

REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-FOURTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

LAHORE

ON THE

27th, 28th and 29th December 1909.

LAHORE:

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
RESOLUTIONS PASSED	1—7
First Day.	
Arrival of the President	9
INTRODUCTORY.	
Lala Harkishen Lal's Welcome Address ...	9—15
INSTALLATION OF THE PRESIDENT.	
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea	15
Mr. G. N. Parekh	16
Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyer ...	16
Raizada Bhagat Ram	16
Messages from Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji and Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh	16
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Presidential Address	16—46
The late Messrs. Lal Mohan Ghosh and Romesh Chunder Dutt	46
The late Marquis of Ripon	46
High Appointments	46
Appointment of the Subjects Committee ...	46
Second Day.	
COUNCIL REFORM.	
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea	47—53
Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindharaghava Aiyer ...	53—55
Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas	55—58
„ Sayad Hasan Imam	58 ✓
Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma	58—61
Mr. J. B. Petit	61—62
„ Kane	62—63
Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra	63—66
Mr. Rambhaj Dutt Chaudhuri	66—67
„ Harnam Dass	67—70
„ A. Chaudhuri	70
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru	71—73
Diwan Lakshmi Narain	73
Lala Hukam Chand	73
Maulvi Abdul Qasim	74 ✓
REFORM SCHEME IN THE PUNJAB.	
Mr. Sunder Singh Bhatia	75—77
Lala Dharm Das Suri	77—78
REFORM SCHEME IN BERAR AND CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	78—79
„ N. A. Dravid	79—80

Third Day.

PARTITION OF BENGAL.

Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose	...	...	81—84
Mr. K. Ekumbra Iyer	...	...	84—86
„ Parmeshwar Lal	...	...	86—87

TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale	...	...	87—92
Mr. Deep Narain Singh	...	...	92—93
„ G. A. Natesan	...	...	93—95
Malik Girdhari Lal	...	...	95—96
Mr. Iswar Saran	...	...	96—97
Pandit Dev Rattan	...	...	97—98
Mr. C. R. Naidoo	...	...	98—99
„ Lutehman Panday	...	...	99
„ H. S. Polak	...	...	99—101
Babu Surendra Nath Bauerjea	...	...	101—102

REGULATIONS RELATING TO DEPORTATIONS.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri	...	...	102—103
„ H. S. Dixit	...	...	103—104
„ A. S. Krishna Rao	...	...	104—105

HIGHER CAREER FOR INDIANS IN THE ARMY.

Mr. Senathi Raja	...	...	105—106
Sirdar Gurmukh Singh	...	...	106—107

ALIENATION OF LAND ACTS.

Lala Sangam Lal	...	...	107—112
Lala Bhana Ram	...	...	112—114
Mr. Mathra Das	...	...	114
Lala Ram Chand	...	...	114
Sirdar Mehr Singh Chawla	...	...	114
Mr. B. V. Vidwans	...	...	114—115

PUBLIC SERVICE.

Mr. N. M. Samarth	...	...	115—116
Rao Bahadur Khandu Bai Desai	...	...	116—117
Dr. Ranjit Singh	...	...	117—118

HIGH PRICES OF FOOD STUFFS.

Mr. Peter Paul Pillai	...	...	118—120
Professor V. G. Kale	...	...	120—121
Mr. D. E. Wacha	...	...	121
Pandit Gobind Sahai Sharma	...	...	121

SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

Moved from the chair	122
----------------------	-----	-----	-----

EDUCATION.

Moved from the chair	122
----------------------	-----	-----	-----

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

Moved from the chair	122
----------------------	-----	-----	-----

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCES.

Mr. Purshotam Lal	...	...	122
„ Sunder Singh Bhatia	...	...	122—123

Third Day—concl'd.

THANKS TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, SIR HENRY COTTON AND MR. HUME.			
Moved from the chair	...	...	123
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.			
Moved from the chair	...	...	123
ELECTION OF SECRETARIES FOR THE ENSU- ING YEAR			
...	...	...	123
THANKS TO VOLUNTEERS			
...	...	...	123
THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.			
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru's invitation to Allahabad	...	...	123—124
THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.			
Mr. J. Petit	...	...	124
President's closing remarks	...	...	124—130

APPENDICES.

A. Constitution of the Indian National Congress			
Organisation	...	...	i—xi
B. List of Members of the Reception Committee			
...	...	...	xiii to xiv
C. List of Delegates			
...	...	...	xv—xxx
D. List of Members of the Subjects Committee			
...	...	...	xxxix—xxxviii

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

TWENTY-FOURTH

Indian National Congress

HELD AT LAHORE

On the 27th, 28th and 29th December 1909.

*Present :—THE HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVYA, B.A., LL.B.,
President and Delegates from the nine Provinces and the British
Committee of the Congress.*

FIRST DAY—27TH DECEMBER 1909.

**Resolution No. 1.—The late Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh and
Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt.**

THAT this meeting desires to place on record its sense of the great and irreparable loss which the country and the community have sustained by the deaths of Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh and Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, both past Presidents of the Congress. Their services to the country will always remain enshrined in the grateful recollection of their countrymen.

Put from the chair and carried.

Resolution No. II.—The Late Marquis of Ripon.

That the Congress records its sense of the great loss this country has sustained by the death of the Marquis of Ripon, who by his beneficent, progressive, and statesmanlike policy, as Viceroy of India, earned the lasting esteem, affection and gratitude of all classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects.

Put from the chair and carried.

Resolution No. III.—High appointments.

That this Congress thanks the Government of His Imperial Majesty for appointing the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha, as a member of His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali as a member of the Privy Council.

Put from the chair and carried.

SECOND DAY—28TH DECEMBER 1909.

Resolution No. IV.—Council Reform.

That this Congress while gratefully appreciating the earnest and arduous endeavours of Lord Morley and Lord Minto in extending to the people of this country a fairly liberal measure of constitutional reforms, as now embodied in the India Councils Act of 1909, deems it its duty to place on record its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion, and regrets that the regulations framed under the Act have not been framed in the same liberal spirit in which Lord Morley's despatch of last year was conceived. In particular the Regulations have caused widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country by reason of:

- (a) the excessive and unfairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion ;

- (b) the unjust, invidious, and humiliating distinctions made between Moslem and non-Moslem subjects of His Majesty in the matter of the electorates, the franchise and the qualifications of candidates;
- (c) the wide, arbitrary and unreasonable disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils;
- (d) the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole course of the regulations; and
- (e) the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in Provincial Councils rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes.

And this Congress earnestly urges the Government to so revise the Regulations, as soon as the present elections are over, as to remove these objectionable features, and bring them into harmony with the spirit of the Royal Message and the Secretary of State's despatch of last year.

Proposed by Babu Surendranath Bannerji (Bengal).

Seconded by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar (Madras).

Supported by Mr. Sayed Hasan Imam (Behar).

Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas (Karachi).

Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prasad Varma (Lucknow).

Mr. J. B. Petit (Bombay).

Mr. P. Rajpal (Punjab).

Mr. Kane (Berar).

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow).

Pandit Rambhaj Dutt Choudhri (Punjab).

Mr. Harnam Dass, Bar-at-Law, (Lahore) and

Mr. A. Chaudhri (Bengal).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. V.—Executive Councils.

That this Congress, while regretting that Cl. 3 of the Indian Councils Bill under which power was to be given to the Governor-General in Council to create Executive Councils to assist the Heads of the Government in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Eastern Bengal, Assam and Burma was not passed as originally framed, earnestly urges that action may be taken at an early date under the Act to create Executive Councils in the above-named Provinces.

Proposed by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad).

Seconded by Dewan Lachmi Narain (Punjab).

Supported by Lala Hukum Chand (Punjab) and

Maulvi Abul Qasim (Bengal).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. VI.—Reform Scheme in the Punjab.

This Congress records its opinion that the Regulations framed for the Punjab under the Reform Scheme, fail to give satisfaction for the following reasons, namely :—

- (a) In that the numerical strength of the Council provided for in the Regulations is not sufficient to allow an adequate representation to all classes and interests of the population, nor is it commensurate with the progress made by this Province, in matters social, educational, industrial and commercial.
- (b) In that the elected element prescribed by the Regulations for the Local Council is unduly small, and altogether insufficient to meet the needs and requirements of this Province, and compares very unfavourably with that accorded to other provinces not more advanced.

- (c) In that the principle of protection of minorities, which has been applied in the case of non-Mahomedans in Provinces where they are in a minority, has not been applied in the case of non-Mahomedans who are in a minority in the Punjab, both in the Provincial and Imperial Councils.
- (d) In that the Regulations as framed tend practically to keep out non-Mahomedans from the Imperial Council.

Proposed by Mr. Sunder Singh Bhatia }
 Seconded by Mr. Dharm Das Suri } Punjab.

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. VII.—Reform Scheme in Berar and Central Provinces.

That this Congress desires to give expression to the dissatisfaction produced among the people of the Central Provinces and Berar, by the decision of the Government not to establish a Provincial Legislative Council for those territories, and by the exclusion of Berar from participation in the election of two members of the Imperial Legislative Council by the landholders and members of District and Municipal Boards of the Central Provinces, and this Congress appeals to the Government to remove the aforesaid complaints at an early date.

Proposed by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Berar).

Seconded by Mr. Vinayak Joshi (Berar) and

Supported by Mr. N. A. Dravin (Poona).

Carried unanimously.

THIRD DAY—29TH DECEMBER 1909.

Resolution No. VIII.—Partition of Bengal.

This Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, not to treat the question of the Partition of Bengal as incapable of reconsideration, but to take the earliest opportunity to so modify the said Partition as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

This Congress humbly submits that the rectification of this admitted error will be an act of far-sighted statesmanship. It will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to other Provinces, and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country.

This Congress appoints Messrs. Surendranath Banerji and Bhupendranath Bose to proceed to England as a deputation, to lay the question of the Partition before the authorities, and public there.

Proposed by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose (Bengal).

Seconded by Mr. Ekambara Iyer (Madras) and

Supported by Mr. Permishwar Lal (Behar).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. IX.—Transvaal Indians.

This Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal—Mohamedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their country are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds.

This Congress offers its warmest encouragement to Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his brave and faithful associates, and calls upon all Indians, of whatever race or creed, to help them unstintedly with funds; and, in this connection, the Congress begs to convey to Mr. R. J. Tata its high appreciation of the patriotic instincts which have inspired his munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 to his suffering countrymen in South Africa in their hour of need and trial.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South African Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner in which the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies in the British Empire, to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories and denying the rights of full British citizenship, to all Asiatic Subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire, and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

Proposed by Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

Seconded by Deep Narain Singh (Allahabad).

Supported by Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras).

Malik Girdhari Lal (Punjab).

Mr. Ishwara Saran (Allahabad).

Pandit Devratan (Punjab).

Mr. C. R. Naidu (South Africa).

Lakshman Panday (South Africa).

Mr. Polak (South Africa) and

Mr. Surendranath Bannerji (Calcutta).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. X.—Regulations relating to Deportations and Executive action taken thereunder.

That having regard to the grave risk of injustice in Government action based upon *ex-parte* and untested information, and to the sufficiency for reasonably preventive and punitive purposes of other provisions on the Statute Book of the country, this Congress urges upon the Government the repeal of the old Regulations relating to deportation, and prays that the persons who were last year deported from Bengal be set at liberty without further detention, or be given an opportunity to meet the charges, if any, that may be against them and for which they have been condemned unheard.

Proposed by Mr. A. Chaudhri (Bengal).

Seconded by Mr. H. S. Dixit (Bombay) and

Supported by Mr. Krishna Rao (Madras).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XI.—Higher career to Indians in the Army.

This Congress protests against the continued exclusion of the children of the soil from higher military careers, and in urging that such careers be thrown open to them, it suggests the establishment of military Colleges at which Indians may receive the training necessary to qualify them for His Majesty's commission in the Army.

Proposed by Mr. Smathi Rajan (Madras).

Seconded by Sardar Gurmukh Singh (Punjab).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XII.—Policy and Operation of Laws restricting Alienation of Land and of Allied Acts.

That having regard to the grave dissatisfaction caused by the operation of the Land Alienation and Allied Acts among large sections of the community in the Punjab and elsewhere, this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived for instituting a thorough and detailed enquiry into

the policy and working of the laws restricting alienation of land in Provinces where such laws are in operation, and urges Government to appoint a mixed Commission of officials and representative non-official Indians, to institute an enquiry in order to ascertain whether the legislation has really benefited the interests of agriculture, and of the class intended to be benefited by it, and whether it has given rise in actual operation to anomalies, hardships and disabilities, calculated to injure the growth and prospects of the agricultural industry and cause discontent among any particular class or section of the community.

Proposed by Lala Sangam Lal.

Seconded by Lala Bhana Ram.

Supported by Mr. Mathra Das, Lala Ram Chand and
Mr. B. V. Vaidwans.

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XIII.—Public Service.

(a) That this Congress gratefully recognises the efforts that have been made during the last three years by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, to give gracious effect to the policy, laid down in the Great Charter of 1858 and reiterated in His Majesty's message of last year, of obliterating distinctions of race in conferring higher offices on the people of India in the public service of the country.

This Congress, however, is strongly of opinion that in order to carry out this policy effectively, the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 should be given effect to, and all examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England, and all first appointments for the higher branches of the public service which are made in India, should be by competitive examination only.

(b) That this Congress thanks the Secretary of State :

(1) For his despatch regarding the employment in the superior posts of the civil medical service of qualified medical men, not belonging to the Indian Medical Service, and earnestly requests Government of India to take early action in the direction pointed out by the Secretary of State.

(2) That in the interests of the public, the medical service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service, wholly independent of the Indian Military Medical Service.

Proposed by M. N. M. Samarth (Bombay).

Seconded by Rao Bahadur Khandubhai G. Desai (Surat).

Supported by Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh (Allahabad) and

Dr. H. D. Paul (Lucknow).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XIV.—High Prices of Food-Stuffs.

That this Congress is of opinion that having regard to the high prices of food-stuffs current during the past several years and the hardships to which the middle and the poorer classes in particular are put thereby, an enquiry by a properly constituted Commission should be instituted by Government, into the causes of such high prices, with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedies that evil could be removed or its effects minimised.

Proposed by Mr. Peter Paul Pillay (Madras).

Seconded by Professor Kale (Bombay) and

Supported by Pundit Gobind Sahai Sharma (United Provinces).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XV.—Swadeshi.

That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi Movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its

success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of industries, capable of development in the country, and respond to the efforts of Indian producers by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XVI.—Education.

That this Congress is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps :

- (a) to make Primary Education free at once, and gradually compulsory throughout the country ;
- (b) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes) ;
- (c) to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces having regard to local requirements, and
- (d) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian Public opinion, in shaping the policy and system of Education in this country.

In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical and Industrial Education, suited to the conditions of the different Provinces in the country.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XVII.—Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

- (a) That this Congress places on record its sense of regret, that notwithstanding the hopes held out by Government that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have been taken in that direction, and this Congress concurring with previous Congresses urges a complete separation of the two functions without further delay.
- (b) That this Congress concurring with previous Congresses urges that the judicial service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XVIII.—Local Self-Government.

That this Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government Scheme of 1882 has not had a fair trial, and has pressed on the Government of India the necessity of an effectual advance in the direction of making local, urban, and rural bodies really self-governing, and it expresses the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to make all local bodies, from village punchayats upwards, elective with elected non-official chairmen, and support them with adequate financial aid.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XIX.—Settlement and Military Expenditure.

That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses urges—

- (i) A reasonable and definite limitation to the State demand on land, and the introduction of a permanent Settlement or a Settlement for a period of not less than sixty years in those provinces where short periodical Settlement revisions prevail, as in the opinion of the Congress that is the only means of ameliorating the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the agricultural population ; and

- (ii) A reduction of the annually growing military expenditure which now absorbs nearly one-third of the empires' revenue leaving an inadequate portion only of the balance available for many an object of popular utility, specially education and sanitation which are yet greatly starved.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XX.—N.-W. F. Province.

In view of the prevalence of serious dissatisfaction among the people of the N.-W. Frontier Province with the character of the administration under which they live, this Congress earnestly urges the Government of India to order a public inquiry into their complaints, and take steps to remedy the disadvantages under which they labour as compared with the population of the Punjab.

Proposed by Mehta Gobind Das (N.-W. F. P.)

Seconded by Mr. S. S. Bhatia (Lahore).

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XXI.—Thanks for Services.

That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. P. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton and other members of the British Committee, its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services in the cause of India's political advancement.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XXII.—Announcement of the All-India Congress Committee.

That Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. Daji Abaji Khare be appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Invitation by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru that Congress should meet at Allahabad next year.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-FOURTH
Indian National Congress

HELD AT LAHORE

On the 27th, 28th and 29th December 1909.

1st Day's Proceedings.

1st Day, Monday 27th December 1909.

Welcome Address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

THE OPENING DAY.

THE Indian National Congress assembled at 1 p. m. on the 27th December 1909, at the Bradlaugh Hall which was fairly well filled with visitors and delegates. Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya, the President-elect, was conducted in procession from his residence to the Congress pavilion escorted by a large number of the leading local Congressmen and members of the Reception Committee headed by Lala Harkishen Lal. He entered the pavilion amidst prolonged and vociferous cheering and as he walked up to the platform he received a tremendous ovation. He was supported on the platform by Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Babu B. N. Bose, Mr. A. Choudhuri, Mr. G. K. Parekh, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, Mr. D. A. Khare, Mr. D. E. Wacha and a number of other distinguished Congressmen. After the President and others had been seated, Lala Harkishen Lal on behalf of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates in the following speech :—

First Day.

Arrival of the President.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—

Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

In the name and on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress, I accord you all a hearty and sincere welcome. It is a welcome from a heart, which has been anxious and uneasy for the last 12 months, and if I may be allowed to use the language of metaphor, I shall say from the Captain, as if it were, of a leaking, burning and sinking ship, but from the Captain of a crew, small though in number, but staunch, faithful and dutiful.

Ladies and Gentlemen, sixteen years ago, up to a day, when I stood in a similar position, on behalf of another, now unhappily no more, I mean the late lamented Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, to accord a hearty welcome to the Delegates to the Congress of 1893. I had the privilege to read out an Address, which was full of the sentiments of loyalty to the British Crown, and which frankly and fully acknowledged all the benefits, that we the people of this country had drawn from association with a people, more gifted than ourselves. It was the Address of a man, whose ancestors had played an important part in the preceding regime of the Sikhs, whose father alone, it is believed, had shewn a sense of loyalty to his master's family, and who himself had never been accused of low or base ambition; whose whole life was an example of self-abnegation; and lastly, whose time and money were consecrated to the service of his country and its people. He was besides a thoughtful, well-informed, far-sighted and a wise leader. In the Address referred to above he observed :—

“It is our peculiar good fortune to live under a Government, which by the spread of liberal education and the annihilation of distance, had

First Day.
 Address of the
 Chairman of the Re-
 ception Committee.

made it practicable for us—the inhabitants of the remote parts of this vast Empire—to meet every year at different centres to discuss those great problems, so intimately connected with the advancement and prosperity of our fatherland.” “We clearly see” he further said “the prospect of a hopeful future before us under the benign influence of British rule”; and he added that “I think most of us present here believe that the kingdom of heaven is not behind but before. The darkness that enshrouded the land for so many centuries has begun to be dispelled, and the streaks are already visible above the horizon, that herald the approach of a glorious dawn.”

The following words from Sardar Dyal Singh’s address are also worthy of being recalled. “Now the wand of the magician has touched our eyes; the history and literature of England have permeated our minds, the great heritage of our Western Aryan brethren has descended on us collaterally. We happily live under a constitution whose watchword is Freedom and whose main pillar is Toleration.” “It would be superfluous now to meet the stale old charge of disloyalty and sedition brought against the Congress. It has been discussed thread-bare and the Congress has come triumphant out of the discussion.”

These words, which I read out to you 16 years ago, have been, and are still, the watchwords of my political faith; and they have served as a beacon light to a wanderer in a country steeped in darkness. Their reproduction has been necessitated by the pronouncement of the leader of the Punjab Muslim League, at their last anniversary, at which he is reported to have observed with regard to the Congress that it was a movement the leaders of which, while professing loyalty to the British Crown, questioned the good faith of the Government as regards many of its measures. It is necessary to recall also the oft-repeated assertion of several young enthusiasts that the loyalty of the Congress to the British Crown was a new development, the consequence of the debasement of the standard of patriotism, that the original leaders of the movement had set before them. Both parties are wrong. In one case the charge laid is due to a lack of knowledge of historical facts, in the other case it is due to a studied desire to do mischief.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is not all that has been said against the Congress in this province, during the last twelve months, and I shall, with your permission, deal succinctly, as far as possible, with the other opinions also that have been expressed against us, trusting that I may be excused from touching on them in an Address whose sole object is to welcome the delegates.

Some have said that the Congress has become unpopular because it teaches self-abnegation in politics, implying thereby that self-abnegation in politics is a vice, a suicide, and an act to be avoided. Others have urged that “Political agitation maintained on those lines was bound to generate discontent, particularly in the minds of the younger generation; that such discontent would, in the process of time, develop into active unrest, that active unrest would give rise to violence, and bearing in mind the inflammable material with which the nationalist orator had to deal, a state of things would, in the end, be brought into existence in the hitherto peaceful land, subversive of all law and order, disastrous to the cause of peaceful progress, and calling for stringent measures on the part of a peaceful Government.” There could not be a stronger indictment than this, but it is only a paraphrase of the attitude of a great man towards the movement who himself, I am sure, would not have claimed for himself the right of speaking for all time to come. The late lamented Sir Syed was a wise man, but not the last of political prophets.

There is still another view. One of our most respected men observes that “Politics have engrossed the attention of educated Hindus far too much for the last quarter of a century, to the detriment of social and economic questions, and created an unhealthy excitement in the minds of our young people and warped their moral notions.” “Truth to say” he goes on to observe “the active pursuit of politics by educated Hindus has brought the community little good, but has created a dislike against it in the minds of the bulk of Anglo-Indians.” Some again urge that the demands of the Congress are impossible, and that by putting forward these

demands, the Congress has prejudiced the Hindu community in the eyes of the Government. An Anglo-Indian friend whispered in my ears the other day "that the day of the Congress had gone, that it had served its purpose and ought to disappear, but he recognised extremism as a deflection from a good cause, *i. e.*, the Congress." An aristocrat of the land is reported to have expressed a determination to avoid a certain Conference, if held in or near the Bradlaugh Hall.

First Day.
Address of the
Chairman of the Re-
ception Committee.

Ladies and Gentlemen, against the doctrine of self-abnegation one may well urge the necessity, which all majorities feel for conciliating minorities; and that patriotism would cease to connote anything useful, if people were not prepared to sacrifice some present interest to secure the lasting good of the country in future. As to political agitation generating discontent, I may be permitted to say that all discontent is not disloyalty, and that political agitation conducted on constitutional lines is permitted by Government. If in a few cases, men of immature minds have been led by their crudities into excesses, the law is strong enough to put them down. The argument urged by Sir Protul that politics have engrossed too much of our attention within the last 25 years, to the detriment of social and economic questions, is met by the opinion of the same authority, quoted later on that "politics should be reserved for an undenominational body like the Congress." As to the objection that the Congress demands are impossible, it is sufficient to say that several of them have already been conceded. The remarks of my Anglo-Indian friend and the aristocrat of the land require no comments.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have now dealt briefly with all that has been urged against the Congress in this province, and I now beg you to tell me seriously whether you think that the Congress is a bad business, and that it should be put a stop to. Tell me frankly also whether you one and all feel uncomfortable under the load of charges and accusations that have been brought against us in the paragraphs just read out to you. I am sure you do not, but these charges have been believed by many unwary people with the result, that we have a very small audience to-day, and the position that has been created is a serious one in all conscience, so far as the Congress policy and propaganda are concerned; but I feel confident that before quitting this Hall finally, at the end of the session, you will have made a different impression on the people of the Punjab.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let us understand clearly what the Congress is:—

It is an assembly of educated Indians, which meets once a year, in a selected place, to give a frank expression to its opinions, on certain subjects of a political nature. If no disloyal expressions are used, and if the benefits that the country has derived under the British administration, are always acknowledged, how could the assembly be stigmatized as disloyal?

Even the Muslim League claims for itself 'the right of giving warning to the authorities and, if necessary, to enter a respectful protest, as it is sincerely convinced that the errors of the British Government are but errors of judgment.' Do we go any further? The President of the Hindu Conference after saying all that in his opinion could be urged against the Congress, winds up this part of his discourse by saying that "politics should form the peculiar province of an undenominational body like the Congress, and that political concessions if sought should be sought equally for all ranks, creeds and races of His Majesty's Indian subjects and not for one section only." This opinion of his exonerates us from the charge brought against us, of putting the Hindus in a difficult position by Congress agitation, as it has never done more or less than what he himself prescribes for it. One of our staunchest opponents, in this province, himself lays down that the principles as settled by the Allahabad Convention are the only principles on which the Congress can be run as such. Where is our fault then if we run the Congress on those lines?

If the speech of Rai Bahadur Lala Lal Chand, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Hindu Conference, had been delivered at the Muslim League Anniversary, and that of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Shafi, Chairman of the Muslim League, delivered at the Hindu Conference,

First Day.
 Address of the
 Chairman of the Re-
 ception Committee.

they would *mutatis mutandis* have served the same purpose, and produced the same effects as they have actually done. Both these gentlemen think that their communities have received new consciousness, that communal interests should have a preferential place over the general interests of the nation at large, that harmony should prevail between all communities, and that peace should prevail in the land. The Congress, while differing from them in being undenominational, is at one with them in desiring that peace and harmony should prevail in the land.

Summing up, the Congress has neither done mischief, nor misled the people, nor again has it set the example of class agitation as it agitates for all and on constitutional lines. It has always refused to identify itself with any section of the Indian nation as it is undenominational and will, I hope, always keep to this policy, and abide by these principles.

But there are a few other facts worth considering. If the Congress pleads for all and pleads fair why should the Muslims call it a mischievous agitation, the Hindus brand it as harmful, the aristocrats shun it, the Government dislike it, and the go-aheads call it beggary. Before attempting a reply, one ought to be convinced if these opinions are genuine; and if these opinions are not genuine what a sad reflection they cast on the political morals of the land.

I need not labour this point any further. The situation created, in my humble opinion, is due to the attitude of certain administrators and legislators, who have not always kept in view the lofty ideals of the founders of the Empire. It is absolutely essential that the high standard of British justice, which the older generation of Anglo-Indians kept in view, should not be lowered, and that temper should not warp judgment. I am grieved to say that the legislation and administration of the last decade have not, in the best opinion of the country, been free from these defects. An attempt at reconciliation and reversion to older standards is being made, but it will take time to undo the mischief that has been done.

If the Muslim League is to be favoured, the Hindus will inevitably get consolidated; if the aristocrats are to be patted on the back, democratic opinions are sure to grow, if the Zemindars become the favourites, the traders will get dissatisfied, and if the Councils are to be filled with nonentities, outside political agitation is bound to increase.

The argument may be extended further, but it is not necessary. All parties concerned have to bear in mind that action and reaction are always equal and opposite. This applies to physical and political phenomena with equal force, and we must not forget that in a country where the rulers are outsiders, the interests of the rulers and the ruled do not always coincide, and therefore the doctrine of action and reaction applies with greater force. It applies equally when the communal efforts of sections of population, tend in different directions, and no one section can claim the right of exemption from the rule.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I crave your pardon for having taken up your time with general dissertation. I must, however, refer to a few matters of practical politics, pertaining to the Province of Punjab, before I conclude.

We had our last Congress here in 1900, when Mr. K. P. Roy, the leader of the Indian Bar in the Province and the outspoken advocate of our rights, had the good fortune of according you a welcome. Alas, he has passed away, and I have to mourn his loss as he had to do of his predecessor. In him we have lost a real tower of strength, and I am not sure whether he can be replaced in future, as he has not been replaced so far. With his death and the depletion of our ranks, otherwise, we are not able to show you the kind of hospitality which your position in life demands, and which our hearts desire, but which on account of our limited purse and time, we cannot extend to you. I apologise to you sincerely for this, and I hope you will generously overlook our shortcomings.

Since the last Congress, the most notable political events in the Province were the troubles of 1907, which are now happily nearly over. As the events are very recent, I do not propose to analyse the causes that gave rise to them; nor should I allude to the persons who suffered a deal

of inconvenience, in consequence thereof ; but one may refer with pleasure to the improved relations between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian communities, which have come to exist thereafter, and signs are not wanting to shew, that such relations are capable of further improvement, and that there is a mutual desire to improve the same. One cause of irritation, however, still subsists and we hope that the leaders of our community will try their best to remove it by their influence. This is the uninformed Journalism, in the hands of people hardly out of their teens, with undeveloped sense of responsibility, with insufficient knowledge of affairs, lacking in the power of weighing causes and effects, and without that power of adjusting just and fair means to a noble end, which alone entitles people to deal with political problems.

First Day.

Address of the
Chairman of the Re-
ception Committee.

Next to them in political importance, comes the recent organisation of the Muslim League, the Chiefs' Association, and the Hindu Conference. The last has not yet assumed politics as its creed, but political reasons seem to have given birth to it. Personally I dislike all sectional movements with common and similar interests and objects which can be more easily served and achieved by common and joint efforts. They are liable to do more mischief than good, and must be condemned. If the Government is to be found fault with for class preference in legislation and administration, surely the associations, which sections of the community, organise in order to strengthen and to perpetuate, the tendency in the Government, must also be severely condemned. This leads me naturally to the consideration of the policy underlying the new Council Regulations and the Land Legislation of the Punjab.

The Council Regulations, inasmuch as they have legalised class preference, must be condemned by all right-thinking people of the country, and by the friends and well-wishers of India, and of the Indian Government. They should be further condemned, in so far as they give preference to one and only one community, without regard to the interests of other communities, minorities as well as majorities. These regulations are unjust, and I may venture to say, impolitic ; and must at an early date be set aside in favour of more equitable and just principles. No valid reasons have been assigned in support of this policy, and proof is wanting to justify its adoption. If it be a sound policy in the opinion of the authorities, why do they not carry it to its logical conclusion ? The Council Reforms, as applied to the Punjab, are open to further serious objections ; the Province has not been put on the same footing with sister provinces, as regards the number of members and the method of their appointment. In the share of the province in the Imperial Council the Hindus and Sikhs have a real grievance. The Punjab has never been a favoured province, so far as treatment of its people goes, and as a fair and fit representation on the Imperial Council is still denied, I am afraid, the fates are not in our favour.

Though the measure is open to serious objections, to some of which I have referred above, I am not insensible to the good intention of Lords Morley and Minto and to their associates in Councils. I am thankful to the British Government for conferring this boon on the people of the country, and in thus placing whole-hearted confidence in their capacity and character. The East is no doubt dissatisfied with the old methods of Government. Even in Afghanistan, there has been a movement for a popular form of Government ; the attitude of Japan, China, Persia and Turkey, in this direction, being well-known facts already. India could no longer afford to have an archaic form of Government ; and happily our rulers have discerned and recognised it in time. We are all grateful, and heartily grateful, and shall cordially support in the Congress an expression of gratitude by the assembled representatives of India.

Concerning the Land Legislation of the Punjab, I do not propose to detain you long. The three Acts of 1900, 1905 and 1907 have formed the subject of reference to Government since 1907, and recently they were the main feature of the Hindu Address to the Viceroy, on his visit to Lahore, and subsequently were dealt with at some length in the Representations of the Hindu Sabha to the Viceroy, and formed the subject of discussion at the Hindu Conference. The Viceroy, on behalf of the Government of India, has suggested revision of the Law of Pre-emption, and the Hindu members of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, may

First Day.
Address of the
Chairman of the Reception Committee.

be expected to safeguard Hindu interests. As to the other two Acts, the Viceroy understands from the representation that the petitioners do not desire the repeal of the Acts, but a more favourable and extended application of the law to the members of the Hindu Community. How far this was the meaning of their representation the Hindu Sabha would be able to explain. The Hindu Conference that followed, has from the lips of Sir Protul Chander Chatterjee directly, and from the lips of the Hon'ble Mr. Shadi Lal impliedly, accepted the principle of the Legislation; though the rank and file of the Conference do not accept the position taken up by these two leaders. My own opinion, based on economic and social considerations, so far as I can form an opinion on facts before me, is in direct opposition to these leaders; but it would be a little bit presumptuous on my part, to ask the Congress to adopt my views, in opposition to the views of the office holders of the Hindu Conference, and I would leave the subject in the hands of the Punjab delegates.

In some features of administration, peculiar to the Punjab, we have made no progress. Our Chief Court is still not a High Court, though the Chief Judge recently expressed his opinion, that in the estimation of the Government the Chief Court had achieved as high a position as that of a High Court inasmuch as its Chief Judges were now knighted, on the day of their appointment, and not at the end of the half year.

The Executive and the Judiciary are as mixed up as ever, though a small effort at separation has been made, but the Bar is still kept out of the lower grades of Judicial appointments, as before, and the pay of the Judicial officer is not on the same scale as in other provinces.

In some respects we are better off than other sister provinces and we are really grateful for the same. Agriculture is being looked after, and extended and Technical Education in several directions is receiving attention. Our Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Louis Dane, has set himself to improve the economic condition of the people so far as it lies in his power, and we are really indebted to him for the interest he takes in our welfare.

This naturally reminds me of the Exhibition of 1909 which is now open, and which I am sure you will visit before leaving Lahore. It is the outcome of the efforts of the Congress, and owes a part of its success to Congressmen. Sir Louis Dane in his speech, when opening the same, has most felicitously referred to the spirit of co-operation that has prevailed in the organisation of the Exhibition between various sections of the community, and I beg to recommend to you the perusal of his speech. I take also this opportunity of thanking Sir Louis Dane, and his officers for their efforts in following a scheme that the Congress originated, and set on foot. This is a pleasant subject to dwell upon but there is another subject, to which I refer with feelings of regret. Extremism which leads to murders of innocent parties must be abhorred. The traditions of the Punjab have been traditions of loyalty, and the Punjabis have always referred to the part they played in overcoming the troubles of 1857, with great pride. It is therefore all the more deplorable that the name of a Punjabi should have been associated with anarchism. Anarchism wherever found, should be eradicated. It is not in the interest of the Rulers alone that this should be done, but in our own self-interest, because if anarchism ever takes root in our country, the consequences will be terrible to the people themselves.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have laid before you my views on some of the peculiar problems of the Province of my adoption; and I must now direct your attention to the condition of affairs in the Province of my birth. In the North Western Frontier Province, the laws and practices, sometimes, vie with the law and practices of the neighbouring country of Afghanistan; and the people naturally are not quite happy there. I do not propose to take up your time with a narration of the Judicial and Jirga vagaries, but I have no hesitation in saying that the administration of that Province requires looking into by a Royal Commission or a Commission appointed by the Viceroy. Why should not that Province have the right of representation on the Imperial Council, when it will have no Council of its own, requires to be explained. That Province was partitioned off in the same way as Bengal has been partitioned, but we took the measure on both sides of the Indus more philosophically; and for

that reason alone, if for no other, we should have more *considerate* treatment on the Frontier than we have hitherto received.

First Day.

Address of the
Chairman of the Re-
ception Committee.

Let us try to conciliate all wings of the party, and regain our pristine position. Let us have a creed by all means; but an affirmation, a solemn affirmation if you please, of loyalty to the British Crown is all that is required as the creed of the Congress; because so long as we are loyal to the person of the ruler, and to the laws enacted by legally constituted authority, we may well claim equal rights with the other British subjects. Our ideals should not be mixed up with the creed. They should be clearly stated, firmly agitated for, and should be within the range of practical politics. As to the Constitution, well the present rules are not sufficient and explicit. They should be put in a better shape, as soon as possible. They had nearly landed us in shallow waters this month, had it not been for the firmness shewn by the Reception Committee. If open, frank, real and sincere loyalty to the existing order of things, a loyalty based on the highest considerations of self-interest, be our creed, we need not discuss any United Congress; as about this simple creed there can be no two and different opinions. On other matters we may differ, as much as we like, but if we follow honestly the rules of a regulated civilised society, we need fear no troubles. I leave these observations for your consideration.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must not tire you any more. But before resuming my seat I must thank you heartily for the patient hearing that you have given me, and I must once again, on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues on the Reception Committee, give expression to the feeling of pleasure that we have experienced in welcoming you all here. May our efforts for the good of our people, according to our own light, be successful, is the last wish of your most humble servant.

At the conclusion of the speech he requested Babu Surendranath Banerjee to formally move the proposal that Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya do take the chair. Installation of the
President.

Babu Surendranath Banerjee, who rose amidst loud applause, said:—
Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—Under the terms of the Congress constitution it is no longer necessary for us, delegates in Congress assembled, to elect our President. So far as the election of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya is concerned, (cheers and applause) that duty has been performed by the All-India Committee but we also, delegates in Congress assembled, have a duty to perform. In your name and on your behalf, as well as on my own, I desire to accord you, Sir, a cordial welcome as President of this Congress, (cheers). Gentlemen, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya has been one of the earliest and one of the most devoted workers in the Congress cause, (cheers). My memory goes back to the events of 1886 when my young friend—he was then young; he is no longer young now—when my young friend having just left the College after a distinguished academic career for the first time spoke at a meeting of the Calcutta Congress. He was so young that he had to be lifted up on a chair (laughter) in order that the audience might have an opportunity of having a look at him. He had a fascinating appearance,—which he has even now (cheers and laughter)—but the audience was more charmed by the eloquence of the youthful orator than by his good looks, and that speech—one of the very best that I have ever heard—made a deep impression upon the minds of the Congress gathering, and pointed him out as one of the future leaders of the Congress movement. The promise of 1886 has now been abundantly fulfilled and to-day Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya stands forth as one of the great buttresses of the Congress movement. Sober and moderate in his views, temperate but eloquent in their expression, he has been rightly declared the silver-tongued orator of the Congress and he is fully entitled to the honour which has been conferred on him by the All-India Congress Committee and which we endorse with the unanimous verdict of the Congress here (cheers). Sir, he has laid us under a double obligation by accepting the Presidentship at a time which was in the nature of a crisis. A vacancy had occurred—an unexpected vacancy in the Presidentship of the Congress—and Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya came to our rescue and saved the situation (cheers) and he did it at an enormous sacrifice. I had just an opportunity of talking the matter over with him. He was suffering at the time from the effects of malarial fever, Babu Surendra
Nath Banerjee.

- First Day.** We, in Bengal, are fully cognisant of its evil consequences—I do not know whether you know much about it. Be that as it may, it is an act of sacrifice, of devoted self-sacrifice; it is an act of unselfishness, it is an act of highest patriotism and therefore that act is entitled to our recognition and we accord that recognition by voting him an enthusiastic welcome, (cheers). I will not detain you any longer, (cheers).
- Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
- Mr. G. K. Parekh. **MR. G. K. PAREKH OF BOMBAY** :—Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in seconding the motion that has been so ably put before you by our friend Babu Surendranath Banerjee (cheers).
- Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar. **DEWAN BAHADUR L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA AIYAR OF MADRAS** :—Mr. Chairman, brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—It is a difficult matter to speak after Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, even if the object of the resolution be to support the proposition that Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya be requested to take the chair. I have great pleasure, Ladies and Gentlemen, in supporting the resolution so ably moved.
- Raizada Bhagat Ram. **RAIZADA BHAGAT RAM OF PUNJAB** :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :—My difficulties have been rendered greater, and I on behalf of the Punjab delegates support the resolution which has been put before you by our distinguished countryman, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee.
- Lala Harkishenlal. **LALA HARKISHENLAL** :—Gentlemen, there is no resolution before you. The resolution was passed by the All-India Committee appointing Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya to be President of the Congress. I accordingly ask him now to take the chair.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya was then formally conducted into the Presidential chair amidst continued and loud applause.

Three cheers were then called for the President and were lustily responded to by the audience.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya who, on rising, was greeted with loud cheers then addressed the Congress as follows :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I have a telegram in my hand which you will be glad to hear read. It is a telegram from Dadabhai Naoroji, (cheers). Mr. Dadabhai writes “ Many thanks for cordial invitation. Very sorry cannot attend. Wish you every success.” Think of the Grand Old Man in his 83rd year unable to attend the Congress, yet being present here with you in spirit and appealing to you to try and carry on the great work which he and others began and in which alone lies the future hope of this country. I propose that we give three cheers for Dadabhai Naoroji.

The gathering rising responded enthusiastically to the call from the President.

THE PRESIDENT :—There is another message and that is from Dr. Rash Behari Ghose: he says “ Extremely sorry cannot attend owing to ill-health. Wish a successful session.” (Cheers). There are several other messages but I have already taken up much more of your time than I intended and you may take them as read. They will, of course, be published in the papers.

The President then rose amidst vociferous cheering and delivered the following address :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Presidential Address. When I received intimation in a rather out-of-the-way place in the mofussil where I was engaged in professional work, that some Congress Committees had very kindly nominated me for election as President of the Congress, I wired, as there was no time to be lost in the matter, to my honoured friend Mr. Wacha, the General Secretary of the Congress, to inform him that I was too weak from the effects of a recent illness, as I am sorry to say I still am, to be able to undertake the duties and responsibilities of the high office of President of the Congress. I need hardly say, ladies and gentlemen, that it was not that I did not fully appreciate the high honour which it was proposed to confer upon me. The Presidentship of the Congress, as has often been said, is the highest honour that can come to any Indian. But, I am sorry to confess, I was

not cheered up by the prospect of receiving it, because I really believed that I did not deserve it. I knew how unworthy I was to occupy the chair which had been filled in the past by a succession of eminently able and distinguished men who had established their title to the esteem and confidence of their countrymen long before they were called on to preside over this great national assembly of India. Besides this general consideration, I had present to my mind the special fact that I would be required to fill the chair which Congressmen all over the country and the public at large had been expecting would be graced by that distinguished countryman of ours who towers above others by his commanding ability and influence, I need hardly name Sir Pherozshah Mehta; and I felt that the election of a humble soldier from the ranks as I am, to step into the breach created by the retirement of such a veteran leader, could but deepen the already deep disappointment and regret which has been felt all over the country by his resignation of this office. In addition to all this, I could not forget that with the exception of a single short speech, I had never in my life been able to write out a speech, and I could not expect, especially when there were hardly six days left before me to do it, to be able to write out anything like an address which is expected from the Presidential chair of the Congress. But, ladies and gentlemen, all my objections expressed and implied, were overruled, and such as I am, I am here, in obedience to the mandate issued under your authority, to serve you and our motherland as best I may, relying on the grace of God and the support of all my brother-Congressmen. This fact cannot however diminish, it rather deepens, the gratitude which I feel to you for the signal honour you have conferred upon me in electing me your President at this juncture. Words fail me to express what I feel. I thank you for it from the bottom of my heart. You will agree with me when I say that no predecessor of mine ever stood in need of greater indulgence and more unstinted support from the Congress than I do. I trust you will extend it to me with the same generosity and kindly feeling with which you have voted me to this exalted office.

First Day.
 Presidential Ad-
 dress.

MESSRS. LALMOHAN GHOSE AND R. C. DUTT.

Before I proceed to deal with other matters, it is my painful but sacred duty to offer a tribute of respect to the memory of two of the past Presidents of the Congress and of one distinguished benefactor of the country whom the hand of death has removed from our midst. In the death of Mr. Lalmoohan Ghose we mourn the loss of one of the greatest orators that India has produced. Of his matchless eloquence it is not necessary for me to speak. He combined with it a wonderful grasp of great political questions, and long before the Congress was born, he employed his great gifts in pleading the cause of his country before the tribunal of English public opinion. The effect which his eloquent advocacy produced on the minds of our fellow-subjects in England was testified to by no less eminent a man than John Bright, the great tribune of the English people. To Mr. Lalmoohan Ghose will always belong the credit of having been the first Indian who made a strenuous endeavour to get admission into the great Parliament of England. It is sad to think that his voice will not be heard any more either in asserting the rights of his countrymen to equality of treatment with their European fellow-subjects or in chastening those who insult them, after the manner of his memorable Dacca speech.

Even more poignant and profound has been the regret with which the news of the death of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt has been received throughout the country. Mr. Dutt has had the glory of dying in harness in the service of his motherland. It is not for me to dwell here on the varied and high attainments and of the various activities of a life which was so richly distinguished by both. Time would not permit of my referring to Mr. Dutt's work on the Decentralisation Commission or in Baroda, or to his numerous contributions to literature, history and economics. But I cannot omit to mention his contributions to the vernacular literature of Bengal. Mr. Dutt recognised with the true insight of a statesman that to build up a nation it was necessary to create a national literature, and he made rich and copious contributions to the vernacular of his province. An able administrator, a sagacious statesman, a distinguished scholar, a gifted poet, a charming novelist, a deep student of

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

Indian history and economies, and, above all, a passionate lover of his country who united to a noble pride and deep reverence for its glorious past, a boundless faith in the possibilities of its future, and laboured incessantly for its realisation up to the last moments of his life. Mr. Dutt was a man of whom any country might be proud. (Cheers.) It was no small tribute to his work and worth that that patriot-prince the Gaekwar, chose him for his adviser, and found in him a man after his heart. Grievous would have been the loss of such a man at any time; it is a national calamity that he should have been taken away from us at a time when his country stood so much in need of his sober counsel and wise guidance.

DEATH OF LORD RIPON.

Last but not the least do we mourn the loss of the greatest and most beloved Viceroy whom India has known,—I need hardly name the noble Marquis of Ripon. Lord Ripon was loved and respected by educated Indians as I believe no Englishman who has ever been connected with India, excepting the father of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Allan Octavius Hume, and Sir William Wedderburn, has been loved and respected. Lord Ripon was loved because he inaugurated that noble scheme of Local Self-Government which, though it has never yet had a fair trial, was intended by his Lordship to train Indians for the very best form of government, namely, a government of the people by the people, which it has been the proudest privilege of Englishmen to establish in their own land and to teach all other civilised nations to adopt. He was loved because he made the most courageous attempt to act up to the spirit of the noble Proclamation of 1858, to obliterate race distinctions and to treat his Indian fellow-subjects as standing on a footing of equality with their European fellow-subjects. He was respected because he was a
 “Statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere

In action faithful, and in honour clear.”

He was respected because he was a God-fearing man, and showed by his conduct in the exalted office he filled as Viceroy of India, that he believed in the truth of the teaching that righteousness exalteth a nation. He was loved because he was a type of the noblest of Englishmen who have an innate love of justice, and who wish to see the blessings of liberty which they themselves enjoy extended to all their fellow-men. Educated Indians were deeply touched by the last instance of his Lordship's desire to befriend the people of India, when he went down to the House of Lords from his bed of illness in the closing days of his life, to support Lord Morley's noble scheme of Reform and to bid the noble Lords who were opposing some of its beneficent provisions to be just to the people of India. It is a matter of profound grief that such a noble Englishman is no more. And yet the Marquis of Ripon lives, and will ever live in the grateful memory of generations of Indians yet to come. (Cheers.)

Truly has the poet said:—

“But strew his ashes to the wind
 Whose voice or sword has served mankind,
 And is he dead whose noble mind
 Lifts thine on high?
 To live in minds we leave behind
 Is not to die.” (Cheers.)

THE REFORMS.

Ladies and gentlemen, among the many subjects of importance which have occupied attention during the year, the foremost place must be given to the Regulations which have been promulgated under the scheme of Constitutional Reform for which the country is indebted to Lord Morley and to Lord Minto. That scheme was published a few days before the Congress met last year in Madras. It was hailed throughout the country with deep gratitude and delight. And nowhere did this feeling find warmer expression than at the Congress. The Regulations, on the other hand, which were published nearly five weeks ago, have, I am sorry to say,

created widespread disappointment and dissatisfaction, except in the limited circle of a section of our Moslem friends. The fact is of course deplorable. But no good will be gained and much evil is likely to result from ignoring or belittling it, or by trying to throw the blame for it on wrong shoulders. The interests of the country and of good government will be best served by trying to understand and to explain the reason for this great change which twelve months have brought about in the attitude of the educated Indians. The question is, are they to blame for not hailing the Regulations with the same feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction with which they welcomed the main outlines of the scheme, or have the Regulations so far deviated from the liberal spirit of Lord Morley's despatch as to give the educated classes just cause for dissatisfaction? To obtain a full and satisfactory answer to this question it is necessary to recall to mind the history of these reforms. And this I propose to do as briefly as I can.

First Day.
Presidential Address.

Ladies and gentlemen, it was the educated class in India who first felt the desire for the introduction of Self-Government—the government of the people through the elected representatives of the people—in India. This desire was the direct outcome of the study of that noble literature of England which is instinct with the love of freedom and eloquent of the truth that Self-Government is the best form of government. To my honoured friend Babu Surendranath Banerjee, whom we are so pleased to find here to-day, growing older and older in years but yet full of the enthusiasm of youth for the service of the motherland,—to Babu Surendranath will ever belong the credit of having been among the very first of Indians who gave audible expression to that desire (Cheers.) It was he and our dear departed brother Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose who established the Indian Association of Calcutta in 1876, with the object, among others, of agitating for the introduction of a system of representative government in India. This desire was greatly strengthened by the deplorable acts of omission and commission of Lord Lytton's administration, to which, by the way, the administration of Lord Curzon bore in many respects a striking family resemblance. The discontent that prevailed in India towards the end of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty was but slightly exceeded by that which prevailed at the close of Lord Curzon's regime. The overthrow of the Conservative ministry and the great Liberal victory of 1880 was consequently hailed with joy by educated Indians, as they read in it an assurance of relief from the effects of Lord Lytton's maladministration and a promise of the introduction of liberal measures in India. Public expression was given to this feeling at a great meeting held in Calcutta at which in the course of an eloquent speech our friend Babu Surendranath uttered the following pregnant words:—

“The question of representative government looms not in the far-off distance. Educated India is beginning to feel that the time has come when some measure of Self-Government might be conceded to the people. Canada governs itself. Australia governs itself. And surely it is anomalous that the grandest dependency of England should continue to be governed upon wholly different principles. The great question of representative government will probably have to be settled by the Liberal party, and I am sure it will be settled by them in a way which will add to the credit and honour of that illustrious party and will be worthy of their noble traditions.”

This feeling was not confined to Bengal. About the same time a remarkable paper was published in my own province, the then N.-W. Provinces, by the late Pandit Lakshmi Narayan Dar in which he strongly advocated the introduction of representative government in India. The Liberal party did not disappoint India, and it could not, as it was then under the noble guidance of that greatest Englishman of his age, William Ewart Gladstone, who was one of the greatest apostles of liberty that the world has known. Mr. Gladstone never rendered a greater service to this country than when he sent out Lord Ripon as Viceroy and Governor-General of India (Cheers). His Lordship's advent at the end of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty proved like the return of a bright day after a dark and chilly night. His benign influence was soon felt. Discontent died out, and a new hope, a new joy soon pervaded the land. India rejoiced to

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

find that her destinies were entrusted to the care of a Viceroy who regarded her children as his equal fellow-subjects and was righteously determined to deal with them in the spirit of Queen Victoria's Gracious Proclamation of 1858. Lord Ripon studied the wants and requirements of India. It is not unreasonable to suppose that his Lordship had taken note of the desire of educated Indians for the introduction of the principle of Self-Government in India, holding evidently with Macaulay and a whole race of liberal-minded Englishmen that "no nation can be perfectly well-governed till it is competent to govern itself." Lord Ripon inaugurated his noble scheme of Local Self-Government, not primarily as he was careful to point out in his Resolution, with a view to any immediate improvement in administration, but chiefly "as an instrument of political and popular education" which was to lead in course of time to Self-Government in the administration of the provinces and eventually of the whole of the Indian Empire. Lord Ripon also tried to disregard distinctions of race, colour and creed and appointed Indians to some of the highest posts in the country. His measures were intensely disliked by a large body of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, official and non-official. And when he endeavoured subsequently, by means of what is known as the Ilbert Bill, to place Indians and Europeans on a footing of equality in the eye of the law, the storm of opposition which had long been brewing in Anglo-India burst against him in full force. It was not an opposition to the Ilbert Bill alone, but, as his Lordship himself told Mr. Stead not long ago, to the scheme of Local Self-Government and to his whole policy of treating Indians and Europeans as equal fellow-subjects. Barring of course honourable exceptions, our European and Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects arrayed themselves in a body not against Hindus alone, nor yet against the educated classes alone, but against Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis, and all Indians alike, making no exception in favour of either the Mahomedans or the landed aristocracy. It was the educated class then, who organised the Indian National Congress with a view to protect and promote, not the interests of any class or creed, but the common interests of all Indians irrespective of any considerations of race, creed or colour. Not the worst enemy of the Congress can point to even a single Resolution passed by it which is opposed to this basic principle of its existence, to this guiding motive of its action. (Hear, hear). Indeed no such Resolution could be passed by it as the eradication of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices and the development and consolidation of a sentiment of national unity among all sections of the Indian people was one of the essential features of the programme of the Congress. This Congress of educated Indians put forward a Reform of the Legislative Councils in the forefront of its programme, because it was not only good in itself but it has the additional virtue, as the late Mr. Yule happily put it, of being the best of all instruments for obtaining other Reforms that further experience and our growing wants might lead us to desire. It respectfully drew the attention of the Government to the poverty of vast numbers of the population and urged that the introduction of representative institutions would prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of their condition. The Congress also pressed for many other Reforms, among them being the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the public services and the holding of simultaneous examinations in India and England to facilitate the admission of Indians into the Indian Civil Service. Instead of welcoming the Congress as a most useful and loyal helpmate to Government, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy unfortunately regarded it as hostile to Government. The Anglo-Indian Press, with some honourable exceptions, railed at it as if its object was to overthrow the British Government. Owing to this hostility of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and of the Anglo-Indian Press, which is generally regarded as the mouthpiece of that bureaucracy, the bulk of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects held themselves aloof from the Congress:—I say the bulk, because we have always had the benefit of the co-operation of a number of patriotic men from amongst them. And for fear of offending the same body of Anglo-Indian officials, the landed aristocracy also as a body kept itself at a safe distance from the Congress.

It is sad to recall that as the Congress continued to grow in strength and influence, some of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects of the Aligarh school and some members of the landed aristocracy came forward openly

First Day.

Presidential Address.

to oppose it. Notwithstanding, however, all the opposition of the Anglo-Indian Press and of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, notwithstanding also the opposition of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects and the indifference of the landed aristocracy, the educated middle class continued to carry on the good work they had begun. They soon found a powerful champion in the late Mr. Bradlaugh, and achieved the first victory of the Congress when, as the direct result of its agitation, the Indian Councils Act was passed in 1892 and the Legislative Councils were reformed and expanded (Cheers). The attitude of the bureaucracy towards the educated class did not, however, show any change for the better. In fact their dislike of them seemed to grow as they continued to agitate for further Reforms. And lest they might displease the officials, our Mahomedan fellow-subjects, as a body, continued to hold themselves aloof from the Congress and never asked for any Reform in the constitution of the Government. So also the landed classes. The educated middle class, the men of intellect, character and public spirit, who devoted their time to the study of public questions and their energies to the promotion of public good, felt however that the Reforms which had been effected under the Act of 1892 still left them without any real voice in the administration of their country. They found that that administration was not being conducted in the best interests of the people of the country; they found that it continued to be conducted on extravagantly costly lines; they found that the level of taxation was maintained much higher than was necessary for the purposes of good administration; they found that the Military expenditure of the Government was far beyond the capacity of the country to bear, and they were alarmed that there was a heavy and continuous increase going on year after year in that expenditure; they found that an excessively large portion of the revenues raised from the people was being spent on what we may call Imperial purposes and a very inadequate portion on purposes which directly benefit the people, such as the promotion of general, scientific, agricultural, industrial and technical education, the provision of medical relief and sanitation; they found that the most earnest and well-reasoned representations of the Congress fell flat upon the ears of the bureaucracy which was in power; and the conviction grew in them that their country could never be well or justly governed until the scheme of constitutional Reform which the Congress had suggested at its very first session was carried out in its entirety. (Hear, hear.)

At this stage came Lord Curzon to India. On almost every question of importance he adopted a policy the very reverse of that for which educated Indians had for years been praying. He showed unmistakable hostility to the educated class in India, and he is responsible for having greatly fostered it among some of his countrymen whom he has left behind in power. His attempt to lightly explain away the pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament in the Proclamation of 1858 and in the Act of 1833, his officialising Universities Act, his overt attack upon Local Self-Government, and last, but not the least, his high-handed Partition of Bengal in the teeth of the opposition of the people of that province, filled the cup of discontent to the brim, and deepened the conviction in the minds of educated men that India could never be well or justly governed, nor could her people be prosperous or contented until they obtained through their representatives a real and potential voice in the administration of their affairs.

