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INTRODUCTION.

It was not without some anxiety and a sense of anxious responsibility that in 1899 the leading men of the United Provinces had invited the Indian National Congress to hold its fifteenth session at Lucknow. There was little political and social activity in the Province of Oudh (and there is not much more even now), the people were deeply wedded to the old order, averse to the new, education was in a deplorably backward condition and even the rudiments of political organisations were scarcely visible, wealth and work had no consciousness of their responsibilities to the public, and the small minority of the educated and the aspiring was dispersed, unorganised and impotent. The incubus of old despotic influences still weighed upon Oudh and its capital Lucknow, in spite of the fire-baptism of the Mutiny through which it had passed was still spell-bound by the glamour of the past. But the Congress was held there and the success of its session justified the bold and patriotic action of the political leaders of the Province. To invite the Congress to hold its twenty-first session at Benares during the Christmas week of 1905 was a yet bolder step. Benares is the centre of Hindu orthodoxy as it is also the centre of all that is best in Hindu religion, literature and philosophy; its population, mostly Hindu, is intensely conservative, disinclined to follow any new lights unless they have been kindled at the ancient beacons; education, if possible, is even more backward there than at Lucknow, and whatever of mental energy and the spirit of self-devotion to impersonal ends there is, is absorbed in spiritual pursuits upon old lines, while material interests are left to take care of themselves. Lucknow, where the last flickering rays of Mahomedan civilization still linger, is yet the capital of a Province, the seat of government, having some first-class educational institutions, historical and social causes have brought the two communities, Hindu and Mahomedan, more closely together there than anywhere else in India, the bonds of orthodoxy are not very tight, while the existence of some half a dozen Indian newspapers, English and Vernacular, exercises a beneficial educative influence upon the people. It is beginning to turn its face to the East and scent the morning air of the coming day. But Benares, a sacred city as it is and must always remain in the eyes of all Hindus has, on account of its own historic traditions and association, felt even less closely the breath of the coming dawn; for centuries upon centuries it has been lying at anchor in the stream of time; and whether it be or be not "the lotus of the world," it certainly is, from the political point of view, from the point of view of modern life and activity, the city of 'lotus-eaters.' No political life, no public activity of any sort whatsoever, in its place, social conservatism of the deepest dye, most abject superstitions stalking in broad day-light, the rich happy in the belief that they are not their mother's keepers, the educated few in number and even among these few some who have not been able wholly to escape the mystic enchantments of the holy city. And yet it was at this city that the twenty-first session of the Congress was held, and held with success.

The event is a most remarkable one from more than one point of view. It shows that even the most orthodox city in India has not escaped modern influences, that the most orthodox community, if worked upon in a right, judicious and cautious spirit, is capable of being awakened into useful activity, that even in the strongest citadel of Hindu conservatism the modern spirit has made breaches through which the forces of progress will affect their entrance in due course of time, that even the conservative Hindu has begun to suspect the soundness of the social structure which has hitherto sheltered him, and to feel, not intelligently perhaps, still more or less keenly, that there are certain wants and interests which he shares with the rest of his fellow-countrymen, and that worthy of his deepest reverence as are the tenets and the teachers whom he has hitherto followed, the new doctrines also and the new teachers whom the circumstances of the new time have brought to the front hold out the promise of something that is really to his advantage, and are worthy of his regard. The learned Pandits of Benares, discussing at the meeting of the Social Conference (which also held its session just after the close of the Congress), such questions as sea-voyage, widow-re-marriage, evils of infant marriage, the social elevation of the lower classes, &c., &c., not only in the approved orthodox style but from the liberal point of view; the

orthodox Hindus who are so often taunted with having nothing in their heads except the old world theocratic notions, co-operating with English-knowing men in their political reform exertions and lending enthusiastic support to liberal proposals, what could be a better and easier proof of the extent to which the influences of English education and English civilization have permeated Indian society ; what a more flattering testimony as to the level of patriotism and sense of national self-respect to which the liberal and genuine policy of the British Government has raised the Indian people ? This is a sign of the times the significance of which may be read by the fastest runner ; and yet it must be confessed, regretfully, that to the common ruck of Anglo-Indians all this is the work of the " Bengali wire-puller " and " the pestilent seditious." Still those who know Indian society, knew that no " wire-pulling " can induce a genuinely conservative Hindu to show liberal tendencies where none exist, and join hands with the party of social reform ; and when he does so one may be sure that he is not far from the road that leads to political liberalism.

While the appearance of the Congress at Benares was thus a remarkable phenomenon, indicating the uprising of a new spirit even in these backward Provinces, the official attitude towards it was not less encouraging. The greatest official opposition with which the Congress has ever met was here, drilled and organised under the patronage of Sir Auckland Colvin, seconded with the high but misapplied zeal and ability of Sir Syed Ahmed ; and even when its fury had abated teasing and unceasing official pinpricks continued, as in a measure they still continue to the delectation of our political workers. It was that ablest and most sympathetic of governors, Sir A. MacDonnell, who, for the first time, publicly acknowledged the constitutional status of the Congress and prevented his subordinates from furnishing any more miserable instances of " melancholy meanness." It is, therefore, a pleasure to note that Munshi Madho Lal, in his speech welcoming the delegates, made the following remarks :—" In speaking of our difficulties I cannot but refer to the assistance kindly given to us by the Civil and Military authorities of this place. We would not have been able to secure this excellent plateau of Rajghat, the best site available in this city, but for their kindly help. When I recall to mind the bitter terms in which my distinguished predecessor in this chair, the still lamented Pandit Ajudia Nath (cheers), complained of the obstacles put in his way by the officials of the day, and compare that attitude with the kindly sympathy extended to the Reception Committee of this year, I cannot but feel that we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the welcome change that has come over these backward Provinces." It is a happy augury for the future that the official mind is beginning to adapt itself to its new environments, and realise the futility of arresting the progress of right by persisting in the continuance of wrong.

The Congress was attended by 756 delegates, of whom 718 were Hindus, 17 Mahomedans, 14 Sikhs, 6 Parsees and one Christian. Divided according to professions, 372 were Lawyers, 134 Zemindars, 100 Traders, 35 Medical practitioners, 9 Journalists, 3 Engineers, 26 Professors, and Teachers, 30 were in private service and the rest carried on miscellaneous professions.

The Congress met at a great crisis in the political fortunes of this country. Never since the dark days of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty had India been so distracted, discontented, despondent ; the victim of so many misfortunes, political and other ; the target for so much scorn and calumny emanating from the highest quarters—its most moderate demands ridiculed and scouted, its most reasonable prayers greeted with a stiff negative, its noblest aspirations spurned and denounced as pure mischief or solemn nonsense, its most cherished ideals hurled down from their pedestal and trodden under foot—never had the condition of India been more critical than it was during the second ill-starred administration of Lord Curzon. The Official Secrets Act was passed in the teeth of universal opposition. It was condemned by the whole Press—Indian and Anglo-Indian—, protests from all quarters poured in, but Lord Curzon was implacable, and the Gagging Act was passed. Education was crippled and mutilated ; it was made expensive and it was officialised ; and so that most effective instrument for the enslavement of our national interest, the Indian Universities Act, was passed, and the policy of checking if not altogether undoing the noble work of Bentinck, Macaulay and Lord Halifax, which for more than half a century has been continued with such happy results to the country,

came in full swing. In the matter of employment of Indians in the higher grades of the public service, Lord Curzon, after several years of cajoling and shufflings, evasions and mystifications, finding that his critics were too shrewd to be caught by fine phrases, was at last compelled to throw off his mask, and tell the educated Indians publicly, with that downright frankness which is the last refuge of a baffled Machiavellian, that the bar sinister of race was between them and the higher posts which they coveted, that their hopes in that direction were vain and doomed to disappointment, and that in relying upon the Queen's Proclamation they were relying upon a broken reed. The secret circulars encouraging the employment, on a more extensive scale, of Eurasians and Christians at the expense of the other Indian communities also saw the light, and did much to shake public confidence in his outward professions. The unlucky Convocation Address raised the national temper to fever-heat, and the whole country was shocked and amazed. The whole Indian people, smarting under the afflictions of plague and famine, of broken pledges and repressive measures, rose as one man against the monstrous and studied insult flung with a high magisterial air, at everything that they loved and revered, at their religion, their literature, their social institutions—at the forces which shaped their past, the hopes which animate the present, the ideals which beckon them onward from a dim and distant future. Never in the whole course of the history of British rule in India was the highest representative of the Sovereign denounced so strongly, publicly and universally from one end of the country to the other as was Lord Curzon for his unjust, unwise and impolitic pronouncement. But to cap all, that which led to the tremendous explosion of the national feeling, the sounds of which are echoing still, was the Partition of Bengal—the cutting in twain of the most advanced and flourishing society in India in the career of its progress and increasing solidarity—ostensibly in the interest of administrative efficiency but really to break down the political power and influence of the educated opinion of Bengal. The cup of national indignation was filled to overflowing, and what new phases of agitation the measure has helped to develop, what forces of unity, of self-sacrifice, of devotion to the cause of motherland, it has unlocked and made available for the purpose of our political struggles, will be glanced at later on. Suffice it to say that although no hammer in the horologue of time, as has been said, peals through the universe that there is a change from era to era; yet the agitation which has followed upon the Partition question has undoubtedly proclaimed, with a voice of thunder, that in the work of political regeneration and emancipation, not only for Bengal but for all India, a new epoch has begun.

In this summary review of the political situation as it was at the end of last year, let us not forget to take into account the influence exercised upon India by nearly twenty years of Tory domination. Latterly, we know how Lord George Hamilton supported the Government of India in almost all its repressive and re-actionary measures, how his successor, Mr. Brodrick, with a light heart, attempted to saddle India with the cost of a contingent of ten thousand English troops proposed to be placed in South Africa; and how he sacrificed our South African Indian fellow-subjects to the selfish clamour of the white colonist. The scarcely veiled selfishness of the policy of Tory Imperialism towards India had done most to try our temper and alienate our sympathies, when of a sudden the wheel of fortune turned; those who were at the top went to the bottom, the Tories were hissed off the stage, with 'curses not loud but deep' upon the lip of every right-thinking man, and the Liberals returned to power with a triumphant majority which was even more remarkable than the phenomenal achievement of Gladstone in 1880. The change of Government was hailed with universal acclamation all over India; for the people remembered how in 1880 the return of the Liberals had meant the return of hope and joy and contentment to the people, the deliverance through the wise and sympathetic policy of that most beloved of the Indian Viceroys, Lord Ripon, from the disastrous effects of the Tory Imperialism of that day; and the appointment of Mr. John Morley as the Indian Secretary was the surest pledge that the night of despair and discontent was drawing to its close and a new day of rational hopes and just aspirations on the part of the people and of a wise, patient, and sympathetic consideration of their claims on the part of Government was

about to dawn. Thus it was that the Congress met in sorrow and affliction but also in hope and cheerful anticipation ; smarting and staggering on the one hand under the cruel blows of Lord Curzon, and the indifferent, contemptuous and even hostile attitude of a section of the official class ; on the other with its gaze fixed upon the high ethical principles that have always inspired the political career of our illustrious Secretary of State, and with hope and joy fluttering in its heart at the generous and sympathetic utterances of the Prince of Wales. It was a most important and most significant session of the Congress—its twenty-first—when it came of age after twenty-one eventful years, during which it had to pass through the phases of ridicule and derision, of faint-hearted sympathy and whole-hearted approbation.

At one o'clock on the 27th December the Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address of welcome to the delegates in the Congress pandal in the presence of delegates and visitors. The speech was a plain, straightforward utterance of a practical man, well experienced in the politics of this country, and in the following passage he struck the key-note of what has been the constant refrain of educated Indians upon every political platform :—

"Brother-delegates, I regard the Indian National Congress as the intellectual product of British rule and English education, and one which ought, therefore, to be treated with tender regard by those whose duty it is to govern this country on British principles. No doubt the Congress was not looked upon with friendly eyes in its earlier stages ; but I am glad to think that time is long gone by, when the charge of disloyalty could be brought against us when our national aspirations were ridiculed, when our representations on public questions could be dismissed without consideration. In saying this I do not overlook recent events which were unfortunately calculated to shake the faith of the more impatient among us, in the efficacy of constitutional agitation, and in the benevolence of purpose of British rule in India. But, brother-delegates, they are but inevitable incidents of public life, and we may be sure they do not represent the attitude towards educated Indians of the majority of Englishmen in this country, much less in free England. I must admire the love of justice and fair play of the English nation. Whatever we say or say not, they allow us to sit here and discuss their actions and to criticise them. This is, I say, the greatest virtue of the British Empire."

Whatever its detractors may say, the Congress is undoubtedly a national movement ; it is the product of the Indian renaissance brought about by the spread in this country of those vivifying and genial influences of progress and civilization which make fifty years of Europe better than a cycle of Cathay. No single individual or community can take credit for it. No single principle or formula can explain it. No order of men is free from its influence ; no class of interest is unrepresented in its counsel. The Sikh, the Rajput, the Bengali, the Maharatta, the Parsee, the Mahomedan, the Christian, all are enlisted in its service. Its influence is as dominant in the North as it is in the South ; the light of its teachings shines as brightly in the West as it does in the East ; and the moral influence which it has begun to exert upon the Government of India and the Home Government is manifest from the sympathetic attitude of Parliament towards some of its principal demands as well as from the fears and passionate ravings of its opponents. It is absurd and disingenuous to belittle its importance by saying that it does not represent the Mahomedans, nor the martial races, nor the poor peasantry ; that it is confined to the small fringe of the educated classes, who alone in a country over-flowing with milk and honey and amid a people happy and contented in the enjoyment of unprecedented peace and plenty, represent the element of discontent and even disaffection. It may be admitted at once that the educated classes form the backbone of the institution ; but on that account it does not become any the less national and the less fit to represent the wants and requirements of the masses. But under an alien Government the educated classes are the best interpreters of the people's wishes and aspirations to the paramount power. In India this is specially so, as the ruling class lives so isolated from the people that without the assistance and co-operation of the instructed class it cannot by any means properly discharge its duties towards this mighty Empire. This is not making any exaggerated claim for the political influence of the educated, as the most hardened denier of their claim will not find it easy to give a satisfactory answer to the question, that if the educated are not fit to represent their less advanced fellow-subjects who is. The Mahomedan opposition in any sense other than that the Mahomedans as a body being less educated than the Hindus are indifferent not only to their political position but to all their social and educational interests, and that only a small educated minority of them, desirous to obtain some more loaves and fishes of the public service and a few more seats in the Legislative Councils, pass resolutions against the Congress proposals from time to time and claim to have the monopoly of whatever loyalty to Government there exists

in India, is a figment of the imagination. The proportion of Mahomedan delegates at the Congress session speaks for itself; leading men like the late lamented Mr. Justice Iudr-ud-din Tyetji and Mr. Sayani, were among the active supporters of the movement, not to mention many other Mahomedans of light and leading who are ranged on the side of the Congress. Then to expatiate upon the loyalty of the martial races and their opposition to political reform is a little ridiculous, for one must have an unbounded faith in the gullibility of human nature to suppose that those who have lost most by the change of Government are more deeply attached to the *regime* than those who have gained most; that they are passionately devoted to British Government because it has practically closed to them the higher posts in the military line which were open to them under the old *regime*, and are opposed to an institution which alone in season and out of season advocates their claims to the highest prizes in the army. This is a question of which the officials fight shy, and Munshi Madho Lal expressed the real sentiments not only of the Congress but all India when he observed :—

“Standing as I do here as a representative of the Sipahi Nagar class, whose ancestors came to these provinces as soldiers, I keenly feel that the Government should exclude the martial classes from the higher ranks of military services. I am thankful to the Government for appointing a few members of the Imperial Cadet Corps as commissioned officers in the army. This, however, is only in the nature of a *recrute* first instalment. Why should not the sons of noblemen and men of the middle class be appointed to commissions in the army, if they are qualified for the same? Why should not the suggestion of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, to establish an Indian Sandhurst, be carried out? It is not a wise policy to exclude the martial race of Indian soldiers from the higher ranks of the army. Merit and not race should be the qualifying test. The Indian soldier has established his title to the confidence of the rulers in many a battlefield throughout the empire by his valour as well as devotion, and cannot be permanently denied the higher rewards of his service. It is only necessary that we should persistently press his claim on the attention of the Government for it to be granted. I venture to think that even the Imperial Cadet Corps would not have been established without the long continued agitation of the Congress and the Indian Press. And we who believe that the Indian soldier is the backbone of the British Army in this country, owe it not only to ourselves but to the Government that we must not rest until the just concessions for which we have been praying are granted. The importance of the matter being what it is, may I not venture to appeal to the powers-that-be to signalise the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by carrying out in practice the professed intention of our rulers to treat Indians on equal terms with other classes of His Majesty's subjects by throwing open to them the superior posts in the army?”

But the day of shadowy promises is not over, and even the Duke of Connaught and the Prince of Wales may yet find out that the ruling class in India, whatever praises it may sing of the Native army, thus enhancing the effect of its denunciations of the educated class, is not yet prepared and will not be prepared for many a year to come to improve by any solid and substantial reform the prospects of the Native army or of the martial races from whom that army is recruited.

Another important subject which was uppermost in the minds of all and with the remarks upon which he concluded his speech was the Partition of Bengal.

“Speaking as an Indian and a non-Bengali, I desire to assure my brethren of Bengal of my and your deep sympathy in the misfortune that has befallen them in the partition of their fair and great province. The Partition of Bengal, in an arbitrary manner and in spite of the universal opposition that the measure has provoked, I regard as impolitic and unjust. If there was any truth in the late Viceroy's utterance that to defy or ignore public opinion is not statesmanship—and we have been told on high authority that truthfulness is a special virtue of Europeans—then it is inexplicable how the sentiment of united Bengal came to be so deliberately disregarded by the same high functionary.”

He pressed upon our Bengali friends the advisability of keeping up the agitation, of sending a strong deputation to England to advocate their cause before the British Parliament and the British public, and he made them hope that their gracious sovereign, King-Emperor Edward, would do them justice.

Munshi Madho Lal having closed his speech amid loud cheers, Pandit Bishambhar Nath, our veteran and revered political leader and ex-Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee on a previous occasion, rose to propose, in an excellent speech in which he referred to the Congress as “the crowning triumph of Pax Britannica with its untold and numerous blessings,” the election of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale as President of the twenty-first session of the Congress, and was followed by Mr. R. C. Dutt, a distinguished Indian statesman and an ex-President of the Congress, who in very moving terms spoke of the claims which Mr. Gokhale has upon the esteem and gratitude of his countrymen.

“Many of you, gentlemen, who have come from the Bombay Presidency, know what a selfless life Mr. Gokhale has led; how he was first educated by that prince of educators, the late Mr. Ranade (cheers); how he devoted years of his life to that institution which we know as Fergusson College; and how, after that and after some travels in Europe, he made his name as a politician by that great historic speech which he made on the occasion of the budget discussion in the Viceroy's Council some years ago (cheers). Gentlemen, I do not know how you received that speech, I felt within myself that that was the coming man for India (cheers). The power of eloquence, the power of debate, the great moderation and the lucid statement of facts which characterised that splendid speech in the Viceroy's Council showed that we had at last got a champion (cheers), who would do justice to his country and countrymen.”

Then, urging upon his hearers the urgent political needs of the country and upon Government the expediency of modifying a constitution which had its birth in the eighteenth century in order to meet the requirements of the nineteenth, closed with the following stirring and patriotic words :—

"Gentlemen, I have more faith in our own work than in the mercy of Government (cheers). If we show ourselves prepared to undertake our duties in a reasonable, moderate and sober way, time cannot be far distant when some sort of constitution, based on the wishes and feeling of the people, shall have to be conceded to the people of India (cheers). Gentlemen, I have often been accused of being too much of an optimist, and I admit the charge. I believe it is better to work with hope than to work with no hope; but hope or no hope, I think in a good cause, in righteous battle, it is better to fight and fail than not to fight at all (cheers)."

The proposal, having been further supported by Sirdar Guru Charan Singh, of the Punjab, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, of Berar, and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, of Madras, was carried with acclamation and amid the ringing cheers of the whole assembly Mr. Gokhale took the Chair. The interest of the whole meeting was centered in its President and the address he was about to deliver. The simple and saintly life of Mr. Gokhale, the suavity and urbanity of his manners, his vast knowledge of Indian politics and his practical experience of high state affairs, the thought of his great services to his country, and his selfless patriotism and unflinching courage, the enthusiasm of his followers and his buoyant hopefulness which cheered the most drooping spirits,—all these contributed to the scenic effect of the occasion which it is not possible adequately to describe. The speaker was worthy of the high office which he filled and his address worthy of the great assembly before which it was delivered. Simple in its style, the address had all the eloquence of deep and earnest conviction, and in its matter there was all the force, the cogency, the logical vigour, and the irresistible power of carrying conviction to the most obstinate minds that a true mastery of facts applied in the service of a just cause never fails to impart. There were no flashes of platform rhetoric in it, no jarring notes of jibes and flouts and jeers at his political opponents, no extravagance of praise or blame; it was marked throughout with genuine courtesy, charity and generosity; here and there evincing (more in sorrow than in anger) warmth of reproach and revulsion at the sight of some cruel wrongs from which his countrymen suffer, but never out-stepping the bounds of moderation, fairness and good feeling; an address of which it may be truly said in the words of Mr. John Morley that passion burned low and persuasive reason held up the guiding lamp.

Mr. Gokhale's speech may be roughly divided under five heads :—(1) a brief but critical review of Lord Curzon's administration; (2) the policy and political effect of the Partition of Bengal; (3) the economic and political aspects of the Swadeshi movement; (4) the aims and objects of the Congress movement and the attitude of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy towards it; and (5) such reforms as require an early and an immediate consideration at the hands of Government. In order to appreciate truly the mastery of handling a difficult and complicated subject manifest throughout it, the whole speech must be read; here only a few short passages can be cited with such comments and observations as have any bearing on, or are suggested by, these passages themselves.

