

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

The New Indian and the . . .
Condition of the Millions of India

.. BY ..

P. M. BAPAT, B.A. (Bombay),

Sir Mangaldas Scholar, &c.

*(THE RIGHT OF TRANSLATION AND REPRODUCTION
IS RESERVED).*

This to you, my Masters, and to you, my Brothers and
Sisters of India.—A token of love from lovingly yours,

P. M. BAPAT.

TO MY KING.

We are equals, my King, in the kingdom of the Lord.

I speak as an equal—will tell you the truth.

Others have told it; yet Times do need

That I should say the oft-said things again.

To diagnose the ills and better the lot

Of a land is the work of its own men;

A foreign state as a ruler ought

To help this work of the land it rules.

Nature has taught these simple truths

To most of her children.—All will learn.

And Rulers all must work with Nature,

For Nature is the Master of us all.

The work on each one does entail

A sacrifice willingly made or forced;

Nature's Soldiers are all long sworn

To force a sacrifice from the unwilling lot.

The Good of the World act here as one,

Justice to all—is their demand.

Through whatever phases the battle may pass,

Triumph of the Good is near at hand.

That right understanding may come

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This to you, my Masters, and to you, my Brothers and
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P. M. BAPAT.

Reader, ponder the facts, and make the
little world you move in ponder them like-
wise. For when you have learnt, it is your
duty to teach. .

I stand for Truth,
For Justice and Right—nothing will frighten me.
I'm long prepared for death :
For Judgment ready—if there be one at all.
I'm doing my best—an erring creature like the rest.

A GRATEFUL WORD

IT was on a Monday night in the month of July 1905, as we were retracing our steps from the Temperance Lodge (Bell Lodge, 681), that my friend Mr Dingwall asked me if I would make an attempt to speak on this subject. At first I hesitated, but I made up my mind in a few minutes, and here is my first offering to Duty.

My acknowledgments are also due, and are hereby cordially expressed, to Mr Shyamaji Krishnavarma, Editor of the "Indian Sociologist," who forwarded a list of valuable books on India, and, later, went carefully through the manuscript and pointed out certain mistakes of style and typist's errors.

P. M. BAPAT.

15 SPOTTISWOODE STREET,
EDINBURGH, 1st February, 1906.

A LETTER

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

Accept this token of love, if you think fit. This should come as a present to one and all; but you know my means and will kindly forgive. You know me well, and 'tis needless to tell that whatever this brings, less what it has cost, goes all to the Duty Fund.

One word to you :—

Join hands, all earnest workers! A worker he—
To whom his Goal is all-in-all,
Whom vanity of own opinion and self-conceit,
Have not touched: for, once this taint—
The worker is unfit—an enemy of the work.
Read through this book and let others read,
I am not saying things unheard before,
They have been said by abler men than I,
I say them again because I feel I must,
—What things once said are not said again?
Generations need to be told by men—their own—
If this is true—the one I call my own,
I might address, I think, with a certain right—
I am not too young—five-and-twenty past,
Is not too young. My feeble pen? you say,
I admit the charge—'tis feeble, but it pens
Things pondered long with bleeding heart! Too long!
The pen must write—it would not wait for none,
I let it go—bade Reason watch its steps,
Lest Love of Ind and Love of human kind,
Might get too strong—do wrong to what it loved—
I let it go—and one thing I will say,
That Ind will have her own! But only then,
When for love of Right my Brothers take my stand.

Ever Yours Affectionately,

P. M. BAPAT.

15 SPOTTISWOODE STREET,
EDINBURGH, 1st February 1906.

WORDS TO PONDER

“A good supply of resignation is of the first importance in providing for the journey of life. It is a supply which we shall have to extract from disappointed hopes, and the sooner we do it the better for the rest of the journey.”

—SCHOPENHAUER.

“The Nation-State is the widest organisation which has the common experience to found a common life.”

“A great man works with the ideas of his age and regenerates them.”

“The free will is the will that wills itself. . . . We are led up to the contrast of the actual indolent or selfish will and the will, in as far as it comes to be what its nature implies, namely, that which we have spoken of as the real or rational will, embodied in objects which have power to make a life worth living for the self that wills them. Now our nature as rational beings implies the imperative claim upon us of a will which is thus real or rational. Recognised or unrecognised it is rooted in our wills, as the claim to be true is rooted in our assertions. Any system of institutions which represents to us, on the whole, the conditions essential to affirming such a will in objects of action, such as to constitute a tolerably complete life, has an imperative claim upon our loyalty and obedience as the embodiment of our liberty. The only question that can arise is whether the system is that which it pretends to be. But even if rebellion is a duty, it can only be so because the imperative obligation, as we recognise it, is irreconcilable with the

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particular system which claims our obedience in its name. The imperative claim of the will that wills itself is our own innermost nature, and we cannot throw it off. This is the ultimate root of political obligation."

"Laws are, strictly speaking, only the conditions of civil association. The people which submits to the laws ought to be their author."—BOSANQUET: *Philosophical Theory of the State*.

"True patriotism," says Bosanquet, speaking of the normal commonwealth, which is the expression of the real will of the people, "is the everyday habit of looking on the commonwealth as our substantive purpose, and the foundation of our lives."

Briton, wilt thou not wake, wilt thou not rise?

Briton, wilt thou not wake, wilt thou not rise?

Dost thou not hear Duty's trumpet-call?

Awake, arise, gird up thy loins;

Our captain wants us all!

Ind and Britain, by Nature's will,

For purpose great were linked;

Profane not the sacred tie—

Will Nature be hoodwinked?

Thou lover of freedom, lover of knowledge pure,

I bid thee learn to look with joyful heart

'Pon the facts which loudly do proclaim

That India shall be free.

Our captain wants us all.

Stand we pledged to obey Duty's call,

To help on Ind in her onward march

Is our sworn compact.

Gird up thy loins! Briton, take thy place!

For who will wait on thee? Lag not behind,

Grim Nature's cause is right, her success sure,

Disgrace and death do wait on all her foes.

OUTLINE

This Essay was read (under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party) in the Shepherd's Hall, India Buildings, Victoria Street, Edinburgh, on Sunday, 14th January 1906.

INTRODUCTORY LINES.

The New Faith—The New Indian's Refrain—Thoughts which are his Constant Companions: The Christian's, the Parsee's, the Mahommedan's, the Hindu's Thoughts briefly summarised—The New Indian's Goal—What he believes in—Sir Lee Warner's "Citizen of India," and Lord Curzon's "Universities Act"—The Un-Indian Indian—The Indian National Congressman—The Indian Home Ruler—Congressman's Programme for the time being—Mr Asquith's Refrain (not his exact words): With Free Trade all is well with Britain—Examination of an Everyday Argument: What more can we do for India?—Government of India—House of Commons—British Statesmen—The Indian Ryot's Tale.

Study Appendices A, B, C, D.

[Italics throughout are mine.]

British Rule in India

The New Indian and the
Condition of the Millions of India.

