CHAPTER – II
REFORMS AND REPERCUSSIONS

Morley-Minto Reforms was the first installment of Parliamentary reforms introduced on a national scale in India. It helped in the development of self-governing institutions and in the evolution of a democratic society. The reforms were so dynamic that in actual working, they generated a fresh life into the social life and helped the evolution of a new order of society. The Communities that were struggling desperately social obstructions were given a helping hand by conferring political privileges. But this simple phenomenon had produced powerful democratic forces capable of taking society forward to shoulder responsible Government when it was conferred.

Demand of the Congress

The enlargement of the legislative councils and the new powers granted to them in 1892, however did not satisfy Indian aspirations. The aim of the Congress was to give to the representatives a voice in the matter of imposing taxes and controlling the Exchequer, to repeal the Arms Act, the Income-tax and the Forest Laws.\(^1\) Even though the benefits of British rule were admired, the tendency was to ask for a freer latitude given to the people in matters pertaining to self-Government of their own country.\(^2\) Government had literally conferred on the people the privilege of being represented in the legislative councils, but according to them, the majority that the Government enjoyed made representation less useful. The inclusion of cotton goods in tariff, notwithstanding the protest of non-officials in the Indian legislative

\(^2\) Raja Yogi, 20 June, 1894, p.198.
Council, was freely quoted as an example.\(^3\) What was asked for, was a non-official majority in the Legislative Councils. The Police Act in the Indian Legislative Council which conferred on magistrates the powers to claim, in times of revolt, from suspected parties those charges incurred for maintaining an extra Police Force known as the ‘Punitive Police’, even without enquiry, was considered against the law under British rule.\(^4\) There had been opposition to these measures both inside and outside the legislatures.

Congress circles also criticized the procedure of passing laws and regulations by obtaining the consent of the Secretary of state. They argued that laws and regulations were passed in India with the consent of the latter and not with the consent of the people. They showed vehement opposition to the defense expenditure, which was beyond the pale of jurisdiction of the non-official members of the Indian legislative Council. Their aim was a Parliamentary system of Government with Ministers responsible to the legislature, and the legislature having control over the purse.\(^5\) The Parliamentary system of government in the Colonies, with the Crown having power, only to appoint the Governor General, was the aspiration of the educated classes. Congress also stressed the need for representing the Indian element in the Executive council of the Viceroy and that of the Governors.\(^6\) The more extreme group wanted separation of powers, elected and responsible executive. They laid emphasis on a non-official majority in an enlarged Legislative Council, with full

\(^3\) *The Arya Jana Priyan*, 16 Feb. 1895, p.66.

\(^4\) *Swadesamitran*, 26 Feb.1895, p.84.


\(^6\) *Swadesamitran*, 10 Jan. 1900, p.12.
inancial control. They condemned the existing councils as hollow and lifeless. It was evident they were demanding the substance of power.

The extremists drew inspiration from the Irish agitation. According to them, Ireland suffered almost the same administrative evils as India. No doubt, the citing of such examples was only throwing hints of the idea of violence, and definitely did not inspire a constitutional course for the agitation, which naturally produced bitterness in government circles. Not withstanding, criticisms were hurled on the government for their reference to the defects in the Congress. By this time, a section of the Congress had abandoned the traditional path of plea, petition and prayer. The usual expression of admiration at Western Science, Art, and the civilising nature of British Rule and above all, the respect shown towards British statesmanship in the formation of the Congress itself, gave place to severe criticism. They developed an antagonistic attitude towards the government and did not conceal their scorn and contempt for it.

In Madras, the educated classes demanded that the twelve members nominated should be elected. Artificial difficulties were created in the working of the Legislative Councils by asking a volley of questions which, as Sir Charles Elliot in Bengal observed, that most of the questions the Legislative Councils were unnecessary and for which information’s would have been easily obtained from the Secretaries by the members. Thus no opportunity was missed by the educated classes to throw a relentless criticism on Government and spared no occasion to expose the short-comings of Government in public. In the election of 1895, to the

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Madras legislative Council a demand was made for depriving the nominated members in the Local Boards of their voting rights in the election of members to the Legislative Council.

The criticism of the Government the press was only the outward manifestation of the growth of an extremist party under the leadership of Tilak. Himself a dominant Congressman, he made use of his paper ‘Kesari’ to oppose social reforms with the motive of bringing the orthodox Hindus within the fold of Congress. He organized gymnastic societies, and developed a cult of Shivaji, whom he upheld as the hero of the Maharashtra. The evils of India had been attributed to the Muslim and English rule. Shivaji’s nationalism was Maharashtra nationalism and narrow patriotism. But Tilak wanted to ennoble him. Against the determined opposition, he took the responsibility of erecting a statue of Shjivaji in Poona on 31 December, 1895.

In July 1897, for the seditious and provocative articles of Kesari, Tilak was arrested for charges under Section 1244 of the Indian Penal Code. At the trial of Tilak. Shivaji cult was legally interpreted as an adherence to the principle, that murder was justifiable under certain circumstances. Tilak was found guilty and he was convicted. It was significant, that Congress dropped the idea of demoralizing Government to release Tilak. However, Tilak was released as a result of the memorial, by proof. Max Muller, Sir William Hunter and Sir Richard Garth, to the Queen. The proposition that Tilak was to raise a second Mutiny was not proved. No doubt, the loyalty of the people remained intact. But the activities of the extremists

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13 Kerala Patrika, 31 Jul 1884, p. 213.
14 Secret Consultations, 1 Jul. 1897.
16 Kolkar, N.C., India in Mourning, A.P. Bapat & Bro, Poona, 1921, p. 56.
were a matter of concern to the Government. Political crimes became frequent in Bombay and Bengal. In Bombay, Rand and Ayerst were murdered and Danwdar Chepakar confessed that he was the author. The Government of Bombay blamed the Brahmins of Poona for the murder committed, and the Government of India blamed the Hindus of disloyalty. The seditious law amendment Bill was passed to deal with the new situation.

The expression of loyalty in Madras

However, the vernacular newspapers in Madras allayed the fears of Government, of any unified opposition to Government because of the differences of language, custom, and the vastness of the country. The benefits of British rule, in the form of laws, the privilege to hold meetings, the privilege to publish newspapers were admitted and the press conveyed the declaration of loyalty by the people. It was significant that the press in Madras was generally free from defamatory articles.

Bombay Legislative Council and the tactics of obstruction in Madras

Again, in 1901, the educated classes were bent upon creating tension. The seven non-official members of the Bombay Legislative council staged a walk out against the passing of the Land Revenue Bill, stating that no sufficient deference was shown to the opinion of the non-official members. The complaint was that, even though they were given the Liberty to make speeches, their opinions were not given proper consideration by government. They argued that the legislative councils, on their new basis, were formed to utilise genuine public opinion. Meetings were held

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by the educated classes to congratulate the members on their walk out and to send representatives to the Viceroy to disallow the Bill. The India Government was ridiculed, as Robert Knight did, as having a commercial origin, notwithstanding the Imperial garb it put, in 1858. But in Ootacamund, at the meeting of the Legislative Council, the Governor of Madras rightly observed, that the non-official members were in the habit of abruptly interfering with matters in which, they had no concern and putting questions without rhyme or reason and that such questions would not receive the attention of Government.\(^{21}\) It was evident that the questions were mostly deliberate, to put in obstruction to the proceedings, and this tactics was naturally resented by Government. This appears only a sad reflection of the state of affairs in other provinces also.

**The criticism of the economic Policy of the Government**

It was the order of the day to attack Government on all sides. On the economic front, the commercial enterprise, named India Development Limited, under the Chairmanship of Sir Alexander Mackensis, the retired it. Governor of Bengal, was characterized by Dadabhai Naoroji as India Exploitation Limited. The Congress organ in London improving upon Naoroji’s appellation, called it ‘India Exploitation Unlimited’.\(^{22}\) The problem was that, as Indian capital, as it was always shy of investment, foreign capital was thought inevitable. The criticism was not so much against foreign capital and foreign talents, but against the claim to place this subject beyond the control of the legislature. This was thought as the foundation of British supremacy, leading to political domination and ultimate commercial and capitalist exploitation. In attacking the economic politics, there was no realisation on the part


of the critics, as how to develop the country in the absence of foreign capital. It was also true, there was no effort to build up indigenous industries either with Indian capital. Consequently, the criticisms turned to be destructive in character which ultimately produced great displeasure with the Government. It was paradox that the critic of the Government was not free from the charges of exploitation of the people.

The Criticisms of the British

The acquittal of Europeans, accused of murdering Indians for reasons of unsound mind, was considered more disastrous to British rule than a great reverse sustained on an Asiatic battle-field. The great importance that the people attached to the British sense of justice was manifest, but the disturbing thoughts at unfair acquittals never failed to come to the limelight.

The Statesmanship of Lord Curson

No doubt, in the heat of the moment, the far sighted statesmanship of Curson was ignored and condemned. He was wise, capable and hard-working. Disgruntled Hindus decried and abused him for his plain statements. Immediately after his resignation, thoughtful people predicted that Curson was a great Viceroy and the force and wisdom of his administration would shine with more lustre at the distance of a few years hence, when passions had abated. The arson, the gruesome murders and the bloodshed in Bengal at the time of Indian Independence would not have happened, if ever the wiser and far sighted administrative arrangements of Curson had ever been accepted. India paid in blood for her folly and he events of history had given a verdict in favour of Curson’s statesmanship.