In reviewing Lord Curzon's administration it is important to bear in mind that although he is fully responsible for nursing into vigour the germs of distrust and suspicion, coercion and repression, on the part of Government and of unrest and discontent and the bitter sense of cruel wrong in the minds of the people, yet these germs had been sown by other hands. Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty was the golden age of British India, when our political agitation was born, when the people caught up by the vision of a new dawn stood a-tip-toe with expectations of better things to come, unaware that ere long they would find themselves under the shadow of a dark cloud, which only now is beginning to show some signs of breaking. Lord Ripon was succeeded by Lord Dufferin who, although not so liberal and sympathetic a ruler as was his predecessor, was yet a far-sighted statesman who believed in cautious and timely concessions and in the wisdom of conciliating the educated classes by associating them in a greater degree than heretofore with the administration. Lord Lansdowne proved even less liberal; but for the unfortunate Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin was reserved the memorable distinction of inaugurating the re-actionary policy of force and repression for the suppression of public opinion in India by means of drastic legislative measures against the Press—measures which (to adopt the

words of Mr. Gladstone applied to Lord Lytton's Press Gagging Act) are a contradiction of the spirit of the age in which we live and are a disgrace to British authority. The unrest and discontent that prevailed in India in the latter part of Lord Elgin's administration are well within the recollection of us all. Lord Elgin furnishes one more instance of the truth of the observation that in a governor of men, urbanity of temper, charm of manners, selflessness, beauty and purity of private life, are no compensation for weakness of initiative, irresolute will, infirmity of purpose, want of courage and self-reliance, and proneness to be led astray by the promptings of prudence from upholding the claims of duty. In Lord Curzon he found not only a highly capable successor as to his office, but a worthy and promising heir to the legacy of his reactionary policy which he left behind. Lord Curzon's *regime* marks, therefore, the culminating point of a long process of stemming the tide of our political progress by means of such instruments as are ready to the hand of every despot, and may well be considered as a turning point in our political history. Speaking of the happy juncture of things for the good of his name and fame that awaited Charles II at the time of the Restoration, Macaulay remarks:—"He was in a situation in which the dictates of ambition coincided with those of benevolence, in which it was easier to be virtuous than to be wicked, to be loved than to be hated, to earn pure and imperishable glory than to become infamous. For once the path of goodness was a smooth descent." Something like this happy opportunity offered itself to Lord Curzon when he became the Viceroy of India. There was so much discontent at the time caused by the illiberal policy of Lord Elgin, so much indignation against him, so much joy that his time had ended, and in all quarters faint hopes that any change from his *regime* would be for the better, there was such a keen desire everywhere that the new Viceroy should be afforded every facility and encouragement in his great work, so much sincere confidence in him created no doubt by his speeches delivered in England before his departure, that for once the path of righteousness was smooth for him, it was easier for him to make himself loved than hated, to soothe the public mind by small measures of concession than to irritate it, to draw towards himself the deepest feelings of loyalty than to arouse the bitterest feelings of hostility; and when the time for laying down the reins of office came, to be followed home, as Lord Ripon had been more than 20 years ago, by the grateful and regretful prayers than by the groans and execrations of the whole Indian people. Our countrymen, in spite of their many mental limitations, have an instinct for finding out soon or late who are their friends and who are their foes; and through the luminous haze of fine and flowery speeches they discerned in Lord Curzon an autocrat of a most pronounced type. By his constant and persistent attempts to set back the shadow on the dial and arrest the course of progress in India he became the wonder and the despair of the Indian people. As Mr. Gokhale stated in words which are equally just and eloquent:—

"For seven long years all eyes had constantly to turn to one masterful figure in the land—now in admiration, now in astonishment, more often in anger and in pain, till at last it has become difficult to realise that a change has really come. For a parallel to such an administration we must, I think, go back to the times of Aurangzeb in the history of our own country. There we find the same attempt at a rule excessively centralised and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all around. I think even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. In some respects his Lordship will always be recognised as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to this country. His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work—these will ever be a theme of just and unstinted praise. But the gods are jealous, and amidst such lavish endowments they withheld from him a sympathetic imagination, without which no man can ever understand an alien people; and it is a sad truth that to the end of his administration Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of India. This was at the root of his many inconsistencies, and made him a perpetual puzzle to most men. And thus the man, who professed in all sincerity, before he assumed the reins of office, his great anxiety to show the utmost deference to the feelings and even the prejudices of those over whom he was set to rule, ended by denouncing in unmeasured terms not only the present generation of Indians but also their remote ancestors and even the ideals of their race, which they cherish above everything else; he, who, in the early part of his administration, publicly warned the official classes that 'official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to the stimulus and guidance' of public opinion, and who declared that in the present state of India 'the opinion of the educated classes is one which it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise' ended by trampling more systematically upon that opinion than any of his predecessors, and claiming for his own judgment and that of his official colleagues a virtual character of infallibility. The fact is that Lord Curzon came to India with certain fixed ideas. To him India was a country where the Englishman was to monopolise for all time all power, and talk all the while of duty. The Indians only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country; and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded to the end to repress them.

“Taking Lord Curzon at his highest, we find him engaged in a herculean attempt to strengthen the Englishman’s monopoly of power in India and stem the tide of popular agitation and discontent by rousing the members of the bureaucracy to a sense of duty similar to his own and raising the standard of administrative efficiency all round. The attempt has failed, as it was bound to fail. Never was discontent in India more acute and widespread than when the late Viceroy laid down the reins of office ; and as regards the bureaucratic monopoly of power, I think we are sensibly nearer the time when it will be successfully assailed.”

The reference to Aurangzeb was a happy and telling stroke. By his intolerance and overmastering passion for domination, Aurangzeb alienated the sympathies of the Hindu race upon whose loyalty and affection Akbar had laid the foundations of a mighty empire, roused the hostility of Mahrattas, and destroyed for ever the prospects of Mahomadan rule in India. Lord Curzon, by his political intolerance, his undisguised contempt for the educated classes and his irrepressible display of authority in season and out of season, gave mortal offence to the Indian Chiefs on the one hand and lost the regard and goodwill of the intelligent sections of the community on the other, and gave rise to those feelings of anger, disquiet and unrest throughout the country which as yet scarcely show any signs of subsiding. Mr. Gokhale then, after pointing out in his own simple and incisive way how little in spite of his loud and repeated boastings, Lord Curzon has done for India, how some of his reforms (the University reforms for instance) are no reforms at all, how some are pure snares and delusions, and how some are so small and stunted, went on to the great and burning question of the Partition of Bengal. Whether the doom which has broken in twain the most advanced Province of India is irreversible or not, time alone will prove, but nobody can deny that it has been carried in the teeth of universal opposition, that it has roused passions such as have never been roused before in connection with any public question in this country ; and that the agitation which has been raging ever since throughout Bengal forms a most lamentable chapter, unhappily not yet closed, in the annals of British rule in India. Lord Curzon considered the agitation as a “manufactured” one, and the whole Anglo-Indian press, with the memorable exception of the *Calcutta Statesman*, has been crying the same ever since. In spite of hundreds of meetings, protest of hundreds of thousands of men all over the country, persistent and insistent denunciations of the change from every quarter, the Home Government are solemnly assured by the official apologists in the press, that all this is the work of some Calcutta wire-pullers, and that the whole thing is spurious and has no life in it. Here as elsewhere history repeats itself. When in the autumn of 1885 Ireland pressed its political demands upon the English people by returning to the newly-elected Parliament some eighty-five Nationalists headed by Parnell, wiser heads than those to be found on the shoulders of our Anglo-Indian editors, called it “a carefully prepared verdict of a shamefully packed jury,” what wonder if when upon a great question India speaks with one voice, she is told by her charitable critics that she speaks to contradict her heart’s desire and conviction. In the face of these tactics, it was no little consolation to us to have heard on the earliest opportunity from Mr. Morley that at least he and his Government did not consider the agitation a “manufacture” and admitted that in his opinion the partition had been carried against the voice and wishes of the people of Bengal. And this administrative sin on the part of the Indian Government has brought its retribution in the anger and discontent which it has roused, in the embers of religious and racial hatreds which it has kindled, in the prosecution of school boys, in the suppression of public meetings, in the detestable czardom of an English governor, and in his pitiable exit from the stage of his lamentable performances. Mr. Gokhale’s remarks referring to the policy of the Partition Scheme, the crooked and tortuous methods by which it was carried, and the new life which it has stirred in Bengal itself are worthy of the most thoughtful attention of every well-wisher of India—Indian or English—and may well be quoted here :—

“The question that is uppermost in the minds of us all at this moment is the Partition of Bengal. A cruel wrong has been inflicted on our Bengali brethren, and the whole country has been stirred to its deepest depths in sorrow and resentment, as had never been the case before. The scheme of partition, concocted in the dark, and carried out in the face of the fiercest opposition that any Government measure has encountered during the last half a century, will always stand as a complete illustration of the worst feature of the present system of bureaucratic rule—its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people, the mockery of an appeal to its sense of justice, its cool preference of service

interests to those of the governed. Lord Curzon and his advisers—if he ever had any advisers—could never allege that they had no means of judging the depth of public feeling in the matter.”

“To add insult to injury, Lord Curzon described the opposition to his measure as manufactured. Let it be remembered that when the late Viceroy cast this stigma on those who were ranged against his proposals not a single public pronouncement in favour of those proposals had been made by any section of the community ; and that among the foremost opponents of the measure were men like Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Gurudas Bannerji, Raja Piary Mohan Mukerji and Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, the Maharajas of Mymensingh and Kassimbazar—men who keep themselves aloof from ordinary political agitation, and never say a word calculated in any way to embarrass the authorities, and who came forward to oppose publicly the Partition Project only from an overpowering sense of the necessity of their doing what they could to avert a dreaded calamity. If the opinions of even such men are to be brushed aside with contempt, if all Indians are to be treated no better than dumb, driven cattle, if men, whom any other country would delight to honour are to be thus made to realise the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own country, than all I say is “Good-bye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interests of the people !” I can conceive of no graver indictment of British rule than that such a state of things should be possible after a hundred years of that rule ! I have carefully gone through all the papers which have been published by the Government on this subject of partition. Three things have struck me forcibly : a determination to dismember Bengal at all costs, an anxiety to promote the interests of Assam at the expense of Bengal, and a desire to suit everything to the interests and convenience of the Civil Service.

Having published his earlier and smaller scheme for public criticism, it was his clear duty to publish similarly the later and larger scheme which he afterwards substituted for it. But in consequence of the opposition which the first scheme encountered, he abandoned the idea of taking the public any more into his confidence, and proceeded to work in the matter in the dark. For more than a year nothing was heard of his intentions, and while he was silently elaborating the details of his measure he allowed the impression to prevail that the Government had abandoned the partition project. And in the end, when he had secured the Secretary of State's sanction to the scheme, it was from Simla, where he and his official colleagues were beyond the reach of public opinion, that he sprang the final orders of Government upon an unprepared people. Then suddenly came his resignation. And the people permitted themselves for a while to hope that it would bring them at least a brief respite, especially as Mr. Brodrick had promised shortly before to present further papers on the subject.

The dismemberment of Bengal had become necessary because, in the view of the Government of India, “it cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion or what passes for it should be manufactured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre, and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged or suppressed.” “From every point of view,” the Government further states, “it appears to us desirable to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals, and to preserve the growing intelligence and enterprise of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity.” You will see that this is only a paraphrase, in Lord Curzon's most approved style, of the complaint of the people of Bengal that their fair province has been dismembered to destroy their growing solidarity, check their national aspirations, and weaken their power of co-operating for national ends, lessen the influence of their educated classes with their countrymen, and reduce the political importance of Calcutta. After this, let no apologist of the late Viceroy pretend that the object of the partition was administrative convenience and not political repression ! It is difficult to speak in terms of due restraint of Lord Curzon's conduct throughout this affair. Having published his earlier and smaller scheme for public criticism, it was his clear duty to publish similarly the later and large scheme which he afterwards substituted for it. But, in consequence of the opposition which the first scheme encountered, he abandoned the idea of taking the public any more into his confidence, and proceeded to work in the matter in the dark. For more than a year nothing was heard of his intentions, and while he was silently elaborating the details of his measure he allowed the impression to prevail that the Government had abandoned the Partition Project. And in the end, when he had secured the Secretary of State's sanction to the scheme, it was from Simla, where he and his official colleagues were beyond the reach of public opinion, that he sprang the final orders of Government upon an unprepared people. Then suddenly came his resignation. And the people permitted themselves for a while to hope that it would bring them at least a brief respite, especially as Mr. Brodrick had promised shortly before to present further papers on the subject to Parliament and that was understood to mean that the scheme would not be brought into operation till Parliament re-assembled at the beginning of next year.

Then referring to the action of Mr. Brodrick, the then Indian Secretary, and of Lord Curzon who, in spite of his resignation and without giving an opportunity to his successor to examine the question for himself, rushed the necessary legislation through his Council, struck a hopeful note as regards our political future,

“But, as has been well said, even in things evil, there is a soul of goodness, and the dark times through which Bengal has passed and is passing have not been without a message of bright hope for the future. The tremendous upheaval of popular feeling which has taken place in Bengal in consequence of the partition will constitute a landmark in the history of our National progress. For the first

time since British rule began, all sections of the Indian community, without distinction of caste or creed, have been moved by a common impulse and without the stimulus of external pressure to act together in offering resistance to a common wrong. A wave of true national consciousness has swept over the province, and at its touch old barriers have, for the time at any rate, been thrown down, personal jealousies have vanished, other controversies have been hushed ! Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India, and her sufferings have not been endured in vain when they have helped to draw closer all parts of the country in sympathy and in aspiration. A great rush and uprising of the waters, such as has been recently witnessed in Bengal, cannot take place without a little inundation over the banks here and there."

Mr. Gokhale's remarks upon the Partition question, especially the closing ones, were received with the heartiest cheers in every part of the assembly ; and well did they deserve it, for he was undoubtedly right and voiced the silent conviction of all earnest and right-thinking Indians when he said that the agitation has opened a new and more hopeful chapter in our national life. Yes it has given cheering promises that India is growing into the unity of a nation, that the pulsation of a national life are beginning to be felt in every part of our body politic and that great as is the responsibility, equally great and noble will be the reward, of those who have to watch and nurture its growth. Excesses there will be, errors of judgement, of discretion, of policy not a few, but no reformer, as has been well said by Mr. Morley, "is fit for his task who suffers himself to be frightened by the excesses of an extreme wing." The sober, judicious, manly and patriotic conduct of the leaders of Bengal in the past and the present is a sure and earnest pledge of what the country may confidently expect from them whatever fresh crisis may arise in the future.

In dealing with the Swadeshi movement, Mr. Gokhale very justly distinguished it from the other movement—the boycott of English goods—and made certain wise and weighty remarks which deserve serious consideration.

"It is necessary at the outset to distinguish it from another movement started in Bengal which has really given it such immense impetus—the boycott of British goods. We all know that when our Bengal brethren found that nothing would turn the late Viceroy from his purpose of partitioning Bengal—that all their protests in the Press and on the platform, all their memorials to him, to the Secretary of State and to Parliament were unavailing—that the Government exercised its despotic strength to trample on their most cherished feelings and injure their dearest interests, and that no protection of any kind was forthcoming from any quarter, they, in their extremity, resolved to have recourse to this boycott movement. This they did with a two-fold object : first, as a demonstration of their deep resentment at the treatment they were receiving ; and, secondly, to attract the attention of the people in England to their grievances so that those who were in a position to call the Government of India to account might understand what was taking place in India. It was thus a political weapon used for a definite purpose that they had recourse to the boycott ; and in the circumstances of their position they had every justification for the step they took. And I can tell you from personal experience that their action has proved immensely effective in drawing the attention of English people to the state of things in our country. But a weapon like this must be reserved only for extreme occasions. There are obvious risks involved in its failure, and it cannot be used with sufficient effectiveness unless there is an extraordinary upheaval of popular feeling behind it."

The true Swadeshi movement, as the speaker well remarked, is both a patriotic and an economic movement.

"The devotion to motherland, which is enshrined in the highest Swadeshi, is an influence so profound and so passionate that its very thought thrills and its actual touch lifts one out of oneself. India needs to-day above everything else that the gospel of this devotion should be preached to high and low, to prince and to peasant, in town and in hamlet, till the service of Motherland becomes with us as overmastering a passion as it is in Japan."

The sudden rise of Japan—its phenomenal success in a life-and-death struggle with the greatest military power in the world—due altogether to a selfless and passionate patriotism, is one of those events that change the currents of history and decide the fates of nations. Upon India it has produced a great moral impression. This, however, by the way. Mr. Gokhale proceeded :

"The question of production is a question of capital, enterprise and skill, and in all these factors our deficiency at present is very great. Whoever can help in any one of these fields is, therefore, a worker in the Swadeshi cause, and should be welcomed as such. Not by methods of exclusion, but by those of comprehension, not by insisting on every one working in the same part of the field but by leaving each one free to select his own corner, by attracting to the cause all who are likely to help, and not alienating any who are already with us, are the difficulties of the problem likely to be overcome."

Our dwindling space compels us to make only a passing allusion to what he said about the cotton industry in India, its vast prospects, and its present slow growth for want of capital. He urged upon the people to apply a part, however small it may be, of their resources in this direction.

"In this connection, may I say that a special responsibility now rests in the matter on the aristocracy of Bengal ! And this is not merely because the Swadeshi movement is being so

vigorously advocated in their Province, but also because, owing to the permanent settlement of Bengal, they are enabled to enjoy resources which, in other parts of India, are swept into the coffers of the State."

This appeal may be made with equal force and justice to the "Barons of Oudh," who also enjoy some exceptional advantages in respect of their estates, and to whose generosity so many institutions of public usefulness owe their existence in the province.

Mr. Gokhale then proceeded to review in its salient features the history of the origin and growth of the Congress-movement, and to show that its aims and aspirations are the just and natural product of that just, generous and liberal policy which for more than half-century has been the polar-star of Indian administration.

"For better, for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England, and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire itself. That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one; for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility required for the proper exercise of the free political institutions of the West can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only. To admit this is not to express any agreement with those who usually oppose all attempts at reform on the plea that the people are not ready for it. "It is liberty alone," says Mr. Gladstone in words of profound wisdom, "which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, wait till they are fit." While, therefore, we are prepared to allow that an advance towards our goal may be only by reasonably cautious steps, what we emphatically insist on is that the resources of the country should be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people, by means of education and in other ways, for such advance."

Here it is that we have a grievance against the Indian Government, it has failed to do its best for our education. With a net revenue of forty-four millions sterling, it allows the army to swallow up one-half, the home charges nearly one-third, and the European agency in all the Civil Departments some three millions. Out of about seven millions at its disposal the Government with characteristic generosity spends three-quarter of a million over our education in all its branches. After more than a century of British rule, we observe with sorrow and pain that four out of every five villages are without a school house, and seven out of eight children of school-going age are allowed to grow up in ignorance. "Things cannot be otherwise" very rightly remarked Mr. Gokhale, "for it is the government of the people of one country by the people of another, and this, as Mill points out, is bound to produce great evils."

Referring to the unredeemed or only partially redeemed pledges of the Sovereign and the Parliament of England, and the astounding attempt made by the late Viceroy to explain away the solemn import of the great Proclamation of Queen Victoria, "the deep reverence for whose memory is an asset of the Empire;" Mr. Gokhale pointed out that—

"The domination of one race over another—especially when there is no great disparity between their intellectual endowments or their general civilisation, inflicts great injury on the subject race in a thousand insidious ways. On the moral side, the present situation is steadily destroying our capacity for initiative and dwarfing us as men of action. On the material side, it has resulted in a fearful impoverishment of the people."

Grievances such as these, while on the one hand they are just and genuine are on the other due in no small measure to the rigid, jealous and unsympathetic bureaucratic system under which India is governed and without some change in the form and the spirit of this system, in consonance with the moving forces of the day, no very sanguine hopes of their redress can be entertained. Even under this system, whenever the conscience of our rulers has been alert and awake, we have, we frankly and gratefully acknowledge, reaped many benefits.

"No one also denies that a large proportion of the members of the bureaucracy brings to their work a high level of ability, a keen sense of duty and a conscientious desire, within the limits of the restricted opportunities permitted by the predominance of other interests, to do what good they can to the people. It is the system that is really at fault—a system which relegates the interests of the people to a very subordinate place, and which, by putting too much power into the hands of these men, impairs their sense of responsibility and develops in them a spirit of intolerance of criticism."

And this spirit has increased and is increasing with the advance of education and, as its necessary consequence, the growth of feelings of independence

and self-respect among the people. The dominant class feels that it is face to face with forces that must, in course of time, restrict and limit its arbitrary powers, and it is only natural that its instinct of self-preservation should make it look upon those forces with a jealous eye and adopt measures to arrest their course. But if the sun is not going to stand still at the command of another Joshua, the course of our progress and emancipation is secure. True statesmanship lies not in looking backward but in looking forward, in anticipating the future and submitting with good grace to the inevitable. But our 'pastors and masters' think otherwise. In their political philosophy contempt for the educated native is the beginning of wisdom. In the minds of most of them the educated Indian has come to be associated with all that is dark and sinister; and to abuse him and decry his power and influence is now the whole duty of the Anglo-Indian Journalist. They are a handful of them, these educated Indians, say our critics, they alone are discontented, mere 'spouters of sedition,' while the vast bulk of the Indian population is perfectly happy and contented under the present rule. Mr. Gokhale made a short work of these ingenuous allegations by showing on the authority of Thorold Rogers that a century ago not one man in ten or one woman in twenty knew how to read and write in England, and that another century back the English people, with the exception of a mere handful, were steeped in ignorance, and yet there was a House of Commons; and by stating that the allegation that the whole discontent was confined to the educated classes and that the masses were perfectly indifferent to the workings of the existing system.

"However it may suit the interests of the officials to deny the fact, the educated classes are in the present circumstances of India the natural leaders of the people. There is the Vernacular Press, the contents of which do not fail to reach the mass of our population; in a hundred ways they have access to the minds of the latter; and what the educated Indian thinks to-day, the rest of India thinks to-morrow. Moreover, do the officials realise how their contention condemns their rule out of their own mouth? For it means that only so long as the people of India are kept in ignorance and their faculties are forced to lie dormant that they do not raise any objection to the present system of administration. The moment education quickens those faculties and clears their vision, they range themselves against a continuance of the system."

Mr. Gokhale then proceeded to point out what he considered our immediate demands should be.

"A reform of our Legislative Councils, raising the proportion of elected members to one-half requiring the budgets to be formally passed by the Councils and empowering the members to bring forward amendments, with safe-guards for bringing the debates to a close in a reasonable time. The Presidents of the Councils should have the power of veto. The Viceroy's Legislative Council consists at present of 25 members, of whom only 5 are elected one by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta, a body of Europeans, and the other four by four provinces. We must ask for the proportion of elected members to be now raised to 12. Of this number, two seats might be given, one to Commerce and one to certain industries, and the remaining 10 should be assigned to different provinces, two to each of the three older provinces, and one each to the remaining. And to begin with, the right of members to move amendments may be confined to one amendment each. The two members for Commerce and Industries will generally be Europeans, and they will ordinarily vote with Government. Thus even if all the 10 provincial members voted together, they would be only 10 out of 25. Ordinarily they will not be able to carry a motion against the Government, but on exceptional occasions they may obtain the support of two or three men from the other side, and then the moral effect of the situation will be considerable. In the Provincial Legislative Councils, we must have an increase in the number of members, each district of a province being empowered to send a member. The objection that these bodies will in that case be somewhat unwieldy is not entitled to much weight.