MR PRESIDENT, LADIES and GENTLEMEN,

This short Essay is the result of a study of authoritative documents corrected and supplemented by personal knowledge and observation. The following books were consulted:—

PROSPEROUS BRITISH INDIA. By WM. DIGBY, C.I.E.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By Sir COURTENAY ILBERT, K.C.S.I.
CITIZEN OF INDIA. By Sir LEE WARNER, K.C.S.I.
POVERTY OF INDIA. By DADABHAI NAOROJI.
NEW INDIA. By Sir H. J. S. COTTON, K.C.S.I.
REPORT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1904.
ASIA AND EUROPE. By MEREDITH TOWNSHEND.
EXPANSION OF ENGLAND. By Sir J. R. SEELEY, K.C.M.G., &c.

The following lines contain the keynote of the Essay:—

'Tis the grateful Indian speaks ;
'Tis the tiller of the soil,
The land of his toil for countless years :
He of brave Mahmad's faith,
He of Zoroaster's faith,
He of the adopted faith—the faith of Christ:
Indians these all live in me, I live in all ,
Each lives in all, all live in each ;
Brothers for all time we be.
Listen, be patient, and bear with me.
I have a tale to tell

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That, had I but powers
(And, O Heaven! how sorely I feel the want,
Loving as I do my millions and the human kind),
A tale that would make your conscience sore—
Nay, would draw swords from their sheaths
To avenge outraged human kind—
But I am a philosopher.
My heart is open—truth is my God.
My life is nothing—I care not for this world.
I tell the tale that right understanding may come,
That love may not grope in the dark,
That facts once made clear, how so sickening and bitter,
Love may find her own and prosper,
For there is error in human nature,
And if we err we need not chafe,
We need not curse and kick—
Errors are stepping stones to better selves.
Only wrong does not right itself—
We have to right the wrong.
This done, love yourself, love the wronged as he loves you ;
Kiss each other, and, arm in arm,
Go, combat Nature, wrest the keys from her unwilling hand,
Open her boxes, feast on her choice sweets,
Drink of her choice drinks, and, scented with choice
 perfumes,
Let love warm your hearts—to love the human kind!

In India, ladies and gentlemen, education and experience have done their work, The Christian Indian is my brother. So is the Parsee and the Mahommedan Indian. That has become every genuine Hindu's faith. Same is the case with the educated Christian Parsee and Mahommedan Indian. That the masses are not slow to respond to the teaching of their leaders is amply evident from the news that the Indian mail brings us every week. Every Indian has read about the pathetic scenes in Bengal, and who has not felt the work of education and experience in these scenes? Lives there one, whose heart has not danced with hopes when reading about thousands of Mahommedan and Hindu Indians embracing each other, uttering each in their own way the sentiment: "Brother, brother! How have we slumbered! What a long time we took to know

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each other!" Honest souls! They did take a long time, but it is all the better for them. What is learnt with great difficulty is not learnt in vain. They have got the soundest principle of public action, viz., National Brotherhood. The foundations are laid on a rock. The superstructure is already commenced, and the day of India's emancipation is, to the prophetic vision, not far distant!

The Christian, the Parsee, the Mahommedan and the Hindu Indian, taught by the angel of education and experience will, in no long time, recognise the inviolability of National Brotherhood! This work of revolution in ideas has already commenced and made wonderful progress in a comparatively short time. Religion being out of the question in national matters, the interests of all the classes are, in educated quarters, recognised as identical. The masses have accepted the leadership of the educated, and Faith in common interest will in no long time permeate the whole of India.

Every educated Indian, of whatever faith, has at last awakened, and has begun to chant: "This is my own, my native land." The Christian Indian has only got his religious spectacles from outside, and that very lately. He loves, with intense love, the land where lived his parents, and parents' parents, and their parents, how far back he can go he does not know. From time immemorial his ancestors have lived and toiled on the land, the land of their achievements and failures—the land of their ambition and of his ambition: Has not he any claim to the land where they lived and toiled, won and lost, worshipped and rejoiced, sinned and wept, laboured in the field, or maybe were the most favoured of a mighty king—has not he any claim to share things in a fair measure with the noble Britisher in whose gift nature has placed them! The Parsee Indian is in no wise less urgent in his claim, and why should he be? The Parsee Indian is, on an average, better educated than the rest, and the keener is his sense of pride! Has not he contributed comparatively the largest share in developing India's resources for a thousand years and more? Did not India welcome with open arms his forefathers, when they most needed a happy home? Did not they worship there the Sacred Fire that guided them to India's hospitable land, and did not they invoke his blessing on the land which was to be their home and the home of their sons and sons of sons to the end of time?

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Has not he worked with the Mahommedan and the Hindu Indian to make India what it is?

The Mahommedan urges his claim with still greater vehemence, and no wonder! Was not he at the top only yesterday? Does not the Indian realise to-day that his rule was much to be preferred to the present rule? He did not grudge the subject Indian an almost equal share in all that there was to be shared? The ousted Emperor did not make a distinction that is so jealously and tenaciously maintained to-day—the distinction between the ruling class and the subject class! In spite of his being of the Mahommedan faith he did not give cause for the people to think that the ambitions of the Mahommedans were indulged at the expense of the rest! All that was in the Emperor's gift was open to all. Merit was everywhere abundantly rewarded. Might not he be proud of his rule? He spent his treasures, his revenues, directly and indirectly in making the resources of the land more plentiful—the people of the land wealthy and happy. He only claimed the sceptre which he had won by the sword. All else he was right willing to share with all. He did not dictate what shall be taught and what shall not be taught! He did not institute an inquisition like the one which in Madras and Bombay, where Ryotwari system obtains, has converted the most cherished and immemorial rights of the Ryot to timber and even to fuel into mere grudging concessions and privileges, strictly regulated, which carefully studies his resources and his cultivation in order to store data for the eventful revision of settlement, and which subjects his field to so many inspections every season—alas! to what length can human presumption go! O, the atrocity of the claim, that every little thing above the land to the atmosphere of the sun, on the land all over, and under it to the centre of the earth is the sole property of a single person, happening at the time to hold, in all right, the title of Sovereign! Is not India the land, the Mahommedan in just pride says, the land he ruled decidedly better in many respects? The land which he has adorned with works of incomparable magnificence and untold works of public utility? May he not claim a fair measure of the things which only yesterday were in his gift but now have passed to other hands!

To the Hindu Indian, India is the land of his gods and his glory. It is the land of his labour. As far back

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as history or tradition can take us, we see the Hindu toiling on the soil, and offering the fruits of his toil to the gods of the firmament that sent him rain, and gave him light and warmth. It is the land of his scriptures, the land of his philosophy, the land of his empire. He claims with the claim of the Christian, the Parsee, and the Mahommedan, and adds to that the claim that India is his Holy Land.

Every educated Indian of whatever faith has at length begun to chant: "This is my own, my native land," and you will not fail to see a deep blush on his face if you put to him the question, "Are you not ashamed to put the burden of managing your own house on another's shoulders, especially when that other derives no benefit whatsoever from the management?" For, in the words of Seeley, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, "India does indeed depend on England, in the sense that England determines her condition and her policy and that she is governed by Englishmen, but not in the sense that she renders service to England, or makes England directly richer or more powerful." "Why do we take the trouble and involve ourselves in the anxiety and responsibility of governing two hundred millions of people in Asia?" Seeley goes on to ask. It will be a wonder if in the face of such a bold question, the awakened Indian does not feel deeply humiliated, and think seriously of preparing himself to relieve the good Christian of the burden which is weighing him down. Education and experience have broken the slumbers of the Indian, have given him national brotherhood as the inviolable principle of public action, and set clearly before him the work, which in the interests of the good Christian—as also in the interests of one fifth of the human race is expected of him—namely, the work of relieving the good Christian of the burden which is weighing him down.