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The Proposition of Self Government

Swadesi movement and boycott of foreign goods were designed in Bengal for the ultimate destruction of British authority, and the establishment of a Hindu Swaraj, an independent Government without foreign interference. The advocates of Swaraj drew inspiration from the verdict of English statements like Munroe, Metcalfe, Macaulay and others who had declared that it was the intention of Great Britain to withdraw from India as soon as she became fit for self-government. The claim for Swaraj was no reason, for, surely, no Englishman entertained the belief that Britain should be in for all times.

Congress was seized of the problem of Swaraj, but the question in 1907 on which the controversy centered round was the means to attain it and the question of fitness of India for Swaraj in the first decade of the 20th century. On these two problems, the leaders of the Congress were divided into three parties. The Loyalists considered that the people of India should be grateful to the government for the benefit that they might confer on them. They reposed trust and confidence in British justice, that when India became fit Britain would magnanimously give them self-government. This party consisted of Sir Nehta, Wacha, Mr. Krishnaswamy Ayyar and others. The Moderates, prominent among them, Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjee, Madan Mohan Malavys, Rash Behari Shosh and Mudholkar believed in the gradual evolution of political advancement and deprecated the views of the extremists. No doubt, they favoured the idea of Swadesi and had faith in self-help to a certain extent, but earnestly believed that India deserved the kindness of her rulers and the should wait till such a boon as Swaraj was conferred on her when she would prove worthy of

26 The Swadesamitran, 3 Nov. 1906, p. 362.
it. According to them, India should accept them as so many favours from Great Britain and enjoy them. The majority of the members in the Congress upheld this view and the Government after Curson favoured it. The Moderates sternly deprecated the views of the Extremists. The problem, as they viewed it was, how to take the masses of the people who were ignorant, illiterate and suffering from the disabilities created by caste system.

The Extremists\textsuperscript{28} Misconceived that the aim of India were opposed to that of England and feared that England would not grant them Swaraj. Prominent among them, Dadhabhai Naoroji, Tilak, Bipinchandra Pal, Khaparde, Subramania Aiyar, Aravinda Ghosh, Aswin Babu, Bhupendra and Ajit Singh professed that Government had not listened to the prayers of Congress ever since its inception. They never looked with respect to what Britain had done in reforming society. Thus their mistrust was fallacious. However, they held that they should not beg of Government any longer. They believed that the ills of India could not be cured until she attained Swaraj. They relied on self-help. Swadesism and boycott were viewed as the chief means of attaining it. They thought that it would be better to work believing in self-exertion than to crave for the mercy of the Government.\textsuperscript{29} To them, it was a mendicant policy to rely either upon the liberal or upon any other political party in England, but upon themselves. They whipped up patriotic sentiments and tried to organize societies to demonstrate their will to force Government to cede what they asked for. Secret and revolutionary societies were formed in Bengal practicing the


use of lathis, swords, knives, etc., and gyanasia took the place of debating societies. Bipin Chandra Chatterjee became the priest, preceptor and propagator of Vanda Mataram. They tried to organize physical culture societies to revive the qualities of courage, intrepidity, vigilance and service for the country that so long been decaying. They believed, by their method, the country would undoubtedly gain back prosperity and full liberty. Students were asked to prepare for self-scarifies. They appealed that nationalism should take it rise from the fire of self-sacrifice and wanted this spirit to be spread all over the country. To maintain the revolutionary favour, students were complemented as the pioneers of social reform in India.

Swedesi Spirit in Madras

Whatever might be the criticism of the extremists about the people of Madras, Swadesi spirit was very dominant among the latter. In 1907, V.O. Chidhambaram Pillai started the Swadesi Steam Navigation Company. Along with him, Subramania Bharathi, Subramania Sivam and Padhmanabha Iyengar contributed to fan the flames of popular discontent. The situation in Trinevelly and Tuticorin were described as akin to open rebellion. Fortunately, this was considered only as a passing wave of unrest, fanned into flame in specific localities by the mechanisation of a few desperate individuals. What aggravated the general sentiment of the people was famine and plague which broke out then.

Even though the unrest was confined to areas and individuals and its general character described as sectarian, Nevinson, the representative of the Daily Chronicle

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31 The Hindu, 5April 1907, p.11.
32 Swadesamitran, 27 Feb, 1908, pp. 13-16.
33 Pattabi Sitaramyya Op.cit.,
and the Manchester Guardian reported that be was leaving India with regret as India was then passing through a critical period, such as she had not known for the last 50 years. He agreed that there was no conquest or violence in India but her troubles were due to the anxiety caused in the minds of the people. He pleaded that government should consider the situation sympathetically. But the one welcome sign he noticed was that, “Amidst all this gloom, there was one happy growing feeling of national consciousness among the people.  

**Inspiration to Extremists**

The success of Japan in the war in 1905 encouraged Indians to demand more and more political privileges. It came as an inspiration to even those who would wish political advancement under British guidance. The establishment of a Parliamentary system of government in persist, the successful agitation for a representative system of government in Russia and the endeavours in Egypt for a democratic net up were cited as examples to stir the feelings of the Swarajists. There were encouragement from organizations and individuals from the United States of America for the Swadesi movement. As an instance Mr. Phelps of the New York Bar wrote in June, 1907, the refusal to buy English goods was precisely the America Swadesi Movement.

In 1902, it was realised, that Congress had lost all the chars of novelty. The position of the Congress was that it neglected the political education of the masses. The backward classes were never politically instructed as Congress never designed a proper agency to propagate its ideals among them. It was realised, that unless

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35 Ibid.,
Congress was popularised, it was difficult to impress the government. Each Congressman was requested to address, at least two meetings.\(^39\) Even well-wishers did not hesitate to point out the narrow line on which Congress was running, as it had not done anything worthy to bring about an Indian Nation, which could signify the unity of interest of the people, along with the conception of a common destiny. The Indian circumstances were such that 90% of the people were indifferent to politics. The schemes of the educated classes never embraced the lower orders in society. Viewed in this light Swaraj in the social circumstances of 1907 would have meant self-government only for a few Brahmins, out of whom there might be a very limited number to be considered qualified, to administer the country without distinctions of caste or creed as declared in the proclamation of Queen Victoria. There was a legitimate fear, that such a system of self-government would undoubtedly resolve itself into an arbitrary government and eventually reduce India to the position of Russia\(^40\). Hence, it was earnestly believed that it would not be beneficial to the lower classes of people to effect spectacular political changes, all at once.

Under the stress of new political demands, people realised the west of unity, as a result of the differences in regard to religion, customs, ceremonies and most damaging of all, the caste jealousy which made India one of the most backward countries in the world, and the great revolution and modernity that British Government\(^41\) had brought to India. They declared that this enviable position of the British Government had made it the best government known in the last 3,000 years. It was held, that if British Government was a foreign government, it was true with the


\(^{40}\) *The Hindu*, 27 Dec 1907, p. 6.

Aryans and Muhammadans also. The contention was that, if the country was to be ruled over by her people, it was necessary that all high offices should be filled up by the original inhabitants, the Kurumbas, the Bhils, the Panchamass and others. Thus one had to wait till these lower classes were educated and elevated as to be able to govern India. No government count bring about could a miracle in a day.42

The failure of the Extremists – the convention and the unconventional convention

The extremists broke away from the gathering of the Congress in great confusion, after a failure to arrive at a compromise and held their first convention. The moderates succeeded in their arrangements and proceeded with their ‘Unconventional Convention’.43

The opinion of the British Press on the Surat crisis

To strengthen the hands of the Moderates

The press in England44 expressed their different views on the Surat incidents. The Tory papers stated the Surat occurrences had laid base the intrinsic weakness of the Congress Movement and considered it a specimen of what would become of India if she was given self-government. The radical papers stated that such disturbances were not at all uncommon and from this the administrative capacity of Indians could not be judged. They recommended that as the moderates had excluded the extremists from the Congress, the Government should strengthen them and give them more influence by conceding substantial privileges to the country.

43 Ibid.,
44 Swadesamitran, 22 Jan. 1908, p.45.
Moderates take care to be Moderate

The London Times sounded caution, that though the Government would lend a more ready ear to the moderates than heretofore, the moderates might take care to be moderate, not only in the Congress pavilion but also in their political aspirations as it was impossible to give them ‘the moon in the sky’. It was only half a century when India had adopted modern doctrines and practices.45

Moderates drawn closer to Government

However the split was welcome; for the growth of extremism brought the moderates closer to government and the government was, in turn, drawn towards the moderates.46 There was a time when there was a criticism that even the moderates were not quite nearer to government. But this development inaugurated a period of understanding between them.

The Surat Crisis only a sign of India’s unpreparedness for self-government then

Fear of Muslims

The Surat Congress with the moderates in the fore-front revealed such ability, though high sentiments and extreme views which they displayed were them most positive evidence, according to London Times,47 of the utter unpreparedness of India for self-government then. It stated that by show of military force the Muslims would have wrested the privileges, and reduced the liberties of Hindus to one fourth of what they had under British regime.

Lack of coheharance in society and its contrast with other countries

The whole political development and discussion revealed that India was exceptional to put an extraordinary struggle for freedom for want of coheharance and

46 Swadesamitran, 5 Feb. 1908, p.77.
social unity. The acute controversies on problems of national importance and the split that occurred in the Congress were nothing but a sad reflections of the Indian social set up. The social problems blinded them to problems of politics and national importance; only very few realised what service to the country was. This is a contrast\textsuperscript{48} to the conditions that prevailed in the more advanced countries like the United Kingdom or United States. Indian conditions forced the individuals to become selfish, and they want of unity led to slavery.

**The Swaraj movement and self realisation**

**The need for social reforms**

In the great struggle, realisation had dawned, that mere declaration of social reforms in books and lectures in the absence of religious or social reforms, would not improved the position of the country and the difficulties they confronted would not disappear.\textsuperscript{49} The eyes were opened: It was the dawn of self-realisation. The morning sun had arisen.