This conviction found the clearest and most emphatic expression in the Congress which met in Calcutta in 1906. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the revered patriarch of the educated community (Cheers), speaking with the knowledge and experience born of a life-long study of the defects and shortcomings of the existing system of administration and oppressed with the thought of the political and economic evils from which India has been suffering, declared in words of burning conviction that "Self-Government is the only and chief remedy. In Self-Government lies our hope, strength and greatness." Mr. Dadabhai did not urge that full-fledged representative institutions should at once be introduced into India. But he did urge, and the whole of educated India urged through him, that it was high time that a good beginning were made—"such a systematic beginning as that it may naturally in no long time develop itself into full legislatures of Self-Government like those of the self-governing colonies." (Hear, hear.)

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

Happily for India, just as had happened at the end of Lord Lytton's administration, there was a change at the close of Lord Curzon's reign, of the ministry in England and the Liberal Government came into power. The faith of a large body of educated Indians in the efficacy of constitutional agitation had been undermined by the failure of all the efforts of the people of Bengal, made by prayer and petition, to avert the evil of the partition. But Mr. John Morley, who had long been admired and adored by educated Indians as a great lover of liberty and justice, happily became Secretary of State for India, and the hearts of educated Indians began to beat with the hope that their agitation for a real measure of Self-Government might succeed during the period of his office. Our esteemed brother Mr. Gokhale was appointed its trusted delegate to England by the Congress which met at Benares and over which he so worthily presided, to urge the more pressing proposals of Reform on the attention of the authorities there. What excellent work our friend did in England, how he pressed the urgent necessity and the entire reasonableness of the Reforms suggested by the Congress and prepared the minds of the men in power there to give a favourable consideration to our proposals, it is not for me here to tell. In the meantime, gentlemen, our liberal-minded Viceroy, Lord Minto, who found himself face to face with the legacy of a deep and widespread discontent which his brilliant but unwise predecessor had left to him, had taken a statesmanlike note of the signs of the times and the needs of the country, and had appointed a Committee of his Council to consider and report what changes should be introduced in the existing system of administration to make it suitable to altered conditions.

+/ Ladies and gentlemen, up to this time, up to the beginning of October 1906, our Mahomedan fellow-subjects did not trouble themselves with any questions of Reforms in the system of administration. But there were some members of the Indian bureaucracy who were troubled with the thought that the liberal-minded Viceroy seriously contemplated important constitutional changes in that system, and they knew that the statesman who was at the helm of Indian affairs in England was the high priest of liberalism. They saw that there was every danger, from their point of view, that the prayer of the educated class for the Reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils on a liberal basis, might be granted. They frankly did not like it. And it was at this time that our Mahomedan fellow-subjects of the Aligarh school were roused from their apathy and indifference. They suddenly developed an interest—and an excessive interest too—in politics. A Mahomedan deputation was soon got up and waited on Lord Minto! It claimed that Mahomedans were politically a more important community than other communities in India, and that they were therefore entitled to special consideration and even preferential treatment. I regret to say it, gentlemen, but it is my duty to say it, that the concession which His Excellency the Viceroy was persuaded to make to this utterly unjustifiable claim in his reply to that deputation, has been the root of much of the trouble which has arisen in connection with these Reforms. The bureaucracy had however gained a point. The proposals for Reform which were formulated in the letter of Sir Harold Stuart, dated 24th August, 1907, gave abundant evidence of the bias of that body against those who had agitated for Reform. The proposals for the special representation of Mahomedans contained in it, tended clearly to set one religion against another and to counterpoise the influence of the educated middle class. The proposals for the special representation of landholders, who had never asked to be treated as a separate class, also had their origin evidently in the same kind of feeling. So also the proposals for creating Imperial and Provincial Advisory Councils. Those proposals met with a general condemnation from thoughtful men all over the country, excepting, of course, some among the landholders and the Mahomedans. They could not meet with a welcome because they did not deserve it. (Hear, hear.)

+/ Later on the Government of India revised their provisional scheme in the light of the criticisms passed upon it, and with some important modifications submitted it to the Secretary of State for India. Lord Morley did not share the bias of the bureaucracy against the educated class,—it would have been as strange as sad if he did. He recognised that they were an important factor, if not the most important factor, who deserved consideration. In his speech on the Indian Budget in 1907, his Lordship observed: "You

First Day.

Presidential Address.

often hear men talk of the educated section of India as a mere handful, an infinitesimal fraction. So they are in numbers. But it is idle—totally idle—to say that this infinitesimal fraction does not count. This educated section makes all the difference, is making and will make all the difference.” His Lordship appointed a Committee of his own Council to consider the scheme which the Government of India had submitted to him, and after receiving its report framed his own proposals which were published in the now famous Despatch of the 27th November 1908. His Lordship had indeed accepted the substantial part of His Excellency the Viceroy’s scheme, but he had liberalised it by the important changes he had made in it into a practically new scheme. The proposals for the Imperial and Advisory Councils which had been condemned by educated India were brushed ceremoniously aside. The Provincial Legislative Councils were to have a majority of non-official members, who were to be, with very few exceptions, elected, and not nominated members. His Lordship had already appointed two distinguished Indians as members of his own Council. Indians were now to be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay. Similar Executive Councils were to be established, with one or more Indian members in them, in the other larger provinces, which were still ruled by Lieutenant-Governors. Under a scheme of Decentralisation, Municipal and District Boards were to be vested with increased powers and responsibilities and to be freed from official control. The cause of Local Self-Government was to receive an effectual advance. Its roots were to be extended deep down into the villages. Taking full note of the various interests for which representation had to be provided in the enlarged Councils, Lord Morley suggested a scheme of electoral colleges which, as was rightly claimed, was as simple as any scheme for the representation of minorities can be. It was built up on a system of a single vote, and fully avoided the evils of double and plural voting. It was equally free from the other objection to which the original proposals were open, *viz.*, that they would set one class against another. It gave the power to each section of the population to return a member in the proportion corresponding to its own proportion to the total population. This scheme, as we all know, was received throughout the country with feelings of great gratitude and gratification. An influential deputation composed of the representatives of all classes of the people waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy to personally tender their thanks for it to him, and through him, to Lord Morley. Did the educated class lag behind any other classes in welcoming the scheme? Did the feelings of grateful satisfaction find a warmer expression anywhere than in the speech of my honoured predecessor in office, who speaking in reference to it exclaimed that “the time of the singing of birds is come and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land”? The Congress unanimously passed a resolution giving expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley’s Despatch had been received throughout the country, and it tendered its most sincere and grateful thanks to his Lordship and to Lord Minto for those proposals. It expressed the confident hope at the same time that the details of the proposed scheme would be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main outlines had been conceived. This unfortunately has not been done, and a very important part of the scheme has been so modified as to give just grounds of complaint to a large portion of the country.

INDIANS IN EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

Now, gentlemen, the feature of the Reforms which most appealed to the minds of educated Indians was the proposal to appoint Indians to the Executive Councils of the Governor-General of India and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the proposal to create similar Councils in the other large provinces of India, which were placed under Lieutenant-Governors. The most unmistakable proof of this fact was found in the thrill of grateful satisfaction which passed all over the country when the announcement was made of the appointment of Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha as a member of the Viceroy’s Council. And I take this opportunity of tendering our most cordial thanks for that appointment both to Lord Minto and to Lord Morley (Cheers). That appointment has afforded the best proof of the desire of both their Lordships to obliterate distinctions of race, creed and colour, and to admit Indians to the highest

First Day.
 Presidential Ad-
 dress.

offices under the Crown for which they may be qualified, and it has been most sincerely and warmly appreciated as such by thoughtful Indians throughout the country. Our friends in Bombay and Madras will soon have the satisfaction of finding an Indian appointed to the Executive Councils of the Governors of their respective provinces. And thanks to the large-hearted and liberal support given to the proposal by Sir Edward Baker, our brethren in Bengal too, will shortly have the satisfaction of seeing an Executive Council established in their province with an Indian as one of its members. But, gentlemen, the people of my own provinces—the United Provinces, and of the Punjab, of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and of Burma have been kept out of the benefit of undoubted advantages which would result by the judgment of the Lieutenant-Governor being “fortified and enlarged” in the weighty words of Lord Morley’s despatch, “by two or more competent advisers, with an official and responsible share in his deliberations.” We in the United Provinces had looked eagerly forward to having an Executive Council created there at the same time that one would be established in Bengal. Hindus and Mahomedans, the lauded aristocracy and the educated classes, were unanimous in their desire to see such Councils established. Bombay with a population of only 19 millions, Madras with a population of only 38 millions, have each long enjoyed the advantage of being governed by a Governor in Council. The United Provinces which have a population of 48 millions, have been ruled all these many years and must yet continue to be ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor! Bengal, the population of which exceeds the population of the United Provinces by barely 3 millions, will have the benefit of an Executive Council. Not so the United Provinces; nor yet Eastern Bengal and Assam which have a population of 31 millions, nor the Punjab which has a population somewhat larger than that of the Presidency of Bombay! This is clearly unjust, and the injustice of it has nowhere been more keenly felt than in my own Provinces.

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

The people of the United Provinces have special reasons to feel aggrieved at this decision. So far back as 1833, section 56 of the Charter Act of that year enacted that the Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay and Agra shall be administered by a Governor and three Councillors. But this provision was suspended by an Act passed two years later mainly on the ground that “the same would be attended with a large increase of charge.” The Act provided that during such time as the execution of the Act of 1833 should remain suspended, it would be lawful for the Governor-General of India in Council to appoint any servant of the East India Company of ten years’ standing to the office of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. When the Charter Act of 1853 was passed it still contemplated the creation of the Presidency of Agra under the Act of 1833. Those enactments have never been repealed. In the long period that has elapsed since 1833, the provinces have largely grown in size and population by the annexation of Oudh and the normal growth of population. The revenues of the Provinces have also largely increased. If the objection that the creation of an Executive Council would be attended with a large increase of charge was at any time a valid one, it has long ceased to be so. The Provinces are not so poor that they cannot afford to bear the small increase in expenditure which the new arrangement will involve. They have for years been making larger contributions to the Imperial exchequer than the sister Provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. On the other hand, the arguments for the creation of such a Council have been growing stronger and stronger every year. The question was taken up by the Government of India in 1867-68 but unfortunately the discussion did not lead to any change in the system. The eminent author of *Indian Polity*, whose views on questions of Indian administration are entitled to great respect, strongly urged the introduction of the change fifteen years ago. Wrote General Chesney:—“In regard to administration, the charge (the North-Western Provinces) is as important as Bengal. It comprises 49 districts as against 47 in the latter, nearly twice as many as in Bombay, and more than thrice the number of districts in Madras, and every consideration which makes for styling the head of the Bengal Government a Governor, applies equally to this great province. (This was said when Bengal had not been partitioned.) Here also, as in Bengal, the Governor should be aided, by a

Council." Sir George Chesney went on to say: "The amount of business to be transacted here is beyond the capacity of a single administrator to deal with properly, while the province has arrived at a condition when the vigour and impulse to progress which the rule of one man can impart, may be fitly replaced by the greater continuity of policy which would be secured under the administration of a Governor aided by a Council. So far from the head of the administration losing by the change—not to mention the relief from the pressure of work now imposed on a single man, and that a great deal of business which has now to be disposed of in his name by irresponsible Secretaries would then fall to be dealt with by members of the Government with recognised authority—it would be of great advantage to the Governor if all appointments and promotions in the public service of this province, a much larger body than that in Madras and Bombay, were made in consultation with and on the joint responsibility of colleagues, instead of at his sole pleasure." The work of administration has very much increased since this was written. And we have it now on the unimpeachable testimony of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, who submitted their report early this year, that "with the development of the administration in all its branches, the growth of important industrial interests, the spread of education and political aspirations, and the growing tendency of the public to criticise the administration and to appeal to the highest Executive tribunals, the Lieutenant-Governors of the larger provinces are clearly over-burdened." Sir Antony MacDonnell who ruled over the United Provinces not many years ago, could not bear the strain of the work continuously for more than four years, and had to take six months' leave during the period of his Lieutenant-Governorship. The present Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces also has, I regret to learn, found it necessary to take six months' leave at the end of only three years of his administration. And we have been surprised and grieved to learn that both Lord MacDonnell and Sir John Hewett have opposed the creation of an Executive Council for the United Provinces. The Decentralisation Commission did not however rest the case for a change in the existing system on the sole ground that the head of the province was over-burdened with work. They rested it on a much higher ground. They rightly urged that "even if a Lieutenant-Governor could dispose of all the work demanding consideration at the hands of a Provincial Government, we think that such powers are too wide to be expediently entrusted to one man, however able or zealous." And they unanimously recommended the establishment in the larger Provinces of India, of a regular Council Government such as obtains in Bombay and Madras, improved with the addition of an Indian member to them. Lord Morley was pleased to accept this recommendation with the important modification that the head of the Provinces should continue to be a member of the Indian Civil Service; and though we did not approve of this modification, we were content and thankful that a Council Government should be introduced even in this modified form. But even that has been withheld from us, and the high hopes that had been raised have naturally given place to a correspondingly deep disappointment. There is a widespread belief in my Provinces that if our Lieutenant-Governor had not been opposed to the proposal in question, the Provinces would have had an Executive Council just as Bengal will soon have. And the fact has furnished a striking instance of the disadvantages of leaving vital questions which affect the well-being of 48 millions of people to be decided by the judgment of a single individual, however able and well-meaning he may be. (Hear, hear.)

First Day.

Presidential Address.

Gentlemen, this is not a mere sentimental grievance with us. We find that the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay which have had the benefit of being governed by a Governor-in-Council have made far greater progress in every matter which affects the happiness of the people than my own Provinces. And a conviction has gained ground in the minds of all thoughtful men that the Provinces will have no chance of coming abreast even of Bombay and Madras until they have a Government similar to that of those Provinces, so that there may be a reasonable continuity of policy in the administration and the proposals of the Provincial Government may receive greater consideration than they do at present from the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Gentlemen, the noble Lords and the members of the Anglo-Indian

First Day.
 Presidential Ad-
 dress.

bureaucracy—both those who have retired and those who are still in service, who opposed the creation of an Executive Council for the United Provinces,—have, I regret to say, done a great disservice to the cause of good Government by opposing this important portion of the scheme of Reform. That opposition has caused deep dissatisfaction among the educated classes and has greatly chilled the enthusiasm which was aroused among them when the proposals of Lord Morley were first published. I would strongly urge upon the Government the wisdom of taking steps to give an Executive Council at as early a date as may be practicable, not only to the United Provinces but also to the Punjab, to Eastern Bengal and Assam, and to Burma. The creation of such Councils with one or two Indian members in them will be a distinct gain to the cause of good administration. It will afford an effectual safeguard against serious administrative blunders being committed, particularly in these days of repressive measures and deportations without trial. England is just now on the eve of a general election. But the elections will soon be over. Let us hope for the good of this country that it will result in bringing the Liberal Government again into power. Let us hope that in the result the House of Lords will become somewhat liberal. Let us hope that soon after Parliament has been constituted again the Secretary of State for India, who let us also hope will be Lord Morley again, and the Governor-General of India in Council will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity to create Executive Councils in the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Eastern Bengal and Assam, by either getting the Indian Councils Act modified, or by obtaining the assent of both the Houses of Parliament to the creation of such Councils under the provisions of the existing Act. (Cheers.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to make it clear here that we have no complaint whatsoever in this connection either against Lord Morley or Lord Minto. We know—and we acknowledge it with sincere gratitude—that both the noble Lords did all that they could to get the original clause (3) of the Bill passed as it had been framed. We know that we owe our discomfiture to the action of Lord Curzon, who seems unfortunately for us to be afflicted with the desire of swelling the record of his ill-services to India, and to the opposition of Lord MacDonnell, from whom we of the United Provinces had hoped for support to our cause, and lastly, to the regrettable attitude adopted towards the proposal contained in that clause by the present Lieutenant-Governor of our Provinces. I still venture to hope, however, that Sir John Hewett will be pleased to reconsider his position, particularly in view of the important fact that our sister Province of Bengal also is shortly going to have an Executive Council, and that His Honour will earn the lasting gratitude of the people over whom Providence has placed him, and whose destinies it is in his power to mar or make, by moving the Government of India to take early steps to secure to them the benefit of Government by a Council before he retires from his exalted office. (Cheers.)

THE REGULATIONS.

Gentlemen, the question of the creation of Executive Councils affects, however, only particular provinces of India; but the Regulations that have been promulgated under the scheme of Reform have given rise to even more widespread and general dissatisfaction. I will therefore now ask you to turn your attention to these Regulations. We all remember that Lord Morley had put forward a most carefully considered scheme of proportional representation on the basis of population. We therefore regretted to find that in the debate which took place on the Bill, his Lordship accepted the view that the Mahomedan community was entitled on the ground of the political importance which it claimed, to a larger representation than would be justified by its proportion to the total population. His Lordship was pleased, however, to indicate the extent of the large representation which he was prepared to ensure to the Mahomedans after taking into account even their alleged political importance; and, though the educated non-Moslem public generally, and many far-seeing men among our Mahomedan fellow-subjects also, were, and still are opposed to any representation in the Legislatures of the country on the basis of religion, yet there were several amongst us who recognised the difficulty that had been created by Lord Minto's reply to the Mahomedan

deputation at Simla, and were prepared not to demur to the larger representation of Mahomedans to the extent suggested by Lord Morley. We were prepared to agree that a certain amount of representation should be guaranteed to them; that they should try to secure it through the general electorates, and that if they failed to obtain the number of representatives fixed for them, they should be allowed to make up the number by election by special Mahomedan electorates formed for the purpose. The Regulations which have been published, however, not only provide that they shall elect the number of representatives which has been fixed for them on a consideration not only of their proportion to the total population but also of their alleged political importance, by special electorates created for the purpose, but they also permit them to take part in elections by mixed electorates, and thereby enable them to secure an excessive and undue representation of their particular community to the exclusion to a corresponding extent of the representatives of other communities. The system of single votes which was an essential feature of Lord Morley's scheme has been cast to the winds; the injustice of double and plural voting which Lord Morley tried to avoid has been given the fullest play. In my Provinces, and I believe in other provinces also, some of my Mahomedan fellow-subjects have voted in three places. So long as there was still a chance of getting the Government to increase the number of seats which were to be specially reserved to them, our astute friends of the Moslem League swore that none of them would seek an election to the Councils by the votes of non-Moslems. When the Regulations were passed, they lost no time in cancelling the Resolution of their League, and put forward candidates to contest almost every seat for which elections were to be made by mixed electorates. Members of Municipal and District Boards to whom the general franchise has been confined were elected or appointed at a time when the Moslem League had not preached the gospel of separation. The electors did not then accept or reject a candidate on the ground of his religion. Mahomedans therefore filled a far larger number of seats on Municipal and District Boards than their proportion to the total population or their stake in the country would entitle them to hold. The result has been that in addition to the four seats specially reserved to the Mahomedans, they have won two more seats in the United Provinces in the general elections, and these with the nominations made by the Government have given them eight seats out of a total of 26 non-official seats in the legislature of the Province, where they form but one-sixth of the population! This is protecting the interests of a minority with a vengeance. It looks more like a case of allowing the majority to be driven to a corner by a minority. What makes the matter worse, however, is that this advantage has been reserved only to the favoured minority of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects. No such protection has been extended to the Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Hindu minorities in the said two provinces have been left out severely in the cold. And yet they are found fault with for not waxing warm with enthusiasm over the Reforms! (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, let us now turn to the question of the franchise. Direct representation has been given to Mahomedans. It has been refused to non-Mahomedans. All Mahomedans who pay an income-tax on an income of three thousand rupees or land revenue in the same sum, and all Mahomedan graduates, of five years' standing, have been given the power to vote. Now I am not only not sorry but am sincerely glad that direct representation has been given to our Mahomedan fellow-subjects and that the franchise extended to them is fairly liberal. Indeed, no taxation without representation being the cardinal article of faith in the political creed of Englishmen, it would have been a matter for greater satisfaction if the franchise had been extended to all payers of income-tax. The point of our complaint is that the franchise has not similarly been extended to the non-Mahomedan subjects of his Majesty. A Parsee, Hindu or Christian who may be paying an income-tax on three lacs or land revenue in the sum of three times three lakhs a year, is not entitled to a vote, to which his Mahomedan fellow-subject, who pays an income-tax on only three thousand a year or land revenue in the same sum, is entitled! Hindu, Parsee and Christian graduates of thirty years' standing, men like Sir Gurudas Banerji, Dr. Bhandarkar, Sir Subramania Iyer and Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, have not been given a vote, which has been given to

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

every Mahomedan graduate of five years' standing! People whose sensitiveness has been too much sobered down by age may not resent this. But can it be doubted for a moment that tens of thousands of non-Mahomedan graduates in the country deeply resent being kept out of a privilege which has been extended to Mahomedan graduates? It is to my mind exceedingly deplorable that when the Government decided to give direct representation and a fairly liberal franchise to Mahomedans, it did not also decide to extend them to non-Mahomedans as well.

Let us next consider the restrictions that have been placed on the choice of electors in choosing candidates. In the Regulations for Bombay and Madras, and in those for Bengal also, eligibility to a membership of a Provincial Council has been confined to members of Municipal and District Boards only. This is a novel departure from the practice which obtained for the last seventeen years under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, and I regret to think that it is a departure taken without a full consideration of its result. That result is most unfortunate. It is acknowledged that the scheme of Local Self-Government which Lord Ripon introduced into the country, has not yet had a fair trial. Lord Morley in his Despatch of last year took note of the fact that the expectations formed of it had not been realised, and in explanation thereof his Lordship was pleased to say, adopting the language of the Resolution of 1882, that "there appears to be great force in the argument that so long as the chief Executive officers are, as a matter of course, Chairmen of Municipal and District Committees, there is little chance of these Committees affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs or of the non-official members taking any real interest in local business." Further on, his Lordship truly observed that "non-official members have not been induced to such an extent as was hoped to take real interest in local business, because their powers and their responsibilities were not real." Owing to this fact Municipal and District Boards have, with a few exceptions here and there, not attracted many able and independent members. The result of confining eligibility as a member of Council to members of Municipal and District Boards has therefore necessarily been to exclude a number of men of light and leading in every province,—excepting in my own where, I am thankful to say, no such restriction has been made—from being eligible for election. Under the operation of this short-visioned rule, in Bengal a number of the public men of the province were found to be ineligible for election; and Sir Edward Baker had to modify the Regulations within barely three weeks of their having been published, to make it possible for some at least of the public men of his province to enter the Provincial Council. In Madras Sir Arthur Lawley had to resort to the expedient of nominating some of the ex-members of the Legislative Council, as members of Municipal and District or Taluq Boards in order to make them eligible as members of the Provincial Council under the new Regulations. In Bombay two ex-members of the Council had to enter Municipal Boards, which they were only enabled to do by the courtesy of obliging friends who resigned their seats to make room for them, in order to qualify themselves for election to the Council.

This does not, I regret to say, exhaust the grounds of our objections to the Regulations. A property qualification has for the first time been laid down in the case of candidates for membership of the Provincial Councils. No such qualification is required of Members of Parliament in England. None such was required in India under the Regulations which were in force for nearly seventeen years under the Indian Councils Act of 1892. No complaint was ever made that the absence of any such restriction on the choice of the electors, had led to the admission of any undesirable person into any of the Councils. The possession of property or an income does not necessarily predicate ability, much less character, and does not, by itself, secure to any man the esteem or confidence of his fellowmen. No more does the absence of property necessarily indicate want of capability to acquire it. It certainly does not indicate want of respectability. The ancient law-giver Manu mentions five qualifications which earn for a man the respect of others. Says he:—

*Vittāṅ bandhurvayah karma vidyā bhavti panchmi,
 Actāni mānyasthānāni griyo yadyudatrum.*

[Wealth, relations, age, good deeds and learning are the five titles to respect; of these each succeeding qualification is of greater weight than each preceding one.]

First Day.

Presidential Address.

According to this time-honoured teaching, education is the highest qualification and the possession of wealth the lowest. The Regulations have not merely reversed the order but have excluded education from the category of qualifications required to make a man eligible as a member of the Legislative Councils! The framers of the Regulations have taken no note of the fact that in this ancient land thousands of men of bright intelligence and pure character have voluntarily wedded themselves to poverty and consecrated their lives to the pursuit or promotion of learning or religion or other philanthropic objects. The result is that so far as the Provincial Councils are concerned, in several provinces selfless patriots like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji or Mr. Gokhale would not be eligible as members of those Councils. Regulations which lead to such results stand self-condemned. (Cheers.)

Again, the clause relating to disqualifications for membership has been made unnecessarily stringent and exclusive. A person who has been dismissed from Government service is to be disqualified for ever for a membership of the Councils. Whether he was dismissed for anything which indicated any hostility to Government or any moral turpitude, or whether he was dismissed merely for disobeying or not carrying out any trumpery order, or merely for failing to attend at a place and time when or at which he might have been required, he must never be permitted to serve the Government and the people again even in an honorary capacity! It does not matter whether his case was rightly or wrongly decided, his having been dismissed constitutes an offence of such gravity that it cannot be condoned. So also does a sentence of imprisonment, however short it may be, for any offence which is punishable with imprisonment for more than six months. Here again, no account is taken of the fact whether the offence for which the punishment was inflicted, implied any moral defect in the man. No such disqualification exists in the case of a membership of Parliament. Mr. John Burns was once sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment; he is now a Cabinet Minister. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Lynch actually fought against the British Government in the Boer war; he was sentenced to death, but the sentence was mitigated later on, and eventually entirely commuted, and he has since been elected a Member of Parliament. What then can be the reason or justification for laying down such a severe and sweeping disqualification in a country where the judicial and executive functions are still combined in one officer, and where the administration of justice is not as impartial and pure as it is in England?

More objectionable still is clause (i) of the disqualifying section which lays down that a man shall not be eligible as a member of the Council if he has been declared by the Local Government to be of such reputation and antecedents that this election would in the opinion of the head of the Local Government be contrary to the public interest. Now, gentlemen, you will remember that in the debates in Parliament the question was raised whether the deportation of a man under Regulation III of 1818 and similar Regulations would by itself disqualify him for sitting in a Legislative Council. Bearing probably in mind that a man might be deported without any just or reasonable cause, as it is believed happened in the case of Lala Lajpat Rai, Lord Morley could not perhaps bring himself to agree to a deportation being by itself made a ground of disqualification. We may take it that his Lordship gave his assent to clause (i) being enacted in the belief that it was less open to objection. But with due respect to his Lordship, I venture to submit that this clause is open to even greater objection than the disqualification of deportees as such would have been. In the case of a deportation the Local Government has to satisfy the Government of India why action should be taken under any of the drastic Regulations relating thereto. This new clause empowers the Local Government on its own authority to declare a man to be ineligible, and thereby to do irreparable injury to his character. The judgment of the Local Government may be entirely unjust, but there can be no appeal from it. How seriously liable to abuse this clause is, is demonstrated by the case of Mr. Kelkar, editor of the *Mahratta*.

First Day.
 Presidential Ad-
 dress.

Mr. Kelkar offered himself as a candidate for election to the Bombay Council. Thereupon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay made a declaration under the clause in question that in His Excellency's opinion Mr. Kelkar's antecedents and reputation were such that his election would be contrary to the public interest. Now, gentlemen, the knowledge which His Excellency the Governor has of Mr. Kelkar's reputation and antecedents, is presumably not his own personal knowledge, but must have largely been derived from reports. There happens to be another man, however, in the Bombay Presidency, aye, in Poona itself, where Mr. Kelkar has lived and worked, whose solicitude for the public interest is, it will perhaps be conceded, not less keen, and whose opinion, as to what would be contrary to the public interest, is not entitled to less weight than that of even Sir George Clarke or his colleagues, and that is my esteemed brother Mr. Gokhale. He has one great advantage in this respect over Sir George Clarke, that he has a personal knowledge, born of many years of personal contact in public work, of Mr. Kelkar's character. When the declaration in question was made Mr. Gokhale felt it to be his duty to protest against the action of the Governor of Bombay and to publicly bear testimony to the good character of Mr. Kelkar. Mr. Kelkar appealed to the Governor, but his appeal has been rejected, and he remains condemned unheard! (Shame.)

NON-OFFICIAL MAJORITIES.

One of the most important features of the reforms which created widespread satisfaction was the promise of a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils. The Congress had, in the scheme which it put forward so far back as 1886, urged that at least half the members of both the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected and not more than one-fourth should be officials. Congressmen regarded this as the *sine qua non* for securing to the representatives of the people a real voice in the administration of their country's affairs. Lord Morley did not think it fit, however, to give us yet a non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council. We regretted the decision. But Lord Morley had been pleased to accept the recommendation for a non-official majority in the Provincial Legislative Council, and we decided to accept it with gratitude, in the confidence that after the Provincial Legislative Councils have worked satisfactorily for a few years under the new scheme, the more important concession of a non-official majority in the Imperial Council was certain to come.

We are glad and thankful to find that a real non-official majority has been provided in the case of Bengal. And I take this opportunity of expressing our high appreciation of the large-hearted and liberal support which Sir Edward Baker has given to Lord Morley's proposals of Reform. It is due to that support that Bengal will shortly have the advantage of a Council Government. To Sir Edward Baker alone, among all the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the different provinces, belongs the credit of having secured a non-official majority of elected members in the Legislative Council of the great province over which he rules. The Regulations for Bengal lay down that out of a total of 49 members of the Council, 26, *i.e.*, more than half shall be elected, and that the members nominated—by the Lieutenant-Governor shall not exceed 22, not more than 17 of whom may be officials, and 2 of whom shall be non-officials to be selected one from the Indian commercial community and one from the planting community. But in sad contrast to this stands the case of the second largest province of India, *viz.*, the United Provinces. The provision for a non-official majority has there been reduced to a practical nullity. Sir John Hewett had warmly supported the proposals for the creation of Imperial and Provincial Advisory Councils. Those proposals, as we know, were rejected by the Secretary of State for India. But his Honour seems to have been so much fascinated by them that he has done a good deal to make his Legislative Council approach the ideal of what were proposed to be Advisory Councils. (Hear, Hear.) Out of the total number of 46 members of the Council, only 20 are to be elected, and 26 to be nominated, of whom as many as 20 may be officials. Sir John Hewett has nominated the maximum number of 20 official members, and His Honour has shown great promptitude in nominating six non-official members. Two of these are independent Chiefs, *viz.*, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and His

Highness the Raja of Tehri, and the third is His Highness the Maharaja of Benares who is practically regarded as an independent Chief. No subject of the British Government has any voice in the administration of the affairs of these Chiefs. What justification can there be then for giving them a voice in the discussion of any legislation or other public questions which affect the weal or woe of the subjects of the British Indian Government? I mean no disrespect to these Chiefs when I say that they do not study the wants of the latter. They cannot be expected to do so. And even when they have formed an opinion about any matter that may come up for discussion, they cannot always afford to express it, except when it should happen to coincide with that of the Government. (Hear, hear.) It is thus obvious that they cannot be useful members of the Council which they are to adorn. Why then have they been nominated, if it be not to act as a counterpoise to the influence of the educated class? Of the three other nominees of Sir John Hewett, one is a Mahomedan Nawab who is innocent of English, and one a European indigo planter. The sixth nominee is a representative of the non-official Indian commercial community, which the Regulations required him to be, but he too is innocent of English!

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

Some of the other objections to which the Regulations are open have also been most forcibly illustrated in the case of my unlucky province. Our Mahomedan fellow-subjects constitute only 14 per cent. of the population there. But four seats have been allotted to them out of the total of 20 seats which are to be filled up by election in consideration of their proportion to the total population *plus* their alleged political importance. In addition to this they have been allowed to participate in the elections by mixed electorates, and they have won two seats there. The Government has, besides, nominated two Mahomedans as non-official members. Thus out of 26 non-official members 8 are Mahomedans. Among the elected members as many as 8 are representatives of the landed aristocracy, and only five of the educated classes. The non-official majority has thus been reduced to a farce.

Time will not permit me to deal at length with the case of the other provinces. But I cannot pass over the case of the Punjab, the grievances of which are very real. Having regard to its position, its population, and the educational, social, and industrial progress made by it, the number of members fixed for its Legislative Council is quite inadequate, and the number of elected members is extremely meagre, being only 5 in a total of 25. Besides this the franchise for the general electorates, through which alone the non-Moslem population can take any part in the election of any member for the Council, has been limited to an extremely small number of persons. The number of Municipalities in the Punjab is larger than in any other province of India. In more than one hundred of them, elected representatives of the people have been serving for a long time past. Yet the privilege of voting for the election of members of the Council, has, I regret to find, been confined to only nine of these bodies! Can there be any justification for narrowing the franchise in this manner? The people of the Punjab would seem to be entitled to as much consideration as the people of any other province in the Empire, and if a large number of members of Municipal and District Boards in other provinces were considered to be fit to exercise the franchise usefully and beneficially, the privilege should have been extended in at least an equal degree to the people of the Punjab. I do not wish to dwell upon the resentment which has been caused in the province by its being so unjustly dealt with. I trust the Government will be pleased to consider whether the exclusion—on the face of it an unreasonable and unjustifiable exclusion—of vast numbers of educated men in a progressive province like the Punjab from a privilege which has been extended to their fellow-subjects in other parts of the country and even in their own province, is not quite a serious political blunder. (Hear, hear). The allaying of discontent was one of the main objects of the scheme of Reform. I venture humbly to say that the way in which the Reform has been worked out here is certainly not calculated to achieve that end. Every consideration for the welfare of the people and of good administration seems to me to demand that as large a number of men of intelligence, education and influence as may be available should be given the right to exercise a constitutional privilege

First Day. and thus invited to employ their time and energy in the service of their country.

Presidential Address.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you by dwelling on the defects of the Regulations for the other provinces. Speaking generally, we find that the Regulations have been vitiated by the disproportionate representation which they have secured to the Mahomedans and to the landed classes, and the small room for representation which they have left for the educated classes; also by the fact that they have made an invidious and irritating distinction between Moslem and non-Moslem subjects of His Majesty, both in the matter of the protection of minorities and of the franchise, and lastly in that they have laid down unnecessarily narrow and arbitrary restrictions on the choice of electors.

Such are the Regulations which have been promulgated under the Reform scheme. I would respectfully invite Lord Morley himself to judge how very far they have departed from the liberal spirit of the proposals which he had fashioned with such statesmanlike care and caution. I also invite Lord Minto to consider if the Regulations do not practically give effect, as far as they could, to the objectionable features of the scheme which was put forward in Sir Harold Stuart's letter of 24th August 1907, which were so widely condemned, and also to judge how different in spirit they are from the proposals for which the people of India tendered their warmest thanks to His Lordship and to his noble chief at Whitehall. Is it at all a matter for wonder that the educated classes in India are intensely dissatisfied with the Regulations? Have they not every reason to be so? For more than a quarter of a century they have laboured earnestly and prayerfully through the Congress to promote the common interests of all classes and sects of the people, and to develop a common feeling of nationality among the followers of all the different religions in India, which is not less necessary for the purposes of a civilized Government than for the peaceful progress, prosperity and happiness of the people. The Regulations for the first time in the history of British rule have recognized religion as a basis of representation, and have thus raised a wall of separation between the Mahomedan and non-Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty which it will take years of earnest effort to demolish. They have also practically undone, for the time being at any rate, the results of the earnest agitation of a quarter of a century to secure an effective voice to the elected representatives of the people in the Government of their country. It is not that the Congress did not want, or does not want, that our Mahomedan fellow-subjects should be fairly and fully represented in the reformed Councils. It is firmly believed, and it is fully expected, that if a general electorate would be formed on a reasonable basis, a sufficient number of representatives of all classes of the community would naturally find their way into the Councils. But it is desired that as they would have to deal as members of the Councils, with questions which affect equally the interests of all classes and creeds, they should be returned to the Councils by the common suffrages of their countrymen of all classes and creeds, and that their title to the confidence of their countrymen should be based on their ability to protect and promote their interests by their education, integrity and independence of character, and not on the accident of their belonging to any particular faith or creed, or of their having inherited or acquired a certain number of broad acres. (Hear, hear.) We are naturally grieved to find that when we had caught a glimpse of the promised land by the extremely fortunate combination of a liberal statesman as Secretary of State and a liberal-minded Viceroy, our old friends of the bureaucracy have yet succeeded in blocking the way to it for at least some time to come.

Gentlemen, the attitude of educated Indians towards the reforms has been misinterpreted in some quarters. Some of the criticism has been quite friendly and I am sure we all fully appreciate it. But I wish that our friends looked a little more closely into the facts. Their criticism puts me in mind of a very instructive ancient story. Vishvamitra, a mighty Kshatriya King, the master of vast hordes of wealth and of extensive territories, felt that there was a still higher position for him to attain, viz., that of being a Brahman, whose title to respect rests not on any earthly possession or power but on learning and piety and devotion to philanthropic work. He accordingly practised saintly and severe austerities,

and, with the exception of one Brahman, every one acclaimed him a Brahman. That one Brahman was Vashishtha. Vishvamitra first tried to persuade Vashishtha to declare him a Brahman ; then he threatened him ; and having yet failed in his object, he killed a hundred children of Vashishtha in order to coerce him into compliance with his desire. Deeply was Vashishtha distressed. If he had but once said that Vishvamitra had qualified himself to be regarded a Brahman, he would have saved himself and his hoary-headed wife and the rest of his family all the sorrow and suffering which Vishvamitra inflicted upon them. But Vashishtha had realised the truth of the ancient teaching *satyam puttarshtad varam*. He valued truth more than a hundred sons. (Hear, hear.) He would not save them by uttering what he did not believe to be true. In his despair, Vishvamitra decided to kill Vashishtha himself. One evening he went armed to Vashishtha's hermitage with that object. But while he was waiting in a corner for an opportunity to carry out his evil intent, he overheard what Vashishtha said to his wife, the holy Arundhati, in answer to a query as to whose *tapasya* shone as bright as the moonlight in the midst of which they were seated. "Vishvamitra's," was the unhesitating answer ! The hearing of it changed Vishvamitra. He cast aside the arms of a Kshatriya, and with it the pride of power and anger. And as he approached Vashishtha in true humility, Vashishtha greeted him a *Bramharshi*. Vishvamitra was overcome. After he had got over the feelings of gratefulness and reverence which had overpowered him, and had apologised for all the injuries inflicted by him upon Vashishtha, he begged Vashishtha to tell him why he had not acknowledged him a Brahman earlier, and thus saved himself the sorrow and Vishvamitra from the sin of killing his sons. "Vishvamitra," said Vashishtha, "every time you came to me ere this, you came with the pride and power of a Kshatriya, and I greeted you as such. You came to-day imbued with the spirit of a Brahman ; I have welcomed you as such. I spoke the truth then, and I have spoken the truth to-day." Even so, gentlemen, I venture humbly to claim, have my educated countrymen spoken in the matter of the reforms. The first proposals published in Sir Harold Stuart's letter were open to serious and valid objections, and they were condemned by them. The proposals published by Lord Morley last year were truly liberal and comprehensive in spirit, and they were welcomed with warm gratitude and unstinted praise. The Regulations framed to give effect to them have unfortunately departed, and widely too, from the spirit of those proposals, and are liberal and retrogressive to a degree. Educated Indians have been compelled to condemn them. They have done so more in sorrow than in anger. Let the Government modify the Regulations to bring them into harmony with the spirit of Lord Morley's proposals, and in the name of this Congress, and, I venture to say, on behalf of my educated countrymen generally, I beg to assure the Government that they will meet with a cordial and grateful reception. (Cheers.) I do not ignore the fact that there is an assurance contained in the Government's Resolution accompanying the Regulations that they will be modified in the light of the experience that will be gained in their working. That assurance has been strengthened by what His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say in this connection both at Bombay and Madras. But I most respectfully submit that many of the defects pointed out in them are such that they can be remedied without waiting for the light of new experience. And I respectfully invite both Lord Morley and Lord Minto to consider whether in view of the widespread dissatisfaction which the Regulations have created, it will be wise to let this feeling live and grow, or whether it is not desirable in the interests of good administration, and to fulfil one of the most important and avowed objects of the Reforms, namely, the allaying of discontent and the promotion of good will between the Government and the people, to take the earliest opportunity to make an official announcement that the objections urged against the Regulations will be taken early into consideration. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

First Day.

Presidential Address.

POVERTY AND HIGH PRICES.

I have done, gentlemen, with the Reform Regulations. There are a few other matters, however, to which, I wish, with your permission, to invite attention. There is no doubt that at the present moment the Regulations occupy the greatest portion of public attention. But there are other

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

causes of discontent, and some of them far deeper than the objections urged against the Regulations. Amongst them all there is none greater than the deep poverty which pervades the land. I do not wish to enter here into the controversy whether the poverty of the people has increased or diminished since the country came under British rule. What I ask is whether the condition of the people to-day is such as might reasonably have been expected from their being placed under a highly organised, civilised administration? Is that condition such as to be a ground for congratulation either to the Government or to the people? It is true that a fraction of the population have become more prosperous than they were before. But vast millions of the people are still dragging a miserable existence on the verge of starvation and large numbers of them have been falling easy victims to plague and fever. This is a question of vital importance, and deserves far graver consideration than it has yet received. (Hear, hear.) The sufferings of the people have been greatly increased by the high prices of food stuffs which have ruled for the last few years. The hardships to which the middle and poorer classes have been subjected can be better imagined than described. Gentlemen, I do not know whether our rulers have taken note of the evil effects which have been produced upon the minds of the people by these hardships to which they have been thus exposed for several years now, from one end of the country to the other, from year to year, from month to month, from week to week, and from day to day. I do not know whether they have obtained any official estimate of the numbers of those that have thus been suffering in silence so long. Nearly two years ago the Government of India was pleased to promise an enquiry into the high prices of food stuffs. Has the enquiry been made? If not, why not? It is not unreasonable to ask that when the Government finds that a vast proportion of the people entrusted to its care are so poor as they are in India, and that the prices of food stuffs have suddenly gone up as high as they have, it should lose no time in instituting an expert enquiry into the matter and hasten to adopt the remedies which may be suggested by such an enquiry.

SANITATION AND EDUCATION.

Along with the high prices that have prevailed, there have been other troubles which have added to the woes of our people. A wave of malarial fever has passed over large portions of the country, and has inflicted a vast amount of suffering and loss upon the people. Death rates have been running high. These are indications not of prosperity but of deep and widespread poverty. The appalling numbers of deaths from plague during the past few years are again a sadly eloquent and yet an unmistakable indication of the weak condition of the people. It is of course the duty of the Government to take every reasonable step it can to promote the health, the stamina and the national prosperity of the people. And we are grateful for what the Government has done in any of these directions. But we urge that the steps taken have been quite inadequate, and that much more should be done to meet the requirements of the situation. Take for instance the question of sanitation. Sanitation is in a most unsatisfactory condition among vast portions of the population and in the greater portion of the country. The grants made hitherto for it have been wholly inadequate. Take again the question of education. The provision made for it also is woefully short of the needs of the country. The people as a whole are still steeped in ignorance, and that ignorance, forms an obstacle to every improvement. Every time an attempt is made to reach them by instructions to help to save them from any great evil, as for instance to tell them to seek the benefit of inoculation against plague, or even to use quinine to protect themselves from malaria, the Government finds itself face to face with the stupendous difficulty that they are so largely illiterate. Now that illiteracy, that ignorance lies really at the root of every trouble to which the people are exposed. And yet it is sad to find that progress is not being made in the matter of education as it should be. Nearly two years ago the Government of India virtually promised that primary education would be made free all over the country. But that promise has not yet been fulfilled. The Government of India have for fifty years past by their declarations held out the hope that primary education would be made universal in India. We have been waiting and waiting to see this done. Many measures costing money

which should not have been introduced have been carried out. Measures which should have been carried out have been kept back. Among this latter category has unfortunately fallen the question of making elementary education free and universal. Elementary education was made free and compulsory in England so far back as 1870. Japan, an Asiatic power, also made it compulsory nearly forty years ago. It has long been compulsory in America, in Germany, in France, in all the civilised countries of the West. Why should India alone be denied the great advantages which accrue from a system of free and compulsory primary education? (Hear, hear.) That is the one foundation upon which the progress of the people can be built. Is agricultural improvement to be promoted and agricultural education to be imparted for that purpose? Are technical instruction and industrial training to be given? Are habits of prudence and self-respect and a spirit of helpfulness to be fostered among the people? A system of free and general elementary education is needed equally as the basis of it all. I earnestly appeal to the Government of India to take up this question of free and universal primary education as one of the most important questions which affect the well-being of the people, and to deal with it as early as may be practicable.

First Day
 Presidential Address.

TECHNICAL AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Along with this question should be taken up the question of technical education. If vast millions of people in this country are to be rescued from poverty, if new avenues of employment are to be opened and prosperity spread over the land, it is essential that an extensive system of technical and industrial education should be introduced in the country. The examples of other countries point out that to be the road to prosperity. Germany was not at one time noted as a manufacturing country. It has so greatly improved its position as to become a formidable rival to England. America has enriched herself beyond description by multiplying her manufactures and industries. Japan has in the course of thirty years altered her position from a mainly agricultural into a largely manufacturing country. The industrial progress and prosperity of every one of these countries has been built upon a widespread system of scientific, technical and industrial education. The people of India are not wanting in intelligence or industry. They are willing to undergo any amount of labour that may be required of them. But they lack the education, the skill of the trained man, and are therefore being beaten day by day by the manufacturers of every foreign country which has built up a system of technical education, and thereby laid the foundation of its industrial prosperity. The manufactures of these countries are flooding our markets and impoverishing our people. It is high time that the Government took up the question in right earnest, and adopted a system of technical education co-extensive with the needs of the country.

PROVINCIAL DECENTRALISATION.

Gentlemen, I have no doubt that the Council Regulations will be improved. I have no doubt that the Reforms foreshadowed in Lord Morley's despatch will, sooner or later, be carried out in their entirety. But even when the Regulations have been improved and those Reforms have been carried out, there will still not be much hope for a real improvement in the condition of the people, unless and until one other essential measure of reform is carried out, and that is a Decentralisation of financial power and responsibility from the Government of India to the various Provincial Governments. It appears from some remarks in one of Lord Morley's speeches that this question of a larger decentralisation than has been dealt with by the Royal Commission, has not escaped his Lordship's keen eye, but that he has allowed it to stand over for consideration in the future. In order to effect a real advance in the condition of the people, it is essential that the Government of India should make very much larger grants to the various provinces, should allow Provincial Governments to appropriate a much larger share of provincial revenues to be devoted to provincial needs than at present. But I must say that I have not much hope of this being done unless the vital change that I have referred to above is brought about in the existing system of financial administration. Under that system the Government of India holds itself to be the master of all the revenues of the various provinces, and makes allotments to them,

First Day. by means of what are called Provincial settlements for Provincial expenditure. Under this system nearly three-fourths of the entire revenues of the country is taken up for Imperial purposes and only about one-fourth is left to provide for all Provincial expenditure. What hope can there be for improvements being effected in the condition of the people, of primary education being made free and universal, of technical education being promoted, of agricultural improvement being brought about, of sanitary surroundings being secured to the people, and of their being saved from malaria, plague and famine, unless a very much larger proportion of the revenues derived from the people is allowed to be spent by Provincial Governments on purposes which directly benefit the people? (Hear, hear.) What is needed is that the Government of India should require a reasonable amount of contribution to be made for Imperial purposes out of the revenues of each province, and should leave the rest of the revenues to be spent for Provincial purposes. It should require Provincial Governments to make an addition to their contributions when any special cause may arise therefor, but should look to revenues derived from what are called Imperial heads to meet the rest of its ordinary expenditure.

Presidential Address.

REDUCTION OF EXPENDITURE.

One great advantage of such a system will be that the Government of India will have to somewhat curtail or restrict its expenditure. And it is hardly necessary to say that there is a crying need for such a reduction. In the present condition of the people, it is not possible, it will not be just, to raise taxation to a higher level than where it stands. But there is a source of revenue derivable from economy itself, and justice and the highest considerations of good government demand that this source should be tapped to a reasonable extent. For years together the Congress has been begging Government to practise economy in the various departments of its administration. In the first place there is the military expenditure. Such a large proportion of the revenues is absorbed by it, that there is not sufficient money left for expenditure on many more useful directions. The Congress has been urging for years that the expenditure should be reduced; but it has unfortunately been very much increased. There are several ways of reducing that expenditure. One is to reduce the number of the men in the army. That probably the Government will not agree to. The second is that as the army is maintained not merely for the benefit of India but for Imperial purposes as well, the British treasury should contribute a fair proportion of the military expenditure of the British Indian Empire. This is a prayer which has often been urged in the past, and it is a prayer which we must urge yet again.

HIGHER CAREERS TO INDIANS.

The cost of the civil administration also is extravagantly high, and can well be reduced. The Congress has urged times out of number that the cheaper indigenous agency should be substituted wherever practicable for the costly foreign agency in all the various departments of the administration. It has urged that higher appointments should be thrown open to Indians in a much larger measure than they have been heretofore. We have urged this on the ground of economy as well as of justice. We are thankful to Lord Morley that he has appointed two of our Indian fellow-subjects as members of his Council. We are deeply thankful both to him and to Lord Minto for their having appointed an Indian to the Executive Council of the Governor-General. What we feel however is that the claims of Indians to a reasonable share in the higher appointments in the service of their country will continue to have but a poor chance of being satisfied until all examinations relating to India which are at present held in England only, shall be held simultaneously in India and in England, and until all first appointments which are made in India shall be made by competitive examinations only. (Hear, hear.) You know, gentlemen, how keenly, how earnestly and perseveringly, that prince of patriots, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers) has been advocating this important reform for nearly forty years. But unfortunately for us the change has not yet come. In order to qualify themselves for service in their own land, the educated youth of India are still required to go several thousands of miles away from their homes, to pass an examination

in England for admission to the Civil Service of India! This is entirely unjust. It is unjust not only to our educated young men but to our people as a whole. The system is responsible for keeping up the expenditure on the civil administration at a much costlier scale than is justifiable. We must therefore earnestly press that simultaneous examinations should be held in India and England for admission into the Indian Civil Service.

First Day.

Presidential Address.

Before I leave this subject, I should refer to the appointment of the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali as a member of His Majesty's Privy Council. We all know with what satisfaction the news of that appointment has been received throughout the country. I beg in your name to tender our thanks to Lord Morley for this further remarkable instance of his desire to appoint Indians to higher offices under the Crown. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, it is very much to be hoped that the Government will earn the gratitude of Indians by throwing open higher careers in the army also to them. It is too late in the day to say that Indians shall not be appointed to the higher offices in the army in India. Indians who are loyal, who have proved their loyalty by the life-blood which they have shed in the service of His Majesty the King-Emperor and whose valour and fidelity have been repeatedly recognised, ought no longer to be told that they cannot rise to appointments in the army higher than Subadar-Majorships and Risaldar-Majorships. Reason and justice favour the departure for which I plead. The Proclamation of 1858 has promised that race, colour or creed shall not be a bar to the appointment of Indians to any posts under the Crown, the duties of which they shall be qualified to discharge. We ask Government to give effect to that noble Proclamation, to do justice to the claims of the people of India, by opening the higher branches of the army for qualified Indians to enter. If the Government will accede to this reasonable prayer, it will deepen the loyalty of vast numbers of people in India, and, I venture humbly to say, it will never have any cause to regret having taken such a step. On the other hand, the exclusion of Indians from such appointments is a standing ground of dissatisfaction and complaint. It is in every way desirable that it were removed. By throwing higher careers in the army open to Indians, the Government will open another important door for satisfying the natural and reasonable aspirations of important sections of His Majesty's subjects. Their attachment to the Government will thereby be enhanced, and if the opportunity ever arose, the Government would find a large army of Indians trained and prepared to fight under His Majesty's flag to defend the country against foreign invasion and to help the Government in maintaining peace on every possible occasion. (Cheers.)

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This brings me to the question of the status of Indians in other countries. It is not necessary for me to say how deeply it has grieved us all to hear of the unjust, the cruel, the disgraceful treatment to which our countrymen in the Transvaal have been subjected. (Hear, hear.) The indignities which have been heaped upon them, the hardships and harassments to which they have been exposed, have excited deep feelings of indignation and grief throughout the country. These feelings are not confined to educated Indians. They are shared by the literate and the illiterate alike. They have penetrated even into the *zenana*, as is evident from the lists of subscriptions collected by ladies which have appeared in the Press. Touching appeals have come to us from our sisters in the Transvaal for brotherly help and sympathy in their trials. We admire the unflinching courage, the unbending determination with which our noble brother Mr. Gandhi and our other countrymen have been fighting for the honour of the Indian name. (Cheers.) Our hearts go forth to them in sympathy, and we are sorely grieved to find that the Government of His Majesty have not yet been able to come to their rescue. Our brethren have repeatedly appealed for protection and support to the Sovereign and Parliament of England, whose sway they live under. And it is a matter of deep grief to them, and to us, that, being the subjects of His Majesty, the King-Emperor of India, and being fellow-subjects of Englishmen they should find themselves so long without protection against cruel and unjust treatment, against humiliating insults, in a colony of the British Empire.

First Day. (Shame, shame.) It is not right to say that the British Government cannot exercise any influence upon the Boer-British Government. It was but yesterday that the Government of England went to war with the Boers, one of the avowed grounds being that Indians had been badly treated by the Boers. Has the position become weaker since the Government has established the might of its power there, that it is afraid to require that the Boer-British Government should follow a course of conduct towards its Indian fellow-subjects different from the one pursued before—a course of conduct consistent with the claims of common humanity and of fellowship as subjects of a common Sovereign? (Cheers.) I have no doubt, gentlemen, that the Government of India have made many and earnest representations in this matter to the Imperial Government. I have no doubt that they will make further representations still. For the honour of the Empire itself, let us hope that the Imperial Government will yet interfere to bring about an early and honourable settlement of this painful but momentous question. (Hear, hear.) But however that may be, the Government of India are bound in honour and in duty to their Indian fellow-subjects to take steps now to actively resent and to retaliate the treatment which is accorded to them in South Africa. (Hear, hear.) And the least that they ought to do is to withdraw all facilities for enlisting indentured labour for South Africa, until the white colonists there agree to recognize Indians as their equal fellow-subjects. (Cheers.) The matter has been under discussion too long. The intensity of feeling which has been created throughout the country, demands that it should no longer be allowed to rest where it is. I will not detain you longer on this question, as time will not permit me to do so. I have no doubt that you will pass a strong resolution expressing your sympathy and admiration for our brethren, Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees and Christians, who are fighting a heroic fight for the honour of the motherland in South Africa and urging upon the Government both in India and in England the justice and necessity of an early and honourable settlement of this great Imperial problem. (Cheers.)

ANARCHICAL CRIMES.

Gentlemen, there is yet another painful matter for which I must claim attention, and that is the evil advent of anarchical ideas—of the assassin's creed—into our country. (Hear, hear.) It has filled us with grief to find that this new evil has come to add to our sorrows and to increase our misfortunes. Earlier in the year the whole country was shocked to hear that Sir William Curzon-Wyllie was shot dead by a misguided young man, and that while attempting to save Sir William, Dr. Lalkaka also lost his life at the hand of the assassin. The detestable crime filled all decent Indians with grief and shame;—with grief that a gentleman who had done no one any harm, who had on the contrary befriended many young Indians in England, and who was trying to befriend his assassin even at the moment when he was attacked by him, should have been killed without any cause, without any justification; with shame, that an Indian should have been guilty of such an atrocious crime. The pain caused by the news was widespread and deep. There was one circumstance, however, of melancholy satisfaction in the tragedy; and that was that if one Indian had taken the life of Sir William, another Indian had nobly given up his own in the attempt to save him. Gentlemen, in the name and on behalf of the Congress, I beg here to offer to Lady Curzon-Wyllie and to the family of Dr. Lalkaka our deepest sympathy with them in their sad bereavements.

As though we had not had enough cause for sorrow, we have recently had the misfortune to hear of another equally atrocious crime committed at Nasik. The murder of Mr. Jackson has sent another thrill of horror and sorrow throughout the country. Mr. Jackson was being entertained at a party by Indians who honoured and esteemed him because of the good service he had rendered, and because of the sympathy he bore to them. And it was at such a party that a young man, filled with ideas as impotent to produce any good as they are wicked, took away his life! The news has been received with unutterable grief throughout the country, and the deepest sympathy is felt for Mrs. Jackson in her cruel bereavement. I beg to offer to her also our sincerest condolence.

And there was another wicked attempt at a similar crime, though it happily proved unsuccessful. I refer, of course, to the bomb which was thrown the other day at Ahmedabad on the carriage of His Excellency the Viceroy. It is a misfortune that Lord Minto has had to introduce several measures of repression. But I believe that there is a general feeling all over the country that His Lordship has throughout meant well, and that he has laboured as a friend to promote what he has conceived to be the interests of the people. (Cheers.) The large-hearted liberal-mindedness which Lord Minto has shown in connection with the scheme of Reform has entitled him to our lasting gratitude and esteem. And it has been a matter for profound regret throughout the country that an attempt should have been made even upon His Excellency's life. That feeling has happily been relieved however by an equally profound feeling of satisfaction and thankfulness at His Lordship's providential escape. (Cheers.)