(2) The appointment of at least three Indians to the Secretary of State's Council to be returned one each by the three older provinces.

(3) The certain of Advisory Boards in all districts throughout India whom the heads of districts should be bound to consult in important matters of administration concerning the public before taking action. For the present their functions should be only advisory, the Collectors or District Magistrates being at liberty to set aside their advice at their discretion. Half the members of the Board should be elected representatives of the different talukas or sub-divisions of the district, and the other half should consist of the principal District Officers and such non-official gentlemen as the head of the district may appoint. These Boards must not be confounded with what are known as District Local Boards. There is at present too much of what may be called Secretariat rule, with an excessive multiplication of central departments. District administration must be largely free from this, and reasonable opportunities afforded to the people concerned to influence its course before final decisions are arrived at. If such Boards are created we may in course of time expect them to be intrusted with some real measure of control over the district administration. The late Mr. Ranade used to urge the importance of such Boards very strongly. If ever we are to have real local government in matters of general administration, the creation of these Boards will pave the way for it. One great evil of the present system of administration is its secrecy. This will be materially reduced, so far as district administration is concerned, by the step proposed.

- (4) The recruitment of the Judicial Branch of the Indian Civil Service from the legal profession in India.
- (5) The separation of Judicial and Executive functions.
- (6) A reduction of Military expenditure.
- (7) A large extension of Primary education.
- (8) Facilities for Industrial and Technical education.
- (9) An experimental measure to deal with the indebtedness of the peasantry over a selected area."

Now that the Government of India, under the direction of the Secretary of State, are considering the question of the reform of the Legislative Councils with a view to taking some early action, it is not necessary to say anything about the necessity or the expediency of that reform. But the minimum of our demand in this respect, has been put forward by Mr. Gokhale and nothing short of it will satisfy the country or add to the efficiency of the Councils. Lord Ripon's measure for the extension of Local Self-Government in India has on the whole proved a success. In spite of the gloomy varicinations of our critics, the Council Reform Act, which for the first time introduced the elective principle into our Legislatures, has proved beyond all reasonable doubt, that there are men of culture and experience in India who in debate, in knowledge of political facts, in appreciation of critical situations can hold their own against any Englishman in the council chamber, whose presence there is a source of strength and not of weakness to Government; and whose election, although based on an extremely narrow franchise, has yet, in most cases, represented the mind of the bulk of the community. After some fifteen years of trial of this system, the time seems to have come when another step forward may be taken to increase the number of elected members in the Councils, and to enlarge and expand the body of the electorate which shall return them. Equally important is the suggestion that at least three Indians to be returned one each by the three older provinces, should be appointed to the Secretary of State's Council. Surrounded by some fifteen retired Anglo-Indians with the prejudices and prepossessions of their official life and charged with the duty of making an impartial examination of their own past acts or the acts of their successors, the Secretary of State does not present a very assuring and encouraging spectacle to the Indian mind. The official side of the Indian question the India Councillors are most competent to put before the Indian Secretary, but what guarantee there is that they are equally competent and just exponents of the non-official view, one fails to perceive. It is but bare justice that some representative-Indians should be appointed to the Council to give the Secretary of State the benefit of their intimate knowledge and wider experience of Indian matters.

However, whatever may be thought about the timeliness, the urgency, the propriety of this or that particular demand, even the most fastidious critic must admit that the reforms suggested by Mr. Gokhale are moderate, reasonable and in the long run conducive to the best interests of the Empire. To whatever criticisms they may be open, they cannot fairly be called either chimerical or revolutionary. Eminent Englishmen like Lord Northbrooke, Lord Ripon, Sir C. Dilke, Sir Richard Garth have anticipated happy results from the accomplishment of most of these reforms, and even British voters whenever they have understood their real nature and drift have expressed their approval of them. The time seems auspicious; Mr. Morley is at the helm of the Indian Government, and so our "heart hopes and yet trembles as it had never hoped and trembled before."

Mr. Gokhale having concluded his remarkable address with an inspiring passage from Mr. Ranade, one of the noblest and purest souls whom our generation has known,—the Subjects Committee was formed and after a short pause entered upon its work of framing resolutions for the deliberations of the Congress.

On Thursday, the 28th, the President having read the telegrams received from Sir P. Mehta, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras, and Mr. Lal Mohan Ghosh, expressing their sympathy with the work of the Congress and their inability to attend its meetings; and referring to the letters (published as Appendix C. with this report) addressed to the Congress by the great veteran leader, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. C. Bannerji and Mr. A. M. Bose, the death of the last two the whole country has had only recently to mourn, shorting

the Congress workers to persevere in their patriotic work and be of good cheer ; Mr. Watcha read out the rules that were to regulate the discussions. In accordance with the decision of the Subjects Committee, then, the President put from the Chair the first resolution offering on behalf of the Congress His Majesty's Indian subjects of all races and creeds its loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of their visit to India and its gratitude for Their Royal Highnesses' cordial goodwill towards the people of India ; and the resolution was carried with acclamation.

The second resolution relating to further expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils was moved in a very able and interesting speech by Hon'ble Mr. J. Chowdhri, of Calcutta. This and the fourth resolution, dealing with the representation of India in Parliament and the appointment of Indians to the Secretary of State's Council and the Executive Councils of the Governor-General and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, are really the two parts of the great question that India may be allowed an effective, if not a decisive voice in the management of her own affairs. The political conditions under which India is governed demand—and forces have come to the surface which indicate the urgency of the demand—that the basis of our constitution should be now popularised than heretofore, that Indians of ability and experience should be now largely associated with the work of Indian administration. No sane man wants parliamentary institutions for this country just now ; no Indian politician whose opinion is worth considering has ever clamoured for 'one man, one vote.' What is urged is that the Government being foreign and in its essence despotic, it is of the utmost importance that it should open for itself as many avenues as possible through which it may be enabled to reach the mind of the people and learn their real wants and requirements ; and there is no better, safer and surer way to gain this object, the desirability of which few will be inclined to dispute, than by calling to its counsels representative Indians.—Indians who possess the confidence of their fellow-countrymen and by their ability and knowledge are competent to offer useful advice to Government. The day of nomination system is over ; and with the fast spreading ferment of western ideas and aspirations the time would seem to have come when by a further extension of the elective element the instructed classes should be allowed to have some choice and voice in the administration of Indian affairs. Our Legislative Councils should be further expanded and the Government brought in closer touch with the people, by acquainting itself with their real thoughts and sentiments through their own accredited representatives. Mr. Chowdhri had no difficulty in showing the utter inadequacy of the Legislative Councils as they are constituted and worked at present. He said :—

"Gentlemen, you heard our Honourable President mention yesterday in his speech that four out of twenty-five memberships of the Supreme Legislative Council are given to us ; that only Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the North-West Provinces have the privilege of electing a member each to the Supreme Legislative Council. The rest, that is 21 seats, are at the disposal of the Government. Now, under these circumstances, you can easily imagine that the Supreme Legislative Council is not at all representative of the people. Had it been so, I have little doubt what would have been the fate of the Universities Act including the Validation Act, the Official Secrets Act and many other similar Acts, and even of the Legislation that followed the Partition of Bengal and necessarily of the Partition itself, the fate of these measures which were opposed by the whole of the Indian community and some of them by the entire Indian and Anglo-Indian communities would have been very different. But now we only enjoy the privilege of addressing our opinions or the views of the people at large before that assembly. It rests with that assembly to say aye or nay. The Council is something like a debating society where we go and discuss a measure but when it comes to a matter of decision, the decision rests with the officials."

That the same is true of the Provincial Legislative Councils was shown by Mr. Chowdhri with great force and cogency in the concluding paragraph of his speech.

"It is precisely the same" said he, "so far as the Madras and Bombay Provincial Councils are concerned. In Bombay, of the 24 memberships only 8 are elected. Out of these 8, I believe, one belongs to the Chamber of Commerce. But what is the proportion of 8 to 24 ? So in order that the voice of the people may have some weight in these Councils, at least half the seats should be given to the people and election should be by groups of different districts in the presidency or province. In Madras again, out of 24, only 7 seats pass through a system of election and even out of these 7, I believe, 1 is given to the Chamber of Commerce. * * * In the Bengal Council we have 20 members ; not 24 as in Madras or Bombay. Out of these 10 are officials and 10 non-officials. Of these 3 are given to electoral bodies. You know the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta University are no longer self-governing bodies. They have now been placed under the control

of the officials and the non-official European community. There were 52 districts in Bengal and among these only 3 memberships have been given to them. Out of the remaining seats 1 is given to the Zamindars. Of course the Zamindars should have their representatives in the Council. Curiously, election in their case is not carried on in the same manner as in Bombay. The Sirdars are allowed to select their representatives and in Sindh, the Talukdars are allowed to send their representatives. But here when the Mackenzie Bill was introduced which deprived the Calcutta Corporation of its self-governing powers, one of the Zamindars' Associations which helped Government in the matter got in the barter one seat in the Council. That is a private association. I have some knowledge of the constitutional history and constitution of Governments of different countries. I have not yet come across any system of Government under which a non-incorporated body, a loose association or a private body has been given the right of electing members to the legislature of the country. So the election by Zamindars is also a farce, and it ought to be substituted by election proper. Out of the 4 remaining seats 2 are given to the European Chamber of Commerce and to the European Trades Association and the other 2 are in the gift of the Government, and so we are always in the minority."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Ayyar, of Madras, and supported by Mr. R. P. Karandikar, of Satara, Mr. G. S. Khaparde, of Amraoti, Mr. Ali Mahommed Bhimji, of Bombay, and Babu Surrendranath Bannerjea. Mr. Khaparde, who is well-known for his enlivening and humorous speeches, described the different stages of transition undergone by the Legislative Councils as the periods of nomination, partial election and total extinction. The passage in which he amplified this short but telling description is quoted below :—

"That is how the thing is coming to be. I wish to tell you, if you happen to be walking in a forest; if you are very hungry you pick what comes to your hand and you eat it. So the Government did the same. At the first period of nomination they went about nominating whoever had obliged them, been kind and good to them and given them feasts and fruits. But whatever you get first is not necessarily the best. It has been rather insipid; it is what we used to call *jo hukum* business. When I was a student, the members of the Council used to say *jaisa hona vaise karna jo hukum*. There was one celebrated member who used to say "do it this way or the other way" (laughter). This became a very insipid business. There is no taste. People did not like it. Government also became tired of it. Then they said "we shall have partial election." The history of it has been told you over and over again. I shall not tell you that again. Then they wanted to be sure there was no poisonous drug coming in. So they held the process of double distillation. There was first an electorate college; then that college should elect to the Legislative Council. Thus began this double distillation process. But you know you may exclude the poison if you like but the double distilled liquor is rather more stimulating than the ordinary ones. That business became still more troublesome. The Government found it out and in the example of our respected President, Government was simply nauseated. When you get a very powerful stimulant and you cannot stand it, the next process is to dilute it. And Government commenced operations. I speak with great respect (laughter). To be able to legislate, they selected a celebrated antiquarian to sit on the Council whose knowledge was great in regard to the Chalukyan dynasty and other dynasty which has disappeared to all but the Orientalists. One goes and the other comes. Like the philologist's vowels they interchange. On that principle Government began the dilution process. That was employed when the University Act was passed. That is the reason why it is so exceedingly clever and wise. The object of it was to get in the dilution process. Even that dilution process did not help much. What happened? When you came to the diluted particle it would not go down. Already the undiluted matter had stuck in the throat. It leaves a bad taste behind. That is not good. Government said "Look here, we ought to do something better than this." They tried the process of total extinction. Let me come to my own Province. I call it mine because six months ago I was thrown into it. Just as my friends in Bengal complain of partition, we complain of amalgamation. In this progress of amalgamation great deal was lost. But we thought we had gained something. It was the Central Provinces which used to send one double distilled elected member to Calcutta to the Viceroy's Legislative Council. We have lost a great deal but we have also gained something. But the total extinction process was coming in. Instead of allowing District Boards and Municipalities to elect—they are after all very small things—even that was taken away and nomination was substituted. Even if you nominate a native he might say something unpleasant, and so a European was nominated."

The third resolution which dealt with the question of Excise Policy and Administration was entrusted to Sir Bhalebandra Krishna, the eminent temperance reformer of Bombay. The Congress protested against the exclusion of the non-official element from the Excise Committee and reiterated its conviction "that the recognition of the principle of local option in practical administration and a large reduction in the number of existing liquor-shops are conditions precedent to any satisfactory reform in Excise Administration." The Excise revenue had increased during last twenty years from 31 millions to 61 millions and yet the Government professes to have great regard for the material and moral progress of the people of India. The fact of the matter is, that to use the words of Mr. Nateson of Madras, the seconder of the resolution, "the revenue officers are more anxious for the revenue than for the moral and spiritual welfare of the people." The demand of the Congress was based on the deliberate

opinion of one of the Government's own officers, and this point was brought out very clearly by the mover in his speech. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna said:—

“ We put all the different points which were raised by the Memorandum that has been alluded to in this resolution, prepared and submitted to the Government of India by Sir Frederick Lely, a very clever and energetic revenue officer of the Bombay Presidency. He was Commissioner of the Northern Division and, in his capacity as an Additional Member of the Viceroy's Council, he submitted this Memorandum to the Government of India. It included three or four important points which have been urged on the attention of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments by the different temperance workers in the whole of the country. These points are local option, the opening, and distance of shops in villages and country towns, the opening of shops at religious gatherings, fairs and cricket matches, and last, though not least, the employment of bar-maids, the employment of women to sell liquor at these liquorshops. These points were very cogently urged upon the attention of the Government of India by Sir Frederick Lely, one of their own chosen officers, Member of the Imperial Legislative Council and afterwards Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. That Memorandum, brother-delegates, is the *vaide mecum* of all temperance workers. It was submitted to the Government of India. What do you think has been the result? It was not a Memorandum submitted by faddists, not by temperance workers, but by a man who knew the policy of the Government of India, who ruled and in fact actually earned revenue from the different provinces in his capacity as Commissioner and Collector of Revenue. That man felt it as his duty that all these grievances should be placed before the Government of India. The Government of India, in a resolution and letter, said that they were very sorry that such a state of things existed, and expressed a pious hope that they would be able to deal with some of these. The Government of Bombay did not even express a pious wish but simply said that they did not admit what Sir Frederick Lely wrote. That is the policy of the Government in spite of the several despatches of the Secretary of State and the Government of India expressing that the vice of drink should not extend throughout the country in spite of the protest of the temperance workers and others and in spite of the protest, continued protest of this Congress.”

Mr. Nareson made a very good point when quoting a sentence from an address of Lord Curzon to the Army Temperance Association at Simla to the effect that “ if every Commanding Officer in India were told that he himself would be judged by the sobriety of his regiment and that a flourishing canteen would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel it would be an excellent thing,” he arraigned the Government of India on the basis of this declaration and said that “ If the Government of India says to us that there is an excess of excise revenue we may say that just as a flourishing canteen would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel, so also a flourishing excise revenue would be looked upon as a mark of the Government of India being absolutely a bad Government.” Mr. S. S. Bhatia, of Lahore, who supported the resolution with all the earnestness of a practical Temperance worker, described the condition of the Punjab under the present system of excise administration in the following words:—

“Take Amritsar, the city of the Golden Temple, and it is studded with liquor shops. Thousands and lakhs of pilgrims come there from far and near to bathe in the sacred tank and drown their health in the dens placed as so many temptations in the path of the unwary pilgrim. I will relate to you a sad incident. Some years back a central distillery was established in that city and, to go further, a picture of the Golden Temple was adopted as a brand on the bottles. There was naturally a sensation and a protest, and the brand was given up but the bottle remained and we have the questionable honour of supplying liquor to the whole province (shame). Take the case of another of our biggest towns. Miss Belgarine, an esteemed lady, the delegate of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, went round the shops in Lahore and gave it as her deliberate opinion in a public meeting that no where during her tour round the world had she come across a more openly disgraceful state of things. We have in our midst the system of back doors. The front door may be closed at the regulation time but the back doors, one or more, may be plying the whole night long. There are shops again which have practically got no doors to close. They believe in the policy of the open door.

Fancy, gentlemen, that *Bhang* shops flourished openly at Amritsar until the Amritsar Temperance Society the other day moved and made it impossible for them to exist any longer. When this is the sad state of things, do you require to be told, gentlemen, why crime is increasing in the Punjab, litigation is prospering, morals are deteriorating and the physique of the people of the sword-hand of India is going down and getting stunted? It is time that the Government gave this aspect of the case their serious consideration.”

After such a plain and matter of fact indictment of the Abkari administration, the resolution could not but be carried unanimously.

The fourth resolution which dealt with the question of Representation of Indians in the British House of Commons, the Secretary of State's Council and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay was closely allied to the second resolution already passed by the Congress. In fact as remarked already they are parts of one whole. The second resolution dealt with the question of representation of Indians in the Legislative Councils. But this is not enough. The welfare of a country depends not only on laws but also the spirit in which they are administered. The

people of India desire that before any administrative measure is finally adopted the Viceroy and the Secretary of State may have an opportunity of hearing the Indian side of the question as well. The House of Commons is the final Court of Appeal in all matters relating to India, and nothing can show the confidence and trust reposed by Indians in the righteous instincts of the British people than the modest request that India may be allowed to be represented by a score of men in a House consisting of 670 members. The mere voting strength of the Indian representatives would be insignificant but their moral influence is bound to be considerable in an assembly of English gentlemen. Mr. Srinivas Rao, of Madras, who moved this resolution in an earnest and well informed speech explained the meaning and significance of the three clauses of which the resolution consisted in a plain and straightforward manner.

"The resolution" he said, "consists of three parts and I shall reverse the process in order that it may bring home to your minds the manner in which we proceed to understand the conditions of the thing. We will first see and examine clause (c). You know, as a matter of fact, that in the Councils of the Governor-General and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay there are two European Civilians who are associated with the Governor in the administration of the country. You know what difficulties generally crop up and how all that concerns us—I mean, Indians—is not placed before the Council so that the best interests of the country might be served. In order to avoid that, it is requested in clause (c) that so far as the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras are concerned it is just possible, when the time comes or next year that we meet, to add one more to them. We request Government that one Indian Member should be placed on the Executive Councils in these two Provinces, and also to have two Indians so far as the Governor-General's Executive Council is concerned. The importance of this is so great and so well known that it is unnecessary that I should take up any portion of your time in urging it. The resolution specially in this part has been repeatedly placed before the Congress in past years, and because our prayer is not granted, we are now repeating it so that we may move the Government on the same point again. Clause (b) is the next part which you have to take into consideration. When in the year 1857 there was a scheme for the transfer of the administration of the country from the East India Company to the Crown, Mr. Disraeli pointed out the importance of having some gentlemen of this country to represent India on the Council. Fifty years have nearly elapsed. Has any thing been done in this direction? None at all. Therefore, we are quite within our legitimate bounds to ask the Government to grant us this prayer. The third clause which is the first on the paper is with regard to the bestowal on each of the Provinces of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the House of Commons. You know this is a body which consists of 670 men, and so far as we are concerned if the prayer is granted we shall probably have 18 or 20 gentlemen to go from the nine or ten provinces of India. Compared to 670, 20 will not be much. But nevertheless there will be a handful where we have none at all, and the work which they will do will, if done zealously, advance the interests of our country to a great extent."

The resolution having been seconded by Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, of Bombay, in a cogent and well-reasoned speech and supported by Mr. S. R. Das, of Calcutta, and Mr. Fazlul Hasan, of Aligarh, was carried unanimously.

The next resolution asked for periodical Parliamentary enquiries and for placing the salary of the Secretary of State for India on the British estimates. This is an old Congress resolution and our friends in the House of Commons have drawn attention to these propositions in the British Parliament more than once. Their justice and utility can be hardly denied and Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai, of Ahmedabad, the mover of the resolution, had no difficulty in establishing his proposition and in proving that if past experience can be a guide to the future the request which the Congress was making was amply justified. The resolution was seconded by Babu Tarpada Banerji, of Krishnagar, and supported by Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, of Madras, in an eloquent and convincing speech. He said :—

"The periodical enquiry to which the administration of this country was subjected at the hands of Parliament under the dictates of the people who were a zealous body of monopolists has ceased to be made, and because that enquiry has not been made, the British people, the great British nation, is not aware of the real situation of the various problems that are agitating the minds of the people of the country (hear, hear). We are not asking for any particular boon from the British people or the British Parliament (hear, hear). We want them to understand our position. We want them to enquire into our condition; we want them to study the problems that are engaging the attention of the people and the administrators of India; and with the knowledge so acquired we want them to govern this country with wisdom. Gentlemen, in 1773 which was one of the years in which the East India Company's Charter had to be renewed, the regulating Act was passed. The year 1793 witnessed the great Permanent Settlement that was inaugurated by the Government of Lord Cornwallis. In the year 1813, another stage in the renewal of the Company's Charter, the great book was prepared which is known as the Fifth Report of Parliament, and which contains a record of the rights of land-lords and ryots of this country. In the year 1833, it was first announced

by the British Parliament that the people of this country shall know no distinction from the people of England in all the offices, in the emoluments and in all that is good in this land, so far as it is possible for the government of the country to confer upon any body (cheers). In the year 1855 the doors of the Civil Service were thrown open for competition. It was no longer the case of writers or clerks being selected by a particular body of men to administer the officer of this country, but it was through the open door of competition which knew no distinction of class, creed or race—it was through this door that the governors of this country were to come. Now, gentlemen, in 1858 the Government of the country was transferred to the Crown. Then ceased all further enquiry on the part of Parliament into the administration of the affairs of this land. It is true that there have been Committees of Parliament occasionally appointed. It is true that in 1874 there was a Committee of Parliament under the inspiration of M. Fawcett to enquire into the condition of this country, and that was followed by great results. It is true also there was the Welby Commission appointed much later; and although the fruits of their labours were not much, still even that Commission was able to reduce the burden of this country to the extent of £250,000 a year. This shows the great advantages which this country has enjoyed from periodical Parliamentary enquiries.”

As for the second part of the proposition, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer but moved the feelings of his countrymen when he said that “it was a policy of melancholy meanness in dealing with the salary of the Secretary of State and placing to the expenditure of the revenues of India while the salary of the Secretary of State for the colonies, the salary of the Secretary of State for War, and the salary of the Home Secretary are all on the Home estimates * * * * .” The resolution was carried unanimously.

