and openly puts his foot down, attempts to prevent Dr. Ghosh from taking the presidential chair is persevered in and carried out. Finding that Mr. Lajpat Rai would not allow himself to be made a catspaw the story is next invented and studiously spread that the Reception Committee wanted to go back on the propositions in regard to Self-Government, Swadeshi, Boycott in Bengal and National Education. On the evening of the 24th I told a number of delegates that there was no valid basis for this assertion and that propositions on the subjects substantially the same in spirit as those of last year would be put before the Subjects Committee. On the 25th at noon when Mr. N. C. Kelkar was at the place where I was putting up, I told him the same thing and begged that scenes and split be avoided. That day in the evening, Mr. Gokhale made a detailed statement to the delegates in the Congress Camp. About 150 attended and he told them the exact wording of the Resolution drafted by him as

the draftsman of the Subjects Committee. Mr. R. P. Karandikar of Satara and other friends of Mr. Tilak were present on the occasion. In spite of this conclaves were held in the Nationalist Camp and the resolution arrived at to oppose the election of the President and other obstruction and organise rowdism at every stage of the proceedings. On the 26th, when thousands were present in the Congress Pandal, Mr. Khare of Nasik went on shouting from block to block that Mr. Tilak had sent word that the election of the President was to be prevented. In the face of all these facts, can there be any doubt left that the rowdism and violence carried out had been deliberately planned and organised? It is admitted that before time for proposing the President came, Mr. Tilak had in his possession a copy of the draft resolutions containing the ones on "Swaraj," "Swadeshi," "Boycott," and "National Education." And yet the row was made, carried on and persisted in and not the least efforts made to check it. It is sickening to see the ignoble tactics and dishonourable methods adopted by the leaders of the rowdies, and the lies that were invented and busily spread, even after contradiction, so as to create prejudice against the Moderates in general and Mr. Gokhale in particular.

One word and I shall conclude this already too long communication. What is said in the Manifesto issued by the Extremist leaders or by their very "impartial" friend and ally Babu Motilal Ghosh, is sufficient to prove the main charge that these people wanted to impose their will upon the Moderates who formed the majority and if that could not be done to create an uproar and to resort to the use of force. They only acted in obedience to a telegram which had been received from their headquarters at Calcutta: "Blow up if every thing else fails."

AMBAOTI, }
January, 1912.

R. N. MUDHOLKAR.

V. BENGAL PROTEST.

After the rowdism of the first day, the Bengal delegates met at Rose's Bungalow in the evening, when the following Resolution was passed on the motion of Mr. Didnarayan Singh of Bhagalpur:—

"We, the undersigned delegates of United Bengal, deeply regret the unseemly demonstration made at the Congress Pandal to-day, when Babu Surendranath Banerjee was seconding, the resolution proposing the election of the Honourable Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh and say that we entirely dissociate ourselves from those that were guilty of such demonstration and irregular proceedings."

Calcutta.

1. Pramatha Nath Banerji.
2. Dedar Buksb.
3. R. C. Bonnerjee.
4. Priyanath Sen.
5. Mujibur Rahman.
6. Suchir Chandra Banerji.
7. P. Chaudhuri.
8. Raj Chandra Chandra.
9. J. Ghosal.
10. Bhupendra Nath Basu.
11. J. N. Roy.
12. R. C. Sen.
13. Krishna Kumar Mitra.
14. Hem Chandra Sarkar.
15. S K, Choudhury.
16. Akhay Kumar Dey.
17. Surendra Nath Roy.
18. Sachindra Prasad Basu.
19. Satyananda Bose.
20. Prithwis Chandra Ray.
21. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta.
22. Sudhir Kumar Lahiri.
23. J. Chaudhuri.
24. A. Chaudhuri.
25. Jyotindra Nath Bose.
26. Sukmar Mitra.
27. Hem Chandra Sen.
28. Md. Manirazzaman.
29. Tarau Krishna Naskar.
30. Dasarathi Chakrabarti.

24 Parganas.

1. Surendra Nath Mullick.
2. Surat Chandra Mukherjee.
3. Paresnath Ray Chaudhury.
4. Raj Jatindra Nath Chaudhuri.
5. Tara Prasanna Mitra.

Howrah.

1. Matangi Charen Palit.
2. Gispati Kabyatirtha.

Hoogly.

1. Bishnupada Chatterjee.
2. Amunlya Chandra Dutt.
3. Jogendra Nath Chatterjee.

Burdwan.

1. Nalinaksha Basu.
2. Santosh N. Bose.
3. Sarat C. Basu.
4. Debendra Nath Sen, (Kaviraj) Kalna.
5. Upendra Nath Sen, (Kaviraj) Kalna.

Barisal.

1. Upendra Nath Sen.
2. Saratkumar Guha.
3. Satis Chandra Chatterjee.
4. Rajani Kanta Chatterji, (Jhalakati).

Faridpur.

1. Ambika Charan Mazumdar.
2. Manindra Kumar Mazumdar.
3. Krishna Das Ray.

Rangpur.

1. Anath Nath Chaudhuri.
2. Satyendra Mohan Ray, (Kakina.)
3. Kisori Mohan Roy.
4. Hiralal Ghosh.
5. Baroda Govind Chaki.

Dinajpur.

1. Jotindra Mohan Sen.

Dacca.

1. Kamini Mohan Banerji.
2. Brindaban Chandra Bysak.
3. Surja Kanta Banerji.
4. Bepin Chandra Das, (Naraingunje).

Mymensing.

1. Sudhansu M. Bose.
2. A. H. Ghaznavi.

Khulna.

1. Nagendra Nath Sen.

Tippera.

1. Upendra Chandra Chakravarti.
2. Sasadhar Roy.

APPENDIX D.

CONGRESS AND MOSLEM LEAGUE'S SCHEME OF REFORMS.

[The following is the scheme of Reforms as a definite step towards Self-Government passed at the 31st Session of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow, on the 29th December 1916, and also adopted by the All India Moslem League at its meeting held on the 31st December 1916. —]

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions :—

Punjab—One-half of the elected Indian Members.

United Provinces—30 per cent. " "

Bengal—40 per cent. " "

Behar—25 per cent. " "

Central Provinces—15 per cent. " "

Madras—15 per cent. " "

Bombay—One-third " "

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial,

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members..

CONGRESS AND MOSLEM LEAGUE'S SCHEME. lxxi

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mahomedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates.

Vide proviso to section 1, clause 4.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:—

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the

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Governor-General in Council; provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to."

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be selected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government, shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

1. In any council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII.—MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

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