**The want of organisation**

The events of 1907 clearly revealed, though generally clever, alert and active, Indians lacked the power of political organisation. The average Indian leader of political opinion acted so frequently on his own impulses that one would not be far wrong in concluding that he did not believe in any organisation at all.\textsuperscript{50}

**The need for solidarity**

Political organisations became weak because they were sectarism and the limited potential itself was destroyed by a conflict of interest. The people lacked both

\textsuperscript{48}Hindu Nesan, 29 Mar 1907, Madras, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{49}Hindu Nesan, 11 Apr 1907, Madras, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{50}The Hindu, 5 July, 1907, p.262.
discipline and co-operation for a social solidarity to fit in well with the more advanced concepts of democracy and hence the goal eluded the grasp, as it would always, whatever the leaders might do.\textsuperscript{51}

**Morley’s liberal views on democracy**

The advent of Morley as Secretary of State and Minto as Viceroy definitely marks an epoch in the constitutional history of India. Morley was one of the chief leaders of the new radical party, who held the view that in England ancient institutions and administrative traditions should be uprooted.\textsuperscript{52} His political wisdom, liberal principles, love of independence and his support of representative institutions were a tower of strength to India’s constitutional development.\textsuperscript{53} He had shown considerable restraint and moderation in the evolution of Indian polity along democratic lines. His genius lies in adumbrating a change in the constitutional development of India, which proved to be the only course for the political, social and religious liberation of all the communities in India from all bondage. Mito’s co-operation, which had in no less significant way, brought a far reaching change in the ground work foreshadowing future events.

Morley was no doubt new to the Indian problem and in March, 1906, he stated in parliament that he was not seized of the Indian problem yet, and stated, that he had to think of Indian affairs fully, and especially as it was not even three months since Minto had taken charge of the administration of the country, he could not be reasonably expected to have come to any definite conclusion.\textsuperscript{54} But in May, in

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p.291.
\textsuperscript{52} Herbert Cowell, *Op.cit.*,.
\textsuperscript{53} Swadesamitran, 19 May, 1906, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p. 101.
answering the question of Mr. O. Grady if it was not proper to leave India to govern herself as the Colonies govern themselves, he broadly indicated the lines on which he proposed to proceed. In reply Morley said that he appreciated the liberality of mind which prompted the question, but made clear that he was not prepared to set on foot the large changes which the proposed measure would involve. But, at the Civil Service dinner, he warned, that Indians were striving for what England had taught them as to what they should aspire for. He hastened to say that England should restore peace in India and help the people to attain their object. According to him, if this was not done, the fault would be with England and not with India for any further deterioration of the situation. He cautioned that the failure to perform this task would be the first breakdown of the policy of British Government.  

But as a first stage what Morley intended was to ameliorate the condition of Indians and render them fit for self-government. This was the basic principle which guided the Morley- Minto Reforms. Morley and Minto were confronted with one of the most paradoxical problems that offered to democracy, namely the aristocratic element of the Hindu society which was enjoying all exclusive privileges for centuries and who were largely accustomed to despotic form of government demanding democratic institutions from Britain, which had established Parliamentary institutions by centuries of struggle. There were neither were established oriental democratic institutions on a national level which could be trusted upon to be imparted with any large privileges nor had India long and wide training already imparted. It was also impossible to urge to have Parliamentary institutions.

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56 Ibid.,
The proposals in 1906 for the expansions of the legislative council

A Committee was appointed to consider the question of reconstituting the Legislative Councils in July, 1906. But it was believed that Minto and Morley had already come to a decision in regard to the reconstitution leaving only the details to be settled by the Committee. It was assumed in 1906 that the Reform proposals would include the expansion of the legislative councils with representation broad-based.

The recommendations of Minto

In 1907 Lord Minto forwarded his recommendations to Lord Morley. In his letter, he had summarised the frame work that he wanted to build up.

1. A Council of Chiefs, to enlist their interests in Imperial affairs.
2. The enlargement of the Imperial and Provincial Councils on a more representative basis, and greater opportunity for debate in those councils.
3. Increased popular representation in District Councils and greater powers given to them.
4. The appointment of an Indian to the Victory’s Council, probably to the Legislative Department.
5. The creation of a Department of Education in the place of the supply Department.
6. The addition of an Indian to the Executive Council of the Governors.
7. The establishment of Executive Councils in Bengal and Uttar Pradesh with one Indian member in the Executive Councils.
8. Constitution of Advisory Councils both in the Centre and in the provinces.

57 Documents Nos. 104, 105, 107, 108
Morel accepted all suggestions except the advisory councils.

The Advisory councils

The Government of Madras did not favour Provincial or Imperial Advisory Councils. They concluded that “this presidency has not advanced the willingness to include one or two Indians in his own council. This was no insignificant departure from the conventional composition of the Council. Critics were not wanting to point out that the membership of the council was a personal favour or a reward for help or loyalty shown towards Government. Yet the criticism of exclusiveness of Englishman in administration had given place to closer association. Positions of trust and responsibilities opened to Indians beginning from the Council of the Secretary of State to that of a Provincial Governor was a liberal step forward. The India Council Bill was passed with expressed provisions to include Indians as members of the council. The appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Governor General and Governor was no doubt to satisfy the demand of the educated classes. However, the introduction of the Indian element in the Executive Government showed which way the wind blowed.

Aspirations of the People

The consensus of opinion was that the proposal to appoint Indians in the Executive Councils should not be viewed as productive of immediate and untold benefits to the people at large. But the moral effect of the concession was really very great. It raised the level of national self respect. It removed the sense of irritation and the apparent injustice which the educated classes felt. But the guarantee that Indians could rise to the status in life gave an inspiration to the educated classes and to the people in general, though the immediate beneficiary had been the former. No doubt
this gift created a sense of loyalty and hope among those aspirants to rise to the full stature as servants of the state. The proposal at one stroke broke down the barriers of prejudice and the educated classes were now free to aspire for higher positions of honour. It was accepted that this measure would inevitably advance the interests and well-being of both the Indians and Anglo-Indian communities.⁵⁹

The fair distribution of representation to all classes, communities, the sense of British justice

In the Scheme of reforms proposed by the Government of India, territorial representation ⁶⁰ was deprecated as being unsuited to India, and representation of the hitherto unrepresented communities, religion and caste was thought the only practical solution to solve the problem of representation. Thus representation was extended to Muslims and Christians; the landlords, industrial and commercial classes who were emerging out as powerful and stable factors in the development of society. As education had supplanted birth as the basis of authority and gave prominence to the educated classes, so also industry had broken down the conventional gradation of society and had become a very important factor to be reckoned with in any scheme of representation. It was also significant that education had permeated beyond the small group of Brahmins, who could never be representative of all the other classes in India, and benefited all sections of the people and enlightened gentlemen were found among landlords, capitalists and captains of industry who aspired to take a prominent part in the administration of the country.⁶¹ The proposal for investing political power to the newly emergent classes, was no doubt, a great leap forward in the evolution of

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⁵⁹ The Hindu, 18 Jan. 1909, p.41.
⁶⁰ Despatch to the Secretary of State for India, No.2A, Home Dept, August 1907.
⁶¹ Ibid.
democracy and making representation real and broad-based. This was in keeping with the growth and development of new factors in society, the non-recognition of which would have made representative institutions, aristocratic, reactionary and static. Already there had been stagnation in society because the monopoly of all privileges were enjoyed by the so-called educated classes who with selfishness, avarice and greed guarded even any pill-over to other classes. The Morley-Minto scheme at one stroke broke this monopoly and distributed political power to the more dynamic and living forces of the society. This was a revolutionary departure in constitutional history, which had deflected the course of events.

**Growth of education**

The conventional criticism was that the new method of representation was to counterpoise the educated classes. Who were these educated classes; they were the people who were at the apex of the Hindu Society. But as education had come down, power also had been filtered lower down and thus the criticism of the Brahmical class lost its value.

**The difficulty of representation in the European sense**

As Sir Charles Atichism observed that the division of the people into creeds, castes and sects with varying and conflicting interests rendered representation in the European sense an obvious impossibility. The cry of the educated classes that they were overlooked were based in two fallacious assumptions that the people of India meant the Brahmmins and they alone could represent the people in the representative institutions. They had never taken seriously, the equality and the new social concepts which had already created a revolution in society after the advent of British rule. It

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62 [Marley-Minto Reform Act 1909, Simla 1909](#).
was in fear of the march of events in India which tended to place all communities on equal political footing, they hastened to Cary or Swaraj for them. Minto- Morley Reforms had turned the tides of fortune and it laid the foundation of Non-Brahmins liberation.

**Opening the flood gates of Democracy**

K.B. Krishna had argued that the principle of representation to communities, classes and interests had nothing to do with formal democracy. But it should be pointed out that confining representation to the educated classes also could not be formal democracy. To the peculiar conditions of India, distributing representation to a wider circle which included a larger number of communities, classes and interests naturally broke that cult of a small group which hindered the growth of popular representation. This was indeed opening the flood gates of democracy; and waking the nation from the coma of hibernation.

