

A LIFE
of
ANANDA MOHAN BOSE

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To

Mrs. A. M. Bose,

who had been the most devoted
and loyal associate of her
husband during his lifetime
and

inspired him to many noble works
and

whose anxious solicitude
for the completion of this
biography

has been a most helpful
stimulus to the author,
this Volume is dedicated.

PREFACE

In the preparation of this volume I have had to labour under a great disadvantage. I did not come into contact with Ananda Mohan Bose till towards the close of his active career. One who had known him in the days of his early activity, in the constructive period of his public life, when he laid the foundation of the Indian Association, the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, the City College and other public institutions, would have been the fittest person to write the biography of Ananda Mohan Bose. But as none with this much-needed qualification has so far come forward, I have myself felt called upon to undertake the sacred duty of preserving for future generations a record of the noble life of A. M. Bose.

I look upon the subject of this biography as the most complete ideal of Indian manhood to my knowledge. In the late Mr. A. M. Bose I found the best realisation of that full and harmonious development of manhood which is the highest ideal of the modern age. The memory of such a man is among the most valuable assets of a nation.

I have in this volume tried my best to give a running sketch of all the various phases of life and character which made Ananda Mohan Bose the most unique and inspiring personality of his age. How far I have succeeded, my readers alone can judge. Unfortunately for

me, there are but scanty materials from which a fair account of the strenuous and manifold activities of Mr. Bose could be pieced together. The only period about which I could find full information was the nine months spent in England during his last visit. This was carefully collected by his eldest daughter, who followed Mr. Bose to the other world in little over a year's time, and who, had she been living, would have been of much help to me in the preparation of this volume.

Very few of Mr. Bose's numerous speeches have been preserved. I could get only a few of his exquisite letters to his numerous friends, which might have thrown much light on his character. A few of his friends, as the late Babu Umesh Chandra Datta and Mr. Kali Churn Banerji, who, I am sure, would have greatly helped me in this work, passed away soon after the death of Mr. Bose. I have, therefore, it will be seen, had to work under peculiar disadvantages. I hope, however, in view of these facts, the friends and admirers of Ananda Mohan Bose will excuse the many defects of this volume.

In conclusion, I feel it a duty to make a public acknowledgement of the very great help so ungrudgingly and unstintedly rendered to me by Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Editor of the *Indian World*, and the Sister Nivedita, for which I cannot be sufficiently thankful to them. The latter has also contributed a special chapter to this volume which is published after the Introduction.

Hem Chandra Sarkar

Introduction

Amongst the leading men of modern India I know few who combine in themselves all the qualities of character which I found in my late esteemed friend, Mr. A. M. Bose. I came to know him more than forty years ago. Since then we have been associated together in many a good work. Our lives were blended together by many ties of intimate friendship. I have had many opportunities of watching him in private. The impression produced on my mind by such associations was partly expressed in the following lines, which I wrote in a memorial notice after his death :

" The world has seen and admired Ananda Mohan, the patriot, or the Cambridge Wrangler, or the gifted Advocate, or the sincere reformer, but we remember Ananda Mohan, the humble child of God, the gentle, loving, kind, forgiving and forbearing, pure, spiritual, sympathetic, and liberal member of a religious fraternity. In point of intellectual vigour and energy of will, he was a man ; but in the finer qualities of the heart, he was a woman." He was a loving husband, an affectionate father, a kind master, and a warm and devoted friend. To those who knew him intimately, his private life was far more charming and elevating than his public life. The public saw only a part of him and even that a small part, largely due to his

habitually modest and retiringness of disposition, which did not allow him to put himself to the front ; but the real greatness of his nature and the sweetness of his piety were manifest to those only who had the privilege of a nearer approach. And they have all along felt that Ananda Mohan, the private individual, was far grander and far lovelier than Ananda Mohan, the public citizen."

After the lapse of three years I feel the force of those words still undiminished, and Ananda Mohan still occupies the same place in my memory. His example is still before me, a beacon-light on the path of noble service to God and man. Self-consecration for the service of God was the secret spring of his character. He always acted from that impulse, and was unwearied in the pursuit of that ideal. The life of such a man is indeed worth recording ; though, I fear, no record of external facts can be an adequate representation of the nobility lying behind. However, our thanks are due to his present biographer, for the care with which he has compiled those external facts. Mr. Hemchandra Sarkar has succeeded in presenting in the following pages some of the most notable events and traits of Ananda Mohan Bose's life. I have no doubt that this biography will prove a most inspiring record of the most remarkable personality of our age.

CALCUTTA,
January, 1910.

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Sivanath Sastri

ANANDA MOHAN BOSE AS A NATION-MAKER

Great men live by divine inspiration, and not till they have passed away is the plan revealed of which they formed a part. Not by themselves, nor by those about them, is the full significance guessed, of all their words and deeds. They were thought to be but hammering in the smithy, and lo, when the day was done, new weapons lay forged in the armoury, and the trumpets were found in readiness, that at sunrise would summon the hosts! Greatest of all leaders are they who face the hardship of the desert, but set no foot themselves on the soil of the promised land. Of such souls, walking by faith and not by sight, simplicity is the one enduring characteristic—a simple sincerity, that is child-like in its transparency. They stand absolutely at the disposal of their own conscience. They live only a moment at a time, babbling neither of yesterday nor to-morrow: and yet to do them justice it is essential that we fathom the whole drift and movement of history. Of them, no one who reads the quiet pages of this short biography can doubt that there has lately been one amongst us, and his name was Ananda Mohun Bose.

No other proof of the unquenchable vitality of India is so convincing as the number of great men that she has produced, during the last two generations, in spite of all that tends to moral chaos in an age of transition. Only by the marvellous selflessness of one after another of mighty intellect has she been able to hew out a path to light and air and clearness of vision through the im-

measurable obscurity and confusion of the period. Selflessness, working in combination with a powerful brain, means a sustained ability to live in the communal, instead of the individual, interest. In India, bestowing a burning thirst for the good of the People and the Soil, it creates the Nation-makers, the men who pilot their countrymen through the rocks and shoals of experiment in new forms of self-organisation, never allowing them to think any of these an end in itself, but keeping the ultimate goal always before them. It is this quality of selflessness that determines the mutual rank of national workers. Politicians and journalists, demagogues and organisers, are all subordinate in reality to these captains of character, these spiritual chieftains, the men of an idea, who, for their part, may be found in any position, high or low.

Ananda Mohan Bose was a village boy. His childhood was passed under the old *regime*. He could remember being lifted out of bed at midnight and carried to do obeisance before the image of Kali, at the yearly *pujas*. The codes and memories of his early home were representative of all that for centuries had been regarded as finest in Bengali tradition. Uma Kishori, his mother, was of the grandest type of the old Indian womanhood. Even now her portrait remains, with its haunting beauty, to tell of the austerity and dignity of her long widowhood. This second and most distinguished of her three sons, must, even in his babyhood, have been her special pride, for she would hold long

converse with old women of the village, about the wondrous omens that, to her own heightened consciousness, had seemed to attend his birth. Nor is there surely anything to smile at in these fond imaginings. It is true that signs and portents are not visible and audible to all. But when the great souls make their advent into life, why should their mothers, whose arms receive them on its threshold, not be made aware?

By the best of the old, then, was A. M. Bose prepared for the task of acquainting his people with the best of the new. Throughout his life, in spite of disappointments and reverses, he could cherish a high-hearted belief in man, he could welcome goodness and sincerity under all shades of opinion, he could maintain relations of cordiality and affection, even with those from whom he differed most painfully, because from his very birth he had been surrounded by the honourable, the courteous, and the dutiful, and had been impressed still more by the ideals than by the institutions of his homeland. The service of the common-wealth may be one of the noblest forms of *sannyas*; and here, as in the religious orders, the law holds that good homes make great monks; that the sanctity of the family renders possible the loftiness and disinterestedness of the public life.

The inspiration that shines out through the career of A. M. Bose is clear and unconfused. To use an old phrase, he who runs may read. Simply, *citizenship is an ideal as high as sainthood*. His manifold activities and achievements merely formed the garb

through which he realised himself as a citizen. To this idea he gave his life. All religions are religions of human sacrifice, and whether he himself was aware of it or not, the integrity and devotion of citizenship was the religion of this man, and upon its altar he made himself an offering. His initiation into Brahmoism was his means of clearing the arena, of arriving at simplicity of aim. Men of the highest type can follow no guide but conscience. It is nothing to them, whether others look upon the results as great or little. Over hill and valley, marsh and desert, they must follow. Like all the men of his time, A. M. Bose was born to the assumption that that form of activity which we call religion was the soul's whole sphere, and the little group of fellow-believers its true home. Nor did he ever falter in these convictions. Only he lived to vindicate the fact that the whole synthesis of conscience is one's religion ; and that every part of a vast nation may, to a man's heart, form a single church !

The choice of a religion, and that a religion involving social penalties, could not but be his first assertion of independent manhood. But even here, he was destined to suffer and to struggle on behalf of the real underlying principle of his life—the equal right of all to self-expression and self-direction. In the simple account here given, by his disciple and friend, of the formation of the Universal Brahmo Samaj, we can all see that the necessity for a new body had sprung, in fact, from no personal difference regarding family matters, between a

minister and his flock, but from the far deeper question of the need of a constitution, which should give rights of expression and representation to all, and be equally binding upon the leader and the led. There is no such thing as the submission of free men to persons, however much they may be attracted by them. There is merely the instinct to follow that soul which is itself most obedient to the stress of the ideal. The ruler who breaks the law is already deposed. It is this strong perception of law and equality that to this day makes the Sadharan Brahma Samaj so valuable to India, as a training-school for the civic life and ideals. A few honourable men, tight-knit amongst themselves in united conceptions of the national needs, highly educated, and acknowledging common standards of work and integrity, make a nucleus whose worth is admitted gladly, even by those who differ from them. But how constant must be the farewells of those who strive only for the Right! First a man must turn his back on the most cherished beliefs and associations of his childhood. Then he must needs come again to a parting of the roads, and watch even his newly-chosen companions out of sight, ere he shoulders his load, and takes up his staff once more, to set forth on the lonely path to the peaks he has sighted. Of many who felt themselves impelled upon the formation of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj in 1878, this must have been true, and of none more so, than of those who, like Ananda Mohan Bose, were still young, and had already, out of conviction, abandoned orthodox

society. To such was spoken the stern benediction of Walt Whitman, "What beckonings of love ye receive, ye shall answer with passionate kisses of parting." In good sooth, they who follow the path of truth, with its perpetual renunciations, create little jealousy, but they gather no partisans !

The brilliant intellectual successes which marked the opening of Mr. A. M. Bose's career were as the feats of horsemanship by which a skilled rider finds his rank in the field ; they secured him a leading place in India, and in England they opened the door to his meeting with the best. We must never forget that he saw Europe at its noblest and that the two ideas he brought away were Popular Education and Constitutionalism. The story of his labours for these two causes, told now for the first time in connected form, will probably be a revelation, even to those who knew him best. One could not have believed that a single life could accomplish so much: And always we note the characteristic of greatness. When the brunt of the battle has been borne he resigns the flag into other hands. He desires that no movement shall be hampered by the persistence of his personality. He thinks only of the end in view, and appears to be without any attachment to the fruits of his own work. The fact that he had had all the labour and trouble of creating the Indian Association, and organising its yearly Conferences, in no way clouded the the sunshine of the welcome he accorded to Hume, when he took up the idea of the

National Congress. He gladly acknowledged the superior advantages of the larger scheme, and gave up his own in order to make more room for it. In similar fashion, when he had been eight years Hon. Secretary of the Indian Association, he insisted on resigning, for no reason but that others might have an opportunity of sharing the honour. And, in spite of all that he had done for its initiation, after two years' presidency of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, he insisted on retiring to make way for someone else. It was only in answer to insistent demands, that he consented five years later, on the death of his successor, Mr. Shib Chandra Deb, to resume his old task and position of President. Anywhere but in India such disinterestedness would have seemed quixotic, making for the instability of the organisation. But India was ever the land of saints, and the citizen of the new age is but the saint of the old transformed.

The democratic aspiration after liberty, equality, and fraternity, was, consciously or unconsciously, as the breath of his nostrils to A. M. Bose. Even in religion, as we have seen, he aimed at this. He came back from his years at Cambridge, believing that the quintessence of the English genius lay in that organised political life which represented England's ideal of democratic freedom. He could not but trust in the English people. Some of the most generous hearts in that country had been proud to admit him to their warm confidence and affection. The friend of Fawcett,

Gladstone, and Ripon, could not base his work on a careful calculation of foreign limitations ! With all the ardour of the strong, he flung himself into the task of organising the political opinion of India. His work issued in the formation of the Indian Association, with its many achievements, paving the way for that constitutional agitation of the last twenty-five years, which has had the National Congress as its organ and mouth-piece. Pursuing his belief, again, to its logical issue, as he never shrank from doing, he shattered his own health, in 1895, by the vigour of the campaign in which he brought the needs of India before the English electorates—a campaign, which, so far as England was concerned, was entirely barren of political result. The long disillusionment of Lord Curzon's appointment, and the Education Bill of 1904-5 followed. Lying on his sick-bed, he heard of the famous speech at Convocation, and went through the national agony over the impending Partition.

But the glory of the truth-seeker lies in openness to new truth. No egotism can blind him whose whole heart has been spent in the single-hearted quest of right. The spirit of man marches ever onward, and dreams of the past cannot hold it back. The supreme test of Mr. A. M. Bose's political life came to him on his death-bed, and he was not found wanting. Suddenly, the Indian people awoke to the realisation that their future depended on themselves alone ; that Nationality, not Constitutionalism, was henceforth to be

their watchword; that nation-building, not political organisation, was the task before them. In that hour there was found one man, clear-eyed enough to see that the story of the past was a tale only of experiments; high-souled enough to acclaim that banner round which the armies of the future were already gathering; and by universal consent worthy to confer the chrism and *abhishhek* of a new life on the Indian Nation of the dawning age. Few men have attained the spiritual triumph of giving welcome and benediction to that ideal which supersedes all for which they themselves have worked and striven. A. M. Bose however, did this by instinct, and with his whole heart. Never did it occur to him that he had worked for anything but the Motherland. Never did he dream that his labours or his party had been anything in themselves. And this perfect selflessness—making such conduct seem to himself only simple and natural, keeping him never for a party, always for the whole,—marked him out for the part of high-priest at the great ceremony of Oct. 16th 1905, and made of his presence there, clad in the sanctity of approaching death, not a political demonstration merely, but a nation's birth and consecration.

There is no need to labour the tale. Like most of those born for mighty ends, he was grand and debonair in all the relationships of life. The men who lived in his shadow for thirty years, and submitted their lives to his shaping hand, found him greater with every day

that passed. He was inflexible in the maintainance of justice, gentle and compassionate in the confidence of intimacy, and absolutely catholic in his appreciation of the doings and deservings of others. That Indian man who had achieved, whether much or little, might be sure of his delighted encouragement and praise, no matter what might be his relation to himself, or his party. For an account of the inspiration he could give, we have but to turn to the Congress over which he presided, to the movements he initiated, to the men he made. Like all of his calibre, we may well believe that he had glimpses, far beyond the common, of those mountain-heights to which the spirit climbs, to walk with God. And like them, above all, he was full of simplicity. In his innermost being, he held perpetual converse with the infinite. It is doubtful how much of a man's diary we have a right to see, but assuredly in proportion to his greatness will be the childlikeness we find there.

Ananda Mohan Bose, born two hundred years earlier, would have been an Indian saint. Born in our own time, and as strong now, as then, in the national righteousness, he became a citizen, the forerunner of a great new knighthood of the Civic Order. God grant that he, and the men he touched, prove but the first generation of a type that shall sway the future! God grant that, pure, sweet, and incorruptible as was he, even so there may be millions to follow him, in all the self-chosen labour and sacrifice of nation-building for the Motherland.

बन्दे मातरम् ।

Nivedita
of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda

APPENDIX

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. BOSE

AT THE FOURTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Held at Madras, December, 1898

Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When the heart is full, fewest and simplest words are the best. Let me, therefore, only say I thank you most sincerely for the honour you have done me by electing me as your President—one so unworthy of the honor, so conscious of his deficiencies. Permit me to ask for your good wishes that I may not wholly fail to discharge the arduous duties to which your voice has called me, that, still not fully recovered from the effects of a recent illness, strength may be given me to be not wholly inadequate to the responsibilities that devolve on me. It is to your kindness and your sympathy, that I look for that help which I need to enable me to preside over your deliberations in the Session now opening before us, and I am sure I do not ask for this in vain.