The New Indian believes in the idea of Nationality as the regulator of individual selfishness, and in National Independence as the condition of maximum human happiness, and steady progress of knowledge. There is ambition in human nature, and he claims that in the apportionment of the field for ambition—to each his own nation—is Reason's own formula. He believes in working with the times, and will concede a reasonable departure from the formula in the abnormal state of affairs of the

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world. He believes in a law of human development, and accepts the abnormal state of the world—the state in which one nation is dependent upon another nation—as a stage in development. He believes in individual effort as the co-principle of human development, and feels himself bound to work to bring about the normal condition, namely National Independence. Gratitude is rooted in his nature, and he invokes Heaven's eternal blessings on the nation that brought civilisation of the West into his Eastern home. But there are other things rooted in human nature. There is ambition, there is justice, there is the idea of Right. Above all, there is hunger. The New Indian has reasoned himself into the conviction that gratitude has no right whatsoever to dilute his legitimate ambition. Against justice and right, gratitude does not presume to stand, while hunger leaves no room for gratitude.

There was one great, almost universal drawback in the Indian, the result of a systematic suppression and perversion of the facts of history. He was extremely self-diffident. Was he not taught that there was universal chaos in India before the benign British Rule was established? "The cultivators saw their crops removed, and a bare subsistence left to them, no matter what care or industry they bestowed upon their fields. The artisans worked without reward for the State, or else for each other for a small customary payment in kind. The traders were often obliged to sell their goods at a fixed price, and their operations could not extend to distant places *when the country was full of disorder and the roads insecure,*" and so on, and on, in similar strain. Did I say was taught? Ladies and gentlemen, this rubbish is being stuffed into innocent youngsters' heads even at the present moment. "The Citizen of India," by Sir Lee Warner, from which the above is an extract, has been translated into all the principal vernaculars, and has been prescribed as a text-book in the Higher Vernacular Standards. There was nothing but chaos before the benign British Rule! That must you teach to the young Indian! "It cannot be a matter of indifference," says Sir Lee Warner in his preface, "What lessons we teach to the young, for what they learn, they will pass on to others." No, it cannot be a matter of indifference. That is just the point. But must you stoop so low—you who are constantly

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shouting out the battle-cry of freedom—must you stoop so low as to administer slow poison to the innocent Indian as he enters the Temple of Learning with child-like confidence in his preceptors! If certain comparisons are bound to be unfavourable to you, and you feel it an insupportable strain on your human nature to place them cut and dry before the young Indian, why will you not let them alone? We are often told that it was benevolence that prompted the conquests and annexations in India. My noble friends, there is no need to justify the act of conquest. Why will you make yourselves ridiculous? The Indian demands no justification of the act of conquest. He understands it perfectly well. He has been a conqueror in his day. No! To him no justification is necessary! It was your interest to conquer: and his house was divided. That is a sufficient justification. Let there be no mincing of matters here—we understand each other. Let these things alone—you have so much to tell without stooping to misrepresentation of the facts of history. "The country was full of disorder," says Sir Lee Warner. I recommend him to read "The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers" in the "Poverty of India" by Dadabhai Naoroji, pp. 581-614. Why will you defile the Temple of Learning? You have so much to tell without stooping to dishonourable ways! You brought us the railway and the telegraph, and volumes can be written on the advantages of these gifts. There are untold other gifts of the same kind. I have already briefly referred to what education and experience have done for the Indian, and much of that work is the work of English education. Noble Britisher, India is strewn all over with monuments of your rule. The Indian you have verily made into an image of yourself, equally proud, equally prepared to sacrifice himself at the altar of ambition, justice and right, equally fond of self-government, equally hopeful and confident in himself. If I were a Britisher, nothing more would I need to feel proud of myself. Who does not love the noble work of his own creation?

Ladies and gentlemen, it is the painful contrast that breaks my heart. That English education should have in it all that is necessary for the turning out of the noblest product that education can turn out, and that educated Britishers at the head of educational departments, should bring out a book intended for educational purposes,

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undoubtedly calculated to stuff the raw, young mind with unhealthy material—this is what rends my heart!

Education from the standpoint now before us consists in supplying the mind with material to form adequate and just opinions about matters of past history. Sir Lee Warner's book supplies it with material to form an inadequate and unjust opinion about matters of past history. That such a book should be prescribed as a text-book in the higher vernacular standards, where it will pass for an authority, is a highly mischievous and retrogressive step.

I must not omit to make mention of a still more mischievous and retrogressive step taken by the late Viceroy of India. Under the Universities Act of Lord Curzon, the governing bodies of the Indian universities are practically officialised, and private colleges are compelled to equip themselves at a cost which to them is simply prohibitive, placing them under a penalty of disaffiliation. That such retrogressive steps should be taken by men of English education is, to say the least, shockingly disgusting. Difficulties are being placed in our way—difficulties of a grave character. But it only means more perseverance, more energy, more time. Difficulties cannot stop progress. Curzons and Lee Warners cannot lay the demon their predecessors have raised. I use the expression with full meaning. It expresses the view that Curzons and Lee Warners are, to all appearances, taking of the present situation. They seem to think that their predecessors did an unpardonable act in introducing English education into India. Whatever judgment they pass on their predecessors—however tormenting the present situation appears to them—one thing is certain that their agonies will not avail.

The self-diffidence produced by misrepresentation of history has vanished, and future efforts to produce self-diffidence in young minds will only embitter the educated classes. Efforts to shut the doors of Higher Education by putting a prohibitive price on it will permanently alienate those whose feelings are the most cordial towards the British Government. These are un-British things to do, and no good will come of such cowardly tricks. There is no use tampering with the fact that the yearning for self-government has now become a part and parcel of the educated Indian mind, and attempts to hamper the progress of the Indian are not calculated to produce any good.

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Ladies and gentlemen, English education has made the Indian an image of the Britisher, with all his confidence and his love of self-government. But I may be asked, where is this Indian to be seen? When we see an Indian showing up his class prejudice, and giving the lie to National Brotherhood, what is the explanation? When we see an Indian tenaciously maintaining that (to adopt the words of Sir Lee Warner) India has received from the West, freedom, free speech, free trade, free movement, and perhaps going further and concluding that therefore British rule is *the rule* for India, where should we seek an explanation? I will give only a partial explanation here, and leave it to your knowledge of human nature to find the rest. Of course, the explanation I am giving is sufficient in most cases; it is—Defective Experience. The rather mild attitude of the Indian National Congress is easily explainable. I will quote from a previous paragraph. "There is ambition in human nature, and the New Indian claims that in the apportionment of the field for ambition—to each his own nation—is Reason's own formula. He believes, however, in working with the times, and will concede a reasonable departure from the above formula." Ladies and gentlemen, it is the Congress man's belief in working with the times that makes him a mild petitioner. But the words of Sir Henry Cotton, the mouthpiece of the Congressmen, must not be forgotten. Sir Henry Cotton, as President of the Indian National Congress, 1904, which was the Twentieth Session of our Congress, said, "Autonomy is the keynote of England's true relations with her great colonies. It is the keynote also of India's destiny." In that last sentence the goal of the Congressmen is set forth in the clearest terms possible.