The next resolution, which was the last resolution of the day, dealt with the all-important Public Service Question. It was moved by Mr. N. M. Samarth, of Bombay, in an exhaustive, well-reasoned and vigorous speech, in which the speaker tore to shreds the illogical logic of the late Viceroy. This is how he dealt with the famous or rather the infamous Rislely Resolution.

“Our resolution says that the Rislely Resolution is inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. That is our contention, and I am prepared to prove it up to the hilt. To put it briefly, the Rislely Resolution lays down that so far as the sphere of public service in India is concerned, a certain portion of it shall, for all time, be open practically to Englishmen alone on account of their possessing, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing and partly by education, those qualifications which are needed for successful administration and which the Indian subjects do not and can never possess; that outside this sacred circle of a *corps d'elite*, there will be a second circle open both to Englishmen and Indians, but even in this there may be, in certain departments, a strong admixture, and some times even a great preponderance of the European element on account of Europeans possessing those high qualities of mind and body which nature has denied to Indians. The main features of this Resolution are these:—firstly, its seeks to make a distinction between Englishmen as the dominant or governing race and Indians as the subject race in India; secondly, it says distinctly that a certain portion of the public service in India shall never be open to Indians but shall be exclusively reserved for Englishmen, as Indians are, by nature, an inferior race. All this disregards, discards and scatters to the wind the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. The section of the Act of 1833, which is pertinent in this connection, reads thus:—

‘And be it enacted that no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company.’

The wording of this section is too clear to need comment. It removed the disqualification of those born in India for holding any place, office or employment on the ground of their race, colour or creed. No effect was given to this enactment for nearly twenty years, and turning over the Blue Books, one finds for the first time Lord Ellenborough writing a long minute on the subject, regretting the fact that the statute had remained a dead letter and recommending the appointment of one Indian, Dr. Chukerbutty, to a covenanted post on the ground, among others, that some effect be given to the provision in order that Indians may not feel that Englishmen make empty promises, never meaning to carry them out. A few years after, came the proclamation of a gracious Sovereign and the clause in that solemn document in respect of which Lord Curzon employed all the casulstry and sophistry which were the characteristic features of his rhetoric, runs thus:—

‘And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.’ Lord Curzon made the attempt to play the Jesuit with the expression ‘so far as may be’ which occurs in this clause and to spell out of it a justification for keeping the higher grades of the public service as a monopoly for Englishmen. That is an interpretation, which I venture to think, is neither ingenious nor ingenuous (cheers). The words ‘so far as may be,’ refer to the *modus operandi* by which the whole field of the public service is to be occupied by the people, namely, by qualifying themselves for it by education, ability and integrity. The clause in effect holds forth to the people of India the prospect of Self-government as the reward of self-development (cheers). While the Section in the Act of 1823 was only a negative one,—removal of disability,—the clause in the Proclamation is positive, pledging the Sovereign’s word to the ultimate evolution of a self-governing India in so far as such a consummation may be brought about by the process prescribed therein, namely, free and impartial admission to office

of subjects, not on the ground of race or creed but on the sole ground of education, ability and integrity. That this is the correct interpretation is made clearer still by reference to the previous clause in which the attitude of the Sovereign towards the subject races is embodied. That clause is a very important one and runs thus:—

‘We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.’

“This clause embodies the Sovereign’s Pledge that there is to be for India no distinction between a governing or dominant English race and a subject one consisting of Indians, that the natives of India are not the subjects of Englishmen, but fellow-subjects with Englishmen of a common Sovereign (cheers). All that follows is in fact but the application of this pledge in particular instances. Mark the words:—‘Same obligations of duty which bind us to *all our other* subjects.’ These words preclude the idea of Englishmen, being the governing race and Indians being a subject race (cheers). This is the proper interpretation of the Proclamation and I challenge any other interpretation of that solemn document by any one however highly placed he may be.”

The advocates of the Indian people have, in fact, from the very beginning taken their stand on the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858, and had always insisted that the one sole test for the public service should be *merit* and that those Indians who satisfy this test should not be debarred from highest State employments merely on the ground of race or colour. The existence of this principle, however uncomfortable and inconvenient it might have been to our Anglo-Indian friends, was not challenged by them and though they did try and try successfully to make it a dead letter in practice, yet in theory at least they were compelled to acknowledge it. It was reserved for Lord Curzon, the greatest Viceroy since Dalhousie and the traducer of Oriental character, to try to pervert the meaning of the generous and gracious pledges of our late Empress and Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, of Lucknow, the seconder of the resolution, rightly gave expression to the resentment of the educated classes at the Jesuitical sophistry and tortuous interpretations of the noble lord when he said:—

“Now, gentlemen, in the face of this statement Lord Curzon had the hardihood to say that our claims to Public Service are treated with a liberality unexampled in the History of the world. When he was confronted with the Act of 1833 he turns round upon his critic unabashed and says ‘Oh yes I know all that.’ But don’t you see the closing words contain the qualification—mark the phrase—‘so far as may be.’ That is the qualification; the application of this principle is to be qualified and limited by the test of practical expediency. Sir, in plain English, to my mind, it means nothing but that the Queen’s words were a fraud practised upon the people of this country at the end of the greatest crisis in the history of India. No, Sir, I put no such interpretation. I most emphatically and solemnly protest against this selfish, unjust and impossible policy of the Government of India. It is not only a great betrayal of the honor of the British Sovereign and the British Parliament but I believe that if it is adopted and followed by Lord Curzon’s successors in future years in the interests of the dominant race, then, Sir, to my mind it will go very far indeed to shake that faith in British honour and that sentiment of loyalty in the people upon which more than anything else depends the permanence and the stability of British rule in India (cheers).”

The peroration of his scholarly, eloquent and vigorous speech in which he bade his hearers be of good cheer is also worth quoting:—

“If you ask me, gentlemen,” said he, “whether there is any chance of success in this matter I say that so far as the Government in this country is concerned I do not hope for much. The tide of reaction is running high in this country; we have seen the passing of the Sedition Law, we have seen the passing of the Official Secrets Act, we have seen our national character traduced and calumniated by the greatest representative of the Sovereign (hisses), we have seen the Military power triumph over the Civil power, and lastly we have seen the Partition of Bengal, the suppression of the Swadeshi movement by coercion and force and the infamous circular of Mr. Fuller (hisses), we have seen all these. Well may John Morley, the present Secretary of State, say of such rulers and administrators that after having won India by breaking all the ten commandments they found it difficult to maintain it on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The darkest hour is close to the dawn; in the midst of this darkness to the eye of faith that can look into the future there yet shines the morning star of old (cheers). As certainly as there is God’s justice in this world, as certainly as there is God’s truth in this world, so certainly the cause of justice and the cause of truth by the blessing of God will not fail (cheers).”

The resolution was supported by Mr. Sineon, of Allahabad, and the Honorable Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, of Tinnevely, and passed unanimously.

The Congress met the next day at 11-30 A. M. The first resolution of the day which was placed before the delegates by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, of Madras, dealt with the difficult but very important subject of Finance. It has been said that sound Finances are at the foundation of the prosperity of the State, and it is, therefore, no wonder that financial questions have been receiving increasing

attention for several years past at the hands of the Congress. Mr. Subramania Iyer is an authority on the question with which he dealt, and his lucid exposition of facts and the arguments based on those facts was listened to with marked attention. He said :—

“ The sum and substance of this resolution is this : that for some years past the Government of India have been taking, from the pockets of the people, more taxes than are required for the current administrative expenses of the State and, therefore, that the additional burden placed upon the people by this excessive revenue should be reduced, firstly, by remission of taxation, by far larger remission than has taken place ; secondly, by giving a portion of the revenues back to the people in the shape of beneficial services rendered to Municipal Councils and other local institutions, and for purposes directly concerning the civil internal condition of the country. Gentlemen, you are aware that these so-called surpluses are not surpluses derived from the increased prosperity of the people, but are entirely derived from additional taxation, additional taxation imposed upon the people, for the specific purpose of meeting the loss, the growing loss, from exchange as it was called. Year after year, for the space of six years, additional taxes were imposed upon the people for the specific and avowed purpose of meeting the loss from exchange. These additional taxes were patiently borne by the people in view of the increasing embarrassment of the State. But it appeared at one time that there was likely to be no need to this embarrassment caused by fluctuations in exchange. Therefore, the Government of India resolved upon legislation by which the exchange value of the rupee was fixed. But once the exchange value of the rupee was fixed by legislation, the so-called loss by exchange had ceased. It, therefore, followed that the taxes that were levied for the explicit purpose of meeting the loss from exchange should also cease, this loss from exchange having ceased. But somehow or other these taxes have been continued, even though the exchange had become steady. That being so, we now demand from the Government that for the past six years and longer the Government have had more than they wanted for the purpose of administration; although such was the case, they have still maintained additional taxes besides the indirect taxation that currency imposed upon the people; therefore, we ask that this additional taxation should be remitted and given back to the people. In fact, it is calculated that during the past six years nearly 45 crores have been taken from the pockets of the people over and above that the State wanted for its expenditure.”

To the contention that this surplus was being spent mostly for the benefit of the people, the speaker replied as follows:—

“ After all it may be contended that most of the expenditure was incurred for good purposes, but there are numberless good objects which the State can undertake, and there must be some limit to the amount of expenditure incurred from the pockets of the people. There is some principle which the Government of India, as well as the Governments of other countries, must bear in mind. However beneficial may be the purposes for which the Government takes money from the pockets of the people, every rupee taken from the pockets of the people for purposes of the State cannot be so well spent as every rupee left in the pockets of the people. The State can spend the money of the people on purposes ever so good, but every rupee left in the pockets of the people fructifies and reproduces itself much more than the money taken from the people by the Government in the shape of taxation. Therefore, it is altogether an erroneous and delusive principle because the money taken from the pockets of the people is spent on beneficial purposes, it is, therefore, spent on best purposes. The resources of the people must be left as far as possible to fructify in the pockets of the people, and the expenditure must be limited within proper limits. The great maxim should be to tax moderately and to spend economically. Therefore, we say now that you have 6 or 7 crores more than what is wanted; remit a portion of it to the people. You have no doubt remitted a portion of the salt tax and some other remission has been given, but that is not enough. There is plenty of scope for further reduction and remission to the ryots living in parts sorely afflicted by famine, and who will, therefore, welcome any relief given to them. You also imposed a very improper excise duty on cotton manufactures. That was simply to please the Manchester and Lancashire manufacturers. You can, therefore, remit that excise duty and further remit taxes. You can also spend whatever money is still left for the direct benefit of the people in the ways suggested in this resolution, in the shape of increased grants to Scientific and Agricultural education, to Medical relief and to Municipalities and Local Boards.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Mudholkar, of Amraoti, who is well-known in Congress circles as an earnest patriot and sound thinker, and he did not fail to take the Government to task for their policy of extravagance on the one hand and for starving education on the other. This is what he said:—

“ There have been heavy taxes imposed. Government have made large profits by what is called steadying exchange, and yet no sufficient attempt whatsoever has been made to remit taxes. Last year, out of the vast sums which the Government have had volunteered, a sum of 35 lakhs was allotted for the purpose of Primary education, and 56 lakhs were given as grant-in-aid to the District bodies. But the aid which is necessary, however, to have been given for purposes of Scientific, Agricultural and Industrial education has not at all been given. I do not want to go over the ground gone over by our friend Mr. Subramanya Iyer. I shall but draw your attention to those things which have not been touched in his speech. The military expenditure has, from 1884, been growing up every year. In 1884, 17 crores nearly were spent on military purposes. Now the military expenditure has gone up to 30½ crores of rupees. Nearly 13 crores have been taken out of the pockets of the poor for military purposes. This year, Government is going to spend not only for what is considered as required for the existence of the army, but they have got vast schemes. Some time ago there was the Re-armament scheme. We have now got the Mobilization scheme, and 3 crores every year are intended to be spent for what are called building barracks and other things for military purposes. It is not only military expenditure which has been growing, but civil expenditure also. During the last 3 years, 1½ crores have been added to the civil expenditure. During the last

3 years, 194 places of over Rs. 500 have been created. Out of them 166 have been given to Europeans (shame). Well this is the way in which money is spent for military purposes and for creating high berths for Europeans. The most important thing, namely, Scientific and Technical instructions, is wholly and utterly unheeded."

The resolution having been seconded by Babu Mauthra Das, of Sindh, was carried unanimously.

The next resolution dealt with the allied subject of military expenditure. The Congress protested against the alarming increase of military expenditure (which has now reached 22 millions) and the want of control on the part of the people to which that alarming increase in no small measure was due. Mr. Wadia, of Bombay, who moved this resolution, brought out this point very clearly in the following passage of his speech:—

"And yet, gentlemen, what have we seen? His Majesty's Ministers have overruled Lord Curzon and the whole of the Government of India at the behest of this unsafe adviser. One of the benefits that we have already derived from the change of ministry is that the present Prime Minister has declared that he will never allow Military service to overrule Civil Control. For this we are thankful; but remember, gentlemen, that this Civil Control exists only in theory, and hitherto in practice Civil Control has been very little indeed. Year after year we have seen Commander-in-Chief and Military Members of the Government of India received *carte blanche* from the Civil Authorities to draw as much as they liked, and to draw as long as they liked, upon the impoverished Exchequer of India. Some of our Finance Ministers, when freed from the trammels of office, have confessed how little they could influence the Commander-in-Chief and Military Member when they lead the Viceroy captive. This Civil Control can be exercised adequately only when the representatives of the taxpayers of India are in a position to influence and to control those in whom the Civil Control is vested. If any proof were wanted of the misery of India's defenceless position, it is found in this Military controversy. Not only was the Government of India overruled, but the Secretary of State's Council was overruled, and the Parliament was hoodwinked. You all thought, we all thought, gentlemen, that when His Majesty's Ministers allowed the Indian Budget to be brought at an earlier date, there would be some benefit for India. But it was not so. The Budget was brought in. Within a few days afterwards the whole correspondence between Lord Kitchener and Lord Curzon was published. When the Parliament discussed the Indian Budget the Parliament was never informed, and was not put in knowledge of all that was going on with regard to this controversy."

Mr. Wadia also contended and there could not be any answer to this contention that "as these expenses are incurred for the purposes of the Empire, it is not India alone that ought to bear that burden but that burden ought to be shared by the British Exchequer and the Empire at large." The resolution having been duly seconded and supported was passed unanimously.

The treatment which is meted out to Indians in British Colonies, particularly the South African Colonies, is a disgrace and a scandal. It is sometimes urged by the Europeans that Asiatic immigration into a whiteman's country is undesirable because the two races cannot amalgamate, and it further tends to the lowering of the standard of living among the former. If that be so why do the Europeans thrust themselves in Asiatic and African countries? Why was this policy of exclusion not allowed to be practical by non-European nations? Why was China compelled to open her ports to the European exploiter, and why were the Tibetans slaughtered because they wanted to keep the all-absorbing European out? This policy assumes even a more irrational and unjust aspect when the immigrants happen to belong to the same Empire. Englishmen are supposed to think imperially yet this is the treatment which they mete out to the Indian citizens of their Empire. We quote a few sentences from the speech of Dr. Moonjee of Nagpur.

"We are boycotted as a nation in every respect, both in India and out of India, particularly in the British Colonies, to an extent of which those who have not personally seen the actual state of things prevailing there, can have no idea. With the Colonists, that word Indian has no other meaning than a mere stout cooly. It is completely beyond the powers of comprehension of a Colonist that an Indian cooly, as he is called there, can be a high court judge by dint of his own intelligence! An Indian cannot travel by the first and second class carriages; he cannot enter the main station building but has to be satisfied with a small thatched hut situated at a long distance from the main station building. He is not admitted in the hotel because they do not take coolies in. He is not allowed to live in the main town but he is obliged to have his being in locations where we are required to pay the usual municipal taxes without claiming the rights and privileges; otherwise we are loudly proclaimed to be undesirables and breakers of public peace. We cannot walk by the foot-path which is there reserved for gentlemen only, but should we have the imprudence to walk by it, every Colonist has the right to drag him out into the centre of the road which is meant for beasts of burden as cattle and horses and carriages. We should not go into trams, otherwise we should be prepared to be kicked out of them for our inexcusable impudence of defiling the seats which are reserved for the Europeans. The traders there cannot be allowed to have their own way even in the matter of selection of their clerks and servants."

And not to speak of the older Colonies, our position is becoming worse and worse in the Transvaal, which is a Crown Colony, and yet we were told by members of the Cabinet which made the war that one of the main causes of the outbreak of war was the bad treatment of the Indians by the Boers. This is how Mr. Madanjit, the mover of the resolution, who spoke with all the authority of local knowledge, described the condition of British Indians in the Transvaal.

"In the Transvaal there is no comparison between our position of to-day and that in the time of the Boer regime. We could enter trade and even own landed properties in one way or other, but during and after the war, through the instrumentality of Lord Milner, we could not enter or own landed property, and had it not been for the judgment of the Supreme Court no Indian might have been left in the country to trade. Sir, it is he and Arthur Lawley, Governor Designate of Madras, who instigated district boards and different associations of the Colony and different Governments of South Africa to agitate against the British Indians so that 'their hands might be strengthened' against anything that the Secretary of State for the Colony might say on behalf of the Indians. The result is that anti-Indian agitations, under the auspices of the High Commissioner and different governments of the country, are being carried on and even boycott of our countrymen is resorted to. When Lord Milner left South Africa, British Indians felt a relief, but that relief was only short-lived, for Lord Selbourne, the present High Commissioner, seems to have imbibed all the policy of his predecessor so far as the British Indians are concerned. In one of his speeches to a deputation of Europeans he says 'no Indians who were not here before the war will be admitted into the country till you have your own parliament, and by your own representatives you can express your own opinion. I gave you that assurance as your Governor and High Commissioner.' Before the war India was spoken of as the British Empire, to be exploited and plucked and plundered of all its valuable contents. One of the causes of war, according to Lord Lansdowne, was the ill-treatment the Boer Government meted out to the British Indians, and we became 'the sons of the Empire after all.' But as soon as the war ceased, we were forbidden to enter without a permit, and now according to Lord Selbourne, no Indian could enter the country before the Colonists could make their own laws through their own representatives. Thousands of refugees are rotting in adjoining colonies or out of them waiting for their permit."

Is it any wonder that Indians accuse the British Government of breach of faith and insist that either it is heartless or powerless? The British Government, there is no doubt, is losing some of its prestige in India because of its exhibition of helplessness. It is also losing some of its moral weight because many believe that this helplessness is only feigned. To quote the words of Mr. Sarma, the seconder of the resolution:—

"One of the ostensible causes of the late Boer War was the cruel treatment of the Boer Republic of the subject Indian races when Boers were in power. Indian troops were lent, Indian troops were freely placed at the disposal of the Empire, Indian blood was shed in the battle-field and Indians showed their loyalty and devotion to the British throne. But what has been the result? It is too potent to require any detailed description. Year after year in Congress session, after Congress session, in South Africa, in Australia, in India and in England, have we emphatically protested against this cruel injustice. Even the British Indian Government, even the Government of India, we are extremely thankful to them for small mercies, have expressed their sympathy with us. But with regard to responsible British statesmen, what has been their attitude in this matter? They have told you in plain and unmistakable terms that they cannot help you, that the Colonies are self-governing Colonies, and, therefore, they are not in a position to interfere. Like a decrepit old father who is unable to separate himself from the aggressive eldest born who wishes to rule the family to his own advantage, despotically, unjustly and unrighteously, England, jealous of her nominal suzerainty over the Colonies, has given way in this and other points to the susceptibilities and feelings of the Colonies; and unless we help ourselves I do not expect any radical improvement in the future. Gentlemen, of the Colonial Legislature, instead of treating Indians alone in this fashion, had chosen to pass a law that they would exclude, in their own interests, emigrants from some portion of the British Isles or from Germany or France, do you mean to say that the Government would have confessed its inability to deal with the situation? Would the Government be allowed to do so? It is only because the helpless and at present weak inhabitants, 300,000,000, of India it is because their destinies are at stake at present, that England fails, for expediency's sake, to move in the matter."

The resolution was passed unanimously.

The next resolution which was placed before the Congress by Mr. R. C. Dutt related to the separation of Executive and Judicial functions and the recruitment of the Judiciary. The system as it exists at present is a blot on civilization for in no civilized country are the functions of the prosecutor and the Judge combined. The examples of the Executive *Zulum* as a consequence of "the usual slip to the Deputy Magistrate," as one of the supporters of the resolution called it, are neither few nor far between, and yet the Indian Government, though admitting the justice and fairness of the proposal, fights shy of it for considerations of prestige. Mr. R. C. Dutt, who spoke on this question with the authority of a retired Civilian and the ample knowledge of an expert, had

no difficulty in disposing of this argument, the only argument which is urged against this just and righteous reform. Said Mr. Dutt:—

“ It is often said, that to take away Judicial powers from the District Officers would lower his prestige and the prestige of the British Rule which he represents. The very contrary of this is the fact. It is the combination Executive and Judicial powers in the District Officer which lowers the prestige of British Rule in India,—to separate those functions would heighten the prestige of the British Government, and make it far more popular in India. I am sure if the District Officer was relieved of his Judicial functions, if he devoted the whole of his time to Executive work, to watching the condition of the people in villages, ministering to their wants, improving their condition, fostering their agriculture and trade, encouraging their manufactures, constructing roads and tanks, and in all ways representing the wishes and aspirations of the people,—he would be a far more popular and useful officer, and the alien Government which he represents would be far more in touch with the people. It is a political blunder, as the Government will find out before long, to arm the Chief Executive Officer with the powers of the Police and the Magistracy, to place him among the people as their dreaded punisher instead of as their representative and friend, and to forge a link of fear instead of a link of affection between the people and the Government. It would be an act of true political wisdom to make the District Officer, who represents British Rule among the masses, a popular friend and a true representative of the people.”