MR. GLADSTONE

Brother-Delegates, as I rise to address you, my thought goes to that dear land with which it has pleased Providence in its kindness to link the destinies of this great and ancient country. Ladies and Gentlemen this I believe is the first meeting of the Congress, since its birth, from which no message of congratulation on his returning birthday will go to the great Englishman—the greatest of his age—whose earthly career came to its end on the Ascension Day of the year now about to close. On every 28th of December, as it came back, it was the privilege of the President of the Indian National Congress to ask for your authority—and that authority was given with glad enthusiasm—to send a telegram

of felicitation to Mr. Gladstone. That privilege will not be mine. That duty henceforth will remain unperformed. The saintly statesman to whom—as to Savonarola of old, the fourth centenary of whose martyrdom falls too on this year—politics was a part of his religion; the Christian warrior who fought the fight of freedom for England, and not for England alone; whom Bulgaria and Greece, whom Armenia and Italy, yea, even distant India, mourns no less than his own country; the friend of the weak and the helpless in whatever tongues their wails might be uttered; the “bravest of the brave” in every good cause, however hopeless, as Lord Rosebery described him in the oration in the House of Lords which will live, has gone to his rest amid the tears of a united nation. Never was the strife of parties so hushed, the deepest love of the country so drawn, its noblest feelings so stirred, as when that great soul departed this life. “In the use of all his gifts,” said the Archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul’s, “there was ever the high purpose, ever the determination, to the utmost of his knowledge and power, to obey the law of God.” It was my privilege to visit in humble reverence the room in Liverpool where Mr. Gladstone first saw the light. I lived for a few days opposite to that room as the guest of one of the dearest friends I made in England. It was my privilege to stand beside his grave in the Abbey, which is the last resting place of the greatest of that land, and to take part with Englishmen of all parties in many demonstrations in his honor. And if it is not my privilege to-day, standing in this place, to send any earthly wire to Mr. Gladstone, let us all in this great gathering—the greatest and the highest that educated India knows—with bowed heads, take to hearts his great memory, cherish with affection the lessons of his noble life, and send our spirit’s greetings of love and reverence to him in that world which he has now entered, and where perchance affection’s messages are not wholly lost.

THE NEW VICEROY

Ladies and Gentlemen, I should have liked to dwell on some of the lessons of that life—lessons of special import to us, and not to us only, but to those also in whose hands God has entrusted the government of this country, and the fate for

weal or woe of its vast population. But from the great Englishman who has passed away, let us turn to another Englishman—the greatest by virtue of his position during his stay amongst us, the august representative of our Beloved Sovereign—who to-morrow will land on India's shores. I am sure, Brother-Delegates, I give expression to your unanimous feeling when, on your behalf, I tender our cordial welcome to Lord Curzon. There is no higher wish I can express for him than that when the time comes for him to step down from his exalted office, he may carry with him, from the people of this country, some portion of that blessing and that love which have followed Mr. Gladstone on quitting the scene of his earthly labours from many nations and many lands, that he may find a place in their hearts by the justice and the righteousness of his rule, and reign there when the external emblems and pomp of power—how temporary after all—will have been laid aside. I know of no higher or more unique responsibility than that which appertains to the office of the Viceroy of India, called upon to bear the burden of guiding the destinies for happiness or misery of nearly three hundred millions of fellow-beings in a distant and an unfamiliar land—a responsibility which might tax the energies and try the powers of the most gifted and the most capable of men, which requires for its fulfilment the highest qualities not only of the head, but also of the heart; the precious gift of sympathy with those who have no vote or voice, the divine gift of the insight of the spirit which can see, can enter into and realize, the feelings of an unfamiliar people, no less than the cool head and the sober informed judgment, the administrative skill and the ripe experience. His Lordship's recent utterances fill us with hope. To exhibit British power inspired by the ideal of Christ, based therefore, may we not say, on the Law of Love and the Golden Rule, to treat the men of the East as if they were of like composition with the men of the West, to be fired with sympathy with all races, creeds and classes of Her Majesty's subjects, is indeed a basis of statesmanship and a standard of success worthy of the high office to which His Lordship has been called. May He Who is the Common Father of us all, and to Whom all nations are as one, give to our coming Viceroy strength and guidance and grace to carry

out this ideal and fulfil these hopes ! To Lord Curzon will fall the honor of carrying for the first time British Administration of a United India to a New Century. May that Century open in sunshine and brightness and hope, free from the shadows which linger over the land not only from the calamities of nature, but also from the weaknesses of man !

AN ERA OF DOMESTIC REFORM

The new Viceroy will take charge of affairs at a time not devoid of anxiety. I will not refer here to questions of Frontier Policy. They have been discussed during the year both in England and India. Lord Curzon has been credited with "advanced" views on the Frontier question. But as the result of that discussion by the light of further experience since the statesmanlike policy of Lord Lawrence and the distinguished men who followed him has been reversed, and on a nearer study of the financial and other urgent and pressing needs of the Empire entrusted to his care, all India, irrespective of creed or nationality, ventures earnestly to hope that His Lordship will direct his great capacity and his great energy to initiating an era of domestic reform, of educational progress and industrial development, and leave a contented, prosperous and progressive India with its countless millions, as the best bulwark and the strongest defence, yea, as an *invulnerable* barrier, against any foreign foe who may be misguided enough to assail India's peace or threaten India's frontier.

A VITAL PROBLEM

But if I will not in this Address discuss questions of External Policy, as such, and except in their relation to questions of domestic progress, let me refer to an unhappy, and if not checked, even disastrous tendency which has within the last few years manifested itself in regard to questions of Internal Policy, and which deserves far more attention than it has yet received. So vitally important to the welfare of India and to the honor and interest of England do I consider this matter to be, so essential to the clearing of misapprehensions and to mutual understanding, to the restoration and growth of that feeling of sympathy, love and confidence

between the rulers and the ruled, which is the necessary basis of good government, that with your permission, Brother-Delegates, I shall make this my main theme to-day, and devote the principal part of the time at my disposal to an examination of the facts which shew the existence of this tendency and its vigorous growth, of the consequences of its existence, of its remedy, and some subjects intimately connected with it. In the present crisis I feel, and I am sure you will agree with me, we cannot attempt to do a greater service, alike to the Government and to the people, greater service to the cause of good administration, than to draw prominent attention to this important problem.

THE DARK TIDE OF RE-ACTION

Ladies and Gentlemen, it has sometimes been a question in the past, as no doubt it will sometimes be in the future, as to the *rate* of progress in the concession of the elementary rights of citizenship to the people of this country. But slow and cautious, to many thoughtful minds even too tardy, as the advance has been, an advance once made has never been retracted, a concession to freedom once granted has never been withdrawn, progress and not retrogression, growing confidence and not unworthy re-action, nearer approach and not wider separation, attempt at fulfilment of pledges solemnly and sacredly given and not their practical cancellation, has been so long the usual order of things in the British administration of this country. This is the foundation on which all the best statesmen of the past, all the noblest Englishmen whose privilege it has been to take part in the government of the country, and of whose memory England is proud to-day, have built up the splendid fabric of the Indian Empire. Once indeed, exactly twenty years ago, a reactionary piece of legislation found its way into the Statute Book. I refer, I need hardly say, to the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. But the potent voice of the great English people made itself heard, and it was not allowed long to stay there. It was soon withdrawn, and the speedy reversal of that retrograde legislation served only still more to emphasize and to confirm the permanent policy of steady advance to which I have referred, a policy so worthy of the honor, of the glorious traditions and

the best interests of the country with which Providence has linked our fate. Some of us fought in the dark days of that happily temporary period of re-action ; and I vividly remember the perils and the difficulties amid which we fought. Let me ask you, Brother-Delegates, to take to heart the augury afforded by that reversal, and to feel assured that if only we are earnest, if only we do our duty and labour on and faint not, the innate sense of justice of the British people will not long allow the far darker tide of the present day to roll on.

I have charged the Government with re-action, with reversing the wise and beneficent policy of the past. I confess it is a heavy indictment to bring. I should be happy indeed—none happier—if I could think or find that I am mistaken in the view I have taken. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot shut out from my view stubborn facts which crowd around me. Let me place before you a few of those facts—they are only a sample—taken from the history of the last two years, in proof of this charge, which it is no pleasure, but deep pain to bring.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

The first perhaps in point of time is what is euphemistically known as the "Re-organization of the Educational Services in India," contained in the Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, dated the 23rd July 1896, but which came into effect later on. I cannot enter into the details of the matter, but let me briefly present the salient features of the situation. The dates I shall give relate to Bengal. Probably the same dates apply to the other Provinces also. There are three stages in the history of this matter shewing the course of the backward march. The first was when the higher Educational Service of the country was organized and the Graded System introduced, now a little more than thirty years ago. The gracious promises and the noble word of Her Majesty the Queen on the assumption of the direct Government of India, which will ever live in our hearts and will form the charter of our rights, were then fresh in the people's minds and had not been forgotten ; and to the *highest* grades of that Educational Service, natives of India were then admitted on exactly the same footing as their

English fellow-subjects. There was no difference either in position or in pay based on race or nationality, but merit had an equal recognition in whomsoever of the Queen's subjects, Indian or English, it was found. This policy of the "Open Door" was not merely on paper and in profession, but was invariably carried out, a great many natives of India actually rising to the highest and other grades in the Service, and receiving the same pay as their English brethren in those grades. Then came the second stage. This in Bengal was about twenty years ago. The highest appointments in the Education Department still remained, as of old, freely open to the natives of India, but it was ruled that they were to receive only two-thirds of the pay of their English colleagues doing the same work. And now in 1896 came the last stage of all. The status of Indian members in the higher ranks was still further lowered, their pay was still further reduced from two-thirds to virtually one-half of their English colleagues; and sadder still, they were now, for the first time, excluded from certain of the higher appointments in the Department. In Bengal, for instance, Principalships of five of the leading Colleges, besides several other appointments, are henceforth to be reserved for members of what is to be known as the "Indian Service," so called apparently because under the new Scheme there are practically to be no Indians in that Service. There is the word "usually" in the sentence which restricts natives of India to the Provincial Service; but, as we know, in spite of every effort and repeated application, no Indian has yet been appointed by the Secretary of State in England. Natives of India, educated in the highest Universities of England, possessing the same or even much higher qualifications than their English colleagues, of the same standing and doing the same work with them, are to get half or less than half of the pay of the latter, are to be excluded from the higher positions open to the latter, and may have to serve as their subordinates. I ask you, Brother-Delegates, is a *new* barrier now to be erected against the people of this country? Is a *new* policy of reservation and exclusion, based on considerations of race and colour, to be now inaugurated in India after sixty years of Her Gracious Majesty's beneficent reign? Is the stream of liberty for the people of India, and of their

rights, to be a broadening, widening, deepening stream, or is it to be a narrowing, dwindling, vanishing channel, like some sacred rivers of old lost in the sands? Is this the way in which effect is to be given to the gracious words of our Noble Queen promising equal and impartial treatment for all classes of her subjects, to the solemn pledges of the British Parliament, and the repeated assurances of our Rules? The worst of it is that so far as we can judge from the Resolution—and it is a lengthy document—this aspect of the question does not appear to have been even considered by the Government of India. To tell you the truth, I would give a great deal to have the opportunity of a face-to-face discussion with the authors of the Scheme, so indefensible is the measure, and so strong are the facts of the case. May we not hope that Lord Curzon will some day find time to look into the matter for himself, and redress the wrong that has been perpetrated?

EXCLUSION FROM ROORKEE

My next sample will also relate to matters educational. I purposely select them, for they, at any rate, cannot have any mysterious political reasons to influence their decision.

Will it be believed—a distinguished Anglo-Indian gentleman before whom I mentioned it in England would *not* believe it—that the privilege of admission to the Engineering Class at Roorkee, the most important and advanced in India, and of competition for its appointments, which was freely open to all Statutory Natives of India till the year 1896, is no longer so open? From the year which of all others ought to have been the gladdest of years to us—the year to which we had looked forward with longing hope for fresh privileges and added rights—the year of Her Gracious Majesty's Diamond Jubilee—from that year this privilege has been withdrawn from "Natives of pure Asiatic descent whose parents or guardians are domiciled in Bengal, Madras and Bombay." I cannot congratulate the Government on this further carrying out of the policy of exclusion, of the policy of creating new barriers, of the shutting in of the "Open Door." But it seems there is to be wheel within wheel, exception within exception. It is only the pure Natives of India of the Provinces named who are to be shut out. Children of

European or Eurasian parents, or even of Hottentots and Negroes, settled and domiciled in those Provinces may enjoy all the privileges as of old. They will continue to have the appointments from the Roorkee College still open to them, to have the advantage of selecting whichever Engineering College in India they like for their education. It is no wonder perhaps that I should have heard some very unworthy motives ascribed for a proceeding so extraordinary as this. I will not repeat them, I cannot and will not believe them. But allow me to point out that here, before our very eyes, is the creation of a new disqualification founded on considerations of race. If this is not a reversal of the policy of the past, which recognized no distinction of race, colour or creed, at any rate at Roorkee, will any of our Anglo-Indian friends kindly tell us what reversal means, and if this is not going backward, taen what the definition of that process may be? May we respectfully ask how long is this process to continue? Is a ukase to issue shutting, say the doors of the Presidency College or the University at Calcutta against the people of the N.-W. Province or the Punjab, against the students of Madras or of Bombay, on the ground that they have Universities of their own? Or why confine ourselves to India? I could sooner imagine my sinking to the bowels of the earth than of my own University of Cambridge, or of my own College of Christ's with its bright memories of kindness which I can never forget, shutting its doors or refusing its prizes to natives of India, even though they be guilty of the crime of being of "pure Asiatic descent." The Bombay Presidency Association, the Indian Association of Calcutta, and I believe other Associations sent Memorials to the Government of India against this exclusion, rendered not more palatable or more justifiable by reason of its grossly invidious character; but to no avail. The Government see no reason, the memorialists are informed only in July last, "at present to re-open the matter." May we be permitted to think that in the words "at present" there is some door yet left for hope?

IMPRISONMENT IN BRITISH INDIA WITHOUT TRIAL

Let me now come to the matter of the brothers Natu, two prominent citizens of Poona, imprisoned without trial, detained

in jail without charge, without even any knowledge on their part as to what they were suspected of having done in spite of repeated requests for such information, denied all access to their legal advisers, never taken before a Judge or a Court, deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period depending on the pleasure of the authorities, and all this by virtue of an administrative or executive order. Is it necessary to point out that imprisonment without trial is repugnant to the most elementary principles of British Justice? Into the melancholy history of the shifting accounts which were allowed to leak out as to what these unfortunate people were suspected to have done, it is not necessary for me to enter into any detail. Suffice it to say that we were first told, on high authority, that of the Secretary of State for India himself, that the result of their arrest would be to unraval a plot. Nearly eighteen months have passed since then. May we ask if that plot in which the Natus were concerned has yet been unravelled, and what the particular plot was? We have not the slightest sympathy with them if they have done anything wrong. But the plot theory by the stern logic of facts had soon to be given up. We were then told, on the same high authority, that one or both of the Natus, it is not quite clear which was meant, had been guilty of playing some "tricks." He or they had threatened a midwife by writing a letter to her, and had attempted to corrupt or pervert a Policeman. The most diligent inquiry has hitherto failed to elicit any information as to who this threatened midwife and this incorruptible Policeman could be, or anything as to this mysterious letter and its writing. Is it necessary to mention the famous Pigott case to show the danger of an *ex parte* investigation—if indeed there has been *any* investigation at all in the present case—even when it is conducted with the highest skill and the greatest sense of responsibility? What the next version of this affair may be we cannot yet say. If indeed no trial could be held, if indeed there be no provision for these "tricks" in our Penal Code, the most drastic in the world, the most easily changeable at the will, and to suit the will, of the authorities, as we know to our cost, is there any reason why there could not at least be a departmental inquiry in the presence of the unhappy victims of this arbitrary order,

in which they could be told of their offence, confronted with their now anonymous accusers, and asked for their defence? Englishmen point, and justly point, the finger of scorn at Russia for her arrests by administrative order and detentions without trial. I presume these are authorised by the laws of that land. All England, irrespective of party or class, yea, the whole civilized world outside France, has denounced in the strongest terms the condemnation of Dreyfus; because though he knew what the charges were which he had to meet, though he was put on his trial and defended by counsel, though witnesses against him were examined in his presence and cross-examined by that counsel, though he had every opportunity to put forward his defence, yet there was *one* document shewn to his Judge who condemned him which was not shewn to him or his advocate—and that on the ground that the divulging of that document was fraught, in the opinion of the responsible Ministers of France, with grave political danger to the country, involving the risk of war with a neighbouring Power. I will not pause, Ladies and Gentlemen, to compare, to present in sad and melancholy contrast, the circumstances of that case which has been so universally denounced by all Englishmen, with the circumstances of the case of the Natus.

It may be said, I have heard it said, that after all it is a question affecting two men out of the many millions of India, with regard to whom Government may possibly have made a mistake; and this need not have any very disturbing effect. Are they who say this aware, is the Government aware, of the sense of insecurity, of the breach in that feeling of absolute confidence in the majesty of law and the security of person which is the greatest glory and the noblest bulwark of British Rule, yea, of the unmanning and even terrorizing influence over many minds, produced by these proceedings? Whose turn will come next, on whom and at what moment may this sword of Damocles suddenly fall, is a question which has been asked by many amongst not the least notable of our land. I am glad, however, Ladies and Gentlemen, to inform you that the humble individual who is now addressing you has an unknown Lancashire working-man protector for himself. I may tell you the little story.

The incident may interest you, as it interested and even touched me at the time. At the conclusion of a meeting, I think it was at Oldham, in which I had taken part, several of the audience came up to speak to me ; and I happened to mention that should it please the Government so to act, which I trusted it would not, there was nothing to prevent their dealing with me on my return to India as they had dealt with the Natus. I shall not easily forget the scene that followed. One of my hearers, a working-man I believe, with indignation and excitement depicted on his face, told me—We know you, Sir. Should the Government treat you in this way, Lancashire men will know the reason why. I am sorry to say, Ladies and Gentlemen, I forgot to ask his name, or to note down his address. But, as I told him, I trust his interference on my behalf will not be needed.