Speaking about fitness of India for self-government, it should be pointed out whatever might be said of the existence of some form of representative government in times beyond the reach of memory, the fast remained that India in 1908 could boast of but little experience in self-government as the Indian population consisted of different races and professing different religion. Even among Hindus, a non-Brahmin felt aggrieved that the Brahmin was clever and that in competition, he always lost his opportunities in every field of human activity. To the lower order there was not even the ghost of a chance of self-government if ever granted to them, much less it could over, he made a success. People realised that until the higher castes threw many the assumption of superiority by reason of being born in one specified caste; and until

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64 *The Hindu*, 24 Aug. 1908, p.599.
every Indian was educated to believe that all Indians were subject to the same sovereign and some laws, but professing different faiths and sunk all personal and communal interests and prepared to treat another Indian, whatever his caste, or creed, as a brother, until such time self-government, in whatever form, would be an anomaly. Till then they could never secure the greatest good the greatest number. What the world yearned for was democracy, not plutocracy.\textsuperscript{65}

\textbf{Communal Representation}

As long as caste divisions existed democracy in India would never have the purity, simplicity and elegances of democracy as in the west. Communal and caste representation was the only practical solution. In spite of the colouring given to the representative system, meant to vent the different communities with political power to have the training in Parliamentary institutions, it solved the tangled problem of introducing democracy in a communal and caste ridden society. It should be understood that Britain was no inventor of caste or community but they were Indian in origin.

A difficulty pointed out was, how all the castes and communities could be represented in the Legislative Councils.\textsuperscript{66} The Morley-Minto reforms were not designed to represent every individual community in the legislative councils; but, as far as possible, avoided concentration of power. There was no statutory provision to given representation to the thousands of communities in the legislative councils at a time. No doubt their interests were safe in the hands of government even in the absence of representation, but the ultimate solution for the Indian social problem did not rest in communal or caste representation but in the creation of a casteless society.

\textsuperscript{65} Swadesamitran, 24 Aug. 1908, p.50.

\textsuperscript{66} A Hand book of the information of the Madras Presidency 1909, p. 8
The reforms of 1909 aimed at giving a few communities which could later work for the liberation of the still lower classes.

It was evident that monopoly of power was undesirable and even dangerous in India because of the constant and often bitter conflict between different sections of the population. The educated middle class by reason of their position in the body politic, secured much real power to themselves, and they, therefore, resented the action of the Government of India which destroyed an undesirable monopoly.\textsuperscript{67} But all the other communities looked forward eagerly to the ensuring changes which would give them a distinct status and as importance corresponding to their social and material achievement in the body politic. They also welcomed a policy which made allowance for the fact that they had a more important stake in the land than the lower class.\textsuperscript{68}

It is very important to note that the public had viewed the Morley- Minto reforms as a training ground as Parliament is England was a training ground for public men, men of knowledge and eloquence to rise to high position. In spite of conditions in India, what was expected was to broaden the base, so that public spirited men could be trained. It was hoped that ‘Morley would provide a nursery for such men;\textsuperscript{69} it was a welcome development that the constitutional proposals of 1908 actually did this. This provision was made both by nomination and election.

**Constitutional Proposals for Reform in Madras**

In general demanded territorial representation. They proposed a suffrage based on education and a moderate property qualification. They opposed representation to

\textsuperscript{67} The Hindu, 7 Sept. 1907, p.440.

\textsuperscript{68} The Hindu, 8 Oct. 1908, p. 684.

\textsuperscript{69} Krishnaswamy, S., The Role of Madras Legislature in the Freedom Struggle, New Delhi, 1989, p. 196.
any minority. According to them no section of the Hindu population could be called a minority, far, substantially they belonged to the same race and their ideas and customs were substantially the same; as such the Brahmin could easily represent the interests of the Hindus. They even argued that they could represent Mussalmans and Christians. Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem was one of those who upheld the above line of argument. He argued that the famous Tippoo Sultan of Mysore, who according to him, was one of the most boycotted Musalmans, as he saw him, consulted Brahmin Astrologers when the English and their allies surrounded his fort. He also cited the instance when the Mussalman founder of the Bhamini Kingdom honoured his Brahmin friend, who by examining his horoscope predicted his greatness by making him Diwan and traced the name of the Kingdom to the Brahmin astrologer. He also stated that even among the Christians there were a section of the people, who married during suspicious hours fixed by Brahmins. Thus, he tried to defend the cause of territorial representation claiming that Brahmins could represent all sections of the people in India.

No doubt, there were astrologers among Brahmins, and by their prediction earned the good will of the rulers and their advice as priests were accepted by those who sought for it, but it was very doubtful that ‘astrology and priesthood’ were any sound qualification to become representatives of Muslims, Christians, the untouchables in general and the depressed classes in particular. With the practice of untouchability and devoted religions pursuit, their leadership was questioned. Their services to the rulers might have been appreciated by them, but this was not considered as a qualification for them to represent India and her people. No doubt, in

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regard to educational qualification, they had taken advantage of English education because of their position in society, but they never rose above the feelings of caste and religion.

Moreover the idea to combine astrology and priesthood with politics could not fit in well with the concept of a secular state which was the aim of British Government ever since the Proclamation of queen Victoria. The Muslims had never accepted the Brahmins so, on any day, capable of representing their interests. In India, the main conflict was between the Muslims and the Brahmins. It was the religious sentiments of both, especially of the latter, coupled with the untouchability that the Brahmins practiced, made the Muslims to keep aloof.72 This only earned their hatred. The lust of Brahmins for office and power and their clamour for monopolising all the privileges under the British, aggravated the tension and conflict with the Muslims who were already aggrieved, over the loss of their Empire. Muslims formed separate associations to safeguard their interest and all Indian Muslim League was formed in 1908 and Muslim Associations were formed all over the country.73 The Non-Brahmins criticized the Congress as Brahmin gathering and abstained from the Brahmin dominated Sabhas, Provincial and District Conferences and started a separate movement for themselves later.

The Political Cry of the Brahmin

The social circumstances were so compelling to the lower classes in the Hindu society, that they were converted to Christianity74 which opened a wider sphere of life consistent with self-respect. Indians claimed equality with the British people, while it

72 Natesan, G.A., Congress Presidential Address, Madras, 1917, p. 133
73 The Indian Patriot, 9 Dec. 1908, p.885.
was conspicuous by its absence in India itself.\textsuperscript{75} Hence the demand of the Brahmins for political privileges from government was ineffective. In the make of the Reform proposals, it was realised that until Indians removed evils like untouchability from the Hindu society and the position of the depressed classes elevated, India could never prosper and achieve its desired goal. The Indian press did not fail to point out this evil; and invited those who were willing to remedy the society of touch pollution.\textsuperscript{76}

Nowhere in the world could there be on exact parallel that the shadow or touch of one man would destroy the religious purity of another. It was the Depressed Class Federation which became the Spokesman of the interests of the downtrodden. These grave problems undoubtedly revealed that the so-called leaders of the Hindu society, namely Brahmins were, no more entitled than to claim a proper share for them; had no title to speak for the people of India, on a whole.

To the educated classes, the keynote of the Reform Proposals was the creation of a counterpoise to the influence of the educated classes the Bombay presidency Association confessed the hostility that existed between the educated middle-class and the landed aristocracy on the one head and the untouchables on the other. They also admitted that the highest and the lowest classes were generally adverse to the thinking of the intellectual class; the former opposed it because its tendencies were hostile to their interests.\textsuperscript{77} However, the Bombay Presidency Association failed to point out why the hostility of the middle classes to the lower classes existed and opposed to their interests.

\textsuperscript{75} Deshabhimani, 31 Dec. 1909, p.205.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., p.281
\textsuperscript{77} The Bombay Presidency Association, papers relating to constitutional Reforms in India, 1909. Vol. II, p.503
The educated classes agreed that there could be no objection to government giving to the landed and monied classes sufficient inducement to enter political life and full scope for the exercise of their legitimate influence. But they decried the representation to the Banking and Financial interests, to captains of industries and other interests as government calling to their aid the interested and the unthinking in order to check the increasing influence of those who advocated reforms to commensurate with the growing needs of advancing communities. Thus they objected to the representation to the Commercial and Banking interests.

What was really objectionable, was to describe all other interests except educational interest as unthinking. Such epithets were born out of arrogance and the traditional assumption of superiority, which if not destroyed would be a barrier to the familiar concept of equality and the spirit of tolerance so essential for the healthy growth of democratic feeling. If they objected so vehemently, the proposition of the government to extend political rights to a few but vital interests, it was not difficult to imagine the great heat that would have been produced if ever they were extended to the lower classes straight away. It was not wrong to say that the interest of the minority of the educated classes was opposed to all the other interests and the interests of the latter were equally antagonistic to the former. The fear of the educated classes as they were in a microscopic minority forming less than 3% of the population that in any extension of right and privileges to the people even if not to the interests was but natural. But opposing all schemes of reforms, to the growth of popular right was wholly mischievous, authoritarian and harmful. To dub the educated classes as orthodox, reactionary, conservative and opposed to national progress and the development of democratic right and privileges would not be beside the point. It was
also evident that the reform proposals were not so communal as the communal voice of the critics, especially the Brahmins.

Communal electorate was also criticised as if Government for the first time departed from impartiality in social and religious consideration. But this was in keeping with the demand of the Muslims to have separate representation and separate electorate. In 1908 Mohamed Sharif Khan Behadur is the Madras Corporation brought forward a proposition that the number of Mussalman representation in the Madras legislative Council should be increased to two. Hindu members opposed to it. Muslims refused to join the Congress on the plea that they were backward as they were in comparison to the great body of their fellow countrymen and it would be suicidal to their progress to surge with the bulk of the Indian people, and, therefore, it would do good if Mussalmans worked out their political salvation on a plan different from the Congress. They even warned the Congress to close the door to utopian philosophers who contemplated to end the British Raj and established Swaraj overnight. The formation of the Muslims league in 1908 testified to the aloofness of the Muslims which they strongly felt. Wherever the Muslims were in a minority, representation could be obtained only by a separate electorate. The trustees of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the centre of the Socio-Political Movement of the Muslims welcomed communal representation as due and ample, to commensurate with their historical and political importance. When there was no trust between caste and caste in the Hindu society and when it was difficult to select


81 Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Simla.
men agreeable to a number of communities, it would be much more difficult if not impossible to find people who could represent Muslims also. This applied to Christians, Parsees and other co-religionists.