First Day.
Presidential Address.

I do not know, gentlemen, in what words to express the abhorrence that I am sure we all feel for these detestable, dastardly and useless crimes. It fills me with grief to think that in this ancient land of ours where *ahimsa*—abstention from causing hurt—has been taught from the earliest times to be one of the greatest virtues which can be cultivated by civilised man; where the great law-giver Manu has laid down that no man should kill even an animal that does not cause any hurt to others; where the taking away of life generally is regarded as a great sin, the minds of any of our young men should have been so far perverted as to lead them to commit such inhuman acts of cold-blooded murders without any provocation. Such crimes were confined until a few years ago to some of the countries of Europe. We had no doubt occasional cases of religious fanatics, called *ghazis*, who now and then took away the life of an Englishman on the frontier. But we are grieved to find that these new political *ghazis* have now risen in our midst, and have become a new source of shame and sorrow to the country. I am sure we are all of one mind in our desire to do all that we can to eradicate this new evil from our land. But we do not know what steps should be taken to do so. We have repeatedly denounced these outrages, but those who commit them have obviously gone beyond the reach of our influence. It should be obvious to the meanest understanding that these crimes cannot do any good to our country—they have never done any good to any country,—but, on the contrary, they have done and are doing us a great deal of injury. They are condemned by our *shastras* and are opposed to the noblest traditions of our race. *Ayudhyamanasya badho nihshoshkarnan smritam*—“the killing of a man who is not standing up to fight is a sin which leads to the extinction of the sinner,”—says the *Mahabharat*. The whole of the *Mahabharat* illustrates and emphasises the great truth that it is righteousness alone that wins, because its victory is real and lasting, and that unrighteous and wicked deeds though they may secure a temporary seeming advantage, lead eventually to certain degradation and destruction. It proclaims that even in a war, we should not think of winning a victory by wicked means *dharmen nidhanan shreya nahjayah papkarnana*—“better death by pursuing a righteous course of conduct, than victory by means of a wicked deed.” (Hear, hear.) It is inexpressibly sad to think that in a country where such wise and noble teachings have come down to us through long ages, the assassin's creed should have found acceptance in the minds of any person, young or old. Let us endeavour to instil these noble teachings into the minds of our young men. We owe it to them and to our country, to try so far as it lies in our power to keep them from being misled into the path of evil and dishonour. Let us do it, and let us hope and pray that such crimes, which we all deplore and detest, will soon become matters of past history. (Cheers.)

DEPORTATIONS AND THE PARTITION.

Gentlemen, I have referred in an earlier portion of my address to some of the causes of discontent. I should refer to two other matters which have contributed largely to swell it in the last few years. One of them is the deportation of Indians without any trial. (Hear, hear.) The Government cannot be more anxious than we are in the interest of our country's progress, to see good will and confidence grow evermore between the Government and the people. And we are pained to find that by resorting to a lawless law like the Regulation of 1818, to punish men

First Day.
 Presidential Ad-
 dress.

against whom no offence has been openly urged and established, the Government by its own action excites a great deal of ill-feeling against itself. We all remember how intensely strong was the feeling excited by the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, and how deep and general was the satisfaction when after six months' confinement, he was restored to liberty. Since then, however, nine other gentlemen from Bengal have been similarly deported. The reasons which have led to their deportation have not been made known. Every effort to induce the Government to publish those reasons has failed. Public sympathy is consequently all on the side of those who have been deported and all against the Government. This cannot be regarded as a gain to good administration. (Hear, hear.) If the Government will only have recourse to the ordinary law of the land, to bring to justice any person or persons who might be guilty of encouraging violence or lawlessness or of promoting ill-will or hostility to Government, there will be no room left for complaint. The Indian people are an eminently reasonable people. Let them know that a brother has been guilty of a crime; let the Government only satisfy the public that there is reasonable ground for depriving any man of his liberty, and they will cease to sympathise with the offender. Where sympathy will not entirely die out, its nature will be greatly changed. There will be no feeling left against the Government. But to send away men who have been leading peaceful and honourable lives to distant lands, and to confine them under the deportation regulation without giving them any opportunity to hear and answer charges which have been formulated behind their backs, is a course unworthy of the British Government, and it ought to be put an end to as early as possible. (Cheers.) Even the Egyptian law of deportation is better in this respect than the Indian law. Under that law an opportunity is given to the person whom it is proposed to deport to hear the charges laid against him, though *in camera*, and to answer them. In that way injustice is largely if not entirely avoided. I hope that if the Government is determined to retain the Regulation of 1818 and similar regulations in the statute book, it will at any rate recognize the necessity in the interest of good administration as much as in the interest of justice, of introducing amendments in the said Regulations to make them similar in the particular respect pointed out, to the law of Egypt. (Hear, hear.) I cannot leave this subject without referring to the great service which Mr. Mackarness has been rendering to the people of India in this connection. (Cheers.) It is only right that we should make a grateful acknowledgment of that service. (Cheers.)

The other matter to which I think it my duty to invite attention is the question of the partition of Bengal. It is unnecessary for me to say what an amount of discontent and bitterness this question has created in Bengal. That discontent and that bitterness has travelled far beyond the limits of Bengal, and has produced a most deplorable influence in the country. It may appear to be a vain hope, but I do hope that the Government will yet reconsider this question. I do not propose to take up your time by recapitulating the arguments which have been urged against the partition, and the pleas which have been put forward for a modification of the partition so as to bring together the entire Bengali-speaking community in Bengal under one Government. But I will mention one new and important fact in support of my recommendation. And that is this, that under the Reform scheme the people of Western Bengal are to receive the benefit of a Council Government, Eastern Bengal is not to have it, and finds that the destinies of its 31 millions of people are still left to be guided by one single man. (Hear, hear.) This gives an additional ground of complaint and dissatisfaction to the people of Eastern Bengal. The partition as it has been made cannot be defended. It ought therefore to be mended. If the Government will modify the partition it will restore peace to Bengal, and win the good will and gratitude of millions of men there. It will also enhance thereby its prestige in the eyes of the people throughout the country, as they will feel that the Government can afford to be as just as it is strong. (Cheers.)

The mention of these grievances of Bengal reminds me of some of the grievances of the Punjab. My friend the Chairman of the Reception Committee has already referred to some of them. They will be laid in due course before you, and I trust that you will give them the consider-

ation which they deserve. It is true that some of these questions affect only one province now but they involve questions of principle, and may affect other provinces in the future. One of these, the imposing of restrictions on the alienation of land, already affects two provinces. The Punjab Land Alienation Act has been followed by a similar act for a portion of the United Provinces, and there is no knowing when similar acts may not be extended to other areas. These acts have revived a procedure of protecting the interests of agriculturists which has become obsolete in civilised countries. The right course for the Government to follow is to illumine the minds and strengthen the wills of zamindars and agriculturists by means of education, so that they may be able to protect their interests and increase their incomes. Instead of pursuing that natural and healthy course, the Government has had recourse to an obsolete and not very rational method of helping them to protect their properties by depriving them of the power of dealing freely with them, and by compelling the agriculturist to sell his land to a brother agriculturist only. This gives the richer agriculturist the opportunity of buying up his humbler brother, and prevents the latter from obtaining as fair a price as he would get if he were to sell his property in the open market. It also prevents non-agriculturists from acquiring land, and from investing their capital in enriching it. The subject is a very important one, and I trust you will give it your attention.

First Day.

Presidential Address.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have detained you very long. But I must crave your indulgence for a few minutes more. I wish before I conclude to say a few words about the constitution and the present position of the Congress. Ever since the unfortunate split at Surat, the Congress has come in for a great deal of criticism, both friendly and unfriendly. It is said that there has been a division in the Congress camp. It is true, it is sad. We should have been happy if it was not. We hear a great deal of disapproval, of condemnation, of "a disunited Congress," and a great desire expressed for "a united Congress." I ask, gentlemen, how are we "a disunited Congress?" Are we not here a united Congress, united in our aims and our methods, and in our determination to adhere to them? (Hear, hear.) If we are not a united Congress who is responsible for the disunion? Have we departed in the smallest degree from the lines on which the Congress was started twenty-four years ago? Have we shut out any fellow-countryman of ours who wishes to work with us on those lines from coming to the Congress? I emphatically say, no. It is said that we have adopted a creed. Yes, we have done so, because it had become necessary, owing to the influx of some new ideas into the country, to define the objects for which the Congress was organised to prevent a misinterpretation or misrepresentation of those objects. The creed we have adopted is however no new creed. It has been the creed of the Congress from the beginning. The foundation of the Congress rests on loyalty to the British Government. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) That has always been the basic principle of the Congress. The Congress has at no time done or sanctioned anything being done which would give the smallest countenance to any idea that it wanted to overthrow the British Government. I believe that the vast bulk of the thoughtful people in India, I mean, of course, those who can and do understand such questions, are as much convinced to-day as they were when the Congress was started, that British rule is good for India, and that it is to our advantage that it should continue for a long time to come. (Cheers.) That certainly is the feeling of the vast bulk of educated Indians. And, my countrymen, let me personally say this, that if I did not believe that British rule was good for India, I would certainly not say so. If the fear of the law of sedition would deter me then from speaking against it, I would hold my peace, but not soil my lips with a lie, and thereby expose myself to a far more terrible punishment than any that can be inflicted for infringing the law of sedition. (Cheers.) I do believe that British rule is meant for the good of India, meant to help us to raise our country once more to a position of prosperity and power. Our duty to our country itself demands that we should loyally accept that rule, and endeavour steadily to improve our position under it, so that while we suffer some certain inevitable disadvantages of that rule, we should realise all the advantages which we

First Day.
 ———
 Presidential Ad-
 dress.

can undoubtedly derive by our being placed under it. That being our position, gentlemen, ever since the Congress was organised, it has made it its duty to bring the grievances of the people to the notice of the Government, with a view to their removal by the Government, and to secure constitutional changes in the administration which could only be brought about by the Government. I may say in passing, that it is the strongest and most unanswerable proof of the loyalty and good will of the Congress towards the Government that it has tried during all these years to press those questions on the attention of the Government which affected the weal or woe of the people and therefore constituted a real grievance of the people. The raising of the minimum of assessment of the income-tax, the reduction of the salt-tax, the prayer for the larger admission of Indians into the public services and the many other reforms urged by the Congress, all illustrate the point. If the Congress were hostile or unfriendly to the Government, it would have left the grievances of the people alone, and let discontent grow among them. It is true that there were at one time some narrow-minded officials who regarded the Congress as disloyal. Their race, I hope, is now extinct. I hope that among the officials of Government there is not a responsible man now who thinks that the Congress means any harm to the Government; I believe that there are a good many among them now who are satisfied that it is the best helpmate that the Government could have to help it to conduct the administration of the country on sound and popular lines. I have referred to this not to defend the Congress against any accusation of unfriendliness to Government, but to emphasise the fact that though the Congress did not for a long time adopt a written constitution, it was clear as daylight from the very beginning that it was an organisation whose object it was to bring about reforms in the existing system of administration and a redress of the grievances of the people by appealing to the constituted authority of Government. Later on when some of our brethren earnestly urged that the Congress should have a written constitution, such a constitution was agreed upon, at the Lucknow session in 1899, and it laid down in clear words that the object of the Congress was to agitate for reforms on constitutional lines. That is the object of the Congress to-day. The cardinal principle of the Congress has now been formulated in even more explicit, more unmistakable language. The change has been in the direction of amplifying the objects not of narrowing them. The first Article of the Constitution of the Congress, the Congress creed as it has been called, runs as follows :

“The Objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment, by the people of India, of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economical, and industrial resources of the country.”

I should like to know, gentlemen, if there exists another organisation throughout the length and breadth of this vast Empire which has set nobler objects before itself to achieve. (Cheers.) We have made it absolutely clear that we want self-government within the British Empire; a system of Government, that is to say, similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire; and that we want to participate on equal terms in the rights and responsibilities of that Empire with those other members. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, what higher aim could a sensible practical patriot and statesman place before himself? Bear in mind the present status of our country, and you at once see how noble, how honourable is the desire to raise it to the position of being a member of a great federation of a great Empire under one Sovereign, holding some objects in common for the benefit of the Empire and pursuing others independently for its own special benefit. Japan is an entirely independent power. And yet Japan has considered it an advantage to enter into a friendly alliance with England, and England to do the same with Japan. Some good people tell us.

that we have gone too far in fixing our aim. Others tell us that we have not gone sufficiently far. But I have not heard one single responsible man put forward any programme of agitation which goes even so far as ours, leaving alone of course one or two irresponsible talkers, whose wild talk is happily not heard now in this country. We have fixed our aim with the utmost deliberation. We consider it high enough to give opportunity for the utmost exercise of patriotic feeling. We feel that with this ideal before us, we can rise to the height of our growth under the British Government by agitating by lawful and constitutional means for obtaining all the privileges which our fellow-subjects in England and other countries enjoy. (Hear, hear.)

First Day.
 Presidential Ad-
 dress.

It is sometimes urged against us that our representations are not heard or heeded, and that in spite of many years of constitutional agitation, we are still labouring under various disabilities and disadvantages. That is unfortunately true; but only partly so. The success achieved by us is by no means ignoble. But even if we had entirely failed that would not establish the inefficacy of constitutional agitation. It would only prove the necessity for more persistent, more strenuous agitation. It is again said that several repressive measures have been introduced during the last two years and that they have made the task of even honest workers difficult. I fully share the regret that these measures have been passed. Let us hope that they will soon cease to be operative, if they may not be replaced. But making allowance for all that, I venture to say that the freedom of speech and action which we yet enjoy under the British Government will enable us to carry on a constitutional agitation to achieve all the great objects which the Congress has set before us. I ask you, my countrymen, not to allow the aspersions which are made against the Congress to go unanswered any longer, and to dispel the wrong notions which have been created in the minds of some of our people about its objects. I ask you to tell all our people that those objects are high and honourable enough to demand the steadfast devotion of the most patriotic minds, and to ask them to co-operate with us in realising them. It is a great change that we want to bring about in the system of administration,—a change by which the affairs of the people shall be administered by the voice of the representatives of the people. That change cannot be effected in a day, nor yet in a decade. But I venture to say that if we can educate all our people to stand aloof from and to give no countenance whatever to seditious movements;—I do not mean to suggest that they in any way do encourage such movements at present;—if we can prevent sedition from throwing obstacles in our path, and teach our people to devote themselves to build up national unity, to promote public spirit among ourselves and to agitate more earnestly and steadfastly than we have yet done to further constitutional reform, we shall in ten years' time succeed in obtaining a larger measure of reform than was foreshadowed in Lord Morley's despatch. (Hear, hear.) The objects of the Congress are large and comprehensive enough to afford occupation to the most varied inclinations in the minds of our people. If there are some amongst us who do not wish to take part in agitation for political reforms, let them devote themselves to the promoting of national unity, to the fostering of public spirit, and to the developing of the intellectual, the moral and the economic resources of the country. Here is work enough for every Indian who feels the fervour of a patriotic impulse to take up. Let him choose the work which he finds most after his heart and labour to promote it. But let it not be said that the Congress has narrowly circumscribed the scope of its organisation. Let it not be said, for it is not true, that the objects of the Congress are not high and honourable enough to satisfy the cravings for activity of the most patriotic minds. The problems which press for consideration at our hands are both vital and numerous. The condition of our people is deplorable. Vast millions of them do not get sufficient food to eat and sufficient clothing to protect themselves from exposure and cold. They are born and live in insanitary surroundings and die premature preventible deaths. Humanity and patriotism alike demand that, in addition to what the Government is doing, and may do, we should do all that lies in our power to ameliorate their condition. Let every particle of energy be devoted to the loving service of the motherland. There is no land on earth which stands more in need of such service than our own. It is true that we are labouring

First Day. under numerous difficulties and disadvantages. Let not those difficulties and disadvantages daunt us. Duty demands that we must solve them; and let us remember that they will not be solved by having small divisions and narrow parties amongst us. In union alone lies the hope of a happy future for our country. Differences there often arise among workers wherever there is a large association of men. But differences should be brushed aside, and all earnest patriots, all true lovers of the country should unite in a common endeavour to promote common objects by methods and ways about which there is a common agreement throughout the country. (Cheers).

Presidential Address.

THE NATIONAL IDEAL.

And here, gentlemen, I wish to say a few words to our brethren of the Moslem League. I deeply grieve to say it, but I think it would be well perhaps that I should say it. I am grieved to think that our brethren have allowed the interests of a sect, nay of a party, to predominate in their counsels over the interests of the country; that they have allowed sectarian considerations to prevail over patriotic considerations. Gentlemen, no Indian is entitled to the honour of being called a patriot, be he a Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian or Parsee, who would desire for a moment that any fellow-countryman of his, whatever his race or creed may be, should be placed under the domination of the men of his own particular persuasion or community, or that any one section should gain an undue advantage over any other section or all other sections. Patriotism demands that we should desire equally the good of all our countrymen alike. (Cheers.) The great teacher Veda Vyasa held forth the true ideal for all religious and patriotic workers to pursue in the noble prayer which he taught centuries ago:

Survecha sukhina santu, surve santu niramayah.

Survey bhadrani pashyantu, na kaschiddukh bhagbhavetu.

“May all enjoy happiness; may all be the source of happiness to others; may all see auspicious days; may none suffer any injury.”

That is the ideal which the Congress has placed before us all from the moment of its birth. (Hear, hear.)

I am a Hindu by faith, and I mean no disrespect to any other religion when I say that I will not change my faith, for all the possessions of this world or of any other. (Cheers.) But I shall be a false Hindu, and I shall deserve less to be called a Brahman, if I desired that Hindus or Brahmans should have any unfair advantage as such over Mahomedans, Christians, or any other community in India. (Cheers.) Our brethren of the Moslem League have by their sectarian agitation at a critical period of our history, thrown back the national progress which we have been endeavouring for years to achieve. It is painful and humiliating to think that this has been so. But it is no good fretting too much about an irrevocable past. Let us try to forget it. It is a relief to know that there are many amongst them who realise that a mistake has been committed; many who realise that any temporary advantage which a few members of one community may gain over the members of other communities, is a trifle which does not count in the consideration of large national interests. What does it matter to the vast masses of the people of India that a few Hindus should gain some slight advantages over a few Mahomedans, or that a few Mahomedans should gain some small advantage over a few Hindus? How ennobling it is even to think of that high ideal of patriotism where Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, stand shoulder to shoulder as brothers and work for the common good of all. And what a fall is there when we give up that position, and begin to think of furthering the sectarian interests of any particular class or creed at the expense of those of others. (Cheers.) I invite my brethren to respond to the higher call, and to feel that our lot having been cast in this now our common country, we cannot build up a national life such as would be worth having, in separation, but that we must rise or fall together. (Cheers.)

And I have to say a word in this connection to some of my Hindu brethren also. (Hear, hear.) I have been grieved to learn that owing to the unfortunate action of the members of the Moslem League,—and

let me say here once again that I do not make a single one of these remarks without a feeling of pain: I say what I say not to offend any brother, but in order that a better understanding should grow between the two great communities;—I say, gentlemen, that owing to the action of our brethren of the Moslem League, owing to the manner in which the agitation for securing what they had persuaded themselves to believe would be a fair representation for their community, and especially owing to several unfortunate and regrettable things that were said during the course of that agitation, a great estrangement has taken place between Hindus and Mahomedans generally all over the country, but particularly in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Under the influence of this feeling, some of my Hindu brethren have been led to think and to advocate that Hindus should abandon the hope of building up a common national life, and should devote themselves to promote the interests of their own community as Mahomedans have tried to promote those of theirs. They have also said that the Congress agitation has done harm to the Hindu community. With all respect to those who have taken this view, I wish to ask what harm the Congress has done to the Hindus. Have not Hindus benefited equally with other communities by the raising of the minimum of assessment of the income-tax and the reduction of the salt tax, and by the other measures of reform which the Congress has successfully agitated for? But, it is said, some of the officials of Government have shown preference for Mahomedans over Hindus in the public service because the Hindus have offended them by agitating for reforms, while the Mahomedans have not. Well, I am sorry to think that there seems to be some ground for such a complaint as this in the Punjab and the United Provinces. But, gentlemen, these are mere passing incidents, things of the moment. (Cheers.) The favours shown are not to live. Let it be remembered that *ex hypothesi* those favours have been shown not out of any love for our Mahomedan brethren, but in order to keep them quiet, to keep them from standing shoulder to shoulder with their Hindu brethren to agitate for reforms. Let the delusion disappear, let Mahomedans begin to take their fair share in agitating for the common good of all their countrymen, and these favours will cease to come. (Hear, hear and cheers.) If there was a real partiality for our Mahomedan brethren, one should have expected to see some real concession made to them, for instance, in some privileges which are denied to us all in the matter of the Arms Act or Volunteering, being extended to them. (Cheers and laughter.) But the thought of extending such a privilege to Mahomedans has not, you may safely assume, ever entered the minds of even those among the officials, who have been known to be most inclined to favour them. No, gentlemen, this policy of partiality will not live, as it does not deserve to live. And any temporary disadvantages which may have been caused by it to our Hindu brethren in some parts of the country ought not to lead them to swerve from the path of duty, wisdom and honour which the Congress has chalked out for all patriotic Indians to follow. (Hear, hear.) I do not object to representations being made to prevent any unjust preferential treatment being shown to the members of any particular community. It seems to me to be not inconsistent with the true spirit of a Congressman to point out and protest against any partiality shown to any member or members of any community on the ground of his or their belonging to that particular community. If a Mahomedan, Hindu or Christian is appointed to a post in the public service on account of his merit, such an appointment is for the benefit of the public, and no one can have any reason to complain. If a Hindu is preferred to a Mahomedan, not because he has superior qualifications to serve the public, but merely because he is a Hindu, that is a just ground of grievance to the Mahomedans; and not only Mahomedans but all communities will be entitled without departing from the principles of the Congress, to protest against such an appointment on the broad ground of equal justice for all, and because it will excite jealousy and promote ill-will and disunion among people who ought to live in amity and good will. If on the other hand a preference is shown to a Mahomedan over a Hindu who is not superior but inferior to him in merit and qualifications, a Hindu can protest as much as any other community against such an appointment without departing from the principle of the Congress. But pray let it be done, when it must be done, out of a regard for public

First Day..

Presidential Address.

First Day.
 Presidential Address.

interests which demand equality of treatment, equal justice, for all communities. Let it be done with the desire of avoiding causes of disunion. Let it not be done out of a feeling of narrow sectarian jealousy. Let us endeavour to win over our brethren who differ from us to the noble ideals which we have hitherto placed before us. Let not their faults lead us to turn away from those ideals. I have faith in the future of my country. I have no doubt that the policy of the preferential treatment of one community over another and all other obstacles which keep the great communities of India from acting together, will slowly but steadily disappear, and that under the guidance of a benign Providence feelings of patriotism and brotherliness will continue to increase among Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and Parsees, until they shall flow like a smooth but mighty river welding the people of all communities into a great and united nation, which shall realise a glorious future for India and secure to it a place of honour among the nations of the world. (Loud and continued applause).

According to the constitution of the Congress formal resolutions can be moved now. I beg to lay before you one resolution which will meet with the approval of all sections and which will not require much discussion. It reads:—

Resolution No. I.—
 The late Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose and Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt.

That this Congress desires to place on record its deep sense of the great and irreparable loss which this country and the Congress have sustained by the death of Mr. Lalmohan Ghose and Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, both past Presidents of the Congress. Their services to the country and the Congress will remain enshrined in the grateful recollections of their countrymen.

The resolution was carried unanimously, the audience standing.

THE PRESIDENT:—I beg to lay before you another resolution which I trust will also meet with your approval.

Resolution No. II.—
 The late Marquis of Ripon.

That the Congress records its sense of the great loss this country has sustained by the death of the Marquis of Ripon, who by his beneficent, progressive, and statesmanlike policy, as Viceroy of India, earned the lasting esteem, affection and gratitude of all classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects.

The resolution was carried unanimously, the audience standing.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen—I have yet one more resolution to propose for your acceptance.

Resolution No. III.—
 High appointments.

That this Congress thanks the Government of His Imperial Majesty for appointing the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha, as a Member of His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali as a member of the Privy Council.

Carried unanimously.

The Subjects Committee.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next important point before you is the appointment of the Subjects Committee. According to the constitution of the Congress (Article 24) a Subjects Committee has to be appointed to settle the programme of business to be transacted, and it is stated in the constitution that a certain number of representatives from different provinces should constitute the Committee. You will find the number in the constitution. I request you to elect the Subjects Committee so that we may be able to proceed with the business. If you will kindly send your names to your Secretaries they will forward them to the General Secretaries and we shall be able to proceed with the business. The Subjects Committee meets at 4-45 p. m. and the Congress to-morrow at 12 noon.

The Congress then adjourned.

Second Day's Proceedings

TUESDAY, 28TH DECEMBER 1909.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Congress assembled at the Bradlaugh Hall at 12 noon to-day.

Second Day.

THE PRESIDENT:—Ladies and gentlemen, the first resolution on the paper to-day relates to the Ripon Scheme. It runs as follows:—

The President.

That this Congress while gratefully appreciating the earnest and arduous endeavours of Lord Morley and Lord Minto in extending to the people of this country a fairly liberal measure of constitutional reforms as now embodied in the Indian Councils Act of 1909 deems it its duty to place on record its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion, and regrets that the regulations framed under the Act have not been framed in the same liberal spirit in which Lord Morley's despatch of last year was conceived. In particular the regulations have caused widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country by reason of:

Resolution No. IV.—
Council Reform.

- (a) the excessive and unfairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion;
- (b) the unjust, invidious, and humiliating distinctions made between Moslem and non-Moslem subjects of His Majesty in the matter of the electorates, the franchise and the qualifications of candidates;
- (c) the wide, arbitrary, and unreasonable disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils;
- (d) the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole course of the regulations; and
- (e) the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in Provincial Councils rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes.

And this Congress earnestly urges the Government to so revise the regulations, as soon as the present elections are over, as to remove these objectionable features and bring them into harmony with the spirit of the Royal Message and the Secretary of State's despatch of last year.

I request my honoured friend, Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee to move the same and I shall not stand between you and him.

Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee's Speech.—Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee, who on rising was greeted with loud and prolonged applause, said:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—Last year from this Congress platform, amid a scene of enthusiasm which most of us can vividly recall to mind, we welcomed Lord Morley's scheme of Reform and recorded our most sincere and grateful thanks for the proposals it contained. At that time, a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand was visible on the Western horizon, pregnant with portents of evil to the new scheme. We protested against the machinations of the enemies of Indian Reform, and in Congress assembled we accorded to the scheme the support, the unstinted moral support, of a great and united community. That was in December last year. What is our attitude to-day? That attitude is fittingly expressed in the terms of the resolution which I hold in my hand—it is an attitude of deep and profound dissatisfaction felt all over India and shared by educated Hindus and Mahomedans alike. I use the word educated Mahomedans advisedly. I cannot speak of the other Provinces, but in old

Babu Surrendra
Nath Banerjee.

Second Day.
 Council Reform.
 Baba Surrendra
 Nath Banerjee.

Bengal the educated Mahomedan community have expressed themselves in terms of the strongest condemnation of the Rules which have been framed as affecting their own special electorate. Dr. Suhrawardi is a scholar of distinction in our Province who has been elected a member of the enlarged Council where, I trust, he will find himself in a position to serve his country with the fidelity and devotion which he has displayed in the domain of literary research. Writing to the newspapers about the Mahomedan electorate he says :—

“ It is true that the educated section of the Mussahman community was so much disappointed at the composition of the Mahomedan Electorate and the qualifications of the electors which unfortunately eliminate and exclude educated Muslims from having any effective share in the election, that they thought at first that it would be better to allow Khan Bahadurs, Khan Sahibs, Khansamas, Duffries, Ostagars, and Marriage Registrars to have their way and return *their* own representative to the Council.

Mahomedan Barristers, M. A.'s, M. D's, M. B.'s., Ph. D.'s and other diploma holders of Indian and British Universities have been deprived of the franchise in these days of reform and progress, while the Mahomedan roll—a curious document of historical interest—confers the much-coveted privilege indiscriminately on the illiterate. I happen to be the only Mahomedan Barrister whose name by a singular fluke appears on the Mahomedan Electoral roll of Bengal.” (Shame.)

EDUCATED COMMUNITY DISSATISFIED.

And, the dissatisfaction to which Dr. Suhrawardi refers, is deep, widespread and universal among the educated classes. And, well, may it be so. For is it not the case that the Reforms are largely due to the strenuous, the persistent, the self-sacrificing efforts of the educated community? But when the time for fruition comes, the fruits of our efforts are snatched away from our grasp and we are relegated to a position of insignificance in those Councils which owe their very being to our patriotic labours. His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say in one of those speeches which I, for one, have read with gratitude and admiration, that a mighty wave was sweeping through Asia bearing on its crest new ideals and aspirations, and that India had felt the full impact of this wave. Now who are the apostles, the priests, the prophets of these new ideas—who are they whose minds and souls have been deeply stirred by the new movement—whose eyes have first caught the glimpse of the new illumination as it touched the mountain-crest and who welcomed it with fervid enthusiasm? It is the educated community of India. Against them however a veritable crusade has been started in the regulations for the new Councils. In the letter of the Government of India, dated the 24th August, 1907, it was deliberately intended to create a counterpoise to the educated classes by divesting them of their legitimate influence in the enlarged Councils. In view of the public discussion that took place this position was abandoned, but only to be resumed under the shelter of the Rules and Regulations which we are now discussing. The frontal attack was given up in favour of a flank movement which was executed with a skill and celerity that may well excite the envy and surprise of experts in the diplomatic service. Sir, in the speech which I had occasion to make on the Reform Scheme in Madras last year, I said everything would depend upon the Rules and Regulations—I said they would make or mar the Scheme—and I ventured in your name as well in my own to make an appeal to Sir Herbert Risley, who was entrusted with this duty, so to frame the regulations that they might constitute an abiding memorial of his work and his worth. That appeal has apparently fallen upon heedless ears. It is no exaggeration to say that the Rules and Regulations have practically wrecked the Reform Scheme as originally conceived with a beneficence of purpose and a statesmanlike grasp that did honour to all who were associated with it. I am reminded of a familiar effort made by the bureaucracy in connection with Lord Ripon's great scheme of Local Self-Government. Nothing could be wiser or more generous or more hopeful in the promises of a healthy evolution both as regards the administration and the public capacity of the people than that scheme; and yet it is admittedly a failure. Who wrecked the scheme? Who converted that promising experiment into a dismal failure? The responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the bureaucracy. Lord Morley shall

be my authority. In his despatch of the 27th November, 1908, Lord Morley says :—

“It took the Government nearly a whole generation to realise that the aspirations of 1882 have ended in failure, as the direct consequence of the laborious, calculated perversity with which, in its larger aspects as well as in its smallest details, the scheme of local self-government has been worked so as to produce the maximum disappointment to the people.”

Have we not here the maximum of disappointment again in the conditions under which the Reform Scheme has been launched? No administrative measure, however promising, however high the authority under whose auspices it is started, can be successful, if it does not enlist the sympathies of the most active, the most enterprising, the most public-spirited section of the community. It is a moderate statement—some will regard it as an under-statement—to say that the Reform Scheme has failed to excite the enthusiasm of the educated community.

EDUCATED COMMUNITY ARE NOT IRRECONCILEABLES.

We are not irreconcilables. Some of us have, indeed, passed the best period of our life-time in association with Government in public work. We are—and have always been—ready and willing to co-operate with the Government if the Government will enable us to do so with the full concurrence and the moral support of the community to which we belong and whose opinion we cannot disregard. For we are of the people sprung from their loins—popular opinion is the very vital breath of our nostrils. We cannot ignore it—we cannot defy it—we cannot go back upon that volume of public sentiment which we have been so largely instrumental in creating. Were we to do so, our co-operation would be futile and infructuous. We would no longer be the representatives of the people but the creatures of the Government. The regulations have placed the educated community in an insignificant minority in the enlarged Councils and have disqualified some of their most prominent leaders. Take a concrete case. In our own Province the Burdwan and the Presidency Divisions might be regarded as the seat and the centre of the educated classes. In a Council of forty-eight they are entitled to send only four members through the District Boards and the Municipalities; and of these four seats two have been captured by the representatives of the landlord interest, so that the educated community of Bengal proper will only have two representatives out of forty-eight, while the Mahomedan community will be especially represented by 4 and the Zemindars by 5 members over and above the seats they may secure in the general representation of the community. The educated community will thus be in an insignificant minority in our Province, and I presume they will be in that position in all the other Provinces. Is the bureaucracy having its revenge upon us for the part we have played in securing these concessions?

PROMINENT LEADERS DISQUALIFIED.

Nor is this all. Some of our most prominent men stand disqualified by the restriction of the franchise. My friend Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose, Mr. A. Chaudhuri, even Mr. S. P. Sinha stand disqualified, unless, indeed, they seek to be elected by the University which is a wholly officialised body, ninety per cent. of the members being Government servants. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said to me that these Regulations were not only insulting to the Hindu community but that if similar Regulations were enforced in England, they would keep out some of the most prominent members of the House. The regulations imposed are narrow and restricted, as compared to the regulations under the old Act. In the name of reform a distinctly backward step has been taken. Was there any justification for it? Was it done in ignorance? If so, it was inexcusable ignorance.

EDUCATED LEADERS NOT CONSULTED.

There were conferences and confabulations, endless in number and varied in their character, between the Government and the Mahomedan leaders. There were conferences and confabulations—I will not say endless in number, but sufficiently numerous for the purposes for which they were held—between the Government and the representatives of the Zemindars

Second Day.

Council Reform.
Babu Surrendra
Nath Banerjee.

Second Day.
 Council Reform,
 Babu Surendra
 Nath Banerjee.

But the educated community were left in the lurch. They were not thought worthy to be taken into confidence by the framers of the regulations. Yet they had worked for these reforms—they had made sacrifices for these reforms—Self-Government had been inscribed on their banner ever since the birth of the Congress. But now in the hour of victory (when the first step towards self-government was to be taken—a rudimentary step it is true—but none the less a real and definite step)—the educated community were treated as outsiders, as if in no way interested in the great issues, which they had hoped to bring within the range of practical politics. These regulations were conceived in secret, deliberated and resolved upon in secret, and when they were published they fell like a bolt from the blue upon a bewildered people. Sir, I will say this of all rulers—be they the wisest, the most farsighted and the most beneficent—that the monopoly of all wisdom is not theirs, that the days of monopoly are past and gone and they have much to learn from those whose affairs they have undertaken to guide and control. It is the disregard of this salutary but elementary principle which has led to the blunders that we so much deplore. (Hear, hear.)

THE DISQUALIFYING CLAUSES.

The disqualifying clauses are all new. I understand they are taken from the South African constitution. Nothing good can come from Gallilee—so said the enemies of Christianity, when Christ was born. Nothing good can come from South Africa—so say the friends of India to-day. For we remember the treatment, the insulting treatment, to which our countrymen are exposed in that part of the world. But South Africa has a self-governing constitution. When we have such a constitution, there will be time enough for us to think of these restrictions. We should have no objection to have the rough with the smooth, but why make us participators of the rough only—the restrictions without the boon of a self-governing constitution. Perhaps it will be said in justification of them that under the old Act the constituencies could only nominate but had not the final power of election—and that the Government could veto any nomination made by them. But now that for the first time the power of election is conferred, it is proper that it should be safeguarded by adequate precautionary provisions. Now so far as Bengal is concerned—and I presume what is true of Bengal is more or less true of the rest of India—there has not been a single case in which under the old Act a nomination made by a constituency has ever been vetoed by the Local Government. The popular constituencies have therefore been tried and not found wanting. Your popular constituencies under the new Act are the same. Why then not vest them with that absolute discretion in the election of their representatives to which they have established their title? Nay more, would it not have been enough, if indeed, it was thought necessary to reserve any authority to the Government in the matter—to vest the Head of the Government with the power to veto any election after recording the reasons therefor? If it be argued that that would be throwing a heavy responsibility on the Government, I would say in reply that our Governments are fully equal to that sort of responsibility,—they never scruple to rise to the height of their responsibility when the occasion requires (especially if it is a matter of repression) as in the case of Mr. Kelkar. That case, indeed, illustrates the abuse to which this discretionary power is liable in its exercise. I am always unwilling to refer to individual considerations. But I think I do no injustice to any one when I say that among the rulers of the great Indian Provinces, Sir George Clarke is one of the ablest and most sympathetic. But even a ruler of his stamp,—such is the demoralising influence of autocracy upon the finest minds—condemned Mr. Kelkar unheard. Mr. Kelkar prayed that he might be allowed the opportunity of offering an explanation. The pernicious doctrine of the settled fact of which we have had such painful experience was applied to Mr. Kelkar's disqualification. For a moment consider some of these disqualifications upon which you, Sir, dwelt yesterday with such eloquence and fullness of detail. A dismissed servant of Government is disqualified under these Rules. Your humble servant who stands before you is one of these dismissed servants. But my disqualification has been removed by the kindness and liberality of Sir Edward Baker, our respected Lieutenant-Governor. (Cheers.) Unfortunately I have

not been able to avail myself of this exemption. How can I enter the Council when so many of my comrades stand disqualified and outside that body, denied entrance into its holy precincts, and when the public sentiment of my countrymen would unhesitatingly condemn such a course on my part? A Government servant is either rightly or wrongly dismissed. If he is wrongly dismissed—and Governments are not infallible, though they may often claim that fatal gift—is it not adding insult to injury to disqualify him for life? Take again the case when he is rightly dismissed. Suppose he was dismissed when he was only a young man of immature years, by what code of ethics do you justify a perpetual ban, an everlasting stigma upon him through life? Surely a matter of this kind ought to be left to his constituents. Take again the case of a man who has been convicted of simple hurt which is punishable with six months' imprisonment. Wherein lies the moral delinquency of an offence like this which is to operate as a disqualification for life? There is no provision in the criminal law of the land more elastic, more liable to grave abuse than section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code. In the partitioned Province of Bengal where the administration is the most efficient and therefore the most demoralized, this provision of the law is the right arm of strength to the police in prosecuting and persecuting our Swadeshi workers. A man is bound down under this section sometimes wrongfully, and then he is declared disqualified to serve his country in the Legislative Councils.

Second Day.

Council Reform.
Babu Surrendra
Nath Banerjee.

REGULATIONS AND UNDESIRABLES.

Evidently the object of these regulations is to exclude undesirables and persons who may profess extreme opinions. If these gentlemen are prepared to take the oath of allegiance to the Sovereign which the rules rightly provide, ought not that to be sufficient for all purposes? Would it not, indeed, be wise and statesmanlike to afford every facility to men with these views to enter the Councils? There they will stand face to face with the difficulties and the awful complexities of administration; and the new experience is bound to have a moderating influence upon their opinions.

NON-OFFICIAL MAJORITY.

Sir, the most important feature of the Reform Scheme—that which made it so popular with us is the non-official majority in the Provincial Councils. Examined in the light of the regulations the non-official majority is more delusive than real and ineffective for all practical purposes. In every Province with the exception of Bengal, the nominated members outnumber the elected element in the Councils. Nowhere is the preponderance of the nominated element more marked than in the Panjab—there being only 5 elected members against 19 nominated members. Well, gentlemen, the nominated member owes his seat to the favour of the Government. To the Government he must look forward for the renewal of his trust. It is not in human nature to oppose the Government when one is placed in position of favour and obligation, and the lessons of experience completely confirm this view. For eight long years I have had close and intimate knowledge of the working of the Bengal Legislative Council, and as the result of my experience, I will say this—that with one exception I never found a nominated member voting against the Government. So long as the elected element is in a minority the officials will always command a majority, and the official view will prevail. In Bengal, thanks to the liberality of Sir Edward Baker, we have 26 elected as against 22 nominated members. But if you examine the matter a little closely, you will find that even here the officials will have a majority. Of the 26 elected members, three will be returned by the representatives of European trade and commerce. In all crucial matters, in all controversies between the Government and the people, they will range themselves on the official side. That has been their policy in the past. We do no injustice in assuming that that will be their policy in the future. With these elected members on the Government side—with the Lieutenant-Governor and his casting vote—not to speak of stray elected members who would like to stand well with the authorities, there will even be in the Bengal Legislative Council an official majority in all important questions. Thus it will be seen that the non-official majority means little or nothing, that it will not strengthen the popular voice in

Second Day.

Council Reform.
Babu Surrendra
Nath Banerjee.

the enlarged Councils and that in all crucial questions the official view will prevail.

THE MAHOMEDAN SPECIAL ELECTORATES.

One word more about the special electorates for the Mahomedan community and I have finished. In this Congress and in our public efforts we recognise no distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans. On this Congress platform Hindus and Mahomedans have stood side by side, fighting the constitutional battles of the country. God grant that they long continue to do so until the victory is theirs. We recognise the truth of the memorable saying of Sir Syed Ahmed uttered in this city "the Hindus and Mahomedans are like the two eyes of a fair maiden—if you injure the one you injure the other." There has all along been a complete identity of political interests between the two communities. We therefore deplore these separate electorates which will create differences where there are none, accentuate them where there are any. Religion ought neither to be a qualification nor a disqualification. There ought to be no political *jezzia* levied upon the Hindus. Preferential treatment based upon religion is in entire conflict with the gracious message of our Sovereign and the immemorial traditions of British rule in India. The majestic impartiality of British rule in dealing with class and class and creed and creed has been its strongest bulwark, its highest title to the gratitude of the people. All this is now cast to the winds in the regulations which we are discussing. The Government of India in reply to the letter of the Hindu Sabha of this city said that the interests of minorities would be carefully protected. Not the least shadow of protection has been accorded to minorities when they happened to be non-Moslem. The Hindu community in this Province are in a minority. Is there any special electorate for them? The Hindu community in the new partitioned province of Bengal are in a minority. The Government goes out of its way to create a special electorate for the Mahomedans who are in an overwhelming majority. The Trustees of the Mahomedan Aligarh College are permitted to vote for members to the Provincial and Imperial Councils, but the privilege is not conferred on the Trustees of the D. A.-V. College of this city nor on those of the Hindu College at Benares.

CONCLUSION.

I will not prolong this unhappy discussion. A sense of profound dissatisfaction fills our hearts. We deplore that the Government should have thrown away such a golden opportunity for popular conciliation, for allaying in some measure at least that feeling of deep and widespread unrest which in the best of circumstances and even in the case of an omnipotent Government, such as ours is, must prove a source of serious administrative embarrassment. Think of the impression which would have been created on the better mind of India—and the better mind of India must eventually rule all other minds—if on the 15th November when the proclamation was issued creating the new Councils, the deportees were released—if Krishna Kumar Mitra and Aswini Kumar Dutt and their comrades in misfortune were restored back to the bosom of their families. Think of the impression which would have been created if the Regulations were framed, less in the spirit of partisanship and more in the spirit of liberality and progress, and if they displayed a genuine effort to associate the representatives of the people irrespective of creed or religion in the every-day task of administration. But alas! these are matters of the past; let us not indulge in unavailing regrets. An evil genius seems to preside over the destinies of our motherland, blasting our hopes at the very moment of fruition. We are, indeed, fallen upon evil times and upon evil tongues, and by darkness and dangers compassed round. But we must possess our souls in patience, working in hope and faith—in the firm confidence that the darkest midnight is often the precursor of the brightest day and holds concealed in its bosom the streaks of the dawn, the herald of light and joy. Let us see to it that in the depths of our desperation we do not forget the immemorial traditions of our race or renounce the unalterable faith which is ours in the ultimate triumph of constitutional and righteous means for the attainment of national regeneration. Righteousness exalteth nations, wrong-doing debaseth them. These words are written in characters of light in the ineffaceable pages

of history by the finger of Divine Providence. Unhappily now there is a mighty wave of lawlessness, of world-wide comprehension, sweeping through the heart of humanity. Russia and Korea, Spain and America have felt the baneful impact of this contaminating wave. Let us keep this sacred land of ours—the divine *Aryavarta* of old—the land of the *Rishis* where in the morning of the world they sang the praises of God and proclaimed good-will to all men—Oh! let us keep this land which we so dearly love, so renowned in history and tradition, the home of the noblest ethical conceptions, the cradle of two great religions of the world—let us keep this land free from the pestilential blight of anarchical principles. (Cheers.)

Above all let us close our ranks, forget our differences, embrace each other as brothers working upon those constitutional lines which sooner or later—sooner rather than later—for the world is moving with an irresistible impulse towards progress—will bring us to within a measurable distance of the destined goal of our aspirations—self-government—self-government within the Empire—for the multitudinous races and peoples of India. Then will the glories of the *Aryavarta* of the past be re-established in the *Aryavarta* of the future and then will our beloved motherland realize the high destinies in store for her in the dispensations of Divine Providence. (Prolonged cheers.)

2. DEWAN BAHADUR L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA AIYAR OF MADRAS:—
Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to second the resolution so ably moved by Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee. Lord Morley in his despatch to the Government of India stated that the first principle which has to be secured in the carrying into effect of the Reform Scheme was that the election of those who are to serve in the Legislative Councils was to be by the wishes of the people and that that should be the ultimate object to be obtained. He also insisted that the purpose of the scheme should be so effectuated as to secure that the people of India do really and effectively associate themselves with the work of the Government not merely in the occasional legislation of Government but in the every day work of the administration. He objected to the principle of plural votes and insisted on non-official majority in the Provincial Legislative Council. It is because we feel that the Rules and Regulations which have been passed in pursuance of the Act, which owes its existence to this despatch of Lord Morley, do not seek to effectuate these principles and objects, that the resolution which has been so forcibly moved by Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee has been placed before you for your acceptance. Ladies and gentlemen, perhaps, a discussion of this matter might be best advanced by each one of the speakers pointing out particular instances wherein these objects which as I said were required by Lord Morley to be kept in view in the passing of the Rules and Regulations, have not been given effect to. I come from Madras and I am naturally more familiar with the Rules and Regulations as applicable to Madras than to any other province. Because I find the same defects, the same inequality, the same mischievous features are present in the rules in Madras, as they are in other provinces, I take the liberty of placing before you a few facts relating to the Madras Presidency. Ladies and gentlemen, according to the original proposals that have been made, the strength of the Madras Legislative Council was to have been 47 members inclusive of the Governor. Of these, it was proposed that 20 should be officials and four others should be nominated by Government. Of those, who are not to be nominated, 19 were to be elected, the other four were to constitute the Executive Council, including the Governor and the Advocate-General. The strength of the Council, as ultimately accepted, is to be 48. The same number of elected representatives are to be there namely, 19. But of those who have to be nominated, instead of 20 being officials as originally proposed 16 alone have to be officials so that you will observe that four of those who were originally proposed to be officials were no longer required to be officials, and if Government thought originally that the interests of minorities and the experts would be best satisfied by allowing the Government to nominate only four, no fresh circumstances have come into existence or have come to light which necessitated that number being increased to 9. What we find now is that instead of original 20 officials being nominated by Government only 16 are to be nominated but instead of four alone to be nominated

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Babu Surrendra
Nath Banerjee.

Dewan Bahadur
L. A. Govindara-
ghava Aiyar.

Second Day.
 Reform Scheme.
 Dewan Bahadur
 L. A. Govindaram-
 ghava Aiyar.

other than officials who are to represent the minorities and from whom are to come the experts we have nine persons inclusive of two experts who are to be nominated by the Governor. Gentlemen, you are aware that Lord Morley in his despatch had very rightly insisted, if I may say so, upon the importance of those who have been elected feeling that they owe their seats in the Council not to nomination by the Governor by any recommendation, however authoritative it may be, but to election by the people, so that they can assert their rights to take their seats on the Council not merely as a matter of grace but as a right which may be exercised against everybody, be he the highest in the land. If there is force in that point, then the fact that the Governor has to nominate 9 persons has its own meaning. It shows that in one way or other those who owe their seats in the Council to nomination by the Governor, must of necessity feel themselves bound by ties and considerations which it ought not to be the principle of anybody who wants to work for his country irrespective of the frowns and smiles of the powers that be. The consequence, therefore, is that although it is stated that there is a non-official majority secured, in reality, it is not so. The position becomes even worse, for, you are told that out of 19 representatives, two are members who are to represent the planting community and the European Chamber of Commerce. In Madras also, we have the same experience which Bengal has. I am yet to know any measure which does not directly concern the planting community or the Chamber of Commerce, in which the members who belong to either of these bodies have ever voted with the representatives of the people. Practically therefore excepting where measures brought forward for the consideration of the Legislative Council are such as affect the particular interest of these two bodies these are as much Government members as any of the other official members. In these circumstances to say that a non-official majority has been secured in the province of Madras, as it is stated to have been in the other provinces, is nothing but a travesty of truth. Gentlemen, you are aware that it was in no light-hearted manner that Lord Morley has approved of the principle of non-official majorities in the Provincial Legislative Councils. He was satisfied that when different interests had to be represented in the Councils any measure of Government, which does not appeal really to those various interests must be bad. It was therefore that he was satisfied that when a non-official majority did condemn a measure there must be something in it which was bad. It is not that Lord Morley at any rate when the despatch was sent by him, could have contemplated that persons appointed to the Council will be merely supporting the measures of Government without bringing to bear upon the measures that full and mature consideration which an act of legislation requires. That is one feature of the Rules and Regulations to which we take objection. There is another feature which I believe is equally mischievous and that is the undue and preponderant representation that is given to particular sections. Here, unfortunately, I am sorry I have to travel upon a ground which I would like to avoid. But in the interests of the country as a whole and in the interests of securing the satisfaction of the Government in this country, it is necessary that we should speak out our minds plainly and without reserve and tell the Government that the very measures by which they seek to conciliate one class will have the effect of alienating the sympathy of other classes. Whatever may be the dynamic force of a particular community you may depend upon it that if all the other communities have a common cause of grievance their dynamic forces might gather volume so that Government will find it a power to contend against. It is for the purpose of avoiding this unpleasant situation on the part of Government and preventing them, if possible, from getting into danger that they have recognised that we have to point out to them the plain truth of the effect of the regulations that have been passed. Here again I shall turn to my own province. We find that so far as our Mahomedan brethren are concerned a very low property qualification is considered sufficient. The graduates of the University of Madras are having a franchise, but the same considerations do not apply to the other members of the community. Where in the case of landholders other than zamindars they must be persons owning estate with an income of Rs. 3,000, in the case of Mahomedan members an income of Rs. 500 from the estates they own and an

income of Rs. 2,000 which is the income on which income-tax is levied are considered to be sufficient to entitle them to the franchise. This marked inequality does not require any comment from me. The consequence is that whereas so far as landholders are concerned you have only a hundred, you have about 400 Mahomedans who could exercise the franchise. You will also note that so far as non-Moslem subjects in the Madras Presidency are concerned no amount of income-tax can entitle them to be elected. It does not need any words from me to point out to you the palpable absurdity of this position. Then you must remember the condition of their taking part in the general election. In Madras we have already shown we have no particular antipathy to our Moslem brother subjects of His Majesty. One of those seats which are reserved for the general electorates of district and taluk boards is now being filled by a Mahomedan gentlemen. In these circumstances you will notice gentlemen that there is very little warrant indeed for this differential treatment you find between the Moslem and non-Moslem portions of His Majesty's subjects in Madras. If you again take into consideration the population even there you will find that it is otherwise. Mahomedans have two seats whereas general electors have 8 seats on Municipalities and District Boards. What is the percentage of the population of Mahomedans? It is about one sixteenth so that you see they have four times as much advantage over the rest of the people of the Madras Presidency in this matter of having their representation in the Council. Gentlemen, the unreasonable restrictions and disqualifications which are embodied in these regulations have already been adverted to. There is one other feature of these regulations which I believe is a feature which requires special condemnation. You are aware that it has been acknowledged on all hands that if a new reform scheme was considered necessary it was on account of the growth and advance of education. The spread of education and the expanding consciousness of the people that they have rights and their desire to exercise them. All this is due to the work of the educated classes. If the reform scheme is considered justifiable on account of what has been done by the educated classes what warrant is there for that policy of distrust which permeates the whole of the regulations and which you will see is being given very practical effect to by the educated classes, as such, having few seats in the Legislative Council. It is this same spirit, that you find running through the whole of the regulations, that to me appears to be a more serious matter than the very regulations themselves because it shows that not merely now but even in the near future it is impossible for the educated classes to continue to do good work which the Government have acknowledged and to whose good work is due the fact that a reform scheme is considered necessary. We are told by no less a personage than His Excellency the Viceroy that we ought not to enter into an academic discussion of these rules and regulations now. The conduct of the educated community in the past and what has been done in the Congress in the past year, the previous year, and before that will go to show that the educated community as such is in no mood to enter into an academic discussion now. They are only too ready to acknowledge the good intentions of Government and too ready and willing to associate themselves in any work that the Government can undertake for the purpose of seeing that their beneficent measures are given practical effect to. If we adopt this resolution it is not in a spirit of carping criticism, not in a spirit of fault finding, but it is because we feel that the defects which are observable in these rules and regulations, are so patent and obtrusive and so certain to commit mischief that we think it right in consideration of our duty as subjects of His Majesty to point out to Government what we feel in this matter, so that the Government may repair the errors early enough and so that the discontent engendered by the rules and regulations may not spread, so as to become a source of menace and danger to the peace of the country, as a whole. These are a few of the reasons by way of which I beg to commend this resolution to your acceptance.

4. MR. HARICHANDRAI VISHANDAS (SINDH).—The subject is too vast for being done justice to in the course of a Congress speech with all the limitations imposed. I would, therefore, with your permission only touch upon an aspect or two of the question. Gentlemen, the Hallelujahs that were sung in chorus in the last Congress in praise of the reform scheme have turned out to be a little too previous. Our leaders gave their benedic-

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Dewan Bahadur
L. A. Govindara-
ghava Aiyar.