THE NEW LAW OF SEDITION.

I shall not dwell on the next sample I have to present of the re-actionary policy of the last two years—the recent amendments in the Law of Sedition and in the Criminal Procedure Code. These will, no doubt, form the subject of a specific Resolution to be submitted at the Congress. Let me only observe in passing that to make more Draconian a law which in every case in which it had been tried of late had proved only too effective, and to class speakers on public platforms and editors of papers with rogues and vagabonds and notorious bad characters who are liable to be called upon to furnish security for good behaviour, and to be sent in default to jail, is not the part of wisdom or statesmanship ; that to *add* to the Judicial powers of the Executive officers of the Government, instead of curtailing and withdrawing them, is sinning against the light, is proceeding against a principle which had obtained the fullest recognition in the highest quarters, including the two last Secretaries of State for India, Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross. Cases of alleged sedition which were so long triable only by a purely Judicial officer with the help of Jury or Assessors, may now, for the first time in the history of British India, be tried by the District Magistrate who is the head of the Police, and Head Executive or Administrative officer of the Government in the District.

and that too without such help. Is it any wonder that a measure whose character I have but briefly indicated above, has met with an amount of opposition, irrespective of race or party, in India and out of India—and perhaps in this connection I may be permitted specially to mention the name of Mr. Maclean, the Conservative Member for Cardiff,—which is absolutely unique in the history of Indian Legislation ?

OTHER RE-ACTIONARY MEASURES.

Brother-Delegates, I might go on with the story of reaction—it has been a plenteous crop in these two years—but I will not do so. I will not dwell on the story of the imposition of a Punitive Police Force on a whole city, impoverished and plague-stricken, for the guilt of one or two men ; of the series of Press Prosecutions ; of the institution of that new thing in India known I believe as Press Committees, and whose history our friend Mr. Chambers, whom we welcome here to-day, so eloquently told before many English audiences ; of the numerous repressive and retrograde provisions, euphemistically called amendments, introduced in recent legislative enactments, and of many other matters which will readily occur to your minds.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL BILL.

But permit me to take up a little of your time by referring to a measure of retrogression which is still on the legislative anvil, I mean the Calcutta Municipal Bill. I do so to illustrate how the tide of re-action of which I have spoken is still flowing, and I do so because though this is a local measure, if it is carried, if the metropolis of India is deprived of the power of Local Self-Government which it has enjoyed so long and with such marked success, a precedent will have been created—and a blow will have been struck at a cause on which rest all hopes of India's future progress—the effect of which will be felt far and wide. The privilege of Municipal Self-Government, of control by the rate-payers over Municipal administration through their elected representatives, which Calcutta now enjoys and has enjoyed for more than twenty years, was granted under Conservative auspices. Sir Richard Temple—a name remembered with gratitude in Bengal—who

was our ruler then, and who resigned a Governorship to become a Conservative Member of Parliament was its author, and the present Prime Minister of England was Secretary of State for India at the time. The great and numerous improvements carried out by the Corporation, and the zeal and devotion of the Commissioners, have been acknowledged by the Government time after time in official Resolutions, and in other ways. If there are any insanitary conditions, there is the amplest power in the hands of the Government under the existing law, and expressly introduced in that behalf, to cause their removal. And yet it is now proposed to make a radical and a revolutionary change in the law, to deprive the Corporation of almost every real power, and to vest it in a Chairman, who is an official and a nominee of the Government, and a Committee in which the ratepayers will be represented by a mere third of its members. I venture to hope that the popular and esteemed ruler of Bengal, who is not responsible for the introduction of the present Bill, will yet see his way at least to largely modify, if not to withdraw, this revolutionary proposal, and not allow his name to be associated with a scheme which makes not for progress, but for retrogression, which will undo the work of the past, fatally arrest the hopeful and promising growth of civic life, destroy the very principle of Local Self-Government, seriously weaken and impair the cause of Municipal Administration, and leave memories of bitterness for all time behind. And may I not in this connection make a very special appeal to our coming Viceroy? He comes out to India as the representative of an administration whose most glorious and memorable achievement—an achievement which will live in the golden pages of history and shed lustre on that Administration—has been the granting of Local Self-Government to the people of Ireland, granting it amid many difficulties and against much opposition, and at the very time when faction fights and armed conflicts were going on in the streets of Belfast. And indeed so convinced were the Government of the need for this liberal measure of Self-Government as a cure for the evils which afflict that country, and for the growth of a healthy public life, that they did not hesitate to make a munificent grant of, I believe, about seven

hundred thousand pounds, or more than a crore of Rupees *per annum* to Ireland from the Imperial Treasury, to enable the provisions of this measure to be carried out properly, and without friction or jar amongst conflicting interests and classes of the community. We ask for not extension of Calcutta's Municipal rights, but we implore that the rights, circumscribed and safe-guarded as they are, which have so long been enjoyed, may not be taken away. Is that too much to ask? Too much even to ask that let at least an inquiry be held, a representative Commission be appointed and the Corporation heard in its defence before this blow is struck, and a dearly cherished right which was granted in 1876, which after experience of its working and full discussion of its merits, was confirmed in 1888, may not now be suddenly snatched away from a subject and a patient population?

IMPOLICY OF WITHDRAWING PRIVILEGES ONCE
GRANTED—HAPPY OMEN FROM THE PAST.

Brother-Delegates, I have been urging the unwisdom of a retrograde policy, of a policy of withdrawing concessions and privileges once granted. The proposition is so obvious that I do not know that any authorities are needed in support of it. Yet I will quote one, and I will select that one because it will answer a double purpose. Sir Douglas Straight, as we all know, was an eminent Judge of the Allahabad High Court. And perhaps he is even better known in England than in India, and is, I believe, the Editor of one of the most influential and powerful organs of Conservative opinion in England. Writing to the *Times*, he said as follows: "Speaking from thirteen year's residence in India, during which I hope I kept neither my eyes nor ears shut, I am firmly convinced of one thing, and it is this—that while innovations and changes there should only be very gradually and cautiously introduced," it is a strong Conservative you see who is writing, "a concession once made should never be withdrawn, except for reasons of the most paramount and pressing emergency."

Ladies and Gentlemen, no comments of mine are needed on this passage. I said I have selected this for a double purpose. I will explain what I mean. I have already

referred to the one instance of retrograde legislation in the past, before the present wave of re-action set in, and to the early and unlamented fate that overtook it. The passage which I have quoted was written in connection with the one instance of administrative proceeding of a retrograde character in the past that I can call to mind in my Province—a proceeding which, too, like its legislative predecessor, was before long withdrawn. Six years ago the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, with the previous sanction, and it would seem at the instance, of the Government of India, issued a Notification seriously curtailing the very limited concession of trial by Jury which Bengal had previously enjoyed. As usual, all this was matured in the dark, without giving any opportunity to the people vitally concerned to know anything, or to be heard or make any representation in regard to the matter. And the Government of India, with contemptuous indifference to the opinions and feelings of the people of India, set about to take steps for enlarging the area of retrogression, for curtailing and withdrawing the privilege of trial by Jury from some other Provinces also. In fact, I believe the Notification in regard to the Province of Assam had already been issued before the course of the Government was arrested. But happily the agitation that followed on the promulgation of the order reached the shores of England; and it was on that occasion, strongly condemning this order, that Sir Douglas Straight wrote to the *Times*. I will quote one more passage from that letter. Referring to the Jury Notification he observes: "It would be absurd to suppose that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal cannot make a plausible case in support of his new departure; but the question to my mind is not so much whether the operation of the Jury system has exhibited some defects, as to whether the mischief likely to result from its continuance promised to be so grave as to make it his imperative duty to intervene."

It only remains for me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to state the happy conclusion. At the instance of the Secretary of State, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter; and, as the result of that enquiry, the "plausible case" set up by the Government of Bengal and which had met with the approval of the Government of India—alas! how easily can

plausible cases be set up, specially when they are one-sided productions—was completely brushed aside, and Indian opinion completely vindicated. And in consequence of the Report of that Commission, the Jury Notification was withdrawn by the very Government which had issued it, and the Jury system which had been threatened with extinction has now instead been further extended in the Province. I need hardly add that the Notification for Assam, too, followed suit. May I not say, happy omen once again, in our present trials.

COST OF THE FRONTIER WAR—REVERSAL OF THE POLICY OF THE PAST

Brother-Delegates, I have said I will not discuss the question of Frontier Policy. But there is one aspect of that question, one sequel to it, which has a most important bearing not only on questions of domestic reform, but on this matter of retrograde policy which we are considering. Who, might I ask, pays the cost of that Policy, begun more than twenty years ago, ordered out from England and by a British Cabinet against the remonstrances of a Viceroy who resigned rather than be an instrument of carrying out that Policy, which has brought wars in its train, which has set on conflagration on the Frontier, which, besides sucking its scores of millions at recurrent periods from the taxation drawn from one of the poorest of populations on the face of the earth, has made a heavy permanent addition to the military charges of India, which has laid its fatal and blighting fingers on almost every work of internal reform—for they need money—on the promotion of the urgently-needed cause of technical education, on the industrial and commercial development of the country which would have blessed, and added to the resources of, millions not only in this country, but amongst the working-men of England. All that has been done in pursuance of this new Frontier and Forward Policy, which reversed all the traditions of the past, may have been necessary for the safety of Indian Empire from the risk of external aggression. I am not arguing that question now, though we hold strong views on the subject. But, may I ask, if England, Imperial England, has no interest of her own in the safety of

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the Indian Empire? Has England no stake, no grave and momentous stake, yea, I ask, no vital interest in that safety? Is she quite sure that she would not suffer in her honor and her prestige, in her commerce, in employment for her capital and for her people, in the loss of many of the millions that make up that precious item called the "Home Charges," if India's safety is imperilled and she is lost to the British Crown? And has England or her Government no moral responsibility for the consequences of a policy which she dictates, which the people of India, if they had the faintest whisper of a voice in controlling their own affairs, yea, which the non-official English community resident in India and even the bulk, I believe, of the official community, would condemn almost to a man? Ladies and Gentlemen, much as I believe in the principle of division of labour, I do not believe in that division which, in these Imperial matters, would make England decide the policy, and India bear the cost. We are unable to look upon that as a particularly happy, or a particularly just, arrangement. Brother-Delegates, it is not as a mere dole, but as a claim of absolute justice, that we ask that the costs which have been incurred by the adoption of what has been known as the Forward Policy on the Indian Frontier Question, and by reason of what has followed from that adoption, should be distributed in some equitable proportion between England and India.

We all know what happened in the past, when not long after the inception of the Forward Policy and the embroilment with Afghanistan, Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1880. The Government of that day made a contribution of five millions to India towards the cost of the Afghan War. We know, too, that the policy of retrogression, of reversing the principles of the past, which we are deploring, has been followed in this case also; that even in a year when, in addition to the calamity of the Frontier War, India has been afflicted with famine and pestilence, with earthquake and cyclone, with every trouble indeed that can cause misery, suffering and loss to an unhappy people, the Government have declined to make any contribution towards the expenses of that War. England, which every year makes a grant to the revenues of Cyprus which instead of becoming a "Place

of Arms" has become a place of a very different description ; which this year out of an over-flowing Treasury has made a gift of nearly a million pounds to Egypt for her wars ; which this year, too, has made a large grant to the West Indies, a considerable portion of which has further been promised to be *annually* repeated, for—I may as well enumerate some of the purposes—for her agricultural department and agricultural instruction, for steamer subsidies and in aid of local revenues, for assistance towards farming and working central factories, for making roads and purchase of lands—England, which has done all these things, making *new* precedents for helping other countries, though her Government resisted, and successfully resisted, the motion made early this year to follow the old precedent, even at a time so calamitous as the present, of helping India. I think we may profitably spend a minute or two in considering this case of help to the West Indies. Mr. Chamberlain, in proposing the grant in the House of Commons, defended it on two grounds. First, on the ground of the loyalty of the islands—loyalty which they manifested immediately afterwards, not by gratitude, but by deep dissatisfaction at the amount of the grant not being larger, and by the loud expression of a desire for annexation to the United States—we have not heard if there have been any prosecutions for sedition or transportations for life there. And secondly on the ground of their value to England. As to the comparative value to England of the West Indies and of India, in spite of my temptation to say much, I will content myself with only one significant sentence from the *Pioneer* of the 8th of October last : "The West Indies are utterly worthless to Great Britain, and it would be a relief if we could transfer them to the United States."

ENGLISH FEELING ON THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

So glaring is the injustice that has been done to India that, I may be mistaken, but I honestly believe, the bulk of the Unionist Members would have gladly joined the Liberals under Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Samuel Smith in voting a grant, but for the unhappy and retrograde attitude of the Government and the pressure of party influence. This is

what the *Saturday Review*, a Conservative organ and a supporter of the Government, says, referring to their conduct in this matter: "It is a miracle," says that paper in its issue of the 26th of February last, "that in the face of such acts of injustice as this we can still maintain our Imperial rule in India." I do not quote this to endorse it, but to show how widespread is the sympathy amongst Englishmen with India, and how keen was the indignation felt at this reversal of Mr. Gladstone's policy of 1880, even amongst the supporters of the Government. I wonder what our Press Committees, busily engaged in delivering lectures *gratis* on good taste and decorum to the conductors of newspapers, and our Indian Government, would have done if language a hundredth as strong as this had appeared in any Indian paper. I wonder, too, whether an order will be passed to prevent the importation into India from England of "seditious" papers, commencing with the *Saturday Review*, going through, I am afraid, a pretty long list, and ending, let us say, with the *Review of Reviews*, whose words of bitter and fiery denunciation against what it calls the "criminal imbecility" of the Administration I will not quote; and of speeches and writings, too, like those of such dangerous Conservatives as, let us say, begging their pardon, the Hon'ble Member for Cardiff or a late Chief Justice of Bengal.

ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Ladies and Gentlemen, the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Bristol, some little time before the opening of Parliament, led us to hope for a contribution from the Imperial Treasury. But our own Indian Government, we are told, did not want any help. A Government that has to put off reforms that are admittedly necessary for want of money; a Government that is unable to discharge one of the elementary duties of a civilized Government by placing its administration of justice on a proper footing, on account, as it says, of want of funds; a Government against the "shearing" policy of which at every revision of Provincial Contracts we have heard eloquent and vigorous protest from a late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and from other high authorities; a Government pressed by the heavy demands not only of war,

but of a combination of dire calamities unparalleled in the annals perhaps of any country in the world; a Government which is obliged heavily to borrow to meet its liabilities¹; a Government which has been compelled to close its mints and to raise artificially the value of its coin, to the detriment of many interests, and specially the interests of the poor, in order to avoid serious financial disaster; a Government that had the precedent before it of a similar grant on a previous occasion; such a Government declining to receive any help from the English Treasury, or to be relieved of any portion of its military expenditure, seems, I must confess, to our humble understandings, about the most extraordinary phenomenon one could think of; and so indeed it seemed to very many people in England, both inside and outside the Parliament. True a leading Anglo-Indian journal, whose name I need not perhaps mention, advised their not accepting any help on the ground that this might lead the House of Commons to enquire into or meddle with their doings, or, as it put the matter, "the mischief of Parliamentary interference with Indian affairs" would thereby "be exaggerated a hundred-fold." But I cannot believe that the many distinguished men who constitute the Government of India could possibly have acted under the influence of such an unworthy motive. But I am sure they will forgive us for saying, that in view of this proceeding, and in the absence of further light, the people of this country cannot repose that confidence in them, as the protectors of their interests and the guardians of their rights, which it ought to be their duty to repose.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE FORWARD POLICY

In connection with the burdens imposed by the Forward Policy on the finances of the country and their blighting effect, one has only to turn to the so-called discussions on the Budget in the Provincial Councils, to see how many are the measures whose necessity is admitted by the Government, but which cannot be carried out for want of means—and even these represent but a small fraction of all the important needs of the country for its development, progress and prosperity. In Bengal the Government appointed some years ago a Commission called the Salaries Commission, which reported on the

necessity, in the public interests, of an increase in the pay of the ministerial or subordinate establishments. The *Pioneer* not long ago, if I remember aright, pointed out the absolute necessity of this increase, and the serious evils to the administration of the country resulting from the present inadequate scale of pay. The Government has over and over again in the Council Chamber admitted the urgency of the reform, but pleaded its want of means to carry it out. But, Brother-Delegates, I need not take up your time by bringing coals to Newcastle, by giving instances of what is so perfectly familiar to you. But permit me to refer to one matter which took place in the course of this year, not so familiar to us, unique in its history, and buried in the multitude of answers to Parliamentary questions.

A CENTRAL LABORATORY.