**The real position of educated classes**

The so-called middle class had no permanent stake in the country and no property qualification to boast of. They were neither the exponents of the landed aristocracy nor of the masses in general. The educated middle class had estranged the rulers and though as a growing body they might be entitled to representation on the councils of the empire, they could not be considered to have that prestige of leadership and soundness of views affecting the general welfare of the country. The educated classes were a stumbling block in the evolution of a democratic society. Their claims might appear national but committed only one of the many interests. The constitutional proposals of 1906 were a pointer to show to what little they were entitled to is Indian society. Till the time of temple entry they retained a social superiority but from 1909 they were fighting a losing battle in politics. Moreover English was not considered a necessary qualification for nomination to the Imperial or Provincial Advisory Councils. This proposition coupled with a property qualification, uprooted the Brahmin call group in politics. Property qualification made the franchise to be spread out to all communities and when educational facilities were taken advantage of by business and baking communities and the landed classes, education so the exclusive qualification for franchise and representation lost much of

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82 The proposals of the Raja of Kalahasi, Papers relating to opinions of Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Vol. II, pp.185 – 186.

83 The proposals of the Raja of Kalahasi, Papers relating to opinions of Constitutional Reforms in India, Vol. II, pp. 185-186.
its significance. It might be useful in administration for some time, but it was no credential for an exclusive privilege to politics, and administration.

**The Reform proposals**

The opinions on the Constitutional proposals both in India and in Parliament revealed the great difficulty of selecting men, who represented the various classes and communities, the different interests and localities in India. Hence, the solution, to offer representation to various classes and interests posed the greatest challenge to those vociferous demands for Swaraj and self-government. In 1908, an unusual calmness settled in, in the analysis of the proposals. It was realised that without a reasonable amount of social fusion, social tolerance and a developed sense of social justice and social equality great political rights and privileges in the exercise of which selfish and clannish considerations should not enter, could not be comforted. In other words, it was tantamount to conceding that without a change in the social outlook of the people. A great political privileges could not be enjoyed with equal opportunity; and in the existing social condition there was no other alternative than to accept what the Government had offered. It was very disappointing too, that India never had been the arbitrator of her destiny but a destiny had been moulded to her. Gladstone was true when he stated in the House of Commons, that it was difficult to introduce the elective principle in an Amniotic country like India with its ancient civilisation with institutions so peculiar, with such diversities of races, religions and pursuits. He also draw attention to the danger of having persons who represented particular cliques or classes or interests and who might claim the honour of representing the people of India thus anticipating the observation of the Bombay Government, that the educated

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classes although a very small minority, appeared to claim to represent the interests of all sections, and were inclined to oppose any measure which appeared likely to lessen their influence.\textsuperscript{85} Their interests were not identical with those of the masses.\textsuperscript{86}

**The betrayal of the Swaraj movement**

The failure of the Swaraj movement owed mainly to India’s caste system and the greed with which the educated classes, who to the wanton neglect of the rest of the people of India tried to flout that Government and wrest political power. Their failure did more good to the people of India than any harm to India’s destiny. Their failure was write large on India’s constitutional development, that the Brahmins no more expressed the opinion of any other section of the people than themselves. Their unwillingness to understand India’s social problems, not to speak of any organised endeavours to reform the society, accounted for their inescapable defeat which affected their position. There was no immediate fall for them but a fall was imminent, it had begun. By leaving the ménages behind, for which there could be no parallel in history for their betrayal and in demanding Swaraj they were indeed asking for the impossible then. It was also evident that building up Parliamentary institutions, and in fixing he ratio of members, the interests to be represented and the classes which constituted the bulk of the people ought to be the determining factors rather than population.\textsuperscript{87}


\textsuperscript{86} Lord Lasington, the Governor of Bombay, Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, Vol. I, p.19.

\textsuperscript{87} Mr. Samuel Smith, Sir William Plowden and Sir Richard Temple, Papers relating to the Constitutional Proposals 1908, Vol. I, p.8
Communal Representation

The history of constitutional development in Madras revealed that the new proposals for a fresh approach to the problem of representation should not be taken at the creation of new vested interest in the country. For, after the formation of the all India Trade Union Congress, representation was provided for labour also.\textsuperscript{88} They served only as a temporary expedient in the evolution of a better representative system and helped in the evolution of a new social order. Thus, it served only as a means and not an end. The emphasis in the 1935 was more on the Depressed Class representation\textsuperscript{89} than on commercial or landed interests. This would show the purpose for which representation under Morley-Minto reforms were devised.

The proposal to associate commercial, trade and banking interests might appear some time as a device to elicit their cooperation in the light of the boycott of foreign goods and the Swadesi movement, and to safeguard British commerce. This was not so, the result produced after ten years of working was nothing less than a revolution.\textsuperscript{90} The Legislative Councils gave a representative character to all those communities above the untouchables of whom the business and industrial communities were the pioneers. Minto-Morley Reforms made representation more democratic.\textsuperscript{91} It was a conscious attempt for large scale liberation. The proposals approved by Morley were embodied in this Despatch. It was considered as the most precious document to Indians as it was the beginning of Parliamentary institutions in India in regard to Provincial administration.\textsuperscript{92} It was referred to as the kind, willing

\textsuperscript{88} The Despatches of the government of India on Constitutional Proposals, 1929.
\textsuperscript{90} \textit{Ibid.}, p.356.
\textsuperscript{91} John Morley, \textit{Speeches on Indian Affairs}, Madras 1920, p. 207.
and liberal recognition of India’s political rights and aspirations. Morley was praised for appointing two Indians earlier in the India Council. The dispatch though silent about the appointment of the Indian member in the Viceroy’s Executive Council, it dealt with the provision for an Indian member in the Legislative Councils in Bombay and Madras and in the proposed Councils for the it Governors.

**Enlargement of the Legislative Councils**

The provision for the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and the extension of their functions was as Minto described, the widest, the most far reaching and substantial. It was welcomed as a very liberal installment of change, and it was hoped that with the dawn of the new era, the recollection of the dark days through which India passed by, might disappear. Muhammadans welcomed the reform proposals as “amply satisfying the hopes of the people of British India”. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils was taken as an indication of the beginning of Provincial self-government. But it was pointed out that the merit of the scheme could be made unreal by making the non-official majority merely nominal, so as to make it powerless to assert itself owing to the division among then non-official members and the solidarity of the official side.

Minto was praised for his hearty co-operation with Morley in shaping the reform proposals. Minto’s contributions were considered significant, for his angle of vision was widely different from that of Curson, who held fast to his opinion, that reforms would not do any good to India. Moreover, Minto, unlike his predecessor,

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93 Ibid.,
95 Ibid., p. 45.
begin to suggest proposals for reform. The compliment to Morel was that, he was sincere to the reforms as it was evident that ever since he was seized of the Indian problem, after his advent as Secretary of State, he unequivocally declared in Parliament that nothing except reforms in government would improve India. Public also realised that Minto and Morley deserved the praise of every Indian because, in spite of sedition and anarchy, they, without prejudice, worked vigorously in giving the final shape to the reforms. Indians felt grateful to Lord Morley and Minto for the help they have rendered.\textsuperscript{97} The new reform proposals really fulfilled the expectations of the moderates to a large degree.\textsuperscript{98}

Doubts were expressed whether Morley’s proposals would be successful in regard to an Indian member in the Viceroy’s Executive Council.\textsuperscript{99} But this fear, though not in vain, was allayed by subsequent events and thus justified the expectations of Morley. The Muhammadans represented to Morley and Minto, that there should be two Indians in the Viceroy’s Executive Council, one Muhammadan and one Hindu. The Government explained that the inclusion of Indians was not based on representation to communities, but it depended on fitness. The principle of Morley’s recommendation was to resolve the apparent disability of the Indians to hold certain high and much-coveted appointments, though in due course Muslims were also appointed as members.

\textbf{The new responsibilities}

The great merit of the Morley-Minto scheme lies in creating a new atmosphere of cordiality, and understanding between India and Great Britain. The best Indian

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Swadesamitran}, 26 Dec. 1908, p.21.
\textsuperscript{99} \textit{The London Times} dated 11 Jan 1909, p. 35.
opinion had shown a grateful appreciation of the generous intentions of the Government and the generous way in which those intentions had been expressed in the scheme. The satisfaction expressed at the reforms could be well understood from the statement that, “An era of Parliamentary Government had not surely opened before India, but there was indeed something calculated to create a genuine interest and genuine sense of responsibility and power and of advancement of political status among Indians”. 100 Throughout India there prevailed a feeling of gratitude at the way in which both Morley and Minto had dealt with the Indian question. Evidently, Lord Morley’s scheme of reforms in Indian administration is a handsome vindication of his sturdy liberalism and far sighted statesmanship. 101

There was a criticism that the system of self-government in local areas which Lord Ripon adumbrated never received a fair trial. But the reiteration of the principles of 1882 had come in proper time Morley’s dispatches. The Municipalities and Local Boards that were inaugurated at the time of Ripon became the constitutions for the election of members especially elected non-officials.