It was only a month after that speech of Sir Henry Cotton, in February 1905, that the Indian Home Rule Society was launched into existence by Mr Shyamaji Krishnavarma, an M.A. of Oxford, and barrister-at-law in London. The following are the objects of our Society:—

1. To secure Home Rule for India.
2. To carry on a propaganda in the United Kingdom by all practicable means with a view to attain the same.
3. To spread among the people of India a knowledge of the advantages of freedom and national unity.

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Our Society is essentially an educative body. It exists to awaken the still slumbering Indians. Its object (1), namely Home Rule, will in due time be taken up in the programme of our National Assembly, the Indian National Congress. The Congressman has for the time being set before himself the question of justice and hunger. At present he says to the Britisher only this: in the transaction of Indian affairs, let the millions of India receive your consideration first, attend to their hunger, give them justice. Indulge their legitimate ambition first, and let every other consideration be second. The Congressman is prepared to concede, but he is determined to get justice done to the millions of his noble land. It is high time that every intelligent Britisher who has opportunities should open his eyes and take up seriously the study of Indian problems.

This reminds me of Mr Asquith's speech delivered by him in the Synod Hall, where I happened to be present. The champion of Free Trade proved to his own satisfaction, and perhaps to the satisfaction of the audience, that with Free Trade all was well with Britain—all was well with Britain—well with Britain: What about the 300 millions of India? Are they sheep and cattle? I know I shall be told they are. "Why else do they suffer to be bled?" the irritated independent Britisher will say in all honesty. My noble Britisher, I do not blame you. We have given you cause for that remark. We have been too patient. We have been too grateful. We have been too credulous. We have allowed the political blasphemer, masking himself under specious names, to impose upon us—and hence we have been too diffident. But that is a story of the past. No! No! my brother, do not deceive yourself. It is not weakness, it is not apathy that reconciles the Indian National Congress to the treatment it is receiving at your hands! It is the incurably grateful nature of the Indian—it is his love of civilisation—it is his love of peace—it is his neighbourly charity that makes the Congressman a patient petitioner. Love of humanity is rooted in the Indian. Nay, his love compasses all that lives. No wonder he intensely loves the Britisher who has done him immense services. It is this that makes him put off the use of the weapon of force, which he will no longer scruple to use if he observes incurable indifference. It is this that makes him concede, and concede immensely

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to his loss. It is this that explains why a resolution like the following appears in his programme :—

Twentieth Session of the Indian National Congress, 1904.—Resolution III.—Economic situation.—“That this Congress is of opinion that the deplorable poverty of the people of this country is mainly due to the drain of wealth from the country that has gone on for years, to the decay of indigenous arts and industries, to over-assessment of land, and to the extremely costly character of the system of administration. And the Congress recommends the following among other remedial measures :—

- (a) That Government be pleased to afford greater encouragement to education as indicated in the previous resolution (Resolution II.).
- (b) That the permanent settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India's despatches of 1862-1867 on the subject: and that where Government may still deem it inadvisable to introduce the permanent settlement, judicial restrictions be imposed on over-assessment.
- (c) That steps be taken to employ a much larger number of Indians in the higher branches of the public service.”

There is no word here as to Free Trade or Protection. Does the Congressman chant with Mr Asquith—with Free Trade all is well with India? Here is what the very first speaker on the Resolution, Mr Mudholkar of Amraoti, says—“We find that the British Government is pursuing an equally selfish and an equally improper policy.” (He means equally selfish and equally improper with the Right Honourable East India Company). He goes on, “We find that while the merchandise of England had to be admitted in India without any import duties, many of our cotton and silk goods were entirely prohibited in some instances, and when they were allowed there were prohibitive duties not only of 10 and 20 per cent., but of 30, 40, 200, even 500 per cent. It was in this way, by employing the arm of political injustice, that they smothered our industrial manufactures, and prevented us from obtaining that outlet for our commerce which it used to have before. The result of that political injustice has been that all the trade and all the industries which formerly existed in this country—the cotton trade and the silk trade, brassware and lace manufacture—all began to decline, and after a time they all died.” My noble Britisher, that has been

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the policy of the British Government. What was the Right Honourable Company doing? Professor Horace Wilson (p. 90, "New India") says—"It was stated in evidence (1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to that period could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufactures. . . . British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

There is the honourable policy of the Right Honourable Company. Go back to the time of Clive. Writes Clive of Murshidabad: "This city is as extensive, populous and rich as the City of London, and with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater prosperity than in the last city." Says Sir Henry Cotton: "All the arts then flourished and with them urban life. Now out of a population of 300 millions only 7 per cent. live in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. In Ireland, that unfortunate annexe of the British Dominions, the population is 20·8; in Scotland it is 50·2; and in England and Wales it is 67·5. An overwhelming majority of the people of India live in rural villages, and the colonies of workmen who were settled in the large towns have been broken up." With Free Trade all is well with Britain. All is well after the unwary competitor has been systematically strangled in dishonourable ways. The Congressman is perfectly aware of this but his economic resolution does not as yet demand Protection. Writes Sir Henry Cotton in "New India": "It is the aim of British capitalists to have a complete command of the natural resources of India through the importation of British capital into the country. The Government of Lord Curzon has identified itself with this policy, and, whatever may be possible in other directions, this at least is certain that

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no attempt can be made to encourage Indian industries or the investment of Indian capital by means of Protective legislation without a complete reversal of British policy and the sacrifice of the aspirations of British capitalists." The aspirations of British capitalists that grew fat on Indian plunder! Writes Brooks Adams (Digby, p. 32, ed. 1901): "Possibly since the world began no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder." He writes in another place (p. 31, ed. 1901): "In themselves, inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated, to set them working . . . The least part of Watt's labour lay in conceiving his idea; he consumed his life marketing it. Before the influx of the Indian treasure . . . no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together." Digby writes (p. 30): "England's industrial supremacy owes its origin to the vast hordes of Bengal and the Carnatic being made available for her use. Had this happened honourably and in the ordinary course of trade it would have been matter for satisfaction." My noble Britisher, it is the Indian plunder, first, last, and all the time. Writes Digby (p. 26) in 1901: "As adventurers nearly two centuries ago the early Britons in Bengal and sister Presidencies regarded the land and the people as fair game for plunder. Under King Edward VII. Emperor of India, and under the later Britons, as administrators, disguised with all the speciousness which Western civilisation abundantly supplies for such purposes, and glossed over with words of forceful sound but scant meaning, such as Secretaries of State delude themselves and the House of Commons with once at least in every year—the day on which the Indian idol is brought out for British worship—India is still fair game for plunder, and is plundered. Hard as the saying may sound in the ears of the ordinary Englishman, the plunder is proceeding far more outrageously to-day than at any preceding period. The thin whips of the early days of our rule have become bundles of wire thongs; the exactions of Clive and Hastings fall into insignificance by the side of the drain which, in ever-augmenting volume, is over-enriching one country at the cost of the life-blood of another." "The British policy cannot be reversed," says Sir Henry Cotton, "without the sacrifice of the aspirations

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of the British capitalists." No! the British policy of plunder cannot admit of being modified! The noble aspirations of British capitalists—largely the children of Indian plunder—must be cherished—the noble aspirations of sucking the life-blood of the Indian till there is none left to suck! Then alone a concession is to come! Alas! Human nature!