Last year a memorial was presented to the Secretary of State for India signed by the leading scientific men in England, including such names as Lord Kelvin, Lord Lister, Professors Ramsay, Roscoe, Foster and a great many others, asking for the establishment of a Central Scientific Laboratory for advanced teaching and research in India. The memorialists pointed out the great importance of the proposal, not only in the interests of higher education, but also in the interests of the material advancement of the people. It is impossible to conceive of a proposal more influentially supported than this, or more important to the vital interests of the country; and Lord George Hamilton forwarded the memorial with his recommendation, as I gather from Mr. Schwann's question a few months ago in Parliament, to the Government of India. But the Hon'ble Member was informed, in answer to his question, that the Indian Government was unable "to entertain so costly a scheme," on the ground that the *initial* cost of such an establishment would be six lakhs of rupees, or about £40,000. Why, if even two millions had been granted from the Imperial Government to relieve the resources of the Indian Government strained to meet the costs of the Frontier War, not only could this "costly scheme" have been started, but nine-and-forty other measures of benefit to the country of a similarly "costly"

character could have been carried out. Allow me, Brother-Delegates, the privilege of being your mouthpiece to convey to these eminent men the expression of our heartfelt gratitude for the interest they have taken on India's behalf, and to express the earnest hope that their efforts and their representation will yet bear fruit, in the better time to come.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

I need not dwell before you, Ladies and Gentlemen, on the imperative need of technical education which is, in a literal sense, of vital importance to the teeming poverty-stricken millions of India, the imperative need of improving the old industries and introducing new ones, of teaching the people how to utilize, with the help of modern science, the many rich and undeveloped resources of the country. This has indeed been admitted on every hand. I remember well the conversation which some of us had with Lord Dufferin shortly before his retirement. He regretted that he had been unable to do anything to further the cause of technical education, the importance of which to India he fully realized ; but he had every confidence his successor would earnestly take up the question. Lord Lansdowne has come and gone, and his successor too—to whom we cordially wish every happiness after his many arduous labours amid the storm and stress of these years—will in a few days bid farewell to the scene of his labours ; but the question of technical education stands practically where it did, for want of means to promote it.

BACKWARD OR FORWARD

Brother-Delegates, I will not take up more of your time by continuing this review of the past. But as one glances back over the history of these retrograde and repressive measures and sees that the stream of re-action is yet running, the question arises to the mind, and I ask our rulers, nay, all Englishmen, seriously to consider it, whether Backward or Forward is to be inscribed as the motto on the banner of England in its future administration of this great country. Are we to march backwards into the methods of despotism, to the weapons of coercion, to the policy of distrust ; or are we to march onwards in the path which was traced out by

those noble Englishmen who have been the founders, the consolidators, the saviours of the Empire, the path which leads to advancing and not to receding freedom ; to greater trust in the people, to rights enlarged and not to concessions withdrawn ? For it is at once a melancholy and a curious feature of the present situation, that we stand here not merely in defence of the liberties of the people of India, but also in vindication of the policy, the sagacity, the wisdom, and the foresight of those illustrious men.

INDIAN FEELING

To fulfil England's mission in India, much, very much, remained to be done. We were eagerly and longingly looking forward to the steady and progressive carrying on of that work, but in its place has begun this process of pushing backwards, this process of distrust and repression. Will Englishmen place themselves for a moment in our position, look with our eyes, and try to realize what their feelings would have been under the circumstances ? For that, after all, is the way to follow, if they wish to understand, and not misunderstand, the situation. There is much of the same human nature in the East as in the West. Is it any wonder that the process I have mentioned, and some unhappy speeches to which I will not more particularly refer, which we have heard from the Council Chamber, should have caused widespread pain, surprise, regret and anxiety, yea, in some quarters even bitterness ? Let me give an illustration of this feeling of pain which struck me very much at the time. An Indian gentleman wrote to me in England a few months ago. He is not an "agitator," whatever that word may mean. He is a gentleman unknown to fame, who takes no part in public meetings or in the discussion of public question, but quietly does the work of his office. He wrote to me about his brother, then staying in England ; but in the course of his letter he mentioned about the recent proceedings of Government, and concluded with these words : "Are you a friend to British Rule ? Try your best to induce the authorities to withdraw the suicidal policy of Government. If you are an enemy, well, my advice is keep quiet, and let things take their course." May I ask the authorities, if these words should by

some chance happen to meet their eyes, to seriously consider the import of the sentence I have quoted, written in confidence, wrung in the anguish of his heart from a simple and quiet citizen, deeply attached to the British Rule? I trust my friend will forgive me for having quoted that sentence from his private letter. Let me quote another gentleman—not a nameless or a fameless one now—who, having served the Government with honor and distinction in charge of several most important Districts, having risen to the highest post in the Executive Service of the Government to which a native of India has yet been appointed, has recently retired from the Service—need I say I refer to our distinguished countryman, Mr. R. C. Dutt? I congratulate my friend on his being unmuzzled. I trust, by his informed exposition of the effects of their recent policy, he will now be in a position to render even greater service to the Government he has served so long and so faithfully, than when he was fettered by the trammels of office. Speaking in condemnation of our new Law of Sedition at a meeting held in London on the 20th June last, Mr. Dutt observed, with the authority of intimate knowledge, as follows: “It is with deep regret that I have to say that I can hardly remember any time—and my memory goes back to the time of the Mutiny—when the confidence of the people of India in the justice and fair-play of English rulers was so shaken as it has been within the last two years.” And he goes on to deplore the policy of suspicion and repression adopted of late by the Government, which has led to this most unhappy result.

It is the saddest of thoughts to my mind—the thought, Ladies and Gentlemen,—that the very means which, no doubt from the best of intentions, the Government have adopted to root out what they believe to be want of affection or disaffection in this country, will tend not to attach but to alienate; not to cure but to create those very evils they dread; to suppress it may be the expression of discontent, but at the same time to drive it deep beneath the surface and thus add seriously to its potency for mischief.

THE EDUCATED CLASSES.

Turning again to the words of that touching appeal in the

letter of my correspondent, it is *because* we are friends to British Rule, it is *because* all our highest hopes for the future, and not our hopes only but the hopes of generations to come, are indissolubly bound up with the continuance of that rule, with the strengthening and the bettering of that rule, with the removal of all and every cause which may tend to the weakening of that rule—and there are such causes in operation—that we speak out, and the impolicy, the unwisdom, yea, the danger of the recent course of administrative and legislative proceedings. It is because of this feeling that we are trying to the best of our power—alas, so limited—to induce the authorities, and the great body of justice-loving and generous-minded Englishmen, both here and in England, to withdraw from that course; and find the path of safety, of honour, of mutual advantage and the truest and the most abiding glory, in going forward in fearless confidence, trusting the people, extending the bounds of freedom, not forging new fetters but gradually removing those that exist, not taking away but adding to the rights of the people, helping on the cause of India's regeneration with the passionate longing and the loving ardour that come from consciousness of a duty and a solemn responsibility from on high. The educated classes of India are the friends and not the foes of England, her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her. It is on their hearty, devoted, and loving co-operation that the welfare and the progress of the country so largely depend. All that they ask for is that England should be true to herself, that she should not forget the teachings of her history and the traditions of her past, that British Rule should be conducted on British principles, and not on Russian methods. Is this, Ladies and Gentlemen, sedition, or is it the highest homage which India can pay to England, the dawning of that glorious day, proudest in the history of England, foreseen as in a vision more than sixty years ago by Macaulay, when instructed in European knowledge we might ask for the blessings of European institutions. The educated classes wish and long for the strengthening and not the loosening of the bond which unites the two countries, and which is the guarantee, not only of order, but of progress; and they look forward to the time when they too, can claim the rights and

share the glories of citizenship in the proudest Empire that the world has ever seen. Let it be the part of wisdom, of prudent statesmanship and political foresight, to foster and not to crush this feeling; to extend the hand of fellowship and loving, ministering help, and not hurl insults or the weapons and methods of coercion, which wound but cannot heal.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Brother-Delegates, the Indian National Congress has been described, and rightly described, as the noblest achievement and a crown of glory for British Rule in India. And yet how great has been the ignorance, how gross the misrepresentations which have from time to time assailed it. I will not notice these misrepresentations of ignorance and blind prejudice. They have often been noticed before. But if it is at times disheartening to find this great movement, which ought to have been warmly welcomed as a valued help, subjected to unworthy attacks, let us remember that this has been the fate of every great movement which has made for human progress or human welfare. It is cheering, on the other hand, to find ample recognition of the aims and the work of Congress from many quarters. I might quote the opinions of many high authorities, but I will content myself with placing before you the generous testimony of one eminent man. Sir Richard Garth, a Privy Councillor and a good Conservative, who was a Conservative Member of Parliament before he came out to hold the exalted office of Chief Justice of Bengal, said a few years ago, replying to an attack which had been made on the Congress: "I will tell you what they have done. They have dared to think for themselves; and not only for themselves, but for the millions of poor ignorant people who compose our Indian Empire. They have been content to sacrifice their own interests, and to brave the displeasure of Government, in order to lend a helping hand to those poor people. They have had the courage and the patriotism to denounce abuses which have disgraced our Indian rule for years past; which have been condemned by public opinion in India and in England, and to which the Indian Government appear to cling with a tenacity which seems utterly inexplicable. They have dared to propose reforms which, despite the

resistance of the Government, have been approved by Parliament, and to endeavour to stay that fearful amount of extravagance which has been going on in India for years past, and has been the means, as some of our best and wisest counsellors consider, of bringing our Eastern Empire to the verge of bankruptcy." May the blessing, which is the portion of those who lift up their voice for the weak of this world, attend Sir Richard Garth in his retirement for this manly and noble vindication of the Congress against the misrepresentations, based on ignorance, of many in high places ; for his strong words of condemnation, spoken with the experience and the authority of a position highest in the land, of the miserable system which combines judicial and executive functions in the same officer, and which of late has been further extended by our Government ; and for his many other services to the cause of the people of India ! And permit me, in this wish, to include the many other noble-hearted Englishmen—their number is not few, and their number, Ladies and Gentlemen, is growing every year and pretty fast too—who have lent their generous advocacy to the views of the National Congress and to the cause of Indian progress.

A DREAMER OF THE WEST.

I read the other day, as no doubt many of you have done, a remarkable speech delivered in London by one of these noble-hearted Englishmen to whom I have referred, our good friend, Professor Murison. In the course of that speech he said that "he looked forward to the time when they would have a Secretary of State and a Governor-General of India who would recognize clearly that it was impossible to govern the Indian Empire without the cordial co-operation of the Indian people, and who would send for the President of the National Congress, and say, 'Come, my friend, have we not both the same interests at heart ? Are we not both men of affairs ? Come, let us reason together.'" I see also from the report that this sentiment was loudly cheered. I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, after this we must no longer speak of the Dreamy East. It appears that there is a Dreamy West too, and Professor Murison is one of its dreamers. I am afraid it will be a very long time before that dream of friendly conference he

speaks of will come true. Not that any Viceroy would not find it of advantage to consult any of the distinguished men who have preceded me in the Chair—I make, I *can* make absolutely no claim for myself—to take representatives of educated India into his confidence, and to enter into that partnership of cordial co-operation that our friend speaks of ; but it is not, Ladies and Gentlemen, always good things or desirable things that are the things of this actual world.

SYMPATHY THE CURE.

I trust I have made the situation created by recent proceedings sufficiently clear. It is one to cause anxiety to every friend of India and of England. But the remedy, too, is clear, and the narrative itself unfolds it. Sir Francis Maclean, the present Chief Justice of Bengal, is reported to have said at a meeting held in Calcutta, I believe early this year when the Sedition Bill was before the public, that “he had heard a great deal recently, since coming to India, of sedition and measures in connection with it ; but it seemed to him the only rational way of putting down sedition was by sympathy, boundless sympathy, with the people in their needs and their sufferings, and with their legitimate hopes and aspirations.” These words deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold ; and permit me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to offer to Sir Francis Maclean, on your behalf, our thanks for this noble utterance breathing the instincts of true statesmanship. Yes, it is sympathy, boundless sympathy with the people in their needs, and sympathy, too, with them in all their legitimate aspirations that is wanted—and then from that sympathy will naturally come, as rain-drops from the descending cloud, the many measures that are required to promote their interests and redress their grievances. With truer knowledge and keener sympathy, many things will assume a different aspect, and our rulers will, if I may respectfully be permitted to say so, see things with new eyes. Then, indeed, will all the unrest that we have, of late, so much heard of, vanish as before a magician’s wand, as darkness before the rising sun. For, indeed, love and sympathy work miracles in the political, no less than in the moral or spiritual, world. There can be no surer or firmer foundation for earthly power than the affection and

resistance of the Government, have been approved by Parliament, and to endeavour to stay that fearful amount of extravagance which has been going on in India for years past, and has been the means, as some of our best and wisest counsellors consider, of bringing our Eastern Empire to the verge of bankruptcy." May the blessing, which is the portion of those who lift up their voice for the weak of this world, attend Sir Richard Garth in his retirement for this manly and noble vindication of the Congress against the misrepresentations, based on ignorance, of many in high places ; for his strong words of condemnation, spoken with the experience and the authority of a position highest in the land, of the miserable system which combines judicial and executive functions in the same officer, and which of late has been further extended by our Government ; and for his many other services to the cause of the people of India ! And permit me, in this wish, to include the many other noble-hearted Englishmen—their number is not few, and their number, Ladies and Gentlemen, is growing every year and pretty fast too—who have lent their generous advocacy to the views of the National Congress and to the cause of Indian progress.

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confidence of its subjects. I have quoted the Chief Justice of Bengal ; let me quote a few lines from Mr. Chamberlain's great speech at Glasgow, delivered on the 3rd of November of last year : "The makers of Venice," said Mr. Chamberlain, "with whose peculiar circumstances as a commercial community, dependent for its existence on its command of the sea, we have much in common, declared it to be their principal object 'to have the heart and the affection of our citizens and subjects' ; and in adopting this true principle of Empire, they found their reward in the loyalty of their colonies and dependencies when the Mother City was threatened by enemies whom her success and prosperity had raised against her." This, indeed, Ladies and Gentlemen, as Mr. Chamberlain has said, is the "true principle of Empire," to possess the *hearts* of citizens as well as of subjects, and to win as its reward the loyalty alike of colonies and of dependencies.

And the same thing has been said in India, too, by all her wisest administrators. Let me refer here to a pamphlet written not many years ago, by a man honored and trusted alike by Government and the people, Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, and subsequently Member of the Board of Revenue—the late Sir Henry Harrison—under the *nom-de-plume* of "Trust and Fear Not." It was written in support of the movement initiated—I am sorry to say unsuccessfully initiated—for the admission into the ranks of Volunteers, of Indians possessing such qualifications of position, character, education, and physical fitness as the Government might see fit to prescribe. I would venture respectfully and strongly to recommend that little book to our rulers ; I have not seen more cogent reasoning, more convincing wealth of illustration, and truer or sounder principles for Indian administration than are contained in that work.

AN APPEAL TO ENGLISHMEN

May I, Ladies and Gentlemen, make in this connection an appeal to all Englishmen in India, and specially to the conductors of the Anglo-Indian Press ? In the term Englishman, need I say, that here and throughout this address, I include Scotchmen and Irishmen, and men, too, from Wales. They are the strong and the highly-placed. Their voice is

listened to, whilst ours is unheeded. Is there no responsibility, before God and man, on them by reason of this very power that they possess, this very influence they wield—responsibility not to widen the gulf between the races or make difficult the work of the statesman by unkind word or unkind deed, but to extend the hand of sympathy and help the people of India to rise once again in the scale of nations? If they mix with the people and come really to know them, they will perhaps find much to study, much to interest them and to make life even in India worth living, much to learn, to love and esteem, and even to admire. At least such has been the experience of many Englishmen who have tried the process. How often have I noticed with regret that the attacks and sarcasms of some member of the Anglo-Indian Press have led perhaps to similar effusions or rejoinders in some Indian print. How one longs for men like Knight and Riach—to name the two I have personally known in my part of the country—men who wrote with knowledge and sympathy who loved the people of India, felt in their conscience the burden of their responsibility to them, and proved true champions of their rights—men who have been followed by the gratitude of thousands of their fellow-men. I do not know if those who, either in India or in England, advocate the cause of the unrepresented people of this country, and use the powers that God has given them on their behalf, realize how they help towards making deeper the foundations of the Empire, in forging links of more than steel which fasten the bonds which bind England and India together. Once an honored English missionary, he belonged to the Established Church, who had championed the cause of the people in my Province, was sent to jail on the prosecution of some of his own countrymen; but the name of Long went down deep into the hearts of the people, the cause for which he suffered triumphed gloriously in the end, and his name is remembered in affectionate gratitude and sung in rustic ballads to this day. Let a nation which is Christian endeavour truly to shew the ideal of Christ, to earnestly realize that there is such a thing as National Righteousness and National Responsibility, and to carry out the divine command of doing to others what they would have wished done to themselves, in

the exercise of their power, in their attitude towards Indian aspirations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we want Englishmen to champion our cause ; we want Englishmen, who have held aloft the standard of freedom and progress in every part of the world and have fought and suffered in that cause, to take up the cause of India,—she has special claims on them—and advocate her rights. And I feel confident that as knowledge spreads, as the sense of the solemn responsibility that rests on them awakens, and the mists of prejudice and ignorance roll away, such men will arise and answer in gladness and joy to our call.