A characteristic feature of Morley’s Despatches 102 was that even the Congress circles welcomed the proposals. One of the demands o the Congress was that the inclusion of an Indian in the Executive Councils of the Governors and the Governor General respectively. In 1900, R.C. Dutt made particular reference in his presidential address for this appointment. Enlargement of the Legislative Councils, widening its powers by the Reform Proposals was in consonance with Congress demand. What the Congress demanded was in fact readily acceded. No doubt, the extreme demands of

100 The Indian Patriot, 21 Dec. 1908, p.920.
102 Indian Review, Madras, Monthly, 1909.
the Congress was dismissed as impracticable then. It appeared that except a few, fanatical physical force extremists and anarchists, none took seriously the extreme demands, and consequently Morley-Minto proposals had the widest appeal and approbation of the Congress circles. One pro-Congress newspaper wrote “we never expected that we would have such wide and important reforms, and we never believed that Indians would be given a place in the Executive Councils. Apart from the immediate results of these reforms, they would form the basis for further reforms in the future and ultimately help the Indian people to become united”.103 The reforms were welcomed as it had given a proper share in the government to the representatives of the people. The traditional complaint that the government was not paying any head is the prayers of the Congress had come to a halt.104 The high light of the reform was that, many of those who became members of the Executive; and meet of them at the inauguration of the reform, belonged to the educated class in Madras hailed either one or the other section of the Congress.

Even though Minto-Morley Scheme did not propose responsible system of government, the provisions to give responsible position to Indians in the highest executive organ of the provinces and the Government of India was looked upon as a far reaching measure in the evolution of power into Indian hands. This was taken as a test to prove the fitness of Indians and their capacity for self-government. Urgently, it produced a sense of responsibility even to the humblest member, more especially, to the educated classes. With this result, away of the indolent missionaries and impatient idealists readily converted the moderate views. The welcome extended to

103 Swadesamitran, 22 Dec, 1908, p. 29.
104 The Hindu, 23 Dec 1909, p. 21.
the Reform proposal by the moderate section in no small degree helped to undo the unrest which subsided for the time being.\textsuperscript{105}

**The new democratic trend**

The scheme of Reform focused the attention of the public to the electorate and the constituencies. Under the changing circumstances, people realised that the armchair politics was of no avail, as it would not hold water any longer. It became necessary to educate the masses; the tremendous importance of their power and privileges were understood. The constituencies were so vast, and in many cases so widespread, and the groupings so complicated and the electorate set on a new qualification, that the total effect produced a new look to the politics to the times. Representation, as it became diffused, candidates were forced to work with real and sincerity. Inevitably, they had to prove worthy of the new rights conferred on them. As the District Board and Municipalities formed part of the constituency, villagers and their votes became important.

The Congress held in Madras, in December 1908, appreciated the Reform Scheme and condemned the anarchical outbursts in various places. The Congress session in Madras, no doubt excluded the extremists. For this, it was dubbed thoughtlessly as ‘Government Congress’.\textsuperscript{106} But the silence of the Congress on the question of separate representation was criticised as a manifestation of the deplorable failure and breakdown of the political organisation. However, it should be understood that congress deserved to be congratulated, as the moderate who dominated session had said all the utopian philosophies and had risen to the occasion to give a proper

lead to the people. Undoubtedly, Gokhala had given to the Congress in those crucial days a wider horizon of thought and moulded for it a destiny almost identical with the destiny of India.

Morley’s Reform Scheme was criticised as not embracing the untouchable communities. But it paved the way for that training of a team of men like Sir P. Theyagaraja Chetiar, Dr. T.K. Nair, the Saja of Panagal, and a score of others, who inspired by the highest ideals of humanity and justice undertook, or course with the necessary patronage and help of the government, the organisation of the depressed classes so as to make them fit for politics and representation. Thus the Morley-Minto reforms directed the national movement in India both in the political and social spheres, and to proceed democratically towards its final consummation.

The regeneration of India was not a simple political problem. It was more a social moral and religious problem. Many political reformers were either blind or deliberately closed their eyes to the social evolution and regeneration, moral improvement and religious toleration. The shameless scramble and competition among communities and classes for separate representation under the Reform Scheme three lurid light on the character of even many educated Indians. This was apart form the salutary effect of the reforms in the evolution of the society. Eve those who expressed the view that the reforms were aimed at the gradual development of self-governing institutions vied with one another in securing representation. It was realised that with what feelings these communities desired for representation, it was logical to conclude that they had not the larger vision of the country and the nation,

without which it was impossible for India to become a democratic country. All communities were on the same low moral level. There was very rarely a common cause among them. It was acid with grief that unless every community was reborn, India could not enter the blessed land of democracy.

Critics had pointed out that Morley’s reforms afforded great pleasure to lawyers and public men. First, the expanded legislative councils would afford a place for their eloquence and they could make a mark by intelligent questions. The facilities for supplementary questions provided an opportunity not to allow government to run away with what was considered as ‘curt’ replies. Secondly, the membership of the Executive council with Rs.5,000/- per mensem was a high praise that awaited them. The exalted position coupled with power and dignity was, for the first time, opened to Indians. What a Indian member could do, as an Executive member when the Executive was not responsible to the legislature, was not the question. They were undoubtedly the highest dignitaries among Indians. No doubt the choice always rested with the Government, but this had only increased the loyalty of members to the crown.

**The real position**

Morley-Minto reforms inaugurated a new era in the conferment of high offices besides the membership of the executive council, the office of the Advocate General, membership in the delegation to international conference etc. Members of the legislative Councils also did not fall to secure the post of public prosecutors. Initially, the educated classes took full advantage of these new benefits and they did not fall to praise the government in opening a new vista for them.
It was asked how far could these members solve the problem of poverty of the common people. The answer was that India was not a poor country, but a country of poor people. The strict adherence to caste trade, as caste barriers were impregnable and inviolable, kept them in small village communities without any great access to national trade of industry. Freedom in the choice of industry and trade developed only after the advent of the British. It was too much to expect a member of the Executive Council which even a whole responsible Cabinet itself could not solve so suddenly.

**Enlargement of the Legislative Councils**

According to the proceedings of the Government of Madras, in November, 1909, it had taken steps for the enlargement of the Legislative Council.\(^{110}\) The additional members of the Legislative Council of Fort St. George other than the Advocate General were enumerated according to which there were to be 19 elected members. Members nominated by the Governor was not to exceed 23 out of which not more than 16 were to be officials and one non-official from the Indian Commercial Community. A clear non-official majority was provided at the instance of Morley but there was not elected non-official majority. However, in the course of the working of the Act, the number of elected members were increased to 21.

In addition to the 42 additional members,\(^{111}\) the Governor might nominate 2 more persons officials or non-officials having expert knowledge of the subjects connected with proposed or pending legislation to be additional members of the Council. It was expressly stated that in the Regulation that it should not be lawful for the Government to nominate too many officials under these regulations and make a

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\(^{111}\) Indian Council Act, Rule 1, Sec. 6, Statute 9, Edw. 7, Ch. 4 (1909)
majority of all the members of the Council officials. Thus clearcut provisions were made for non-official majority.

**Powers of the Legislative Councils**

The powers of the Provincial Legislative Councils\(^\text{112}\) were defined as in the case of the councils Act of 1861. It could not deal with matters relating to foreign states or that of the Governor General in Council or internal matters of other states. The Resolutions should be in the form of specific recommendation addressed to the Governor in Council. The President had the authority to disallow questions. Members were given the opportunity to move resolutions and supplementary questions were allowed. Budgetary discussion was to become real and it was to be referred to a Committee consisting of not more than 12 nominated members whose remarks would receive due consideration of the officials who would prepare another draft to be placed before the Legislative Council for its final adoption. Though there was no control over the purse, there was scope for the accommodation of the opinion of members both at the Committee level and at the floor of the Legislative Council.\(^\text{113}\)

**The new Reforms Council and the cordial co-operation**

In the first meeting to the Madras Legislative Council under the Reform Act, Arthur Lawly addressing the members with a warmth of feeling said, that the reforms were introduced in Madras as per the wishes of Morley. In his experience as Governor of Madras, in his dealings with the Non-Officials even under the old regulation said, that he did not believe the statement that the non-official members opposed the Government and in his experience, they had very often supported it.\(^\text{114}\)

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\(^{112}\) *Ibid.*,  
\(^{113}\) *Desshhimano*, 26 Dec. 1908, p.7.  
\(^{114}\) *Swadesamitran*, 5 Jan. 1910, p.70.
Madras, there had always been a cordial co-operation between the members of the Legislative Council and the Government. It was really striking that in spite of many political exigencies from the days of Minto Morley Reforms, which had cevero repercussions in the rest of India, it did not affect Madras much.

**The lively interest of members in discussion**

The result of the three days discussion of the first meeting of the new legislative council in Madras gave satisfaction to the people and Government. Lord Minto’s words that the government would gain in strength by the enlarged Legislative Council became true. The fear of government about the content opposition of non-officials was also disapproved; The belief that non-officials might remain mute and play second fiddle was also falsified, for they took lively interest in the Interpellations. The Congress members were very friendly. The remark of Lord Minto\(^{115}\) in the Indian Legislative Council that the free and outspoken exchange of ideas with regard to matters affecting the welfare of the country in the enlarged councils not only benefited the administration of the country but promoted friendly relations between Englishmen and Indians had proved true in regard to Madras also. The enlargement\(^{116}\) of the Legislative Councils and the admission there in of the representatives elected by the people with liberty to discuss the most important matters of the country, gave rise to a new order in the political set up in which Indian public spirit and efficiency no doubt manifested. There was a free mixing of officials and representatives of the people and the social aloofness broke down.\(^{117}\)

\(^{115}\) No.28, *Swadesamitran*, 9 April, 1910, p.581.