Capitalists of the United Kingdom, William Digby's are hard words indeed. But the capitalists' Free Trade—Mr Asquith's idol—is only one of the numerous grievances of India. The Congressman is even prepared for Free Trade. His sentiment is practically the same to-day as it was some years ago. The words of Dadabhai Naoroji may be practically taken to represent the Congressman's attitude. Says Dadabhai Naoroji: "Let India have its present drain brought within reasonable limits and India will be quite prepared for any Free Trade. With a pressure of taxation nearly double in proportion to that of England, from an income of one-fifteenth and an exhaustive drain besides, we are asked to compete with England in Free Trade? I pray our great Statesman to pause and consider these circumstances." My noble Britisher, the Congressman is ever ready to concede; he knows thoroughly well what he was, what he is, and why is the change. Yet he does not base his claim on any fantastic grounds. He is no visionary—no dreamer. His knowledge of human nature prevents him from being hard on anyone. If he casts a glance at the past, or invites a look at it, it is to find or to offer material for comparison and reflection. In advancing his claims, however, he considers only the facts and ideas of the living present. Hence his demands are far from being extravagant, as will be readily seen on a perusal of the Congress resolutions. It was Mr Asquith's indifference that led me into these remarks. Mr Digby enjoins the study of Indian problems on Lord Rosebery, Mr John Morley, Mr Asquith, Sir Robert Reid and many others. Will they do their duty? Possibly the continuance of British Empire in the East depends upon the answer they and those like-minded with them give to this question. Those are Mr Digby's words.

Has Mr Asquith ever thought of doing his duty? I do not know. But I can say this, that from the speech Mr Asquith delivered to his electors, one can safely infer that whether he has thought of doing his duty or not,

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he has not done it as he ought. I shall be told that the liberals, nay, perhaps all the parties in Britain are agreed that India shall be governed, if it is to be governed at all, chiefly in the interests of India's sons and daughters. Yes, I believe they are. I believe that Britain taken as a whole means us well. I love Britain—my Congress loves Britain—but love must give way before humanity. The misery, the injustice, the oppression under which the millions are labouring must be checked. I take it that Britons are agreed that it shall be checked. Yes, you are agreed that it shall be checked; but that is little. How it will be checked—that is the momentous question.

We are told—India is too vast an estate. We appoint a Viceroy to look after it, and there is the Secretary of State in council to advise and control him. The Secretary and his council manage the estate. They know all about it. Then there is the Viceroy assisted by numerous departments and sub-departments. What more can we do? Specious argument. My answer is: India is not so vast as you make out. The present civilisation has vastly diminished the size of our Earth. The departmental system, which you boast of, has outlived its function. Out of what were several distinct states, one state has been built up. The work of departmental system is done. The people for whom new wants have been created have come out to tell the truth. The educated classes have come out to help the Government in ascertaining the wants of the people. They desire and claim as their right a voice in legislation and a hand in administration proportionate to their ability, and commensurate with the interests of the millions whom they represent. Hence they desire an enlargement of the supreme and provincial legislative councils, and the increase of non-official element therein. They claim an admission into the Executive Council of the Government of India, and the Governments of Madras and Bombay. They claim an admission into the India Council in London, and a representation in the House of Commons. They demand the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the public service according to their abilities, and they demand that simultaneous tests should be held in India and in England to give the Indian a fair chance of competition. My noble Britisher, these are some of the demands of our National Assembly. I hold that it is immensely to the credit of Indians that, in spite

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of the vast dimensions of their country, and in spite of the existence of four different religions, they have evolved, with due regard to the necessities of the times, a National Assembly which is eminently fitted to perform the duties which the House of Commons is supposed to perform in Britain. The argument that India is too vast, is shallow, not to mention that it is highly discreditable to the boasted organising capacities of the British Statesman. The National Assembly of India has solved that problem: the over-vastness is gone. India is ripe for representative government. And still, at present, the Congressman does not go the length of demanding Home Rule. Mild as his demands are, departmentalism is still the idol of those who are in charge of Indian affairs. It seems as if the growth of their minds is suddenly stopped by the overdose of gold to which they are treated by the managers of Britain and the British Empire. They cannot think of a better form of government than government by departments. What more can we do for India? Nothing can be more presumptuous than this bold question. I say, bury your government by departments. Let it perish. Let the people have a hand in managing their own house.

Ladies and gentlemen, the drunken behaviour of the firm, the Secretary of State and Company, under whose direct management the Indian estate is placed, admits of an explanation. But I cannot adequately explain the behaviour of the House of Commons. It is painful to read a resolution like the following—Twentieth Session of Indian National Congress.—Resolution I.—Employment of Indians in public service (section *b*) "That the Congress concurs with previous congresses in urging that immediate effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons on 2nd June, 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for service in India simultaneously in England and in India, &c." The resolution of the House of Commons has been shelved for twelve years by agents who, we understand, are appointed to carry out their masters' wishes. The overdose of gold explains the behaviour of the drunken firm, the Secretary of State and Company, but I fail to find an adequate explanation of the behaviour of the House of Commons.

Such is your House of Commons and such is the Government of India, and your Statesmen, whose self-imposed and noble duty it is to carry out your worthy

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intentions, have kept you in the dark about the affairs of a capable people. How, in the name of common sense, can the busy electors give effect to their wish of doing well by the millions of India, if responsible Statesmen do not provide them with a weapon for cutting out the un-British candidate who brings shame upon his electors? I hold your Statesmen guilty of shameful neglect of duty and contemptuous treatment of their electors. I warn them that if the demands of the Indian National Congress do not receive due attention in a reasonable time the Indians will stop the business of the Government by a political strike, and will no longer scruple to use force, if necessary. I consider it my duty to impress upon them that the demand for Home Rule will be taken up in the programme of our National Assembly in no distant future. Capitalists, whether single persons or Socialist groups, are requested to remember that a rich customer makes a richer merchant, and as India will prosper under Home Rule, Britain, whether it remains capitalistic or becomes socialistic in its domestic management, will beyond all doubt, share in India's prosperity. I wish to impress upon the Britisher that if cordial relations which now exist between India and Britain are maintained by an amicable settlement of India's demands—including the demand for Home Rule whenever it may be made—the grateful Indian will always consider Britain's claims upon him before all others. I appeal to all electors of the United Kingdom, Socialists and Independents, Unionists and Nationalists, Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals, all who have hearts to feel and eyes to see, who have any conscience left to tell them their duty, and brains to understand the gravity of the situation, I implore you all—I implore, only because we love you and wish to remain lovers of Britain, if possible—I implore you all to pledge your Representatives to keep up an agitation and compel Parliament to grant the demands of our National Assembly.