Mr. Harichandra
Vishandas.

second Day.
 Reform Scheme.
 Mr. Harichandrai
 Vishandas.

tions to this scheme as being in advance of their most sanguine expectations, and those songs have turned out to be premature. We have been neatly sold and done in the eye. The reform scheme has turned out to be what we call *kath ka lada* or what in English is called "Dead Sea apples"—goodly to behold but dust and ashes within. But what is at the bottom of this mischief? You remember one thing; if you were able to closely and carefully watch the tactics that our opponents, the bureaucrats, adopted when the reform scheme was first announced you will have found that they also sang praises of them but they kept their trump cards up their sleeves. Just as they have been trying to obstruct all our movements and progress by playing that trump card it appears now they had their trump card even at that moment. That trump card is this; they appealed to the selfishness of certain members of a certain community and thereby have succeeded in hoodwinking Lord Morley and Lord Minto and putting a brake upon our advance which has in a sense rendered all the good that we originally expected from this reform scheme absolutely nugatory and a dead letter. Gentlemen, you know what I mean. I mean the bureaucrat and the Anglo-Indian press as their supporters and organs and exponents have put up Mahomedans to raise a hue and cry that they are entitled to a separate and special election. If we go to the root of this question, if we go to the history of this separation we find a matter of fact that no such occasion for separation between Hindus and Mahomedans existed at all. I remember distinctly a certain occasion before this split when a deputation from Sindh came to Bombay to present a farewell address to Lord Ripon on his departure and when a Mahomedan of great position described to our leaders the more cordial relations that existed between Hindus and Mahomedans. Rai Sahib Vishdanath Narayan Mandlik was said to have gone about from place to place and collected subscriptions from all leading Hindus for the Mahomedan Madrasa in Bombay. When inquiring into this question of separation of Mahomedans and Hindus—I will with your permission make a digression, Sindh is a province wherein the Mahomedan population preponderates the Hindus to a much larger degree than it does in the Punjab or Eastern Bengal where there is a majority of Mahomedans. Therefore when I speak of the Mahomedan question provincially I speak with authority. In Sindh the total population is 32 lakhs, of which Mahomedans constitute 24 lakhs and Hindus only 7 lakhs and a little over. When we begin to discuss this question of Hindus and Mahomedans we do not feel the occasion for separation. It is only 10 or 12 people who have some object in getting Government appointments who benefit by it. We, Hindus and Mahomedans, have been living side by side attending each other's festivals and funerals and other social functions. What do the bureaucrats do? They appeal to the selfish instincts of the upper few some 5 or 10. They look to their own appointments, to their own privileges and that is how ruytion comes. As a matter of fact, gentlemen, although there may be no grievance and no real cause for separation, when you give a man to understand that he has a grievance, he begins to think that he has really got one. What does it come to after all? All sober-minded Mahomedans come to the conclusion that in the long run this separation between their interests and those of the Hindus is likely to result in a good deal of mischief to them rather than good. Whatever good is being pointed out is only temporary. Let us closely examine what are the reasons adduced for the special treatment of Mahomedans? The reasons ostensibly put forward and publicly urged as the ground for giving a separate and preponderant representation are three. One is dynamic force; the other, political importance and the third the gate-keepers of India. The dynamic force is so indefinite that I cannot make head or tail of it. I must therefore leave it severely alone. Coming to political importance let us examine what constitutes political importance. The only political importance that we have had audible representation of late has been shadowed forth in the complaint that Mahomedans find themselves backward in education because they have not had sufficient means of receiving the same amount of education that the Hindus have. The question has been discussed very often in newspapers and thoroughly threshed out and if you take into consideration as the criterion of political importance people who were the latest rulers of India at the time of British conquest, a most central peg on which the claim has been hung, then also the

claim will be found to be without any legs, because almost everywhere Hindus were the rulers of India before the British. Take it from any other point of view, I do not see that the political importance and interests of the Mahomedans are any way superior to those of the Hindus. How are the Mahomedans gate-keepers of India? I have heard often times accounts of dacoities and raids being committed at Peshawar and Rawalpindi, the gates of India. I have heard accounts of Gaziisms practised in the frontier, but so far as the gate-keeper theory of India is concerned, I think it is the Sikhs who are the gate-keepers of India. So when we come to examine these three grounds for special consideration they all fall to the ground. Let us see by what means by what particular class of opinion this separate and special representation is supported. But before I go to that question it is necessary for me to follow the example of the previous speaker that it is our duty to give our experience of our own provinces. In my own case that point was taken up and explained by Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee. Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee has told you that although Eastern Bengal and the Punjab contain a majority of Mahomedans still the principle of representation by minorities was not adopted there. Following that principle special electorates should have been given to Hindus. Instead they were given to Mahomedans. The same is the case in Sindh. The Mahomedans there constitute four-fifth of the population and Hindus only one-fifth. No special representative was given to Hindus. On the contrary, the Mahomedans made an application to Government to give them special representation on the grounds that one seat was said to be unsafe. Let me tell you what was the matter with this seat. That was the seat of the Local Boards. In practice it was found that altogether 35 delegates were elected to the District Boards. Each and every District and Local Board was allotted a certain number of delegates in proportion to its population and to its importance and the total came to 35 for the whole. Now remember 33 were Mahomedans and only 2 Hindus were the delegates elected. Still the Mahomedans went to Government and said that a District Board's seat was unsafe and that they therefore applied that special representation should be given to them. That was rather knocked on the head because at the proper moment Government came to their senses and did not give special representation. We have an illustration of another point that has been made on this question, both in the President's address and in the address of Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee. As it has been put forward by the bureaucrats that Mahomedans have got special representation and that these seats are specially reserved for Mahomedans, the result is that Mahomedans always think that they must send their own men whether good, bad or indifferent and throw out Hindus. If this thing had not been put before them, any fit person, a Hindu or any fit Mahomedan would have been sent irrespective of the majority. A gentleman has been elected by 33 Mahomedans who does not know English. 2 English-knowing Hindu gentlemen of great standing, great experience and great learning have been thrown out each one of them getting only one of the two votes of the Hindu delegates. What has been the result? We do not have properly qualified men. We have a Mahomedan who does not know English at all. We thought that this would be remedied, but my breath was completely taken away when I heard from the President that Government in his Province as a matter of fact have nominated a non-English knowing man. It seems that Government is privy to this. When Government are themselves privy to this how can you expect co-operation? Government say that people should co-operate with them. How can you co-operate with them when they appoint men simply as figureheads? By means of what opinion is this separate electorate supported? Among the gentlemen who are said to give their opinion authoritatively on the question of Mahomedan separate electorates there is His Highness the Agha Khan. Without being personal and offensive I am perfectly entitled to say that His Highness does not really represent Mahomedan opinion. I am obliged to make this remark because His Highness is in season and out of season being advertised by the *Times of India* as representing Mahomedan opinion. I know it from personal observation and knowledge that His Highness is the leader of the Khojas. Not only their leader but they consider him as their divinity, as their Avatar. As a corollary of this article of faith of the Khojas it is a part of their creed not to say prayers,

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Mr. Harichandrai
Vishandas.

Second Day. not to do Haj, not to fast. Their scripture says; "Haj, Roza, Nimaz, kuchh kaam na avey." They are not Mahomedans. As a result of that if a Khoja adopts any Mahomedan ritual he is in danger of being murdered. I tell you gentlemen that when you find any such person coming forward and posing as a representative of the Mahomedans you must take what he says with a grain of salt and the advertisement that the *Times of India* gives must be taken also with a grain of salt. I remember the story of a man who went to a painter and asked him to paint a portrait of his father. The painter said to the man "Bring your father here;" the man replied "My father is dead." The painter said "Then how do you expect me to paint his portrait." The man said "You have drawn up portraits of Jesus, Adam, and Moses who were all dead. (Laughter). The painter said "Very good you had better come after a fortnight." When the man came after a fortnight and the painter showed him a portrait he said "Oh, how vastly changed my father is since he died." So when you see the genuine article landing on the 31st of this month you will see how vastly it is changed from the advertised article of the *Times of India*. (Cheers.)

Mr. Sayed Hasan
Imam.

4. MR. SAYED HASAN OF BEHAR IN SUPPORTING SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, last year when we were all in Madras, the Reforms having been announced a short time before the meeting of the Congress, we were jubilating over the tidings that had been received. I was personally extremely sceptical of the extent of the Reforms. On the other hand, at Madras in the course of private conversation with some of our political leaders I expressed my conviction that the promised Reforms merely raised hopes in our breasts that would ultimately be frustrated. The Regulations as they have been framed have more than justified the conviction, that then lay in my mind. [I have always been against the separate electorates; I have always been against the representation of communities; I have always been against special electorates of any kind whatsoever. (Hear, hear). I feel that such of us as have asked for separate electorates or even for separate representation have missed the opportunities that had been presented to them for united action amongst us.] (Cheers). Gentlemen, the Reforms have been discussed at great length all over the country. I have no desire to detain you; I have only to express to you what my own convictions have been and with these few words I support the resolution that has been proposed by my illustrious and valued friend Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee.

Hon'ble Munshi
Ganga Prasad.

5. HON'BLE MUNSHI GANGA PRASAD VARMA'S SPEECH.—Hon'ble Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma in supporting the Resolution said:—

I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution so ably moved and seconded. I associate myself heartily with the terms of the resolution which gives expression to the feelings entertained by educated Indians in all parts of the country. In December last when the original scheme of Lord Morley was published, the United Provinces along with the rest of India hailed it with delight. We had special reasons for feeling satisfied with the scheme because it differed materially from the one framed by our local Government which by the way had not been received with any feelings of satisfaction. Of the few notabilities consulted by the Government some did not agree with the main features of Sir John Hewett's scheme. The allotment of 20 seats in the Council given to the non-official community was not approved. The scheme of class representation by separate electorates was more or less strongly condemned by all the Hindus invited to express their individual opinions and the organs of public opinions representing the Hindu community adversely criticized its details. When Lord Morley's original scheme was published, people were led to believe that their wishes had been consulted and that the obnoxious features of class representation had been removed. Lord Morley's speech of December last, led us to believe that whatever the Government of India may do, the Hindu public opinion will not be insulted or humiliated and no iron wall will be permitted to be erected between the two communities of India. But as misfortune would have it every step taken by the Government for the political advancement of the people has been accompanied by some retrograde measure. Lord Morley had soon to give way to the agitation started and manœuvred by Anglo-Indians, with some Mahomedans as their allies and tools in India in.

December last. I will not detain you by telling how this agitation in the United Provinces grew in volume and how it proved successful. I do not believe that it was without a deal of wire-pulling. It matters little whether the wires were pulled from here or from England. We in the United Provinces have not yet ceased to wonder at the spectacle of big zemindars, titular Rajas and Nawabs converted into political agitators, men who would not open their mouth to criticize any measure injuriously affecting the general welfare of the people were quite up in arms against Lord Morley and his scheme. Threats of strike were held out in loyalty meetings; insinuations were made; and all sorts of motives were attributed to Hindus. Men who would have shuddered to utter a word of protest in the presence of the Collector of the district against any measure injurious to their interest did not hesitate to speak in disrespectful terms of the Government. I refuse to believe that this agitation prevailed because it was well organised and had the entire sympathy of the Mahomedan community at its back, but because it was influentially backed up in the highest quarters. From the very beginning an exaggerated and undue importance was attached to the cry of a two-year old political infant which has been denied by Indian Bureaucracy to the mature and modest claims of old and tried political institutions. In taking up an aggressive anti-Hindu attitude the Moslem leaguers must have been convinced that however intolerant their attitude might be, however unjust their insinuations, they will not be taken to task for them. They had no fear of Section 153 of the Indian Penal Code. The Anglo-Indian Press which was very eager to take advantage of the least little mistake of the Hindus was indulgent to the pretensions of the Moslem League. Even the Government of the United Provinces have rendered every possible help to give the reform scheme a fair trial, but I think that now that the first elections have been completed, I can say that Hindu public opinion in no way feels reconciled to the results of these elections and that all sections even of the Mahomedans are far from being satisfied. The supporters of the Moslem League are gratified that they have got both excessive representation and separate electorates. They are, however, dissatisfied because the Government in framing the regulations should have created a counterpoise to the educated Mahomedans in the separate electorate by placing all retired military Jemadars and Daffadars in the electoral lists. What does Sheikh Ghasita, hardly having an income of Rs. 300 a year with no education, understand about the niceties of the Council elections, why should he be considered a fitter person to vote than even a Mahomedan Barrister-at-Law of 10 years' standing.

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Hon'ble Munshi
Ganga Prasad.

Speaking of the Hindu public opinion, I shall tell you a few of the reasons of its dissatisfaction. Our Council consists of 48 members, including the Lieutenant-Governor. Of these 26 are non-officials, 20 have been elected and 6 nominated. I will not give you here the popular opinion about the nomination of dignitaries like His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and the Maharaja of Benares, but I will say this much that the Hindu population of United Provinces cannot feel satisfied with an arrangement which gives it only 13 out of 20 or 16 out of 26 seats. The Hindus form the bulk of the population. They are 86 per cent. of the population. Judged by their wealth, education and public spirit they hold a strong position in accordance with their Municipal strength and hence they do not see why in the name of justice and fairness they should be made to content themselves with only 60 per cent. of representation in the Imperial Council. Is the arrangement which gives to 86 per cent. of the population, 60 per cent. of representation and to 14 per cent. 33 per cent. of representation in the Provincial and 50 per cent. in the Imperial for no merit of its own but simply because of difference of religion ever likely to make it acceptable to the bulk of the population. Numbers alone are by no means their only grievance. It is the constitution of electorates also. While separate electorates even with Sheikh Ghasita and Jumman made it impossible for any but well educated Mahomedans to aspire for seats in the Provincial Council and hence I must congratulate the Mahomedan electorates of the United Provinces on their returning members who are likely to prove representatives of their co-religionists, the same cannot be said of the representatives of mixed electorates. The land-owning classes of the United Provinces will be represented by a gentleman in the Imperial Council for whom I have personal regard but who, if the unpleasant truth

Second Day.
 Reform Scheme,
 Hon'ble Mounshi
 Ganga Prasad.

must be told, will not be able to follow the proceedings of the Council which are conducted in a language of which he is quite innocent. One of the most important and populous divisions of Oudh will be represented in the Provincial Council by a highly estimable gentleman but who will be quite unaware of what will be going on in the Council Chamber under his very nose. All this has been possible because the electorate was narrow and limited, confined to Government or semi-Government institutions. While in all parts of India the Municipalities were formed in separate groups for the purposes of election, in the United Provinces the Municipalities and the District Boards have been lumped together with the result that the delegates of the District Boards were in the majority and those of the Municipality in the minority; so that except in the case of two divisions all the six divisional seats have gone to that very class, *i.e.*, zemindars whom the Government are so anxious to have. No better results could be expected from constituencies which owe their very existence to the sweet will of the head of the district. What are our District Boards if not nominated bodies. The Government of India, which has assured us again and again of its impartiality and which rebuked the Hindu Sabha of Lahore for its audacity to question its fair-mindedness, was ever indulgent towards the League. It refused to take the Provincial Madras Congress Committee into its confidence in the matter of the Regulations. Representatives of the Muslim League were, however, invited to go all the way to Simla and through them the Mahomedan public was invited to express its opinion about the nature of Mahomedan representation. This eagerness to consult one community and to ignore the earnest wishes of the other led the non-Moslems to infer that if there was any party which had to be reconciled it was the Muslim League and beyond it there was no other interest which had to be consulted in framing the Regulations. This treatment, this slight on the Hindus, naturally created a feeling of distrust in the public mind and when the Regulations first saw the light of the day they were met with a chorus of strong condemnation. I have not yet met a single Hindu in the United Provinces who has got the capability to form his own opinion in these matters, who has not expressed his feeling of deep disappointment, who does not believe that the Government has flouted Hindu public opinion, what for but to practically defeat the very objects of the Reform Scheme. The Hindus are not at all jealous of their Mahomedan fellow countrymen but they do feel that the Government of India has humiliated them by branding them with inferiority. Anglo-Indian writers may treat this annoyance of the Hindus with indifference. Birds of passage may chuckle at the discomfiture of the Hindus; but it means a serious state of things for those who believe that at this juncture nothing is likely to prove more disastrous to the peace and progress of the country than this feeling of alienation, this estrangement between the responsible rulers of the land and a large section of the community. While Mahomedan meetings have been held in all parts of the country to thank the Government of India for what has been given to them, the Hindu public opinion has assumed an attitude of strong disapproval. The sullenness may be treated with indifference or even contempt, but the fact remains that the Hindus do feel that the Government of India has been guilty of committing a great political blunder, the consequence of which might be very grave indeed. Their electorates consist of zemindars who have at the beginning of the year been nominated as electors by the Tehsildar in the name of the Collector of the District. Their number is fixed by the Sub-Divisional Officer which may not be less than 50 or more than 100 for every Tehsil. A Hindu zemindar or a trader who does not reside within the Municipal limits though he may pay a large amount of Government revenue or income-tax can as a matter of right claim to be a voter of the District Board. If he is considered an undesirable person his name can be removed from the electoral roll. As to the Municipal Boards they are not entirely elective bodies. The Collectors of the districts have one-third number of nominees on each Board and if the Collector so wishes he can turn the scale of every election not by directing his nominees to vote on one side or the other but by simply expressing his private opinion as to the amount of his confidence enjoyed by the rival candidates. It is only natural that the Collector's nominees should vote for the person who is, or likely to be, more in the Collector's good books. That in the last election no complaints were made regarding any interference on the part

of the District Magistrates is highly creditable to them; but with the proper use of larger power given to the members with the growth of public opinion, with the desire that the peoples' representatives in the Councils should conduct themselves with thorough independence and fearlessness, and at times they make themselves unpopular with the heads of the district, there can be no guarantee that the District Magistrates will be able to keep themselves always impartial. From the working of the reformed regulations in the United Provinces, at least one thing is as clear as the noonday sun, *viz.*, that as long as District and Municipal Boards continue to form a joint electorate, there is no hope that the middle-class educated Indian who does not own land will get much chance of success in the elections, and this number will be limited to 3 or 4 persons. So long as the electorate is confined to these institutions the council will continue to be the happy hunting-ground of those very classes whose interests have been specially protected by special electorates and over-representation.

Second Day.
 Reform Scheme.
 Hon'ble Munsifi
 Ganga Prasad.

The effect of the regulations in the election of members to the Imperial Council will be highly prejudicial to Hindu interests. The United Provinces Council has been asked to elect 2 members for the Imperial Council. Now, if all the 16 councillors were to combine to send 2 representatives they cannot succeed against the combined voting of the Mahomedans. The voting strength of the non-official members is 52, of these 16 votes belong to Mahomedans, 4 to Europeans, and 32 to Hindus. If the Europeans were to be so impartial as to divide their votes equally between the Hindu and Mahomedan candidates, the Mahomedan candidate with the support of 16 Mahomedan and 2 European votes will head the list and two Hindu candidates even with two European votes shall not have more than 17 votes each. Thus of the 4 seats given to the people of the United Provinces, the Hindus cannot have more than 2 seats or, in other words, 1 seat to a useful and English-knowing member, the other seat, owing to the peculiarity of constitutions, has gone to a non-effective member.

Gentlemen, with all these facts before you, can you for a moment have any difficulty in understanding the feeling of keen disappointment of the Hindus of the United Provinces. They may be found here and there expressing satisfaction at the result of the contest, but this is merely on personal grounds with the feeling that even under most adverse circumstances the popular party could snatch a few seats. Among many things said to the disadvantage of the average Hindu is his keenness of intellect, and it requires no special pleading to show that the United Provinces Hindu feels the humiliation of being branded as an inferior person. He feels that he has been insulted because of his religion, and this feeling is no more confined to the minority of educated classes. It has gone deep to the heart of the people. I do not for one moment believe that this is the result of any deep-laid policy—perhaps it may be due to the accidental combination of certain circumstances. The scheme which has been worked has been described as a tentative scheme. People have made a hearty response to the wishes of Lord Minto expressed the other day at Madras. It now behoves the Government of India to so revise the regulations as to remove from it the sting, in order to make the non-Moslems as enthusiastic as the Moslem appears to be and thus try to remove that iron wall which has been constructed by the Regulations between the two great communities. Let the curse which has been mixed with the blessing be separated and removed, and the two great communities instead of being made to feel that their salvation lies in separately working out their destiny, each for itself, should learn to work together for a common goal, namely, the progress and prosperity of the common motherland.

6. MR. J. B. PETIT OF BOMBAY IN FURTHER SUPPORTING THE RESOLUTION SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition that has just been laid before you. About this time last year when the celebrated Reform Despatch of Lord Morley was just published the Congress was foremost in coming forward to welcome it most enthusiastically as a statesmanlike and honest attempt towards the association of the people with the affairs of their own country. But now that the Rules and Regulations have been published—Rules and Regulations which have to a very great extent narrowed the scope

Mr. J. B. Pet t.

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Mr. J. B. Petit.

of the proposals which were intended to be brought into effect and also marred the very extensive and beneficial objects underlying the Reforms—the Congress feels bound to declare itself openly and frankly in terms that should not be misunderstood. The previous speakers have already dilated upon the many aspects of the Rules and Regulations. I shall therefore with your permission only confine myself to the introduction of communal representation and elections on the basis of religion. It is impossible to speak of these Regulations without feelings of despair and disappointment. (Hear, hear). It is to be deplored that it was found impossible to give effect to the Reforms without bringing into existence class differences and religious distinctions; now that they have been given effect to it is impossible to conceive how the Government can possibly ignore the representations of other important minorities in the country for similar concessions. They have to select either between giving justice to all the communities equally or between showing differential treatment to one community to the exclusion of other communities. (Hear, hear). And such a treatment is bound to result in religious differences and racial hatred which a Government like the British Government ought to be the last to encourage and foster. However we have got to face the situation as it is before us. All the same we cannot help deploring that our Mahomedan friends have got these, not because there was a feeling amongst them for class representation and elections on religious basis but because they happened to be backed up by our eternal friends the Anglo-Indians, who for purposes of their own, engineered the whole movement from beginning to end with the result that we now see ourselves face to face with religious differences. It is not difficult to conceive where we shall be led by these. It is unfair to other minorities. The same differential treatment should be given to them if it is to be given to one community. Ladies and gentlemen, in Bombay we find that the result of this system has produced one principal incident; it is that out of 48 seats in the Bombay Council about 9 Mahomedans have been returned, whereas by the cumulative votes brought into existence they can send at least two Mahomedans to the Viceregal Council. But men like Mr. Gokhale find it difficult to be returned to the Viceregal Council. What shall we think or say of a system that should make it impossible for men like Mr. Gokhale to be returned to the Viceregal Council when Mahomedans of ordinary attainments find it most easy to get into the Viceregal Council. It is for these reasons that we are here to condemn the system and I hope you will accept the proposition in unequivocal terms.

Mr. Rajpal of the Punjab next addressed the Congress in Urdu.

Mr. Kane.

7. MR. KANE OF BERAR IN FURTHER SUPPORTING SAID :—Gentlemen, I will quote to you a sloke from the Great King-Poet Bhartrihari who distinctly tells us that to seek authority only inferior to the king is our birthright. (Cheers and loud applause.) The sloke or verse runs as follows :—

*Agia kirti pulnan brahmananan danan bhogo mitarsarakhshim cha.
Yeshamete shathguna na pravridhah koyeshateshan pariyivopashcharien.*

I will translate this for the edification of those who do not know Sanskrit. "In addition to the protection of person and property the support of the King is sought by the subject to enable him to get supreme authority only inferior to the King himself and to enable him to secure him high renown in the world and also to enable him again to secure the well-being of the teachers of mankind. It also enables him to give charities as he likes, to enjoy the fruits of peace and good Government and lastly enables him to secure freedom of speech and of action for the protection of his friends and neighbours and all these in increased proportion as time advances. I quote this in order to show and to retute as it is some times challenged that it is not in the grain of the Indians to have a share in the administration of their own affairs. I say this verse was written something like 2,000 years before. At that time no less a person than King Bhartrihari inculcated in the minds of his subjects that they must seek authority only inferior to himself, they must seek whatever is best in the world from the King himself. On this ground we have been longing and demanding, and demanding thrice over, for these rights so that we may be as good fellow-subjects of the King as

Englishmen are. Englishmen here have the same privileges and country. Gentlemen, this being the text for our birthright, I will not linger longer to show that it is but our righteous cause to demand these rights. I have come here to plead the cause of a depressed and distressed and also of a despised community and that community, you will excuse me for bringing up the case of that community, is the Indian Christian community. Government has been pleased to confer so many rights and privileges on Hindus and Mahomedans, but none has been given to the Indian Christian community. (Cheers). The Protestant Indian Christian community has its rise and birth from the advent of the British Government in this country. That community has been the victim of the onslaught of the Mutineers in the time of the Mutiny. That community has imbibed to its full extent all the liberal principles of the British constitution, and notwithstanding all these things the Indian Christian community has been denied the right to elect a member to the Supreme Council. Madras Christians are known to be very clever Christians. Perhaps in the other provinces they are not so numerous or learned and yet they must have a share in the administration of the country. They must at least be entitled to return a single member to the Supreme Legislative Council. Perhaps Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya might say "I will stand for you." Mr. Gokhale might say "I will stand for you." Yes, you will by all means, we thankfully accept your offer, but at the same time there may arise conflict of interests at times in which you will side with the community to which you belong, and then where will we be? Therefore, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as the Government has accepted the principle of giving rights to minorities, certainly they ought to give the same privileges and the same rights to so important a minority as the Indian Christians in the country. With these few words, I support the Resolution. (Cheers).

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Mr. Kane.

Pandit Gokaran
Nath Misra.

8. SPEECH OF PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA OF LUCKNOW :—
Mr. Chairman, Friends and Brothers Delegates, I have much pleasure in supporting the Resolution which has been so ably moved by our distinguished leader Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee. The question of the Reform Regulations has been engaging the public attention of every part of the country for some time past and no more serious and important question could have been taken by the present Congress than the one we are at present discussing.

I will at once take you through the details of the Regulations in general and illustrate them by instances relating to the United Provinces to which I have the honor to belong. The details will at once bring home to you that the wide extent of the disappointment that has been caused by the Regulations is just and real.

To take the question of Separate Electorates, gentlemen, I have to tell you that at first it was considered necessary to provide for special electorates to safeguard the interests of the Mahomedan community in general. Subsequent events have, however, falsified these suspicions and shown that the grievances of our Mahomedan friends were quite unjust and unreal. As an illustration I would cite the instance of the United Provinces. In the Council of our Provinces there are 20 seats offered for election out of a total of 46. Of these 4 have been given to the Mahomedans exclusively, 1 to the University, 1 to the Upper India Chamber of Commerce and two to the land-holders, one to the Province of Agra and the other to Oudh. This leaves a balance of 12 members to be returned by the general mixed electorates. Of these eight are returned by the divisions and four by the bigger municipalities. The results of the last elections show that two of these seats have been won by the Mahomedans both of whom, I may mention by the way, are Moslem Leaguers. This shows that one-sixth of the total number of the seats offered to the mixed electorates have been won by the Mahomedans. The proportion of the Mahomedan population in the United Provinces is 14 per cent. or a little less than one-sixth. This shows that the representation of the Mahomedan community has been fair and according to what they ought to have got in proportion to their numbers. It also shows that the fear of the Mahomedans that no member of their community will ever be returned from the mixed electorates was groundless and imaginary. The creation of special electorates is now proved, at least in the United Provinces, to

Second Day.
 Reform Scheme,
 Pandit Gokaran
 Nath Misra.

be no more necessary. I cannot in any way understand why if the creation of such electorates was deemed necessary in the interests of the Mahomedan community, in those Provinces where they are in a minority, a similar provision was not made in the case of Hindus where they are in a minority. I mean in the case of the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and Assam. This at once convinces us that the Mahomedan claims have been treated by the Government, with an amount of preference and favour which is most unjust. I now turn my attention to the unjust, invidious, and humiliating distinctions made between Muslims and non-Muslims in the matter of franchise. I would only place before you the instances of two Provinces, one of Bengal and the other of the United Provinces. In Bengal a Mahomedan graduate of ten years' standing and a teacher aged 30 years or more drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 50 in Calcutta and Rs. 25 in the mufassil have each been given power to vote for a member of the Council. In the case of persons connected with the land any one who pays either directly or indirectly a Government revenue of Rs. 31-4-0 in the Presidency, Burdwan, Orissa and Chota Nagpur divisions and Rs. 62-8-0 in the Patna, Bhagalpore and Tirhut divisions is entitled to a vote. In the case of Hindus a Professor of a College drawing Rs. 500 or more per mensem or a graduate of an equal standing or a landholder paying a Government revenue of Rs. 1,000 or more is not entitled to vote. In the case of the United Provinces a graduate of five years' standing has been given a vote, whereas a similar concession has not been allowed in the case of Hindus. A trustee of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh or any holder of a title or a pensioned officer of the Government or an Honorary Magistrate or any Honorary Munsif, if he is a Mahomedan, has been allowed a vote whereas no such privilege has been extended to a non-Muslim. There can be, gentlemen, nothing more unjust than this. I cannot describe to you, gentlemen, the great discontent which has been created throughout the United Provinces amongst the non-Muslims. We must, standing as we do here on a common platform of the Congress, protest against the preferential treatment shown to our Muslim brethren, not because as our worthy President remarked yesterday, that we grudge our Mahomedan friends the extension of the privilege, but because a similar privilege has not been granted to the Hindus. While on this point, I should also like to invite your attention to the way in which the system of election has been extended to the Mahomedans in the United Provinces and other parts of the country excepting Bombay alone. In the United Provinces no system of voting by delegates has been allowed, so far as the Mahomedans are concerned. An electoral roll of the Mahomedan electors has been prepared and they have been granted the privilege of direct voting. The necessary result of this has been two-fold. Firstly, an amount of enthusiasm among the Mahomedan public has been aroused which is extremely necessary in these days for the political education of the people. Secondly, only men of education and of real public spirit have had the courage to come forward for election and it is only they who have been returned. The Mahomedans of the United Provinces should, as my friend the Honorable Babu Ganga Prasad Verma has remarked, be congratulated on the happy choice they have made of the candidates amongst themselves. Is it not a matter of deep regret that a man like Raja Tasadduq Rasul Khan of Jehangirabad, absolutely innocent of English, who had not the courage of offering himself as a candidate on behalf of the Mahomedan community, should have offered himself on behalf of Fyzabad Division, a mixed electorate and offered successfully too. Take another instance where the basis of franchise has been similarly extended and where no voting by delegates has been allowed. I mean the instance of the land-holders of the Province of Agra. The Honourable Kumar Bharat Singh, an enlightened and educated land-holder and a retired District and Sessions Judge, has been returned to the Council with an overwhelming majority. The reason for all this is not far to seek. Wherever you have got a system of voting by delegates the result has not been so successful as one would like it to be. Gentlemen, the process of treble distillation must cease now. We must protest and protest strongly against this indirect system of voting. No real enthusiasm among the people of our country is possible and no real political education can be extended to the public, until we are given the privilege of direct voting, as has been in the

case of our Muslim friends. While dealing with this subject, we must also protest against the system of cumulative voting as has been done in Bengal. This system leads to an unwholesome manœuvring and deserves to be condemned.

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Pandit Gokaran
Nath Misra.

I must now direct myself to the discussion of the question as to how far these regulations show a general distrust of the educated classes. In United Provinces an obvious proof of it is to be found in the linking up of the District with the Municipal Boards. My friend the Honourable Babu Ganga Prasad Varma has ably discussed this phase of the question. It remains for me now to place only facts and figures before you. In the eight divisions of the United Provinces the figures for the Municipal Boards and District Boards stand as follows :—

Division.	Municipal Board.	District Board.	Total.
Meerut	19	28	47
Agra	12	25	37
Rohilkhand	24	25	49
Lucknow	7	27	34
Fyzabad	9	30	39
Allahabad	10	25	35
Benares	12	20	32
Gorakhpur	4	21	25
Total	97	201	298

The above figures will at once bring home to you how effectively the middle class people have been shut out from the Councils. Of the eight candidates returned by the eight divisions, six are land-holders and only two can be considered as really belonging to the middle class. This system of linking up the District and Municipal Boards has created a wide discontent among the educated classes in our provinces. If the reforms are really intended for the politic satisfaction of the claims of the people in whom the British Government has fostered and encouraged advanced and progressive ideas, we must as a body protest against these regulations which appear to us all to have been devised in a manner so as to create a counterpoise to the educated public opinion of this country. The figures quoted by my friend the Honourable Babu Ganga Prasad Varma must have convinced you how we stand so far as the Imperial Council is concerned. If the Provincial Council returns 1 Hindu and 1 Mahomedan, for the Supreme Council, the result is that we get two Mahomedans 1 from the Provincial Council and 1 from the separate electorate and only 1 Hindu from the mixed electorate. This results in giving two-thirds of the representation to the Mahomedans and one-third to the Hindus. I may say that the Government of India has so framed the regulations, at least so far as the United Provinces are concerned, that a larger representation has been allowed to the minority and a smaller to the majority. This all again conclusively establishes that our Mahomedan friends have been accorded a *differential* as well as a *preferential* treatment. The reforms have in short given very little or at least not fair representation to the Hindus in general.

Before concluding I must deal with the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majority in the Councils rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes. I would again take my stand on the figures furnished by the United Provinces Council. The Council consists of 46 members, of whom 26 are non-officials and 20 officials. Of the non-officials six are nominated and 20 elected. Amongst the nominated members we find men like the Nawab of Rampur, the Raja of Tehri, the Maharaja of Benares and the Nawab of Palasu. How far these Rajas,

Second Day. Maharajas and Nawabs will support the elected non-officials is a question which I leave for you to judge. To me it appears that in the United Provinces this idea of the non-official majority is a farce pure and simple.

Reform Scheme.
Pundit Gokarna
Nath Misra.

Taking all these circumstances, gentlemen, I am convinced that the regulations have taken away much out of the liberal spirit of the reform which were promised to us by Lord Morley last year. What was given to us by the right hand has in fact been taken away by the left. Gentlemen, our unanimous voice should now go forth telling the Government of India as well as the Government at home that unless these regulations are modified before the next elections, the educated people of the country will not rest satisfied. You must remember, gentlemen, that the real political struggle has commenced with the advent of the Reform Scheme and unless we all close up our ranks and fight like a man the bureaucracy which is always very slow to move and always jealous of our rights will not be overcome and the efforts of the Congress for the last 25 years will have been thrown to the winds. Acting on the principle laid down by our Grand Old Man, we must agitate, agitate and agitate and you may rest assured that success would be ours at no distant date. With these few words I commend the resolution to your kind acceptance. (Cheers).

Mr. Ram Bhai
Dutt Chaudhri.

9. MR. RAMBHAJ DUTT CHAUDHRI OF THE PUNJAB:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—It is my misfortune to speak after so many distinguished speakers who have gone before me; yet I have to say something to you about what we, in the Punjab, feel in the matter of these Regulations. Gentlemen, to be plain, we think it is a standing insult to the Hindus of the Province and to the Hindus of India to make these invidious distinctions between Moslem and Hindu. Whosoever has made distinction and whosoever has given preference to one community over another on religious grounds has suffered in India; history shows that, the history of *jeziah* clearly shows how Mahomedan rulers and governors suffered when they showed bigotry by levying this *jeziah* tax. We believe that we will rather pay a *jeziah* of one rupee per head than be considered of a lower status than our fellow brethren the Mahomedans in the Punjab (hear, hear). Gentlemen, it is said that they have certain political and historical importance. Here in the Punjab we have a tribe the Jat—they are one tribe; half the militia is owned by Mahomedans and the other half by the Hindus. Both give their men for the army and both fight for the King. I do not know why the Mahomedan Sindhu has greater political importance than the Hindu Sindhu. If fighting on the frontiers is really a reason to give him, may I ask the Government to find out whether the Hindus have not laid their lives on the frontiers more than the Mahomedans? I do say that five times more Hindus have died on the frontiers to safeguard and protect the empire than Mahomedans—my own cousins; therefore I feel certainly insulted when I hear that Mahomedans of the Punjab have greater political importance than people of my own caste and my own Hindu brethren. It is said that perhaps they have some historical importance. What importance? Is there any special privilege being given to the Moghuls, Pathans? No. The rest of the Mahomedans are all Hindus by descent. Therefore, the only other advantage they have is that they are a backward people. We have always been hearing since 1833 that by the time that the Indians have advanced in education, they will be given more franchise and more privileges, that the extension of the Legislative Councils was being deferred because the Indians were not well advanced. But here because you are more advanced, you shall be kept in the background and because the Mahomedans are less advanced they shall be given more privileges (cheers and applause). It is an absolutely absurd position that the Government has taken. The Government may be told one word. There is no doubt that the Hindus of other Provinces do not know much about certain matters regarding Hindus and Mahomedans, but they ought to know that since 1877 we believe here that there has been a regular effort made by a certain section of the Mahomedan community to preach against the Hindus and against Christians and against all who are not Mahomedans. As such those Mahomedans who used to dine with me now refuse to take food cooked in my house, because it is cooked in a Hindu house. Through the preaching of Mahomedan Moulvis, a Mahomedan refuses to take food cooked in a

Hindu house. It is a wrong impression which is created in the minds of the people that is now being backed up by the Government. Dangerous is the principle which bears on the preaching of difference between man and man and which is backed up and supported by these Regulations passed by the Government. I think that the Government should know that they will suffer more than the Hindus will suffer in the end if these Regulations are really continued for any length of time and that Mahomedans are taught that they are a separate people from Hindus not now but for ever. If I become a Mahomedan to-morrow I am entitled to vote for a seat in the Viceregal Council but not to-day. Does the Government mean that I should become a Mahomedan to go to the Viceregal Council? It is certainly forcing people in a way against their religious views. It may be that some people may be very anxious to go to the Viceregal Council and may change their religious views also. What I beg to submit is this that it is a wrong policy, more dangerous to the Government than to the Hindus. With these remarks I beg to support the resolution which has been so ably discussed on all other points by the previous speakers. (Cheers).

Second Day.

Reform Scheme:
Mr. Ram Bhai
Dutt Chaudhri.

10. MR. HARNAM DAS OF PUNJAB :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The opening years of this century have been crowded with events of far-reaching and profound importance for the whole of the East, but so far as we are immediately concerned there is no one event of greater importance than the inauguration of the reform scheme which has not inaptly been described as the opening of a new chapter in the history of India. But there is one fact of greater significance than the scheme itself and that is the awakening of the Indian mind to which is really due the very existence of the scheme. If there is any one event of the age of which the future historian will take a special note it is the birth of the spirit of democracy in countries and climes which have hitherto been considered uncongenial for the growth of democratic ideas. Look wheresoever you please, you will see this spirit manifesting itself in one shape or another. Persia, bent upon having a constitution of its own, has been passing through the throes of a sanguinary revolution. This object has been achieved by the young Turk in his own original manner, absolutely peerless and unique in history. The Philipinos have been granted a constitution by their alien conquerors. Britain also has conceded complete autonomy to the Boers, the conquered people of but yesterday. All the world over young democracy in the exuberance of its youth has been forcing marches on the citadels of the feudalism of old. "Government of the people, for the people and by the people," is no longer merely a shibboleth, but a living incentive. In short, the spirit of democracy is the spirit of the age. And strange would it have been indeed, if India, once the home of free institutions in the old and hoary past, had not been touched by and responded to this spirit. This on the one-hand. On the other, by a happy coincidence we were favoured by the trend of events in England. At the last general election, the late Premier had brought with him to St. Stephens a following of unprecedented magnitude. But when it came to be known that the portfolio for the Secretaryship for India had been given to Mr. John Morley, as he then was,—John Morley the trusted follower and disciple of Gladstone, the biographer of Burke, the one person known all over the English-speaking world as the high priest and apostle of liberty—the thermometer of Indian hopes ran high. That His Lordship, as Viscount Blackburn, gave countenance, nay his powerful support, to measures of coercion and which he as Mr. Morley would have been the first to denounce from the Opposition benches was a staggering phenomenon, no doubt, and filled the hearts of the people with dismay. At the same time, however, His Lordship and His Excellency the Viceroy realised that the policy of repression pure and simple was doomed to failure and felt that the time had come when some concessions should be made to the people of India. Thus was the reform scheme born.

Mr. Harnam Das,

The scheme promised among other things, a non-official majority in provincial councils, wider powers of discussing the provincial budgets under separate heads and dividing the council, power to discuss questions of general interest in relation to executive administration and the organisation of the village self-government as the basis of district self-govern-

Second Day.
 Reform Scheme.
 Mr. Harnain Das.

ment. The people at once perceived that this was a genuine attempt on the part of the Government to meet some of their demands and as such they accorded the scheme a cordial welcome.

But the words of gratitude had hardly dried on the lips of the people, when a deputation on behalf of the Muslim League waited on the Honourable the Secretary of State and demanded among other things (1) a special electorate composed of their co-religionists exclusively; (2) representation in excess of what they were entitled to on the basis of numerical strength. A similar deputation had already waited on His Excellency the Viceroy when His Lordship is reported to have said, "you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire." Thus was the apple of discord thrown among the various communities that inhabit this country. And thus was a great political blunder committed. Gentlemen, at the time of this deputation the cloud was no bigger than a man's hand; to-day it threatens to darken the whole Indian firmament. If their Lordships had then put their foot down, these unjust demands would have been nipped in the bud and the success of the reform scheme assured. But alas, that was not to be.

Gentlemen, the exigencies of time do not permit a detailed discussion of the various claims trumped up by our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen. Nor do I think should we say anything from this platform to wound their feelings. But this much I am constrained to say that they have advanced a string of claims each more hollow than the other and which will not bear scrutiny for one moment. (Cheers and applause). The result of the recent elections in the Punjab has completely demolished their argument, a shallow one at the best of times, that they had no chance in mixed electorates. (Loud applause).

Gentlemen, we have protested and do protest against this arrangement of granting excessive representation to one community at the expense of others, not so much because we apprehend any serious disadvantage or loss to our communal interests, but because we feel that it will still further accentuate, nay perpetuate, the differences that already unhappily exist between the two communities. We protest against it because it means a permanent cleavage between Hindus and Musalmans. We protest against it because it will create dissensions in every town, city and province, because it will spread discord even among rural communities. We protest against it because it will tear the whole country with sectarian disputes and sectarian strifes. We protest against it because it will emphasise distinctions between castes, creeds and races which it is essential to obliterate in matters political and in questions involving the well-being of the country as a whole. We protest against it because it will create differences where none need exist and strife where none need there be. We protest against it because it will militate against harmony between the various communities without which life in India would become intolerable. We protest against it because it strikes at the root of union which is the *sine qua non* for the advancement and progress of our motherland. We protest against it because it offers an uncalled for insult to the great non-Muslim communities. We protest against it because the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Parsees, and the Christians are being relegated to a position of unmerited inferiority. We protest against it because the benign provisions of the great Charter Act of 1833 the bed rock of our liberties are being repealed by an underhand stratagem. We protest against it because for the first time in the history of British India the theoretical equality between the Indian subjects of the crown is being destroyed, and a fresh statutory disability is being imposed. But lastly, Sir, we protest against it because it means the partition of the whole of living India, an affair much more serious than the partition of the boundaries of Bengal. (Cheers).

Gentlemen, I believe I am voicing the sentiment of this august assembly, when I say we are sincerely desirous that the interests of minorities should be adequately safeguarded. But does the special protection of minorities mean that the majority should go to the wall, should be sat upon and dictated to at the sweet will of one particular minority?

Surely not. And what makes this piece of injustice more glaring is the fact that no special provision has been made for the protection of the interests of Hindus in Eastern Bengal and the Punjab where they are in a minority.

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Mr. Harnam Das.

Gentlemen, the reform scheme child was nobly conceived but at birth it turned out to be a dwarf (cheers) and the new habiliments that have been donned on it in the shape of Rules and Regulations have made it positively repulsive. (Laughter). For the first time when I read the Regulations the other day I exclaimed to myself, 'well this takes the cake.' What Lord Morley had given with one hand had been taken away by Anglo-India with the other. What the British Parliament made for the good of our country the bureaucracy had unmade. (Cries of shame).

These Regulations are open to various objections, nay they are positively objectionable. Regulations that had to be altered within three weeks of their promulgation cannot inspire great respect. Their obvious effect was to shut out men like Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and to pronounce men like Mr. K. C. Kelkar as undesirable. And can there be a greater condemnation than that? It means that so far as the officials are concerned the laws of defamation are repealed. They can with impunity play ducks and drakes with any one's reputation. A Michael Davitt, who passed a considerable portion of his life in prison or a Colonel Lynch who actually took up arms against the English, is good enough for the House which Sheridan and Burke adorned. But an Indian who might have been convicted even for an offence which does not signify any moral turpitude is not good enough for even the Provincial Councils.

Gentlemen, the underlying motive of these regulations is to "dish" the educated class, the one class that has toiled and moiled for the last thirty years for these reforms. These Regulations have also reduced the non-official majority to a sham and a mockery, as most of the non-official members will be nominated and the other few will be elected by a few Municipalities and District Boards, members of which as a rule do not compel our admiration. This will simply let in members, some of whom as felicitously put by our worthy President, are innocent of English, men who will go to the council meeting probably after heavy meals, yawn in their seats and when the time comes for voting will simply say "yes," "yes," "Huzoor." Another feature of these Regulations is that a special franchise has been conferred upon the Mahomedan graduates and which have been denied to Hindu graduates: (Shame). Musalmans in general have been given the privilege of dual and plural voting. The right of interpellation has been greatly restricted. The President of the Council is empowered to disallow any question or resolution and need not assign any reason for doing so. In short, we are not even where we were. The Regulations under the old Act were not half so illiberal. There is one word writ large on these Regulations and that is "retrograde." And curious is the irony of fate. You no doubt remember, gentlemen, the words of the Royal Proclamation of the last year were that important classes among us demand equality of citizenship; I should like to know if the important class referred to there is not the educated class, which the bureaucracy seems so bent upon crushing. Gentlemen, the net result of all this is the creation of a fresh and a statutory disability. And in this land of disabilities, this is a matter which cannot be lightly treated. A vested interest has been brought into existence and a new disability imposed. It is not easy to shake either. And though to offer anything in the nature of advice to this assembly would be presumptuous for one of my years, this much I feel bound to say that the path of duty is plain, though steep. We must strive with all our might and main for the removal of this odious, insulting, and unjust ordinance from the statute book where it should never have found a place. Gentlemen, we have this duty to perform not only to ourselves but to those who come after us. If we, in our generation, can do no better than leave a legacy of fresh disabilities then it is better that as a people we should cease to exist. Gentlemen, the task before us is arduous. The struggle promises to be keen. The forces pitted against us are mighty and huge, but one thing is certain, our cause is just, our cause is honourable, and though we may meet a reverse here or a reverse there the victory is ultimately bound to be ours,

Second Day.

Reform Scheme.
Mr. Harnam Das.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri.

provided we are true to ourselves and fight fair. With these remarks I beg to support this resolution.

The speaker resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.

11. MR. A. CHAUDHURI OF CALCUTTA.—Sir, I have no desire to add to the length of this sitting, but I am obliged to address you in consequence of a somewhat pointed allusion which was made this morning by our respected leader, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, I have to complain that he has been, for once, illogical. Of course there is a tendency to be illogical in these matters, but that Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee should be illogical, is something to deplore. (Laughter). He has asked that the educated community should have adequate representation. Admirable sentiment; but absolutely illogical for this reason. He has forgotten that ignorance pervades India and what is more natural than that the element of ignorance should pervade the new Councils. (Cheers and laughter). There is one thing further; some newspapers are continually telling us that we have no sense of perspective. Of course, we have none. We are in the habit of putting ourselves in the foreground, and others nowhere. Our prominence has evolved a beautiful expression. We have been called the "carpet baggers" of the Empire. It is a beautifully descriptive word, introduced by gentlemen, who have introduced themselves into this country with their carpet bags. (Cheers.) It is a courteous expression to use of persons who belong to this country. It is a first description because it is impudent of them to claim that they have at least as large a stake in this country as some of these journalists have,—the country belongs to them and we carry their carpet bags. (Laughter.) Certainly you do not want to see us "the carpet baggers" in the great Legislative Councils of the country. Do not complain, before you know your true position. Why complain again that some of the elected members do not know English. That, gentlemen, is a qualification (laughter and cheers) a qualification in this sense. It is absolutely right to say that a legislator is perfect when he keeps an undisturbed mind (laughter), but if your legislators were allowed the chance of having their mental equilibrium upset by English speeches in Council, heard and understood, great harm might happen to the country. They ought to be allowed to bring their minds to the question before them, without being disturbed by any outside influence. What better can you expect? You are altogether unreasonable in your requirements. (Laughter). A friend here wanted to know the meaning of "dynamic force," when speaking of a community which claimed to possess such force. I knew a little mathematics when young; I have forgotten a great deal of it since, but I will appeal to our great mathematical scholar, Mr. Gokhale, sitting there; he will probably be able to define it better for you. But I may humbly add that I was in the habit, in my younger days, of associating it with kicks. The dynamic force of a community means a community which is able to kick out well. (Cheers and laughter). We were not able to kick out well and therefore dynamic forces have prevailed. (Hear, hear, and laughter). I do not think that it is necessary for me to detain you any longer. (Loud cries of "go on," "go on"). What am I to add, gentlemen, the subject is vast, no doubt, but we have spoken so long on it and so often that it is quite time we stopped. I can, however, say with the utmost sincerity, that I am able completely to identify myself with this resolution, every word of it. I for one am not prepared to concede, however much I may honour the Mahomedan community, among whom I claim some of my best friends, that the Mahomedan is the predominating political factor in this country. I think you all agree with me that the greatest calamity which can befall this country is to be disintegrated, Hindus on one side, and Mahomedans on the other. I hope and trust that the eyes of all concerned will be opened once for all, and that they will stop at the earliest moment the disintegrating influences which are making such havoc amongst us. Gentlemen, that is all that I have to say to you. (Cheers).

The President:—Gentlemen, the resolution has been proposed, seconded and supported, and I take it that it is your unanimous wish that it should be passed. Those who are "for" will raise their hands (voices "all, all"). Those against (voices "none, none").

I declare it carried.

Gentlemen we now adjourn till 3-30 P.M.

The Congress re-assembled about 3-40 P. M. when the President called upon Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru of Allahabad to move the next resolution.

Second Day.

Executive Councils.

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU SAID :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been asked to move for your acceptance runs as follows :—

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

“That this Congress, while regretting that clause 3 of the Indian Councils Bill under which power was to be given to the Governor-General in Council to create Executive Councils to assist the head of the Government in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Eastern Bengal, Assam and Burma was not passed as originally framed, earnestly urges that action may be taken at an early date under the Act to create Executive Councils in the above-named Provinces.”

Gentlemen, the resolution which it is my privilege to ask you to pass is by no means less important than the one which you have already passed. In fact, it is one of the most important features of the Reform Scheme to which it relates. You will remember what an amount of interest the announcement about the creation of Executive Councils created, at least in those parts of India which were directly concerned with the creation of the Executive Councils. You will also remember the keen disappointment which was felt in those provinces when Lord Curzon, with his unerring instinct of opposition to everything which is good and progressive, raised a hue and cry, and Lord MacDonnell gave him his support in the House of Lords. Gentlemen, the importance of this resolution will appear to you at once, when I tell you that it affects no less than four provinces of the Indian Empire. Taking the United Provinces from which I have the honour to come as a typical province, I may tell you that the province consists of 48 millions of people and 52 districts and the affairs of such a large province are under the undivided control of a single Lieutenant-Governor. Now, gentlemen, the President in the address, which he delivered to you yesterday, traced the history from the year 1833 downwards, of the question relating to the creation of Executive Councils. So far as my own province is concerned, I may tell you that the Government stands strongly committed to the position which we ask them now to take. Not only was there to be an Executive Council for the United Provinces, but the Act of 1833 provided that there would be a presidency of Agra just as there are other presidencies in India, and that the presidency of Agra would be governed by a Governor associated with an Executive Council. Two years later another Act was passed, not cancelling the former Act but only suspending the operation of that Act. The question arose again in the year 1853. Again the principle laid down by the Act of 1833 was reaffirmed, but still it was not thought advisable at that time for some reason or other to introduce an Executive Council presided over by a Governor. In 1868 the question arose again and once again in the year 1888, and yet again in the time of Lord Curzon. While it is undoubtedly true that some of the most capable administrators were against the creation of Executive Councils and among them was Sir John Strachy, there were other equally eminent men who favoured the idea. The question was again thoroughly sifted by Lord Morley and evidence was taken upon this question by the Decentralisation Commission which visited this country only recently. The fact that the concensus of opinion, or at any rate the bulk of the opinion, is in favour of the creation of Executive Councils is amply borne out when you remember that Lord Morley himself considered it necessary in the interests of better administration that there should be such a clause introduced in the Act itself. The Decentralisation Commission gathered a large mass of opinion; and so far as my province is concerned, I am glad to tell you that, not only some of the most prominent members of the Congress among whom was our President who were examined by the Decentralisation Commission gave their opinion in favour of the creation of the Executive Councils, but some of the leading Talukdars or Zamindars, or better still, “the natural leaders of the people” as they are called at present, and that important body of politicians who sail under the flag of the Moslem League—all these were united in support of the proposal relating to the creation of an Executive Councils. Yet what do we find? We find that a half-hearted measure was passed by the Parliament. The clause in question was more in the

Second Day.
Executive Councils.
Dr. Tej Bahadur
Sapru.

nature of a solatium to those who were going to be deprived of the immediate benefit of a Council. The learned President told you yesterday, and I am repeating the same thing, that there is a widespread belief in our Provinces that if Sir John Hewett had only lent the weight of his support and followed the example of Sir Edward Baker in Bengal, the United Provinces would have got an Executive Council. The very fact that the ultimate decision of this question was affected by the opinion of a single Lieutenant-Governor is to my mind a good argument against the system of rule by a single man. Now, gentlemen, let us consider the argument in favour and against the creation of the Executive Councils. A Lieutenant-Governor is a busy man, probably as much more busy as he is higher than the other officials under him. He is solely responsible in his own province for the maintenance of law and order, for irrigations, for Public Works and for many other things; not the least onerous amongst which is the revenue administration of the whole province. He has to tour about for sometime in the year throughout his province and in many cases he has also to look after the affairs of Native States too. No wonder then that Mr. Hobhouse, in making his speech in Parliament, described the Lieutenant-Governor as an overweighted person. Therefore, you will see that in the interests of efficiency itself and further in the interests of continuity of policy, it is desirable that a Lieutenant-Governor should be associated with some Councillors who bring practical experience to bear upon their work. Now, gentlemen, one of the strongest arguments that was urged and frankly urged by that kind friend of India, Lord Curzon, I believe in the House of Lords, was that the provinces which did not enjoy the privilege of having Executive Councils already were anxious to have Executive Councils because they were anxious to secure another post to Indians; as though it is a crime or a sin for an Indian to aspire to be a member of a provincial Executive Council. Gentlemen, I may be also frank with you and tell you that one of the strongest reasons which I can assign for the creation of Executive Councils is that it will give a chance to an Indian to be associated with the direct administration of his own province, to place Indian interests before the Government, from the Indian point of view, to share the responsibility of the good administration of his own province with his Anglo-Indian compeers. Gentlemen, can you conceive for a moment that the huge mistake which was committed in Bengal during the time of Sir Andrew Fraser, I mean the Partition of Bengal, would have been committed at all if Sir Andrew Fraser had been associated with an Indian Councillor? I feel confident that the Indian Councillor, if he was worth his salt and if he had the smallest degree of independence about him, would have warned Sir Andrew Fraser against the danger of the step which he took. That is one illustration. As regards the continuity of policy, I can give you one very prominent illustration of that and it relates to my own province. When Sir Antony MacDonnell ruled over our province, he introduced the system of competitive tests for the admission of candidates to one of the subordinate services. He was earnest and enthusiastic about it. Sir Antony MacDonnell had barely left the province when his successor Sir James La-Touche knocked the scheme on the head and we find now that instead of graduates having more scope for employment, which they could have had under the scheme inaugurated by Sir Antony MacDonnell, they are thrown into the back-ground. All this has happened within less than ten years. So that whether you examine the question from the point of view of efficiency or from the point of view of continuity of policy, the argument is overwhelming in favour of the creation of the Executive Council. In this matter I have the support of no less a person than Mr. Hobhouse himself. I will read to you a certain passage from the speech which he delivered in the House of Commons. Speaking on this question he said: "As Executive Council gives the chance and—I do not think it ought to have or needs more than a chance—for a continuity of policy in Provincial Government which the Executive authority of the Lieutenant-Governor cannot possibly afford. The Governor passes away and his successor arrives with totally different views on all sorts of questions of local importance; but if he arrives not as a single autocrat, however benevolent or well-intentioned, but as one of the most important of three or four colleagues, he receives and is glad to receive, an indication of the policy of his predecessor and the reason

for which he considered it necessary or desirable to carry out that policy." As regards the question of efficiency I again will reply upon that great authority. Speaking of the Decentralisation Commission, he said "that Commission went very fully and carefully into this subject and with no bias, as I can assure Honourable Members opposite. We visited in the course of our journeyings through India every single capital, and every Government in India, and we saw for ourselves the conditions of official work of every Lieutenant-Governor and Governor on that great continent. It was impossible to avoid the conclusion that these men are overworked and overweighted with the volume of official correspondence and the responsibility thrown upon them. Honourable Members who have been connected with the Indian Civil Service in India know what a volume of business each Lieutenant-Governor has to conduct. He is responsible for famine, for irrigation, for the political relations maintained with other provinces and Native States, for the whole judiciary of his province, for the police force, for the conduct of agriculture, for the whole system of education, for the whole system of commercial industry, for medical relief and the hospital system of the province and for the municipal and rural Government of the Province." Now if that is so, what becomes of that vaunted theory of Lord Curzon—the theory of efficiency in administration? Evidently the only ground which can be assigned then against the creation of Executive Council for a province like mine is, that the province is not sufficiently well-advanced for that. If the province is not sufficiently well advanced, that is precisely the reason why steps should be taken to make it an advanced province. If Bombay and Madras are more advanced are we not entitled to maintain that they are so partly because they have a better machinery of administration provided there than our own province possesses. If you will take into consideration the fact that my province is a big province, pays such a large amount of revenue, that it has got a university, it has got a High Court; in fact it has got exactly the same machinery of administration as Bengal,—I feel sure you will agree that there is not the slightest reason why that province should have been so badly treated in this matter. The same arguments, more or less, apply to the Punjab and to other provinces which have not been given that privilege, but I refrain from discussing the case of those provinces, as I should like the gentlemen who will follow me to bring their direct knowledge to bear upon the discussion with regard to those provinces. One important fact may be put before you before I resume my seat. In the course of his speech to which I have just referred Mr. Hobhouse pointed out that in no part of the British Empire, in Singapore or Hongkong or anywhere else was a Lieutenant-Governor or Governor placed in authority without being associated with an Executive Council or some Councillors answering to that description. If Hongkong and Singapore can claim an Executive Council there is absolutely no reason why big Indian Provinces should continue to be governed on antiquated lines of administration. So that, gentlemen, whether you put it on the ground of efficiency or on the ground of continuity of policy or, what is more to my mind, on the ground of Indian sentiment and aspiration being satisfied, the entire weight of argument is in favour of this resolution. I will not say more, but I will say this much that this is a resolution on which the Government of India themselves said "we are in favour of popular opinion." Therefore I submit that if you pass this resolution you will be strengthening the position of those provinces which want to come into line with the more advanced provinces of India. (Cheers).

Second Day.

Executive Council.
Dr. Tej Bahadur
Sapru.

DEWAN LACHMI NARAIN of the Punjab seconded the resolution in Urdu.