The second part of the resolution which dealt with the recruitment of the judiciary was discussed by Hon. Mr. Setalwad, of Bombay, in a short and well-reasoned speech. Mr. Setalwad said :—

“ Bearing that in mind, any person with the least acquaintance with the working of our Courts, will tell you that for a proper discharge of these responsible duties what is necessary is not only complete mastery over Indian Statute Law and the intricate system of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, but also a complete acquaintance with English law and English equity. How is a Covenanted Assistant Judge or Joint Judge fitted by his training to discharge these duties. As Assistant Collector he has nothing to do with these matters of justice excepting criminal matters. He is called upon to pass an examination in the Criminal Procedure Code, in the Evidence Act and in the Indian Penal Code. At no time really he has had any training in Hindu and Mahomedan laws, English law, English Case law and English Equity. Still these responsible duties are placed in the hands of people who are not trained to carry them out. It must be remembered that however well this system might have worked in the early sixties, the conditions of the country have entirely changed. Round our Courts in the Mofussal has grown up a strong bar consisting of Law Graduates turned out in hundreds by the University and well equipped in law ; and round the District Judge have grown Subordinate Judges also turned out in hundreds by our Indian Universities. Assistant Judges, Joint Judges and District Judges naturally suffer in comparison, with the result that the prestige of Law courts in India as administered by these gentlemen naturally suffers.”

Having been supported by Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, of Allahabad, and by Babu Bishn Pada Chatterji, of Bengal, the resolution was carried amid enthusiastic cheers.

The next resolution which was moved by Mr. Sinha, of Allahabad, dealt with the Police question. It protested mainly against the exclusion of Indians from the higher grades of the Police service and the creation of a *corps d'elite* for the Europeans. As explained by the mover “ employments in the higher ranks of the Police have been thrown open in England by means of competition exclusively confined to the Natives of the British Isles.” No wonder that Mr. Sinha characterised it as an “ infringement of the Queen's Proclamation,” and the policy of the Anglo-Indian Government was condemned by speaker after speaker. This resolution having been duly passed, the Congress adjourned for till 3 p. m.

When the Congress re-assembled at 3 p. m. the President asked Babu Surrendra Nath Banerji to move the Partition resolution. The Partition of Bengal, hatched in secret and carried out in the teeth of strong and persistent popular opposition, was perhaps the most heinous of those political blunders which were committed by Lord Curzon during the latter part of his Indian regime, and which have made his name a bye-word and a reproach throughout the length and breadth of the Indian Continent. The policy of concealment and secrecy which preceded the launching of the resolution of the 16th of October and that of repression and persecution which has followed it are in an eminent degree unfair and un-British, and they have roused an amount of discontent and resentment unparalleled in the history of political agitation in India. In fact the repressive policy of Lord Curzon—and whatever else might be said we know that repression was at the bottom of Partition—is only the backwash of that “ Imperialism ” which is associated in England with the name of Mr. Chamberlain, and nobody can wonder if its means and

ends do not often conform to the recognised rules of ethics. The resolution of the Congress protested against partition, but in protesting against partition it really protested against the spirit of the entire policy of Lord Curzon. It was moved by Babu Surrendra Nath Banerji in a speech of earnest, fervid and passionate eloquence, and never had his oratory found readier and deeper response than it did on that December afternoon.

The opening sentences of his speech glowed with the fervour of his fiery patriotism, and we make no apology for quoting them :—

“ Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, after the inspiring strains of *Bande Mataram* it is meet and proper that this resolution should be placed before this House, the subject matter being one which has convulsed the whole of Bengal (A VOICE : the whole of India). I rejoice to learn that our griefs, our sorrows, our disappointments and our trials are sympathised with by brother-delegates throughout the rest of the country (cheers). Encouraged by our moral support which we need as much as you can give, we are prepared to fight undaunted the battles of Bengal and the battles of India (cheers). I think, Sir, I am not guilty of the slightest exaggeration when I say that no question has within the life of this generation, so profoundly stirred the hearts of our countrymen or has given rise to such wide-spread and intense dissatisfaction, irritation and indignation as the Partition of our Province—our beautiful Motherland. In our Province this question is the talk of the market place; it is the gossip of the family circle, it is the burden of popular song, it is the themes of the inspiring eloquence of popular oratory (cheers). I never knew until now that my language, the language of my mother, the language in which she spoke to me and I spoke to her, was capable of such marvellous use for the purpose of the explanation, argument and inspiration (cheers). Sir, the year 1905 is one of the darkest and saddest in our annals, relieved by the reflection that it witnessed an upheaval of national life and an awakening of national consciousness without parallel in our history (loud cheers). Lord Curzon has divided our Province (shame); he has sought to bring about the disintegration of our race (shame), and to destroy the solidarity of our popular opinion. Has he succeeded in this novel endeavour (no, no)? He has built better than he knew; he has laid broad and deep the foundations of our national life (cheers), he has stimulated those forces which contribute to the up-building of nations (cheers); he has made us a nation (hear, hear); and the most reactionary of the Indian Viceroy's will go down to posterity as the Architect of the Indian National life (hear, hear).”

Mr. Banerji having dealt with the history of Partition and having shown how illiberal and ignoble were the methods of Lord Curzon and his lieutenants concluded with the following magnificent peroration :—

“ If our rulers think that they will repress us in this way, kill the Anti-Partition movement by having recourse to despotic Russian methods they are greatly mistaken. Repression will not daunt us (hear, hear); rather it will stiffen us in our opposition to the Partition, and our support of the Swadeshi movement (cheers). The blood of the martyrs is the cement of the church (cheers); and our cause will be consecrated by the sufferings of our young martyrs. We regard that cause to be of divine origin. Rightly or wrongly we believe ourselves to be humble instruments in the hands of the Almighty Providence (cheers), walking under the illumination of His Holy Spirit. Call it delusion; call it superstition; call it fanaticism; reckon us as being among the deluded maniacs of mankind. You have read lessons of history in vain if you do not realize the fact that men fortified by such belief and working under such conviction are irresistible and invincible; there is no danger which they are not ready to brave, no difficulty which they are not prepared to surmount. The Partition is now an accomplished fact; it has been carried out, but we at any rate do not regard it as an accomplished fact. The resolution says that the Bengalis have exhibited considerable disinclination to regard it as an accomplished fact, and the resolution says truly. And, gentlemen, if you read the resolution you will find that the essence of our prayer is that we want the entire Bengali community to be placed under the same common administration. We do not want to be separated from our kith and kin. Is that not an aspiration which is reasonable and righteous, and is there any one who will not respond sympathetically to an aspiration of that kind? May we not, therefore, appeal to Lord Minto and Mr. John Morley, the new Secretary of State, to reverse the decree which has been passed upon us by Lord Curzon? May we not be permitted to indulge the hope that Lord Minto's mission in India is to conciliate, to throw oil upon the troubled waters, to undo the mischief wrought by his predecessor? His illustrious ancestor who ruled over us about (100) hundred years ago gave us peace amidst war. May we not appeal to him to emulate the example of his illustrious ancestor and spread the blessings of peace, contentment and happiness throughout the length and breadth of the country? As regards Mr. John Morley we are all more or less his disciples. We have sat at his feet; our intellectual and moral natures have been fed, stimulated and ennobled by the great lessons which he enforced with such consummate eloquence. He has taught us in his life of Edmund Burke that Asiatics have rights and Europeans have their obligations in India. He has taught us the paramountcy of moral laws in the Government of human affairs. May we not ask him to apply his own principles to the solution of the Partition problem and the solution of other Indian problems? Above all we must learn to depend upon ourselves. To Native strength and Native devotion and Native courage dominated by the spirit of constitutionalism we must look forward for our eventual emancipation. You know for the moment we have lost; for the moment we have been defeated; but let us not despond. The Irish have been fighting for Home Rule for over 100 years and they have not yet got it, but they are within a measurable distance of success. Let us emulate the courage, the enthusiasm and heroic self-sacrifice of the children of the Emerald Isle. Bear in mind that we are living through critical and great times. The sun has risen in the East. Japan has hedged the rising Sun but that Sun of Asia will pass in its meridian course over this hapless land and shed

upon us its brilliance and lustre. Even now we feel the first flutterings of an awakened national consciousness, Oh ! let us strength them and invigorate them, ennoble them for the glorification of our Motherland, for the lasting credit of the great race to which we belong and for the permanence upon broad national lines of that great administration which in the past was fired with lofty ideals of duty towards India, but which, in the present moment we are anxious to rescue from the approach of re-action and retrogression (loud and prolonged cheers)."

The resolution was supported by several speakers, Hindu and Mahomedan, Bengali and non-Bengali, thus showing the solidarity of Indian public opinion, and was carried unanimously.

The next resolution, closely allied to the one just past, was moved by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It dealt with the thorny question of boycott and recorded the earnest and emphatic protest of the Congress against those repressive measures which had followed the Partition agitation in Eastern and Western Bengal. It is an open secret that there was some difference of opinion over this boycott resolution in the Subjects Committee, but in the end that difference of opinion was overcome and complete unanimity attained by the exercise of that "sweet reasonableness" which is one of the best known characteristics of Hon. Mr. Malviya. He moved the resolution in an able, moderate and persuasive speech, and his exposition of the peculiar need of boycott at the juncture at which it was used and its differentiation from Swadeshi proper was particularly happy.

"Memorials followed memorials, petitions were submitted, meetings of protest were held, and every constitutional means which the people were aware of was adopted to point out to Government that absolutely no case had been made out for cutting Bengal into two and placing it under two different administrations. All that was not heeded. People met together, they sent representations to the Secretary of State who was the next higher authority. Unfortunately that again was unheeded. People took the last step of going up to the House of Commons and submitted petitions signed by a large number of people and got some English Members of the House to support the petition. A Debate was held, but nothing came out of it. Now, gentlemen, this went on for a long time. We live under a constitutional government. The means that have been pointed out as open to those who live under a constitutional government were the very means which the people of Bengal adopted. There was absolutely nothing that anybody could take exception to in their methods (hear, hear). There was absolutely no show of violence even up to this time. Though peoples' passions have been excited to the uttermost, yet the Government heeded not. Gentlemen, any other people driven to that desperate condition would probably have taken steps worse than those that were adopted in Bengal. Be it said to the credit of our countrymen in Bengal (cheers), that on an occasion when their feelings had been stirred to their deepest depths, when the whole Province of Bengal has been agitated as no part of India had been agitated after the days of the Mutiny—be it said to the credit of the young men of Bengal (cheers), that in the midst of so much excitement not one case has been proved in which they have restored to illegal or unjust means with the object of getting redress. Gentlemen, the Government which was anxious to carry on the administration of the country on lines of sound statesmanship would have rejoiced at the sight and would have been moved by the very circumstance that the people were so moderate and self-restrained, even on such occasions, to accede to their demands. It was the misfortune of the Government of India that it did not listen to these demands. The result was that people found themselves in utter darkness and despair. What did they do? They found out that their voices were feeble. Even the powerful voice of our friend, Babu Surendra Nath Bannerji, had failed to penetrate into the ears of the powers-that-be. The best of the men in the land, the most respected members of the community, men like Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, who do not love to indulge in what is called political agitation, came out of their retirement and pressed upon the Government the wisdom of listening to the prayers of the people. No response yet. People then said "what are we to do? Well, we are placed in this circumstance; very well, we shall raise another noise which probably will be carried across the waters and make a stir in England; we shall boycott foreign goods." It is an extreme measure I grant. No sensible man, no man who wishes well of this country, would for a moment desire that there should be anything done to create attention between our fellow-subjects in England and in this country. No man who understands the real needs of this country and the situation in which we are placed will desire that there should exist anything but cordial good-will among our fellow-subjects in England and in this country. It was, therefore, no matter of satisfaction—it could not be to any well-wisher of this country—to either initiate the idea of boycott or to encourage it. It was boycott merely as an extreme measure which they found themselves compelled under the circumstances to adopt. It was adopted as a measure which might possibly, when all other respectful representations had failed, make an impression upon some people of England and lead to the consideration of the prayers of United Bengal.

Gentlemen, this then is the justification for the resolution which I have placed before you. It is not that the Congress advocates the adoption of boycott all over the country generally (hear, hear). You have to bear it clearly in mind that no one who understands the real interests of the country desires to create any unnecessary tension of feeling between our fellow-subjects in England and here. The Government, if they are really earnest and sincere in their desire to see that this spirit which the boycott movement has created ought to subside, have the remedy in their own hands. Let them undo the great mischief which has been done by this unnecessary partition and boycott, as a boycott, shall cease to-morrow (cheers). Remember, gentlemen, we ought not to mix up Swadeshi with boycott (hear, hear). It is a great mistake to mix up the two. Bengal was partitioned a short while ago. But the Swadeshi movement is as old, within my own personal knowledge, as thirty years ago. The doctrine was preached when I was at school.

and I am happy and proud to say that I have been benefited by and adopted it the moment I entered college. Since that day to this, along with many other friends even in this Province, we have been using manufactures of Indian make so far as we have been able to obtain them. That movement stands on quite a different footing, and it would be wrong to the country and to the best interests of the people to mix up the two, to confuse the Swadeshi movement with boycott. Speaking for myself I do not want to keep up boycott of foreign goods. What is desirable so far as the Swadeshi movement is concerned is quite another matter. That has gone on and will go on. As far as boycott is concerned, I think I express the sense of all of you, or nearly all of you, when I say that the Congress would rejoice to see boycott come to an end, if the cause which has given rise to it were to cease to exist. It is, therefore, entirely in the power of Government to put an end to this boycott."

[Lala Lajpat Rai seconded the resolution in an impassioned, plain-spoken and powerful speech a which was characterized by one of the subsequent speakers as "torrential."

Lala Lajpat Rai may be now and then carried away by the fervour of his patriotism and his opinions and methods may sometimes assume an unpractical aspect, but there is no doubting the earnestness of his conviction and the genuineness and depth of his feeling. In speaking of the new departure inaugurated by the people of Bengal in our methods of political agitation, Lala Lajpat Rai said :—

"Gentlemen, I believe, and I believe earnestly, that the political struggle has only commenced and it was only in the fitness of things that when the Congress attained its majority, the attaining of that majority should have been preceded by a manly and vigorous protest on the part of the people of this country. It is only in the fitness of things that the movement's coming to age of majority should have been preceded by a vigorous and manly declaration of its approaching manhood. I think in the circumstances like ours, in conditions like ours, we are perfectly justified in taking the attitude that our brethren of Bengal have taken. What else was left for you? It has been explained that a possible things that could be done in the name of constitutional agitation have been exhausted. What was the example given to you by your fellow-subjects in the other parts of the Empire? Englishmen have been our teachers in all branches of human knowledge. Englishmen have given us constitutional rights. Was it not perfectly right to take a page from the book of the Englishman on the methods of constitutional agitation and adopt those methods which will be appreciated by themselves? Now let us see what Englishmen in England do. I do not say that our conditions allow of our exactly copying or imitating them, but surely we have a right to adopt that spirit, understand that spirit and follow it. Let me tell you what are the methods adopted by Englishmen in England when they have a grievance to be listened to by Government. The method which is perfectly legitimate, perfectly constitutional and perfectly justifiable, is the method of passive resistance (cheers). Although I am not at the present moment quoting any social democrat or labourman, I must admire them; I have great respect for them. I must tell you that the message which the people of England wanted to send to you through me was the message that in our utterance, in our agitations and in our fight and struggle for liberty, we ought to be more manly than we have been heretofore (cheers). An Englishman hates or dislike nothing like beggary. I think a beggar deserves to be hated. Therefore it is our duty to show Englishman that we have risen to the sense of consciousness, that we are no longer beggars and that we are subjects of an Empire where people are struggling to achieve that position which is their right by right of natural law (cheers)."

The resolution was supported by the representatives of almost every province in India, and by Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer among others. The leaders of Madras have deservedly earned a reputation for level-headedness and sobriety, and even the most moderate of constitutionalists ceased to doubt when they heard Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, the representative of that sedate and sober Province, supporting boycott, as not an economical measure but as a political weapon, in the following words :—

"Gentlemen, nobody, I suppose, in his senses believed that boycott is an item in the economic policy for the people of this country at the present day. I do not think that there is anybody in this hall who is labouring under that hallucination. Boycott is a political weapon, it is a means of drawing attention of those who are responsible for the Government of this country, and it is one of the most known weapons in time of great national crisis (cheers). What did the members who were representatives of the Irish people in the British House of Commons do? They adopted the constitutional policy of obstruction, obstruction for the purpose of preventing the carrying on of any other business, so that the Irish grievances shall first be redressed. Gentlemen, that is only a political weapon. Nobody could ever dream of charging the Irish representatives that they were doing anything illegal or unconstitutional (hear, hear)."

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the Congress adjourned to meet again the next morning at half-past eight o'clock.

The Congress re-assembled for the last time on the 30th of December 1905 at 9 a. m. to complete the unfinished portion of its programme. The first resolution of the day which dealt with the question of Education was moved by Mr. Herana Chandra Maitra in an eloquent and impassioned speech. There is no question upon which the educated classes of this country feel more keenly than on the question of Education, and year after year has the Congress been

drawing the attention of the Government to this all-important topic. In the resolution moved by Mr. Herama Chandra Maitra the Congress pleaded for the establishment of Free Primary education, protested against "the present policy of the Government of India in respect of High and Secondary Education, as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the Universities and restricting the spread of education," and pleaded for the establishment of Industrial schools. The mover of the resolution, when dealing with the second of these points, expressed his indignation at the policy inaugurated by the Universities in words of burning conviction. He said:—

"What are the facts? There are only 23,000 college students in all British India; that is, 1 in 11,000 is a College student, and yet Government is alarmed at the indiscriminate spread of High education (shame). And yet Lord Curzon speaks of high education being comparable not to a blank sheet but to a page scribbled over with all sorts of writings, good, bad and indifferent, that is, the scribbling has produced the magnificent result of one college student out of 11,000. What are we to think of a Government that is not ashamed of putting such an interpretation over such a shameful and disgraceful state of things? Is there no public opinion not only in India but all over the world? Are our rulers not ashamed of using language like this to us when we complain of the inadequate spread of high education? In the face of facts and figures like those to which I have just referred the theory propounded by the Indian Universities' Commission is absolutely false. Even if High education has spread far and wide, in what sense is it true that it is better, as the Commission says that there should be a few graduates well educated than there should be many ill educated? Now, why do we prize the education? Do we prize it from idle sentiments, or does it confer any tangible results or material blessing? If it confers these blessings either moral, social or spiritual,—whatever they may be,—it is certainly well that a large multitude should share them. It is not better than that it should be confined to a small number? Certainly it is far more desirable than that it should be limited to a few. Is it better that a few men should have a surfeit of luxury and millions should starve, than that all should be moderately fed? Is it better that a few healthy strong giants should stride across the face of the country and others should be so many skeletons? Is it better that there should be a few saints in the country and the rest should be blackguards, than that all men should be of fairly good character?"

Neither is the condition of the Primary education, for which the Government pretends to have some solicitude much better. "Even in Bengal which is supposed by many to be the most enlightened province in India the proportion of the illiterate is 94½ per cent." The Government of India spends only about 1 per cent. of its revenues on Education, while even in Spain, perhaps the most backward country in Europe, the expenditure is six times that amount. The fact of the matter is that the policy of the Anglo Indian Government in connection with Education is a policy of "melancholy meanness," if not one of deliberate suppression, and on no question is the rousing of public opinion by our political leaders more needful than on this vital question. The resolution having been duly seconded and supported was carried unanimously.

The next resolution dealt with the questions of "Famine, Poverty, Economic Inquiry and Land Revenue," and was moved by Mr. Tilak, of Poona. Mr. Tilak, in a plain, straight-forward speech, re-stated the arguments which have been urged from the Congress platform again, and again and showed that the frequent occurrence of famine is due in no small measure to the great poverty of the people, and that "a reasonable and definite restriction of the State demand, and not the restriction on tenants' rights" is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population. The resolution having been seconded by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, of Lucknow, was passed unanimously.

The Congress then dealt with the question of the quarantine of the Mussulman pilgrims at Bombay. Thus showing that the sulkiness of our Mohamedan friends has not effected in any way its solicitude for their welfare. Resolutions, dealing with some important provincial grievances and according support to the candidature of our G. O. M. for North Lambeth, were passed next and Messrs. Gokhale and Lajpat Rai were publicly thanked for their good work in England.

The Congress re-appointed Mr. Gokhale as its delegate to England, elected its Standing Committee of fifteen members, and appointed Mr. Hume, the one man who above all others had stood by us through thick and thin, through good report and evil report, since the inception of the national movement of which he is the founder and originator, as its General Secretary. Mr.

Hume, M. Naoroji and Sir W. Wedderburn are the three men to whom the Indian National Congress owes most; men, who whatever hasty pessimists may say in this country, have never wavered in their steadfast faith.

“Never doubted clouds would break,

Never dreamed, though right was worsted, wrong would triumph.”

It was, therefore, only in the fitness of things that the Congress should express its heartfelt gratitude to Sir W. Wedderburn and the British Committee in the shape of a formal resolution.

The Congress, on the invitation of Rai Yatindra Nath Chaudhari, resolved to hold its next session at Calcutta.

The proceedings were brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the distinguished President proposed by the Hon'ble Pt. Sunder Lal, of Allahabad, and seconded by the Hon'ble Pt. Madan Mohan Malavya in a short and sweet speech. The President having briefly responded, the twentieth session of the Congress came to an end in the midst of cheers given for the King-Emperor, Mr. Hume and Mr. Gokhale.



RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
Twenty-first Indian National Congress
HELD AT BENARES
ON THE
27th, 28th, 29th and 30th December 1905.

Resolved.—That this Congress, representing His Majesty's Indian subjects of all races, creeds and communities, most humbly and respectfully offers its loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princesses of Wales, on the occasion of their visit to India. The Congress is deeply touched by the expression of Their Royal Highnesses' sentiments of cordial good-will towards the people of India and is confident that the personal knowledge gained during the present tour will stimulate their kindly interest in the welfare of its people; and it expresses the fervent hope that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will be graciously pleased to submit to His Majesty the King-Emperor its earnest prayer that the principles of the late Queen's Proclamation will be given effect to in the government of this country.

(a). That the President do submit the above resolution to His Royal Highness by wire.

Resolved.—That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for a further expansion and reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, so that they may become more truly representative of the people, and the non-official members thereof may have a real voice in the government of the country. The Congress recommends an increase in the number of the non-official and elected members and the grant to them of the right of dividing the Councils in financial matters coming before them—the head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.

Resolved.—(a). That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the Excise Administration in the several provinces of the country, regrets that its composition is exclusively official and that, therefore, it cannot inspire full public confidence.

(b). This Congress, concurring in the opinion of previous Congresses, expresses its deliberate conviction that the recognition of the principle of local option in practical administration and a large reduction in the number of existing liquor-shops are conditions precedent to any satisfactory reform in Excise Administration.

(c). This Congress respectfully urges on the Government of India the desirability of speedily carrying out the principal proposals contained in Sir Frederick Lely's memorandum of last year on Excise Administration.

(d). That the Congress begs to protest against the virtual shelving by the Government of India in its executive capacity, of the Bengal Excise Bill, which has been welcomed as a sound and progressive piece of temperance legislation.