I will close with the lines of a kinsman of the late Mr Digby, lines in which the Indian Ryot, typical of the millions of India, tells his tale to a civilian :—

‘ From night behind to night ahead, no man but runs a weary race,
And if we bitter seem and hard, would you be milder in our place?
Would your strong spirits stand aside and pray “God’s will be done,”
If each slow beat of time that passed did mark the death-cry of a son?
A son of man who might have lived and known the joys of life,

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Lies rotting in the open field slain in a cruel strife,
A cruel strife with naked hands, against the powers three,
The alien Raj, the ceaseless tax and hopeless misery.
Now he has fallen by the way, but when the famine lifts,
And weak and wan his folk come home, loaded with precious gifts
Of bodies broken by disease, with listless step and slow,
Then will the Raj claim measure full of the tax the dead did owe.
But you are not of our people, and when you watch them die,
Your sorrow is deep, but it passes, while still the people die,
There is home and your full-fed kinsmen, the half of the world away,
So you shut your eyes to the horror, you grieve a bit and you pray.
But you draw your wage unstinted—you stand in the way of men,
You raise your arms to the Heavens and you write with a facile pen,
That you are the salt of nations (but the tax on the salt is hard),
That the Gods came down from Heaven, to bless your perfect guard.
That the people cannot rule themselves, that you can do it well,
That you have made fair Paradise of what would else be Hell.
Hell for whom? And Heaven for whom? Is that your picture true?
Was the ryot worse in ages past, than he is now with you?
Is it Heaven for that poor bundle there, who is too weak to walk?
Is it Heaven for these vast plains of men, too spiritless to talk?
Is it Paradise for women folk to watch their children dead,
And hear no more the plaintive voice that cried in vain for bread?
Is it Heaven, O angels, God Elect? Is it Heaven or is it Hell?"

CLOSING WORDS OF REPLY.

Before I close I wish to impress upon you that in the interests of the human race, in order to get justice done to his millions, and to save the Britons from moral fall and degradation—to save them from degenerating into abject servants of the devil—the Indian has made up his mind to get back his own. There is his open challenge—the Indian has no mean ways of doing things. Those who have a heart and a conscience can work with him to bring about the salvation of the human race. Those who have no heart and no conscience can, with all their science of destruction, place as many difficulties in his path as they like. He invites co-operation of the just and the humane—he defies the legions of devils to try their uttermost—he is confident of ultimate victory.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

My heart is open—truth is my God.
My life is nothing—I care not for this world.
Truth have I told that right understanding may come,
That love may not grope in the dark,
That facts once made clear, how so sickening and bitter,
Love may find her own and prosper,
For there is error in human nature,
And if we err we need not chafe,
We need not curse and kick—
Errors are stepping stones to better selves.
Only wrong does not right itself—
We have to right the wrong,
This done, love yourself, love the wronged as he loves you ;
Kiss each other, and, arm in arm,
Go, combat Nature, wrest the keys from her unwilling hand,
Open her boxes, feast on her choice sweets,
Drink of her choice drinks, and scented with choice perfumes,
Let love warm your hearts—to love the human kind !

[APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

NOT TOO MUCH AT A TIME.

A few Papers and a few Books that will enlighten you.

Papers.

INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST (London).

MAHRATTA (Poona).

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta).

Books.

WORKS BY WM. DIGBY, C.I.E. :—

PROSPEROUS BRITISH INDIA.

INDIAN PROBLEMS FOR ENGLISH CONSIDERATION.

INDIA FOR THE INDIANS AND FOR ENGLAND.

INDIA—THE QUEEN-EMPRESS' PROMISES : HOW THEY
ARE BROKEN.

CONDEMNED UNHEARD.

THE DARK SIDE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

THE CONDITION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN 1901.

NEW INDIA, by Sir H. J. S. COTTON, K.C.S.I.

POVERTY OF INDIA, by DADABHAI NAOROJI.

“I recommend Sir Lee Warner to read the ‘State and Government of India under its Native Rulers’ in the POVERTY OF INDIA, by Dadabhai Naorji (pp. 581-614).”

My reader, I request you (and you will please request all you know) to read these books among others.

APPENDIX B.

WHAT DOES SIR LEE WARNER MEAN?

CITIZEN OF INDIA :—

Page 8.—The villagers sowed and reaped even though their rulers carried off as much of the crop as they could.

Page 9.—In short, the Governments in former days left the villages without any attempt to rescue or assist them, and the consequence was that the word Patriotism, or love of country, was unknown in India.

Page 17.—Trade could never flourish in India when the country was exposed to internal disorder and foreign invasion. The population barely sufficed to keep the villages populated and their lands tilled; and although there were cities whose industries in copper ware, silk fabrics, muslins, and lacquer work obtained for them a reputation not confined to India, there was neither a large demand for these products of industry in the country, nor any safe means of exporting them to foreign countries.

Page 12.—The raiyats know exactly what assessment they have to pay and the profits of extra diligence and care go into their own pockets. . . .

Page 93.—All the checks, then, which the constitution of the United Kingdom, its public opinion, and its Press supply, operate upon the administration of India, and afford effective safeguards against any misuse by the Indian authorities of the powers entrusted to them.

Page 108.—It is a mistake to look on the foreign capitalist as draining away the resources of India.

Page 160.—Some writers are in the habit of describing the home charges as a “drain” upon the resources of India, or as “tribute.” The term is misleading, for it implies a loss. The truth is, that in return for its payments made in England India receives an ample equivalent in loans, in stores, and in personal services.

“It cannot be a matter of indifference what lessons we teach to the young; for what they learn they will pass on to others.”

READ BOOKS IN APPENDIX A.

“Autonomy is the keynote of India's destiny.”

APPENDIX C.

THE INDIAN HOME RULE SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED IN FEBRUARY, 1905.)

President.

SHYAMAJI KRISHNAVARMA, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.

Vice-Presidents.

C. MUTHU, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Lond.).

J. M. PARIKH, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr D. E. PEREIRA, L.R.C.P. & S.

E. DALGADO, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.

PARMESHWAR LALL, Esq., M.A.

Dr U. K. DUTT, B.Sc. (Lond.), D.P.H. (Cantab.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.).

SARDARSINGHI R. RANA, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law.

ABDULLA AL-MAMUM SUHRAWARDY, Esq., M.A. (Lond.).

MANCHESSHA BARJORJI GODREJ, Esq., B.A.

Hon. Secretary.—J. C. MUKERJI, Esq.

RULES.

I.—Name.

That this Society be called THE INDIAN HOME RULE SOCIETY.

II.—Objects.

That the objects of this Society be :—

1. To secure Home Rule for India.
2. To carry on a propaganda in the United Kingdom by all practical means with a view to attain the same.
3. To spread among the people of India a knowledge of the advantages of freedom and national unity.

III.—Executive.