REFORM OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

I will not dwell on the necessity, which recent events have only served to emphasize, of further reform in our Legislative Councils. The subject has often been before us. But let me draw your attention to the question of the constitution of our Executive Councils, and ask the Government on your behalf whether the time has not fully come for remodelling them, and admitting an adequate Indian representation on those bodies. It is these bodies that shape and guide the whole of the administrative policy of the Government, and decide questions of supreme importance to the happiness and well-being of the people—questions often of far greater moment than those that come before the Legislative Councils. At present out of the two hundred millions and more of her people, not one native of India finds a place in any of those Councils ; and as we know, the Legislative Bodies exercise no sort of control, direct or indirect over them. Their deliberations are in secret chambers, and not even the faintest echo of suggestion, or criticism can reach them from a public more ignorant of their proceedings than of the movements of the double stars, or the composition of the Milky Way in the far-off heavens. Is it, Ladies and Gentlemen, necessary to point-out, is it necessary to argue the point, that the most honest, and impartial, and fair-minded of tribunals cannot decide justly or do right, unless every information is placed every interest represented, and every side of the question discussed before it ? Is this not the explanation of the mistakes

—I need not refer to the policy of these two years, which I have fully discussed—of the grave mistakes which have *admittedly* been made in the past; and which, as I have shewn, were subsequently rectified when further light was sought from independent public opinion under pressure from England? We are fully aware of the need for the expansion and reform of our Legislative Councils. There is need, grave need, for the expansion and reform of our Executive Councils also, and it may be, for their formation where they do not exist, with adequate Indian representation in them.

DIRECT REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

There is one other matter in this connection that I should like to place before you. The question of a further re-distribution of seats is likely soon to be before the English public. It has already begun to engage attention. But whatever that be or not, it seems to me that for a proper representation of Indian views and Indian wants, a certain limited number of seats in the House of Commons, may be if need be, so few as say, fifteen, ought to be assigned to the inhabitants of some of the chief cities of India. We have the right to ask for this representation, which will secure for us a hearing before the Assembly which is the ultimate arbiter of our fates; but which at present, however anxious it may be to do justice, and to give their due weight to Indian views, has no opportunity of knowing those views, from persons speaking with knowledge and with authority on our behalf. I am convinced this would be of great advantage to the furtherance of our legitimate interests, and to the removal of our wants; as also the consolidation and safe-guarding of the interests of the Empire as a whole. If we can send a Sir Richard Garth or a Sir John Phear, a Hume or a Keynolds, if we could have sent a Caine or a Naoroji, a Bradlaugh before Northampton had at length returned him, or a Fawcett when Hackney had rejected him, not to speak of many others I could easily name, including many earnest and influential English friends of India—and send all these as our own representatives—can any one doubt what a potent factor for justice and fair-play, for good, both to England and to India, would be brought

into existence? And it would not only be in the House of Commons, but in the country, too, that they could speak with authority, and command attention to our grievances.

It is true the Colonies are not represented in the House of Commons, but their Budgets are not discussed, nor their policy determined at Westminster; and as for the possible objection that, as in the case of Ireland, the presence of our representatives in Parliament might be used as an argument against the existence or the expansion of our Councils in India—it would be enough to say, that objection could only apply if India were to be represented in the House like Ireland, in proportion to her population. But no one dreams of that. It is as a means to an end, a means, just and necessary in itself and effective for its purpose, that I suggest this for your consideration. I will only add that I have talked with many friends in England who strongly agree as to the justice, and even the necessity, of this reform if Indian views are to receive a proper hearing, and Indian interests are to be furthered. No doubt, as Sir Henry Fowler once said in an eloquent and memorable peroration, they are all Members for India. Yet I think Sir Henry Fowler and most Members of the House would be glad to have some members for India, to represent the vast interests of that country affected by the decisions of Parliament, whose claim to the title might be less questioned, whose assistance would be of service, and from whom they could have the inestimable advantage of hearing something more than mere official versions of the matters that came up before them. And if this be an anomaly, all that I can say is that this is an anomaly which has reason and justice very strongly on its side, and which is rendered necessary by what has sometimes been called the anomaly of an Indian Empire; that the British Constitution has many anomalies which have much less to say for themselves, and much less ground for their existence, than this.

ORGANIZATION AND CONTINUOUS WORK FOR THE CONGRESS.

Brother-Delegates, I wish now to invite your attention to a most important matter. As I look round at this magnificent assembly gathered from the most distant parts of the country,

as I see enthusiasm depicted on every face, the question presents itself to my mind, is the Congress to be a mere three days' affair? Is there to be no continuity, no plan and no method, in its every day work? We have achieved much during these years that we have met. We have placed on record our views on all important questions of the day and even of the years to come, we have seen carried out some of the most important objects which have engaged our attention; and to my mind, of far greater moment than all this, we have succeeded in bringing together and knitting in bonds of loving regard, of mutual esteem and fraternal co-operation, representatives from every part of this vast country, infusing national life, strengthening the bonds of common citizenship, kindling the fire of loyal and patriotic service. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, the time has come when, if we are to reap the full fruits of our deliberations and to give *living force* to our resolutions, we must have a standing organization to carry on the work of the Congress from year's beginning to year's end, to carry on that work continuously, steadily, sending agents and missionaries to different parts of the country, spreading information, awakening interest, issuing leaflets and pamphlets, educating the public mind, drawing attention to the many wants and grievances of the dumb masses, whose spokesman it is the privilege of the Congress to be, pointing out the duty we owe to Government, and helping the Government to the best of our power in its endeavours for the better administration, the better education, the better sanitation of the country,—and we must have men wholly devoted to this most important work. As I am standing before you, my mind goes back to the great gathering at Leicester in March last, the National Congress, I may say, of the Liberal Party, which it was my privilege to attend and to address as a delegate from Cambridge. There are many points of resemblance that struck me between the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation and the Indian National Congress. That meeting, like ours, holds its session for three days, meets at different places from year to year, passes resolutions on subjects of interest to the Party, and its number of delegates, I was struck to find, was very much what our number usually is. But behind all this what a

difference! What a busy, active, powerful organization, with a Secretary and a staff of officials wholly given to its work, with a Publishing Department with its separate staff of officials, with its Council Meetings held throughout the year and directing its operations, with its army of agents and workers and its allied Associations at work all over the country! And the same is the case with the great Conservative Party whose organization won such splendid results at the last election. Brother-Delegates, I do not expect you to reach to such heights. If Rome was not built in a day, neither are organizations. They are the results of patient labour for many a long day. But let us resolve that at least a beginning, a fair beginning, shall be made in the year before us, that when in the closing year of the century, we meet once again, we may look back upon some work done, some foundation laid, some progress achieved in the direction I have ventured to indicate. Into the details of that organization I purposely do not enter. It may be that instead of one central office, we may find it desirable to a large extent to decentralize and divide our work; it may be that we may link on our work in the different Provinces with their respective Provincial Conferences. I trust the matter will be fully considered and a working plan formed before we separate. But one suggestion I would venture to make, that though it may be desirable for us to pass Resolutions in the Congress on a large variety of subjects, we should select a limited number of them, and devote our attention in the coming year, if need be in the years to come, towards carrying these out. This will secure concentration, awaken greater interest, and prevent the frittering away of our not super-abundant energies.

And this brings me to the important question of a Constitution for the Congress, of which, indeed, what I have said above is a part. I trust Madras, which has been described as the home and nursery of India's statesmen, will have the credit of solving this question which has been before us for many years. The time has not perhaps yet come for a fully developed or an elaborate Constitution. But I would ask you to consider, whether we might not at least draw up some simple rules relating to our Constitution and laying down its frame-work, which might be worked in the coming year; and

which, with the light of experience thus gained, might, if necessary, come up for re-consideration and all needed expansion at our next session. Unless we make at least a beginning in some such way, I am afraid it will be long before we can make a start at all.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

What that limited number of questions may be for us to take up, should you decide to adopt my suggestion, I leave to our leaders to decide. But whatever the programme may be, I trust it will not fail to include the two important and pressing questions of the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions, now vested in one and the same officer of Government, and of Police Reform.

Brother-Delegates, I will not argue the question of the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions. It has passed the stage of argument long ago. I have seen the present system in practice and in actual experience for more than twenty years, and the more one sees of it, the more deeply one deplores the delay on the part of the Government in giving effect, even partial effect, to the principle underlying that proposal. Yea, the Government seems to have been busy of late, on the contrary, extraordinary and hard to believe as it may seem, in *extending* the Judicial powers of its Executive officers. The High Court of Calcutta has pronounced this combination of functions in the same officer as extremely dangerous, and it needs but the slightest of acquaintance with what happens before its Criminal Bench and elsewhere, to know the practical every-day evils that follow from this combination. And what I have said of my Province applies, as we all know, just as well, I am afraid sometimes even more, to other Provinces of India. And let me observe in passing, it is not the men, but it is the system we condemn—the system under which the most conscientious and judicial-tempered of men would find it so often impossible to deal unbiased justice. I have already mentioned the strong condemnation of the system by Sir Richard Garth. Let me refer to the Debate in the House of Lords in 1893, on what is

known as the case of the Raja of Mymensingh. It was a petty Executive scandal, compared to what constantly takes place in connection with poorer men ; and for which the officer concerned, when subsequently threatened with a heavy suit for damages, had to make an apology in court to the Raja ; but it attracted considerable attention owing to the position of the victim. In the Debate to which I have alluded, both Lord Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Cross, his predecessor in that office, concurred in admitting the undesirability and the inconvenience of the present system of combining the functions. I will quote what Lord Cross said on the subject. Referring to the proposal of separating the two duties, his Lordship observed it was "a matter of the gravest importance," and that the plan to his mind "would be an excellent one resulting in vast good"—mark the words—"vast good to the Government of India." And later on, when this subject was referred to in the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary of State repeated that in the opinion of Lord Kimberley, "the union of Judicial and Executive powers is contrary to right principle."

THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY IN CARRYING OUT THE REFORM.

With such authorities on our side, the very highest one could possibly wish for, it may be asked how is it that the present system is allowed to go on, and the "vast good" to the cause of administration which Lord Cross spoke of is still unattained. I will give the answer in Lord Kimberley's words. "The difficulty," his Lordship observed in the Debate. I have referred to, "is simply this, that if you were to alter the present system in India, you would have to double the staff throughout the country." How sad, Brother-Delegates, to think that this is the information as to the consequences of separating the functions, which some one at the India Office had placed before Lord Kimberley, and which of course Lord Kimberley was bound to accept. Doubling the staff throughout India ! Why, the information is not only incorrect, but for the greater part of the country, so materially and grossly incorrect, that very slight acquaintance with the real state of

things on the part of the official supplying the information would have prevented its being furnished. But before I proceed with this matter, I will make one remark. Even if the statement I have referred to were correct, having regard to the great importance of the matter, would it not have been the duty of the Indian Government to have tried to carry out the reform, to make at least a beginning even if it were at the price of some reduction in its military expenditure, or by curtailment of its expenses in some other way? The debate I have referred to took place in the month of May. Within three months of it, a scheme was published by Mr. R. C. Dutt, himself, a District Magistrate and an experienced and trusted officer of Government in service at the time, going into the matter for the Province of Bengal; and shewing that the separation of the two functions could be carried out with but little or no extra expense on the part of the Government, and with increased efficiency as regards the discharge of both the Administrative and the Judicial duties now vested in the same officer. I will quote here only some concluding sentences of Mr. Dutt's memorandum: "The scheme which has been briefly set forth in the preceding paragraphs is a practicable one, and can be introduced under the present circumstances of Bengal, excluding the backward tracts. I have worked both as Sub-Divisional Officer and as District Officer in many of the Districts in Bengal, and I would undertake to introduce the scheme in any Bengal District, and to work it on the lines indicated above." And he adds, if this separation be carried out, "The police work, the revenue work, and the general executive work can then be performed by the District Officer with greater care and satisfaction to himself, and also greater satisfaction to the people in whose interests he administers the District."

The scheme of Mr. Dutt is one on the same simple and readily suggested lines as some others which had been set forth long before the debate in the House of Lords, by Mr. Monomohan Ghose, Mr. Ambicacharan Maitra, and many others. And it was, I may add, with some slight modifications, approved on the one hand by Sir Richard Garth, who had held the highest Judicial office in Bengal, and on the other by Mr. Reynolds, who had held the highest Executive

office under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, having been Chief Secretary for years, and afterwards Senior Member of the Board of Revenue for the Province. Here, then, was a practical scheme, dealing with an admitted and a grave evil, drawn up by a responsible and competent person, and afterwards approved by those who could indeed claim to speak on the subject with the very highest authority. But to pursue the history of the matter.

On the 29th of August of the same year, the Indian Association of Calcutta forwarded a Memorial to the Government of India through the Government of Bengal, enclosing Mr. Dutt's scheme, referring to the weighty expression of opinion on the subject in the House of Lords and elsewhere, and appealing to the Government to take that scheme into its earnest consideration with a view to the introduction of the reform. Well, Ladies and gentlemen, more than five years have elapsed since that Memorial was submitted, and the Association I believe, still waits for a reply. I would rather, Brother-Delegates, not make any comments on this matter, but leave the simple facts, I have narrated to tell their own tale and to carry their own lessons. It remains for me to add that I believe other Associations too have in these years moved the Government in the matter ; and I will leave the subject with the expression of a strong and fervent hope that this reform, as important in the cause of the liberty of the subject as in the interests of good administration, and supported by a practical unanimity of opinion of the highest weight, will no longer be delayed or trifled with ; and the painful scandals and miscarriages of justice, and the serious inconvenience to parties, which now so frequently occur, will soon be things of the past in the annals of British administration of the country.

REFORM OF THE POLICE

I have detained you longer than I intended on this question of separation of duties ; but I thought it necessary to deal with spectre of financial difficulty. As regards the Reform of the Police, my remarks will be few. There is not, Ladies and gentlemen, a man, woman, or I might add, child in India who requires to be told anything about, at any rate, this question. Indeed I have heard many good men

and true, seriously discuss whether the total abolition of the Police Force, at least of a very considerable portion of it, would not be much better than the present affliction. There has been a Police Commission, but in its practical results we seem to stand just where we did. The other day, in June last I think, a paper was read on the subject in London at a meeting of the East Indian Association by Mr. Whish, an experienced and distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service; and Sir Lepel Griffin, who has seen long and eminent service in India, and who holds the responsible position of Chairman of the Council of that Association, said "there is no doubt that our administration in India is heavily weighted by the unpopularity attaching to the police, who are rapacious and corrupt," and, he might have added, oppressive to a degree not easy for a stranger to conceive. This was said in England. Let us come to India. In a reported judgment which appears in October last, I find the District Magistrate of Balia saying with reference to a case before him: "It is refreshing to find riot cases in which the Police appear neither to have tutored witnesses, nor to have included, for reasons of their own, the names of men who did not take part in them, nor what is more common, omitted the names of the most influential participators in the riot." I hope there are here and there some more exceptions, even one of which the Balia Magistrate found so refreshing, to prove the general rule.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen I must not go on quoting authorities on this subject, or I shall not know where to stop. I think I owe you an apology for having mentioned even these two, on a question so painfully familiar as this. If our rulers could only know and fully realize the amount of suffering and oppression caused to the people by the Police which is intended and paid for their protection, I do not think that this sad blot on the administration could very long be allowed to remain. Here again, it is not the men, but the system which is responsible for so much. But instead of asking you to be content in this case with my authority, let me quote just a sentence from the paper of Mr. Whish to which I have already referred. Speaking with the authority of long and intimate personal knowledge, and while describing "the intolerable burden of crime manufactured by the Police" and

many similar matters gravely reflecting on their conduct, he adds, he had no intention of "making any sort of complaint against the Indian Policeman in himself; on the contrary, considering the vicious system under which he works, I consider it absolutely marvellous that he should be as good as he is."

I have mentioned the two questions of Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions and of Police Reform. To those who have studied the matter, there is an important and a delicate connection between some aspects of the two questions into which, however, I do not propose—I have not the time—to enter. But permit me to point out that if ever there are questions which affect the masses of our people, the poorest of the poor a great deal more than the rich, it is these two matters. In fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not sure if a "rapacious and corrupt" Police, to use Sir Lepel Griffin's expression, is not sometimes rather an advantage than otherwise to an unscrupulous but well-to-do individual. There is only one more remark I will make before I leave this subject. Here in the Congress we remember with gratitude the labours of our friend Mr. Monomohan Ghose, a distinguished member of this body, who had made this question of the Judicial powers of Executive officers peculiarly his own, and had worked for its furtherance until the closing hours of his life.

WORK IN ENGLAND.