\(^{116}\) *Ibid.*,

\(^{117}\) *Ibid.*,
Even in Bengal, where an element of bitterness lingered as a result of partition, the President of the Bengal Provincial conference welcomed the Reforms scheme. He criticised those sections of the people who indulged in visionary thoughts and boycotted the councils. He said, Lord Minto was destined to be one day recognised as the Simon do Montford of an Indian Parliament.\(^{118}\)

The government of Madras proposed to start a number of Model Schools\(^{119}\) throughout the Presidency. This was indeed a pioneering project to organise education on a scientific and model basis, so that it shall be an inspiring example to the private management. This was opposed by the representatives of the educated people, most of them lawyers. This was not altogether praiseworthy of them to stand in the way of remodeling the educational institutions.

**The importance of the Legislative Council**

In 1914, Government of India disallowed the practice of additional members to represent both in the Provincial and legislative Councils. No doubt there was a time when such duplication had produced no practical inconvenience. On the other hand the increase in the volume and public importance of work in both the Imperial and Provincial Councils, like the membership in the Select Committees, in the discussion of matters of general interest and in connection with financial statement and budget was a factor which could be no longer ignored. It was not possible for a member of both the Councils to discharge his responsibilities adequately, to fulfill his obligations to both these assemblies at the same time.\(^{120}\)

\(^{118}\) *Indian Patriot*, 19 Sept. 1910, p.1216.

\(^{119}\) *Ibid.*,.

\(^{120}\) G.O. No.20, 9 Feb, 1914, Legislative Department, Government of Madras.
The advantages inherent were the extension of the field of political experience consequent on the prevention of pluralism. There might be paucity of hands in the smaller and less politically developed provinces but the new demand was expected to produce the extra representation required. This was universally applied to all the Provinces.\textsuperscript{121}

\textbf{The liberal attitude of government}

Very rarely in the working of the Legislative Council, the Government of Madras vetoed any resolution. The Hon. T.V. Sashagiri Aiyar M.L.C., in 1913 remarked, surely, the balance of advantage, so far as the Government was concerned, lay in not accepting resolutions rather than in vetoing their introduction, for in the latter case it was freedom of speech and debate that was at stake.\textsuperscript{122} No fairer compliment was necessary to the freedom of speech and debate that was allowed in the Madras Legislative Council.

The discussion of the Malabar Inheritance Bill and the Malabar Partition Bill in 1912\textsuperscript{123} and the Bill of Mr. V.S.S. Sastri in 1914\textsuperscript{124} to declare the validity of marriages of Hindu women after puberty would reveal the attempts in reforming the Hindu society; but they betrayed the hesitation to accept reforms which were absolutely necessary to change the outlook of the people before any substantial political responsibility could be imparted to the Legislative Councils. However, the meetings held\textsuperscript{125} by the women of Madras in support of the post-puberty marriage Bill

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{121}Ibid.,
\bibitem{122}The Hindu, 3 Mar, 1913, p.401.
\bibitem{123}G.O.No.8, Legislative Dept., Govt. of Madras, 24 Jan. 1912.
\bibitem{124}G.O. No.148, 30 Nov. 1914, Legislative Dept., Govt. of Madras.
\bibitem{125}The Wednesday Review, 3 Feb. 1913, p.298.
\end{thebibliography}
was a pointer to the new trend in society. No doubt, there was a failure on the part of men to understand the social backwardness and the consequent evils. The significant point was that, people in general, realised that ill assorted marriages of elder with young brides, baby widows, selling boys in the marriage market, ruining families in the name of sacrament were not in accord with the teachings of the Shastras. The practices were condemned as monuments of conservations. People confessed, a more faithful and wiser interpretation of the Shastras would have revealed the prevalence of social anarchy. The orthodoxy was criticised for the perversity of mind for which there was no parallel. The introduction of the Bill in the Legislative Council had aroused an animated controversy among the Brahmin community in South India. When educated the educated classes themselves were struggling to find a way to reform themselves, it was beside the point to expect from them a proper lead to the society. However, it was salutary that they were forced to face such social questions. It was the paradox of fate that they were fighting the very customs for which they were alone responsible. It was true that their attempts were half hearted and the result always adverse.

**The greed for office by the educated classes**

The March, 1910, the Maharaja of Bobbili was appointed as the Indian member of the Executive Council in Madras. However the educated classes decried a public appointment as in the case of the Maharaja.\footnote{The Indian Patriot, 5 March, 1910, p.329.} No doubt, it was one of the important proposals to which Morley and Minto attached the greatest importance as a mark of recognition of the equality of treatment of all the British subjects. In the context of the agitation in India, the appointment of an Indian in the Viceroy’s Executive Council and in the Provincial Executives made the widest attraction to the
educate classes. This was one of the reasons why they reconciled to the reform proposals and praised Morley and Minto. But, when the Maharaja of Bobbili was appointed, they broke out in disappointment, for the simple reason that he was a Non-Brahmin. The appointment was considered as counter-poising the influence of the educated classes by the bureaucracy. They complained that one of their eminent popular leaders or public servants ought to have been selected to that high office. But the question remained as to who were the popular leaders and public servants? It was implied that they should be Brahmins. When, the appointment of an Indian ought to have been welcomed, the educated classes decried it by saying that, “we cannot congratulate either the Maharaja or the Government on the choice”.

Whatever might have been the communal sentiments in Madras, British statesman did not fail to make a proper assessment of the situation. In reply to the critics, Ramsay MacDonald rightly stated in parliament that the Maharaja had the backing of the Madras Landholders association. He also announced that the Muslim Educational Conference held at Trichy, in great enthusiasm had sent letters of congratulation to the Secretary of State. However by June 1911, the Raja resigned. Justice Krishnaswami Aiyar was appointed in his place, even overlooking the seniority of justice Sankaran Nair. It was also significant that Mr. P.R. Sundara Aiyar was appointed Judge in the place of Krishnaswami Aiyar. The general enthusiasm of the educated classes at these two appointments would show their general approach to the question of appointments. In great appreciation of the appointment of Justice Krishnaswami Aiyar they commented as an appointment in recognition of the claims

127 The Hindu, 5 Mar, 1910, p.364.
128 The West Coast Spectator, 5 Mar1910, p.364.
129 The Hindu, 23 April 1910, p.364.
of the educated Indians and those of one, who had been a prominent member of the Indian Congress party. In praising him qualifications to that high office, they emphasised that he was a judge of the High Court.\textsuperscript{130}

**The Brahmins and the Non-Brahmin reaction**

From the days Krishnaswami Aiyar, there were a chain of Brahmin succession to the office of the Executive Council. Krishnaswamy Aiyar was succeeded by P.S. Sivasami Aiyar in February 1912, and he was succeeded by P. Rajagopalacharia\textsuperscript{131} in March, 1917, and he was succeeded later by C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar. But, it was as a reaction against this avarice for office, that the Non-Brahmin movement became very strong and almost uninterruptedly fought to secure the Ministry for them under the 1919 Act.\textsuperscript{132} It was no surprise that the Non-Brahmin feeling did not fail to back the Raja of Bobbili to become the Chief Minister of Madras in succession\textsuperscript{133} to B. Munuswami Naidu in 1932.

In regard to the appointment of the Indian member in the Viceroy’s Executive Council, Mr. S.P. Sinha\textsuperscript{134} had the privilege to become a member in March, 1909. In 1910, the Governor General created an additional membership in the Executive Council to deal with the subject of Education and self-government. Government realised that there was genuine and widespread desire for the spread of technical education for the growth of indigenous industries. The new membership was meant to deal with this subject.

\textsuperscript{130} *The Hindu*, 6 June 1911, p.107.
\textsuperscript{131} G.O.No.304, 17 Mar 1917, Public Department, Government of Madras.
\textsuperscript{132} Infra Chapter III.
\textsuperscript{133} *Ibid*.,
\textsuperscript{134} *The Indian Patriot*, 24 March 1909, p.193.
The Members of the Executive Councils

The Indian members largely deepened on the Executive Council for the forestation of their policies. However, government had no apology for individual failures. In 1913, it was generally believed that the appointment of Indian member in the Imperial and Provincial Executives respectively, had not fulfilled the expectations of the people. One of the difficulties that the government experienced was in regard to the allotment of the portfolio.135 Lord Minto, on several occasions, praised the work of Mr. Sinha and that of Mr. Syed Ali Imam. Nevertheless, Indians realised that the powers of the Indian Member were limited. In general, they were forced to identify the official policy of the government. Mr. Sivswami Iyar was not successful as a member of the Executive Council in Madras. He was not criticised because the press was pro-Brahmin.136 The appointment of P. Rajagopalachariar to the Executive Council was never helpful as he was an official to which the people said, that the Morley-Minto reforms could not be put to a worse use than the virtual prolongation of his official life of a superannuated Indian official.137 His rejection of the resolution of Mr. Ramachandra Rao for an advisory council in the Districts was widely resented and a feeling of disgust prevailed throughout the Presidency.138 But such extreme criticisms were unwarranted because whether Indian or Anglo Indian, an official was not expected to comply with unworkable ideas.

In 1919, Mr. Shafi was appointed Education member in the Viceroy’s Executive Council in the place of Sir Sankaran Nair. In 1919, Sir Alexander Cardew,

137 *The United India and Native States*, 7 Feb. 1918, p.255.
who was still a member of the Executive Council of Madras, in giving evidence before the joint Committee on Indian Constitutional reforms said, the average men in the province was shrewd in regard to crops and agriculture. But, he doubted whether they were qualified to differentiate between two candidates of different political parties. He conveyed the opinion of Non-Brahmins for communal representation. With his experience in Madras, he rightly pointed out, that the influence of Brahmins was enormous, as they held all the cards, all the major points. He referred to the social circumstances where he found the necessity of public men, admitted is offices to toe either the policy of the Brahmins or to incur their hostility. He also revealed that the majority of the educated classes and so less than 74% of the lawyers, happened to be Brahmins. He tried to appraise the members of their influence in South India. He did not bids the fact that their hold on the society was predominant, and in comparison with them the Non-Brahmins were poor creatures, who could not stand against them without communal representation. Elucidation his argument, he said that the position of the Non-Brahmins was very difficult and though they were in a majority, they stood in need for protection.