LALA HUKAM CHAND OF THE PUNJAB, IN FURTHER SUPPORTING, Lala Hukam Chand SAID:—I have taken upon myself to support this resolution for two reasons. First because I approve of it wholly, and secondly that I believe that the Government will listen to us. We have been told by some people that the Government does not listen to our prayer. I do not believe in this proposition, and I assure you, gentlemen, that if we represent anything in a constitutional way the Government is always willing to stretch its helping hand to us. I may explain what is an Executive Council. We are governed by two Councils; one is the Legislative Council and the

Second Day. other is Executive authority. The Government of India has got two
 Executive Councils. Councils—the Legislative and Executive. But the local Governments
 Lala Hukam Chand. in the Punjab and some other Provinces have no Executive Councils.
 The business of the Executive Council is to administer law. What is
 the good of having good laws if the machinery for their administration
 is not good. I may here tell you a proverb “no good pair of shoes will
 make a lame man walk and no good pair of spectacles will make a blind
 man see.” So you see you may have good laws, you may have everything
 good but the administration should be good also. Therefore, it is abso-
 lutely necessary in the interests of the Punjab that there should be an
 Executive Council to administer the laws properly. (Cheers.)

Maulvi Abdul Qasim. MAULVI ABDUL QASIM OF BENGAL, IN ALSO SUPPORTING,
 SAID :—Mr. Chairman, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen.—The re-
 solution which I have the honour to support needs no speech and you
 require none and I am not going to inflict any upon you. I will support
 it only with one word and that is that Lord Curzon during the closing
 years of his administration, rather a long and tedious administration,
 whenever he wanted to introduce a repressive measure he very
 cleverly put the blame on the community to which I have the honour
 to belong. He said that it was done in the interests of Mahomedans
 whether Mahomedans ask for it or not. I am, however, glad to find
 that in this instance at least though he was no longer ruler of India,
 from his place in the House of Lords he did not say that he wanted
 to delete clause 3 in the Reform Bill in the interests of Mahome-
 dans. (Laughter and cheers.) He could not say it because in this case
 at least some of the most conservative Mahomedans had taken a promi-
 nent part in supporting the Bill as it stood then. Therefore he did not.
 We, the people of Bengal, have a particular grievance in this matter.
 Eastern Bengal people are already greatly distressed on account of the
 partition, and when Lord Curzon wanted partition he assured them that
 there would be no difference between the status and position of the two
 Bengals. After the partition you will find that the omission of clause 3
 from the Bill passed made a great difference between the people of Eastern
 and Western Bengal. There is material difference in the position and
 status of Eastern and Western Bengal people. Lord Curzon very quietly
 forgot all about it in the House of Lords. And the discontent will be all
 the greater if this clause is not inserted and action is taken on it. With
 these words I commend the resolution to you and I am sure you will
 carry it with acclamation.

The President put the resolution to the Congress which carried it
 unanimously amidst loud cheers.

The President :—The next resolution runs as follows :—

Reform Scheme in the Punjab. This Congress records its opinion that the Regulations, framed for
 the Punjab under the Reform Scheme, fail to give satisfaction for the
 following reasons, namely :—

- (a) In that the numerical strength of the Council provided for in
 the Regulations is not sufficient to allow an adequate repre-
 sentation to all classes and interests of the population, nor
 is it commensurate with the progress made by this Province
 in matters social, educational, industrial and commercial.
- (b) In that the elected element prescribed by the Regulations for
 the Local Council is unduly small and altogether insufficient
 to meet the needs and requirements of this Province, and
 compares very unfavourably with that accorded to other
 provinces not more advanced.
- (c) In that the principle of protection of minorities which has
 been applied in the case of Mahomedans in the provinces
 where they are in a minority, has not been applied in the
 case of non-Mahomedans who are in a minority in the
 Punjab both in the Provincial and Imperial Councils.
- (d) In that the Regulations as framed tend practically to keep out
 non-Mahomedans from the Imperial Council.

I will now call upon Mr. Sunder Singh Bhatia to move the resolution.

Second Day,

MR. SUNDAR SINGH BHATIA OF THE PUNJAB SAID :—Mr. President, leaders of the nation, ladies and gentlemen,—You have already heard a number of speeches showing what the sentiment of the country is as regards the Regulations promulgated under the Indian Councils Act. It devolves upon me, though at the fag end of the day, to give expression to the profound sentiment of disappointment, bordering on despair, which is the sentiment that prevails among the educated community of this Province. To you, gentlemen, of other provinces we are beholden for giving the claims and grievances of the Punjab the importance of a special resolution; and it devolves upon us to lay these grievances before the people from other provinces and the Government. The great ban which has been placed against us is that for the first time in the history of the British rule, the colour bar has been introduced among the sons of the soil. (Hear, hear and cheers). Formerly our grievance since the inauguration of the Congress was this that, in the face of the most solemn pledges and the Proclamation of our late beloved Sovereign, there was some sort of colour bar in practice against the sons of the soil so far as the higher offices of the State were concerned. That colour bar has been partially removed by the appointment of one of us, the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha to the Executive Council of the Government of India as well as by the recent appointment of Mr. Syed Amir Ali (loud cheers) to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. So far, we are grateful to His Majesty's Government. But the question arises when we turn from the clashing interests of the Indians and Anglo-Indians so far as the higher offices of the State were concerned to the sons of the soil as among themselves, we must deplore and strongly deplore, the introduction for the first time of the colour bar as among Mahomedans and non-Mahomedans in the country. For the first time, the Hindus and other advanced non-Moslem sections of the Indian community are face to face with this difficulty that, in this land where the civilisation and culture of the East first took its rise, we are to-day confronted with a backward seat; we are relegated to a subordinate position; in spite of the fact that by education, by culture, by public spirit, by all the efforts that we made to secure a better state of things we are to be thrown back. But gentlemen, with your leave I must say that the hands on the dial of progress cannot be set back. (Hear, hear and cheers). The tide of progress and advancement under the inspiring influence of Western civilisation is bound to continue and in course of time, you may rest assured that we are bound to triumph in the end. (Cheers). The question so far as it immediately concerns us is this that even in the days of Mahomedan rule, the Hindus aspired to and got the highest offices of the State. Todar Mal was the Finance Member of Akbar's Council; and Man Singh as the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Forces of the time were types of Hindus who rose to glorious positions that any Mahomedan in the land could do so; and to-day you find in this country Hindus occupying the highest position in Mahomedan States and Mahomedans occupying highest positions in Hindu States. But the position to which we are now reduced is this that we must take a back seat; and we think in the interests of good administration, in the interests of efficiency and in the interests of popular rights, it is necessary that we should protest, respectfully but emphatically, against a new system which we all believe is opposed to the promises and to the pledges of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and to the King's message of last year. (Hear, hear).

Reform Scheme
in the Punjab.
Mr. Sunder Singh
Bhatia.

Coming now to the details of the resolution, the first point which the resolution emphasises is that the numerical strength of the Council has been put at a very low figure, with the result that the different interests cannot find adequate representation. Now there is a curious history so far as the Punjab is concerned in the matter of Legislative Council. The Act of 1861 was not made applicable to the Punjab till a long time after the other Provinces had got their Councils. Then came the great fight in Parliament led by the late lamented Champion of India, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh (cheers) and the other provinces got their Councils under the new Act of 1892. Then the Punjab, which perhaps could not be ignored any longer, was made to rest content with a half loaf in the shape of the application of the Act of 1861, as though we were half a century behind.

Second Day.
 Reform Scheme
 in the Punjab.
 Mr. Sunder Singh
 Bhatia.

the other provinces. Under the new Councils Act of 1909, we are not to be placed on a footing of equality still with the other provinces. With your permission I will refer to one or two matters which show that we are not kept back because we are not entitled to it. Take the question of educational advancement for instance, and I might say that the relative proportion of English-knowing people to the total population is much higher in the Punjab than in the United Provinces and the Eastern Bengal and compares favourably even with Madras, the respective percentages for the first three provinces being .0026, .0013, .0021 while it is only slightly less than that of Madras. Then take the percentage of literates. What do we find? We find that the Punjab figures are better than those of the United Provinces themselves. Then take the other position; that is, so far as our Province is concerned, we are far ahead of several sister provinces in the matter of private enterprise in commerce and trade. Industrial progress, social reform and advancement, political and historical importance of the Province and our interests in public affairs, all these justify the position that we are entitled at least to an equal share with some of the comparatively backward provinces. I would here just submit to you that there is one little test which the Government can easily apply to see whether we are not more advanced in comparison with many other provinces; and that is that the Government can easily find from the statistics available in post offices in India as to how many newspaper readers, English and vernacular, are to be found in each province. Taking this as the test, you will see that we are backward only as compared with the premier Province, I mean the Province of Bengal. Coming just for a minute to the details, the position is this that we are no doubt in the minority as compared with the numerical strength of the Mahomedan community in this Province. But is Council representation to go merely by numbers? Is it not to depend upon all the elements that are regarded as important to qualify persons and communities in every civilised country in the world? Are we to be told in this Province alone that numbers constitute a magic and a charm to open the portals of the Councils wide to members of a particular community? The Congress has condemned and strongly condemned, I will add rightly condemned, the institution of separate electorates and the granting of differential and preferential right to any particular community on the score of religion. But the question is this: if that is to be done by Government in the face of public protests, are Hindus, including Sikhs in this Province, not to be treated on a footing of equality with Mahomedans in other provinces? The position as we find it to-day here is that in the elections to the Council, three seats have gone to our Mahomedan brethren, while only one has come to the share of the Hindus; and even there, I may be permitted to observe that, the advanced classes to which the King's message refer and to which the despatches of Lord Morley and Lord Minto drew attention as being at the bottom of the Reform Scheme whose aspirations His Majesty's Government wanted to satisfy, it is clear are still very inadequately, if at all, represented in the Punjab Council. And we are reduced to this position that, until the Government choose to give the educated advanced classes a representative by exercising its power of nomination in our behalf, we go practically without representation. I might say one word in passing that for one thing the numbers fixed for the Punjab Legislative Council compare very unfavourably with the strength of the other Councils; and the other thing is that here in the Punjab the principle of the protection of minorities has been applied the wrong way. It is not the minorities that get the protection. It is a case of the majorities as it were, swallowing the minorities. I might beg leave to mention that so far as the Viceregal Council is concerned, you may say that the Punjab will give four members to the Viceroy's Council, one of them to be officially nominated by the Government. Out of the remaining three one is to be elected by the non-official members of the Legislative Council and two members are to be representatives of Mahomedans and landlords nominated by Government for the present; but of course it is contemplated that in due course of time these seats might be filled by separate electorates created for the benefit of these interests. Now the position is this, that there is to be one Mahomedan certain; then there is to be a landholder who may of course be a Mahomedan or non-Mahomedan; but then so far as election by the Legislative Council goes the matter stands thus. If the number

of Mahomedans preponderates in the Legislative Council as we anticipate, then it comes to this that the so-called representation by election of the Legislative Council will also be a Mahomedan. It then amounts to this that the new measure of Reform Councils and the new measures of franchise all come to this; that most of the seats, if not all, go to one particular community which stands in the majority and the minorities go to the wall in this province, while in the other Provinces they get the good things of the new scheme. Gentlemen, I have briefly placed before you the various points in this connection and I might say just in closing that the condition of things in this Province is very difficult indeed. We deeply and keenly feel the deprivation, as it were, of our proper share in the new scheme and the result of this deprivation is clear. The scheme was promulgated for one reason and one reason alone. It was to give the educated and advanced classes their share in the equality of rights and larger participation in administration and legislation. These classes are not satisfied and the result is this that the Government practically weakens the hands of the constitutional party, and, in the present circumstances, makes it very difficult for the constitutional party to take a stand before the public. The position really is this that on the one hand the Government expect us to co-operate with them in the administration; on the other hand, the scheme keeps out the educated classes that deserve representation. Now, are we, in these circumstances, to go to the people and tell them that we are to expect no rights but should co-operate. I might say co-operate in what? If we are to be nowhere in the Council, nowhere in the administration, then wherein lies the co-operation, and wherein comes the advance on the part of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Let them give us a proper share; let them make it possible for us to co-operate in the administration, and I think I can assure the Government in your name that we shall only be too glad to co-operate for the promotion of our best interests and the best interests of the administration. (Cheers).

Second Day
 Reform Scheme
 in the Punjab.
 Mr. Sunder Singh
 Bhatia.

The President:—I now call upon Lala Dharam Das Suri to address the Congress.

LALA DHARAM DAS SURI WHO WAS RECEIVED AMIDST CHEERS, SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—At the close of the day's proceedings a long speech is not necessary; but the importance of the resolution demands that I should not say simply a few words on it but express our feelings on this important subject. In seconding this resolution I seek your support, and I am confident that all of you will lend your hearty support to this resolution. This resolution, I consider, is rather mildly worded. The resolution says that this Congress records its opinion. I say it should record its protest, should record its indignation; I should say it should record its dissatisfaction, and I shall further say that it should record its discontent because we are really discontented in this matter. (Hear, hear and cheers). If I had not used this word I should not have been true to the Government and I should not have been true to the people and that is the reason why I do not hesitate to use this word. The Congress records its opinion that the Regulations fail to give satisfaction, fail to give satisfaction in every possible way for the following reasons: in that the numerical strength of the Council provided for in the Regulations is not sufficient to allow an adequate representation to all classes and interest of the population, nor is it commensurate with the progress made by this Province in matters social, educational, industrial and commercial. This part talks of the strength of the Council. I say that if Councils have to be weakened, they have to be weakened by Regulations like these. If true public opinion is not to reach the higher authorities, it is only through such Councils; and it is by weakening the Councils. If representatives are to be admitted into the Councils who would not be able to represent us in the Councils it is by regulations such as these. We are advised in different quarters that we should not displease the officials. Well, if we should not displease officials and the Anglo-Indians, we should displease our own people. Are you prepared to displease or are you prepared to speak the truth even if the authorities should be displeased with us? After fifty years of rule have elapsed when that great Magna Charta was given to us—that was a memorable document—after fifty years we have these

Lala Dharam Das
 Suri.

Second Day. Regulations. Are we going forward or are we going backward? Are the claims of the advanced classes to be recognised or are the claims of the advanced people to be ignored? It is for you to say, gentlemen.

Reform Scheme in the Punjab.
Lala Dharam Das
Suri.

It is said that Government is going to give us representation which has the effect of dividing the people. We at least in the Congress never asked for such representation which would have the effect of dividing the people. We in the Congress, loyal to the core, loyal to the British people and to the British nation, to the British Parliament, to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor—anything that we wanted was for everybody, for united Indians, not for separated Indians. What is given to us is that we should be separated and divided and on what grounds? I will not say grounds; they cannot be reasons; they may be anything but they cannot be reasons. Persons holding one particular religious view are favoured. We have other people holding other religious views, holding liberal views equally, but they are left in the background and in the Council we are authorised to send three representatives, one landholder of the Province. Landholders, mind, these Hindu landholders will not be able to acquire more lands under the law. The third goes to the members of the Provincial Legislative Council where the Hindu element would be very weak. Then we have to take no share in the Supreme Council. Perhaps it is desired that our voice should not be directly heard in that Council and the best way to avoid that is that none of us should be in that Council. Then in the Provincial Council the number of elective seats is only five. Out of the five one goes to the Chamber of Commerce and that will be always an English member. Out of the remaining four it is difficult to conceive that the Hindu community would be represented there. In this respect also, gentlemen, you know that the number of seats given to the Punjab is so small that the educated people will not be able to enter into the Council even if the Hindus unite themselves. I am told that Mahomedans are a united people and that the Hindus are not united. I dislike the idea that Mahomedans should be united against the Hindus or *vice versa*. Suppose if Hindus united themselves, even then it will not be possible for them to enter the Council. The difficulties in the way would be very many. I would advise you, gentlemen, to be always liberal and broadminded, to have right ideals before you, not to be carried away by sectarian principles. Be liberal and say we want to be a united nation. If a Hindu enters the Council or a Mahomedan enters the Council he should be a true representative of the people. He should be capable and fit, he should have courage, and independence to lay before the Council what are our wants and what are our grievances. Unless our grievances are remedied how can there be contentment, peace, and happiness? I know already that the time has advanced and I do not want to inflict a speech on you. It was necessary that I should say these words, and I hope that you will lend your hearty support to the proposition when it is placed before you.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried amidst acclamation.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI OF ALLAHABAD SAID:—Mr. President and brother delegates,—The proposition which I have to move runs as follows:—

Reform Scheme in Berar and Central Provinces.

That this Congress desires to give expression to the dissatisfaction produced among the people of the Central Provinces and Berar by the decision of the Government not to establish a Provincial Legislative Council for those territories and by the exclusion of Berar from participation in the election of two members of the Imperial Legislative Councils by the landholders and members of District and Municipal Boards of the Central Provinces, and this Congress appeals to the Government to remove the aforesaid complaints at an early date.

Gentlemen, in speaking of the Reform Regulations speakers from different provinces have come forward and laid before you the imperfections in the Regulations as affecting their respective provinces. The complaints of the Central Provinces and Berar are greater. The Central Provinces have not been given a Legislative Council at all. At the Provincial Conference held at Nagpur, Jabbulpur and Raipur the delegates

unanimously passed resolutions requesting the Government of India to elevate the status of the Province by giving them a Lieutenant-Governor with a Legislative Council. That request has not been complied with. The Honourable Mr. Craddock, the Chief Commissioner of the Province, in his very interesting and able despatch on the reforms, has given expression to views with which we in Congress will be in hearty accord. At the same time he has thought fit to refusing the very moderate demands of the educated community when he came to make definite proposals. He has stated that no Legislative Council need be established in his Province, but he recommended the establishment of an Advisory Council which will perform more or less the same functions as Legislative Councils in regard to measures which will come before the Viceroy's Council. But as the entire scheme of Advisory Councils was abandoned at the instance of the Secretary of State the Government of India have also refused to set up an Advisory Council in that Province, with the result that no measure, administrative, financial or legislative, affecting the Province will come up before any assembly in the Province itself that is a great grievance. The Provincial Congress Committees at Amraoti and Nagpur submitted representations to Government, but their prayers have not been acceded to. We, therefore, urged, as we did in Madras at the last Congress, that a Legislative Council be established at Nagpur for the combined provinces of the Central Province and Berar.

Second Day.
 Reform Scheme
 in Berar and Central
 Provinces.
 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

The next prayer is with regard to Berar. The position of Berar is anomalous. The grievance of the people of Berar is more acute than that of the people of Central Provinces. Berar is not looked upon as a part of British India. All the laws of British India are extended to it by ordinances or orders of the Governor-General in Council, in respect to taxation as well as legislation. The people of Berar labour under the same disadvantage as people in wholly British territory. At the same time they are not allowed any share of representation in any Council and they are also told that they are not of British India and are not entitled to the same privileges. When it is a question of imposing upon them the same disabilities as on the people of British India, Berar is treated as British territory. But when the question is one of conferring upon those people any political privileges which we enjoy, then they are told that they are subjects of His Highness the Nizam and not of British India, and accordingly are not entitled to recognition as British subjects. Their laws are not made in Legislative Council, it is by an order in Council, an executive order of the Governor-General in Council. In the matter of election of two members of the Viceroy's Council, the members of the Municipal bodies and District Boards and the landholders in Berar are denied the right of participating in the elections which their compatriots in the Central Provinces hold for returning two members to the Viceroy's Council. As one who was lately in Berar I know there is a good deal of discontent among people of that Province, and unless the grievance is redressed, I am sure they will not feel any of the enthusiasm which the people in British India feel on account of the reforms. For this reason, I ask you to pass this resolution in the interests of Berar and Central Provinces. (Cheers.)

MR. N. A. DRAVID OF POONA, IN SECONDING THE PROPOSITION,
 SAID :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—This is the last of a family of resolutions dealing with reforms and I am the last of the speakers. Aye taken all round, excepting the first of the series they are a bad brood—the whole lot. You will see that they are like a procession of cripples, the halting and the lame, each one exhibiting some deformity here or pointing to a pain there. The complaint of Berar is that it has no line at all good, bad or indifferent to complain of. Berar complains that it has no representation at all. In this matter, gentlemen, Berar is placed in a very bad situation. The Province as you know is obtained on a lease in perpetuity by the British Government with the effect that the people of Berar can legitimately call themselves neither the subjects of His Highness the Nizam nor those of the British Government. If it is argued that Berar is not to be granted representation because people there are not British subjects in the full sense of the term, all we can say is that this perpetual lease of Lord Curzon is to the Berar people a sort of perpetual purgatory and a doom of perpetual disfranchisement. If

Mr. N. A. Dravid.

Second Day. to-morrow, as in the Mysore State, His Highness the Nizam thinks of instituting a Legislative Council or grant representative institution to all his subjects, the Berarees cannot claim any useful representation there because they live under British administration, and of course they are denied representation in British India because they are not British subjects. You will see how unreasonable the position is. But, as a matter of fact, I need not labour the point at all. Last year this resolution was put from the chair, and this I understand is done when a proposition reaches a stage beyond all controversy and in the historic phrase of Burke there is only unreason if not obstinacy on the opposite side remaining unconquered. Gentlemen, I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

Reform Scheme
in Berar and Central
Provinces.
Mr. N. A. David.

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned.

Third Day's Proceedings.

WEDNESDAY, 29TH DECEMBER 1909.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The President:—Before the business of the day begins I have to announce that the Industrial Conference meets here to-morrow at 12 noon and the Social Conference meets also here on the day following at the same hour. I have now the pleasure to call upon Babu Bhupendranath Bose to move the 8th resolution.

Third Day.

Partition of Bengal.

BABU BHUPENDRANATH BOSE SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to place before you runs as follows:—

Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose.

This Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India not to treat the question of the Partition of Bengal as incapable of reconsideration but to take the earliest opportunity to so modify the said Partition as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

This Congress humbly submits that the rectification of this admitted error will be an act of far-sighted statesmanship. It will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to the other Provinces and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country.

This Congress appoints Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and myself to proceed to England as a deputation to lay the question of Partition before the authorities and the public there.

Gentlemen, I must say that I feel a little difficulty in standing before you in connection with this resolution. I am afraid to the rest of India this question of the Partition of Bengal may seem a stale and unprofitable question. (Cries of No, No.) But I can assure you, gentlemen, to us in Bengal, to us Bengalees, to me and my colleagues in this hall and outside, this question is one of perennial interest. ("Hear, hear.") We shall not rest, the Bengalee, despised though he may be, he will not rest, not he, until this question has been thoroughly threshed out, until the line which now divides his province so beloved and dear to him, has been shifted, so that the entire Bengalee-speaking community once again is brought together. Gentlemen, many of you, most of you, know the history of this Partition of Bengal. It will not be possible for me within the limits of the time which I know will be allowed to me by our President to go into that history. But, gentlemen, it has been said, said from many platforms, said by many high officials—may their shadow never grow less—that this Partition of Bengal is after all a sentimental grievance. They say that it is only administrative measure which confers upon us the inestimable boon of 2 Lieutenant-Governors, of 4 members of the Board of Revenue, which re-duplicates for the fortunate Bengalee every head of administration in the Province. I do not know what your feelings may be, but I have thought that one Lieutenant-Governor, one Head of Department are quite enough for us. Save us from two. Gentlemen, into the question of sentiment, time allowing, I shall go later on but I shall try to place before you within as brief a compass as I am capable of doing the main grievances which we feel on the question of Partition. Gentlemen, our complaint was from the first when we appeared in our thousands on many platforms in many public meetings held in open air with folded hands before the Government of our country, our grievance was, our complaint was that the Bengalee nation would be divided. "No, No," said His Mightiness Lord Curzon

Third Day.
 Partition of Bengal.
 Babu Bhopendra
 Nath Bose.

“it would not be so.” He said, he assured us, while he was stamping the Eastern Province of Bengal that no difference would be made in the 2 divisions of Bengal and that the Bengalee race would go on growing as it had done in the past, and that no sharp line of demarcation, no sharp line of division would be introduced amongst us. But in the brief space of 4 years what has happened? The services of Eastern Bengal are closed to us. The services of West Bengal are closed to the people of East Bengal. The schools and colleges have been placed under different controls. Gentlemen, you well know that in the early time of life when we are boys in school we form friendships and attachments which last our lives, and which to the dying day of the men form an inestimable possession. The result of the separation to the schools and colleges has been that boys in Eastern and Western Bengal are being brought up separately. Then again the ideals of these schools which are under the respective administration of the two provinces are being every day made divergent. On the one hand, across the valley of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra we have got a police ridden administration where loyalty is forced down the throats of little children through catechisms and books, where a different ideal of manhood, of Government, is being taught to our little ones as also to our young men. Different ideals are growing up therefore amongst the manhood of my province. Gentlemen, this is not all. Have you read in this distant province of the Punjab, do you read of the arrests, of the night searches, of the police oppressions, of the domiciliary visits of Gurkhas let loose upon the inoffensive population of Eastern Bengal, of the police marches in the dead of night into the streets of peaceful centres. I will not go into further details because those details may be too much for me and too much for you. I will not go into those riots of Jamalpur in the district of Mymensing which has disgraced the annals of British administration in my Eastern Province. I will not go into those disgraceful scenes for which the Hindu population in East Bengal found no redress and no sympathy in high official quarters. I will not go into the history of the piteous complaint which went up from the valley of Eastern Bengal to the highlands of Shillong, a complaint which was unheard and was unheeded. I will not go into the history where a united population sent up a request to the Governor to come down and see for himself the scenes that were being enacted in his name in the district of Mymensing. I will not go into them, for I do not trust myself to go into them. Gentlemen, that is the administration of the Eastern Province of Bengal. Boys, young men, are roused up from their slumbers in the dead of night to see that they belong to no band of marauding dacoits. Boys from the schools and colleges are put under arrest upon mere suspicion (cries of shame) and then they are let off. Gentlemen, these are some of the features which unhappily distinguish the East from the West Bengal. Then Mr. President and brother delegates, my friends in East Bengal feel the loss of the protection which Calcutta with its free Public Press, which Calcutta which centres in itself the leading public men of the province was able to extend to them in the past. Look not for your light and guidance to the city of Calcutta but rather go back, rather go back to that city, to that town which will grow, I know not in how many years, to that town in the centres of East Bengal—Dacca—the seat of a former Mahomedan Government, look for guidance and protection to him who in the hour of the sorest need of Bengal sold his birth-right away for a mess of pottage. That is the position in East Bengal. Gentlemen, very soon will be placed before you by a friend whose abiding eloquence you have heard yesterday—the history of the deportations in Bengal. The evil which you all deplore, which all India deplores, proceeded from the secret conclave of the officials in East Bengal and to-day some of my best friends, some of our best men, men to whom Bengal owes a great deal for her moral re-generation, for her spiritual guidance, for her literary culture, for her warm patriotism, for the Swadeshi spirit which now pervades my province from one end to the other—these are the men who from secret influences exerted in the Councils of the Eastern Province are to-day shut up in solitary confinement. (“Cries of shame.”) Gentlemen, these are some of the features of differences which have grown up between the East and West Bengal. Call them sentiment if you will. Will you call these grievances which are eating into the hearts’ strings, will you call these grievances which are sending off in thousands our youths

into the camp of the extremists, will you call these grievances which are arousing a bitter spirit of hostility amongst our young men, will you call these grievances shadowy and unsubstantial and sentimental? (Cries of "No.") I know not if these are merely sentimental what are solid and substantial grievances. Gentlemen, no less a personage than the Secretary of State for India admitted—was it accidental? admitted from his place in the House of Commons that the Partition of Bengal was a blunder and was carried out in the teeth of the opposition of the people of Bengal. What then? If a responsible minister of the crown, if he to whom is entrusted the destinies of all India admits the blunder and more than that admits that it was carried out in the teeth of popular opposition, is there to be no remedy? Must India sit mute and palpitating with silent grievances? Will there be no redress of that grievance? Gentlemen, the Anglo-Indian official, hide-bound in his own dignity, in the dignity which a tradition, a mischievous tradition has handed down to him, says "the grievance of Bengal is the downfall of bureaucracy. Shall we lose our prestige, our power, our influence with the people? Will it be said in the land of India that because a blunder has been committed the blunder be rectified? Will it not affect the prestige of the ruling race?" This is the great problem we have got to deal with? I never knew, gentlemen, no honest man knows that an error cannot be rectified because of the question of prestige. I had thought, we all thought that prestige is a refuge of the weak and that it is brushed aside by the strong and the just when injustice is pointed out. Gentlemen, I will relate to you a story which I have related recently on another platform. There was a Judge in the High Court of Bengal, than whom probably a better Judge never came out to this country, the late Sir Barnes Peacock. (Cheers). He and another Judge,—the best probably among all the Indian Judges, who have adorned the benches of the High Courts in India. He and the late Justice Dwarkanath Mitter were sitting together to hear an appeal and they differed in opinion and consequently judgment was not delivered. The next morning they both came with separate judgments written out by each of them. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter as the junior Judge read out his judgment first. After listening to that judgment, Sir Barnes Peacock in open court tore up the judgment that he had written. He said that he felt convinced by the judgment of his brother and colleague and that he thought that his colleague was right and he was in the wrong. (Cheers). Has the reputation of that eminent Judge and Jurist, Sir Barnes Peacock, suffered in prestige because he had the candour, frankness, strength and courage to admit the error openly? If it was known in after times that believing that his judgment was wrong, Sir Barnes Peacock had stuck to his wrong judgment what would have been the verdict of posterity? That he was a weak, inefficient and a dishonest Judge. Gentlemen, I can confidently appeal to the public in India and to the public in England, I think I can confidently appeal even to our Anglo-Indian rulers amongst whom there must be, amongst whom there are many men righteous and strong and justice-loving. I can appeal to them that their prestige will be a hundred times enhanced, that the rule of England in India will be much better consolidated and strengthened if they had the courage to undo a wrong. If they have the courage to say "we have done a wrong and it must be undone;" then, gentlemen, the feeling of suspicion, the feeling of separation which divides the two communities will disappear. Gentlemen, it is not a difficult task. I can assure you the revision of the lines of division of Bengal is not such a difficult task as it may seem to some. Gentlemen, when first the division was made it was never whispered, it was never said that it was done in the interests of the Mahomedan population of the Eastern Province. The justification for the measure of Partition at that date was not the preponderance that was given to the Mahomedan population of the Eastern Bengal but administrative convenience. But that argument did not go down. In the first stages of this agitation the Hindus and Musalman were together. A deputation waited at Belvedere upon the then ruler of Bengal composed of Hindus and Mahomedans in equal numbers, Mahomedan Zemindars coming from distant parts of Bengal to Calcutta to wait upon His Honour and explain the difficult position in case the Partition was carried out. But, gentlemen, the Government saw the difficulty. They wanted to divide us in order to gain their ends and forthwith was

Third Day.

Partition of Bengal.
Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose.

Third Day.
 Partition of Bengal.
 Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose.

raised a cry that the Eastern Province was to be for the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal. I am one of those, gentlemen, who do not grudge the concession of special rights and privileges to our Musalman brethren. They are unhappily for us in Bengal still behind the Hindu population. Let them have special facilities to make up for lost ground. I say that it is possible so to modify the Partition as to maintain intact any special privileges that may have been granted to our Mahomedan fellow-subjects in Eastern Bengal. We may have in Bengal a Governor in Council. We may have the province of Eastern Bengal, a portion of it converted into a Commissionership like the Commissionership of Sindh and we may detach Behar and Chota Nagpur and convert them into a Commissionership, all under one administration, legislatively and judicially. Gentlemen, already I hear sinister rumours of a Chief Court in the Eastern Provinces. They are afraid, the mighty administration of the Eastern Province is afraid of the power of the long arm of the High Court in Bengal now presided by one who has restored the confidence of the people in the justice of British rule in India. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I hear sinister rumours to that effect and you can easily imagine what the condition of Eastern Bengal will be under a Chief Court. You have had experiences of Chief Court. We have only recently an instance in which a Division Bench of the Punjab Chief Court endorsed the opinion of the Government of the Province as regards the torture to which a poor woman was subjected. We do not go into the position of a Chief Court in relation to a province. There are many other things which I might place before you if I had the time but unfortunately we have many resolutions before us and I must conclude. I stand before you, I, a Bengali from Bengal, one of a very few number of men who have been able to come to your province to attend this Congress, I stand before you, I stand at the bar of my own country, I stand before the best and the highest men in all India, I stand like Neophyte at the altar which you have raised for the worship of our mother to plead for a cause which to others may seem to be lost, to re-vitalize what to others may seem a vanished hope. Gentlemen, so long as the Bengali race will last, so long as the blood which flows through our veins courses through generations yet unborn, so long as the picture of a United India remains on our vision, so long as the mighty rivers of my native province flow on in their majesty and glory to the sea, so long as the fields and meadows of the East Bengal wave in all their verdant glory, our cause will not be lost. So long as the inspiring strains of Bandematram put new hearts into generations of Bengalees yet to come our cause will not be lost. (Hear, hear). For the moment we may have suffered defeat. For the moment the question seems to be settled but, God willing, we shall yet turn the defeat into victory. (Cheers). God willing, we shall yet unsettle that question. Gentlemen, we are passing through dark and dismal days and through great trials. I hope that this veil of darkness will soon lift. I hope our trials will soon end. In the dispensation of the divine Providence no wrong can last and this wrong of India, the greatest wrong as Lord MacDonnel had said inflicted by the British administration since the battle of Plassey will not last. Gentlemen, I pray to the God of the weak and the strong that the day may soon come when the Bengalee nation will emerge from their trials, from the difficulties and from their ordeals a rejuvenated, resplendent, purified, and a chastened race. I hope and pray that that day may come in our lifetime, I hope and pray that it may be vouchsafed to us to see the dawn of that brilliant day if not its meridian glory, and I ask you brethren to say "amen." I appeal to you brethren, the sturdy races of the Punjab, I appeal to those keen and business intellects which people the Presidencies in the South and West, I appeal to my friends from Oudh, United Provinces, the inheritors of the glory of the Hindu religion to extend to us their helping hand. For me, for us, Bengalees, there is no disgrace in seeking your help, for I seek for help from my own brethren. (Hear, hear). There can be no greater privilege to you my brethren than to extend to us your right hand of fellowship to East Bengal, to lift it from its present position of despondency and despair, and I am sure that an appeal of mine will not be in vain. (Cheers).

Mr. Ekambra Iyer.

MR. K. EKAMBRA IYER OF MADRAS SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—If you find me here one who was

never seen once before on this Congress platform and one of whom probably most of you have never heard, it is to demonstrate that in this grievance which originated in Bengal and which primarily affected only Bengal, that in this grievance not only every other province in India sympathises with sister Bengal, that in this grievance not simply the leaders of thought, not simply the elite and the men in the forefront of the ranks of the peoples sympathise with their brethren in Bengal but in every nook and corner of every province in India, the known and the unknown, the high and the low, the significant and the insignificant, of which class I am one (cheers) fully sympathise with our brethren in Bengal. Why so? Is it really a provincial grievance? Has not this grievance grown into a national grievance? If you will only look at the results of the short-sighted policy of one of the worst Viceroys India ever had the misfortune to possess? (Cheers). If you look at the results of that measure, who can say, that this grievance has not become a national grievance? I come here to demonstrate that every province, every educated Indian in each province, sympathises with our Bengalee brethren and heartily joins in requesting and appealing to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India to restore contentment not simply to the Province of Bengal in the words of our resolution but to give satisfaction to all the provinces and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government through the length and breadth of the land. (Hear, hear). Though for a time Lord Curzon, whose rule was compared by no less a man than our true Indian Patriot Mr. Gokhale, to the rule, of Aurangazeb (cheers), imagined that that agitation against the Partition of Bengal would subside as soon as the measure was introduced. Is it really so? How is it now? It is more than four years since this measure was introduced. Has not the agitation grown both in bulk and volume? Has not the feeling grown more and more intense (hear, hear,) throughout the country? If you look at the mischief the innumerable miseries which have followed the introduction of this unwise measure, who shall not join Bengal in appealing to the Sovereign, in appealing to the Secretary of State, in appealing to the British electorate to whom we are to send a deputation, consisting of Babu Surendranath Banerjee and Babu Bhupendranath Bose? Who will not join them in appealing to the country to remove this grievance as early as possible? Mr. B. N. Bose, that illustrious speaker who preceded me, has given to you the numerous effects which have followed this measure. I shall not, therefore, go over the same ground. That unhappy and dire evil which was the sole monopoly of only the Western nations has come into our midst. I refer to the anarchism which India had never known before the introduction of the Partition of Bengal. What is that due to? However much we may condemn this anarchical tendency in our foolish youths, however strongly be it our duty, of every one of us, to instil into their minds, in and out of season, in private and public, that this anarchical tendency in them is sinful, is irreligious, is unpatriotic and even suicidal to the progress of our country even though it be our duty to say so, who will deny that we have to trace the introduction of this anarchism only to the Partition of Bengal? (Hear, hear and cheers). Who can talk here in terms of self-restraint and moderation when we look upon the author of all these evils? How did Lord Curzon look when Lord Morley pointed to him as the author of all these evil consequences? Why did he shirk his responsibility and try to throw the blame on Lord Middleton and Lord Ampthill, who with redoubled force threw it back on Lord Curzon's head. (Cheers). Yes, how does Lord Curzon feel now? When Lord Morley himself recognises that there is evil in this measure, that there is a real grievance in this, why should we be hopeless that this will ever remain a settled fact? If Mr. Asquith and his Liberal Ministry will not deem the rejection of the Education Bill by the House of Lords as a settled fact, if the Irish men still feel that the Home Rule question is not a settled fact, if even Mr. Asquith who first thought that he would not yield an inch to the claims of the suffragettes and yet in one of his recent campaign speeches was forced to admit that this question of suffragettes will be an open question in the next Parliament, if the Liberals should be returned to power, if that be so, why should we feel hopeless with the admission by Lord Morley, with

Third Day.

Partition of Bengal.
Mr. Ekambra Iyer.

Third Day. the indirect admission by Lord George, who in referring to Lord Curzon said that he was less dangerous as a ruler of the House of Lords than as a ruler of India? With these facts before us I do not think we need doubt that this measure will certainly find a modification one day or other. With these few words, I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers).

Partition of Bengal.
Mr. Ekambra Iyer.
Mr. Parmeshwar Lal.

MR. PARMESHWAR LAL OF BEHAR SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which is given me to support is a resolution about which I am certain there is no difference of opinion. Constitutional agitation has done its very best about the Partition of Bengal and so far the Partition remains where it was. We are told that we ought to be strictly within the line of constitutional agitation and that constitutional agitation alone will give us all that we require in the way of political emancipation. The question of the Partition of Bengal and the constitutional agitation that has been carried on in connexion with it, for the last 4 or 5 years tell us in fact that constitutional agitation is not sufficient to solve this question. Gentlemen, the programme of constitutional agitation consists in meetings that pass resolutions in memorials sent to the different authorities and also in emissaries sent to England to agitate for redress of our grievances. All this has been done, and more than this cannot be well done. Let us hope that having done things in this way the question of constitutional agitation will be solved and the question of the Partition of Bengal will be a thing of the past. I think I am voicing the opinion of not merely younger men in this country but also perhaps of our leaders when I say that if constitutional agitation carried on in the strenuous way in which it has been carried on in connexion with the Partition fails the blame will not be on the Indian people if they cease to believe in constitutional agitation. (Cheers). Gentlemen, when this question was raised in your Subjects Committee the night before last I had proposed an amendment to the resolution as it now stands, and I had given notice to the Honorable our President of the amendment. The gentlemen who had promised to support me in this amendment are unfortunately not present here to-day and therefore I shall read the amendment in the hope that some one of you will second.

The President:—You are not in order in reading the amendment.

Mr. Parmeshwar Lal:—Gentlemen, the President tells me that I am not in order in proposing the amendment. (A voice no, you are not). I bow to his decision. Although I may say that in bowing to that decision I feel that my chance is gone, but all the same, Sir, in all constitutional agitation you must submit to the dictates of the Presidential authority. (Hear, hear). The Partition of Bengal I may tell you is our last straw in matters of constitutional agitation and constitutional agitation about the Partition of Bengal has been going on not merely in Bengal alone but in all the different provinces and let me assure you, Gentlemen of Bengal, that people in all the other provinces have felt as you have felt on this question. Those of us who do not have the honour to belong to the Bengal Presidency perhaps do not realize the difficulties created by the Partition as much as our brothers of Bengal do, but all the same we realize that it must be a grievous wrong of a most peculiar order to have caused all these disturbances among them. The Partition of Bengal has in a way given birth to the Extremist Party. Whether that Party is for the good of India or for evil it is not for me to say but, Gentlemen, it must be admitted to be one of the most powerful bodies that perhaps to-day exists in India. (Cheers). Gentlemen, we have in this connexion tried constitutional agitation in the form of meetings and memorials. Bengal had sent its illustrious orator, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee (cheers) to England only a few months ago, and according to this resolution we shall be sending Babu Surendranath Banerjee and Babu Bhupendranath Basu to agitate on this question again and let us hope that in this hour of trial, when the heart of English people is itself disturbed about the great question of the House of Lords, there might be some soft spot in it for us and they may lend a listening ear to our request, and send the Partition where it deserves to go. (Laughter). It is said prestige stands in the way of the Partition being altered. And yet the Partition of Bengal is a measure the author of which it is difficult to find out. Lord Morley told us at the beginning of his Office that it was a bad business.

Lord Curzon says that he was not the author of it. Mr. Brodrick (now Lord Middleton) says that the blame does not lie on his shoulders either. In that case it does not seem that the Partition of Bengal owes its authorship to any particular person, and so the question of the prestige of that person need not be considered in undoing the Partition of Bengal because the prestige of any body will not be lowered (cheers) by its abolition.

Third Day.

Partition of Bengal.
Mr. Parmeshwar Lal.

The President put the resolution to the Congress and it was carried unanimously.

THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE SAID:—Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have been asked to submit for your adoption the following resolution:—

Transvaal Indians.
The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

This Congress express its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal—Mahomedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who are heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their country and are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds.

This Congress offers its warmest encouragement to Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his brave faithful associates and calls upon all Indians, of whatever race or creed, to help them unstintedly with funds; and, in this connection, the Congress begs to convey to Mr. R. J. Tata its high appreciation of the patriotic instincts which have inspired his munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 to his suffering countrymen in South Africa in their hour of need and trial.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South African Union and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner in which the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement, deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

Fellow-delegates,—The first article of our constitution says that the Congress seeks to secure for the people of this country, first, a system of administration in India itself similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire; and, secondly, a participation for our countrymen not only in the burdens and responsibilities of the Empire but also in its privileges on equal terms with those other members. You will thus see that there are two ideas represented by the aspirations of the efforts of this Congress. One has reference to our status. I mean our political status in our own country; and the second to our political status in the whole Empire. Yesterday's resolution about the reforms and some of the resolutions that will follow to-day all deal with the improvement of our political status in our own country. This resolution, that I have just now submitted to you, deals with our political status in the whole of the British Empire. On this account, in the first instance, this question is of great, of supreme, and standing importance. But apart from that there are special circumstances which invest this question to-day with very special importance. You are aware that for many years past Indians in South Africa have had a very difficult time and during the last two years a most acute struggle has been going on in the Transvaal between our countrymen there and the Government of that Colony; but I take it that most of you are familiar with the leading facts of this struggle and yet in commending this resolution for your acceptance I think it is necessary to glance briefly at those facts here,

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
The Hon'ble Mr.
Gokhale.

For this purpose of this review one may divide the whole period of the struggle into three parts: the period of the Boer Government; the period of the Crown Government; and the present period of self-government for the Transvaal. During the time of the Boer Government our position was not very satisfactory; but in any case emigration into the Colony was perfectly unrestricted; any Indian who chose to go there could go there; all that was required of him was a payment of three pounds as registration fee. That is all. As a matter of fact, when the war broke out, there were in the Colony fifteen thousand Indians; that being the male population only, women and children being left out of account. There was another circumstance in our favour in those days. The strong arm of the British Government was behind us in the struggle that our countrymen were making with the Boer oligarchy at the time. As a matter of fact, many of you remember that both Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain mentioned the treatment that was sought to be meted out to the Indians in regard to the location laws as the main cause for which the Boer war was undertaken. That was the position under the Boer Government. There was the harsh and degrading law as regards location, but that was never sought to be rigorously applied. Then came the war. Then came the five or six years of Crown Government. During this Crown Government, when any one would have thought that the honour of England was committed to the policy of improving the status of Indians—as far as the honour of a country can be said to be committed by its leading statesmen—our countrymen actually found that an attempt was made immediately to render that position worse than it was. The very first thing which the Crown Government sought to do was to enforce that location law even more stringently than the Boer Government. They failed in that for reasons which I need not go into here. But our countrymen saw that for them the war had really made no change and as a matter of fact it had made their status worse. After that for about three to four years both Briton and Boer in the Transvaal, whatever their differences, were of one mind in regard to the treatment of Indians. Both Boer and Briton set up a cry of dishonest influx of Indians into the Colony. It was a perfectly unjust accusation; it was a lying accusation as was proved by several estimates published by the Government itself. But the cry was kept up for about four or five years. There was a census taken in 1904 when it was found that there were 10,000 Indians in the Colony as against 15 thousand men under the Boer Government—these ten thousand included children and women. There was another estimate published by the Registrar for the Asiatics Immigration in 1906 when again he found that there were ten thousand Indians in the Colony. There were two further estimates, one putting the number at 9,000 and another at 8,000. You will thus see that the cry of dishonest influx of Indians into the Colony was an absolutely unjust cry. This was the beginning of a new struggle. The white colonists were determined to prevent our people from entering and to put out as many as possible. Matters ultimately reached a crisis when an attempt was made to legislate in the matter, legislation being undertaken by the old Legislative Council that the Crown Government had given to the Colony. In 1906 an Ordinance called the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance was introduced into the Legislative Council, the object of which was to confine entry into the Transvaal to pre-war residents and to compel all Indians in the Transvaal to register themselves with the great humiliation attending such registration. All Indians naturally protested against this. But in spite of their protest the Ordinance was passed and then the Indians took a step which lies at the commencement of the present struggle that is going on. In September 1906 finding that all their efforts were unavailing and that this Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council, they held a meeting to protest against what was done, and at that meeting they passed their famous resolution—which since then has been known as their Covenant—saying that if the Imperial Government gave their sanction to that legislation, they would not submit to it (“hear, hear” and applause); they appointed at that meeting a deputation to proceed to England and that deputation was headed by our great and illustrious countryman, Mr. Gandhi. Fellow-delegates—after the immortal part which Mr. Gandhi has played in this affair, I must say it will not be possible for any Indian, at any time, here or in any other

assembly of Indians, to mention his name without deep emotion and pride. (Here the huge gathering rose to its feet and accorded three hearty and most enthusiastic cheers for Mr. Gandhi). Gentlemen, it is one of the privileges of my life that I know Mr. Gandhi intimately; and I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. (Cheers and loud applause). Mr. Gandhi is one of those men, who, living an austere simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot amongst patriots, and we may well say that in him Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high watermark. Mr. Gandhi headed this deputation which was sent to England and owing to his exertions and owing to the justice of our cause Royal assent was withheld to that Ordinance. This, however, was followed by the grant of Self-Government to the Colony and the new Colonial Parliament came into existence in February or March of the next year 1907. The very first thing that this Parliament did, as soon as the members were sworn in, was to undertake the passing of this Asiatic legislation. Briton and Boer being united in that desire. They passed the same Ordinance in a new form. They passed it and called it the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, practically prescribing the very same conditions and provisions that were contained in that Ordinance, the object being twofold, namely, to keep out of the Colony all Indians that may seek to enter there unless they were pre-war residents, and to compel resident Indians there to register themselves. This had to receive the Royal sanction; but this time, on the plea that it was a self-governing Colony which was legislating like that, the Imperial Government showed weakness and gave Royal sanction to this measure. The regulations that were framed under this law required the Indians to register under the most humiliating circumstances. They were to give a number of details which might well be resented by every self-respecting man. All the Indians were required to register themselves by the end of October 1907. Indians under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi immediately took steps to resist these regulations. They made up their minds that they would not register, no matter what the consequences were. The Government found itself face to face with the resistance of 8,000 men—that was the Indian population of the Colony at that time. They resorted to all manner of persuasion and coaxing; they extended the period from three to six months but it was found at the end of that period that only 500 men out of the 8,000 had registered themselves, the remaining 7,500 declining to register themselves. (Cheers). Then followed a short and sharp struggle. About this time two years ago, Mr. Gandhi and some other leading men were arrested and sent to jail. That however did not last long because in January negotiations were opened by the Boer Government with Mr. Gandhi and a compromise was arrived at. It was a compromise which at that time promised peaceful and honourable settlement to them. Roughly the terms of the compromise were three. They were not reduced to writing. The first thing was that this Asiatic Law Amendment Act was to be repealed—the whole of the struggle that has since gone on has raged round the repeal of the Asiatic Law. The first condition was that this Asiatic Law was to be repealed. That was quite understood. The second was that the Indians there were voluntarily to register themselves but the registration was to be free from humiliating conditions. The third was that whatever restrictions the Government wanted to be imposed, were to be imposed under the operation of another law which was perfectly general in its nature and not aimed at the Asiatics—the law named the Immigration Registration Act that applied to everybody. Mr. Gandhi said that any restrictions that the Government wanted must be imposed under that Act. Acting on the good faith of that Government Mr. Gandhi travelled through the country and persuaded his countrymen with the greatest difficulty,—because you know an attempt was made on his life by some of his followers who were furious that he should have agreed to that compromise and that he had to be put in the hospital. He did his part as well as a man of honour could have done in those circumstances. In the course of three or four months, by May, the

Third Day

Transvaal Indians.
The Hon'ble Mr.
Gokhale.

Third Day.
 Transvaal Indians.
 The Hon'ble Mr.
 Gokhale.

entire Indian population with very few exceptions had voluntarily registered themselves. Having done his part of the compact, Mr. Gandhi expected General Smutts and the Boer Government to do their part of the compact, to carry out the repeal of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. There General Smutts broke faith and said that that was not so promised. (Cries of "shame"). Therefore there was nothing left for our countrymen but to continue the struggle or else to put up with this gross breach of faith. They had registered themselves and the purpose of the Act was quite satisfied. Therefore they took another bold step. A meeting was held of about 2,500 Indians at which they openly and publicly burnt their registration certificates. The value of the certificates is this. You are liable to be challenged by any policeman and liable to be called upon to produce the certificate. If you produce it you go unmolested; otherwise you are arrested and hauled up before a Magistrate. These men therefore voluntarily sacrificed the certificates which secured them against molestation and threw down an open challenge against the Boer Government and the Government accepted their challenge. There were arrests and imprisonments and by the time Mr. Polak came to this country and Mr. Gandhi went to England about 2,500 punishments had been suffered by our countrymen mostly with hard labour. (Cries of "shame"). But the suffering endured by our countrymen was not represented by these mere sentences of imprisonment. Thousands had suffered in property. It has been estimated by Mr. Gandhi that between half a crore and one crore in property had been lost by that small handful of Indians there. About one thousand people had been rendered homeless; families had been scattered and had been made wanderers on the face of the earth. Enormous suffering has been endured by women and children of which it is difficult to form an adequate idea. Their husbands, brothers and sons having gone to jail, the women turned vegetable sellers in the streets to maintain themselves and their children somehow. All this time this handful of countrymen, this small community has carried on the agitation, which is a standing lesson to the people of this country. For three years they have undergone this suffering, fighting with one hand and with the other hand pushing on their agitation ceaselessly in South Africa, in this country, and in England. Well, sometime ago, our brethren finding that the situation had grown extremely serious and finding also that the four Colonies of South Africa were to be united into a union sent a deputation to England in order to get the Imperial Government to put pressure upon the Colonial Prime Ministers and this deputation was also headed by Mr. Gandhi. Through Mr. Gandhi's courtesy I was privileged to see the negotiations between himself and Lord Amptill on one hand and Lord Morley and Lord Crewe on the other. Mr. Gandhi did all that was possible for a conciliatory man to do in the matter. But the negotiations failed for no fault of ours or of those who stand for us. Roughly, the case may be mentioned in one sentence. General Smutts declared to Lord Crewe that he was not prepared to admit even the theoretical equality of the Asiatics with the white people. (Cries of "shame"). The negotiations having failed, Mr. Gandhi has gone back to South Africa. Mr. Polak is here to rouse and enlist your sympathy. Gentlemen, it has come to that; he has had to come here in order to enlist your sympathies in this, because the struggle has been resumed. Only yesterday, Mr. Polak got a telegram saying that Mr. Gandhi and his second son and several others had gone across the frontier in order to be arrested and to challenge the Government still further. What will happen we have yet to see. I had a short telegram myself a few days ago in which Mr. Gandhi said he expected to be arrested very shortly and very probably in the course of the next two or three days he will be arrested. (Cheers and loud applause). Now this is the struggle and the question before us is, what are we going to do to help our countrymen in this matter? The resolution that I have read out to you contains three appeals. I will deal with these three appeals in the inverse order.

Before doing that I should like to sum up the struggle very briefly. It is this. There are four facts that stand out prominently in connection with this struggle. First is that the condition of our countrymen has deteriorated steadily from the time of the Boer Government to the present time; gone from bad to worse. The second is that our cause is a

cause of right and justice; our countrymen take their stand on that equality which is promised to us by our Sovereign and Parliament and they insist that that equality shall be a reality and not a hollow promise. The third is our countrymen have done really nothing unworthy throughout the struggle, on the contrary, they have done everything worthy, so worthy that our hearts must feel a glow of pride and all of us must feel high hopes about the future of our land. The last is that our countrymen are struggling not for themselves but for the honour of India. (Cheers and "hear, hear"). This is a point that has to be realised. They are not struggling for themselves at all. They had voluntarily registered themselves; they had secured themselves from molestation. But they burnt their certificates because they did not want the bar to be put upon the Indian that he is not equal to the Boer. They did not want this stigma on the Indian name. The struggle therefore is for the honour of India; is in the interests of those of us who may want to go there; and not for those who are there. It is therefore our struggle, more than the struggle of that small Colony there. This is the struggle and what are the appeals that we make in this resolution. We will take the appeals in the inverse order. The last is the appeal to the Imperial Parliament; the next one is the appeal to the Indian Government and the first appeal is to the people of this country. The appeal to the Imperial Parliament is this. We say this respectfully to the Members of the Imperial Parliament and Imperial statesmen that the policy that has been often announced by statesmen calling themselves Imperial, namely, that the white Colonies were for the white people only as also the undeveloped tracts suited to white people; that that is a policy selfish and unrighteous; that the people of India will never agree to that policy; that the policy is unrighteous because for better or for worse India now forms part of the empire, in theory at any rate; we have been told that we are the subjects of England and fellow-subjects of the white subjects of the King. We know in practice that we are not the equal subjects of the King but the subjects of our fellow subjects, subjects of the white subjects. Surely we cannot accept this for ourselves. We say that if you understand the true interests of the Empire you must not allow this policy to go on. You must reverse and put an end to it as soon as you can. That is our appeal to the Imperial Government. Our appeal to the Indian Government is this: You are the Government of this country, you are no agents for the Transvaal or for the South African Union. You have to keep the interests of the people of this country foremost in your mind. I am glad to say it is also the view which the Government of India take up in the matter. We say to them that the time has come not merely for making representations, that time is gone. They have made endless representations but so far they have produced no effect. The time has come for retaliation. (Loud and prolonged cheers). Happily for us the means for retaliation are in the hands of the Government of India. Natal wants Indian labour. During the last four years the figures available for them show that in 1905, 8,000 Indians were taken there as indentured labourers. In the next year about 7,000, in the third year about 6,000 and in the last year they took 3,000 Indians as labourers. They want indentured labour; they do not want any free Indians there. The Government of India have got to say that they have either to stand the free Indian or do without the indentured labour. This is the position about which there is no missing words anymore. The new Councils give opportunities to our members to bring these questions in the form of motions before the Imperial Council at any rate; and I trust that those who will be in the first Council will realise their duty in the matter and lose no time in bringing forward a motion. We say to the Government you must discontinue this recruitment of indentured labour. It is carried under the authority of the Government, therefore they have it in their power not merely to withdraw but to stop that recruitment. It has been said by a Commission, that was recently appointed to consider the question of emigration, that without this labour many industries of Natal will be paralysed. The Commission enumerates the industries that will be so paralysed. Therefore the Government of India can well say to Natal and the South African Union that unless the condition of Indians is improved indentured labour will no more be available to South Africa from India. That is our appeal to the Government of India. Our appeal to our own countrymen is this—a small

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
The Hon'ble Mr.
Gokhale.

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
The Hon'ble Mr.
Gokhale.