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

(a). the bestowal on each of the Provinces of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the British House of Commons;

(b). the appointment of not less than three Indian gentlemen of proved ability and experience as members of the Secretary of State's Council; and

(c). the appointment of two Indians as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and of one Indian as a member of the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras.

Resolved.—That this Congress is of opinion that to enable Parliament to discharge more satisfactorily its responsibility in regard to the Government of India periodical Parliamentary enquiries into the condition of India should be revived and the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the British estimates.

Resolved.—(a). That, in the opinion of this Congress, the principles and policy enunciated by the Government of India in their Resolution, dated 24th May 1904, on the subject of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, are inconsis-

1.—The Royal Visit.

2.—Further Expansion and Reform of the Legislative Councils.

3.—Excise Policy and Administration.

4.—Representation in Parliament and the Executive Councils.

5.—Parliamentary Control over Indian Affairs.

6.—The Public Service Question.

tent with those laid down in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 by the late Queen-Empress, and this Congress enters its respectful but emphatic protest against an attempt to explain away pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the people of this country, and to deviate from arrangements deliberately arrived at by the Government after a careful examination of the whole question by a public commission.

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

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

7.—Indian Finance.

Resolved.—That this Congress, while appreciating the action of the Government of India in applying a portion of its surplus revenues last March to some of the purposes recommended by the Congress, is of opinion that the financial relief given by it to the tax-payers of this country during the last three years has been most inadequate, and the Congress regrets that advantage has been taken of recent surpluses to increase largely the military expenditure of the country, raise the salaries of European officials in several departments and create a number of new posts for them. The Congress urges that any surpluses that may arise in the future should, in the first place, be utilised for purposes of remission of taxation, and, secondly, be devoted to subjects directly benefiting the people such as imparting scientific, industrial and agricultural education, providing increased facilities of medical relief, and assisting Municipal and Local Boards with grants to undertake urgently needed measures of sanitary reform and the improvement of means of communication in the interior.

8.—Military Expenditure.

Resolved.—(a). That this Congress, while recording its emphatic protest against any charge which weakens the supremacy of the Civil control over the Military authorities, is of opinion that the necessary Civil control cannot be adequately exercised until and unless the representatives of the tax-payers are placed in a position to influence such control.

(b). That this Congress earnestly repeats its protest against the continued increases in the Military expenditure, which is unnecessary, unjust and beyond the capacity of the Indian people.

(c). That this Congress is distinctly of opinion that, as the Military expenditure of this country is determined not by its own Military needs and requirements alone but also by the exigencies of British supremacy and British policy in the East, it is only fair that a proportionate share of such expenditure should be met out of the British exchequer and shared by the Empire at large instead of the whole of such expenditure falling on a part of the Empire which is the poorest and the least able to bear it.

(d). That, in view of the changed position of affairs in Asia due to the recent war between Russia and Japan and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, this Congress earnestly urges that the large expenditure of ten millions sterling sanctioned last year for the Re-organization scheme be not now incurred, and the money be devoted to an extension of education in all its branches and reduction of the ryots' burdens.

9.—Indians in British Colonies.

Resolved.—(a). That this Congress, while expressing its sense of satisfaction at the passing by the Australian House of Representatives of a Bill to amend the Law of Immigration so as to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the people of India, again places on record its sense of deep regret that British Indians should continue to be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies. The Congress particularly protests against the enforcement by the British Government of disabilities on the Indian settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River Crown Colonies, which were not enforced even under the old Boer rule, in spite of declarations by His Majesty's Ministers that the treatment of the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Boer Government was one of the causes of the late war.

(b). In view of the important part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the Colonies, their admitted loyalty and peaceful and industrious habits, their useful and self-sacrificing services during the recent war, and, above all, the great constitutional importance of the principle of equal treatment of all citizens of the Empire anywhere in the King's dominions, this Congress respectfully, but strongly, urges the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to insist, by prohibiting, if necessary,

the emigration of indentured labour and adopting other retaliatory measures, on the recognition of the status of Indian emigrants as British citizens in all the colonies.

Resolved.—(a). That in the opinion of this Congress a complete separating of Judicial from Executive functions must now be carried out without further delay.

10.—Administration of Justice

(b). That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited from the legal profession more largely than at present, as the system of appointing Civilians without special legal training to high Judicial offices does not lead to a satisfactory administration of justice in the mofussil.

Resolved.—That this Congress, while noting with satisfaction some useful reforms recommended by the Police Commission, regrets that adequate measures have not been adopted to materially improve the efficiency and the honesty of the Police service.

11.—Police Reform.

This Congress records its conviction:—

(1). That competitive examinations for the recruitment of the Police service in the higher grades should be thrown open to all classes of British subjects instead of being confined to candidates of British birth, and that such examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India.

(2). That educated Indians should be largely employed in the higher grades in order to secure efficiency in work.

(3). That enlistment in the Provincial Service should be by competitive examinations.

(4). And lastly, that District Officers, who are the heads of the police, should be relieved of judicial work and of all control over the Magistracy of the District.

Resolved.—That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the province.

12.—The Partition of Bengal.

That having regard to the intense dissatisfaction felt by the entire Bengali community at the dismemberment of their province and their manifest disinclination to accept the partition as an accomplished fact, this Congress appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to reverse or modify the arrangements made, in such a manner as to conciliate public opinion and allay the excitement and unrest present among all classes of the people.

That this Congress recommends the adoption of some arrangement which would be consistent with administrative efficiency and would place the entire Bengali community under one undivided administration.

Resolved.—That this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people.

13.—Repressive Measures in Bengal.

Resolved.—(a). That this Congress repeats its protest against the present policy of the Government of India in respect of High and Secondary education, as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the Universities and restricting the spread of education.

14.—Education.

(b). That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the special grants made this year to Primary and High education, again places on record its firm conviction that the material and moral interests of the country demand a much larger expenditure than at present on all branches of education and a beginning in the direction of Free Primary education.

(c). That, in the opinion of this Congress, the recommendations of the Committee on Industrial Education should be promptly carried out by the Government. The Congress specially urges the Government to order an Industrial Survey as recommended by the Committee (and as suggested by the Government of India itself in its Home Department Resolution No. 199, dated 18th June 1888) as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of an organised system of Technical education in the several provinces.

(d). That at least one central fully equipped Polytechnic Institute should be established in the country, with minor technical schools and colleges in the different provinces.

Resolved.—(a). That this Congress deplores a fresh outbreak of famine in several parts of the country; and, holding that the frequent recurrence of famines is due to the great poverty of the people, which forces large numbers of them to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, it again urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to institute a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India.

15.—Economic Inquiry and Land Revenue Policy.

(b). This Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on

land, such as was proposed by Lord Canning in 1862 or by Lord Ripon in 1882, and it regrets that Lord Curzon in his Land Resolution of 1902, failed to recognize any such limitation and declined to accept the suggestions of the Right Hon'ble Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists in the matter. The Congress holds that a reasonable and definite limitation of the State-demand, and not the restriction of tenants' rights, such as has found favour in recent years, is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population.

- 16.—Quarantine against Mahomedan Pilgrims. *Resolved.*—That having regard to the fact that there is ten days' international quarantine already in existence at Camaran, this Congress holds that the quarantine of five days imposed at the port of Bombay upon the Musalman pilgrims before embarking for Jeddah, is unnecessary and vexatious, and produces a feeling of deep discontent. The Congress, therefore, prays that the quarantine imposed at Bombay be entirely abolished.
- 17.—Important Provincial Questions. *Resolved.*—This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, strongly urges:—
 (1) The constitution of the Punjab into a Regulation province;
 (2) The expansion and reform of the Punjab Legislative Council in accordance with the Indian Councils Act of 1892;
 (3) The establishment of a Chartered High Court of Judicature in the Punjab;
 (4) The enactment of Legislation for Berar by the Supreme Legislative Council and not by Executive orders of the Governor-General in Council;
 (5) The restoration to the people of the Central Provinces of the right to elect their representative on the Supreme Legislative Council instead of his being nominated by the Government; and
 (6) The cancellation of the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States as being a serious infringement of the liberty of the Press in those tracts.
- 18.—India and the General Election. *Resolved.*—That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidature of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, and appeals to the electors of that constituency to return him to Parliament.
- 19.—Thanks to Messrs. Gokhale and Lajpat Rai. *Resolved.*—That this Congress desires to record its sense of high appreciation of the valuable services recently rendered by the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., and Lala Lajpat Rai in England.
- 20.—Congress Delegate to England. *Resolved.*—That in view of the importance of urging the more pressing proposals of the Congress on the attention of the authorities in England at the present juncture, this Congress appoints its President, the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, C. I. E., as its Delegate and deposes him to proceed to England for this purpose.
- 21.—Standing Committee of the Congress. *Resolved.*—That a Standing Committee of the Congress be appointed to promote the objects of the Congress and to take such steps during the year as may be necessary to give effect to the Resolutions of the Congress.
 That the following gentlemen be appointed members of the Standing Committee for the year 1906:—
 (1) The Hon. Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, K. C. I. E. (Bombay);
 (2) The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare (Bombay);
 (3) G. Subramania Iyer, Esq. (Madras);
 (4) The Hon. Nawab Sayyid Muhammad (Madras);
 (5) Surendranath Banerjea, Esq. (Calcutta);
 (6) A Chowdhri, Esq. (Calcutta);
 (7) Maulvi Abdul Kasim (Burdwan);
 (8) S. Sinha, Esq. (Bankipur);
 (9) The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad);
 (10) Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma (Lucknow);
 (11) Lala Lajpat Rai (Lahore);
 (12) Lala Harkishenlal (Lahore); and
 (13) Rao Bahadur R. N. Madholkar (Amraoti); with
 (14) D. E. Wacha, Esq. (Bombay); and
 (15) The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E. (Poona) } as Secretaries for the Committee.
- 22.—Thanks to the British Committee. That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., and the other members of the British Committee, its most grateful thanks for their disinterested services in the cause of India's political advancement.
- 23.—Re-appointment of Secretaries. That this Congress re-appoints A. O. Hume, Esq., C. B., to be General Secretary, and D. E. Wacha, Esq., and the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., to be Joint General Secretaries for the ensuing year.
- 24.—The Next Congress. That the Twenty-second Indian National Congress do assemble, on such day after Christmas Day, 1906, as may be later determined upon at Calcutta.

Report of the Proceedings
OF THE
TWENTY-FIRST
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD IN
BENARES

On the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1905.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, 27th December, 1905.

THE TWENTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS was opened at 1-30 P. M. on Wednesday, the 27th December, 1905, in the spacious pavilion erected by the Reception Committee at Rajghat.

The Hon'ble Munshi Madholal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in the following address:—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN:—

Before addressing you I must say one thing, viz., that you cannot expect anything like a speech from me, but as in duty bound I beg on behalf of the Reception Committee of the 21st Indian National Congress, to offer you, brother-delegates, a most cordial welcome. The citizens of Benares shared in the past with their fellow-citizens of the rest of the United Provinces the honour of inviting the Congress on two occasions to Allahabad and once to Lucknow. But they feel far happier that they have the privilege to-day of welcoming the best and brightest sons of India, the representatives of every Province and every class, to their ancient city. I assure you that we are all deeply grateful to you that you accepted our humble invitation, that you have responded to it not only cheerfully but enthusiastically as your numbers testify to-day. Speaking for myself, I cannot adequately express my sense of pleasure and pride that it is my privilege to-day to welcome you to this, my native city. The only circumstance which somewhat affects that joy is the consciousness that I am not worthy of this honour. However, such as I am, I accord to you, in the name and on behalf of the people of the United Provinces generally, and of the citizens of Benares in particular, a most cordial welcome. Another circumstance which checks my enthusiasm is the painful consciousness of the many defects in the arrangements that we have made for your reception. Most earnestly do I beg of you, all, my brother-delegates, to generously overlook our shortcomings, to accept the will for the deed, and attribute our imperfections to the head and not to the heart. I pray you, as men who understand from experience the many difficulties by which Congress Reception Committees, particularly in backward places, like Benares, are apt to be confronted at every step, to be indulgent to your inexperienced hosts in the spirit of fellow-workers and comrades in a common cause. In speaking of our difficulties

I cannot but refer to the assistance kindly given to us by the civil and military authorities of this place. We would not have been able to secure this excellent plateau of Rajghat, the best site available in the city, but for their kind help. When I recall to mind the bitter terms in which my distinguished predecessor in this chair, the still lamented Pandit Ajudhianath (*cheers*) complained of the obstacles put in his way by the officials of the day, and compare that attitude with the kindly sympathy extended to the Reception Committee of this year, I cannot but feel that we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the welcome change that has come over these backward Provinces. With your permission, Brother-delegates, I desire to take this opportunity of publicly thanking our esteemed Commissioner, Mr. D. C. Baillie, our popular Collector, Mr. E. H. Radice, the ever-helpful Mr. P. B. Bramley, District Superintendent of Police, and General Sir Alfred Gaselee, for helping us in securing this site close by the noble river, which is the pride of India, and so conveniently near to the railway station. I must also gratefully mention the name of Mr. A. W. U. Pope, Traffic Superintendent of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, who, with all the resources of his Railway, readily helped us in securing water and other conveniences. Brother-delegates,—I conceive the duties of the Chairman of the Reception Committee consist more in organising the reception and entertainment of delegates than in discussing the political situation of the day. But under pressure from esteemed and valued friends, I have had to decide to follow the precedent long since established and make the following observations:—

I regard the Indian National Congress as the intellectual product of British rule and English education, and one which ought, therefore, to be treated with tender regard by those whose duty it is to govern this country on British principles. No doubt the Congress was not looked upon with friendly eyes in its earlier stages; but I am glad to think that the time is long gone by when the stale charge of disloyalty could be brought against us, when our national aspirations were ridiculed, when our representations on public questions could be dismissed without consideration. In saying this, I do not overlook recent events which were unfortunately calculated to shake the faith of the more impatient among us, in the efficiency of constitutional agitation, and in the benevolence of purpose of the British rule in India. But, Brother-delegates, they are but inevitable incidents of public life, and we may be sure, they do not represent the attitude towards educated Indians of the majority of Englishmen in this country, much less in free England. I must admire the love of justice and fair play of the English nation. Whatever we choose to say they allow us to sit here and discuss their actions and to criticise them. This is, I say, the greatest virtue of the British Empire. If you go and hold a Congress in Gwalior, Hyderabad or Mysore, you will be driven out of it, and you will have there no Congress of this kind. If you go to Kabul you will be blown up in one second (*cries of "no, no."*) This is the great benefit which the British Government has conferred on us. The position of the Congress was officially established, when Lord Lansdowne declared 15 years ago that the Government of India recognised that it represented in this country what the advanced Liberal Party was in England. The intellectual aristocracy of India are represented, if anywhere, in this Congress, and no civilised and progressive Government such as ours is, can afford long to ignore or disregard it. And we shall be unpardonably failing in our duty, if we shall allow any private reason or public discouragement to come between us and service to our mother-land. I will give but one illustration of the necessity of bringing our wishes and aspirations to the notice of Government. Standing as I do here as a representative of the Sipahi Nagar class, whose ancestors came to these Provinces as soldiers, I keenly feel that the Government should exclude the martial classes from the higher ranks of military service. I am thankful to the Government, however, for appointing a few members of the Imperial Cadet Corps as Commissioned Officers in the Army. This however is only in the nature of a meagre first instalment. Why should not the sons of noblemen and men of the middle class also be appointed to Commissions in the Army, if they are qualified for the same? Why should not the suggestion of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, to establish an Indian Sandhurst be carried out? It is not a wise policy to exclude the martial race of Indian soldiers from the higher rank of the Army. Merit and not race should be the qualifying test. The Indian soldier has established his title to the confidence of the rulers in many a battle-field throughout the Empire by his valour as well as devotion and cannot be permanently denied the higher rewards of his service. It is only necessary that we should persistently press his claim on the attention of the Government for it to be granted. I venture to think that even the Imperial Cadet Corps would not have been established without the long continued agitation of the Congress and the Indian Press. And we who believe that the Indian soldier is the backbone of the British Army in this country, owe it not only to ourselves but to the Government that we must not rest until the just concessions for which we have been praying are granted. The importance of the matter being what it is, may I not venture to appeal to the powers that be to signalise the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by carrying out in practice the professed intention of our rulers to treat Indians on equal terms with other classes of His Majesty's subjects by throwing open to them the superior posts in the Army?

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not within my province to discuss the subjects that will be brought before the Congress for the consideration of the assembled delegates. And I am

particularly anxious not to increase your natural impatience which I fully share to hear the selfless man and stainless gentleman (*cheers*), an ornament of his race and the pride of his country, whom you will presently elect as your President. (*Loud cheers*). But the circumstances of the year compel me to say a few words on one subject which is uppermost in the public mind. Speaking as an Indian and a non-Bengali, I desire to assure my brethren of Bengal of my and your deep sympathy in the misfortune that has befallen them in the partition of their fair and great Province. The Partition of Bengal in an arbitrary manner and in spite of the universal opposition that the measure has provoked I regard as impolitic and unjust. If there was any truth in the late Viceroy's utterance that to defy or ignore public opinion is not statesmanship, and we have been told on high authority that truthfulness is a special virtue of Europeans, then it is inexplicable how the sentiment of United Bengal came to be so deliberately disregarded by the same high functionary. I do not, however, believe that it is useless now to protest against the accomplished fact. There is such an institution in existence as the British House of Commons, and we are fortunate, too, at present in possessing a Secretary of State who, I take it, does not believe in the doctrine of Divide and Rule. If I may be permitted to do so, I would suggest to our friends of Bengal the advisability of sending a strong deputation to England by the time the new Parliament meets, to impress on India's friends over there the imperative necessity of restoring the unity of their Province.

The Partition of Bengal is, I think, a mistake. I further think that it is a matter which must be represented to Parliament as strongly as possible. I hold that the Parliament ought to exercise its influence in this respect. The Parliament is far off from us. In minor questions they have no material to interfere, but in questions of higher importance, they ought to show that there is a Parliament. I appeal to Mr. Morley to interfere. It will show the strength of the British Empire, if he interferes and puts an end to this mischief. What the Parliament is perhaps afraid of is that the prestige will go, if it undoes what the higher officers here have done. I am sure it is quite different. If you look to justice, if you look to the claims of your own subjects, these will bring you more prestige than the confirming of what your higher officers have done. You remember what Ramachander said to Dasarath when he asked him not to go to the jungle after having previously enjoined him to do the same. He said, "My father, you give me two orders—one to go to the jungle and the other to remain. But I will only obey the order which is just and good." It is the duty of all the world to follow justice and not to be guided by considerations of loss of prestige. This is the time for Parliament to show to the world that it exists for the benefit of India. I appeal to the King-Emperor to use his prerogative, which he has, once in favour of India. That will show that we have a Parliament which looks upon us as its children and protects us when the time comes. I cannot say anything more on this question. I think it has been a great cruelty to me that my friends should have asked me to say something. I am not an educated man; I belong to the agricultural class (*cries of "no, no"*); I cannot speak much. The agricultural classes are dumb. But with all my defects I give you a President, better than whom nobody could be given. (*Cheers*). Now you will have to elect your President. I may say that my heart jumps when I see my old friend Pandit Bishambhar Nath whom I now ask with all humility to propose the first Resolution. (*Loud cheers*.)

PANDIT BISHAMBHAR NATH (*Allahabad*):—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—I am really proud of the great honour that has been conferred on me in spite of the absence of any external Decorations from the Government. First of all, I must take care not to stand long between you and our chosen Chief; and in the second place, I would crave your pardon for a short *obiter dictum*. *Obiter dicta*, I know as a bit of a lawyer, are sometimes treated as a redundancy. What I mean, is that in the searchings of my heart, the monitor within, asks seriously, and puts a question to me, "What does this moving Tabernacle with this unique assemblage mean?" The answer, I believe, is not far to seek. This is the crowing triumph of *Pax Britannica*, with its untold numerous blessings. This is not the time to enumerate those blessings or to refer to the drawbacks that we may possibly find in the benign administration of our Government. Perhaps, you know, that I had the honour to belong to a very noble Profession some-time back. I have taken to a still more honourable vocation, namely, now and then to become the uncrowned-king-proposer for our miniature Parliament (*cheers*); and although I am not one of those, who would erect idols and statues or raise monuments to everybody and nobody, yet I assure you, I have come purposely to offer the incense of oblations to our Designate Chief. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, I need not give you a Roll of the titles and qualifications that entitle the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale (*cheers*) to the seat which he is so deservedly to adorn; but if you require a short description of them from me, it would be only illustrative and not exhaustive. He is a selfless man and a political ascetic; indeed, he is a prodigy of intellect, being a debater, a speaker and an eloquent orator, to say nothing of his wisdom, as a Statesman. I would be repeating all these qualifications in vain, if I were to go into them at length. I shall, therefore, content myself simply with observing that his election to the Chair is so valuable an acquisition, that it may be accepted with universal acclamation by the delegates. (*Cheers*.)