1. That the officers of the Society consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Council, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Auditors.
2. That the government of the Society be vested in a council consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary (by virtue of their respective offices), of five members who shall be elected annually at a General Meeting, and of a duly-appointed representative from each branch of the Society which may hereafter be formed.
3. That the Council have power to appoint a Treasurer and Secretary or Secretaries from amongst its own members; to elect a President and Vice-Presidents, subject to the approval of the next General Meeting; to fill up vacancies in its own ranks, and to make the necessary bye-laws for carrying out these laws, and for the general management of the Society.
4. That all candidates for election as officers shall be nominated one month before the Annual General Meeting, and that such nomination shall be publicly announced, the form and manner to be determined by the Council.

APPENDIX C

IV.—Membership.

1. That the Membership of the Society be restricted to Indian gentlemen only, who shall apply on a form provided by the Society, and who shall be nominated by two existing members of the Society, and approved by the Council.
2. That each member shall pay an annual subscription of three shillings or Rupees 2-4-0, which shall entitle the member to receive "The Indian Sociologist," post free, under a special arrangement made by the Council with the proprietor of that journal.

V.—General Meetings.

1. That a General Meeting be held once a year, at such place and time as the Council shall determine, at which meeting the presentation of the report and balance-sheet and the election of officers shall take precedence of all other business.
2. That, on the receipt of a requisition signed by not less than twenty-five members, a Special General Meeting be, within one month, called by the Council. No other business but that set forth on the notice calling the meeting shall be taken into consideration.
3. That the voting at all meetings be taken by show of hands, except when a poll is demanded, when the voting shall be taken by ballot. In the case of an equality of votes, the President shall, both on show of hands, and at a poll or ballot (if any), have a casting or second vote in addition to his own.

VI.—Expulsion.

That the Council have power to expel any member, but the member so expelled shall have a right of appeal to the Annual General Meeting, or to a Special General Meeting called for that purpose.

VII.—Alteration of Rules.

That no alteration be made in these Rules except at an Annual General Meeting, by the vote of two-thirds of those present, two months' notice of the proposed alteration having been given to the Council.

FORM OF APPLICATION.

Membership, including free delivery of "The Indian Sociologist," 3s., or rupees 2-4-0 annually.

I am in full sympathy with the objects of the above-named Society, and desire to be admitted to membership of the same. I enclose an annual subscription of three shillings.

Signature

Address

Nominated by (1)

(2)

N.B.—Subscriptions should be forwarded to the Secretary, c/o SHYAMAJI KRISHNAVARMA, 9 Queen's Wood Avenue, Highgate, London, N.

APPENDIX D.

Britisher, this to give you an idea what our National Assembly is doing.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE TWENTIETH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT BOMBAY, ON THE 26TH, 27TH AND 28TH DECEMBER 1904.

I.—EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress, the principles and policy enunciated by the Government of India in their Resolution, dated 24th May 1904, on the subject of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, are inconsistent with those laid down in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 by the late Queen-Empress, and this Congress enters its respectful but emphatic protest against an attempt to explain away pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the people of this country, and to deviate from arrangements deliberately arrived at by the Government after a careful examination of the whole question by a Public Commission.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that the true remedy for many existing financial and administrative evils lies in the wider employment of Indians in the higher branches of the country's service; and while concurring with previous Congresses in urging that immediate effect should be given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 in favour of holding the competitive examinations for service in India simultaneously in England and in India, this Congress places on record its firm conviction that the only satisfactory solution of this question is to be found in the reorganisation of the Indian Civil Service, which should be reconstituted on a decentralized basis, its judicial functions in the meantime being partly transferred to persons who have been trained in the profession of Law.

(c) That this Congress deplores the abolition of the competitive test for the provincial service in most provinces of India. Past experience has amply established the fact that a system of Government nomination degenerates, in the special circumstances of this country, into a system of appointment by official favour, and this, by bringing unfit men into the service, impairs the efficiency of the administration, and in addition unfairly discredits the fitness of Indians for high office. This Congress, therefore, respectfully urges the Government of India to restore the competitive test for the Provincial Service, wherever it has been abolished.

II.—EDUCATION.

That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the increased outlay on Primary Education, promised in their Resolution of March last and for the institution of ten Technical scholarships for the study of technical arts and industries in foreign countries, repeats its protest of last year against the retrograde policy adopted by Government in regard to Higher Education, as calculated to officialise the governing bodies of the Universities and to restrict the scope of University Education generally; and the Congress places on record its emphatic opinion that in view of the large surpluses which the Government are now realising year after year, it is their clear duty to make a much larger allotment than at present out of public funds for educational expenditure so as

(a) To spread primary education more widely among the masses of the people, and to make a beginning in the direction of free and compulsory education;

(b) To make due provision for imparting instruction in manual training and in scientific agriculture;

(c) To provide for the better manning and equipment of Government Colleges and High Schools so as to make them really model institutions;

(d) To establish at least one central fully-equipped Polytechnic Institute in the country, with minor Technical Schools and Colleges in different Provinces.

APPENDIX D

III.—ECONOMIC SITUATION.

That this Congress is of opinion that the deplorable poverty of the people of this country is mainly due to the drain of wealth from the country that has gone on for years, to the decay of indigenous arts and industries, to over-assessment of land, and to the excessively costly character of the system of administration. And the Congress recommends the following among other remedial measures :—

(a) That Government be pleased to afford greater encouragements to education, as indicated in the previous resolution ;

(b) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India's Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject ; and that where Government may still deem it inadvisable to introduce the Permanent Settlement, judicial restrictions be imposed on over-assessment,

(c) That steps be taken to employ a much larger number of Indians in the higher branches of the public service.

IV.—INDEBTEDNESS OF THE PEASANTRY.

That in view of the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry of the country and of the fact that large numbers of them are forced to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, this Congress again earnestly endorses the suggestion put forward by the Famine Union in London that a careful inquiry be directed by Government into the condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India.

INDIAN EMIGRANTS TO ENGLISH COLONIES.

(a) That the Congress, while noting with satisfaction the relaxation of restrictions recently ordered by the Government of the Australian Commonwealth in the case of Indian visitors to Australia, places on record its deep regret that Indian Settlers—subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor—should continue to be subjected to harassing restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies.

(b) In particular, this Congress records its most emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggravated form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. In view of the fact that one of the declared causes of the recent Boer War was the treatment meted out to the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Government of that Republic, and in view also of the admitted loyalty of Indian settlers in South Africa and the great help rendered by them during the war, this Congress fervently prays that the British Parliament will insist on a just and equal treatment being secured to Indian settlers in that Crown Colony.

(c) In this connection the Congress tenders its sincere thanks to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India for their firm stand in the interests of Indian emigrants, and the Congress earnestly trusts that they will not relax their efforts in the matter till a satisfactory solution is reached.

VI.—DEATHS OF MR J. N. TATA AND MR W. DIGBY.

That this Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Mr J. N. Tata, whose great services to the Industrial development of India as also his enlightened philanthropy and patriotism the country will gratefully remember. This Congress also records its deep grief at the death of Mr William Digby, in whom the people of India have lost an earnest and devoted champion of their cause.

VII.—SECRETARY OF STATES SALARY.

That this Congress, while protesting against the injustice of charging the cost of the India Office in London to the revenues of this country, when the Colonies are exempted from any share of the cost of the Colonial Office, places on record its opinion that the whole of the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the English Estimates.

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VIII.—SURPLUSES.