Colony in Transvaal is doing its duty in the matter. It has done nothing unworthy but everything worthy. It is engaged in what is known as the passive resistance struggle. What is the passive resistance struggle? It is essentially defensive in its nature and it fights with moral and spiritual weapons. A passive resister resists tyranny by undergoing suffering in his own person. He pits soul force against brute force; he pits the divine in man against the brute in man; he pits suffering against oppression, pits conscience against might; he pits faith against injustice; right against wrong. A passive resister deliberately and openly violates the requirements of an unjust law or order for the simple reason that he cannot conscientiously submit to that law or order. He does not seek to evade the consequences of that but invites them and he glories in them. It is a spiritual struggle essentially in keeping with the highest traditions of Indian spirituality. I repeat that our countrymen have done nothing unworthy. On the contrary, everything that they have done is worthy of them. It rests with us now to say whether we shall go to their rescue or not because this small community is, I have been told, vanishing. Their loss is from half a crore to one crore already. You can well imagine what that means. They need funds; they are prepared to carry on the struggle whether your funds go or not. Men who are going to jail again and again leave their children behind thinking that God will take care of them, if no help goes probably the women and children will perish; if it goes all may yet be well with the struggle. It is our duty to send help. In any case we must support this struggle till the South African Parliament meets in July. There is some probability of some pressure being put upon the new Parliament when it meets. We must carry on the struggle till then. I do not say it will be given up then. It will depend upon the terms offered by the new Parliament. If they are honourable Mr. Gandhi is not the man to stand in the way of solution, if they are not, no matter how acute it may be, Mr. Gandhi is not a man to give up the struggle. In any case we are bound to find money for the struggle. We shall be ashamed before the whole of the civilised world if we do not rise to the responsibility. At least a lakh of rupees must be forthcoming by April. Mr. Tata whose name is mentioned in this resolution a worthy son of a worthy father (cheers and applause) has shed fresh lustre on the great and illustrious name he bears. He has already placed Rs. 25,000 at the disposal of the Colony. In addition to that the country must raise Rs. 1,00,000. I had a talk with Mr. Polak and we thought that if Bombay raised Rs. 25,000 in addition to Tata's subscription and Bengal with its population four times as large as Madras and the United Provinces raised another Rs. 25,000 Madras and the United Provinces raised each Rs. 15,000 and the Punjab and Berar raised each Rs. 10,000 a lakh of rupees will be forthcoming. What is a lakh of rupees compared to the sufferings that they have cheerfully borne for the sake of our country and of our honour. The appeal that I would address to you is this: It is your duty to come to the assistance of these people. As you do in this trial—you are on your trial, the whole of our nation in this matter is on its trial, our patriotism, public spirit and our sincerity are all of them on their trial before God and man in this matter—as you acquit yourself in this trial so shall it be with your country. If you fail we shall have to hang down our heads in shame and silence till another generation takes our place and renders more faithful service to our motherland. If you, on the other hand, acquit yourself well, if you rise to the height of your duty and responsibility then the struggle will be prolonged and all may yet be well with us. We may have to wade through failures and sufferings and difficulties. Spade work may have to be faced still ultimately it shall be well with us and our countrymen.

Mr. Deep Narain
Singh.

MR. DEEP NARAIN SINGH OF ALLAHABAD, IN SECONDING THE RESOLUTION, SAID:—Mr. President and Gentlemen,—After the stirring words of Mr. Gokhale I believe it will be almost worse than useless for me to inflict upon you a speech of any length. His stirring words have filled you with deep indignation, with great sorrow, and with great admiration, for our countrymen in South Africa; and I do not wish to spoil the effect by my poor speech. I shall therefore in the name of the Hindus and Mahomedans of my Province of Behar, lay at the feet of Mr. Gandhi and his brave comrades in South Africa, our tribute of admiration, and I have no doubt that all sects and

Communities of my country will heartily join in thus publicly placing our homage at the feet of our countrymen there. Gentlemen, unfortunately the feelings of admiration and pride are not the only ones, evoked in our breasts, at the sight of the sufferings of our brethren in the Transvaal. It is also our duty to record our deep indignation at the sinful negligence that the British Government has displayed in protecting the rights of our citizens. One more word and I shall have done. Not only indignation but deep sorrow fills our hearts and I regretfully but truly add that also a sense of shame overwhelms us at the apathetic attitude of our own countrymen. They have done so much in the Transvaal, and we only give them lip encouragement. Now is the time, gentlemen, to dip your hands in your pockets and show that you are worthy brothers of the heroes in the Transvaal and also let us, here, as a united nation, send them a message that if humiliation divided is humiliation lessened, and sorrow shared is sorrow alleviated, their humiliation and sorrow are shared by 300 million brothers and sisters of India. With these words, gentlemen, I most heartily second the resolution that has been so ably placed before you by the Honourable Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers).

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
Mr. Deep Narain Singh.

MR. G. A. NATESAN NEXT ADDRESSED THE CONGRESS AS FOLLOWS :—

Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is difficult for any Indian to speak or write about the grievances of the Indians in South Africa without strong feelings of indignation, humiliation, shame and sorrow. *Indignation* that our countrymen in Transvaal should be the subject of unparalleled cruelty, tyranny and race-hatred; *humiliation* that His Majesty's equal subjects should be denied the most elementary civic rights in a British Colony; *shame* that the Imperial Government should have assumed a *non-possumus* attitude in regard to a great outrage committed on the fundamental rights of British citizenship; and *sorrow* that hundreds of our countrymen should day after day be undergoing sufferings indescribable, and yet we in India should find ourselves more or less helpless in the matter. The story of the sufferings of our countrymen there will shortly be unfolded to you by the delegates from the Transvaal who will follow me. I shall content myself only with telling you that the story is, in brief, one of faith in the British betrayed, promises broken and pledges unredeemed.

It is difficult for one to restrain his feelings when he looks back for a moment upon the conduct of the Imperial Government in this matter. The great Boer War is alleged to have been undertaken among other reasons on account of the unjust and illegal treatment of His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa. It is not ten years since that war was waged, but it looks as if it was only an event of yesterday when Britain and Boer were locked in death struggle and for a moment the prestige of Great Britain trembled in the balance. It looks as if it were only yesterday when hundreds of our countrymen headed by Mr. Gandhi—all glory to him—volunteered their services, risked their very lives during that memorable war on behalf of their Sovereign by undertaking the position of stretcher-bearers in a spirit of devotion and loyalty. The war is over, the Boer who played such havoc with the lives of thousands of British soldiers and was at one time almost at the point of driving out the British from South Africa, is to-day being patted on the back and is given the privilege of Self-Government. But the loyal Indians—where are they? They who suffered and risked their very lives, they are now confined in the Transvaal jails in common with kaffirs and criminals of the worst type for offering passive resistance to a law meanly and mischievously designed to brand them with “the bar sinister of inferiority,” and as if this cruelty was not enough, men like Mr. Gandhi and Parsee Rustomjee are being dragged along the King's high roads in the Transvaal and handcuffed and chained and more wicked still, some of them compelled to carry night-soil pails.

And what does the Imperial Government say to all this disgraceful scandal? We are told that they are almost powerless against a self-governing colony. The reason given is, to say the least of it, insufficient for we know that there were at least three excellent opportunities for the Imperial Government to interfere in the matter if they chose and get our grievances redressed and our wrongs righted. They had the opportunity in 1906 when they gave Self-Government to the Transvaal,

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
Mr. G. A. Natesan.

They had it again a year later when they gave them a loan of 5 millions sterling and they had it at the beginning of this year when they sanctioned the South African Union Bill. If this imperial impotency is indeed a fact, I can only say that it is a most humiliating confession which makes Great Britain look small in the eyes of the other powers of the civilized world. The statement amounts to this that if a neighbour or a stranger unconnected with the British, insults a British Indian subject, then the Government will be prepared to fight on his behalf. But if its own subjects, sons of the Empire, insult and ill-treat him they plead their powerlessness, and yet responsible statesmen are not ashamed to tell us that we should put up with the present ill-treatment and look to a better time and an improved attitude of mind of the domineering Boer and British Colonials. It is impossible to conceive of a more scandalous result of Imperial impotency and one is tempted to exclaim in the words of Burke uttered on the very floor of the House of Commons which was only recently stained by the sanction there given to the colour bar in the South African Union Bill, said Burke: "The age of chivalry is gone, that of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded."

May we ask, is the honour, the integrity and the prestige of the British power and the self-respect of 300 millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects to lie at the mercy of a disgraceful combine of a white plutocracy of greedy gold-hunters? May we ask in the words of the late Sir William Hunter, does or does not an Indian carry the rights of British citizenship wherever the British flag floats? May we ask, is India to be the exploiting ground of men of all nationalities and creeds and adventurers of every type and yet Indians denied the right of entry and peaceful living in a British Colony? Any alien can to-day go to the Transvaal and acquire the right of citizenship and yet the most loyal and cultured Indian be he the Gaekwar of Baroda, a Gokhale or a Mehta, cannot enter the Colony without a permit, and it looks that if Jesus Christ to-day desired entry into the Transvaal, the white Christian plutocracy will resist his entry on account of his Asiatic origin, and yet there are some people who have the audacity to ask India to participate in the celebration of the Empire Day and tell us glibly that India is the richest jewel in the Crown of the British Empire. Verily, verily, in the words of the poet.

"Earth is sick, heaven is weary

"Of the hollow words that states and kingdoms utter

"When they speak of truth and justice."

Gentlemen,—Our best efforts to keep ourselves under restraint fail us, when we contemplate, for a moment, on the harrowing character of the sufferings of our sorrowing countrymen in South Africa and one is tempted to continue in this strain. Suffice it to say, that it is high time in the interests, if not of outraged humanity, yet for purely political considerations, the Government of India should forthwith give a practical proof of its deep sense of resentment at the ill-treatment of its Indian subjects in South Africa, by employing the weapon of retaliation and stopping indentured emigration. The invidious character of the reform regulations has already deepened the existing discontent in the country and I venture to assert that if the grievances of the Indians in South Africa are not forthwith remedied, the unrest will grow worse and the Government may have to face a most difficult and unexpected situation. Indeed as Mr. Syed Hassan Bilgrami, late of the India Council, said the other day "the discontent created by the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal is more dangerous than the unrest?"

Sir, it is difficult to lift the veil that hides the future, and I know not what the result of this great struggle will be; but this much I feel certain: It may be that the fifteen thousands of Indians in the Transvaal who are to-day reduced in numbers to five hundred may dwindle into five, to one or perhaps to none in the heroic struggle in which they are engaged. It may be that the poor and helpless Indians there may be wiped out of existence by the wanton and wicked cruelty of the Transvaalers; the battle may be lost in the Transvaal, but remember, gentlemen, the scene of the battle-ground will soon be changed and the racial battle, for it is nothing else but that, will soon be fought out in other fields of South

Africa and, for aught we know, in other parts of the British Colonies. The issue throughout will be—are peaceful and law-abiding subjects of the British Empire to enjoy the boasted rights of British citizenship wherever the Union Jack floats or are they to be “*segregated, separated and stigmatised*,” as unworthy of British rights as coloured Indians in a British Colony. That is the great issue. The perilous struggle in which the indomitable Mr. Gandhi and his brave comrades are at present engaged is in a sense idealistic. It is to use Mr. Gandhi’s own words, “a spiritual struggle.” And our countrymen there are fighting for a cause, not personal but national, and in their struggle, their hour of trial, they are now appealing to the self-respect of three hundred millions of their countrymen on behalf of whose honour they are risking their lives and their fortunes. Their appeal is in a way challenge to India for remember, the handful of Indians there, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians have thrown in their lot with one another and are solving the problem of Indian nationality and a united India and it is the growth of this true type of Indian manhood that is at present threatened with extinction by a process of strangulation that staggers humanity. Will India realise the situation? Will the mother country take up the challenge? That is the question before the Congress and upon the manner in which we take up the challenge and acquit ourselves depends, to a great extent, our status and our position as a unit among the self-respecting nations of the civilised world. (Cheers).

MR. MALIK GIRDHARILAL OF PUNJAB SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I commend for your acceptance the resolution that has been moved in such eloquent terms by our illustrious countryman Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The difficulties of our brethren in the Transvaal, the difficulties under which they are labouring under the Asiatic Law Amendment Act and Immigration Act are by this time known to you all and are such as to move the heart of even the most stoic. The Acts are the outcome of race hatred of the worst type and the Regulations framed under it put British Indians in Transvaal in a much worse position than in the time of the late President Kruger. The law that was in operation in the time of the Boer Republic was conceived in a more liberal spirit and never aimed at exclusion.

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Mr. Malik Gir-
dharilal.

The present Acts indicate a falling away from those lofty principles of British statesmanship, which are the mainstay of England and which are its chief title to fame. It is sad to contemplate that while in India the reforms loom large on the horizon and there is a growing recognition on the part of the Government to allow Indians a greater participation in the administration of their country, our countrymen in South Africa are denied the ordinary privileges of civilised human beings. It is true that the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have no hand in the matter, but if strong pressure is brought to bear upon the Imperial Government and Colonies there is no doubt that the Acts will be removed from the Statute Book or so modified as to be divested of all objectionable clauses. The Acts are not based on rational principles and like all other measures that take their stand on momentary needs of the hour is bound to be repealed by more beneficial Acts worthy of the best traditions of the English race.

The difficulties of our brethren in Transvaal, the privations which India’s noble sons like Mr. Gandhi and his numerous associates in South Africa are chiefly undergoing, sacrificing worldly possessions, health, comfort, and all that one holds dear in this life to defend and to uphold the honour of their motherland—all these are soul-stirring incidents which are bound to fill a glorious chapter in the history of the world. It would be no exaggeration to say that such men are the salt of the earth and well may India feel proud of them. But we shall be wanting in our duty if we are to do nothing else beyond a mere expression of our appreciation at their heroic self-sacrifice. The cause which our brethren in South Africa are manfully fighting for, and for which they have so heavily suffered, requires a liberal and unstinted support of funds. Mr. Polak with the magnanimity and large heartedness which rises superior to race considerations and can look upon human problem with a disengaged eye has come all the way from South Africa to rouse us to our sense of responsibility and it is the duty of us all to help

Third Day.
 Transvaal Indians.
 Mr. Malik Gir.
 dharilal.

forward the mission to which at great self-sacrifice, he has wedded himself. The ball has been set rolling by Mr. Tata who heads the list of donations with a princely contribution of Rs. 25,000 cash and it is hoped that his example will be widely followed. Sustained effort is required in this direction as the fight is for a great principle. In defence of the Act the Transvaalers put forward a plea that yellow races are inferior to white race and are to be kept at arms length for fear of polluting the white. Now, gentlemen, this is a view which shows either their utter lack of knowledge of history or a perverted reading of history. For those who have the slightest acquaintance with history know full well that at a time when Europe was in the lowest depths of ignorance and superstition India had developed a civilisation and culture which had extorted the admiration of some of the best minds of Europe. In the middle ages again it was the yellow race, I mean the Mahomedans, who carried their banner to the remotest corners of Europe and in our own times Japan has shown that Asiatics are in no way inferior to the white races.

In these circumstances it behoves every Indian who has any love for his motherland to come forward to support the cause of their fellow countrymen in Transvaal who are fighting for the honour of India. (Cheers).

Mr. Iswara Saran.

MR. ISWARA SARAN OF ALLAHABAD, SAID:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—When we remember the sufferings of our countrymen and country women in South Africa the one question which suggests itself to us is, are we British subjects? Lord Morley has declared that we are the equal subjects of the King; is this declaration hollow or does it really mean something? If it is sincere, as I believe it to be, then I say, gentlemen, that we should have equality of rights, equality of privileges as well as equality of obligations. We have been forced by the selfish, brutal and heartless behaviour of the white colonists in the Transvaal to call upon the Government of India to adopt retaliatory measures. We say to the Government that if the colonists treat us as beasts of burden you should mete out the same treatment to them. Show to them that if they are not prepared to treat us as fellow subjects the Government of India at any rate is not prepared to treat the colonies any better. (Cheers). Gentlemen, to my mind our duty in the matter is immensely greater than the duty of either the Government of India or the Houses of Parliament. I look upon the struggle as a spiritual struggle which as the Honourable Mr. Gokhale has said is quite in keeping with the traditions of our race. First of all, gentlemen, I would like to tell you what Mr. Gandhi has done. I was told by Mr. Polak last evening that Mr. Gandhi was in very good practice but to-day the clothes that he wears are not his own. The food that he eats is not his own. The man has been to jail twice; his son has gone to jail and as Mr. Polak puts it, he is bringing up another son so that he may go to jail, not for himself, nor for his family but for the good name of the motherland (Cheers). With your permission, Sir, I shall read to you a short passage from an article which he wrote in the "Modern Review" about his jail experiences. Mr. Gandhi says. By the time half my term was over, a wire was received from *Phaenix* to the effect that Mrs. Gandhi was dangerously ill, and I should go to her. Every one was sorry to hear this. But I had absolutely no misgivings about what my duty was. The jailor asked me, if I was ready to pay the fine now and go. I at once said it was not possible for me to pay the fine and get released, as it was a part of our programme in this fight that if necessary we should suffer bereavement of our wife and children. He smiled at it but he too was sorry. To some, *prima facie*, this would seem to be cruel conduct on my part but I think that there is nothing wrong in it. Love of my country I consider to be part of my religion, though not the whole of it. Unless one has love for one's own country, one cannot be said to observe one's own religion perfectly. So if in trying to observe our religion we have to part from our wife and children, even lose them, there is nothing heartless about it, but I rather feel convinced that it is our duty so to do. If we have to fight till death we have to do so, and why should we think of other matters? Such is the man, gentlemen, who is struggling in the Transvaal against fearful odds for the honour of our country. Gentlemen, there is one feature of this struggle in the Transvaal to which I should like to draw your attention. We find that at the present day

in India the Hindu and Mahomedan question is becoming a source of anxiety to every lover of the country. But look to our brethren in the Transvaal. The Hindus and Mahomedans have realised the ultimate unity which is our goal and they are fighting as brothers and comrades in arms against a common foe. (Cheers). Gentlemen, that I submit is a lesson which we in the mother country can very well learn from our brethren who are carrying on our struggle in that strange and distant land. Gentlemen, a word more and I have done. Lip sympathy is all right, but do you or do you not want them to feel that the mother country is watching their struggle and their sufferings with love and sympathy? Send them then your good thoughts. Good thoughts, gentlemen, according to my belief are very helpful, but at the same time show to the world that you do not pass only resolutions but that you really feel for them. Translate your ideas and your words into action. When you go back to all parts of the country send up petitions and memorials calling upon the Government to come to our rescue. But your activities should not end there; try to collect money and send it to those who are fighting manfully for national honour and self-respect. Gentlemen, the Gita says, our duty ends when we have done all that we can and the result is no concern of ours for it lies in the hands of higher powers. Let it be our satisfaction that we have done by our countrymen in South Africa what we could and let the result be what it may. With these few words I beg to support the resolution. (Cheers).

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
Mr. Iswara Saran.

PANDIT DEV RATTAN OF THE PUNJAB NEXT SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION IN AN URDU SPEECH. HE SAID:—Esteemed President and fellow-delegates,—The present is a momentous period in the History of India. A wave of extremism, aloofness and anarchism is passing over the land, which it is the duty of the Government and the people alike to check and uproot in time, before it has done much mischief. The loyal and thoughtful section of the Indian community feels its duty in the matter as strongly as Lord Minto has appealed earnestly and invited the co-operation of Indian leaders for the purpose. I am sure this co-operation will be given as readily and willingly as it has been asked. But it should also be noted that the Indian leaders have to render an account of their policy before their countrymen. They have to justify the course of their action by actual results. It is an open secret that they have been called mendicants and beggars. For aught I know, they are not ashamed of these titles, provided their course of action is found to be productive of better results, and brings something substantial to their countrymen. Ask and thou shalt be given is a good saying. But it would lose all its value if asking were not followed by giving. The act of asking, of praying—in fact, of all that passes under the name of constitutional agitation in politics—would lose all its merits if it were followed by no good results, and all the prayers were to remain nothing more than prayers. It is for this reason that we implore the co-operation of the Government in India and in England to come to the aid of the Indian leaders to allay the feelings of bitterness aroused in not an inconsiderable number of Indian hearts, who openly put this question to them, ‘Do the British Government and the makers of British Empire feel for us so much as you ask us to feel for them?—And this question of the ill-treatment of our respected and brave countrymen in the Transvaal and other British Colonies is, among other things, flung at their face as an instance. Sir, I confess, we have no valid and sound answer to make in face of the existing facts of the ill-treatment meted out to our countrymen in different parts of the British Empire. Whoever heard of the tyranny of head and hands over the knees and feet of the same body. And yet it is exactly this that is happening. Sir, we would complain even if our countrymen were ill-treated in non-British territories, because the citizens of a respected and powerful Empire are entitled to respect and consideration wherever they go. But horror of horrors! we have to complain of the treatment meted out to us *within the British Empire* and by the limbs and bones of the same body politic—in a way by our own kith and kin!! Is this condition, I ask, favourable for the growth of a feeling in the Indian heart that he is the member of the same Empire and a partner in its destiny, to which some of his oppressors belong! Most certainly not. But is it not this very feeling of fellow-citizenship and partnership which can be, and must ever be, at the bottom of intelli-

Pandit Dev Rattan.

Third Day.
 Transvaal Indians.
 Faudit Dev Rattan.

gent and self-respecting, and at the same time abiding loyalty as distinguished from servile and cringing flattery which cannot last long, and deteriorates a nation while it lasts. Is it not then the duty of Indian patriots and the Indian Government alike to see that the present condition of affairs is changed as speedily as possible? Our Anglo-Indian friends ever show themselves as very jealous of preserving their *prestige*. But let them see how this idea of *prestige* suffers when you are forced to admit before an Indian that the paramount power in England is unable to check the white colonists from acting as they do towards the inhabitants of another part of the same Empire! A younger and weaker child cries for help and protection against a stronger but unsympathetic brother, and the father pleads his inability to interfere; how does this all look?

But we are not yet without hope, and we fervently hope that the wrong will be righted. We earnestly pray to His Excellency the Viceroy—the good and sympathetic Lord Minto to use his influence in the matter. We request the kind-hearted Secretary of State for India—the noble Lord Morley, to use his vast influence in the matter. We ask other Ministers of His Gracious Majesty's Liberal Government—the successors of Bright and Gladstone to use their powerful influence in the matter—so that this standing complaint may be soon removed.

One word to my own countrymen. No Englishman, German or Frenchman can thus be maltreated with impunity in a foreign land as our fellow-countrymen of all ranks are being treated in the Colonies. No one, even a Tartar, a Turk or a Chinaman dare treat them in this manner. Why, because they know the penalty they have had to pay for every single act of this kind. Why because it is known that his whole nation is at the back of the European, and if foul hands are laid over a single Englishman, German or French, it would create feelings of strong indignation throughout England, Germany and France. But our countrymen abroad are considered to represent nobody but themselves and to be cared for by nobody but themselves. This really accounts for the repeated insults offered to them whether they occupy high or low positions in other countries. Would you allow this impression to go on deepening and growing in strength? Would you not show in this meeting strongly and unequivocally that you really feel for your countrymen and look upon them as flesh of your flesh and bone of your bone, and that you are ready to open the strings of your purse and to raise your voice to help them in the hour of their need? I hope that the alleged awakened sense of national unity in us will not prove itself to be a mere chimera in this matter. If you will help your countrymen to-day others will help them to-morrow. If you will feel for them now, others will feel for them hereafter. I hope this brief appeal will not go in vain.

With these words I beg to support the resolution that has been so ably put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. (Cheers).

Mr. C. R. Naidoo.

MR. C. R. NAIDOO, FROM SOUTH AFRICA, WHO WAS RECEIVED WITH CHEERS, SPOKE AS FOLLOWS:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—I am here specially delegated to present to you the situation in South Africa as it affects that section of the Indian community which by birth and up-bringing regard South Africa as their permanent home, whilst never forgetting that India is the Motherland to which they must look for inspiration and help. I myself was born in South Africa and have lived there all my life, and my future, as well as that of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, depends entirely upon the treatment that is meted out to us there. We have to bring up our families and to conduct our affairs in a land where the majority of our fellow colonists are hostile to us.

It is not practical politics to urge our return to India where, after all, our associations are mainly those of religion, tradition, and patriotic sentiment. The question for India to answer is how is she going to mould our future and try to make life bearable for us.

We are doing our utmost to preserve our self-respect, but India, our Motherland, must help. I am here specially to represent to you the grievances of those Indians, who are to-day in South Africa under indenture, or who are supposed to be free from indentures. I have myself travelled amongst the indentured Indians in various parts of the Colony of

Natal for the last 3 years. It has been stated that for some of the Indians who are under indenture life is a hell upon earth. However that may be, I have known, from my own experience of what I have seen, that in very many cases rigorous imprisonment is easier than serving a 5 years' contract in Natal. There was a case recently where an indentured labourer, contracted to the Natal Government Railways, refused to return to his employers. He declared that he would sooner break stones in prison than return to the Natal Government Railways. Then there is the high suicide rate amongst the indentured Indians—10 to 14 times as high as it is in India.

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
Mr. C. R. Naidoo.

If the Indians desire to remain in Natal free, rather than return to India penniless or to re-indenture, they are liable to pay an annual tax of Rs. 45 for every male of 16 years and upwards and every female of 13 years and upwards. Owing to the terrible depression and the competition with Indian indentured labour it is often impossible to pay this tax and men have been known to desert their families and have sometimes been obliged to take to dishonest practices, whilst women have been tempted to barter their modesty. In all these circumstances I urge upon you, my fellow-countrymen, to do your utmost to stop the recruiting of Indian labour for South Africa. You will save lives and honour and you will do something to bring relief to a threatened community.

MR. LUTCHMAN PANDAY OF SOUTH AFRICA NEXT SAID:—Mr. Mr. Lutchman Panday, President, ladies and gentlemen,—I too am born in South Africa, my family is resident there, my work lies there.

One point I should specially like to bring to your notice. From this year it is impossible for any Indian child to secure education in any Government institution in Natal beyond the age of 14 years, whilst in practice our girls can get no education at all. For the last two years the Budget Estimates for Indian Education in Natal have been reduced.

It is quite evident that a deliberate attempt is being made to crush Indian Education out of existence. There are many Colonial born Indians like myself, who acted as members of the Indian Ambulance Corps, during the late war, and who bear the Queen-Empress's Medal. Some of them are now in Transvaal jails, obliged to do the most degraded tasks of hard labour as though they were savages and criminals, many of them are my personal friends. They tried to serve the Empire in the best way they knew how, and this is their reward, whilst their children are to be spiritually and mentally starved.

No Indian trader in Natal even if he is born in the Colony can be sure from one year to the next whether his business will be ruined or not through the manipulation of the licensing authorities by his trade rivals.

Unless India comes to our aid, we shall be a broken-hearted community.

We are trying to keep the banner of Indian honour flying in South Africa. We have done something to show that distant as we are, we still live for India.

What has India done for us and what is she going to do to save us from disaster and despair?

MR. H. S. L. POLAK, THE TRANSVAAL DELEGATE, WHO WAS RECEIVED WITH LOUD CHEERS, SAID:—My fellow delegates and I are here to-day to represent a special community. We represent interests that should be very dear to all of you. My fellow delegates have dealt with one aspect of this South African question; but I am here specially to represent to you what I regard as a sacred cause. I am here to represent those who have suffered three thousand sentences of imprisonment with hard labour, of whom you have heard, who have starved and suffered for the sake of their country. I am here to represent the many brave men who are to-day in jail performing the most degraded tasks that might be asked of a savage or a brutalised criminal. I am here to represent hundreds of families that have been ruined, that have lost their all because they preferred honour to material prosperity. I am here to represent the widows and the orphans. I am here to represent my fellow delegates, who were imprisoned lest they might plead too eloquently with you. I am

Mr. H. S. L. Polak

Third Day. here to represent even the dead, for I am here to remind you of the name of that young hero martyr, Nagappan, who died for the honour of India. Transvaal Indians. I am here to remind you of the women who in the agony and misery of Mr. H. S. L. Polak. uncertainty have given birth to still-born children. These men and women, compatriots of yours, have carried on this struggle for freedom with the name of India in their hearts, with the name of India on their lips. The men have gone to jail again and again with a smile on their faces, and the women have sent their husbands, brothers and sons to prison gladly, because they felt that India's honour demanded it. I wish that I could take you to the Transvaal to-day; I could show you scenes in Transvaal jails, I could show you terrible hardships that could make your hearts bleed. I myself have seen many of these things, but I must not speak of what I have seen, I could not trust myself.

I have shortly to go back to South Africa. I have to go back to those who sent me here, and I have to go back to meet those haggard, careworn men and weeping women, and when I return to them, what message am I to take with me. They have felt that theirs was a national struggle. They are struggling for the honour of the Empire to which they belong, an Empire whose honour is being dragged into the mud. They are struggling for their own personal honour and self-respect, struggling that they may maintain their status and right to call themselves colonists, to qualify themselves for citizenship, struggling for the highest honour of India. We have been told that one of the objects of the Congress is to develop character amongst the people so that they may be worthy of all the privileges and status of citizenship. That too has been one of our ideals. We have been utterly unselfish. The Transvaal Indians have tried to release themselves so that others might benefit, and they have sacrificed their all in so doing. I have heard it asked, why are these people fighting? why do they continue the struggle? what has been the gain? why do they not come back? Surely to ask them to come back is a counsel of despair, and such a counsel cannot be offered to men who have declared their determination to die on the spot rather than surrender. The men who are fighting have sworn to perish in jail rather than give away one iota of principle, but lest you might think that they hope for the impossible, I would like to tell you something that perhaps I am better qualified to speak about to you than any of the preceding speakers. I speak from the point of view of a European citizen of the Transvaal. I have not always been proud of the fact, but this I can tell you that many of my fellow-countrymen have felt it a matter of pride and joy to be able to stand on the same platform with their suffering Indian fellow-subjects of the Crown, to protest against this injustice done to them, and to protect them against it. The Transvaal Indians have been able to bring to their side much of what is best in European public feeling in the Transvaal and in South Africa generally and also in England. Surely that is a great gain. I recollect the time when in the Transvaal the generic term for an Indian was "coolie." To-day he has gained the status of a British Indian and that, I think you will agree with me, is a great gain.

Time is short. I can do nothing more than endorse all that Mr. Gokhale has said as to the need for financial assistance. I know the misery and suffering existing in the Transvaal to-day. I know what it means. I have a shrewd idea of how long it may continue. Funds are urgently necessary, and I beg of you to provide them generously. But whether you do or not, the fight will still be maintained. When I return to South Africa, may I go back with the message that India suffers with these faithful Indian men and women, that India feels with them, that India's heart beats with theirs, that India urges them to go forward and with spartan-like fortitude buckles on the armour of the men and bids them go forth to fight for the dear motherland and, if necessary, to perish in maintaining the standard of truth aloft and the women to suffer and sacrifice in the same great cause? When I go back I will tell them that if there is not any noisy demonstrativeness here, it is not that India does not feel, it is not that India is apathetic, but that her feelings are too deep for words, that her emotion is too great, that she is silent in speechless admiration, and that she is with them and will be with them until the end. I yesterday received two telegrams, one being from the Natal Indians. The Natal Indians have in this struggle forgotten their own

grievances and they have only remembered that the Transvaal Indians are suffering. And I am instructed by them to urge the Congress to do your utmost to stop the supply of Indian indentured labour for South Africa. The second telegram from Mr. Gandhi is as follows:—"Joseph Royeppen, Barrister, Cambridge University graduate, Samuel Joseph, Headmaster, Indian School, David Andrew, clerk and interpreter, all born in South Africa, Manilal (Mr. Gandhi's second son, a boy of 17 years) with Ramlasing, Fazandar (the acting Chairman of the British Indian Association) and myself have crossed the border unchallenged, but we expect to be arrested at any time. I think that the arrest is suspended to avoid causing a sensation at the time of the Congress. Mr. Fazandar, although voluntarily registered, was deported last week but he re-entered. The policy of the Transvaal authorities appears to be to deport to India even those voluntarily registered, that is to say, those who are admitted by the Government to be lawfully resident in the Transvaal. Hazura Singh, Lalbahadur Singh, Vaja and six others have been arrested with a view to deportation. Their cases have been adjourned. The *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Transvaal Leader* recommend the acceptance of our demands." Surely, in the face of this message, when you know that the Transvaal Indians are not disheartened, when you know that they are prepared to die, there can be no counsel of despair, there can be no pessimism, there can be no loss of hope. You will see from this message itself how European public feeling is veering round to our side. Surely, you will send the Transvaal Indians a message of the utmost encouragement, inspiration and help. (Cheers).

Third Day.

Transvaal Indians.
Mr. H. S. L. Polak.

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE, WHO WAS ACCORDED AN ENTHUSIASTIC OVATION ON RISING, NEXT ADDRESSED THE CONGRESS AS FOLLOWS:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I am not here to make a speech. The time for speech-making so far as this particular matter is concerned is past and gone. The time for action, for the manifestation of practical sympathy and goodwill for our suffering countrymen in the Transvaal has now arrived. (Hear, hear). And brother delegates, I appeal to you all here, to the ladies who are there whose soft hearts have been moved at the stirring appeals of the speakers who have gone ahead of me especially by the deep words which have flowed from the lips of Mr. Polak, I appeal to the visitors and spectators; to the rich and the poor, the high and the low, I appeal to all within the sound of my voice to unloose their purse strings, to come forward with whatever they may have, be it small or large, to come forward and pay it for the sake of our suffering countrymen in the Transvaal. (Cheers). I am a Brahmin, a Brahmin of Brahmins. Begging is my profession. (Cheers and laughter). It has been the profession of my father. The mendicant spirit is deep in me; and I stretch out my Brahminical hands for such gifts as you may be prepared to offer for the sake of our countrymen in the Transvaal. (Cheers). Sir, there have been occasions when we made appeals from this Congress platform for funds. In 1899 we made such an appeal and the Congress responded with a subscription of Rs. 64,000. (Cheers). We made an appeal in 1892 for funds and the Congress responded with a subscription of Rs. 20,000. Am I to understand that the old fire and fervour, the patriotic enthusiasm which kindled the breasts of Congress delegates of the past, have departed from their successors in the present Congress? No—I hope not, I trust not. There may be difference of opinions that may perhaps keep some of us out of the Congress. There may be changes in the attitude of some of us. But all the same, I hope and trust we are all animated by a common object, a burning desire to serve our country and our countrymen in whatever part of the world their lot may be cast. (Loud cheers). Therefore once again most earnestly do I appeal to you all to come forward with your subscriptions. The hat will be sent round immediately so that you may pay whatever you have for the amelioration of our countrymen in South Africa and for the vindication of the status, the honour, the credit of our people. I hope you will subscribe every one of you what it is in your power to subscribe in response to the appeal which a poor Brahmin with folded hands makes to you all. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

Babu Surendra
Nath Banerjee.

The stirring appeal of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee created the wildest sense of enthusiasm and excitement in the audience. Subscriptions

Third Day. in the shape of rupees, currency notes and sovereigns poured in from all parts of the hall and for fully half an hour the President's table was jingling with rupees and sovereigns. Mrs. Ram Bhuj Dutt Chaudhuri pulled off her gold bangle and offered it as her contribution, amidst deafening applause, watches, rings, and other articles which the visitors and delegates had on their persons were cheerfully offered and one gentleman who had no cash or currency notes took off his silk turban and offered it to be auctioned to contribute his quota. Subscriptions and promises of subscriptions were announced to the extent of Rs. 15,000.

Transvaal Indians.
Babu Surendra
Nath Banerjee.

President,—The amount collected will be cabled at once to Transvaal gentlemen. You ought to know that the deputations to England and India should have cost our brethren a thousand pounds, and it is necessary to raise that sum. Raja Prithivi Pal has raised the subscription for Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. I hope every brother present here will subscribe something, whatever it may be.

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee went round amongst the audience with hat in hand and was able to collect a substantial sum.

The President,—Gentlemen, I ask you to formally pass the resolution though your approval of it has already been demonstrated by the subscriptions you have contributed.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The President,—This is the message which it is proposed to send to Mr. Gandhi, and I am sure you will all agree that it should be sent. It runs as follows:—

“The Congress deeply appreciates, admires heroic struggle brethren Transvaal and urges continuance same. Promises utmost support. Cabling funds.” Gentlemen is it your pleasure that this message should be cabled to Mr. Gandhi. (The huge gathering in one voice answered the question in the affirmative). Then I will under your authority cable it to Mr. Gandhi. The amount promised and subscribed so far as we have been able to get the money in here is about Rs. 12,500. I expect it will be near Rs. 15,000 in all. We shall adjourn for half an hour and the Congress will meet again at 3-15 P.M.

When the Congress re-assembled after the interval, the President announced amidst loud cheers as follows:—Gentlemen, including promises of subscriptions we have received Rs. 18,000. More is coming. Our Bombay friends have promised to collect Rs. 50,000. I hope it will not be many days before the lakh asked for will be collected. I hope if need be five times that sum will be collected. So long as there is need we should not hesitate to subscribe until we have spent our last pie in support of our struggling countrymen. (Cheers). The next resolution will be a resolution dealing with the Regulations relating to deportation and the executive action taken thereon. I call upon Mr. A. Chaudhuri to move the resolution.

Regulations relating to deportations and executive action taken thereunder.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri.

MR. A. CHAUDHURI OF BENGAL SAID:—Gentlemen, the resolution, which I have been called upon to submit to you for consideration, runs thus:—

“That having regard to the grave risk of injustice in Government action based upon *ex-parte* and untested information, and to the sufficiency for reasonably preventive and punitive purposes of other provisions on the Statute Book of the country, this Congress urges upon the Government the repeal of the old Regulations, and prays that the persons who were last year deported from Bengal be set at liberty without further detention, or be given an opportunity to meet the charges, if any, that may be against them and for which they have been condemned unheard.”

Gentlemen, as you see this raises a question of principle, and it is unfair to ask me to discuss a question of principle, when you find absence of principle in the matter. You refer in this resolution to “the sufficiency of reasonably preventive and punitive purposes of the other provisions of the Statute Book of the country.” Gentlemen, from what we have seen and what we have experienced lately, the Executive Government does not seem to be satisfied that they have “sufficiently reasonable punitive

provisions in the Statute Book of the country," and consequently there have been notable additions to the Statute Book. You all know that the Regulation of 1818 was originally not meant for Indians in British India. It was meant for Europeans, who were likely to cause commotion in this country. There are such persons still existing belonging to that community, who are daily creating commotion—gentlemen connected with a certain section of the Press. I venture to think that if the Regulation was utilized against them, they would soon see the injustice of allowing an obsolete Statute to remain operative. But what good does it do to deport men, who could not create any appreciable commotion in this country, even if they tried their utmost. It is too ridiculous to suppose that some of these men could have created any commotion whatever. (Here the speaker instanced the case of one of the deportees). What internal commotion was this young man creating in the Province of Bengal. What dire calamities were to befall Government, because this young man was abroad we do not know. (Here the speaker instanced another case). A more inoffensive man, we have not seen, or more estimable, I will not speak of his qualities. Last Congress a tribute was paid to him in glowing terms by the Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Bose. We know that he devoted his time to education, that he was a religious preacher and a writer of well-known books. He had control, to our personal knowledge, over the student population of Calcutta. That he was a moderate in politics we all know. He did great service when a large number of students of the Calcutta University threatened to give it up. He stopped them, and saved a calamity. He was the first man to restrain these young men at a critical time. (Hear, hear). It came to us as a great surprise, that a man like this should have been considered by the Government necessary to deport to prevent internal commotion. Ever since his arrest, he has been undergoing, judging from reports, practically solitary confinement. It has been repeatedly said that the measure is not punitive, it is only preventive. Our impression is somewhat different. If a person is removed to jail under the Regulations, and kept practically in solitary confinement, it strikes one to be fairly punitive. These men have been kept in confinement without being told what the charges are against them. Gentlemen, it is one of the rights of a British citizen, it is one of the rights of an Indian citizen to be told before he is condemned, of what he is being condemned. But, why is it that the Government will not come forward and tell them, "we accuse you of having done this." Gentlemen, it is the criminal who is afraid of judicial authority, but I believe these men would welcome a judicial trial. Why not try them. If suspicions exist, let them be proved. Without a trial and a conviction to keep one under confinement, in the exercise of such a power as this is repugnant to the whole spirit of British administration. No one can characterise it as an irresponsible exercise of power, if the matter is brought before the judicial tribunals of the country, which surely commands or ought to command confidence. The Regulation is an anachronism. It may have been wanted in 1819, but it should no longer be kept on the Statute Book of India. What we are praying for is that the Regulation should be repealed. If it is not thought desirable to remove it from the Statute Book, the deportees should be given an opportunity to meet the charges if any against them and for which they are being punished, unheard. They should be given the opportunity of removing the stigma which has been cast upon them. Gentlemen, is it not a legitimate prayer for us, to ask the Government to let the law courts decide the charges against these men? I do not desire to add anything further. In a matter of this character it is due to us, due to the country, due to our Government, and due to English civilization which is claimed to be the highest civilization in the world, it is due to all of us that these men should either be liberated at once or be brought to trial. (Loud cheers).

MR. H. S. DIXIT OF BOMBAY SAID:—Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition which my friend Mr. Chaudhuri has placed before you in such an able manner. When last year I heard the speech of my friend Babu Bhupendranath Bose at Madras, a speech full of feeling but equally full if not perhaps fuller of reason, I had hoped that it would not be necessary to pass a similar resolution this year. But unfor-

Third Day.

Regulations relating to deportations and executive action taken thereunder.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri

Mr. H. S. Dixit.

Third Day.

Regulations relating to deportations and executive action taken thereunder.
Mr. H. S. Dixit.

Unfortunately that was not to be. It was not for lack of any efforts on the part of our friends in England that the necessity for the resolution still exists. Incessantly and time after time our friends here and friends in England, Mr. Mackarness, Sir Henry Cotton and others have been doing their very best to get justice done to our Bengali friends who have been deported but all to no purpose. I suppose the reason why I have been selected to second this resolution is to enable me, a Bombay man, to say that we in Bombay feel equally strongly for the Bengali friends as their friends in Bengal. I have referred to the questions that have been put time after time in the Houses of Parliament and I was surprised to find that in answer to one or two of these questions it was hinted, nay said in so many words, that the more the questions the longer might be the time of their detention. In other words, that the questions retard the release. I believe that answer was given by no less a person than the Premier, Mr. Asquith. Strange irony of fate that a Barrister of the highest repute should give countenance to an argument like this that because some advocate of a man presses that he should be given justice therefore that should be a ground for delaying the granting of justice to him. We are still in the dark as to the reasons that have led to these deportations. It is more than a year that these nine gentlemen have been incarcerated and yet nothing is known by them or their friends or by the public—I don't know whether even the Government know whether there are sufficient reasons for their incarceration. No doubt Government proceed on the information placed before them but you will find it stated in the resolution that this information is exaggerated and untested. The information is mostly supplied by the police and you know and all know who have followed the course of events in the last three or four years what feats the police are capable of. I will not refer to the several cases which have brought the police into notoriety both in the Punjab and Bengal and other parts of the country, but notably in Punjab and Bengal. Whatever their merits or demerits they have shown that they possess any amount of imagination and can fill up the gaps, create stories and make them look very plausible. Of course, when these stories come to Courts of Law and are tested by process of cross-examination they tumble to pieces like a house of cards. That is always the case in regard to these *ex-parte* informations and that is why it is dangerous to act on them. That is the first reason given for this resolution. The second reason given as you will see is also equally a sufficient reason. That the Regulation of 1818 under which these persons were deported was a Regulation passed at a time when India was in a very unsettled condition when there were hardly any laws and no councils. At that time it was necessary in the interests of efficient administration that some such power should be reserved. Now, when we have our Legislative Councils turning out laws which are if anything amply sufficient for all purposes for which criminal laws are intended, namely, punitive and preventive, it is absurd that a law like this should be on the Statute Book and liable to be abused. These are the two reasons for which we ask Government to repeal the Regulation and pray that all these nine persons deported should be either released, or that reasons should be given as to why they are detained so long and what the charges are against them, so that they may be in a position to meet them. (Cheers).

Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.

MR. A. S. KRISHNA RAO, OF MADRAS, SAID :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—This resolution which was so ably and eloquently proposed and seconded by Mr. Chandhuri and Mr. Dixit consists of two parts. In the first place it asks that the old Regulations relating to deportation may be repealed and in the second place it asks that the persons who were deported last year from Bengal may be set at liberty. The resolution further asks that without further detention the deportees may be given an opportunity to meet the charges that were made against them. The Regulations relating to deportation are three in number, Regulation 3 of 1818 relating to Bengal, Regulation 2 of 1818 relating to Madras, Regulation 25 of 1827 relating to Bombay. It is not necessary for me at this stage to go at any length into the circumstances under which these Regulations were brought into existence. Suffice it to say that the state of the country at present does not justify any of these Regulations being put into operation. When in the year

1897 the Natu brothers were deported under the old Bombay Regulation 25 of 1827, it was felt throughout the length and breadth of this vast empire that a great blunder had been committed. At the 13th session of the Congress held at Amraoti, resolutions were passed deprecating the exercise by Government of the extraordinary powers with which it was invested under the old Regulation and requesting that the Natu brothers might be placed on trial at an early date or released. Again, at the 14th session of the Congress held at Madras in 1898 the three Regulations specifically mentioned therein were requested to be repealed as they were a standing menace to the liberty of the people, but owing to the subsequent change of events it was not found necessary to repeat those resolutions again on the congress platform. From the year 1890 to the year 1906, both inclusive, it was not found necessary to insist upon these old Regulations being repealed. It was fondly hoped and it was fondly believed that the Government would not commit a similar mistake over again. It was supposed that there would not recur the state of things as before but the events of 1907 showed a different state of things. When our respected citizen Lala Lajpat Rai was deported in 1907 the circumstances connected with which you are all well aware of, it was admitted by all persons concerned that it was a great blunder; but when again he was released it was thought that the same mistake might not be committed again. But, gentlemen, to our misfortune we find that matters did not stop there. Nine respectable Bengali gentlemen of high attainments and of sterling character were snatched away from their homes and deported and they were not given an opportunity of meeting the charges that might be framed against them. Last year a resolution was passed in very much the same terms as those contained in the present resolution, and it was expected that it would not be necessary to repeat this resolution this year. It is now our painful duty to request the Government to repeal those old Regulations which have so much jeopardised the liberty of people and to remove them from the Statute Book as early as possible. This reminds me of the old famous Dreyfus case. We all remember that the whole of England and many other civilized countries strongly denounced the condemnation of Dreyfus, but the circumstances there were far better than here. In that case Dreyfus was defended by counsel, had an opportunity of knowing the charges he had to meet, and he had an opportunity of cross-examining the witnesses. A certain important document was not shown to him or to his counsel and the whole civilized world condemned the procedure and said that such a course ought not to have been followed. What has England to say, I ask, to this deportation without trial, when the deported persons are confined without an opportunity of knowing the charges against them and when they are suddenly snatched away, arrested and deported. Regarding the second part of the resolution requesting that the persons deported from Bengal be set at liberty or be given an opportunity to meet the charges against them, I have nothing further to add to what has already been said by Messrs. Choudhri and Dixit. I am not personally acquainted with the deported gentlemen but from what I have heard and read, it is admitted that they are men of exceptionally good attainments and good character and men of whom we are all proud. But for the fact that they are not now free they would have been, some of them at any rate would have been, present at this Congress and taken part with us in the deliberations of the Congress, because they were men fighting on constitutional lines. It was not to be so and we have had not the benefits of their presence at the Congress. With these words, gentlemen, I commend the proposition to your acceptance. (Cheers).

The President put the resolution to the Congress, and it was carried unanimously.

MR. SENATHI RAJA OF MADRAS, SAID:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—I am only a new convert to the creed of the Congress, and I am not thoroughly well posted with the Congress literature on the resolution that I have to place before you. So I think I shall be very brief and thus satisfy the condition of the Chairman. The resolution which I have the honour to lay before you for your acceptance is this.

This Congress protests against the continued exclusion of the children of the soil from higher military careers, and in urging that such careers be thrown open to them, it suggests the establishment of Military Colleges

Third Day.

Regulations relating to deportations and executive action taken thereunder.
Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.

Higher career to Indians in the Army.
Mr. Senathi Raja.

Third Day. at which Indians may receive the training necessary to qualify them for His Majesty's commission in the Army.

Higher career to
Indians in the Army.
Mr. Senathi Raja.

Gentlemen, I shall put this matter to you for your acceptance on two grounds. The first is that the measure of reform which we propose is just, right and equitable. Now, gentlemen, what is the position of Indians in the Military service of the British Empire? The highest position to which an Indian can aspire is Subedar-Major. I am told he is a non-commissioned officer receiving a salary of rupees 200 a month. Now Indians have been found qualified to fill the highest offices in the Civil Department. As Accountants, as Judicial Officers, as Legislative Officers, as Engineers, as Doctors, they have been found competent to occupy the highest offices in the State, but in regard to the Army they are found unfit even to receive the lowest commission. I am told that there is some gentleman in Bombay who is made a Lieutenant. Is it not a disgrace to 300 millions of Hindus and Mahomedans that not one of them has been found competent to occupy high offices in the Army? Then you find that under the Moghals, Hindus were found competent to be made Generals. So I hope that the British Government would copy at least the example of Akbar and raise Indians to high Military commands. That is one point of view. I will put it again to you from the point of view of the British Empire. We, gentlemen, are all interested in the continuance of the British Empire. Our safety, our future lies with British Empire. When I had been in England recently the principal subject of conversation everywhere was the improvement of the Army and the Navy. The newspapers and the reviews were full of them and experts like Lord Roberts and others went about the country making speeches and warning people that the Army was insufficient to meet the demands of the country in its present condition. There was a good deal of general panic all over England and they had good cause for the panic. You are aware, gentlemen, that within the last 40 years a great Military power has arisen in Central Europe. From small beginnings Prussia has become the head of the German Empire. That Empire from its commencement has been built up by the sword, blood and iron, and Prussia has followed up that policy up to date and to-day Prussia is the most formidable Military power of the world. It is generally believed in England that war is inevitable with Germany and gentlemen, our duty is to support the British Empire with all our might; and how can we support the British Empire unless our men are trained in Military Colleges and trained to perform Military duties? Not that we are lacking in men. There are men serving outside India as Commissioned Officers and you know that there are materials in India to make very good Military Officers. So I recommend this resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers).

Sirdar Gurmukh
Singh.

SIRDAR GURMUKH SINGH OF THE PUNJAB THEN SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION IN AN URDU SPEECH WHICH IS TRANSLATED BELOW:—It is frankly admitted by all the Commanders-in-Chief who have commanded the Indian Armies from time to time and who have closely watched their discipline in the stations, on the parade grounds and on the battle-field: who have seen their fighting power, enterprise, intelligence, pluck and bravery in the hardest trials, seen them fight side by side by the European soldiers, that the Indian soldiers and officers stand second to none in all the good qualities that go to make a nice soldier and a good officer. They have fought on the frontiers of India and in distant Africa and China bearing the same result. The Indian soldiers and officers are again loyal to the core, loyal to their colours, to their officers and to the British Government which they serve. They have undergone a severe trial and stood the test. Lord Kitchener has testified that in the trying days of Indian disaffection and sedition, the Indian Army has stood firmly loyal to the British Government. Indian officers have shown remarkable courage, intelligence and enterprise in times of difficulty and danger. Subedar Gurmukh Singh was called "the back-bone of Chitral Defence." How is it then that Indians are not allowed to rise to the higher grades in the Army? I shall tell you from my personal experience how it happens. After passing my matriculation examination, I joined the Indian Army as an enlisted schoolmaster in 1882, I had a special liking for the Military service. My aspirations did not rise beyond the Native Commission, which illiterate Indian Officers enjoy. I belonged to the

Military race to which the rest of the Regiment belonged. I had a physique and stature which was above the average. I went through the Drill and Musketry Exercises in the hope that I shall be able to realize my modest aspirations. To my great astonishment I found that I got no promotion, while a fellow recruit of mine got it. I enquired why it was so and learnt that European Officers of the Regiment were averse to giving promotions to an educated Indian. I served my term and resigned the service in disgust. In the frontier war of 1897, 16 Sikh soldiers and non-Commissioned Officers were in charge of a small fort called Saragarhi. They were surrounded by the enemy in large numbers and were cut off from the main body of the British Army. The enemy made several assaults in large numbers to overtake the fort. Every attack was boldly repulsed with great loss to the assailants by the brave defenders. The enemy at last put fire to the fort. The brave defenders stood to the post to the last and were consumed by fire. They did not think it fit to surrender themselves and the fort into the hands of the enemy. Several European officers of the British Army from whom they were cut off were looking at what was passing in the fort with the help of their telescopes. The exceptional bravery of the 16 men flashed through them to the Indian press. A list was opened by the *Pioneer* to raise a memorial to the brave and help their survivors. Europeans and Indians liberally subscribed to the object and money poured in beyond all expectations. Now the question was what to do with the money which was by far in excess of a single memorial, however costly. It was suggested that three costly memorials be built one at Saragarhi, another at Amritsar and a third at Ferozepore. With a friend of mine I saw the Commanding Officer of the 15th Sikhs to make a proposal that instead of erecting several memorials a portion of the subscriptions be set aside and deposited in a bank, the interest of which may be used to give education to the sons of the brave and loyal officers and men of the Indian Army. His reply was "We want men directly from the plough." Educated Indian Officers may aspire, when they have got the chance of a great distinction, as they often do, to higher grades in the Army. For an illiterate Indian enlisted as a soldier the Native Commission with special rewards is always more than sufficient. The Englishmen who always readily recognize and amply reward the bravery and loyalty of the Indian soldiers and officers do not like that they should have a higher career in the Indian Army. The reason is simple enough. English pride stands in their way. They do not wish that a European may ever serve as a subordinate to an Indian, which must necessarily happen if Indians are allowed a higher career in the Indian Army. The question is whether English justice and good sense will have an upper hand against English pride. I hope it will in the end. I further hope that when educated and trained martial races of India, educated and trained in Military Colleges, will be given an intelligent and substantial interest in the Army, India will be perfectly free from any danger of external invasion and internal commotion and its burdens will be greatly reduced. Nothing is more potent for the stability of the British Rule in India as the intelligent and substantial interest of the Indians in the concerns of their own country and their sense of gratitude for the British Government which has given them the opportunities and advantages which no other Government, native or foreign, has ever given. With these remarks I beg to support the resolution.

The President put the resolution to the Congress and it was carried unanimously.

LALA SANGAM LAL SAID:—Mr. President, ladies, brother delegates and friends.—The resolution which is entrusted to me runs as follows:—that having regard to the grave dissatisfaction caused by the operation of the Land Alienation and Allied Acts among large sections of the community in the Punjab and elsewhere, this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived for instituting a thorough and detailed enquiry into the policy and working of laws restricting alienation of land in Provinces where such laws are in operation, and urges Government to appoint a mixed Commission of officials and representative non-official Indians to institute an enquiry or to ascertain whether the legislation has really benefited the interests of agriculture and of the class intended to be

Third Day.

Higher career to
Indians in the Army.
Sirdar Gurmukh
Singh.

Policy and operation of laws restricting alienation of land and allied acts.
Lala Sangam Lal.

Third Day.
 Policy and operation of laws restricting alienation of land and allied acts.
 Lala Sangam Lal.

benefited by it and whether it has given rise in actual operation to anomalies, hardships and disabilities calculated to injure the growth and prospects of the agricultural industry and cause discontent among any particular class or section of the community.

Gentlemen, the growing poverty of the agriculturists in the Punjab and the consequent large transfers of land created concern in the minds of some of our revenue officers and administrators. The Punjab is said to be a land of yeomen proprietors. According to the Annual Report of the Working of the Land Alienation Act for the year ending 30th September 1908, the total area of the Punjab is 62 million acres, of which 40 million acres are held in private ownership, subject to the payment of land revenue to the State. Of this area some 27 million acres are under cultivation. The number of proprietary holdings is 3½ millions, but many owners hold shares in more than one holding, and the number of persons owning rights in the land is about 2 millions. Some of the estates are very large, and the typical peasant proprietor of the Punjab may be taken to be a man owning about 10 acres of cultivated land and paying 10 rupees as land revenue to the State. Moreover, the Punjab is the land from which soldiers for the British Indian Army are mainly recruited and the growing discontent among the masses on account of the growing poverty of the people was a matter of no small concern to the Government.