How many other questions crowd to the mind—many of them of great importance—but I must resolutely turn my face away. There is a limit, Brother-Delegates, even to your indulgence. I have spoken to you of the work to which we might direct our attention in India, which needs to be done, and which, I venture to hope, will be done. Let me now turn to the other side of that work, the work in England. It is impossible to speak of it without our thoughts turning with deep gratitude to the British Committee headed by Sir William Wedderburn containing such friends of India as Hume and Caine, Roberts and Naoroji, and many others whose names are so well known to you, and to their unselfish labours on India's behalf. It is a matter of special satisfac-

tion to us to see the growing number of meetings which are being held in England under the auspices of the Committee ; and this cannot fail to create, I trust and earnestly hope, amongst the members of both the great Parties of England, an increased interest and a greater sense of responsibility, in the affairs of this country. And how much we owe to our friends Mr. Chambers and Mr. Dutt, who may be said to have represented Bombay and Bengal in particular, for their eloquent, earnest and informed pleadings on India's behalf in meeting after meeting, carrying conviction and rousing interests. But in this connection, will you permit me, my friends from Madras, members and friends of the Congress whom I am glad to see present in such large numbers, whose patriotism and self-sacrifice, whose zeal and devotion, have made this session of the Congress such a success in spite of many difficulties, will you permit me to ask when will *your* representative—or may I not use the plural number—start to do India's work in the land of our rulers, and hold a meeting, not in the Hyde Park of Madras, but in that other Hyde Park where Londoners love to congregate? As to the methods, and lines of expansion, of the work in England, I need not now speak. I had occasion not long ago to speak on that subject in Bombay. But, Brother-Delegates, what I would specially draw your attention to is the need and the great importance of that work in England, the need of funds, and not less, but even more, of men, capable and earnest, who will go from India, meet English audiences face to face, and inform them of the actual state of things. That such men will meet with patient and sympathetic hearing, and find amongst English people the desire to do full justice to the claims and aspirations of India, all past experience has shewn.

A MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.

Let me as an illustration refer to one meeting, and it will be only one, out of a great many that I might cite. On the 9th November of last year, it was my privilege to be present at the first meeting of a political character during my recent visit to England. After a lapse of three and twenty years, I found myself once again in the Hall of the Cambridge

Union Society with its many associations of the past, where the Motion for Debate that day was one condemning the "Recent Policy of Coercion" in India. And after a full discussion, in which every shade of opinion was represented, a House which in its ordinary composition is Conservative in the proportion, I believe, of more than two to one, passed that Resolution condemning the action of the Government of India. There have been many meetings since then which Mr. Dutt and others have addressed, and amongst audiences of every variety; but I refer to this particular occasion, not only on account of the character of the meeting in its political composition, and that was remarkable, but also on account of the culture and the position of those taking part in it, and the possibilities in the future open to them. There was one remark in that Debate from an Ex-President of the Union, who spoke in favour of the motion, which struck me very much. England, he said, after referring to her colonial policy, had learnt how to attach to her in bonds of affection people of her own race in distant parts of the world, by following a liberal policy of wise concession. But it would be, he added, a far prouder day to her when she succeeded in knitting to her and making her own, people of another race in her great Indian Empire, by following the same wise policy. I do not know whether my friend will ever come out as Viceroy of India. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall have soon amongst us as our Viceroy an Ex-President of the sister Union Society of Oxford. Let us trust that it will be given to Lord Curzon, endowed with the double gift of "Courage and Sympathy" of which he spoke, to steer the vessel of State and carry it on towards that goal, which, we know, is also the high ideal which he has set before himself in assuming his office.

There is one word more, Ladies and Gentlemen, which I must say. The English are often supposed to be a reserved nation. But speaking from experience of kindness which will remain engraved in my heart so long as memory lasts, of cordiality and even warm friendship from men whom I had never known before, I doubt if there are anywhere kinder and truer men and women, than are to be met with in that country. Permit me, Brother-Delegates, from this great gathering to

send not alone my own heartfelt gratitude for all this kindness—how its bright recollection rushes to the mind—but your acknowledgments also for help ungrudgingly given by them, for sympathy unstintedly shewn, and for interest whose warmth left nothing to be desired, on behalf of the cause of India and her people.

GRATITUDE TO GOVERNMENT

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have felt it my duty to examine and criticise many of the recent proceedings of the Government. But I have a pleasanter duty to perform before I close, the duty of expressing our gratitude to the Government for its changed attitude in regard to the policy of dealing with that calamity of the Plague which has now been afflicting this country for so long, and which, indeed, is not, as I am speaking, very far from our doors. Let whatever of mistakes, be they light or be they grave, which may have been made in the earlier stages, be forgotten ; and I am sure, Brother-Delegates, it will be your earnest endeavour, as indeed it is your bounden duty, to render every possible help to Government in its efforts to meet this dire foe. And we thank the Government of Lord Sandhurst in particular for the considerate and deep spirit of sympathy shewn in its last Resolution dealing with the nature of plague operations, and let me add, for the statesman-like resolve to which I believe it has lately come not to charge to Poona the cost of the Punitive Police Force, and for its opening the prison-door to Mr. Tilak. May we not hope that all these are happy indications of return to a policy of conciliation, sympathy, and trust, and of increased touch with the people—indications which will multiply until the grave mischief of the past is undone, and the path once more opened which leads to progress, reform, and contentment ?

ENCOURAGEMENT TO EDUCATION.

I shall presently refer to a liberal example of endowment in the cause of education ; but before doing so permit me to note with gratitude the generous and magnificent offer which Mr. Tata—a true benefactor of his country—has made in furtherance of the cause of higher scientific education.

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Perhaps I may also mention the offer by the Maharaja of Mysensing, in my Province, for the establishment of some scholarships for the encouragement of technical education by sending students to Europe, America or Japan. All these are truly encouraging signs, and let us hope there will be many in every part of the country to follow their noble example, and help on, in this and in every other direction, the cause of Indian progress.

SOME DEATHS.

It is with deep regret we heard in September last the news of the sudden death of Sirdar Dayal Singh Majithia of Lahore,—one of the leading noblemen of the Punjab and belonging to an illustrious Sikh family—a tried staunch friend of the Congress, as indeed of every good cause, on whose invitation and in no small measure by whose liberality the Session of the Congress was held at Lahore five years ago. It is a satisfaction to know that even in death he did not forget the cause of his country, which was ever so dear to his heart; and knowing that education was the basis on which every cause that makes for the progress of the country must rest, has left a munificent endowment for starting a First Grade College in his native Province. And now in the closing month of the year, not a fortnight ago, has passed away to the realm beyond one of the noblest and the most illustrious of India's sons, illustrious not by birth and position alone, the Premier Nobleman of Bengal and the Head of its proud Aristocracy—but illustrious by that which is a higher nobility by far than that of birth and wealth, God's own nobility of a rich heart and a rich service in humanity's cause. In the Maharaja of Durbhanga, the British Government loses a loyal subject and perhaps the most trusted and honored of its Councillors, the country one of the greatest of its benefactors and staunchest of the defenders of its rights, and the Congress a friend, a generous helper, a warm supporter—none warmer—whose value no word that can fall from our lips can adequately express. Can memory fail to go back at this moment to that scene when two years ago he came to the Congress Pavilion in Calcutta, the last he lived to attend, and the whole assembly rose as one man with an enthusiasm that knew no bounds, to

welcome this true friend alike of the Government and of the people? To me, the deaths of Sirdar Dyal Sing and of the Maharaja of Durbhanga come with the suddenness and the poignancy of grief at the loss of two who were personal friends, and whom I had eagerly hoped soon to meet after a long absence. But they have, Ladies and Gentlemen, left behind, marks in the foot-print of time, which we trust and pray may be an encouragement and a guide to others of their class, and to all true and loyal sons of India. Nor is yet the tale of death complete. For we have to mourn, too, the closing in its brilliant promise and amid many useful labours, of another career, in the death of Dr. Bahadurji of Bombay. Of all he did for his own Presidency, and of his devoted labours in the last two years of his youthful life in battling with the plague and bringing succour to the afflicted, I need not speak. But on this platform, from which he has often addressed us, we specially call to mind to-day his services to the cause of Medical Reform which he had made specially his own. Let others come and gather round the standard which has fallen from his hands before the battle was won.

THE MOTHER-LAND

Ladies and Gentlemen, I began with a reference to Mr. Gladstone, and I will finish, too, with a reference to that great man. It was a cold morning when, closely muffled up, pale and ill, the great statesman was entering his carriage at Bournemouth, making the last journey of his life, on his way to Hawarden, there to die. A crowd had assembled at the station, to bid him farewell, to have a last look at the face not much longer destined for earth. In response to their cheers and salutations, Mr. Gladstone uttered these words—the last he uttered in public—he who had so often held audiences of his countrymen spell-bound by the magic of his voice, "God bless you all, and this place, and the land you love so well." The words were few, and the reporters added, the voice was low. But there was in them, the last words of the parting hero, a pathos of farewell and of benediction, a deep thrill as of another world, which produced an effect not less perhaps, but more, than the great efforts of a happier time. And let us, too, following those simple words of Mr.

Gladstone, ask God that he may bless us all and this dear land of ours. Do you, do we, Brother-Delegates, love that land, the land that gave us birth ; the land beloved of the gods, they say, in ages gone by, when the world was young and darkness lay over many of its peoples ; the land where knowledge lighted her earliest torch, the arts of life and civilization found their home, and philosophy pondered deep over the problems of life ; where Rishis sang those hymns to the Father in the Shining Sky, the earliest of the Aryan world which still live and throb in our hearts, and the eyes of the Seer saw visions of things not of this world ; that land where, after ages, the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day ? That land, Brother-Delegates, deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer, for her misfortunes of the past, for the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone. After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her, and the golden light has already begun to stream over her fair face. It depends on us, Brothers and Sisters, Fellow-citizens of this ancient land, it depends on us, on our sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streaks of that light shall broaden and grow into the lovely day. At length has India awakened from the stupor of ages, the fire of her intellect, of her heroism, of her piety, dimmed but yet not wholly extinguished, and waiting but the breeze of manly effort and kindly help to burn once again in the time to come, let us hope, with the splendour and lustre as of old.

Lord Salisbury spoke the other day of the living and the dying nations of the world. Shall India, Brother-Delegates, be a living nation, shall the glories that were hers remain for ever a memory of the past, or shall they once again be realities in the time before us ? On us, Brother-Delegates, depends the answer, on our efforts, on the lives we live and the sacrifices we make, not in the political field alone, but in many another field ; and let us not forget that never was progress won without sacrifice. And in that effort, depend upon it, we shall get, as indeed we claim, the loving help and the ardent sympathy of the great Nation, into whose hands Providence has entrusted the destinies of this land.

The German host marched to its triumph to the cry of "God and Fatherland." Let ours be a still dearer cry, the cry of "God and Motherland," as our mission also is the holier and nobler enterprise of peace, of love, of loyal progress, of every duty to our Beloved Sovereign faithfully discharged, of individual growth and national re-generation. Hear we, my friends, the trumpet-call of duty resounding to us amid the stirring scenes, the moving enthusiasm, the thrilling sights of this great gathering? Yes, the call sounds clear, but let our hearts gather the strength to respond to that call, and to be true to her, our Common Mother, the Land of our birth; to be true and faithful to the light that is within us, and to every noble impulse that stirs within us. And may we, as we return to our homes, to the spheres of our daily duty, carry a little more of the living love to our country than when we came, a little more of the earnest longing to be good and true and useful, before the day closeth and our life's work is done!

President's Concluding Address

AT THE MADRAS CONGRESS IN RESPONSE TO A VOTE OF THANKS

Brother-Delegates, to quote the words of my friend who moved the resolution, my friends among the people of Madras, eight and twenty years ago there was a stranger who spent a night in your city. He was a humble pilgrim to the shrine of learning in the land of our rulers. The steamer that carried him stopped for a night and enabled him then to see a little of your grand city. Did he dream then that it would be his fortune to be installed in this chair and to be received with the kindness, the overwhelming kindness that he has met with from the moment that he landed on the pier the other day to the present? On that occasion, true I had my friend and honored leader, Mr. Keshab Chandra Sen, with me (cheers). Therefore it was possible for me to receive foretaste in his company, of the kindness that distinguishes this city, but yet, as I said, not the wildest fancy, not the loudest voice of imagination, could have suggested to me the possibility of the honour that you have rendered me here. I got down the other day and through miles of procession amongst men and women, amongst flowers being scattered in the streets and flowers thrown from the numerous arches under which I passed, it was my privilege to come to this pavilion and to come to this park. That was your kindness and you add to that by passing this vote which has been so feelingly and so eloquently moved. Years ago I read a little book called "Through the Looking Glass," and, as you would expect in the looking glass things looked topsyturvy, the reverse of their natural order; and when you, my friends, thank me for, as you are pleased to call,—I am ashamed to repeat the words—the condescension and kindness on my part, all I can say is that things seem here to be rather the

reverse of what they ought to be, (Cries of "No, no") because it is to you my thanks are due for filling to overflowing and more than overflowing, the cup of your kindness, which kindness will ever remain engraven on my heart. Ladies and Gentlemen, with regard to the work of the Congress it was my privilege to say something on the opening day. I will not refer to that. I have not had the time even to refer to papers and telegrams that have been appearing; but I learn from what fell from the lips of my friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, there has been a charge brought that the accusations against Government are of a vague and general character. This one remark and one remark alone shall I venture to make: that in the facts that I stated the charges that were brought if that is the name—the name may or may not be correct—if there are specific allegations, they are allegations directed to a definite issue for judgment on evidence adduced and for decision. To the charges that were brought, as I said, I would not refer, because I am hoping that the day of reaction will soon pass away. Yea, the brighter day has already begun, and in the Viceroyalty that is inaugurated and that is being inaugurated we shall have a blessed era of domestic reform and progress. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thought it would fall to my share and that it would be my privilege to thank the Reception Committee and the volunteers for all that they had done, but I need not go over that ground. That ground has been covered with eloquence, ability, and feeling, by the very people who had used the credentials of the common tie of citizenship and brotherly love. That task has been performed. Therefore all that I can say is that I echo from the bottom of my heart every one of the sentiments that were given expression to. We are indeed beholden unto you, our friends, members of the Reception Committee, for the wonderful success that in spite of the difficulties, that were unprecedented in the history of the Congress in these many years of its existence, in spite of these difficulties, you have brought it to such a successful issue. I learn you took it up before your time came to take it up, with that zeal and self-sacrifice which is the foundation of national greatness, the basis of national progress. You stepped into the breach and took up the

charge, which nobly, my friends of Madras, you have discharged, This is the first time that the Congress has been held in a city where actual cases of plague and more than the plague, the scare of plague, did indeed exercise a terrorising influence over the minds of many. In spite of this, it has happened. As to the Volunteers, need I say how great is our gratitude to them for their willing and cheerful service rendered with love and enthusiasm, rendered with humility and devotion, which is an example to us and which ought to be the example all the days of our life. All that I can hope and pray for them is that this devotion will grow with the growth of their days, that this enthusiasm and this love of country as manifested in the service to us, the loveliest of the people the servants of the country, this devotion may grow, broaden, brighten and increase until in the fulness of time, it may accomplish results for the regeneration of our motherland, which at the present time is almost beyond all dream.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are on the eve of a new year, literally on the eve of a new year. It is usual with many of the communities to select a motto for the new year, to start on a new year with a motto which is ever present before their minds and before their eyes. I ask this Congress, I ask also those who are present here within the reach of my humble voice, to select a motto for themselves which will embody the principles of their life, of their action in this year, the last of the century, that is now opening before them. May I take the liberty to suggest one motto for them? (Cries of "Yes") Let me suggest the motto "Love and Service" (cheers). You have cheered the name of India, the great motherland, whenever it has been mentioned. Now, let it not be simple cheering, but let it be loving the country; the love that is implanted in the depths, deepest depths of your hearts, a love that grows out of it, covers all the regions of your hearts. The spirit of love grows and grows until it enables you to achieve the work that has to be done, if India is to be no longer, as I said the other day, a dying but a living nation. Love the country, love your countrymen, the children of the common mother. Be they Hindus, Mahommedans, or Christians or whatever be their religious persuasion, matters

not, they are all brothers. Love them with that brotherly love. (Cheers). Permit me, friends, before I go on with a few remarks of mine, to refer to one observation which fell from my friend who moved the resolution. He said that in failing health, I had been able to come, and the thought then came to my mind, while I am deeply thankful to you for that indulgence, for that kindness and sympathy and for that forbearance, which has enabled me to carry on that work and for which I appealed to you on the opening day, my gratitude is also due to a higher power that rules the destinies of nations, that has given me strength when I expected no strength. Shall I tell you, friends, a secret? The day before I left Calcutta, I arranged with a dearly loved and honored friend that he would read for me that address which I had written, I did not then anticipate that I should have even the strength given to me to read it, but God, in his kindness, has sustained me, and let me, therefore, with a doubly grateful heart remember his mercies and ask that these mercies may be a portion of us, that we may be enabled to test the steadiness of that love which alone gives strength to carry on the work that has to be done, that love of which I spoke, the love to your country, the love to your countrymen, the love to God, the animating principle of your life, and of your action and, may I add, even love to those who assail and attack and misrepresent us. It is a difficult thing and an extremely difficult thing. It is not in human nature not to resent being called, as my friend has been called, jays and carrion kites, I know the sentiments that naturally arise on those of animosity and anger, against bitter taunts of that kind, but I hope it may, to some extent at any rate, be possible for us while we attack a policy, while we are vigorous in our denunciation against acts which are against our rights, and while we are vigorous and earnest in our efforts to hurl back and push back that dark rolling tide of reaction of which I had been speaking, to remember what the blessed prophet of Kapilavastu said, that it is not by hatred that hatred is conquered, but by love. (Cheers). Never were truer words uttered, and Christ, the sincere Lord, said the same thing. "It is by love alone that you can conquer your enemies." Difficult as it may be, I trust that, however much we may be the victims of cruel pre-