(a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the large and recurring surpluses of the last six years—amounting in all to about twenty millions sterling—so far from being the result of any increased prosperity of the people, are only an indication of the fact that the level of taxation in the country is maintained much higher than is necessary, inasmuch as these surpluses have been rendered possible mainly, if not exclusively, by the artificial appreciation of the rupee and the consequent saving of between three and four millions a year on the Home remittances of the Government of India.

(b) That both for the sake of giving relief to the classes which have suffered most from the currency policy of the Government, and to remove from the path of Government a direct temptation to increase expenditure, which the existence of large surpluses year after year undoubtedly constitutes, this Congress strongly urges (1) further a reduction in the salt duty, (2) a reduction in the land revenue demand of the State in those Provinces where the agriculturists have had a series of calamitous years, and (3) the abolition of the excise duties on cotton goods.

(c) That till such a reduction is effected, the Congress urges that part of the surpluses be devoted to purposes which would directly benefit the people, such as the promotion of scientific, agricultural, and industrial education, and increased facilities of Medical relief, and that the rest be employed in assisting Local and Municipal Boards, whose resources have been seriously crippled by famine and by the annual recurrence of plague, to undertake urgently-needed measures of sanitary reform and the improvement of means of communication in the interior.

IX.—REPRESENTATION.

That, in the opinion of the Congress, the time has arrived when the people of this country should be allowed a larger voice in the administration and control of the affairs of their country by—

(a) The bestowal on each Province or Presidency of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the English House of Commons.

(b) An enlargement of both the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils—increasing the number of non-official members therein, and giving them the right to divide the Council in all financial matters coming before them—the Head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.

(c) The appointment of Indian representatives (who shall be nominated by the elected members of the Legislative Councils) as Members of the India Council in London, and of the Executive Councils of the Government of India, and the Governments of Bombay and Madras.

X.—TIBETAN AFFAIRS AND FORWARD POLICY.

That this Congress expresses its profound regret that in the case of the recent Tibetan Expedition the object of the Act of 1858 in providing that India's revenues shall not be spent outside the statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression, without the previous sanction of Parliament, was frustrated in practice by the Government continuing to describe the Expedition as a "Political Mission," till it was no longer possible for Parliament to withhold its sanction to the required expenditure, and that Indian revenues were thus unjustifiably deprived of the protection constitutionally secured to them. This Congress further places on record its regret that the House of Commons refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of that Expedition, when it was in furtherance of Imperial interests, and to carry out an Imperial policy, that the Expedition had been undertaken.

The Congress protests strongly against this injustice, and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan Expedition was but part of a general forward policy, which, with the Missions to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues, and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country.

APPENDIX D

XI.—POLICE REFORM.

This Congress places on record its deep regret that the Report of the Police Commission has still been withheld by the Government from the public, though it is now two years since the Commission reported, and though portions of it have found their way into the columns of papers beyond the reach of the Official Secrets Act.

In view of the great urgency of a thorough reform of the Police force of the country, in view, further, of the large public interests involved in a satisfactory solution of the question, and the obvious necessity in consequence of giving the public ample opportunity to express its views before the authorities proceed to formulate a scheme of reform, in view, finally, of the fact that all public criticism expressed after the subject has been considered by both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India is bound to be virtually ineffective, this Congress earnestly urges the publication of the Commission's Report without any further delay.

XII.—MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

(a) That this Congress regards with grave alarm the heavy and continuous increase that has been taking place year after year in the Military burdens of the country, and that in the opinion of this Congress the present Military Expenditure of India is beyond her capacity to bear.

(b) That the Congress can only contemplate with dismay all further proposals to throw fresh burdens on the revenues of India in connection with Army expenditure, and it enters its earnest protest against throwing the cost of the proposed Army reorganisation scheme of Lord Kitchener on the Indian Exchequer.

(c) That as the strength of the Army maintained in India and the measures that are from time to time adopted to improve its efficiency are determined, not by a consideration of the military needs and requirements of India, but for upholding British supremacy in the East, as, moreover, large bodies of British troops have, in recent years, been temporarily withdrawn, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the British Parliament should seriously consider the justice and policy of making a substantial contribution towards Army Charges in India.

XIII.—SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State not to delay any longer the Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions in the administration of Criminal Justice, the desirability of which has been frequently admitted by Government, and the practicability of effecting which, with a very inappreciable increase of expenditure, if any, has been repeatedly shown.

XIV.—THE PARTITION OF BENGAL.

That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government of India for the partition of Bengal in any manner whatsoever. That the proposals are viewed with great alarm by the people, as the division of the Bengali nation into separate units will seriously interfere with its social, intellectual, and material progress, involving the loss of various constitutional, and other rights and privileges which the Province has so long enjoyed, and will burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian tax-payers cannot at all afford.

The Congress is of opinion that no case has been made out for the partition of Bengal, but if the present constitution of the Bengal Government is considered inadequate for the efficient administration of the Province, the remedy lies not in any redistribution of its territories, but in organic changes in the form of the Government, such as the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that of Bombay and Madras.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

XV.—DELEGATION TO ENGLAND.

That, looking to the near approach of a General Election in England, and to the vital importance, at this crisis, of bringing the claims of India before the Electors, before the Parliamentary Candidates, and before the Political leaders, it is expedient that the Congress should depute trustworthy and experienced representatives nominated by the different Provinces to be present in England for this purpose, before and during the election; and that a fund of not less than Rs. 30,000 should be raised to meet the necessary expenses of such Deputation.

XVI.—ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidatures of Mr Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham, and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire, and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that, in the interests of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which, though a part of the British Empire, has no direct representative in the British Parliament.

XVII.—THANKS TO THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee its most grateful thanks for their disinterested services in the cause of our political advancement.

And that a sum of £700 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and that the several Congress circles do contribute the amount allotted to each.

XVIII.—APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL SECRETARY AND JOINT GENERAL SECRETARIES.

That this Congress reappoints Mr A. O. Hume, C.B., to be General Secretary; and Mr D. E. Wacha and the Honourable Mr G. K. Gokhale, to be Joint-General Secretaries of the Congress for the ensuing year.

XIX.—CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS.

That the question of the constitution of the Congress be referred for report to a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen:—

	BOMBAY.	
Sir P. M. Mehta.		The Hon. Mr G. K. Gokhale.
Mr D. E. Wacha.		The Hon. Mr Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
	MADRAS.	
Mr. C. Shankar Nair.		Mr M. Vir Raghava Chari.
Mr Krishna Swami Iyer.		Nawab Syed Mahomed.
	BENGAL.	
Babu Surrendra Nath Bannerjee.		Babu Baikunth Nath Sen.
The Hon. Mr Ambica Charan Muzumdar.		Mr Abdul Kassim.
	PUNJAB.	
Lala Lajpat Rai.		Mr Dharmadas.
		Lala Harkishanlal.
	UNITED PROVINCES.	
Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.		Mr S. Sinha.
The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.		
	BEHAR AND CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
Mr R. M. Mudholkar.		Mr M. V. Joshi.
		Mr M. K. Padhye.

XX.—THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

That the Twenty-First Indian National Congress do assemble, on such day after Christmas Day 1905, as may be later determined upon, at Benares.