In 1886, Mr. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, from 1898 to 1899, but then a District Officer in the western part of the Punjab, (Rawalpindi Division), wrote a book on the indebtedness of agriculturists of the Western Punjab entitled "Musalmans and money-lenders in the Punjab," which attracted notice of the Secretary of State for India, and on which he asked for the views of the Government of India. Mr. Thorburn depicted the Hindu money-lender to be at the root of all the poverty of the Mahomedan land-owners in that part of the country and recommended that legislation for restricting the rights of alienation in land of the peasant proprietors should be resorted to. Mr. Thorburn's views did not find much favour with the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Lyall, nor with his successor Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, however, the general question of the poverty of the Punjab Agriculturist was again mooted and the explanation of the money-lender being at the bottom of all the misery having been apparently adopted as an axiomatic truth, legislation was resorted to and the Punjab Land Alienation Act, XIII of 1900, was the result. Nobody seems to have cared or dared to question the axiom in the Punjab. Here we had no economist or Indian administrator of the type of the late Sir Romesh Chander Dutt, of revered memory, who exposed the fallacy of this doctrine in 1883 and 1896, when legislation based on the same hypothesis and on somewhat similar lines was twice attempted in Bengal. Time and occasion do not permit me to enter into a detailed exposure of the fallacy underlying this hypothesis of the money-lender being the sole cause of the misery of the agriculturists. The theory is, by now, an exploded one and eminent statesmen like Mr. Dadabhai Nouroji, the late Sir Romesh Chander Dutt and others have exhaustively dealt with it in their writings. I may, however, be allowed to point out that there are two more hypotheses which find great currency in official politics. Firstly, it seems to be assumed that the direct action of Government cannot do much towards the creation of industrial employments. In England, Germany, United States, France, and other countries the State helps in increasing the incomes of the people and thus more completely identifies itself with the people. In India the State has fostered few new industries and revived few old industries for the people. On the other hand, it intervenes at each recurring Land Settlement to take what it considers its share of the produce of the soil. There has been, moreover, a constant tendency to reduce the terms of these Settlements. We had thirty years as the terms of our former Settlements of land. Since 1895 the policy has been to reduce the terms to twenty years. The revenue is uncertain and fluctuating and the demand is rigid. Moreover, the country does not get the full benefit of the taxation raised therein. Of the 40 millions raised from the revenues of India nearly half goes towards

payment of Home charges, in the shape of interest on debts due to the late East India Company, and other loans raised. This annual economic drain naturally contributes to some extent to the poverty of the people and agriculturists along with other communities in the Punjab can claim no exception.

Secondly.—It is assumed in certain quarters that India is and has been an agricultural country, and that the best interests of the country require that it should continue to remain as such, and that agriculturists or agricultural tribes being the main sources of country's wealth should be particularly cared for and given the privileges of the favoured class treatment. I demur to this proposition. It is the policy that England adopted in the earlier days of Company rule towards India in the department of commerce that has practically reduced India from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country. Henry St. George Tucker, a retired officer of the East India Company, of ripe experience, who subsequently became a Director of the East India Company, writing in 1823, says: "What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets, and of late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent. but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery the cotton fabrics, which constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of manufacturing of that of an agricultural country."

Third Day.

Policy and operation of laws restricting Alienation of Land and Allied Acts.
Lala Sangam Lal.

From the commencement of the nineteenth century to its close, with a few exceptions and departures in the interval, the same policy has continued till at the commencement of the twentieth century, we find high and responsible British administrators of India in a state of serious anxiety and contemplating with equanimity the relaxation of some of the high and sacred principles of administration which constituted the basal principles in the early years of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, the Good, of blessed memory.

But what is the remedy? The true remedy is suggested by the Famine Commissioners of 1878 in their Report, at Part II, page 175, which is as follows:—

"At the root of much of the poverty of India, and of the risk to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstances that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of population, and no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments."

It is a happy sign of the times that this principle of co-operation with the people and identification of the interests of the State with those of the people has now begun to be recognized by high British Administrators. The recent speech of His Honour Sir Louis Dane, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, on the occasion of the opening of the Punjab Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition of 1909, is very encouraging in this respect.

But I digress. I have shown you above that the theory of money-lenders being at the bottom of the misery or poverty of the Punjab Agriculturists is an exploded theory and cannot hold water. The working of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, as disclosed from the Annual Reports up to the year 1908 also shows that its main object, viz., "averting the political danger of expropriation by the money-lending classes of the sturdy landholders—men who furnish the flower of the Native Army of India and who look forward amid all the hardships and glories of a military career to spend their declining years on their ancestral acres"—has not been attained. The Annual Reports of the working of the Act do not give any definite information on this point. One fact is, however, patent from the Reports and it is this, that the Rajputs, a class proverbially

Third Day.
 Policy and operation of laws restricting Alienation of Land and Allied Acts.
 Lala Sangam Lal.

known to supply recruits for the Indian Army of India, have lost 57,308 acres in about 5 years to the gain of classes who seldom supply any recruits to the Indian Army.

I have on a previous occasion pointed out that the policy of legislation by classes is fallacious and liable to abuse. In Punjab, specially amongst some Mahomedans, the class distinctions are very slippery. One and the same family would be described as Sheikhs in the pedigree-table of six villages, *got* Kureshi in one village, *got* Sadiqi in one, Panjabee in two and *got* "what not" in other villages—(vide P. R. No. 23 of 1897).

One of the speakers at the last Hindu Conference quoted an instance of the son of a shoe-maker, trying to get himself enlisted as a Patwari by declaring himself "Jat Randhawa, *pesha* Mochi," or a Jullaha (weaver) by styling himself Fullerwan Rajput.

One very astounding and reactionary principle that has been introduced by recent legislation relating to land in the Punjab is that the opinions of executive officers, based on materials and grounds not known or disclosed to the public, in the matter of notifying a particular class as agriculturists, are held supreme and conclusive. Nobody can question them even in a Court of Law. Section 4 of Act XIII of 1900 lays down that "the Local Government shall by notification in the local official *Gazette*, published with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, determine what bodies of persons in any district or group of districts are to be deemed to be agricultural tribes or groups of agricultural tribes for the purposes of this Act," and Section 3, Clauses (4) and (6) of the Pre-emption Act II of 1905, lay down that the expressions used there shall have the meaning assigned to them in the Land Alienation Act, XIII of 1900.

The knowledge of the Executive Officers of the Punjab and of the weight or conclusiveness attached to the notifications in the local official *Gazette* about the status of tribes as "agriculturists" or belonging to "agricultural tribes" have been lately put to test in numerous judicial decisions. Since the passing of the Act, four of them at least have been published in the Punjab Record, and it has been found by the highest judicial authority in the land, I mean our Honourable Chief Court of the Punjab, that certain tribes which are notified as agriculturists or as belonging to agricultural tribes do not conform to the customary rules of agriculturists in the Punjab and do not earn their livelihood by agriculture. The cases of Kureshis of Mauza Kurela, Pind Dadan Khan, Jhelum District (Ruling P. R. 5 of 1906) and of Kureshis of Gulam, Tehsil Gojar Khan, Rawalpindi District, (P. R. 450 of 1908) of Awans of Ludhiana (P. R. 124 of 1908) and others might be cited as authorities. The local Government notifications have, however, not been altered in pursuance of the dicta of the Chief Court.

The carefulness of the Executive Officers in framing the list of agricultural tribes for publication in the local official *Gazette* is not very apparent. Notwithstanding the clear dicta of the Chief Court in the well-known ruling of Mussamat Fakhar-ul-Nissa *versus* Malik Karim Bux, published in the Punjab Record No. 23 of 1897, to the contrary, Sheikhs of Sabzi Mandi, a suburb of Delhi, along with all other Arains, have been notified as agriculturists and belonging to an agricultural tribe in the notification of the Government published on the 18th April, 1904, whilst Brahmins of Mauza Dialpur, Tehsil Kasur, who have been tilling the ground for eight generations and have closely associated themselves with the Jat proprietors of the village, *vide* P. R. 94 of 1907, have been ignored in the list of agricultural tribes in the Lahore District.

It appears that some very wrong notions about certain people or the so-called classes of people being agriculturists and the others not being so have got into the head of some of our officers in the Punjab. The higher classes of Hindus—the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas have been excluded from the right of purchasing the land or transferring to their brothers or sons in time of need, without risk of the same being snatched away from them by a notified agriculturist. "Some of the families in these castes have been granted *Sauads* of proprietary rights in lands since the time of previous Moghul Emperors, in some cases 200 years and in

other cases six hundred years," before the advent of the British in the country. They would naturally be expected to have the rights, vested in every "son of the soil" of free purchase of land. All these considerations, however, have been apparently ignored and wiped of by one single stroke of the pen.

Like other fallacies and assumptions this theory of the high class Hindus not being cultivators in the sense of tilling the land with their own hands cannot stand. They are all of the true Aryan stock and call themselves and take pride in being called Aryas or Aryans. The term, according to its Sanskrit derivation, means a cultivator as distinguished from nomad tribes—"Anarya" or "Dasyu" who did not take to the plough—the first emblem of civilisation in the world. If the theory of Indo-Aryan emigration is correct, these high class Hindu Aryans are the descendants of the Eastern Branch of the original stock of the human race which included among itself the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Celts and the Germans. There is a consensus of authority about the above races having originally belonged to one common stock. Lord Curzon, in his reply to the address of welcome on his first landing in India, recognized this and stated that he was coming as a brother to meet his brethren in India who had long since separated. That while the Western Branch of the family had made improvement in material things and machinery, the Eastern Branch had excelled in spirituality, that the commingling of the British from Europe with the Hindus in India meant the meeting of a brother with a brother, a "Bharat Milap" as it were. The happiness of Aryan Hindus knew no bonds in this recognition of the bond of union by the representative of their Sovereign.

But things are not always what they ought to be. The high class Hindus are nicknamed *Banias* in the Punjab. The tendency of recent Government circulars is to discourage them and to exclude them from patronage in the matter of Government service. The Secretary of State or the Viceroy of course may not, and I must say do not, mean this. But facts are stubborn things. One of the speakers at the last Hindu Conference mentioned an instance of a Hindu bearing a name which corresponded to a Mahomedan name having been recommended for appointment in the public service, but had his promotion stopped or blocked as soon as his Hindu identity was discovered.

The Government of India in their reply to the memorial of the Hindu Sabha state that the Hindus are under a misconception in thinking that the Land Alienation Act was specially detrimental to their interests. I very much wish it were so. But pray is it or is not a fact that the superior classes of Hindus, I mean the Brahman, Khatri and Vaishyas, including Arora residents of the Punjab are not as a fact generally excluded from a right of free purchase of agricultural land or even waste land in the Punjab for any purpose, even for their burning ghats. No doubt the applicability of Act XIII of 1900 is exempted within Municipal limits, as regards agricultural lands while non-agricultural lands are exempted in villages. But the Pre-emption Act II of 1905 has taken away all these exemptions and the high caste Hindus have to choose between purchasing *benami* or giving black mail. Why our own worthy Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Harkishen Lal, wanted land in Shahdara, a suburb of Lahore for development of the industries of the country, in which direction he has led the way and added to the diversity of occupations for our people, but he could not do so freely.

I have already given you authorities for showing that some people who have been found to be non-agriculturists by the highest judicial authority in the land have been classed as agriculturists. It is a curious feature of land legislation in the Punjab that persons who may not even own allegiance to the Crown but who have simply taken up their residence in the land are entitled to the right of free purchase of land and to take the land by right of pre-emption from people who are British subjects. A Moghal or a Pathan refugee in the Punjab would thus appear to have better civic rights than a Khatri or Brahman in this respect, because he happens to be a Moghal or Pathan or a Sayad. I at least fail to understand the logic of giving preferential right of purchase of land or treatment to people simply because they happen to have adopted a certain

Third Day.

Policy and operation of laws restricting Alienation of Land and Allied Acts.

Lala Sangam Lal.

Third Day.
 Policy and operation of laws restricting Alienation of Land and Allied Acts.
 Lala Sangam Lal.

faith or because they or their distant relations or members of their brotherhood claim or believe themselves to have descended from a certain class or caste.

An Arain or a Pathan may be an agriculturist or a person tilling the land with his own hand or living by agriculture to-day, but as soon as he gets some employment under Government or otherwise becomes rich he ceases to till the land with his own hand. As has been the case with some Hindu families, so it has been with Mahomedans or for the matter of that Moghuls, Pathans, Sayads, Arains and other classes. Logically as soon as a person or family ceases to cultivate or till the land with his own hands he should be deprived of all privileges under the Act, for the reason of the rule no longer subsisting, the privilege should cease with it.

The Government has expressed surprise that the Hindus should clamour for being granted the position of privilege or protected classes under the Act now, although they were opposed to it at the time the Land Alienation Act was passed. The reason is clear. The Hindus do not want any special protection or privilege. They only want to be placed on a footing of equality with the other subjects of his Most Gracious Majesty King Edward in the matter of the right of free purchase of land. They want the wiping out of all distinctions in this respect. If this is not to be done they might as well be placed in the same position with other classes as far as this right is concerned. There is no inconsistency or incongruity in this position.

We want fair justice and fair field. A thing which is wrong in principle can never produce good results and notwithstanding the opinion of some officers of Government the Acts referred to above would not as they stand be productive of any substantial good to the country on the whole or help to popularize the administration.

With these remarks I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

Lala Bhana Ram.

LALA BHANA RAM, LAHORE, SAID :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is a matter of sincere pleasure to me and to all my brother delegates from the Punjab and N.-W. Frontier Province that the subject of to-day's resolution, which has been read to you by Lala Sangam Lal, comes before this national gathering for deliberation. I am sorry that the time at the disposal of this assembly is limited, and hence the time given to me by the President of the assembly must necessarily be so limited that I cannot place the subject before you in all its details. But of one thing I am sure. Now that the matter is before you, you will give it your best consideration and will lend the weight of your support for the removal of our grievances. What we complain against are three Acts of Legislature. They are the Land Alienation Act XIII of 1900 which came into operation on 8th June 1901 and therefore has been in operation for more than 8 years; the subsequent Act, the Punjab Pre-emption Act II of 1905 which went further than the Punjab Land Alienation Act as I shall try to show later on and last, but not the least, Act I of 1907, by which, that which had been considered at the time of the passing the Act XIII of 1900 as an act of absolute necessity for keeping good faith with persons who had been connected with agriculture not for a generation but for long generations by which their rights were recognised—the statutory agriculturist—was abolished. It is a pity that ever since the Act came into operation, there has been no organisation to protest against it. When the Congress assembled in 1900 there was some inclination that the matter should come before the Congress and that the Congress should be invited to record its opinion upon it but for certain reasons, which need not be disclosed now, the subject did not come on and after that when the Act of 1907 by which, as I have submitted, the statutory agriculturist was abolished altogether and certain other amendments were made, it was in March 1907 that there was organised a protest against it as well as the Colonisation Act. Since then, there has been another attempt in this direction and that was the memorial as well as the proceedings of a certain section of community in the Punjab—I mean the Hindu Sabha—in which this point was also raised. I do not wish you to approach the consideration of this subject simply on the ground that the Hindus are affected and therefore the Congress should deliberate upon it. This is

a question which interferes, so to speak, with the liberty of action, with the liberty of contract, with the disposal, free disposal, of the right of property which every individual possesses. Now I would like to place before you what are the provisions of the Act that we complain of. The father of all these Acts is Act XIII of 1900. It says that in the disposal of agricultural land, the owner has not got an absolute right of disposal over it for certain arbitrary distinctions have been made and certain persons called the agricultural tribes have been created at the will of the executive authority and under that category fall certain persons who, of course, are called members of the agricultural tribe. But whether as a matter of fact all those persons do follow agriculture as a profession is a question on which I express my doubt to say the least. There was certain consideration shown to persons who were not of the above class and with reference to them it was enacted that if connected with agriculture either as occupancy tenants or as landholders since the first Regular Settlement commenced in 1870 or the earlier Settlement which the Local Government prescribed, they also will have the right of purchasing agricultural land from the members of the agricultural tribes—but mind you—in their own village only. They could not purchase land from the members of the favoured classes anywhere else. In this connection there are two points to be considered. First that it interfered with the freedom of contract. It narrowed the limits within which members of the agricultural tribe could sell their land and thereby not only lower the prices, but at the same time reduce the credit also because the power of disposal was limited to a certain circle, but there was another consequence of that: it prevented the sale of land to the Banya class. I shall deal with that question later on when I discuss the question of discontent. The circle was limited but then it was contended, as you will see from a reference to the speech made by Lord Curzon, that it was in the interests of the community from which the best flower of the soldiery was recruited that this step had been taken. I shall show from the statistics which have been supplied by Government that as a matter of fact that object also has not been attained. It will appear from the reports also that Rajputs have lost considerably and I should say the Rajputs form the bulwark and a considerable portion of His Majesty's Indian forces. This is one point. It is not the Banya class. Banya is a contemptuous word used for merchants of the Hindu community. I would not go into that question. There are certain persons of the so-called Banya class who do not carry on the business of money-lending. There are others who are public servants, pleaders, doctors and others associated with industries like Lala Harkishen Lal. They are equally affected. As regards even the agricultural classes, does it not reduce the price of land? A reference to the Government reports shows that it has had that effect. Who is in a better position to promote the cause of agriculture? Are they the persons who are under the necessity of selling property or the persons who have money and can spend money to improve agriculture? Therefore, it would follow that instead of land going into the hands of a better class of persons, it goes into the possession of the members of the same class—minor landholders. Had they stood there, there would have been these objections only. Then came Act II of 1905, which went still further. The Punjab Land Alienation Act did not apply to lands within the limits of Municipalities but Act II of 1905 did and it further introduced a very objectionable section. That section (II of the Pre-emption Act) provides that no person other than a member of agriculture tribe shall have the right of pre-emption in case of sale of agriculture land. But there is a proviso added to it which goes to show that where the sale is by a member of a non-agricultural tribe, the right of pre-emption may be exercised by a person of the same tribe as he, but with this important proviso that he is recorded as a owner or an occupancy tenant of 20 years' standing, in that estate in which the land sold is situated. Act XIII of 1900 was passed in order that lands might not pass away from the members of the favoured class into other hands, or into the hands of the Banya class. This Act goes further whenever there is a sale by a member of a non-agricultural tribe in favour of members of non-agricultural tribe then a member of the agricultural tribe can step in and deprive the purchaser of that which was a perfectly legitimate bargain. You will see that whereas the Land Alienation Act did not apply to town, this Act applies to lands within Municipal

Third Day.

Policy and operation of laws restricting Alienation of Land and Allied Acts.
Lala Bhana Ram.

Third Day.
Policy and operation of laws restricting Alienation of Land and Allied Acts.
Lala Bhana Ram.

limits also, so that whenever we want land for building or for extension for houses or for construction of factories we find that because of this provision in the Punjab Pre-emption Act, *viz.*, Section II we are deprived of the bargain also. I am a member of the legal profession and there are other gentlemen—Jats of the legal profession. They have never tilled the land with their own hands. If I want to make a purchase I cannot do so. If I purchase a land, my friend of the legal profession who nominally belongs to agricultural tribe might step into my shoes. Is it fair? Both he and I are following the same profession. But in the circumstances of this peculiar legislation we find that as a matter of fact he can deprive me of all this bargain. There is another Act in the Punjab known as the Tenancy Act XVII of 1887. Under the Tenancy Act an occupancy tenant could sell his land and he was bound first to offer it to his landlord. But on account of the definition of occupancy tenancy of land as given by the Chief Court and subsequently adopted by the legislature, occupancy holding is land, so that if a tenant of an agricultural tribe wants to sell his land his landlord cannot always get it he may take it privately from such an occupancy tenant but if the tenant were to sell it to another person he cannot get it. This is an anomaly. This is a hardship, this is an injury to the interests of agriculture also. I ask, has it not caused discontent amongst many of us? I would only put the question has it not caused discontent amongst us? I say there is grave discontent with regard to the working policy of this Act. We want from you an expression of your opinion that the time has now come for us to ask the Government to appoint a commission not of the officials only who have been writing these reports, supporting the view which they hold, but also of non-official Indians and Europeans by whom these questions may be gone into. With these remarks, gentlemen, I second the resolution. (Cheers).

Mr. Mathra Das
and Lala Ram
Chand.
Sirdar Mehr Singh
Chawla.

MR. MATHRA DAS AND LALA RAM CHAND SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION IN URDU.

Sirdar Mehr Singh
Chawla.

SIRDAR MEHR SINGH CHAWLA OF THE PUNJAB SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION IN PUNJABEE.

Mr. B. V. Vidwans.

MR. B. V. VIDWANS IN SUPPORTING SAID:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—This resolution does not need a long speech from me to meet your acceptance and so I shall take a very short time. This resolution states in the first place that the Land Alienation and the Allied Acts have created feeling of dissatisfaction among a certain section of the population. In the second place, it states that they have not fulfilled the professed object for which they have been enacted, namely, that they do not benefit agriculture or the agricultural class; and therefore this resolution proposes that an enquiry be made into the operation of these Acts by means of a commission. The speakers, who have preceded me, have given expression to the strong feeling of dissatisfaction in the Punjab. No one in this assembly would deny that the agriculturists as a class, being an ignorant class, do require protection of the State. It is a class likely to be imposed upon by shrewed money-lenders, but with a view to give protection to this class is it necessary that the alienation of land should be prevented? Look to modern conditions. Intensive agriculture has become a necessity. Agricultural science is advancing all over the world and at present the poor agriculturist, the ignorant agriculturist is not able to take advantage of this growing advance of the science and the useful implements and the advantageous manures and the other conveniences which science affords. If an agriculturist wants to dispose of his land at a fair price and the State sees that he is not being imposed upon, no harm can come if a man of the moneyed class or literary class buys the land.

Gentlemen, you will see that a moneyed man having capital in hand and having enterprise would put that capital and use that enterprise in cultivating the land so as to make it productive to the utmost extent. If land is allowed to be transferred to a moneyed man, the land is likely to be made more productive and the community as a whole gains thereby. You have heard that the moneyed class and literary class feel keenly that they are debarred from buying land. Their grievance is a legitimate one. If a man has money he naturally desires to purchase an estate and hopes

that his family and his descendants will continue to enjoy it for generations. If this legitimate aspiration of the literary or the moneyed class is not allowed to be fulfilled, there is a legitimate grievance. History teaches us that no good is got by interfering with the liberty of alienation and use of property. It is true that the trend of legislation during the last quarter of a century in the British Empire has been to give protection to the ignorant persons who are not able to take care of their own interests just as protection is given to women and minors. But this consideration does not apply where an agriculturist gets a fair price for his land which he wants to sell. I submit that there is no harm if a man of the moneyed class is allowed to buy the land and use it to the best of his capacity. With these words, gentlemen, I hope that this resolution will be accepted by you all. (Cheers).

The resolution was put to the Congress by the President and carried unanimously.

The President:—The next resolution relates to the public service and I request my friend Mr. Samarth to move.

MR. N. M. SAMARTH OF BOMBAY SAID:—Gentlemen, I do not think I need take up your time in reading the resolution. I take it that the printed resolution is in your hands.

The resolution runs as follows:—

- (a) That this Congress gratefully recognises the efforts that have been made during the last three years by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, to give gracious effect to the policy, laid down, in the Great Charter of 1858 and reiterated in His Majesty's message of last year, of obliterating distinctions of race in conferring higher offices on the people of India in the public service of the country.

The Congress, however, is strongly of opinion that in order, to carry out this policy effectively, the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 should be given effect to, and all examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England and all first appointments for the higher branches of the public service which are made in India should be by competitive examination only.

- (b) That this Congress thanks the Secretary of State:

(1) For his despatch regarding the employment in the superior posts of the civil medical service of qualified medical men not belonging to the Indian Medical Service and earnestly requests Government of India to take early action in the direction pointed out by the Secretary of State.

(2) That in the interests of the public, the medical service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service, wholly independent of the Indian (Military) Medical Service.

It is an old question but in this year's resolution we introduce our grateful thanks to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for giving effect to the interpretation which we have all along placed on the Proclamation of 1858. You will remember that it was a tussle between Lord Curzon on one hand and the people of India in Congress assembled on the other. We have all along said that the Proclamation of 1858 made it possible, not only made it possible, but provided for the contingency of Indians being able to rise to the highest rungs of the ladder in the public service of their native land. Lord Curzon put upon it an interpretation which precluded practically Indians from aspiring to the higher offices and confined the people of India to the lower rungs of the ladder for ever and ever. That was the state of things when we met at the Congress in Benares under the distinguished Presidentship of the Honourable Mr. Gokhale. We made a protest against the interpretation put upon the Proclamation by Lord Curzon. Be it said to the credit of Lord Morley that, as early as practicable, he took the opportunity of supporting the correctness of the interpretation which we all along had placed on the Proclamation, and he said that it was idle to interpret the pledges of the Proclamation in a pettifogging-spirit; and he went further. As soon as

Third Day.

Policy and operation of laws restricting Alienation of Land and Allied Acts.

Mr. B. V. Vidwans.

Public Service.

Mr. N. M. Samarth

Third Day.
Public Service.
Mr. N. M. Samarth.

there was an opportunity for the Royal message to be sent last year, he made it quite clear that the Great Charter of 1858 aimed at obliterating all distinctions of race in appointing Indians to offices of trust and responsibility. Mark that expression, because there is meaning in it. "Obliterating all distinctions of race" is incompatible with keeping in perpetuity the monopoly of the highest branches of the public service in the hands of one community, namely, the British. Be it said again to the credit of Lord Morley that he took the earliest opportunity of translating his views into action by making the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Lord Curzon could not digest it and you know well that in a speech or letter published in the *Times*, I forget which it was, he protested against what he called this breach in British Sovereignty. What he means by British Sovereignty is the Sovereignty of Englishmen who, according to him, should have the monopoly of the higher branches of the service. It does not mean a breach in His Britannic Majesty's Sovereignty over the land. So long as there is no breach in His Britannic Majesty's Sovereignty over the land, I do not think that any person, however high placed, has any power to whittle down the pledges of the Proclamation in the manner that Lord Curzon had been attempting to do. We, in this resolution, thank the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for giving effect, as far as possible, to this policy laid down in the Great Charter. That is not enough. In order that distinctions of race may be obliterated, in the Royal Message you will remember—I have not got the exact wording, but I think my memory stands me in good stead—a promise has been given that a steady effort will be made in the direction of obliterating caste distinctions in this matter. Well, gentlemen, if the policy is to be effectively carried out, it is necessary to remove the present difficulties in the way of Indian youth getting into the Indian Civil and other Services. We are, therefore, asking in this resolution that effect be given to the resolution which was passed in the House of Commons in favour of Simultaneous Examination on the 2nd June 1893. Unless that is done and we get a fair field—all we ask for is fair field and no favour—and unless we are permitted to compete on equal terms with Englishmen in this country for services in our own land, I do not think that it is possible for any statesmen, however well-intentioned he may be, to effectively carry out the pledge reiterated in the Royal message. We, therefore, ask the authorities to give effect to the resolution passed in June 1893. We further ask that the higher appointments in the public service here should be filled by competitive tests and not by nominations. I have on the previous occasion told you my own view which I take to be the view of the Congress, that as a matter of fact appointments by nomination are scarcely compatible with the pledges in the Proclamation, which only says that people possessing the qualifications of education, integrity, will be eligible to the highest posts in the land. Nomination is inconsistent with giving effect to the policy laid down in the Proclamation. We therefore suggest that all appointments should be made by competitive examinations only. There is another part of this resolution which relates to the medical service. I do not wish to detain you much longer and I take this opportunity of thanking the present Secretary of State for the broadminded way in which he has tried to carry out against odds a beneficent policy. He has been doing what he can to see that the people of this country are placed in a better position so far as the recruitment to the medical profession is concerned. That is the whole resolution and I commend it to your acceptance. (Cheers).

Rao Bahadur
Khandu Bai Desai.

RAI BAHADUR KHANDU BAI DESAI, OF SURAT, SAID:—Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been placed before you by my friend, Mr. Samarth, on the subject of public service. I do not propose to speak on all portions of the resolution but I shall offer a few remarks upon the subject of competitive examinations and upon the appointments for the Civil Engineering Department. The resolution says that all examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and England and all first appointment for the higher branches of the public service which are made in India should be by competitive examinations only. Now, gentlemen, the examinations held in England are for the Civil Service and for the Medical Service only. Formerly for the Civil Engineering Department there was admission to the Cooper's Hill College by a sort of competitive examination; but by a recent order Cooper's Hill College has been

abolished and appointments to the Engineering Department are now made by nominations by certain Universities and Colleges in Great Britain. In fact, therefore, the door which was open to any Indian to go to England and to qualify himself for the Engineering Department as well as the Telegraphic Department has now been closed. It is, therefore, necessary that either the college be re-opened or some other means be found for the admission of the people of this land to the Imperial branch of the Engineering Department. I may say that as far back as 1854 before our Gracious Queen's Proclamation of 1858, Sir Charles Wood in his despatch on education was good enough to lay down that in the case of the Engineering Department there was no reason why the service should not be wholly recruited in India to make up, whatever was necessary for the work required to be done, the number of Royal Engineers who used to be sent out from England. With that view he recommended that Engineering Colleges should be established in the chief centres and accordingly the College of Science, Poona, the Sibpore College and the College in Madras were all opened, the College at Roorkee had already been in existence for sometime. But the course was extended and provision was made to train up Engineers. However, in carrying out these orders the Government instead of throwing open the service fully to the graduates of this University only gave seven appointments to them annually and the result was that instead of natives of India being able to fill the necessary number of appointments in the P. W. D. it came only to about 30 per cent. However, I must say that even this was much better than in the other services. In the Civil Service subsequently only one sixth of the appointments were reserved for the people of this land. In the Engineering Department we got practically say from the time the colleges were established 33 per cent. One of the results of this is that we are able to state now that what Sir Charles Wood foresaw that the natives of India would be all able to carry on the duties required from an Engineer and practically every duty that the alumni of these Colleges have been called upon to do had been satisfactorily performed. I would, therefore, recommend that recruiting should be done for the other services also in the same manner by competitive examinations in India. With these remarks I commend this resolution to the acceptance of the Congress.

Third Day.

Public Service.
Rao Bahadur
Khandu Bai Desai.

DR. RANJIT SINGH OF ALLAHABAD SAID :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry I have come to the platform at the far end of the day. In fact, the President has already warned me to be very brief and therefore I will be brief. The question of the Medical Reform has been discussed on this platform now for over 12 years and by much abler and worthier men too, for instance, by the late Dr. Bahadurji of Bombay and Dr. Nilratan Sirkar of Calcutta. The question has now received some attention and this is just the time for us to help it on. The Secretary of State has in his despatch, as most of us know, proposed reforms in the medical profession but these unfortunately have not met with the sort of encouragement that they ought to have at the hands of the Government of India. The Government of India, who have said that the time is not ripe enough to introduce reforms, have come out with certain objections. Gentlemen, I say if this is not the time for reform in the medical profession when would the time come! Universities which had been teaching medicine have now existed for over 50 years. There are M. D.'s and M. B.'s turned out from the Indian Medical Colleges.

Dr. Ranjit Singh.

All the same, they are not given the same opportunity which the members of the I. M. S. are given. The objection brought forward by the Government are first of all "The War Reserve." The War Reserve cry is almost a bogey for everything which the Government do not want to do. This Department is the only department where they have mixed up Military appointments with Civil appointments, which mean unnecessary expense to the country and it is really very strange why a Military medical man should be thought fit to discharge the services which a Civil medical man is competent to do. The other objection they raise is that the efficiency of the service will suffer. The capabilities of men belonging to the Indian medical service are thought unnecessarily to be very much more than those of the men trained in the

Third Day.
Public Service.
Dr. Ranjit Singh.

Indian Colleges. A young Lieutenant or a Captain who has just come out from England and who perhaps has spent more time on the back of his polo pony and at his bridge table, is supposed to be able to lecture on medicine and pathology just as well as a man who had spent all his lifetime in clinical research. The third point they say is that Indians will not be fit to take up administrative posts and discharge the duties properly. The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it, and it is simply preposterous to say that now when the time has come when Indians are thought fit to sit as members of Viceroy's Executive Council and as members even of the King's Privy Council, none of us, not even a few of us at least, are fit to take charge of the woes and physical sufferings of our own kith and kin as Civil Surgeons in the medical service. (Cheers). With these few words I support the resolution.

The President put the resolution to the Congress which carried it unanimously.

The President:—Gentlemen,—There are many resolutions yet, it is nearly 5 o'clock; some of our friends are going away to-night and it will not be possible to carry on the work of the Congress to-morrow as satisfactorily as we should wish it to be. Therefore it will be necessary for me to put from the chair many resolutions which in the ordinary course of affairs would have been spoken to by gentlemen whose names you find on the agenda paper. I may add that most of them are old resolutions about which all or nearly all which has to be said has been said several times and therefore no loss will accrue to the Congress if we do not discuss those resolutions. I call upon Mr. Peter Paul Pillai to move the resolution on the high prices of food-stuffs.

High Prices of
Food Stuffs.
Mr. Peter Paul
Pillai.

MR. PETER PAUL PILLAI OF MADRAS NEXT MOVED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:—“That this Congress is of opinion that having regard to the high prices of food-stuffs for the past several years and the hardships to which the middle and the poor classes in particular are put thereby, an enquiry by a properly constituted Commission should be instituted by Government into the causes of such high prices with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedy that evil could be removed or its effects minimised.”

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—We hear of a promise of enquiry by an officer specially appointed for it; but its scope is limited to the consideration of the extent to which the disaster of the high prices of articles of food prevails in the country. It is said that no enquiry will be made into the causes that contribute to the disaster, as they are conflicting. If the report be true it would be a case of the Government shirking its sacred duty to the people. This perfunctory and defective way of enquiring into this disastrous state of things is in conformity with the fatal policy of the Government not troubling itself to institute an enquiry into the economic condition of the people. Lord Curzon summarily rejected the petition of the Indian Famine Union signed by very influential persons for an enquiry of this character, with such facts as cannot be denied. The price of grain and other articles of food has abnormally arisen beyond the rate of scarcity price that is prescribed in the Famine Code. Several gentlemen have given different causes for the rise in the prices of articles of food. Without enquiring into those questions raised by others I would confine myself to the consideration of the cause which lies at the root of the evils. According to my view and knowledge acquired from a study extending over a generation, I attribute the rise in the prices to the law of supply and demand. In other words, the productiveness of the country is fast diminishing. This diminution of produce is due to the diminution in the productive capacity of the people as represented by the ryots. I wrote to the *Madras Mail*, a leading journal of Madras, twenty-five years ago; comparing the agricultural decline to the disaster that befell the agricultural industry in modern Spain and ancient Italy, which, in spite of the rich and productive soil and congenial climate, had to import grain, as the fields were left to lie fallow owing to several causes. We have been repeatedly pointing out the extraordinary phenomenon that the people were dying from starvation and famine for want of means and money wherewith to purchase food which was being exported to other countries

in abundance. The stock of food on which we used to lay so much stress, is rapidly diminishing so much so that India has been importing food-stuff instead of exporting it. This year in the port of Tuticorin alone about 1½ million bags of paddy and rice were imported. Similarly, there was a large import of wheat from Australia in the port of Calcutta and other towns.

Third Day.

High Prices of
Food Stuffs.
Mr. Peter Paul
Pillai.

Apart from the causes due to draught and failure of monsoon, the produce of the country has been steadily diminishing. According to the statistics collected by the late Mr. William Digby, the income per head per day was 2d. in 1850, 1½ penny in 1880 and ¾ penny in 1900. Within the past ten years of exceptionally depressing condition there should have been a fall to half penny and lower down still. This is in spite of the increase of area under cultivation and irrigation and increase of prices of articles. The shrinkage of area under cereal crops and increase of area under industrial crops like cotton and jute which are exported to foreign countries on account of the destruction of the arts and industries of India contributes to the diminution of food supply. Sir William Hunter in his book on "What England has done to India" said that from forty to fifty millions of people suffer from chronic semi-starvation. According to the view of Sir Charles Elliot, when he was Settlement Officer of the United Provinces forty years ago, half the agricultural population of India are suffering from semi-starvation. The number cannot be less than 100 millions. In 1887 Lord Dufferin instituted a private enquiry into this state of things and it was found that the majority of the people of India were half starved. The majority of the year of 1887 has become a larger majority with increasing depression since the famine of 1900 which was pronounced by Lord Curzon to be the most terrible in the history of India. The agricultural income of the people is decreasing while starvation and the horrible consequence of starvation manifesting itself in disastrous famines with increasing frequency and virulence. Unfortunately in spite of its vast resources India has become *par excellence* the land of starvation, the land of hunger and the land of famines. There are other causes also for this state of things but I need not trouble you about them now, I may say, however, that the destruction of arts and industries has driven a large portion of the industrial population to the occupation of agriculture; and this change acts and reacts upon the economic condition of the country. The drain of Indian money is another cause of the poverty. Spain and Italy referred to above suffered agriculturally in spite of the pouring in of the treasures from the Western Hemisphere and of the Colonies and Dependencies respectively. What must be the condition of India agriculturally with its money pouring out incessantly to the extent of 50 crores of rupees annually under different heads. Confining myself to agriculture, in spite of the efforts of the Government to disseminate scientific knowledge of agriculture, the agricultural state of the country is in a disastrous condition. My fear is that agriculture itself is in a state of collapse and the ryot and the zamindar are collapsing for various reasons.

The difficulties of ryots and zamindars to carry on their agricultural industry and manage their properties are on the increase. According to the speech of the President of the Provincial Conference of the Madras Presidency held this year at Berhampore, no less than 20 per cent. of the agricultural lands under occupancy are lying fallow for the reason of this inability of the ryots to cultivate. This is in ordinary and normal years. None the less the ryots are obliged to pay full assessment for the lands that lie uncultivated. The same unhappy cause is also the cause of a portion of the remaining lands being indifferently cultivated and yielding diminished produce often less than the cost of cultivation. The difficulties caused by the forest department are depriving the ryots of adequate cattle power and cattle manure necessary for agriculture. The life stock of the country is a necessary concomitant and is a source of wealth and a source of supply of food here as elsewhere in the world. By the rigour of forest laws the ryot population have been deprived of their immemorial rights over unoccupied communal lands. A large area of two hundred and fifty thousand square miles in ryotwari tracts in British India has been lost to the people. By prohibitive restrictions against fishing, hunting and collection of wild roots and berries within forest area, food supply by these is lost to the people. Everything within

Third Day. forest area has become a State monopoly. Fuel is a necessity of life and it has become a monopoly of the State. By the shrinkage and the curtailment of area of pasturage cattle mortality has been heavy. By the rigorous exclusion of men and cattle within forest area and the rigorous working of the Arms Act, wild beasts have been protected and have increased in numbers. The carnivorous wild animals have become very destructive to cattle and men. The herbivorous wild animals have become very destructive to crops. For want of pasture even ryot let loose their cattle on the crops of their neighbouring lands. For want of adequate bullock power the ryot is unable to cultivate his land and is often obliged to relinquish his lands. I have been presenting petitions to the Madras Government on the evil of the ryots being obliged to relinquish their lands on account of this difficulty. Distribution of irrigation water is under the control of Public Works Department Officers who are not interested in the agricultural concerns of the ryots nor of the revenue concerns of the revenue officers, and is a source of serious trouble; and in several parts with no lack of water as under the Godavari and Periyar works in Madura, lands lie uncultivated and fallow. I have my own lands lying fallow for the past three years under the Periyar works. The rigorous system of land revenue administration and the arbitrary enhancement of assessment increase the hardships of the people. Even the administration of justice has a devastating effect upon the people. The seed difficulty, labour difficulty and the lack of necessary resources have a disastrous effect upon the agricultural industry. I would advert to a speech delivered recently before the Agricultural Conference at Poona in which His Excellency the Governor of Bombay said that the ryots would cultivate inferior lands in preference to rich lands which require larger resources for ploughing and weeding. The Bombay Government has suspended the enhancement of land revenue under provision of settlement on account of the difficulty of procuring bullocks for draught purposes, for ploughing and carting in Bijapore District. I would advert to the evidence of the landholders of Tanjore, the best irrigated district in India, that while the net income is 3 rupees per acre, the net assessment is 9 rupees per acre. The financial outlook of the Government is getting more and more gloomy. Mr. John Goodrich, the retired Judge of Jubbalpore, in reply to my congratulations when I met him in London—for his brave and generous spirit in advocating the cause of the people of the Central Provinces in contradicting the optimistic speech of Lord Elgin that the province was free from famine, said that his action was as much in his own interest; because he said that if the administration be carried on at this rate a time would come when there would be no pie left for the Government to pay his pension. Every British officer should bear this in mind.

In conclusion I submit that representations should be made to the Government in the matter and if the Government will only consult the best interests of the people and of itself, they will give effect to what is prayed for in this resolution by the Congress.

Professor V. G. Kale.

PROFESSOR V. G. KALE, POONA, SAID:—Gentlemen,—The question of the rise of prices has become one of the most perplexing questions that we have to face at the present moment. It is, however, a fortunate circumstance that the rise of prices has been accepted as a fact by all people who are concerned, even by our Anglo-Indian friends of the Press. But although the fact has been accepted, they seem to think that somehow it could be explained or quibbled away. We are told that instead of making the rise of prices a cause of complaint, we ought to congratulate ourselves on the high prices that we have had for the last ten years and more. It is said that high prices indicate the prosperity of the country. It is said that high prices mean larger profits and larger wages to the people and therefore people on account of the higher prices are likely to be happier now than they were before. Whether this view of the matter that has been taken in certain quarters is right or wrong can be seen by the fact that although in some places the rates of wages are higher than in others, yet this rise in wages even there has not been in proportion to the rise in prices and consequently those people do not derive all the advantages due to the rise in prices. I do not wish to enter into a discussion of the various theories

put forward in explanation of the rise of prices. Suffice it to say that the causes assigned in explanation of the phenomena are very conflicting. Very conflicting remedies have also been proposed and it is therefore necessary that the whole matter should be carefully probed and examined, and for that purpose a commission of enquiry is required. Such a Commission has been promised to us for a long time, and after a lapse of a year and a half it has been announced that an officer would be deputed for the purpose of examining that question. But it is quite clear that the enquiry that may be made by an officer and the decision that he will come to, will not carry the same weight as the decision of a Commission of Experts. Then, again, we are told that the enquiry will not extend to the examination of the question of currency because it is said that the commissions are very unsettling things and secondly that the currency system of Government being a tender growth ought not to be interfered with by the members of such a commission of enquiry. It is said by certain people whose opinion ought to carry a great weight that the currency system is responsible for the rise of prices. It is therefore necessary, gentlemen, that the question of currency also should be examined and we pray to Government that a proper commission should be appointed for the purpose of diagnosing the disease and devising remedies to cure it. With these words, I second the resolution, and commend it to your acceptance.

Third Day.

High Prices of
Food Stuffs.
Professor V. G.
Kale.

MR. D. E. WACHA OF BOMBAY SAID:—Gentlemen,—I have only one suggestion to offer in respect of the resolution. I know very well that the question of high prices is a very great and serious problem which affects the whole community vitally, I only beg to bring to your notice the October number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* which contains an article on the subject by Mr. Atkinson, the Accountant General of the United Provinces. It is an excellent article of a most elaborate and exhaustive character, you may agree or not with the views therein propounded. But you will do well, every one of you, to read it. In the meantime I sympathise with the resolution which prays for an independent and impartial committee, properly constituted, by Government, to enquire into the causes of high prices. After all it is the question of currency in my opinion that affects high prices. (Cheers).

Mr. D. E. Wacha.

PANDIT GOVIND SAHAI SHARMA OF UNITED PROVINCES SAID:—Gentlemen,—I do not think it is at all necessary for me to speak on the subject. The subject is so complicated that it requires men like Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Wacha to speak on it. But I have been asked to support the resolution and I must say a few words and those words will be from my personal experience which I had the opportunity of acquiring when I was engaged as Judicial Secretary in the service of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda. That experience was about four or five years ago. I have been seeing the same state of things in the different Native States of my Province, Rajputana. When we had famine in our States the political officer or the Maharaja—if he had full powers—would stop the export of food-stuffs at once and by that means we could get grains at a moderate price. When I was at Agra about 2 years ago and we had famine we could not get more than a maund of grass for one rupee, but in Bhurtpur, a few miles from Agra, we could get grass at three maunds per rupee; it was simply because the political officer in charge of the State put a stop to the export of grass and food-stuffs. It was suggested that if the export of food-stuffs was stopped the cultivators will not get the same high prices which they can get now, but my experience is that the poor cultivators do not get much profit out of the high prices. It is the middle man that devours the profits. I should say that much more of the profit goes to the pockets of firms like Ralli Brothers and other big firms than to the poor cultivators. Poor cultivators have to sell their food-stuffs when the crops are not even ripe. After selling their produce they have to purchase the same food-stuffs for higher prices. With these words, I support the resolution.

Pandit Govind
Sahai Sharma.

The resolution having been put to the Congress was carried unanimously.

Third Day.

President:—We have on the paper a number of resolutions as you will see from the printed paper before you and if each of them is taken up and spoken to by the various gentlemen whose names you find there, we cannot finish the work. Is it your wish that we should take up each resolution and that it should be spoken to or that the resolutions being old resolutions about which the Congress has all along been of one mind, they may be put from the chair? (Cries of chair, chair).

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried unanimously:—

Swadeshi Movement,

That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi Movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of industries capable of development in the country and respond to the efforts of Indian producers by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice.

Education,

That this Congress is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps:

- (a) to make Primary Education free at once and gradually compulsory throughout the country;
- (b) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes);
- (c) to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces having regard to local requirements; and
- (d) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of education in this country.

In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical and Industrial Education suited to the conditions of the different Provinces in the country.

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions,

(a) That this Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by Government that the executive and judicial functions were soon to be separated; no effective steps have been taken in that direction and this Congress concurring with previous congresses urges a complete separation of the two functions without further delay.

(b) That this Congress concurring with previous congresses urges that the judicial service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession.

North-West Frontier Province,

The President:—The feeling is that the resolution relating to North-West Frontier Province should be discussed at this assembly. It will not take up much time and I will call upon Mr. Purushotham Lal to move it.

Mr. Purushotham Lal,

Mr. Purushotham Lal moved the following resolution in a speech in Urdu:—

In view of the prevalence of serious dissatisfaction among the people of the North-West Frontier Province with the character of the administration under which they live, this Congress earnestly urges the Government of India to order a public inquiry into the complaints and take steps to remedy the disadvantages under which they labour as compared with the population of the Punjab.

Mr. Sunder Singh Bhatia

MR. SUNDER SINGH BHATIA OF LAHORE SAID:—Gentlemen,—I bow to the call from the chair to address a few words on this resolution. I think that *Pax Britannica* or the security of life and property which prevails in the country under the present administration is one of the greatest blessings which the Government can claim to its credit. It seems that in the neighbouring Province, in that portion of the Punjab

which was cut off under the orders of Lord Curzon's Government that security of life and property is pretty nearly non-existent so far as the Hindu subjects of His Majesty are concerned. The Government is entitled to the loyal allegiance of all subjects of the crown. On the other hand, there is a corresponding duty lying on every civilised Government to grant that protection of life and property without which there can be no order and no settled Government. In addition to the fact that raids upon raids are reported on the frontier in which the peaceful and law-abiding subjects of the crown are molested, harassed and plundered and taken away. In addition to these startling facts, I must mention just in a word or two for the information of my brother delegates from other provinces that there is such a thing as frontier crimes regulation under which a special law prevails in the neighbouring province by which by an executive order of the authorities any man can be deported from the Province, not of course taken into custody and kept in a place but turned out from the Province and kept out as long as the authorities desire. Then there is such a thing as jirga trial which I can only say can be regarded as a relic of barbarous times. It is not a thing of which our present civilised Government can have any reason to feel proud. Jirga means—a number of Sardars or tribal men constitute a Court and try cases and sentence men to long terms of imprisonment. I must say that the men who ordinarily constitute a jirga do not claim and are not possessed of any knowledge of criminal law or procedure. It depends upon their sweet will and mercy, and considering these circumstances, this Congress is perfectly within its rights, indeed it is a pressing duty that lies on our countrymen, to protest against the continuance of a system which deprives our fellow-subjects, our fellow-countrymen, the flesh of our flesh, the blood of our blood, in the neighbouring North-West Frontier Province, of the elementary rights which every British citizen possesses within the empire. With these words, gentlemen, I think I need not further press this subject on which at any rate we of the Punjab and the Frontier Province feel so keenly, and I trust that the Government will at as early a moment as possible remove what has long continued to be a blot on the fair escutcheon of the Government. (Cheers).

The President put the resolution to the Congress and it was carried unanimously.

President:—I beg to propose the resolution conveying the thanks of the Congress to Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, and Sir Henry Cotton. The resolution runs as follows:—

Third Day.
North-West Frontier Province.
Mr. Sunder Singh Bhatia.

Thanks to Messrs. Wedderburn, Hume and Cotton.

The resolution was carried amid acclamation.

President:—You have all got a list of the All-India Committee. It will take a long time to read it. I take it that you will accept it as read. The members have been elected by the respective provinces. I take it that you agree that they should be appointed as elected. (Voices, "yes, yes").

All-India Congress Committee.
Thanks to the Reception Committee and the Volunteer Corps.

President:—The next resolution is about the appointment of the General Secretaries and the resolution is "that Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. D. A. Khare be re-appointed General Secretaries." (Cheers). I am sure you have already carried it with acclamation and I take that it is passed.

Election of Secretaries for the ensuing year.

The following resolution was then put from the chair and carried unanimously:—

That this Congress feels it necessary to place on record its appreciation of the services of the few volunteers who have this year done the work which is usually performed at every Congress by students ten times their number and who enthusiastically came forward to take the place of the students who were compelled to withdraw owing to a circular issue by the Local Educational authorities.

Volunteers.

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU OF ALLAHABAD SAID:—Gentlemen,—The subject which brings me here is absolutely non-contentious, and it is as pleasing to my feelings as I am sure it is to the feelings of all my fellow-delegates from my province. (Hear, hear). (Gentlemen, the last time that the Congress was held at Allahabad was in the year 1892,

Invitation to Congress.
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Third Day.
Dr. Tej Bahadur
Sapru.

under the presidency of one of our most distinguished countrymen, the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. Since then a session of the Congress has been held at Lucknow and another at Benares, but for the last 17 years we of Allahabad have been waiting for the Congress to come in there and now, gentlemen, in the name of Provincial Congress Committee of my Province and in the name also of the entire province I beg to invite the Congress at Allahabad. (A voice:—"to the United Provinces"). My friends suggest that I should add "to the United Province". Well, gentlemen, we Allahabad people, are hopelessly irreclaimable Congressmen. In our devotion, in our loyalty, in our fidelity to the Congress and the ideals of the Congress we do not yield to any province though we may not be as high in some matters as the more favoured Presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay or Madras. Therefore you may depend upon it that when you come to Allahabad, we of the United Provinces shall do the utmost that lies in our power to accord you a hearty welcome, and if I may add, an immunity from Lahore cold. (Cheers and laughter.)

President:—I hope, gentlemen, you will kindly accept the invitation of my City Allahabad (cheers), and agree to meet there.

The acceptance of the invitation was signified by an outburst of applause.

Thanks to the
President.
Mr. J. Petit.

MR. J. PETIT OF BOMBAY SAID:—Gentlemen,—Our last duty yet remains unperformed, and I rise to perform it on your behalf. I have much pleasure in asking you to accord our most hearty and cordial vote of thanks to the distinguished and honourable gentleman who presided over our deliberations during the last 3 days with such conspicuous ability. (Cheers).

Three cheers were called for the President and responded to lustily.

President's reply
to the vote of thanks.

President, ladies and gentlemen,—I find it difficult to express to you the feeling of gratitude that has been excited in me by the exceedingly kind reception which you gave me first and by the exceedingly kind vote of thanks which you have now passed in my favour. Gentlemen, I will not take up time by attempting to do what I find myself unable to do. I feel now, as I found when I addressed you first, that I do not deserve the honour to which you have been pleased to call me. (Cries of "you fully deserve it"). I feel now that I do not deserve the thanks that you have in your generosity accorded to me, but I do not feel the less grateful to you for that. Thanks, gentlemen, are due to you all for the extremely kind support that you have given to me throughout the proceedings in conducting the deliberations of the Congress, which has met in the most difficult circumstances. I cannot express the obligation that I feel to my senior friends, to my esteemed predecessors in this chair, who have graced the assembly by their presence, encouraged me by their attendance and assisted me with their advice throughout these three days. Nor can I omit to express my gratitude with the other junior members—if I may say so without meaning any disrespect—who have displayed such sweet reasonableness in considering the suggestions that have been laid before them. Arduous have been our labours, as members of the Subjects Committee as you probably know; but the proceedings have been conducted with best regard for each other's view, with a desire to give and take and to take only the view which is in conformity with the whole traditions of the Congress, the view that was best calculated to promote the interests of the Congress in the circumstances. Gentlemen, we have reason to congratulate ourselves and above all we have immense reason to send up our humble prayers to God for the grace and mercy which He has shown in guiding us to success and enabling us to carry on our work. (Cheers). The work of the 24th Indian National Congress is over. We shall very soon be leaving this hall and thinking of going back to our homes. If I may claim your attention for just a few moments, I beg of you to consider where we stand and what lies in the near future before us. As I have said, this is the 24th Congress that has met. I would ask you to cast back your minds to the period when no Congress existed in this country, and I ask you to compare the position then to the position which we now occupy. The generous feeling of patriotism which

English education has implanted and fostered in our minds, had then just begun to lead us to think of organising ourselves into a large organization to serve our country. The national life had taken its origin in Lord Ripon's time and had just begun to pulsate through the hearts of the educated men. We had no Congress but there were undoubtedly in the different provinces able and distinguished men labouring in the country's cause, but there was no organization which would bring them together, which would make a Madrassee meet a Punjabi and a Punjabi to meet a Madrassee, trying to understand each other and love each other better than they did before by simply hearing of their countrymen. To-day we find that we meet here, one friend greets another, one brother meets another and embraces another in a brotherly embrace, all feeling the new impulse of a national life, all sharing the joys and sorrows of their country. This is a great thing that the Congress has brought about, and this feeling of national life is, thank God, daily growing. That is not all. That in itself would have been a great gain to the cause and I believe you will agree with me that after all that has been said and considered, that is the greatest, the largest, outstanding gain of the agitation that we have carried on during these many years. Time there was before the Congress when we did not know what happened in Madras or in the Punjab. To-day, a brother suffers an unjust punishment in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta or the Punjab and throughout the country there is a wave of sympathy amongst not only educated men but among all thoughtful Indians who have begun to feel that they are brothers, though they may be living in different provinces and speaking different languages. The next thing is the Reform agitation that we have been carrying on. Before the Congress things were going on in a way, but we have succeeded in exercising some influence upon the administration, and I have no doubt that we shall succeed day by day, more and more, in exercising influence on the administration of the country. Several problems which we pressed upon the attention of the Government have been advanced. Some reforms which we urged have been granted. Though some of the reforms may seem to be smaller in importance than others, yet they have affected the happiness of vast millions of the people of this country. Take, for instance, the income-tax question. The taxable minimum has been raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. It seems a small affair to mention, but if you think of the unhappiness and of the misery which has been caused you will realise that a real service has been done to our poor country. So also is the case with the salt tax. The tax on salt may not and cannot be felt by those who have been provided with luxuries of life but to the poor man and to the beast whose health is affected by not getting a sufficient amount of salt, that is a matter of vital importance. Not only have men benefited by the reduction of salt duty but even those humble creatures of God, the cattle of the country, have greatly been benefited, and so also in many other matters. I will not detain you by going through all the achievements of the Congress. The greatest question that has been agitating men has been the reform of the Councils. I am sure we have all expressed our dissatisfaction with the Regulations that have been promulgated in clear and unmistakable terms. I ask you to bear another aspect of the question in mind. While we have condemned the Regulations, as it was our duty, while we feel keen disappointment that the labours of these many years, labours carried on in self-sacrifice and love of the people—those labours have been frustrated for the moment, gentlemen, we have the assurance that we have advanced our cause to a great stage. The Indian Councils Act stands and it will stand. That is the outcome of a large and liberal scheme of reform. Those Regulations that have been framed under the Act are not permanent; they will have to be altered and I have no doubt they will be altered soon. If they are not altered sooner than we wish them to be, the fault will largely be our own. If we agitate sufficiently earnestly I am sure, gentlemen, that the Government will recognise the wisdom of the advice and the recommendation that we have humbly placed before them of reconsidering the Regulations at an early date. Gentlemen, we have the consciousness, the satisfaction of knowing that we have achieved a triumph in having a Reform Bill introduced as Lord Morley has introduced it in his Despatch. You have also the satisfaction of knowing that you are carrying on an agitation in which there is no real defeat to you. Constitutional agitation never knows

Third Day.

President's reply
to the vote of thanks.

Third Day.

President's reply
to the vote of thanks.

any real defeat. Your efforts may be delayed and success may be slow, but success is bound to come if you continue your agitation. It is entirely distinguished from all other kinds of agitation. In those other kinds of agitation you may wage a war, you may meet with defeat, you may be prostrated for generations. Constitutional agitation knows no such defeat. It is defeat to-day. Not only the defeat is merely nominal and temporary but it continues its work with renewed energy, and success is certain to crown its efforts sooner or later. So also will be the case with these Regulations. Let us carry on our agitation in this spirit and the Regulations will be modified, and then all the good that we have been expecting from these reforms is bound to follow.