justice and crueller misrepresentation, yet we may be enabled in that spirit of love to carry on the sacred mission that has been entrusted to us. If indeed, friends, you cultivate that spirit of love, then from the beautiful flower of love, will come, in time, a naturally beautiful fruit, and the fruition of the other word which I put before you—"service." Love that is really deep in your hearts, that really overflows from your hearts, vitalises, permeates every atom of your being. From that love must spring the fruit of action and service and zealous and self-sacrificing effort. Ladies and Gentlemen, with reference to the work of the Congress, do you love it? If you love it, I ask, pray and implore you to save the Congress by working for it, by services on its behalf. I have known of people and talked with many, whose interest in the Congress cause is flagging, whose zeal is abating, whose hope is dwindling from day to day. Why? Not because the principle which the Congress embodies, enunciates and proclaims from the house top, from the pavilion year after year, has grown less dear to them or that they have altered their attitude and their convictions in regard to them. No, no. On the contrary, as I have stated, as they have seen the growth of the political history of nations more and more, they have been convinced that there is a political salvation of India, through the means of the principles of a loyal and organized agitation, the principles that the Congress embodies and carries out. But they have felt that there is only a talk for three days and not the influence of your love, not that progressive advance from day to day, from month to month, and from year to year, which ought to be the necessary function of a healthy organic growth. If they do not find it they lose—I was almost going to say ought to lose—the natural, inevitable interest in their work. Therefore if you want to save the Congress, if you want to make it fulfil its high functions, work for it. I rejoice, Ladies and Gentlemen, to find that the resolution about provincial committees on which my friend to the right spoke so eloquently carried to-day. I rejoice to find that you have adopted it. But, remember that it is not by injunction to Provincial Committees to spread the principles of the Congress, to bring publications out and to teach those principles to the masses

and to submit reports, it is not by injunction that you save the Congress or carry the country ahead in its path of reform, progress and political advancement. Each of us must be ready to serve the country. I am glad to learn that in response to that eloquent appeal of my friend, Mr. Surendranath Banerji, several delegates have tendered willing services to the cause of the Congress. Let that number multiply. Let there be larger and larger number of, what my friend Mr. Tarapada Banerji characterised some time ago, Congress workers, who will really do their work for the Congress. It is this work that is our need. I feel strongly, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it is not by talking, that we shall be saved. Our talk may be the talk of the angels of the heaven. That will not save us. There must be life behind. The word that is allied to love is self-sacrifice. That is the guiding principle which will pierce like the most piercing of the lances through your heart. We want love, self-sacrifice. Never was progress achieved without self-sacrifice. That is the law, the eternal law of God. Our ancestors believed in sacrifices. They might have been sacrifices in a material sense but they embodied the great central spiritual truth. You, in worshipping God, your divinity, give your sacrifice, sacrifice in that eternal, in that spiritual, in that higher sense which sanctifies you, which enables you to face danger, to overcome every difficulty and not to be daunted by the threats of the mightiest in the world. If you know that you are on the side of the truth, if you know that you are the servant and follower of Him in whose hands, the destiny of this great universe lies, if you know that, you are not frightened and terrified in spite of the frowns of all the mighty rulers or councillors of this world. Embody that love in your heart, embody that principle of sacrifice. If we do that indeed then shall we be blessed. There was a reference made in the speech in moving the resolution to something about the Congress discovering great men of this country. There was some reference to the work that great men do in it. While I am glad to know that the Congress finds its great men, I fear that my friend, who imagines that the Congress has succeeded in that discovery in the present case, has committed a very great mistake indeed. (Cries of

"No, no"). At any rate if you feel so, I want to add something to it, something to supplement it. The thought came to my mind as I listened to the address that if a great victory is to be achieved it must be by a fight by the soldiers. If we have our leaders, and we have honored leaders I know, it must be the zeal, devotion and sacrifice of you and me who belong to the rank and file that will enable us to march onward. Let me tell you one incident of that great battle of Omdurman that took place the other day. I am not going to refer to its military aspect or to its achievement or to its results or to the scientific accomplishments of the modern engines of destruction, but only to one little story of heroism which I read, which touched me extremely and which it seemed to me was something worth remembering by you and by me, who have to do our every day work without appreciation, it may be, against slander and calumny, it may be, without receiving that need of sympathy and encouragement for which the human heart naturally longs. This is what I read. There was the famous charge of lancers in that battle, the famous charge in order to decide, in fact, the fate of the battle. One of the Captains or Colonels, in response to a toast in London, as regards the incident said this : That it was not really they that won the fight but it was the spirit of the soldiers, and this incident which he mentioned I place before you. There was a soldier, he said, among the lancers who was very ill, but he knew that there was to be a battle on the morrow and he would not report his illness to the Doctor. Then those who were in the army, those who were fighting with him thought it absolutely their duty to report the illness to the Doctor. When the Doctor came he did not find this soldier : he had hidden himself in such a place that it was impossible for the most diligent inquirer to find him out. Next morning knowing that he might also have a chance to join in this affray, what did he do ? Though almost he was on the point of falling down, he groomed his horse and prepared like other soldiers as if he would join in the fight ; but he did not join in the fight, he fell down in that attempt and he died there. That is the spirit, Ladies and Gentlemen, of a man whose achievements are not heralded in gazettes and newspaper reports. That is the spirit of the

humble man who has faith to sustain, who has got love and good of the country implanted in him, who has not the rousing cheers of the multitude to encourage him in the path of the work for the country, who yet is determined to do his little best, to bear a little of the great burden of the great task, of the great mission that has to be accomplished. And that was the thought that came very strongly to my mind : that it is not by discovering great men, though it has got its uses certainly, it is by having a higher, nobler, more sacred spirit of the work of the country and love for the country implanted into your minds, that you can possibly hope to get on and to achieve even a fraction of the work that must be accomplished if India is to recover her position in the scale of nations. Let us trust and pray that it will be possible for us to have a few seeds of that divine plant, love, sacrifice in life, implanted in our hearts. It may be that these seeds may not at once germinate. I hope they will. At any rate let Madras be associated in our minds, let the closing day of the fourteenth session of the Congress be associated in our minds, with something, I will not use a high expression, something of a new birth, something of a spirit, something of the stir of a new and nobler impulse in our minds. It may be that as we are referring to the work of the humble and the unknown, that the thought may come into the minds that after all how few are we to achieve this great work, to undo the destruction and havoc that have been rendered by centuries of our misfortune in the past. Ladies and Gentlemen, my friends, I will address you no longer as Brother Delegates, I shall drop that qualification from the mind, I shall say fellow-citizens, children of a common mother, friends associated in a holy cause, I ask you if your heart faints at the thought that you are so few amongst the multitude of millions of this land. I will tell you an incident that impressed me. I was once on a visit to Agra where many of you have been. If you had been there, you must remember that there is one particular chamber in the ruins of the old place, so far as it exists now, known as Sis Mahal, the room of mirrors. That is the place to which a guide often takes you in order to show you a very rare sight. What is that rare sight? When you go there by yourself, you see that there

are hundred other multiplications of you. More than hundred mirrors are placed there and arranged so that one image is reflected into an army. So real is the impression, so vivid is the impression that you come to the belief that you are no longer alone in that chamber, but there are hundreds besides you. Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not that glass that you require ; it is a mirror of love, mirror of faith, mirror of self-sacrifice. (Cheers). You will then find yourselves multiplied a hundredfold and thousandfold. You will feel the strength of thousand armies crowd unto you through the invisible, through the mysterious secret influence that works there. You will find your weakness vanishing and in the place of it, there comes a sacred flow that revivifies the spirit, that drives away all faint-heartedness, all weakness, all consciousness of insufficiency from you, and enables you to achieve deeds which formerly seemed impossible to you and then perhaps to the invisible eye of faith you will find not yourself alone. It may be that in your dark dungeon or cell you are not alone but accompanied by hundreds, it may be that the spirits of our great forefathers, it may be the spirits of ministering angels that God sends down in his kindness, you will find yourselves not alone, you will find there are hundreds of those ministering spirits whispering to you, encouraging you and speaking to you when you are about to faint, holding you up, sustaining and supporting you in the midst of your trials. That is indeed an experience worth striving for. We learn from those blessed of this world who have gone through that experience that such a thing does exist, that a child goes through the martyrdom, allows its hands to be burnt and body to be destroyed and consumed by the cruel flame, because that gives into the heart the strength that does not belong to the child or to that man or woman, but strength that the great infinite divine presence sends down in mercy to the praying, self-sacrificing heart. Let that be our prayer as we part company, as we come to close our work. As in the evening lights are lighted in dark and gloomy chambers, so if there are loveless chambers in our hearts, if there are dark gloomy chambers in our hearts, let the light of love, sacrifice and faith shed its light, when there dark-shades of darkness flee away, there will be

beautiful visions of happiness which no word can utter, blessings which no heart listen and realise. Let that be our prayer. Ours, my friends, was a praying nation. In the past ours was a nation distinguished for piety. Let us not lose that inheritance of our ancestors. Brethren, Hindus and Mahomedans, all brethren, united by the highest and sacredest of ties, we are associated by God as the children of one common motherland, let us all ask God that he might send down the love of the country sanctified by the love to Him, sanctified by the superiority of the spirit of sacrifice without which all talk is absolute nothing, sanctified by that spirit of sacrifice, that we may be in the closing year of the century of some benefit to our country and that we may have earned by the time we next meet again at Lucknow something of that blessing that follows from a righteous purpose accomplished faithfully. We may fail in accomplishing all that we have before us, but if the spirit is in us and if we go in the right direction with that earnestness in us, what may we not achieve, we microscopic minority? If one man has got the strength of God and the strength of deep love of the country, that one man will be stronger than a thousand, than a ten thousand. Ask for that strength and it shall be ours. Do we not remember how in the days of ancient Rome whenever there was a fissure in the earth which nothing could possibly fill up, one jumped into the pit which had opened and again closed and Rome was again saved from that impending destruction. That is what is wanted. How many of us are prepared at any rate for taking some steps towards that sacrifice. That is the question of questions, not the passing of resolutions; that is easily done, in the cheer to the echo of any periods that may fall from us, but it is the writing of these resolutions into the tablets of your hearts with that steel, cutting steel of sacrificing efforts. That is what is wanted. Depend upon it, that if it comes, no difficulties can stand in the way. It may be to-morrow or it may be 5 or 10 years hence, matters not; but we shall be blessed by God and the blessings of our motherland shall be on us. It is not right, my friends, that I should detain you further. (Cries of 'No no') My closing words will be this: I shall ask for your prayers on my behalf. There was reference made to my failing strength. I

do not know how it is that in spite of these apprehensions I have been able to stand this strain. I am one of those who believe in the vitalising influence of human sympathy, and my friends of Madras, my friends gathered here from Lahore, Bombay and from all the distant parts of the country, it is possibly your sympathy that has enabled me to stand this strain which it was beyond my wildest dream. It may even be, my friends, that I shall return to Calcutta actually stronger. I hope it may be so. (Cheers). My friend, the Doctor, no warmer any man can have the fortune to possess, knows under what difficulties even in the voyage, the difficulties of a physical character, I had to contend with; yet I thank you still more for that gift, precious gift of sympathy and kindly thought that has enabled me to bear the strain and not entirely be overwhelmed under its great and crushing responsibilities. As I said I will not detain you, there is no occasion to detain you more; all that I ask of you to remember on your behalf, is one substantial result of the Congress in Madras may be that we shall carry something of that spirit,—a little self-sacrifice willingly made is acceptable, as we are told, to the Gods—and let us make that sacrifice. Let us not leave this hall until we have registered a mental vow, until bowing our heads with all solemnity, we have resolved in this year that between the meeting at Madras and the meeting in that ancient city of Lucknow we shall have recorded some progress, some march in the path towards love and service. I thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for your resolution, for your kindness and I pray that the blessings of the Lord may be on us, on every one of us, that He may have strength given us to fulfil whatever mission he has entrusted to each of us, to be true to the light that he has lighted within us, and that we may be enabled to serve the cause of the country by our lives and the sacrifice of lives (cheers).

II.

The Indian Educational Service

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE XIIIth CONGRESS, 1896

Mr. A.M. Bose delivered the following speech at the twelfth session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1896 in proposing a Resolution on the Higher Educational Service which ran to the following effect :—

“ That this Congress hereby records its protest against the scheme for reorganising the Educational Service which has just received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Education Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, for, in the words of the Resolution, “ in future, natives of India, who are desirous of entering the Educational Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial Service.” The Congress prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.”

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :
If the preceding resolution as mentioned by its mover was a very old one, the present at any rate is brand new. I regret, therefore, all the more, that booked as a speaker last night in my absence and without my knowledge, I find myself, by a change made since I entered this hall, in the position of being the mover of this resolution. But, Sir, your mandate must be obeyed, and I must accept the situation with all the philosophy I can command. Brother-Delegates, before addressing myself to the one feature of the many-featured and complicated scheme which is specially re-

ferred to in our resolution—the feature namely of extending and perpetuating the area of exclusion in regard to our countrymen in the Educational Service—permit me to make one observation in reference to another feature of the Resolution of the Government of India on this subject. By that Resolution, amongst many changes, an important improvement is effected in the position and pay of many European members of the Educational Service ; and I beg to say a word in reference to it in order to prevent any possible misapprehension of our attitude. I rejoice, Sir, that this has been done, because I look upon that improvement as an important recognition of the practical value to the country of the great Educational Service, of the work of those who are engaged in the task of furthering and fostering the cause of education. And I rejoice also, Sir, because on this platform we know no distinction of race, colour, or creed. We welcome an act of justice, though it is done to our European fellow-subjects ; we welcome it as an act of justice, and this enables us to emphasise our position in the face of the world that what we contend and strive for in the Congress is not the granting of privileges to any particular sect, race, or creed, but the recognition of merit wherever it may be found, of service rendered in the cause of the country by whomsoever it may be rendered.

Coming now, gentlemen, to the resolution before us, the text on which I have to speak is set out in the words of the sentence which is quoted in it. They are : “in future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial Service.” Mark the words “Provincial Service” and all that they necessarily involve, and mark also the words “in future”; and the question, Brother-Delegates, that I put to you is this. Is the cause of progress not only not to advance, but to be put back ? Is the future to be worse than the past ? Is the hand to be set back on the dial, is retrogression to mark the onward march of time, because that is what the resolution of the Government of India contemplates, what it proposes to carry out. It will be necessary, the subject being new, to place before you and explain in the fewest words I can, the particular portion of the reorganisation scheme which bears

on the present resolution. What the scheme proposes is now for the first time to introduce two distinct divisions or branches in the superior Educational Service of the country, the higher branch to be called the Indian Educational Service and to be filled by persons appointed in England ; and the lower branch, namely the Provincial Educational Service, to be filled, by reason, I presume, of the inferiority of its position, by recruitment in India. Let us for a moment examine what are the results that follow from these two different methods of recruitment. Let me say once again, I do not grudge the better terms of what I have called the higher branch. What we regret and what adds to the keenness and bitterness of that regret is that while there has been this recognition of the claims of education in regard to the European member of the Service, as regards the people of India justice has not been done. Justice has been denied to us. In what I have called the higher branch they begin on a pay of Rs. 500 ; as regards the lower branch, the branch for natives of India, there is no knowing on what pay they will begin. Let me give you one or two facts only, premising that the figures and dates which will be mentioned by me relate specially to Bengal. Previous to the year 1880, the higher branch was open to natives of India and open on exactly the same pay as to a European member ; and as a matter of fact it actually comprised several such Indian gentlemen. There was neither a bar to admission nor difference in the scale of pay. But in that year began the downward march, and it was declared that natives of India taken into the higher service should begin on Rs. 333 or two-thirds of Rs. 500, the pay of a European member. I will not pause to consider the invidious and the retrograde character of this distinction then introduced for the first time, or on the heart-burning at the sense of degradation it was likely to cause. But, gentlemen, bad as this was, things did not stop here. The scale of 333 went on until in 1889 the initial pay was further reduced to Rs. 250 ; and we do not know, Sir, how far that progress may now go on, and what further reduction may yet be carried out. Not only is there no guarantee in this respect, no word of hope in the Government Resolution now before us, but so far as it is concerned, commencing pay may

be so low as Rs. 150. So far then with reference to the initial salary. As regards the other, maximum limit of pay, we have more light thrown by the terms of the resolution. A native of India, however high his education may have been in the Universities of Europe, however exalted the position he may have taken in the highest competitions in England, can at the end of his life in the Provincial Service expect to rise only to Rs. 700, possibly after 25 or 30 years of service—service reckoned not only by length of years, but it may be by important researches, by unique discoveries, by valuable and noteworthy work in advancing the cause of education. Whereas in the higher branch which is open only to Europeans, at the end of 10 years alone, the salary *shall* be Rs. 1,000. This then is the difference in the position as regards these two. What I have said applies also to the graduates of our own Universities, many of them men of brilliant abilities and rare talent, who would have entered the Educational Service of the country and proved its ornaments and its most useful members but for the poor prospects held out to them and the invidious distinction between the positions of the Indian and the European members of that service.