MR. R. C. DUTT, who, on rising, was received with cheers, said:—MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The very pleasant task has been imposed upon me to second this proposal

which you have already accepted with acclamation, namely, that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale be elected President of this Twenty-First Indian National Congress. (*Cheers*). Fortunately, it is not necessary for me to say many words in favour of this proposal. Mr. Gokhale's services are known to all of you, and to many of you, better than to myself. Many of you, Gentlemen, who have come from the Bombay Presidency know what a selfless life Mr. Gokhale has led; how he was first educated by that prince of educators the late Mr. Ranade (*cheers*); how he devoted years of his life to that noble institution which we know as Fergusson College; and how after some travels in Europe, he made his name as a politician by the historic speech which he made on the occasion of the budget discussion in the Viceroy's Council (*cheers*) some years ago. Gentlemen, I do not know how you received that speech; but when for the first time I read that speech, I felt within myself that that was the coming man for India. (*Cheers*). The power of eloquence, the power of debate, the great moderation and the lucid statement of facts, which characterised that splendid speech in the Viceroy's Council showed that we had at last got a champion, (*cheers*) who would do justice to his country and countrymen. Year after year we have watched the proceedings of the Viceroy's Council and I think I am reflecting the opinion of every one of you present, when I say that our cause could not have found a more eloquent, a more upright, and a more able advocate than in the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. (*Cheers*). I shall not forget even in the few moments which are allowed to me to mention the services which Mr. Gokhale lately rendered by his splendid series of speeches in England (*cheers*) at a time when the old Government was crumbling down and when the new Government was being formed. You may have heard and read in the papers some accounts of the efforts which Mr. Gokhale made to represent our cause, the cause of all India, before all classes of the English community, from the merchants of Lancashire to those people who are about to hold the reins of the Empire. I believe that the fruit of these endeavours we shall see before long. Gentlemen, I do not wish to stand longer between you and Mr. Gokhale, but I think I am expressing the feelings of every one of you when I say that we are watching with anxious hope the formation of a new Government. The eloquent Chairman mentioned the name of Mr. John Morley (*cheers*) who has been made Secretary of State for India. We have all our hopes because we all know of the past life and the past work of Mr. John Morley. We have all our hopes that, when questions relating to India come before him for consideration and decision, something of that justice, something of that fairness between man and man, which has characterised him in his past life will characterise his action in relation to India. We must not hope too much. We have seen past Liberal Governments come into existence and pass away without benefit to ourselves. It may be that the present Government may come into existence and pass away with fulfilling the expectations which we have formed. Or it may be that some of the far-seeing Statesmen, who are now wielding the destinies of the Empire, may now come to see that the system of administration which was built up in India in the Eighteenth Century is no longer suited to India of the Twentieth Century. (*Cheers*). They may see that the opinions, the views, and often the whims of successive Viceroys are not the safest guides for the Government of this great Empire. They may see that time has come when some sort of representation of the people, some sort of constitutional Government, is needed to consolidate the great Empire. (*Cheers*). It may also be, gentlemen, that we ourselves may advance our own cause, and by being true to ourselves we may win for ourselves that great boon for which we, in the Congress, were fighting for the last 20 years. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, I have more faith in our own work than in the mercy of Government. (*Cheers*). If we show ourselves prepared to undertake our duties in a reasonable, moderate, and sober way, time cannot be far distant when some sort of constitution based on the wishes and feeling of the people shall have to be conceded to the people of India. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, I have often been accused of being too much of an optimist, and I admit the charge. I believe it is better to work with hope than to work with no hope; but hope or no hope, I think in a good cause, in a righteous battle, it is better to fight and fail than not to fight at all. (*Cheers*). I am sure that in this cause if we are true to ourselves, if we show ourselves worthy of self-government and self-administration, the time cannot be far distant when that great concession which has been made in every part of the world, in the Phillipine Islands, in Cuba, and even in Russia, that concession shall have to be made in India. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, I trust many of you will live to see that day. I hope that the Hon'ble Gentleman whom we are going to elect as President to-day will then take the same lead among us as he is doing to-day. (*Cheers*). With these remarks, I have great pleasure in seconding the motion that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale be elected President of the Congress. (*Cheers*).

SIRDAR GUR CHARAN SINGH OF PUNJAB :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.—After the eloquent speeches which you have heard I am afraid I will cut a very bad figure. As you can see from my dress I come from the Punjab which has been called the sword hand of India and I have the pleasure of supporting the resolution that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale should take the chair of this Congress. The Punjab is situated at a far greater distance from Bombay than any other Province; but I can assure you that we in the Punjab have more respect, more admiration and more love for Mr. Gokhale than any other Province of India. (*Voice no, no*). We are selfish perhaps in this respect but in our love and loyalty and patriotism we yield to none. (*Cheers*). Mr.

Gokhale whose loyalty and patriotism have been admitted by papers like the *Pioneer*, who has created a sensation in Europe as an advocate of popular cause of India. When you have a President like him, who will say that this is not a National Assembly? We are often been criticised that the Congress does not represent the popular classes of India but only the intellectual classes; but seeing an assembly as we have got here, how can any one say that it is not a representative assembly? As we see from the words the twenty-first Congress it is the twenty-first year that this assembly is going to enter on to-day; it attains the age of majority. In India the age of majority is 18 but for any person who has got a guardian the age is 21; (laughter) the Congress has been cherished and brought up under the guardianship of British rule and it is under that guardian that to-day it attains its majority (cheers). I feel very sanguine that as the boy is attaining his majority his request will be listened to and I hope it will be granted; and as a humble representative from the Punjab I have a further desire and wish to say that under the presidency of an able and honourable gentleman like Mr. Gokhale, we shall, I hope, be able to give a constitution to the Congress; so that instead of working only for three days and passing resolutions we shall do useful work over the whole year. Instead of being taunted as men who pass resolutions and go home we should send men from village to village and district to district to show to the world and India that this is an assembly which works and works and does not talk only (cheers). The Chairman of the Reception Committee said that he belonged to the agricultural classes. I am afraid I am in the same boat. Therefore you cannot expect much eloquence from me. I have said in a few blunt sentences what I thought best. As compared with the eloquent gentlemen from Bengal we cut very poor figure. Gentlemen, I will not detain you any further but will only say that I am here to support the resolution so eloquently proposed and seconded by the previous speakers (cheers).

First Day
Sardar Gurchan
Singh.

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar Rao Bahadur of Amraoti:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I have great pleasure in supporting the nomination of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to the Chair of this Congress. Mr. Gokhale's name has become a household word amongst us (cheers). For years past he has devoted his great talents to the service of his countrymen. He belongs to that class of our Poona friends who scorning all ideas of personal interest and personal gain have devoted themselves to the good of our country. They have sacrificed themselves on the altar of public duty (cheers). For 18 years he has worked on a bare pittance as Professor of the Fergusson College. Along with that work he has laboured for the political emancipation of our country. Now during the last three years he has been working in the Imperial Legislative Council. What splendid work he has done for you in England everyone who has cared to read the papers knows. That is not the only service he has done or purposes to do. There is one other work, one great and important work which he has done and to which no reference has been made and to which I wish to refer in particular. That great work is the foundation of a Society to be called the Servants of India Society (cheers). Gentlemen, the vast and great work which has been done in Catholic countries by the Jesuits and all other persons who abandon the world and devote themselves to the cause of religion—that kind of work in regard to our political emancipation is aimed at by this Society. The members of this Society are to live on a bare pittance, denying themselves the necessary comforts of life; they want to labour to educate their countrymen in their political rights, in their duties of citizenship, to work for the good and elevation of the whole country. A person like that who has made continuous sacrifice during the last 20 years is fit to be the head of that association and lead on young men to that goal which all of us should aim at, namely, to sacrifice all our own personal ambitions and devote ourselves to the good of our country. Gentlemen, Benares must consider itself as having obtained a peculiar privilege and a peculiar honour, in having such a gentleman as the President of the Congress to be held here. With these remarks I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution so ably moved by Pandit Bishumbher Nath seconded by our friend Mr. R. C. Dutt.

Rao Bahadur
R. N. Mudholkar.

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I have great pleasure in supporting this proposition. As a senior worker in the field of Indian Politics and as an admirer I have observed for the last 20 years and longer the work of Mr. Gokhale, the public career of Mr. Gokhale with the greatest interest. First as the Editor of the quarterly journal of the "Poona Sarvajanic Sabha" his ability as a writer and as a politician came to public notice. Then as a junior member of the Indian National Congress his speeches were marked by great cogency of argument, and by power of facts and figures (applause). He was one of the four witnesses before the Welby Commission; and happening to be one of the four, I had peculiar opportunities of observing the great ability and knowledge which he brought to bear on the exceedingly valuable evidence which he placed before that Royal Commission. And after his return he worked with conspicuous success as President of the Municipal Council of Poona. His ability, diligence and knowledge necessarily brought him to the notice of the

Mr. G. Subrama-
nia Iyer.

First Day.

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer.

Government and his fellow-citizens of Bombay. And he was chosen as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. There his ability marked him for a higher position and it was a comparative waste of talents to keep him within the limits of the local Legislative Council. Therefore he was pushed up to the Viceroy's Legislative Council where his brilliant work has been acknowledged universally throughout this country. Sir Pherozesah Mehta and Mr. Sayani first introduced a new tone in the debates of the Legislative Council. Their speeches by their novelty, courage and fearlessness opened the eyes of officials and made Sir James Westland exclaim: "You gentlemen of the Congress are introducing Congress Politics into the dignified chamber of the Council." Mr. Gokhale raised still further the dignity and character of the debate in the Viceregal Council. My friend Mr. Dutt has referred to the wonderful effect and astonishment which his first budget speech in the Viceroy's Council produced; but of course to those who had not watched his career it came as a wonder and bewilderment, but to the few who had watched his public utterances and writings the ability which marked his speeches in the Legislative Council was by no means a revelation. Gentlemen, I need not refer further to the brilliant work he has done in England as our delegate. If he had not done anything else, only for the work he has achieved during the last few weeks in England he has written his name indelibly in the hearts of the people. To-day the name of Mr. Gokhale is as dear to me and to us in Madras as it is to those in the Punjab, Bengal and other Provinces. If the Congress has not done anything else to us it has enabled us to discover our great men, to discover who are the leaders in whom we can place our trust, who can lead us to success and victory in the great battle-field of politics. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition. (*Cheers*).

The election of President.

The Chairman:—Brother delegates, the proposal that Mr. Gokhale be elected as the President of the Congress has been moved, seconded and supported. I will put it to the vote. I hope it will be carried by acclamation.

The resolution was carried amidst the most enthusiastic and prolonged cheering and shouting of "Bande Mataram."

The Honourable Mr. Gokhale who was inducted into the Presidential Chair rose amidst deafening cheers and thus addressed the assembly:—

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The President's Address.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great, the signal honour, which you have conferred upon me by electing me to preside over your deliberations this year. As has been said by more than one of my predecessors, the Presidentship of the Congress is the highest distinction, which it is in the power of our countrymen to bestow upon any one; and proud indeed is that moment in an Indian's life, when he receives at your hands this most conspicuous mark of your confidence and your favour. As I, however, stand before you to-day, it is not so much the honour of the position, great as that is, as the responsibility, which it imposes upon me, that occupies my thoughts. When I was first invited nearly four months ago, to accept this office, we were able to see on the horizon only the small cloud—no bigger than a man's hand. Since then the sky has been overcast and for some time a storm has been raging; and it is with rocks ahead and angry waves beating around that I am called upon to take charge of the vessel of the Congress. Even the stoutest heart among us may well own to a feeling of anxiety in such a situation. Let us, however, humbly trust that in this holy city of Benares, the Divine guidance, on which we may securely throw ourselves, will not fail us, and that the united wisdom and patriotism of the delegates assembled will enable the Congress to emerge from the present crisis with unimpaired and even enhanced prestige and usefulness.

THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES.

Gentlemen, our first duty to-day is to offer our most loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of this their first visit to India. The Throne in England is above all parties—beyond all controversies. It is the permanent seat of the majesty, the honour and the beneficence of the British Empire. And in offering our homage to its illustrious occupants and their heirs and representatives, we not only perform a loyal duty, but also express the gratitude of our hearts for all that is noble and high-minded in England's connection with India. The late Queen-Empress, again, was known, within the limits of her constitutional position, to exercise during her reign her vast influence in favour of a policy of justice and sympathy towards the Indian people. We can never forget that the great Proclamation of 1858, on which we take our stand so largely in our constitutional struggle, was not only in spirit but also in substance her own declaration of the principles, on which India was to be governed. The present King-Emperor has announced his resolve to walk in the foot-steps of his mother, and we have no doubt that the Prince of Wales is animated by the same desire to see a policy of righteousness pursued towards India. We rejoice that His Royal Highness and his noble consort have come out amongst us to acquaint themselves personally with the ancient civilization of this country and its present condition. The Congress earnestly and respectfully wishes Their Royal Highnesses a most successful tour through India, and it humbly trusts that the knowledge they will acquire and the recollections they will carry back with them will constitute a fresh bond of sympathy and attachment between the Royal Family in England the Princes and People of this country.

THE NEW VICEROY.

The Congress also offers a most cordial and respectful welcome to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto. The new Viceroy assumes the responsibilities of his office at a critical juncture. The temper of the people, so sorely tried during the last three years, calls for the exercise of wise and statesmanlike conciliation on the part of those who are in authority, if further estrangement between the rulers and the ruled is to be prevented. I earnestly trust that such conciliation will be forthcoming. Meanwhile a special responsibility rests upon all to see to it that the immediate task that confronts His Excellency is not made more difficult than it already is. The difficulties of the situation are not of Lord Minto's creating, and he has a right to expect the co-operation of both the officials and the public in his endeavours to terminate a state of tension, which has already produced deplorable results and which cannot be prolonged without serious detriment to the best interests of the country.

First Day.
The President's
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LORD CURZON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Gentlemen, how true it is that to everything there is an end! Thus even the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon has come to a close! For seven long years, all eyes had constantly to turn to one masterful figure in the land,—now in admiration, now in astonishment, more often in anger and in pain, till at last it has become difficult to realize that a change has really come. For a parallel to such an administration, we must, I think, go back to the times of Aurangzeb in the history of our own country. There we find the same attempt at a rule excessively centralized and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all round. I think even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. In some respects, his Lordship will always be recognized as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to this country. His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work,—these will ever be a theme of just and unstinted praise. But the gods are jealous, and amidst such lavish endowments, they withheld from him a sympathetic imagination, without which no man can ever understand an alien people; and it is a sad truth that to the end of his administration Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of India. This was at the root of his many inconsistencies and made him a perpetual puzzle to most men. And thus the man, who professed in all sincerity, before he assumed the reins of office, his great anxiety to show the utmost deference to the feelings and even the prejudices of those over whom he was set to rule, ended by denouncing in unmeasured terms not only the present generation of Indians but also their remote ancestors and even the ideals of their race, which they cherish above everything else; he, who, in the early part of his administration, publicly warned the official classes that “official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to the stimulus and guidance” of public opinion and who declared that in the present state of India “the opinion of the educated classes is one which it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise,” ended by trampling more systematically upon that opinion than any of his predecessors, and claiming for his own judgment and that of his official colleagues a virtual character of infallibility. The fact is that Lord Curzon came to India with certain fixed ideas. To him India was a country, where the Englishman was to monopolize for all time all power and talk all the while of duty. The Indian's only business was to be governed and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country; and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them. Even in his last farewell speech at the Byculla Club in Bombay, India exists only as a scene of the Englishman's labours, with the toiling millions of the country—eighty per cent., of the population—in the background. The remaining twenty per cent., for aught they are worth, might as well be gently swept into the sea! Had Lord Curzon been less self-centred, had he had more humility in his nature, he might perhaps have discovered his mistake before it was too late. This would probably have enabled him to avoid giving so much offence and causing so much pain as he unhappily did during the last two years, but I doubt if the main current of his administration would even then have flowed in another channel. Lord Curzon's highest ideal of statesmanship is efficiency of administration. He does not believe in what Mr. Gladstone used to call the principle of liberty as a factor of human progress. He has no sympathy with popular aspirations, and when he finds them among a subject people, he thinks he is rendering their country a service by trying to put them down. Thus in his Byculla Club speech he actually stated that he had not offered political concessions to the people of India, because he “did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so!” Taking Lord Curzon at his highest, we find him engaged in a herculean attempt to strengthen the Englishman's monopoly of power in India and stem the tide of popular agitation and discontent rousing the members of the bureaucracy to a sense of duty similar to his own and raising the standard of administrative efficiency all round. The attempt has failed, as it was bound to fail. Never was discontent in India

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more acute and widespread than when the late Viceroy laid down the reins of office; and as regards the bureaucratic monopoly of power, I think we are sensibly nearer the time when it will be successfully assailed.

One claim Lord Curzon advanced in his farewell speech at Bombay, which it is necessary to examine a little. He told his hearers, as he had done once before—on the occasion of the last Budget—that even if he had incurred the hostility of educated Indians, the masses would be grateful to him for what he had done for them. This attempt to distinguish between the interests of the educated classes and those of the bulk of their countrymen is a favourite device with those who seek to repress the legitimate aspirations of our people. It is significant that Lord Curzon had never resorted to it till he had finally broken with the educated classes. We know of course that the distinction is unreal and ridiculous and we know also that most of those who use it as a convenient means to disparage the educated classes cannot themselves really believe in it. Lord Curzon mentions the reduction of the salt-duty, the writing off of famine arrears, the increased grants to primary education and to irrigation, the attempt at Police Reform as measures on which he bases his claim. The suggestion here is that he adopted these measures for the good of the masses in spite of the opposition—at any rate, the indifference—of the educated classes when the plain fact is that it was the Congress that had been urging these measures year after year on the attention of Government and that it was only after years of persistent agitation that it was able to move the Government in the desired direction. Four years ago, when, with a surplus of seven crores or nearly five millions sterling in hand, the Government of India did not remit any taxation, and I ventured to complain of this in Council and to urge an immediate reduction of the salt-duty, I well remember how Lord Curzon sneered at those who “talked glibly” of the burdens of the masses and of the necessity of lowering the salt-tax as a measure of relief! Lord Curzon was fortunate in coming to India when the currency legislation of Lord Lansdowne and Sir David Barbour had succeeded in artificially raising the rupee to its present level, thereby enabling the Government of India to save about four millions sterling a year on its Home remittances. This, with the recovery of the opium revenue, placed huge surpluses at Lord Curzon’s disposal throughout his administration, and he never knew a moment of that financial stress and anxiety, which his predecessors had to face for a series of years. Considering how large these surpluses have been, I do not think the relief given by Lord Curzon to the tax-payers of the country has by any means been liberal. He himself estimated last March the total amount of this relief at 7 millions sterling. He did not mention that during the same time he had taken from the tax-payers 33 millions sterling over and above the requirements of the Government. Again how paltry is the relief given by the reduction of the salt-duty and the writing off of famine arrears, compared with the enormous injury done to the mass of our people by the artificial raising of the value of the rupee, which led to a heavy immediate depreciation of their small savings in silver and which makes a grievous addition to their permanent burdens by indirectly enhancing their assessments and increasing their debts to the money-lender, as prices adjust themselves to the new Rupee! Much has been made of Lord Curzon’s increased grants to primary education. Considering how little the State does in India for the education of the masses, it would have been astonishing, if with such surpluses Lord Curzon had not made any addition to the educational expenditure of the country. But if he has given a quarter of a million more to education, he has given five millions a year more to the Army; and with reckless profusion he has increased the salaries of European officials in many departments and has created several new posts for them. “A spirit of expenditure,” to use an expression of Mr. Gladstone’s, has been abroad in all directions during his time, and he has never practised the old-fashioned virtue of economy, with which the real interests of the people are bound up. Of course a ruler cannot labour as devotedly as Lord Curzon has done for seven years for increased efficiency without removing or mitigating important administrative evils; but that is quite different from a claim to champion the special interests of the masses, as against their natural leaders and spokesmen, the educated classes of the community.

PARTITION OF BENGAL.

Gentlemen, the question that is uppermost in the minds of us all at this moment is the Partition of Bengal. A cruel wrong has been inflicted on our Bengalee brethren and the whole country has been stirred to its deepest depths in sorrow and resentment, as had never been the case before. The scheme of partition, concocted in the dark and carried out in the face of the fiercest opposition that any Government measure has encountered during the last half a century, will always stand as a complete illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule—its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people, the mockery of an appeal to its sense of justice, its cool preference of Service interests to those of the governed. Lord Curzon and his advisers—if he ever had any advisers—could never allege that they had no means of judging of the depth of public feeling in the matter. All that could possibly have been done by way of a respectful representation of the views of the people had been done. As soon as it was known that a partition of

some sort was contemplated, meeting after meeting of protest was held, till over five hundred public meetings in all parts of the Province had proclaimed in no uncertain voice that the attempt to dismember a compact and homogenous province, to which the people were passionately attached and of which they were justly proud, was deeply resented and would be resisted to the uttermost. Memorials to the same effect poured in upon the Viceroy. The Secretary of State for India was implored to withhold his sanction to the proposed measure. The intervention of the British House of Commons was sought first by a monster petition, signed by sixty-thousand people, and later by means of a debate on the subject raised in the House by our ever-watchful friend, Mr. Herbert Roberts. All proved unavailing. The Viceroy had made up his mind. The officials under him had expressed approval. What business had the people to have an opinion of their own and to stand in the way? To add insult to injury, Lord Curzon described the opposition to his measure as "manufactured"—an opposition in which all classes of Indians, high and low, uneducated and educated, Hindus and Mahomadians had joined, an opposition than which nothing more intense, nothing more wide-spread, nothing more spontaneous had been seen in this country in the whole course of our political agitation! Let it be remembered that when the late Viceroy cast this stigma on those who were ranged against his proposals, not a single public pronouncement in favour of those proposals had been made by any section of the community; and that among foremost opponents of the measure were men like Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Gurudas Banerji, Raja Peary Mohan Mukerji and Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, the Maharajas of Mymensing and Kassimbazar,—men who keep themselves aloof from ordinary political agitation and never say a word calculated in any way to embarrass the authorities, and who came forward to oppose publicly the Partition project only from an overpowering sense of the necessity of their doing what they could to avert a dreaded calamity. If the opinions of even such men are to be brushed aside with contempt, if all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattle, if men, whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus made to realize the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own, then all I can say is "Goodbye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interests of the people!" I can conceive of no graver indictment of British rule than that such a state of things should be possible after a hundred years of that rule.

Gentlemen, I have carefully gone through all the papers which have been published by the Government on this subject of Partition. Three things have struck me forcibly—determination to dismember Bengal at all costs, an anxiety to promote the interests of Assam at the expense of Bengal, and a desire to suit everything to the interests and convenience of the Civil Service. It is not merely that a number of new prizes have been thrown into the lap of that Service—one Lieutenant-Governorship, two Memberships of the Board of Revenue, one Commissionership of a Division, several Secretaryships and Under-Secretaryships—but alternative schemes of readjustment have been rejected on the express ground that their adoption would be unpopular with members of the Service. Thus even if a reduction of the charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had really become inevitable—a contention, which the greatest living authority on the subject, Sir Henry Cotton, who was Secretary to the Bengal Government under seven Lieutenant-Governors, does not admit—one would have thought that the most natural course to take was to separate Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur from Bengal and form them into a separate Province. This would have made the Western Province one of 30 millions in place of the Eastern. But this, says the Government of India, "would take from Bengal all its best districts and would make the Province universally unpopular." This was of course a fatal objection, for compared with the displeasure of the Civil Service, the trampling under foot of public opinion and the outraging of the deepest feelings of a whole people was a small matter! But one can see that administrative considerations were really only secondary in the determination of this question. The dismemberment of Bengal had become necessary, because in the view of the Government of India, "it cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion or what passes for it should be manufactured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other view, being discouraged or suppressed." "From every point of view," the Government further states "it appears to us desirable to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals and to preserve the growing intelligence and enterprise of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity." You will see that this is only a paraphrase, in Lord Curzon's most approved style, of the complaint of the people of Bengal that their fair Province has been dismembered to destroy their growing solidarity, check their national aspirations and weaken their power of co-operating for national ends, lessen the influence of their educated classes with their countrymen, and reduce the political importance of Calcutta. After this let no apologist of the late Viceroy pretend that the object of the partition was administrative convenience and not political repression!