But the fact remained, that Cardew was out of touch with the revolutionary changes that had taken place in society under the Minto Morley Reforms. This fact came to light when Montague asked him whether he knew the election results in Madras, held prior to the introduction of the 1919 Act. Cardew admitted his ignorance of the developments. Montague posed the question whether he would be

140 Ibid.,
141 Ibid.,
surprised to learn that the Non-Brahmins secured a majority in the elections. Cardew was really surprised at the results.

The fact was that, in August, 1919, a fresh election was held in Madras under the 1919 Act and out of the 21 elected seats, he Non-Brahmins secured 16 and the Brahmins only 5. The election results were so surprising that it was remarked, that it was the Brahmins who needed separate representation and not the Non-Brahmins. This proved that communal representation had served as a valuable adjunct in the evolution of the society. The tide of fortune had changed and he Non-Brahmins were on the move to realise their proper position in society. It was in this context that Sir Sankaran Nayar stated that further reforms, even without communal representation would greatly benefit the Non-Brahmins. Thus it was evident that the Morley-Minto Reforms had placed the society in its proper footing.

A significant reaction of the government of Madras to the evident of Cardew was that, they were much upset, for the Non-Brahmins had become much enlightened ever since the working of the reforms. In a report prepared to the Governor, the government of Madras said, that a high property qualification for Non-Brahmins would make the Non-Brahmins voters, with his otherwise high educational qualification and higher social position, less susceptible to Brahmin influence. They pointed to the shrewdness of judgment of Non-Brahmins in general who had rallied under Dr. Nayar’s party which was opposed to the Madras Presidency Association formed in 1917, a year after Dr. Nayar’s party came into existence. The reason was that the Madras presidency Association was intimately associated with the Brahmins

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142 *Kistna Patrika*, 16 August, 1919, p.1296.
and the Home Rule Movement, which the Non-Brahmins very easily distinguished. Dr. Nayar’s party rejected the proposition, to have plural member constituencies with reservation of seats for Non-Brahmins as proposed in the Madras presidency Association. For, they realised that such an arrangement would result in returning to the Legislative Council, such of those Non-Brahmin members whose views and sympathies would be sometimes identical to those of the advanced Brahmins, and who would in no way represent the views of the Non-Brahmin members of the South Indian liberal Federation which was the organisation created in November 16, under Sir P. Thyagaraja Cherty, with its official organ ‘THE JUSTICE’. Government also cited another instance to illustrate the drawn of the sense of realisation among the Non-Brahmins like Mr. Kesava Pillay, the President of the Madras Presidency Association, had himself confessed his experiences in the election. He complained that Brahmins in general did not vote for him. He not only admitted this fact but also accused them for their unfair attitude. The government of Madras had also viewed with a sense of satisfaction the trend of election results; wherever there was a Non-Brahmin majority, they had returned only Non-Brahmin candidates. From these political developments, government believed that under a reformed scheme, with an attraction of positive power, competition would become naturally sharper and inevitably Non-Brahmins would secure a majority. But the great caution with which government moved in this regard, in spite of their appreciation of the political consciousness of the Non-Brahmins would be seen from the provision for 28 seats reserved for them in the reformed councils under the 1919 Act.

145 Ibid.,
146 Ibid.,
147 Ibid.,
148 Ibid.,
Thus, the political developments that had taken place under the Morley-Minto reforms had carried the significance of the vital question of representation in the social circumstances of the country to its proper place. It was evident that, the birth of the Justice Party in Madras was mainly due to the social and political consciousness among the Non-Brahmin communities. The developments foreshadowed the democratic upheaval\textsuperscript{149} that awaited Madras.

It should be understood, that under the Minto-Morley reforms, representation to the untouchable communities were not statutorily granted. This was none of the fault of the government. When there was social ostracism, it was not easy, to raise them so suddenly. Changes ought to be made by Indians and done with care. The position of the government was evident from the answers of the government to the untouchable community. As an instance, in 1910 the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Togem in their annual general meeting passed resolution\textsuperscript{150} requesting the government to appoint a member of the Thiya community to represent the Backward Classes in the legislative Council. It was the opinion of the government that the Thiyyas belonged to the untouchable communities but who formed the most numerous among the Hindus in Malabar. Government did not fail to recognise the difficulty to place them in any particular social scale, since their status varied widely is different parts of the country. They felt, that there were already the representatives in the Legislative Council representing Malabar, namely the Hon. Raja of Kollengode and he Hon.Mr. Krishnan Nayar. Government was satisfied that Thiyyas formed only a portion of the entire population of Malabar and hence the request of the Thiyyas for a separate representation in the Legislative Council was not immediately possible. Government

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{150} Proceedings of the Madras Legislative Dept. 30 June 1910.
argued that if representation was granted to the Thiyyas, naturally the Maravas and he Shanars of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly and similar communities all over the presidency, who were struggling to rise in the social scale would demand similar concession. That was evident from the stand taken by the government, the mark of recognition of the great struggle of these communities to rise in the social ladder and a tacit acceptance of their capacity to organise politically.

The eagerness\textsuperscript{151} of the Government to give representation to these communities in the legislative council, which were in the process of expansion could be seen from their reply to the deputation of the Nadar Mahajana Sangham in 1917 for representation. Government admitted, that there was no Shanars so far appointed in the Legislative Council; however regretted that no representation was possible unless the Councils were enlarged.\textsuperscript{152} Thus, it was evident that government had equated the social position of the Thiyyas and Maravars to the Shanars and admitted the need for representation of the latter and the claim of all these communities in general in the enlarged legislative council. The Shanars were considered the highest among the lowest were still reserved for the next installment of reforms; no wonder there was no statutory guarantee for representation to the depressed classes.\textsuperscript{153} The way was still far off for a democratic set up comprising all sections of the people eventhough representations were given to both from 1919 onwards.\textsuperscript{154}

In general, government was particular that these communities should become self realising, progressive and better organised which would inevitably entitle them

\textsuperscript{151} G.O.No.87, Legislative 31 Oct. 1917, Legislative Council Department, Government of Madras
\textsuperscript{152} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{153} Montague Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Simla, 1919, p.6
\textsuperscript{154} Coupland, R., \textit{The Indian Problems 1883-1935}, London, pp. 64-71.
for representation. This was manifest from the reply to the Sourashtra community who requested claiming that they were an industrial community forming part of the manufacturing classes who comprised 20% of the population. They pointed to the policy of the government to support the industrial classes other than agricultural pursuits. They cited instances of representations to trade interest like that of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, the Madras Trades Association, the Planting Community and to Nattukottai Chettier. But the real difficulty, the government felt, was that Indian trading, banking and industrial communities were so little organised and that their interests so diverse, that it was impracticable to frame machinery for electing a representative of them all. Thus it was clear, that till these communities organised themselves more successfully the only course opened to government was nomination to represent their interests as it thought fit. But it is of lasting significance that though government declined immediate representation to these communities, it had given the blow to the high and low to organise themselves and to become progressive to be considered legitimate for representation. This was the great moral support extended to them in evolving a new social order under the impact of the Reform Act.

If ever Morley denied a Parliamentary system by his reforms, his sensations stand repudiated by the welcome results of the Act in regard to representation and subsequent developments under the Act of 1919. The announcement of 20 August, 1917 disavow Morley’s attitude and made it clear that the goal for India was parliamentary self-government as in part testified by the Montague Chelmsford Reform. But it appears that Morley had only anticipated the verdict of the Joint Parliamentary committee preparatory to the 1935 Act that it would remain true that

155 Ibid., p.72.
parliamentary Government in India might well develop on lines different from those of Westminster.\textsuperscript{156} This was because of the safeguards to be made and when they were made, the system of government lost some of the finer manifestations of a Parliamentary Government. The setbacks is India, in general prove the statement of sheering that the Hindu brotherhood is split up into innumerable clans, holding not the smallest connection with one another, acknowledging to common bond, save that of idolatory which in truth no more unites them together than does the word sand applied to here grains on the sea shore cause them mutually cohere.\textsuperscript{157}

**The Minto-Morley Reforms and the bloodless revolution**

The Morley-Minto changes modified the bureaucratic character of the government, and offering the elected members closer association with the administration. The local self-government provided the real school of political education. But the training in administration, legislation, and finance constituted the real field for learning and in this the reforms amounted, in fact to a revolution. If it was a revolution in politics, it produced a greater revolution in society, so doubt it was a silent and bloodless revolution. In 1909, the constitutional position was that, not much of a drift in the constitutional development was necessary as Rushbrook Williams\textsuperscript{158} desires, for enough had been done by this time, at least for the time being. However, it was evident that without safeguard, it was impossible to push constitutional progress further.


\textsuperscript{158} Bushbrook Williams, L.F., *India in 1919 A Report* prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26 Section of the Government of India Act of 1909, 1920, p.171.
Morley-Minto reforms were undoubtedly a heroic attempt to experiment a democratic system of government with a great emphasis on the evolution of a democratic society that would unfailingly support the system and participate in it. Morley really triumphed over difficulties and the introduction of Responsible Government in the provinces under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms after a period of the years of working as seen in 1919 was the highest credential to Morley’s statesmanship. The far reaching affects of the Reform vindicated the sagacious pronunciation of Gokhale that the Reforms amounted to a revolution.