Let me now point out how we have been actually going backwards in another most important respect by the provisions of this resolution, the result of more than five years' incubation and of numerous despatches passing between India and England. Up to now there was nothing to exclude an Indian member of the Service from becoming the Principal of the highest college in this country. But under the terms of the resolution in question, you will find given in an appendix to the despatch, the list of appointments open respectively to the Indian Educational Service and to the lower Provincial Service. In the former, I am speaking only for Bengal—there are five Principalships of the Colleges, under the latter not one. At the present time any Indian Professor in the Presidency College, and I know some most distinguished ones there, can become in course of time and by virtue of seniority the Principal of that College. There is absolutely nothing to prevent it. But under the new scheme we are excluded, we are debarred, from looking forward to that state of things, even if it should be that in working out the scheme

some of the minor professorships of the College may, by a stretch of generosity, fall to the lot of the Provincial Service. Is this right? Are we going onwards or backwards? Is that, gentlemen, to be the fruit of that awakening of the great social, moral, and intellectual forces that are now dominating the face of this continent? Is that indeed to be the result of the onward march, of the vaunted progress and enlightenment, of the country? Is a new preserve to be created for the European members of the higher service? Is the area of exclusion for the people of the soil to be further extended? From equality in the earlier years to inequality in 1880, and now in the closing years of the century to still further and grosser inequality, is that to be the order of things, the destined course of progress under the enlightened administration of England for this great and ancient land? At any rate, by our voice and effort we shall do, I trust, all we can to prevent that state of things, and to bring home to the minds and consciences of our rulers and of the justice-loving people of England the injustice that has been done. And, Sir, let me tell the authors of this scheme that, as regards the inauguration of this backward policy in the great educational service of the country, they have selected a very inopportune moment indeed. Why, Sir, I should have thought that if the gracious words of Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation, which is the charter of our rights, are to be belittled, if those solemn words still ringing in our ears which granted equal rights and equal privileges to all classes of her subjects irrespective of race, colours or creed are to be violated and to be departed from, then the task should be attempted not in the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign which we in India are celebrating, and the coming of which has filled with joy and rejoicing the minds of all Her subjects in the vast Indian Empire. Let them not select this present year of Her Majesty's beneficent and benignant rule for initiating this retrograde policy. There is, Sir, another reason also which emboldens me to say that they have been specially unhappy in the selection of their time. Why, Sir, we know the London *Times* has only the other day borne testimony to the fact that the year 1896 is an epoch-making year, as regards the intellectual advance of

India. We know that the grand researches of an Indian professor in the field of invisible light, in the sublime and giddy heights of etherial vibration, have led to discoveries which have filled the mind of Lord Kelvin, the highest authority which England has produced, literally 'with wonder and admiration'. We have heard of the great and wonderful feat that another countryman of ours has achieved in the last great competition for the Indian Civil Service. We know of the discoveries which also in the present year of grace have rewarded the genius and the patient toils of another countryman of ours in the realm of chemical research. The present year then, when India has shown that she has not forgotten the traditions of her glorious past, when the great Indian mind has awakened to the consciousness of the great destiny before it, and not only awakened to that consciousness, but has taken the first practical step towards obtaining its recognition from the generous scholars of the West, surely is not the time or the season for ushering into existence a policy of this retrograde character. We shall not, so far as in us lies, permit, without protest at any rate, the inauguration of such a policy. It is, gentlemen, rather late in the day for this policy, for this creation of a new crime of colours, for this infringement of the gracious words of Her Majesty's Proclamation.

Gentlemen, there is one other remark I have to make and that is this. If I have dwelt on the nature of this policy, on what I may venture to describe with all respect, as its audaciously retrograde character, if I have dwelt upon that, it is only right that I should draw your attention to a small word that occurs in the sentence I have placed before you. That sentence, as you know, is "that in future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial Service." Perhaps the framers of the resolution thought that there was a great deal of virtue in that saving word "usually." But I will venture to prophesy, I will undertake to say, what the result of that "usually" will be. Not that the mantle of prophecy has fallen upon me or that the gift of the seer has been vouchsafed to me. But, gentlemen, the past is a guide to the future and lightens up the dark places of much that is yet to be.

Let us consult that guide. As I have said, my facts specially refer to Bengal, and this is what we find in that province at the present time. I will not attempt to carry the meeting back with me to distant days. But confining our views to the time which has elapsed since the birth of the Congress, what I find is this that within the last twelve years there have been six appointments of gentlemen educated in England, and educated most successfully so far as all the tests there are concerned. These six gentlemen who have been appointed to the higher educational department in these years, have *all* of them been appointed in India. Not that they did not try to get appointed in England. No, gentlemen, after taking their degrees in the great English and Scotch Universities, after having won all their high distinctions—distinctions not less high than those of their English brethren in the service, in some cases perhaps even higher, they tried their very best, they made what I may almost describe as frantic efforts at the India Office to get an appointment from England, but all their efforts were in vain. After waiting and waiting, and after heart-rending suspense, they were told that they must ship themselves off as soon as they could to India for the Government to appoint them there. Therefore, although there is that word 'usually,' you may take it that that will happen in the future which has in these years happened in the past, and happened too, so far as we are aware, in the absence of this retrograde clause now authoritatively laid down in the Resolution. For all practical purposes, you may take it, gentlemen, that 'usually' in the sentence would mean 'invariably.' I cannot venture to detain the meeting any further. I have already passed the limit of my allotted time. I will, therefore, conclude with only one more remark. There is no cause which can be dearer to the members of the Congress than the cause of education. You, gentlemen, are the fruits of that education, of that great awakening of the national mind to which I have referred. And can it possibly be that you will for a moment neglect to do all that you can, all that lies in your power, with the help of our friends in England and in India, with the help of all those, wherever they may be, who look forward to human progress as a thing to be wished for, as a thing to be fought for, to see that your children are not ostracised from those

higher branches of the service with their higher opportunities of educational work and educational progress, to which, up to now, they have been appointed? There are no considerations such as those which are sometimes supposed, be it rightly or be it wrongly, to apply to appointments in the Indian Civil Service, which can have any application to those in the Education Service of the country. What possible shade of a shadow of justification can there be then for this enlarged and expanded edition of the policy of exclusion? Gentlemen, I believe, in the intellect of India. I believe the fire that burned so bright centuries ago has not wholly died out. I believe there are sparks, aye more than sparks, that still exist and only require the gentle breeze of sympathetic help, of judicious organisation and kindly care, to burst forth once again into that glorious fire which in the past illumined not only this great continent, but shed its lustre over other lands, into that intellectual life which achieved wonders in the field of literature and arts, in the field of mathematics and philosophy, which produced works which are even now the admiration and the wonder of the world. Fight with redoubled vigour in that cause, and then we may depend upon it that, in the Providence of God, righteousness and justice shall triumph, and this attempt to fix on the brows of the people of this ancient land a new stigma and a new disability shall fail as it deserves to fail.

Mr. A. M. Bose's Speech

AT THE FEDERATION HALL

*On the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the
Federation Hall, October 16, 1905.*

My beloved friends, Mahommedan and Hindu fellow-citizens of one and indivisible Bengal!

A *Rishi* of old blessed the gods that he had lived to see the day when the divine sage of *Kapilavastu* was ushered into the world. I am not a *Rishi*, nor worthy to touch the feet of one, but yet I bless our Father in Heaven, who is the Common Father and Judge of the Englishman and the Indian alike, that I have lived to see this day, which marks, I think I may say, the birth of a Nation. I come amongst you as one almost risen from the dead to see this moment of a national upheaval and of national awakening. Drawn from my sick bed, where I have been secluded from the world by serious illness for nearly a year, allow me to express my grateful thanks to you, for the great and signal privilege you have conferred on me by associating me with yourselves on this great and historic occasion, which will live in the annals of Bengal, and mark an epoch in its history. I see around me, after a long time, the faces of many dear friends and comrades who have been in the front of the fight. I salute them, and I salute you all, on this day of solemn recollections and solemn resolves.

It is indeed a day of mourning to us, when the Province has been sundered by an official fiat, and the gladsome spirit of union and of community of interest which had been growing stronger day by day, runs the danger of being wrecked and destroyed, and many other evils into which this is not the occasion to enter are likely to follow in its wake. And yet, in the dispensation of Providence, not unoften out of evil

cometh good ; and the dark and threatening cloud before us is so fringed with beauteous gold and brightening beams, and so fraught with the prospect of a newer and a stronger national union, that we may look upon it almost as a day of rejoicing. Yes, as our glorious poet has sung in one of his many noble and inspiring utterances, मरा गाङ्गे बान एसेके, "the dead, currentless and swampy river has felt the full force and fury of the flood, and is swelling in its depth." Have we not all heard the booming of that national call, and its solemn summons in our hearts ? Let our souls mount forth in gladness to the Throne of the Most High, at this sacred natal hour of the new and united Bengali nation ; let us bear in mind, as a writer in the *Patrika* has said, that "from dark clouds descend life-giving showers, and from parted furrows springs up the life-sustaining golden grain, that the bitter biting winter is the precursor of the glorious spring." I belong to the sundered province of East Bengal, and yet, my brethren, never did my heart cling more dearly to you or your hearts cherish us more lovingly than at the present moment, and for all the future that lies before us. The "official" separation has drawn us indeed far closer together, and made us stronger in united brotherhood. Hindu, Mussalman and Christian, North, East and West, with the resounding sea beneath, all belong to one indivisible Bengal ; say again, my friends, from the depths of your hearts, to one indivisible Bengal, the common, the beloved, the ever-cherished Motherland of us all. In spite of every other separation of creed, this creed of the Common Motherland will bring us nearer, heart to heart and brother to brother. And this Federation Hall, the foundation-stone of which is being laid to-day, not only on this spot of land, but on our moistened and tearful hearts, is the embodiment and visible symbol of this spirit of union, the memorial to future generations yet unborn of this unhappy day, and of the unhappy policy which has attempted to separate us into two parts. It will, I trust, be a place for all our national gatherings ; in its rooms will be held social reunions and meetings for different purposes. There will be, probably, gymnasiums, room for a library of reference and of useful publications and for newspapers, as well as classes for the singing of national songs and for the recitation and cultiva-

tion of all that promotes a spirit of patriotism, of self-sacrifice and true culture ; accommodation too, I hope, will in time be provided for visitors from other parts of Bengal, and, it may be, of India. Those of you who have been to Amritsar have seen how in the Golden Temple there is throughout day and night the scene of worship, of holy reading and holy associations. I hope in the same way, this Hall will be a place where all that moulds and forms a growing nation, all that uplifts and regenerates the national character, and trains it up to true manhood, and every noble impulse shall always find their place ; and at its shrine shall come, as for worship, every member of the Bengali nation. It will be a temple raised in honour of our Common Motherland not only for national union, but also for national progress. Let me earnestly appeal to you all and through you to the millions of Bengal for funds to make this temple worthy of itself. The rich will, I have no doubt, from their abundance give thousands and tens of thousands, but I trust no Bengali, however poor, will refrain from bringing his offering to this shrine, his prayer for its completion, and his efforts for its suitable maintenance. Let every brick of this building bear testimony to the devotion and patriotic ardour of our people. Let us remember that here shall be formed the integrating factors—the factors that will make for our union—against the disrupting influences of a divided interest and divided Government.

I rejoice from my heart that this ceremony is presently to be followed by an inauguration for furthering and consolidating the industrial development of the country, on which depends the material salvation of millions in this land. And yet the two inaugurations are not separate but one, and, like the sacred Ganges and the holy Jumna, they will commingle their waters and unite their waves in one merry march to the azure sea. In this Hall, I believe, lectures will be delivered and discussions held on all subjects bearing on the commercial and industrial progress of the country. Its rooms will contain economic museums and samples of commercial products of the land—even though for the present this may be on a small scale—and experiments will be held of a practical character. It will be the rendezvous of all

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interested in this great cause of industrial progress, and will, in various other ways, promote those interests. In fact, this Hall will, as it grows and expands, be the natural and the necessary home of the movement for the industrial advance of the country. And it is fitting that from this scene of the future Federation Hall, you shall march together in solemn procession, to the scene of the industrial ceremony at the house of our honoured friend Rai Pasupati Nath Bose.

Here, let me address a few words on the agitation which has convulsed this Province for the last two months in connection with the question of its Partition, and stirred to its innermost depths the heart of every section of the community, from the highest to the lowest, from the rich zemindar in the town to the poorest of the poor in his humble cottage. For they indeed fatally misapprehend this movement, who imagine that it is the student community or any other single section or two in the Province that has caused this upheaval. I thank you all for the ardour, devotion, and spirit of sacrifice, which have so far distinguished your efforts. I have heard of people and even of respectable journals, which speak glibly of the lawlessness and disobedience to authority of our student community. Let me bear testimony—and this I can do from personal knowledge—as to what is thus described as lawlessness and disobedience, on the part of students of British Universities, whom our students would not even dream of approaching in this respect. But I will not pause to give examples, numerous and glaring as they are; but I wonder whether our rulers and our critics, most of whom, I presume, have passed through the Universities of their country, have so completely forgotten the experiences of their own student days. Why, our students are absolutely spotless, in comparison with British youths, as indeed, I believe, they are practically spotless, not as a matter of comparison only, but by themselves. Let us, my friends, continue in the same career, regardless of our own personal interests and all individual and sectional jealousies, if such indeed there be. For if the true spirit of loving sacrifice, and nothing of a base admixture be ours, surely God will provide for us, and for you, my student friends, and grant us true happiness and the true blessing—how great only those who have tested it can say—of

a self-consecrated existence. Let us all specially see to it, that no lawlessness characterise or even tinge our proceedings. Let us be the victims, if need be, but never the perpetrators of wrong—the victims it may be of ignorant, misinformed or perverse authority, or of a too often unscrupulous Police. We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. No *Yajna* is complete without sacrifice ; and this is the teaching of all Scriptures. Let us be prepared, if such should be the short-sighted and suicidal policy of any of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Motherland, for from the thorns we shall tread will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave us birth. The air is full of rumours of repressive action on the part of the authorities, specially against our students. I do not know whether to believe them or not ; for in spite of confidence in the present ruler of the Province, and I believe it is his desire to do justice, there are administrators and advisers behind him ; and the pages of history are filled with instances in which cruel repression, and not sympathy or kindness or attempt to change convictions, has been the last hope of a discredited bureaucracy, the last weapon of an irresponsible authority. How futile too and doomed to failure and much worse than failure such attempts have been is also amply shown in the self-same pages ; but lessons of wisdom and past experience are not unhappily always learnt or always profited by. But I pray of the Most High that, in this crisis, He may guide the counsels of our rulers unto the paths of righteousness and justice. Let them remember the golden rule and place themselves in our position ; let them act that they may answer on the Day of Judgment for exercise of the great powers with which they have been entrusted over their fellow creatures, and for what they have done to these, the least of their brethren. And I venture to appeal to all Englishmen not to shun us, but to side and sympathise with us, in this struggle for the simple assertion on our part of human rights, appeal to them that they may be true to their noblest ideals which have made their annals famous and immortal in history, and grant us a little of the liberty and freedom which they have themselves enjoyed in such abundant and bounteous measure.

One has heard of different Orders in this country for

religious and philanthropic service, of vows of self-sacrificing devotion carried to life's last day. Enter you, my friends, into what I might call the Order of the Motherland or of *Bangabbumi*; and with characters unstained, aims that are placed on high, and spirits that are pure and noble and absolutely self-forgetful, serve the land, and suffer for the land, that gave you birth. Hindus and Mussalmans, let us in the name of God all unite in this sacred crusade for the welfare and prosperity of our common Mother. We have come, most of us, bare-footed and in garbs of mourning, to this site of our future shrine. Silent are the busy marts of men and silent is the roar of trade. Throughout the town and its suburbs all the numerous shops,—Hindu, Mussalman and Marwari—have closed as a sign of deep mourning, and in spite of the efforts by the Police to the contrary, 'all shops in fact except practically the very small fraction owned by Englishmen. We all, present in our tens of thousands here, and millions throughout the Province, I believe, are fasting to-day, and no fires shall be kindled in our hearths. But let that fire burn instead in our hearts, purify us and kindle an enthusiasm in us, which shall be all the brighter and all the warmer for the quenched fire in our homes.

And now, farewell, my friends, with these, which may perchance be, the last words which I shall utter to you on this side of Eternity. Farewell on this day of fraternal union when the bond of *Rakhi* is tied in our arms. Much that comes pouring into my heart must remain unsaid. Ours is not the land of the rising sun, for to Japan,—victorious, self-sacrificing and magnanimous—belongs that title. But may I not say that ours is the land where the sun is rising again, where, after ages of darkness and gloom, with the help, let me gratefully acknowledge, of England and English culture, the glowing light is bursting once again over the face of the land, and the glorious dawn is heralding the approach of a bright and regenerated day? Let us all pray that the Grace of God may bless our course, direct our steps, and make captive our hearts. Let action and not words be our motto and inspiring guide. And then shall my dream be realised of a beautiful land blessed by nature, and filled by men true and manly, and heroic in every good cause—true children

of the Motherland. Let us see in our heart of hearts the Heavens opening and the angels descending. In ancient books the gods are described as showering flowers and garlands on the scene of a notable battle. See we not, my friends, those flowers dropped to-day from self-same hands, welcoming us to the new battle, not of blood, but of manly effort and stern resolve in the country's cause ?

And thou, Oh God ! of this ancient land, the protector and saviour of *Aryavarta*, and the Merciful Father of us all, by whatever name we call upon Thee, be with us on this day ; and as a father gathers his children under his arms, do Thou gather us under Thy protecting and sanctifying care !

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