The next question that I invite your attention to is whether we have carried on the agitation sufficiently earnestly in the past. You will pardon me for saying it, but I feel it my duty to say that we have not carried on the Congress agitation with that amount of earnestness, that amount of indomitable will and energy with which it should have been carried on. Years ago when the Congress was started, it was recognised, and it is recognised even to-day, that the title of the Congress to speak in the name of the people rests upon the support which it has from the people. We laboured then by lectures and pamphlets to educate people on general questions which the Congress took up. We have unfortunately dropped that item from our programme for a long time and I appeal to you to consider the great necessity of taking up that part of the work of enlisting public opinion more and more on questions which affect the country, of enlisting the sympathies of increasingly larger number of our fellow-countrymen. The Provincial Congress Committees have been formed and the Congress has given us an excellent constitution. Whatever may be said against it in a spirit of carping, the Congress has given us an excellent constitution. I do not claim for it that it is a perfect constitution. I do not know that any perfect constitution has been framed by the hand of man. I do not deny that there may be, I will say that there is, room for many amendments and improvements in the constitution and rules that we have adopted. Let suggestions be made for alteration or improvement; these suggestions will be considered and carried out but let us take the constitution as it is. It imposes certain duties upon us, particularly upon Provincial Congress Committees and District Committees, and I appeal to you to carry on that part of work which relates to the education of the people in a larger measure than you have carried it all hitherto. It is the glory of the English nation among all nations of the world that the Government of England is carried on according to the wishes of the people of England. Englishmen have recognised that the only right form of Government is the Government of the people by themselves. Englishmen cannot get rid of that conviction though they may put it aside temporarily when they come to deal with the affairs of India. That being so, you have but to develop public opinion, a reasonable, intelligent public opinion, and the greater the weight of that public opinion, the larger will be the certainty of success at the hands of the English Government. Let us convince Government on any question that Indian public opinion is unanimous and strong in demanding it and I venture to say, gentlemen, that the English Government will not for many years refuse to accede to the demand of public opinion so expressed. I do not know that there can be greater advantage for the people of any country than this knowledge that we have so far as the relations of the English Government with this country are concerned. But we must carry on this agitation. I regret to find that faith in constitutional agitation has been somewhat shaken during the last few years. It is an undoubted fact, as indisputable as it is deplorable. I would appeal to you, my countrymen, to try to help our people all over the country to get rid of this feeling. There is no other course that is likely to lead to greater results, to as good results as are certain to come from carrying on constitutional agitation, and the highest interests of the country demand that the energies which are being frittered in useless discussion should all be consecrated for the service of motherland by means of constitutional agitation. Particularly to our young men whose minds are easily swayed by strong expressions and strong comments on the actions of Government—to them, as they are the future hopes of the country, would I particularly appeal to consider this aspect of the question more calmly than they have yet

done and to enlist themselves under the banner of the Congress to carry on the work in the spirit in which the older generation has carried it, and to have the assurance that they will achieve greater success and be of greater service by this means than by any other means.

Third Day.

President's reply
to the vote of thanks.

Gentlemen, there is one circumstance, however, one fact upon which a great deal of our future depends. There are two parties who have to be considered in any public question in India, namely, the Governors and the governed, those who have been set above us to carry on the administration and those for whose benefit that administration is carried on. Progress will be very difficult if those who have been set above us to govern us and guide us continue to be so apathetic as unfortunately I am sorry to say, a good many of them are. I know there are a good many officials who take broad views, who feel a large hearted sympathy with many of our aspirations, who consider our views in a fair manner—I do not mean to make a sweeping accusation against all members of Government or against all officials—but there are unfortunately a large body of men amongst them who do not look at the ideas of Indians in the same fair manner. They have to recognise certain facts. They have to recognise that the Indians though they are in a fallen condition at present belong to a most ancient race which boasts of a particularly high degree of civilisation in the past. They have also to recognise that being descended from an ancient race, they have a past tradition to think of. Indians have also received English education and English education has infused into their minds ideas of nationality and Government, ideas of obtaining Self-Government, ideas of taking part in the administration of the affairs of their country as other nations do. Gentlemen, the events that are taking place in the world, in America, in England, in the Asiatic countries such as Japan, China, Persia and Turkey, all appeal with irresistible force to the minds of the educated Indians. They desire that they should obtain for themselves as good a share in the administration of their country as they find their fellowmen in these countries are gaining day by day. That being so, they feel hurt if they are spoken of or treated as though they belong to an uncivilised community. Let our rulers recognise the fact. Let them note it with satisfaction that this is the result largely of English education for which we are indebted to them and for which we shall ever be indebted to them, let them look at it in this light and then much of the misunderstanding arising between the governors and the governed will be gone. I make this appeal because I feel that it is not possible for us, Indians, to give up aspirations which have been stirring in our breast for some time and if the attitude of the bureaucracy does not change, friction will be inevitable, there will be more unrest, more dissatisfaction, more discontent, leading to uneasiness in the minds of the rulers and unhappiness and trouble to the people. I have a suggestion to make in this connection to all who come out to govern this country. We of this country ought to take the Proclamation of Queen Victoria issued in 1858 as our guide and I should say that those gentlemen who come out to govern this country as members of the Civil or other services ought to be asked to study that Proclamation and to so accommodate themselves with the ideas laid down in that Proclamation for the guidance of British Indian administration. If they do that, they will not generally take up an attitude of hostility to Indian aims and aspirations. I also ask that text books should be introduced in all schools and colleges in which that Proclamation should be given a prominent place in order that Indian students may know what they may expect. It is an unwise policy, gentlemen, not to teach good politics to Indian students and then to complain that they begin to dabble in bad politics. Keep them away from active participation in politics by all means but do not let their minds be poisoned by bad politics, picked from newspapers or pamphlets distributed here and there. I may say in connection with this matter that, personally, I have long been opposed to students taking active part in politics but I feel that a great wrong is being done to the younger generation of India by requiring them not to attend political meetings and thus educating themselves in the politics of the country. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I cannot speak too strongly on this subject because I feel that students who are prevented from attending political meetings busy themselves much more with reading newspapers and books which poison their minds than they would do if they were allowed to act as freely as they would otherwise.

Third Day.
 President's reply
 to the vote of thanks.

Well, gentlemen, here I am also reminded of a circular which has been issued by the Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. The Congress has been meeting for the last twenty-four years and students and young men in all parts of the country were enrolled as volunteers and they did excellent service at great self-sacrifice, with great devotion, with great *bhakti* to those elder people who came from different parts of the country, but for the last few years they have been told that they should abstain from attending the Congress and other public political meetings. I wish to say that we have the utmost desire not to bring about a conflict of views with Government wherever it is possible to avoid it. We are willing to give the utmost support to every reasonable measure which might be introduced by the Government for the benefit of the country, but when we are asked to put aside our judgments as parents, as guardians, as public men and to subordinate our views entirely to the heads of the educational department, or it may be to the head of the local Government, in such vital matters as the education of our young men, we are asked to do what we cannot do. (Hear, hear). I would not for the sake of all the education that is given in any school or college established in this country keep a son or a relation of mine from attending such a meeting as the Congress (cheers) and coming under the elevating and ennobling influence which attendance at such a meeting would inspire him with. I do not wish to say more about it but I hope the authorities will reconsider this question and not compel students to keep off, as I have said, from good politics, in order that they may devote themselves more and more to bad politics and there may grow up in their minds a feeling of bitterness which cannot be eradicated by years of labour in future. What is the good of all education if it cannot promote patriotism in young men (hear, hear) and how can patriotism be promoted if students are not allowed to attend and listen to lectures by my friends Mr. Gokhale, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. Wacha? If they are not allowed to serve such men who come to their city, approach them and serve them as they would serve any honoured guests in their homes who are come as *athithis* or guests,—if they are not allowed to serve these guests, as they have been taught to serve them by the most ancient *rishis* of this country, how can patriotism be promoted? They are told now that they must not approach them. This is the new doctrine, the new gospel, which young India is required to learn. This is not the right thing to ask young India to learn. It has already estranged the minds of young men and it will lead to evil results. I respectfully ask educational authorities all over the country to reconsider this matter and to allow students the same liberty which they had a few years ago to study politics, to hear good lectures, to read good papers, to be present at such gatherings as the Congress and Provincial Conferences. I am always against their taking part in active politics which will distract their minds and prevent them from pursuing their studies but that is very different from enabling them to attend at such places for the great elevating influences under which they will fall if they are allowed to do so.

Then again I have a word to say to the rulers. The feeling of distrust has been carried too far. It has led to very unfortunate results and it is high time that that feeling gives place to a feeling of more confidence and more consideration than has been shown during the last few years. It is a bad policy to suspect a whole community, a whole body of institutions, without the smallest ground, of entertaining hostile views against the Government. I do not wish to speak of any particular institution here but I do wish to say that the feeling of distrust and suspicion is leading to greater estrangement between the Government and the people than can be produced by seditious writings or utterances that may be published here or elsewhere. Government ought to take the educated classes into a little more confidence. Point out their faults by all means, punish a man if he is guilty by all means, point out the wrong course that any man may be pursuing: but, pray, in the interest of good administration and for the benefit of the country over which Providence has placed you to govern, pray treat people with greater confidence, regard communities and large bodies of men as persons free from evil motives until you have any reasonable ground to think the contrary of them. (Cheers.) An injustice inflicted upon an individual leads to evil results and an injustice inflicted upon large bodies of men or communities must naturally lead to greater evil results. In the interest of the Government and the people it

is desirable that evil should be avoided. If that is done, if a feeling of greater trust is produced, then many of our difficulties will be solved and many of the demands that we have put forward before the Government will have a better chance of being considered. I have no doubt of that.

Third Day.

President's reply
to the vote of thanks.

I would say to my countrymen, also to those who have lost their faith somewhat in constitutional agitation, that they should go back to the old faith and work in the same old spirit co-operating wherever they can and criticising always when criticism is necessary. We have been demanding and have always been anxious to co-operate more and more with the administration. That has been the policy of the Congress for these many years. It has been said, educated Indians sometimes suggest, that they should boycott association with Government. The Congress all these 25 years has been pursuing a policy of seeking co-operation with Government in every department of its administration. The policy which suggests that we should cease to co-operate is an unwise policy, a policy not calculated to do any good to the country. But, gentlemen, let us also consider who it is who is refusing to co-operate with the people, the educated community of India or those who have been placed in power at this moment. If they will only reconsider their position, treat Indians with a little kindness and consideration, they will find that the desire to co-operate knows no bounds and the desire to help Government is a living factor of which a good use can be made. But even when we have got to this state of things, when those that have been placed above us look at things in a more kindly light and when our own people devote themselves in a greater degree to secure reforms in the administration, the evil from which India suffers will not all be removed. Let us consider what the condition of the country is. I appeal to you all that we should devote our energies in a larger measure than we have hitherto done in promoting many other reforms which do not depend upon any action on the part of Government. Let us remember the old truth that whatever help Government can give—and it can give greater help—for the progress of the people, it can very effectively advance their condition, it can also impede progress effectively. But after all the larger results in the way of obtaining the progress of the people depend upon the efforts which the people themselves can make. (Cheers). “Nations by themselves are made” was an old utterance made many years ago when the Congress was born, and that ought to be remembered now as it was remembered then. Remembering it, let us consider what work lies before us. What is the condition of our country? I am sorry I am detaining you at this length at this late hour (cries of no, no), but I feel it my duty to place a few considerations before you. What is the position of our country? You find wide ignorance pervading the land. Not more than 10 per cent. of the population are literate, 90 per cent. of the population are still steeped in ignorance. There is deep poverty stalking the land. The national income is low and therefore the national prosperity is low. People are dying in vast numbers from plague and malaria, famines are claiming a large toll and people are unprosperous and unhappy. That is the condition of the country. On the other hand, you find that it is a country most richly endowed with natural resources. It is a country whose people are not lacking in intelligence and industry, and living most simple life, they are not addicted to crimes as some of the most advanced countries are. Can there be anything more sad and disappointing than to find that the people are still in such an unfortunate condition that this country should lie so low in the scale of nations? And if that is so, what is our duty to our motherland? If we begin to feel that we can advance the cause of our country that we can promote its happiness, we can achieve a greater reform than that brought about by Government. There is a vast field for national education, there is a vast field for swadeshim to grow and prosper, there is a vast field for the sanitation of villages and cities improved by our labours, there is a vast field for developing the indigenous industries of our country. If we make our patriotism a little more intense than it is, if we devote ourselves to the service of the country with greater devotion than hitherto, I assure you we can make our country more prosperous than she would otherwise be even when all the reforms have been introduced. It is this which I beg of you to

Third Day.
 President's reply
 to the vote of thanks.

bear in mind and promote when we have parted company. If you will simply be content with waiting for reforms the day of prosperity and power for India will yet be very remote. We have the desire that we should rise in the scale of nations. But it is by our efforts much more than by any efforts of Government that India will rise. Let us devote ourselves to those efforts. At this moment this great country is in a most unfortunate condition. She is weeping in the words of Mr. Hume uttered many years ago, finding that her sons are idle and indolent, while other nations are making steady advance towards progress. Unhappily vast millions of her sons are miserable in life and are not devoting themselves sufficiently well to relieve the sufferings and to promote the happiness of themselves. We are people who follow religion a great deal. It is a happy thing that we do so. Our religions teach us that there can be no greater service of God than the service of God through men. I beg of you to remember this fact and to try steadily from year's end to year's end to make progress in all these matters in which we do not depend upon Government for help or support. If we do that well, gentlemen, the happy time will come when India will once more be placed in a place of honour among the nations which are now rising in the east and other places by having representative institutions and when all the representative institutions which have made countries of the West great, are introduced into India, her industries will be prosperous and her people stronger and more intelligent. It is to that end I appeal to you to devote a little more of your time and energy. If this is included in the programme of the Congress and if that programme is rightly pursued then our dear motherland will not be so unhappy as she now is.

I thank you again. I was omitting to perform a very important duty. I hope you will pardon me for it, that is to offer our most grateful thanks to the Reception Committee (cheers) and also to our young brothers, the volunteers who served in difficult circumstance and made our stay in the city so comfortable. I cannot sufficiently thank either the Reception Committee or the Volunteers for the kindness they have shown us. The Congress is closed and I hope when we meet in Allahabad next we shall find the gathering five times as large as we find it now here. I dissolve the Congress. (Loud cheers). A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee will be held now.

The Congress was dissolved at 7 P.M.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Indian National Congress Organisation

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

Objects.

ARTICLE I—

The Objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members. These Objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

ARTICLE II—

Every Delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the Objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Sessions of the Congress.

ARTICLE III—

- (a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such town as may have been decided upon at the previous session of the Congress.
- (b) If no such decision has been arrived at, the All-India Congress Committee shall decide the matter.
- (c) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee, either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever and whenever it may deem it advisable to hold such session.
- (d) It shall be open to the All-India Congress Committee to change the venue of the Congress to some other town when such change is deemed by it to be necessary or desirable owing to serious or unforeseen difficulties or other contingencies of a like nature.

Component Parts of the Organisation.

ARTICLE IV—

The Indian National Congress Organisation will consist of:—

- (a) The Indian National Congress ;
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (c) District Congress Committees or Associations affiliated to the Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (d) Sub-Divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Committees or Associations ;

- (e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised as Electorates in accordance with clause (3) of Article XX;
- (f) The All-India Congress Committee;
- (g) The British Committee of the Congress; and
- (h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conferences or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

ARTICLE V—

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations or Bodies mentioned in clauses (b), (c), (d) and (h), of Article IV, unless he has attained the age of twenty-one and expresses in writing his acceptance of the Objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Provincial Congress Committees.

ARTICLE VI—

- (a) To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District Conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces;
I Madras; II Bombay; III United Bengal; IV United Provinces; V Punjab (including N.-W. Frontier Province); VI Central Provinces; VII Behar; VIII Berar and IX Burma.
- (b) The Provincial Sub-Committees of the Convention shall, in the first instance, form themselves into Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) The Secretaries of the Convention Committee shall take steps to form separate Provincial Congress Committees for Central Provinces, Behar and Burma.

ARTICLE VII—

Every Provincial Congress Committee so formed will add to its number:—

- (a) Representatives elected in accordance with its terms of affiliation by every affiliated District Congress Committee or Association referred to in clause (c) of Article IV.
- (b) As many representatives of recognised Political Associations or Public Bodies referred to in clause (e) of Article IV as each Provincial Congress Committee may think fit to determine.
- (c) Such other persons in the Province as may have attended as many sessions of the Congress as Delegates as may be determined by each Provincial Congress Committee for its own Province.
- (d) All such ex-Presidents of the Congress or ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees of the Congress as ordinarily reside within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee and may not have been enrolled as members of the said Committee in accordance with clause (b) of Article VI or by virtue of the provisions contained in any of the foregoing clauses of this Article.
- (e) The Joint Secretary or Secretaries of the Congress ordinarily residing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee, such Joint Secretary or Secretaries being added as *ex-officio* member or members of the said Committee.

ARTICLE VIII—

Every member of the Provincial Congress Committee shall pay an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 5.

District or other Congress Committees or Associations.**ARTICLE IX—**

The Provincial Congress Committee shall have affiliated to itself a District Congress Committee or Association for each District, wherever possible, or for such other areas in the Province as it deems proper, subject to such conditions or terms of affiliation as it may deem expedient or necessary. It will be the duty of the District Congress Committee or Association to act for the District in Congress matters with the co-operation of any Sub-Divisional or Taluka Congress Committees which may be organised and affiliated to it, subject in all cases to the general control and approval of the Provincial Congress Committee.

ARTICLE X—

Every member of the District Congress Committee or Association shall either be a resident of the District or shall have a substantial interest in the District and shall pay an annual subscription of not less than one Rupee.

ARTICLE XI—

No District Congress Committee or Association or Public Body referred to in clauses (c) and (e) of Article IV shall be entitled to return representatives to the Provincial Congress Committee or Delegates to the Congress or to the Provincial Conference unless it contributes to the Provincial Congress Committee such annual subscription as may be determined by the latter.

ARTICLE XII—

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame its own Rules not inconsistent with the Constitution and Rules of the Congress. No District or other Congress Committee or Association mentioned in Article IX shall frame any Rules inconsistent with those framed by the Provincial Congress Committee to which it is affiliated.

The All-India Congress Committee.**ARTICLE XIII—**

The All-India Congress Committee shall, as far as possible, be constituted as hereinbelow laid down:—

15	representatives of Madras ;
15	„ „ Bombay ;
20	„ „ United Bengal ;
15	„ „ United Provinces ;
13	„ „ Punjab (including N.-W. Frontier Province) ;
7	„ „ Central Provinces ;
5	„ „ Behar ;
5	„ „ Berar ; and
2	„ „ Burma.

Provided, as far as possible, that one-fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mahomedans.

All ex-Presidents of the Congress, residing or present in India and the General Secretaries of the Congress, who shall also be *ex-officio* General Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee shall be *ex-officio* members in addition.

ARTICLE XIV—

The representatives of each Province shall be elected by its Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting held, as far as possible, before the 30th of November for each year. If any Provincial Congress Committee fail to elect its representatives, the said representatives shall be elected by the Delegates for that Province

present at the ensuing Congress. In either case, the representatives of each Province shall be elected from among the members of its Provincial Congress Committee, and the election shall be made, as far as possible, with due regard to the proviso in Article XIII.

ARTICLE XV—

The names of the representatives so elected by the different Provinces shall be communicated to the General Secretaries. These together with the names of the *ex-officio* members shall be announced at the Congress.

ARTICLE XVI—

The President of the Congress at which the All-India Congress Committee comes into existence shall, if he ordinarily resides in India, be *ex-officio* President of the All-India Congress Committee. In his absence the members of the All-India Congress Committee may elect their own President.

ARTICLE XVII—

- (a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the dissolution of the Congress at which it comes into existence till the dissolution of the following Congress.
- (b) If any vacancy arises by death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining members of the Province in respect of which the vacancy has arisen shall be competent to fill it up for the remaining period.

ARTICLE XVIII—

- (a) It will be the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to take such steps as it may deem expedient and practicable to carry on the work and propaganda of the Congress and it shall have the power to deal with all such matters of great importance or urgency as may require to be disposed of in the name of and for the purposes of the Congress, in addition to matters specified in this Constitution as falling within its powers or functions.
- (b) The decision of the All-India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it.

ARTICLE XIX—

On the requisition in writing of not less than 20 of its members, the General Secretaries shall convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at the earliest possible time.

Electorates and Delegates.

ARTICLE XX—

The right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest exclusively in (1) the British Committee of the Congress; (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated as hereinabove laid down, and (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than three years' standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs, provided that no such Political Association or Public Body shall be so recognised unless the said Political Association or Public Body, by a Resolution at a General Meeting of its members, expresses its acceptance of the principles embodied in Article I of this Constitution and makes the acceptance of the same a condition precedent to new membership.

ARTICLE XXI—

All Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall pay a fee of Rs. 20 each and shall be not less than twenty-one years of age at the date of election.

Reception Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXII—

- (a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Every one, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays a minimum contribution of Rs. 25, shall be eligible as a member of the Reception Committee.
- (b) No one who is only a member of the Reception Committee, but not a Delegate, shall be allowed to vote or take part in the debate at the Congress.
- (c) The Reception Committee shall be bound to provide the necessary funds for meeting all the expenses of the Congress as also the cost of preparing, printing, publishing and distributing the Report of the Congress.

Election of the President.

ARTICLE XXIII—

- (a) In the month of June, the Reception Committee shall consult the several Provincial Congress Committees as to the selection of the President for the year's Congress. The Provincial Congress Committees shall make their recommendations by the end of July; and in the month of August the Reception Committee shall meet to consider the recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committee is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to elect the President in the manner mentioned above, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final. Provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.
- (b) There shall be no formal *election* of the President by or in the Congress, but merely the adoption [in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule 3, clause (b) of the "Rules" hereto appended] of a formal Resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

Subjects Committee.

ARTICLE XXIV—

The Subjects Committee to be appointed at each session of the Congress to settle its programme of business to be transacted shall, as far as possible, consist of:—

Not more than 15 representatives of Madras ;			
" 15 "	"	"	Bombay ;
" 20 "	"	"	United Bengal ;
" 15 "	"	"	United Provinces ;
" 13 "	"	"	Punjab (including N.-W. F. Province) ;
" 7 "	"	"	Central Provinces ;
" 5 "	"	"	Behar ;
" 5 "	"	"	Berar ;
" 2 "	"	"	Burma ;
" 5 "	"	"	British Committee of the Congress ;

and additional 10 representatives of the Province in which the Congress is held ;

all the above-mentioned representatives being elected, in accordance with Rule 9 of the " Rules " hereto appended, by the Delegates attending the Congress from the respective Provinces.

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

ARTICLE XXV—

The President of the Congress for the year shall be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Subjects Committee.

Contentious Subjects and Interest of Minorities.

ARTICLE XXVI—

- (a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number ; and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped.
- (b) The President of the Congress for the year may nominate 5 Delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.
- (c) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

Voting at the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVII—

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

The British Committee of the Congress

ARTICLE XXVIII—

The Reception Committee of the Province in which the Congress is held shall remit to the British Committee of the Congress, through the General Secretaries of the Congress, half the amount of the fees received by it from Delegates.

General Secretaries.

ARTICLE XXIX—

- (a) The Indian National Congress shall have two General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall be responsible for the preparation, publication and distribution of the Report of the Congress. They shall also be responsible for the preparation and circulation of Draft Reso-

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

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

- (a) The Chairman of the Reception Committee's inaugural address of welcome to the Delegates.
- (b) The adoption of a formal Resolution, to be moved, seconded and supported by such Delegates as the Chairman of the Reception Committee invites or permits, requesting the President elected by the Reception Committee or the All-India Congress Committee, as the case may be, to take the chair, no opposition by way of a motion for amendment, adjournment or otherwise being allowed to postpone or prevent the carrying out of the said Resolution.
- (c) The President's taking the chair and his inaugural address.
- (d) Reading or distribution of the Report, if any, of the All-India Congress Committee and any statement that the General Secretaries may have to make.
- (e) Any formal motions of thanks, congratulations, condolences, &c., as the President of the Congress may choose to move from the chair.
- (f) The adjournment of the Congress for the appointment of the Subjects Committee and the announcement by the President of the time and place of the meetings of the Delegates of the different Provinces for the election of the members of the Subjects Committee and also of the first meetings of the Subjects Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. The Subjects Committee shall deliberate upon and prepare the agenda paper for the business to be transacted at the next Congress sitting. The General Secretaries shall, as far as practicable, distribute among the Delegates a printed copy of the agenda paper for each sitting before the sitting commences.

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

(a) The Resolution recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23. Every member of a sitting of the Congress or of the Subjects Committee shall be bound (a) to occupy a seat in the block allotted to his province, save as provided for in Rule 30, (b) to maintain silence when the President rises to speak or when another member is in possession of the House, (c) to refrain from hisses or interruptions of any kind or indulgence in improper and un-Parliamentary language, (d) to obey the Chair, (e) to withdraw when his own conduct is under debate, after he has heard the charge and had been heard thereon, and (f) generally to conduct himself with propriety and decorum.

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

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

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

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

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

of disturbance or obstruction, or if they are in anywise disorderly in their behaviour.

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

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

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

RASHBEHARY GHOSE,

President, Convention Committee.

DINSHA EDUJI WACHA,

DAJI ABAJI KHARE,

Hony. Secretaries, Convention Committee.

APPENDIX B.

List of Members of the Reception Committee

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, LAHORE, (1909).

1. The Hon'ble Lala Harkishen Lal.
2. Lala Sangam Lal.
3. Lala Ganpat Rai.
4. Lala Lajpat Rai Sahni.
5. Lala Dharm Das Suri.
6. Lala Dhanpat Rai Sahib.
7. Lala Hira Lal.
8. Lala Amar Nath Sharma.
9. Lala Todar Mal.
10. Sardar Mehr Singh Chawla.
11. Lala Gopi Chand.
12. Pandit Balik Ram Pandya.
13. Lala Lekh Raj, B. A.
14. Sardar Jhanda Singh, Uberoi.
15. S. S. Bhatia, Esquire.
16. Lala Parshotam Lal Rajpal.
17. M. S. Bhagat, Esquire.
18. Lala Girdhari Lal Mullik.
19. R. S. Maya Das Sawhney.
20. Diwan Charan Das.
21. Lala Narain Das.
22. Dr. Ram Kishen.
23. Lala Madan Gopal.
24. Mr. A. Nundy.
25. Mr. Muharrim Ali Chishti.
26. Sardar Amrik Singh, B. A.
27. Lala Prabhu Dyal.
28. Lala Gokal Chand.
29. Mr. Sundar Das.
30. Mr. Raushan Lal.
31. Lala Bhana Ram.
32. Lala Mukand Lal.
33. Lala Beni Parshad.
34. Lala Das Ram.
35. Mr. Gobind Ram.
36. Pandit Rambhaji Dutt Chaudhri.
37. Sardar Hakim Singh.
38. Lala Durga Parshad.
39. Dr. Kesar Singh.
40. Lala Kashi Ram.
41. Lala Ram Lal.
42. Lala Ram Sukh Das.
43. Lala Manohar Lal Ramanand.
44. Lala Shiv Ram.
45. Lala Sheo Narain.
46. Lala Barkat Ram.
47. Lala Har Govind.
48. Mr. J. Rustamji.
49. Lala Radha Kishen.
50. Lala Mathra Das Puri.
51. Mr. S. K. Mukerji.
52. Lala Ram Dhan, Banker.
53. R. S. Girdhari Lal.
54. Lala Jawala Das.
55. Lala Harsukh Rai.

56. Lala Amar Nath.
57. Mr. D. A. Braganza.
58. Lala Daulat Ram, Pleader, Montgomery.
59. Lala Bullo Mal, Pleader, Ferozepore.
60. Lala Jaggan Nath.
61. Raizada Bhagat Ram.
62. Lala Mohan Lal of Kasur.
63. Lala Mohan Lal of Lahore.
64. Lala Jai Chand of Lahore.
65. Dewan Lakshmi Narain, Bar.-at-Law, Lahore.
66. Lala Bhagwan Das, Pleader.
67. R. D. Durrab, Esquire.
68. Lala Amar Nath Bhatia.
69. Dewan Mehr Chand.
70. Lala Ganga Ram, Pleader.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF DELEGATES WHO ATTENDED THE TWENTY-FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT LAHORE, DECEMBER 1909.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste, if any.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
1	Madras ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Balkrishna Iyer	Hindu Brahman	Member, Servant of India ...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, dated 25th December 1909.
2	Do. ...	Do.	V. V. Jogiah	Do.	Pleader	Do.
3	Do. ...	Do.	S. K. Sarma	Do.	Journalist	Do.
4	Do. ...	Do.	G. A. Natesan Aiyar	Do.	Do.	Madras.
5	Do. ...	Do.	Nandagiri Ramachandra Ram, B. A.	Do.	Servant of India Society, Poona	Nellore District Congress Committee, dated 5th November 1909 and Madras Provincial Congress Committee, dated 1st December 1909.
6	Do. ...	Do.	Nilam Ranganatham, B. A.	Do.	Do.	Madras Provincial Congress Committee, dated 1st December 1909.
7	Do. ...	Nellore Congress Committee.	A. S. Krishna Rau, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil High Court, Nellore ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee, dated 15th November 1909.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste, if any.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
8	Madras ...	Kurnool District Congress Committee (Association.)	S. V. Narasimha Rau, B.A., ...	Hindu Brahman	Vakil, and Municipal Chairman, Kurnool.	Dated 16th December 1909.
9	Do. ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	K. Ekambra Aiyer, B.A. ...	Do.	Pleader, Nand Dyal, Kurnool District.	Dated 5th November 1909.
10	Do. ...	Congress Committee, Palghat.	K. Tamban ...	Hindu Samantha Kshatriya.	President, Palghat Congress Committee.	Dated 7th December 1909.
11	Do. ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar ...	Hindu Mudali.	High Court Vakil ...	Dated 5th November 1909.
12	Do. ...	North Arcot District Congress Committee.	L. Srinivasaraghava Aiyer Dewan Bahadur	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Landholder ...	Dated 14th December 1909.
13	Do. ...	North Arcot District and Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	L. A. G. Govindaraghava Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Madras, and Landholder.	Dated 5th November 1909 and 14th December 1909.
14	Do. ...	Cuddapah District Congress Committee and Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	T. M. Narasimha Chariar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahman Vaishnava.	High Court Vakil, and Municipal Chairman.	Dated 5th November 1909.
15	Do. ...	Do.	E. S. W. Semuthi Raja ...	Hindu ...	Bar-at-Law ...	...

16	Do.	...	Do.	Hatti Sankara Rau	...	...	Do.	Pleader	...	...	...
17	Do.	...	Do.	T. Siva Sankarav	...	...	Do.	Do.	...	...	...
18	Do.	...	...	P. P. Pillai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19	...	...	...	Innugenty Vencata Raj Gopal Rao	...	...	Hindu	Landlord	...	...	...
20	...	...	...	Sadhu Ganpati Panthulu	...	...	Brahman	Timnevelly	...	...	...
21	Bombay	...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	K. Natrajan	...	...	Hindu	Journalist	...	...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, dated 25th December 1909.
22	Do.	...	Do.	Gulab Chand Duni Chand	...	...	Do.	Merchant	...	...	Do.
23	Do.	...	Do.	Sadashiv Ram Chandra Gokhale	...	...	Do. Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	...	...	Do.
24	Do.	...	Do.	Daji Abaji Khare	...	...	Do.	Do. do.	...	...	Do.
25	Do.	...	Do.	N. M. Samarth	...	...	Do.	Do. do.	...	...	Do.
26	Do.	...	Do.	Hon'ble Mr. Hari Sita Ram Dixit	...	...	Do.	Do. do.	...	...	Do.
27	Do.	...	Do.	Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, C. I. E.	...	...	Do.	Servants of India Society	...	...	Do.
28	Do.	...	Do.	N. A. Dravid	...	...	Do.	Do. do.	...	...	Do.
29	Do.	...	Do.	Lakhman Krishna Joshi	...	...	Do.	Chief Agent, New York Life Insurance Company.	...	...	Do.
30	Do.	...	Do.	Ganpati Krishana Chitale	...	...	Do.	Pleader	...	...	Do.
31	Do.	...	Do.	Raman Bhai Mahipat Ram Nilkanth	...	...	Do.	Do.	...	...	Do.
32	Do.	...	Do.	Hon'ble Mr. Gokaldas K. Parekh	...	...	Do.	Do.	...	...	Do.
33	Do.	...	Do.	Waman Rau Chandra Naik	...	...	Do.	Contractor, Hyderabad (Decan.)	...	...	Do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste, if any.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
34	Bombay ...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Kesho Rau Santook Rau Karatkori, Esquire.	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Hyderabad (Deccan.)	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, dated 25th December 1909.
35	Do. ...	Do.	Prabhakar Laxman	Do.	Pleader	Do.
36	Do. ...	Do.	Bapu Vasundoo Vidwans, B.A.	Do.	Do. Bombay	Do.
37	Do. ...	Do.	Vithal Hari Barve	Do.	P. Assistant Surgeon, Poona City.	Do.
38	Do. ...	Do.	Hari Gobind Linays, M.A.	Do.	Professor, Fergusson College, Poona City.	Do.
39	Do. ...	Do.	Waman Gobind Kale, M.A.	Do.	Do.	Do.
40	Do. ...	Do.	Balkrishna Sitaram	Do.	B. A., Merchant	Do.
41	Do. ...	Do.	D. E. Wacha	Do.	General Secretary of All-India Congress Committee.	Do.
42	Do. ...	Do.	Gopal Das Jhamat Mal	Do.	Pleader	Do.
43	Do. ...	Do.	Hassaram Vishindas Tharani F. C. R. S., etc.	Brahmo ...	Secretary, Sind Hindu Sabha...	Karachi Congress District Committee, dated 11th December 1909.
44	Do. ...	Do.	Bhawanidas Naraindas Mohewal	Hindu ...	Bombay Presidency Association	10th December 1909.
45	Do. ...	Sindh Provincial Congress Committee.	Gangaram Tilokchand	Do. ...	Merchant	Congress Committee, Sindh.

46	Do. ...	Do.	Seth Chela Ram Dullo Mul ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
47	Do. ...	Do.	S. Asa Singh ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
48	B o m b a y Sind.	Do.	Mr. Rewa Chand Watoo Mal	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sindh Provincial Cou- gress Committee.
49	Do.	Do.	Mr. K. N. Mukhe ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
50	Do.	Do.	Seth Kishen Das ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
51	Do.	Sind Provincial Congress Com- mittee.	D. B. Law ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
52	Do.	Do.	Jahangir R. D. Patel ...	...	Parsi	...	Do.	...	Do.
53	Do.	Do.	D. N. Bahadurjee ...	...	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law	...	Do.
54	Do.	Do.	Achal Singh, Pleader ...	...	Hindu	...	Pleader	...	Do.
55	Do.	Do.	Lal Singh K. ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
56	Do.	Do.	R. B. Khandu Bhai G. Desai ...	...	Do.	...	Engineer	...	Do.
57	Do.	Do.	Trikump Lal R. Desai ...	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
58	Do.	Do.	M. V. Lele ...	...	Do.	...	Engineer	...	Do.
59	Do.	Do.	Shewakram Awatrai ...	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
60	Do.	Do.	Mattadas Ramchand ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
61	Do.	Do.	Jetta Nand Thawar Das ...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
62	Do.	Do.	Hirda Ram Mewa Ram	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
63	Do.	Do.	Hon. Harchandrai Vishindas	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.

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64	B o m b a y Sind.	Sind Provincial Congress Com- mittee.	Mulchand Pesumal	Hindu ...	Pleader	
65	Do.	Do.	Lila Ram Bakhat Rai	Do. ...	Do.	
66	Do.	Do.	D. Daya Ram	Do. ...	Do.	
67	Do.	Do.	D. Lal Chand	Do. ...	Do.	
68	Do.	Do.	D. Bal Chand	Do. ...	Do.	
69	Do.	Do.	D. S. Lila Ram Beg Raj	Do. ...	Merchant	
70	Do.	Do.	B. Sundar Das	Do. ...	Masand	
71	Do.	Do.	B. Isar Das	Do. ...	Merchant	
72	Do.	Do.	Sahaj Ram Hira Naud	Do. ...	Contractor	
73	Do.	Do.	Tara Chand	Do. ...	Do.	
74	Do.	Do.	Rachal Das	Do. ...	Medical Practitioner	
75	Do.	Sukkur District Congress Com- mittee.	Mr. Nihal Chand Tikunda	Do. ...	Pleader	Sukkur Division Con- gress Committee, dated 14th December 1909.
76	Do.	Do.	Seth Narain Das Uttam Chand	Do. ...	Merchant	Karachi Provincial Meeting.
77	Do.	Do.	S. Rewa Chand Fattch Chand	Do. ...	Do.	Do.

78	Bengal	...	M. Abdul Kassim	...	Mahomedan	Burdwan	...
79	Do.	...	Prithwish Chandra Roy	...	Hindu	Journalist	...
80	Do.	...	J. Ghoshal	...	Brahman	Honorary Magistrate	...
81	Do.	...	Bhupendra Nath Bose	...	Hindu	Attorney-at-Law	...
82	Do.	...	Surendra Nath Banerjee	...	Do.	Journalist	...
83	Do.	...	Satyananda Bose	...	Do.	Pleader	...
84	Do.	...	Ramani Mohan	...	Do.	Zamindar	...
85	Do.	...	M. Syed Hassan Imam	...	Mahomedan	Bar-at-Law	...
86	Do.	...	Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narain Singh	...	Hindu	Do.	...
87	Do.	...	Parmeshwar Lal	...	Do.	Do.	...
88	Do.	...	Hon'ble B. Krishna Sahai	...	Do.	Bankipur	...
89	Do.	...	M. S. Zanus	...	Do.	Bar-at-Law	...
90	Do.	...	Rashbehari Mandal	...	Do.	Zamindar, Madhopur	...
91	Do.	...	M. Syed Mohamed Alif Hussain	...	Mahomedan	Zamindar, Bhagalpur	...
92	Do.	...	Bishesar Nath Misser	...	Hindu	183, Harrison Road	...
93	Do.	...	A. Chaudhari	...	Do.	Bar-at-Law	...
94	Do.	...	Basanti Charan, Sinha	...	Do.	Secretary, District Congress Committee.	...
95	Do.	...	Jogindra Chandra Mukerjee	...	Do.	Pleader	...
96	Do.	...	Pramatho Nath Banerjee	...	Do.	Zamindar	...
97	Do.	...	Khitrish Kumar Mukerjee	...	Do.	Landlord	...

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98	Central Provinces.	Nagpur ...	Vinayak Raja Ram ...	Gujrati Brahmin	Bar.-at-Law ...	Central Provinces Committee.
99	Do.	Do. ...	Yashwant Devraw Deshmukh ...	Lingayat Brahman.	Honorary Magistrate ...	Do.
100	Do.	Central Provinces and Berar.	Rai Khondu Ramodhi ...	Brahman ...	Pleader ...	Do.
101	Do.	Do.	Balwant Ram Chunder ...	Do. ...	Honorary Magistrate ...	Do.
102	Do.	Do.	G. N. Kane ...	Christian ...	Pleader ...	Do.
103	Do.	Do.	Prahbakar Appaji ...	Do. ...	Pastor of the Pre. Church, Amraoti.	Do.
104	United Provinces.	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.	Rai Krishnajeet ...	Agrawal ...	Zamindar and Banker ...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, dated 25th November 1909.
105	Do.	District Congress Committee.	Mr. Sarada Pada Mukerjee ...	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do.
106	Do.	Do.	Preo Nath Banerjee ...	Do. Bengali ...	Vakil, High Court, Bareilly ...	
107	Do.	Do.	Nand Kishore Kakkar ...	Do. Khatri ...	Bar.-at-Law, Bareilly ...	
108	Do.	Do.	Mr. Lekh Raj, B.A., LL.B. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, High Court ...	Do.
109	Do.	Do.	Babu Satya Chandra Mukerjee ...	Brahman ...	Vakil, Allahabad ...	Do.
110	Do.	Do.	Mr. Kalka Parshad ...	Hindu ...	B.A., LL.B., Pleader ...	Do.
111	Do.	Do.	B. P. Misra ...	Do. ...	Rais, Zemindar, Etawah ...	Do.

112	Do.	Do.	Babu Baldev Pershad	Do. ...	Pleader and Zemindar ...	United Provinces.
113	Do.	Do.	Pandit Kailas Nath Kunzru, B.A., LL.B. ...	Do. ...	Chhili Int. Agra ...	22nd December 1909.
114	Do.	Do.	Munshi Narain Parshad, M.A., LL.B. ...	Do. ...	Singli gate, Agra ...	Do.
115	Do.	Do.	Govind Sahai Sharma, Esquire, B.A., Bar-at-Law.	Do. ...	Lawyer, Agra ...	
116	Do.	Do.	Mr. A. P. Sen	Do. ...	Bar.-at-Law, Lucknow ...	23rd December 1909.
117	Do.	Do.	Krishna Prashad Kaul	Kashmiri Brahman.	Member, Servants of India Society, Poona.	22nd December 1909.
118	Do.	Do.	Hirdey Nath, B.A., B. Sc.	Do.	Do.	Do.
119	Do.	Do.	Pandit Rajnath Kunzru	Do.	Chhili Int., Agra ...	Do.
120	Do.	Do.	Munshi Murli Dhar	Kayesth ...	Pleader, Sitapur ...	13th December 1909.
121	Do.	Do.	Babu Rudra Narain, B.A., B. Sc.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
122	Do.	Do.	Babu Sidh Prasad, B.A.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Sitapur ...	Do.
123	Do.	Do.	Babu Chhail Behari Lal, B.A.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
124	Do.	Do.	Pandit Gaya Prasad Tevari	Brahman ...	Pleader, Sitapur ...	Do.
125	Do.	United Provinces Congress Committee.	Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru	Do. ...	Municipal Commissioner, Fyzabad.	20th December 1909.
126	Do.	District Congress Committee.	Babu Ishwari Dyal	Hindu Kayesth	Advocate, Judicial Commissioner's Court.	District Congress Committee, dated 23rd December 1909.
127	Do.	Do.	Pandit Gokarn Nath Misser, M.A.	Hindu Brahman	Vakil, High Court ...	Do.
128	Do.	Do.	Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastav, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Kayesth	Do. ...	Do.

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129	United Province.	District Congress Committee.	Pandit Ikbal Narain Masaldan ...	Hindu Brahman	Barrister-at-Law, High Court	District Cguoress Committee, dated 23rd December 1909.
130	Do.	Do.	Dr. Hari Dutt Pant, L.M.S. ...	Do.	Medical Practitioner ...	Do.
131	Do.	Do.	Pandit Braj Narain, B.A. ...	Do.	B. A., L.L. B. ...	22nd November 1909.
132	Do.	Do.	Raja Prithvi Pal Singh ...	Hindu Kayesth	Talukdar, Bara Banki ...	United Provinces Congress Committee, dated 1st December 1909.
133	Do.	Do.	Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prashad Varma ...	Hindu Khatri ...	Editor, <i>Advocate</i> ...	22nd December 1909.
134	Do.	Do.	Pandit Shiv Darshan Narain Pandya ...	Hindu Brahman	Zamindar ...	G. M. Cawnpore P. A., dated 19th December 1909.
135	Do.	Do.	„ Jai Narain Prasad Baj Pai ...	Do.	Journalist ...	Do.
136	Do.	Do.	„ Devi Prasad Shukba, B.A., ...	Do.	Educationalist ...	Do.
137	Do.	Do.	N. Gupta ...	Hindu, Vaidya ...	Editor, <i>Leader</i> ...	11th December 1909.
138	Do.	Do.	C. Y. Chintamani ...	Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.
139	Do.	Do.	Hari Dass Khandawah ...	Vakil ...	Banker ...	22nd December 1909.
140	Do.	Do.	Purshottam Das Tandon ...	Khatri ...	Pleader ...	11th December 1909.
141	Do.	Do.	Rama Nand Malavya ...	Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.
142	Do.	Do.	Ishwar Saran ...	Kayesth ...	Do. ...	Do.

143	Do.	Do.	Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya ...	Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.
144	Do.	Do.	Pandit Baldev Ram Dave, Allahabad ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
145	Do.	Do.	Jawala Prashad ...	Kayesth ...	Do. ...	5th December 1909.
146	Do.	Do.	Ladli Prashad Singh, B.A., LL.B. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	12th December 1909.
147	Do.	Do.	Pandit Maharaj Narain Hangal ...	Brahman ...	Do. ...	26th December 1909.
148	Do.	Do.	Muthra Dass ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
149	Do.	Do.	Mansurat Das ...	Jaini ...	Do. ...	22nd December 1909.
150	Do.	Do.	Pandit Payare Lal Sharma, M.A. ...	Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.
151	Do.	Do.	Manohar Lal ...	Buddhist ...	Medical Practitioner ...	Do.
152	Do.	Do.	Basudeo Sahai Sharma ...	Brahman ...	Zamindar ...	20th December 1909.
153	Do.	Do.	Babu Lal, B. A., ...	Vaish ...	Vakil ...	22nd December 1909.
154	Do.	Do.	Pandit Goswani Braja Nath ...	Brahman ...	...	Do.
155	Do.	Do.	Madho Pershad ...	Arora ...	Vakil... ...	20th December 1909.
156	Do.	Do.	Sundar Lal, Nagay ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
157	Do.	Do.	Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. A., LL. D., ...	Brahman ...	Advocate ...	Do.
158	Do.	Do.	Manohar Lal ...	Arora ...	Pleader ...	...
159	Do.	Do.	Thakar Lal Behari Singh ...	Kshatriya ...	Do ...	...
160	Do.	Do.	Gauri Shanker P. S. ...	Agrawal ...	„ Benares
161	Do.	Do.	Mehta Krishna Rao ...	Brahman ...	Do.
162	Do.	Do.	Rai Gopal Das ...	Do. ...	Zamindar

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163	United Provinces.	District Congress Committee.	„ Vaij Nath Dar	Brahman ...	Zamindar and Banker ...	
164	Do.	Do.	P. Mohan Lal	Hindu ...	Barrister-at-Law, Saharanpur	
165	Do.	Do.	Hari Kishen, Dhaon	Do. ...	Vakil, Lucknow	
166	Do.	Do.	Dr. D. R. Ranjeet Singh ... ..	... ..	Allahabad	
167	Do.	Do.	Gokal Chand Roy	Hindu ...	Pleader, Lucknow	
168	Punjab ...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Naunit Rai Sethi, B.A.	Hindu ...	Inspector, People's Bank ...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee dated 25th November 1909.
169	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Amar Nath, Mosin	Do. ...	Manager, Amritsar Bank ...	Do.
170	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Harsukh Rai	Do. ...	Inspector People's Bank ...	Do.
171	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Lajpat Rai Sahni	Do. ...	Manager, B. I. Company, Ld.	Do.
172	Do. ...	Do.	Pandit Madho Ram, B. A.	Do. ...	Pleader	Do.
173	Do. ...	Do.	Sheikh Umar Bakhsh	Mahomedan ...	Do.	Do.
174	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Narain Das	Hindu ...	Chief Manager, National Insurance and Banking Company.	Do.
175	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Sangam Lal	Do. ...	Pleader	Do.
176	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Hait Ram	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
177	Do. ...	Do.	Diwan Charan Das	Do. ...	Pleader, Sialkot	Do.

178	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Harbhagwan Das, B. A.,	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
179	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Behari Lal	...	Do.	...	Rais and Banker	...	Do.
180	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Mokand Lal	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
181	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Bhana Ram	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
182	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Barkat Ram	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
183	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Brij Lal	...	Do.	...	Managing Agent	...	Do.
184	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Dhani Ram...	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
185	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Salig Ram Hoon	...	Do.	...	Secretary, Swadeshi Life Insurance Company.	...	Do.
186	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Mohan Lal, Seth	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Kasur	...	...
187	Do.	...	Punjab Provincial Committee.	Lala Nanna Mal	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Hissar	...	...
188	Do.	...	Lahore Provincial Committee.	Lala Dhanpat Rai	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Lahore	...	...
189	Do.	...	Do.	Sardar Mehar Singh	...	Do.	...	Municipal Commissioner, Lahore.	...	...
190	Do.	...	Do.	K. S. Chopra	...	Do.	...	Store-keeper, Delhi	...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee dated 25th November 1909.
191	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Roshan Lal, Barrister	...	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law	...	Do.
192	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Narain Das	...	Do.	...	Pleader, D. I. Khan	...	...
193	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Harkishen Lal	...	Do.	...	Barrister-at-Law	...	Do.
194	Do.	...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Bhawani Das	...	Do.	...	Pleader, D. G. Khan	...	Do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste, if any.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
195	Punjab ...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Shiv Narain ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Ferozepur ...	
196	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Jawala Das ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Jullundur ...	
197	Do. ...	Do.	H. S. L. Polak, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Attorney, South Africa ...	
198	Do. ...	Do.	C. P. Naidu ...	Do. ...	South Africa ...	
199	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Pandoz, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	
200	Do. ...	Do.	Dr. Jawahar Lal ...	Do. ...	Lyallpur ...	
201	Do. ...	Do.	Sardar Gurcharn Singh ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Lahore ...	
202	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Shiv Sahai ...	Do. ...	Amritsar ...	
203	Do. ...	Do.	R. B. S. Amrik Singh ...	Do. ...	Ramnagar ...	
204	Do. ...	Do.	Shankar Das ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	
205	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Kanshi Ram ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Nawashahr, Jullundur ...	
206	Do. ...	Do.	P. Balak Ram ...	Do. ...	Auditor of Accounts, Lahore...	
207	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Parshotam Lal ...	Do. ...	Hall Gate, Amritsar ...	
208	Do. ...	Do.	M. Girdhari Lal ...	Do. ...	Managing Director, Punjab Cotton Press.	
209	Do. ...	Do.	R. Maya Das, Sahni ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	
210	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Deaoki Nand ...	Do. ...	General Manager, People's Bank	
211	Do. ...	Do.	Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	

212	Do.	...	Do.	L. Kanshi Ram,	Do.	...	Pleader, Ferozepur	...	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, dated 25th November 1909.
213	Do.	...	Do.	E. C. Jassawala, Esq.	...	...	Do.	...	Merchant	...
214	Do.	...	Do.	D. Balli Das	...	...	Do.	...	Rais, Wazirabad	...
215	Do.	...	Do.	S. Jhanda Singh, Oberoi	...	...	Do.	...	Sialkot	...
216	Do.	...	Do.	P. Bhagat Ram	...	...	Do.	...	Jullundur	...
217	Do.	...	Do.	L. Inder Narain	...	...	Do.	...	Vakil, Bombay	...
218	Do.	...	Do.	R. B. Hari Chand	...	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Multan	...
219	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Brij Lal Puri	...	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Shahpur	...
220	Do.	...	Do.	„ Duni Chand	...	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Amritsar	...
221	Do.	...	Punjab Congress Committee.	„ Harnam Das	...	...	Do.	...	Barrister-at-Law	...
222	Do.	...	Do.	Pro. H. Wali Khan	...	...	Mahomedan	...	Professor,	...
223	Do.	...	Do.	Pandit Kishan Lal	...	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Gujrat	...
224	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Gobind Ram	...	...	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law	...
225	Do.	...	Do.	„ Ladha Mal	...	...	Do.	...	Do.	...
226	Do.	...	Do.	„ Lekh Raj	...	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Gurgaon	...
227	Do.	...	Do.	Mehta Bahadur Chand	...	...	Do.	...	„ Jhang	...
228	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Bhagwan Das	...	...	Do.	...	„ Dera Ismail Khan	...
229	Do.	...	Do.	Dharm Chand	...	...	Do.	...	„ Lahore	...
230	Do.	...	Do.	Lala Amar Nath Bhatia	...	...	Do.	...	„ „	...

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste, if any.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
231	Punjab ...	Punjab Congress Committee.	Lala Jaikishen Das	Hindu ...	Ferozepur	
232	Do. ...	Do.	„ Ram Lal	Do. ...	Do.	
233	Do. ...	Do.	Babu Gokal Chand	Do. ...	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore	
234	Do. ...	Do.	Mr. Tara Chand	Do. ...	Amritsar	
235	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Shiv Ram, Bhasin	Do. ...	Pleader	
236	Do. ...	Do.	„ Fakir Chand	Do. ...	Do	
237	Do. ...	Do.	„ Madan Gopal	Do. ...	Pleader, Lahore	
238	Do. ...	Do.	Sharde Dev Rattan	Do. ...	Dev Samaj, Lahore	
239	Do. ...	Do.	Sardar Gurmukh Singh	Do. ...	Do.	
240	Do. ...	Do.	Mr. S. S. Bhatia	Do. ...	Acting Editor, <i>Tribune</i>	
241	Do. ...	Do.	Lala Hukam Chand	Do. ...	Pleader Lahore	
242	Do. ...	Do.	„ Dharm De	Do. ...	Pleader, Lahore	
243	Do. ...	Do.	Mr. Gobind Ram	Do. ...	Head Master, Bhera Anglo-Sanskrit High School.	

APPENDIX D.

List of Members of the Subjects Committee

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, LAHORE, (1909.)

MADRAS.

1. Mr. S. V. R. Narasinha Row.
2. „ Ekumbara Aiyer.
3. „ Venkata Narasinha Row.
4. „ Sankara Row.
5. „ Ranganathan Aiyer.
6. „ Srinivas R. Aiyer.
7. „ Ram Chandra Row.
8. „ Balkrishna Aiyer.
9. „ Krishna Row.
10. „ K. Tambau.
11. „ Paul Peter Pillai.
12. „ E. S. W. Senathi Raja.
13. „ Sarma.
14. „ Govindraja Mudeliar.
15. „ S. Pillai.

BENGAL.

1. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
2. Mr. A. Chaudhuri.
3. „ J. Ghosal.
4. Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose.
5. „ Prithwish Chandra Roy.
6. Maulvi Abdul Kasim.
7. Babu Ramani Mohan Ghosh.
8. „ Satyananada Bose.
9. Mr. R. M. Mondal.

BOMBAY.

1. Mr. D. E. Wacha.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.
3. „ „ „ D. A. Khare.
4. „ „ „ G. K. Parekh.
5. „ „ „ Harchandrai Vishindas.
6. Mr. H. S. Dixit.
7. Rao Bahadur K. G. Desai.
8. Mr. Mathradas Ramchand.
9. „ N. M. Samarath.
10. „ Mulchand Pecumal.

BOMBAY—consolid.

11. Mr. Gopaldas Jhamatmal.
12. „ Lalchand Nawalrai.
13. „ Rewachund Fatehchand.
14. „ G. K. Chitale.
15. „ L. K. Joshi.
16. „ P. L. Nagpurkar.
17. Professor N. B. Limaye.
18. Mr. Viddoms.
19. „ Ramaabhai Mahipatram.
20. „ J. B. Petit.
21. „ D. N. Bahadurji.
22. „ K. Natrajan.
23. „ S. R. Bakhale.
24. „ T. R. Desai.

BEHAR.

1. Mr. T. D. Deshmukh.
2. „ N. D. Dravid.
3. Rao Bahadur Mundle.
4. Mr. G. N. Kane.
5. „ Landge.

BEHAR.

1. Mr. S. Hasan Imam.
2. Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narain Singh.
3. Mr. M. Yunas.
4. „ Kishen Sahai.
5. „ Parmeshwar Lal.

UNITED PROVINCES.

1. Raja Prithvipal Singh.
2. Dr. H. D. Pant.
3. Mr. N. Gupta.
4. Rai Brij Narain Gurtu.
5. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthane.
6. Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta.
7. Babu Manohar Lal Srivastava.
8. Thakur Lal Bihari Singh.
9. Babu Gauri Shanker Prasad.
10. Pandit Devi Prasad Shukla.
11. Babu Chhail Behari Lal.
12. Pandit BaldevjRam.
13. „ Ramakant Malviya.
14. Babu Baldev Prasad.
15. Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh.

PUNJAB.

1. Lala Harkishan Lal (Chairman, Reception Committee).
2. Mr. Sangam Lal.
3. „ Dharm Das Suri.

PUNJAB—concl.

4. Mr. S. S. Bhatia.
5. Raizada Bhagat Ram.
6. Pandit Rambhaji Dutt Chaudhuri.
7. Lala Kanhya Lal.
8. Mr. Dhanpat Rai.
9. „ Bhana Ram.
10. „ Mukand Lal.
11. „ A. Nundy.
12. „ Ganpat Rai.
13. Maulvi Muharim Ali Chishti.
14. Mr. Hukam Chand.
15. „ Madan Gopal.
16. „ Dharm Chand.
17. „ Lajpat Rai Sahni.
18. Malik Girdhari Lal.
19. Diwan Charn Das.
20. Pandit Balak Ram Pandya.
21. Sardar Gurcharn Singh.
22. Mr. Todar Mal.
23. R. S. Maya Das Sahney.
24. Dr. Pars Ram.
25. Mr. Amar Nath Bhatia.
26. R. B. Hari Chand.
27. Diwan Lakshmi Narayan.
28. Mr. Brij Lal Puri.
29. „ Kashi Ram.
30. „ Gobind Ram.
31. „ Parshotam Lal Rajpal.
32. „ Het Ram.
33. „ Gopi Chand.
34. „ Shiv Narayan.
35. „ Barkat Ram Khosla.
36. Pandit Madho Ram.
37. Mr. Polak.
38. Sardar Mehr Singh Chawla.
39. Diwan Amar Nath Mohsin.