Gentlemen, it is difficult to speak in terms of due restraint of Lord Curzon's conduct throughout this affair. Having published his earlier and smaller scheme for public criticism, it was his clear duty to publish similarly the later and larger scheme, which he afterwards substituted for it. But in consequence of the opposition which the first scheme

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encountered, he abandoned the idea of taking the public any more into his confidence and proceeded to work in the matter in the dark. For more than a year nothing further was heard of his intentions, and while he was silently elaborating the details of his measure, he allowed the impression to prevail that the Government had abandoned the Partition project. And in the end, when he had succeeded in securing the Secretary of State's sanction to the scheme, it was from Simla, where he and his official colleagues were beyond the reach of public opinion, that he sprang the final orders of Government upon an unprepared people. Then suddenly came his resignation. And the people permitted themselves for a while to hope that it would bring them at least a brief respite, especially as Mr. Brodrick had promised shortly before to present further papers on the subject to Parliament and that was understood to mean that the scheme would not be brought into operation till Parliament reassembled at the beginning of next year. Of course, after Lord Curzon's resignation, the only proper, the only dignified course for him was to take no step, which it was difficult to revoke and the consequences of which would have to be faced, not by him, but by his successor; he owed it to Lord Minto to give him an opportunity to examine the question for himself; he owed it to the Royal visitors not to plunge the largest Province of India into violent agitation and grief on the eve of their visit to it. But Lord Curzon was determined to partition Bengal before he left India and so he rushed the necessary legislation through the Legislative Council at Simla, which only the official members could attend, and enforced his orders on 16th October last—a day observed as one of universal mourning by all classes of people in Bengal. And now, while he himself has gone from India, what a sea of troubles he has bequeathed to his successor! Fortunately, there are grounds to believe that Lord Minto will deal with the situation with tact, firmness, and sympathy, and it seems he has already pulled up to some extent Lord Curzon's favourite Lieutenant, the first ruler of the new Eastern Province. Mr. Fuller has evidently cast to the winds all prudence, all restraint, all sense of responsibility. Even if a fraction of what the papers have been reporting be true, his extraordinary doings must receive the attention of the new Secretary of State for India and the House of Commons. There is no surer method of goading a docile people into a state of dangerous despair than the kind of hectoring and repression he has been attempting.

But, gentlemen, as has been well said, even in things evil there is a soul of goodness, and the dark times, through which Bengal has passed and is passing, have not been without a message of bright hope for the future. The tremendous upheaval of popular feeling, which has taken place in Bengal in consequence of the partition, will constitute a landmark in the history of our national progress. For the first time since British rule began, all sections of the Indian Community, without distinction of caste or creed, have been moved by a common impulse and without the stimulus of external pressure to act together in offering resistance to a common wrong. A wave of true national consciousness has swept over the Province, and at its touch old barriers have, for the time at any rate, been thrown down, personal jealousies have vanished, other controversies have been hushed! Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India, and her sufferings have not been endured in vain, when they have helped to draw closer all parts of the country in sympathy and in aspiration. A great rush and uprising of the waters, such as has been recently witnessed in Bengal, cannot take place without a little inundation over the banks here and there. These little excesses are inevitable, when large masses of men move spontaneously—especially when the movement is from darkness unto light, from bondage towards freedom,—and they must not be allowed to disconcert us too much. The most outstanding fact of the situation is that the public life of this country has received an accession of strength of great importance, and for this all India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal. Of course the difficulties which confront the leaders of Bengal are enormous and perhaps they have only just begun. But I know there is no disposition to shrink from any responsibilities and I have no doubt that whatever sacrifices are necessary will be cheerfully made. All India is at their back and they will receive in their work that lies before them the cordial sympathy and assistance of the other Provinces. Any discredit, that is allowed to fall on them, affects us all. They on their side must not forget that the honour of all India is at present in their keeping.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

Gentlemen, I will now say a few words on a movement which has spread so rapidly and has been hailed with so much enthusiasm all over the country during the last few months—the *Swadeshi* movement. It is necessary at the outset to distinguish it from another movement, started in Bengal, which has really given it such immense impetus—the boycott of British goods. We all know that when our Bengali brethren found that nothing would turn the late Viceroy from his purpose of partitioning Bengal, that all their protests in the Press and on the platform, all their memorials to him, to the Secretary of State and to Parliament were unavailing, that the Government exercised its despotic strength to trample on their most cherished feelings and injure their dearest interests and that no protection against this of any kind was forthcoming from any quarter, they, in their extremity, resolved to have recourse to this boycott movement. This they did with a two fold object—first as a demonstration of their deep resentment at the treatment they were receiving, and secondly to attract the attention of the people in England to their grievances, so that those

who were in a position to call the Government of India to account might understand what was taking place in India. It was thus as a political weapon, used for a definite political purpose, that they had recourse to the boycott; and in the circumstances of their position they had every justification for the step they took. And I can tell you from personal experience that their action has proved immensely effective in drawing the attention of English people to the state of things in our country. But a weapon like this must be reserved only for extreme occasions. There are obvious risks involved in its failure and it cannot be used with sufficient effectiveness, unless there is an extraordinary upheaval of popular feeling behind it. It is bound to rouse angry passions on the other side, and no true well-wisher of his country will be responsible for provoking such passions, except under an overpowering sense of necessity. On an extreme occasion, of course, a boycotting demonstration is perfectly legitimate, but that occasion must be one to drive all classes, as in Bengal, to act with one impulse, and make all leaders sink their personal differences in the presence of a common danger. It is well to remember that the term "boycott" owing to its origin, has got unsavoury associations, and it conveys to the mind before everything else a vindictive desire to injure another. Such a desire on our part, as a normal feature of our relations with England, is of course out of the question. Moreover, if the boycott is confined to British goods only, it leaves us free to purchase the goods of other foreign countries and this does not help the *Swadeshi* movement in any way.

Gentlemen, the true *Swadeshi* movement is both a patriotic and an economic movement. The idea of *Swadesh* or "one's own country" is one of the noblest conceptions that have ever stirred the heart of humanity. As the poet asks,—

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,—
This is my own, my native land!"

The devotion to motherland, which is enshrined in the highest *Swadeshi*, is an influence so profound and so passionate that its very thought thrills and its actual touch lifts one out of oneself. India needs to-day above everything else that the gospel of this devotion should be preached to high and low, to prince and to peasant, in town and in hamlet, till the service of motherland becomes with us as overmastering a passion as it is in Japan. The *Swadeshi* movement, as it is ordinarily understood, presents one part of this gospel to the mass of our people in a form, which brings it within their comprehension. It turns their thoughts to their country, accustoms them to the idea of voluntarily making some sacrifice for her sake, enables them to take an intelligent interest in her economic development and teaches them the important lesson of co-operating with one another for a national end. All this is most valuable work, and those who undertake it are entitled to feel that they are engaged in a highly patriotic mission. But the movement on its material side is an economic one; and though self-denying ordinances, extensively entered into, must serve a valuable economic purpose, namely, to ensure a ready consumption of such articles as are produced in the country and to furnish a perpetual stimulus to production by keeping the demand for indigenous things largely in excess of the supply, the difficulties that surround the question economically are so great that they require the co-operation of every available agency to surmount them. The problem is indeed one of the first magnitude. Twelve years ago, the late Mr. Ranade remarked at an Industrial Conference held at Poona:—"The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt domination, which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence, which paralyzes the springs of all the varied activities, which together make up the life of a nation." The question of production is a question of capital, enterprise and skill, and in all these factors, our deficiency at present is very great. Whoever can help in any one of these fields is, therefore, a worker in the *Swadeshi* cause and should be welcomed as such. Not by methods of exclusion but by those of comprehension, not by insisting on every one working in the same part of the field but by leaving each one free to select his own corner, by attracting to the cause all who are likely to help and not alienating any who are already with us, are the difficulties of the problem likely to be overcome. Above all, let us see to it that there are no fresh divisions in the country in the name of *Swadeshim*. No greater perversion of its true spirit could be imagined than that.

Take the question of cotton piece-goods, of which we import at present over 22 millions sterling worth a year. This is by far the heaviest item among our imports and our present *Swadeshi* agitation is directed mainly towards producing as much of these goods in our own country as possible. I have consulted three of the best experts available in India on his subject—Mr. Bezanji of Nagpur, the right hand man of the late Mr. Tata in mill matters, the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas Damodardas, who has written an admirable paper on the Cotton Industry for the Industrial Conference and has kindly placed a copy of it at my disposal, and our friend Mr. Wacha. They are all agreed about the requirements and the difficulties of the situation. So far as cotton fabrics are concerned, even strict Free Traders should have nothing to say against the encouragement, which the *Swadeshi* movement seeks to give to their manufacture in India. In the first place, many of the usual objections that may be urged

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against a system of State protection do not apply to helpful voluntary action on the part of consumers, such as the *Swadeshi* movement endeavours to promote. Moreover, the essence of Free Trade is that a commodity should be produced where the comparative cost of its production is the least and that it should be consumed where its relative value is the highest; and if accidental circumstances have thwarted such an adjustment in a given case, any agency which seeks to overcome the impediment, works in the end in the interests of true Free Trade. Now everyone will admit that with cheap labour and cotton at her own door, India enjoys exceptional advantages for the manufacture of cotton goods; and if the *Swadeshi* movement helps her to regain her natural position in this respect—a position which she once occupied but out of which she has been driven by an extraordinary combination of circumstances—the movement works not against but in furtherance of true Free Trade. Even at present the Cotton Industry in India is an important one. It is the largest industry after agriculture in the country; it is also the only one—agriculture excepted—in which the Indians themselves have a substantial share. It is represented by a paid-up capital of about 17 crores of rupees or a little over 11 millions sterling, the number of mills being about 200, with five million spindles and fifty thousand power-looms. In addition to this, there are, according to the Census of 1901, about a quarter of a million persons engaged in handloom weaving in the country. Our mills consume nearly 60 per cent., of the cotton produce of India and produce 58 crore lbs of yarn. Of this quantity, Mr. Vithaldas tells us, about 23½ crore lbs is exported to China and other foreign countries, about 13½ crores is used in our weaving mills, and about 19 crores is woven by hand-loom weavers, the remaining 2 crores going to the manufacture of rope and twine. In addition to this, 3 crore lbs of yarn is imported from the United Kingdom, and is consumed by the hand-looms. The hand-loom industry of the country thus absorbs, in spite of its hard struggles, about 22 crore lbs of yarn, or nearly double the quantity woven by power-looms, and this is a most interesting and significant fact. The yarn used by the weaving mills produces about 55 crores of yards of cloth, of which about 14 crore yards is exported to foreign countries and about 41 crores is left for consumption in the country. If we put down the production of the hand-looms at about 90 crore yards, we have about 130 crore yards as the quantity of *Swadeshi* cloth consumed at present in India.

The quantity of piece-goods imported from the United Kingdom and retained for use in the country is about 205 crore yards a year. Of the total cloth consumed, therefore, over one-third is at present *Swadeshi*. This is an encouraging feature of the situation. But the imported cloth is almost all superior in quality. "While our mills," Mr. Vithaldas says, "produce the coarser cloth, say from yarn up to 30s count and in a few cases up to 40s, the bulk of the imported cloth is of the finer quality, using yarn over 30s count. The Indian weaving mills are obliged to restrict themselves for the most part to weaving coarser cloth owing to the inferior quality of cotton now grown in the country." It may be noted that even from existing cotton, hand-looms can, owing to their greater delicacy of handling the yarn, produce finer cloth than the power-looms. Fortunately owing to the exertions of the Agricultural Department of the Bombay Government—exertions for which it is entitled to the best thanks of the whole country—Egyptian cotton has just been successfully introduced into Sind, and this year a thousand bales of a quality equal to very good Egyptian have been produced. A much heavier crop is expected next year and there is no doubt that its cultivation will rapidly extend. The main difficulty in the way of our manufacturing the quality of cloth that is at present imported is one of capital. Mr. Wacha estimates that if the whole quantity of 205 crore yards is to be produced by mills, the industry requires an additional capital of about 30 crores of rupees. Even if we propose to spread this over ten years, we should require an addition of 3 crores of rupees every year. Now if we turn to the Statistical Abstract of British India, we shall find that the total increase in the capital invested in cotton mills during the last ten years has been only about 3 crores,—an amount that Mr. Wacha wants every year for ten years. The normal development of the mill industry is thus plainly unequal to the requirements of the situation. Moreover it is well to remember what Mr. Bezanji says—that the present mill-owners must not be expected to be very keen about the production of finer cloth, because its manufacture is much less paying than that of the coarser cloth. This is due to various causes, the principal one among them being that English capital, similarly invested, is satisfied with a smaller range of profits. Capital from other quarters must, therefore, be induced to come forward and undertake this business. If we again turn to the Statistical Abstract, we shall find that our people hold about 50 crores of rupees in Government Securities and about 11 crores in Postal Savings Banks, the private deposits stand at about 33 crores of rupees, but there are no means of ascertaining how much of the amount is held by Indians. Considering the extent of the country and the numbers of the population, these resources are, of course, extremely meagre. Still they might furnish some part of the capital needed. In this connection may I say that a special responsibility now rests in the matter on the Aristocracy of Bengal! And this not merely because the *Swadeshi* movement is being so vigorously advocated in their Province, but also because owing to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal they are enabled to enjoy resources, which in other parts of India, are swept into the coffers of the State. If sufficient capital is forthcoming, Mr. Bezanji's patriotism may, I am sure, be relied on to secure for the un-

dertaking whatever assistance his great capacity and unrivalled knowledge can give. It must, however, be admitted that capital will come forward only cautiously for this branch of the business. But the hand-loom is likely to prove of greater immediate service. Mr. Vithaldas looks forward to a great revival of the hand-loom industry in the country, and I cannot do better than quote what he says on this point in his paper. "This village industry," he says, "gives means of livelihood not only to an immense number of the weaver class but afford means of supplementing their income to agriculturists—the backbone of India—who usually employ themselves on hand-loom, when field-work is unnecessary and also when, owing to famine, drought or excessive rains, agricultural operations are not possible. Now the apparatus with which they work is nearly two centuries behind the times. Mr. Havell, Principal of Calcutta School of Art, Mr. Chatterton of the Madras School of Art, and Mr. Churchill of Bangalore, along with many others, are doing yeoman's service by taking keen interest in the question of supplying economical and improved apparatus to the hand-loom weavers. Mr. Havell has pointed out that in preparing the work our hand-loom weavers are incapable of winding more than two threads at a time, though the simplest mechanical device would enable them to treat 50 or 100 threads simultaneously. The latest European hand-loom, which successively competes with the power-loom in Cairo and in many places in Europe, can turn out a maximum of 48 yards of common cloth in a day. Mr. Havell is satisfied that the greater portion of the imported cotton cloth can be made in the Indian hand-loom with great profits to the whole community. The question of the immediate revival of the hand-loom weaving industry on a commercial basis demands the most earnest attention of every well-wisher of India and evidence gives promise of a successful issue to efforts put forward in this direction." The outlook here is thus hopeful and cheering; only we must not fail to realize that the co-operation of all who can help—including the Government—is needed to overcome the difficulties that lie in the path.

OUR AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS.

Gentlemen, this is the twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress. Year after year, since 1885, we have been assembling in these gatherings to give voice to our aspirations and to formulate our wants. When the movement was first inaugurated, we were under the influence of that remarkable outburst of enthusiasm for British Rule, which had been evoked in the country by the great Viceroyalty of the Marquis of Ripon. The best beloved of India's Viceroys was not content to offer mere lip-homage to the principle that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. He had dared to act on it in practice and he had braved persecution at the hands of his own countrymen in India for its sake. Lord Ripon's noblest service to this country was that he greatly quickened the processes by which the consciousness of a national purpose comes to establish itself in the minds of a people. The Congress movement was the direct and immediate outcome of this realization. It was started to focus and organize the patriotic forces that were working independently of one another in different parts of the country so as to invest their work with a national character and to increase their general effectiveness. Hope at that time was warm and faith shone bright largely as a result of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, and those who started the Congress believed that by offering their criticism and urging their demands from a national platform, where they could speak in the name of all India, they would be able to secure a continuous improvement of the administration and a steady advance in the direction of the political emancipation of the people. Twenty years have since elapsed and during the time much has happened to chill that hope and dim that faith, but there can be no doubt that work of great value in our national life has already been accomplished. The minds of the people have been familiarized with the idea of a united India working for her salvation; a national public opinion has been created; close bonds of sympathy now knit together the different Provinces; caste and creed separations hamper less and less the pursuit of common aim; the dignity of a consciousness of national existence has spread over the whole land. Our record of political concessions won is, no doubt, very meagre, but those that have been secured are of considerable value; some retrogression has been prevented; and if latterly we have been unable to stem the tide of reaction, the resistance we have offered, though it has failed of its avowed purpose, has substantially strengthened our public life. Our deliberations have extended over a very wide range of problems; public opinion in the country is, in consequence, better informed and the Press is steadily growing in authority and usefulness. Above all, there is a general perception now of the goal towards which we have to strive and a wide recognition of the arduous character of the struggle and the immense sacrifices it requires.

The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that in course of time a form of Government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire. For better, for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire itself. That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one; for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility, required for the proper exercise of the political institutions of the West, can be acquired

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by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only. To admit this is not to express any agreement with those who usually oppose all attempts at reform on the plea that the people are not ready for it. "It is liberty alone," says Mr. Gladstone in words of profound wisdom, "which fits men for liberty." This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, wait till they are fit." While, therefore, we are prepared to allow that an advance towards our goal may be only by reasonably cautious steps, what we emphatically insist on is that the resources of the country should be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people by means of education and in other ways, for such advance. Even the most bigoted champion of the existing system of administration will not pretend that this is in any degree the case at present. Our net revenue is about 44 millions sterling. Of this very nearly one-half is now eaten up by the Army. The Home Charges, exclusive of their military portion absorb nearly one-third. These two, between them, account for about 34 millions out of 44. Then over three millions are paid to European officials in civil employ. This leaves only about 7 millions at the disposal of the Government to be applied to other purposes. Can any one, who realizes what this means, wonder that the Government spends only a miserable three-quarters of a million out of State funds on the education of the people—primary, secondary and higher, all put together! Japan came under the influence of Western ideas only forty years ago, and yet already she is in a line with the most advanced nations of the West in matters of mass education, the State finding funds for the education of every child of school-going age. We have now been a hundred years under England's rule, and yet to-day four villages out of every five are without a school house and seven children out of eight are allowed to grow up in ignorance and in darkness! Militarism, Service interests and the interest of the English capitalists,—all take precedence to-day of the true interest of the Indian people in the administration of the country. Things cannot be otherwise, for it is the Government of the people of one country by the people of another, and this, as Mill points out, is bound to produce great evils. Now the Congress wants that all this should change and that India should be governed, first and foremost, in the interests of the Indians themselves. This result will be achieved only in proportion as we obtain more and more voice in the government of our country. We are prepared to bear—and bear cheerfully—our fair share of the burdens of the Empire, of which we are now a part, but we want to participate in the privileges also, and we object most strongly to being sacrificed, as at present, in order that others may prosper. Then the Congress asks for a redemption of those promises for the equal treatment of Indians and Englishmen in the Government of this country, which have been solemnly given us by the Sovereign and the Parliament of England. It is now three-quarters of a century since the Parliament passed an Act, which, the Court of Directors pointed out, meant that there was to be no governing caste in India. The governing caste, however, is still as vigorous, as exclusive as ever. Twenty-five years later, the late Queen-Empress addressed a most memorable Proclamation to the Princes and people of India. The circumstances, connected with the issue of that Proclamation, and its noble contents will always bear witness to the true greatness of that great sovereign and will never cease to shed lustre on the English name. The Proclamation repeats the pledges contained in the Charter Act of 1833, and though an astounding attempt was made less than two years ago by the late Viceroy to explain away its solemn import, the plain meaning of the royal message cannot be altered without attributing what is nothing less than an unworthy subterfuge to a Sovereign, the deep reverence for whose memory is an asset of the Empire. That the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 have created in the eyes of reactionary rulers a most inconvenient situation is clear from a blunt declaration, which another Viceroy of India, the late Lord Lytton, made in a confidential document, which has since seen the light of day. Speaking of our claims and expectations based on the pledges of the Sovereign and the Parliament of England, he wrote :— "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them (the Natives of India) and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straight-forward course.....Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India, appear to me up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear." We accept Lord Lytton as an unimpeachable authority on the conduct of the Government in evading the fulfilment of the pledges. We deny his claim to lay down that our "claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled".

Our whole future, it is needless to say, is bound up with this question of the relative position of the two races in this country. The domination of one race over another—especially when there is no great disparity between their intellectual endowments or their general civilization—inflicts great injury on the subject race in a thousand insidious ways. On the moral side, the present situation is steadily destroying our capacity for initiative and dwarfing us as men of action. On the material side, it has resulted in a fearful impoverishment of the people. For a hundred years and more now India has been for members of the dominant race, a country where fortunes were to be made to be taken out and spent elsewhere. As in Ireland, the evil of absentee landlordism has in the past aggravated the

racial domination of the English over the Irish, so in India what may be called absentee capitalism has been added to the racial ascendancy of Englishmen. A great and ruinous drain of wealth from the country has gone on for many years, the net excess of exports over imports (including treasure) during the last forty years amounting to no less than a thousand millions sterling. The steady rise in the death-rate of the country—from 24 per thousand, the average for 1882—84, to 30 per thousand, the average for 1892—94, and 34 per thousand, the present average,—is a terrible and conclusive proof of this continuous impoverishment of the mass of our people. India's best interests—material and moral—no less than the honour of England, demand that the policy of equality for the two races promised by the Sovereign and by Parliament should be faithfully and courageously carried out.

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THE BUREAUCRACY.

Gentlemen, as I have already observed, the manner in which the Partition of Bengal has been carried out furnishes striking illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule. Happily these features are not always so conspicuously in evidence. No one also denies that a large proportion of the members of the bureaucracy bring to their work a high level of ability, a keen sense of duty and a conscientious desire, within the limits of the restricted opportunities permitted by the predominance of other interests, to do what good they can to the people. It is the system that is really at fault—a system which relegates the interests of the people to a very subordinate place and which, by putting too much power into the hands of these men, impairs their sense of responsibility and develops in them a spirit of intolerance of criticism. I know many of these men are on their side constantly smarting under a sense of unfair censure by our countrymen. They fail to realize that if the criticism that is passed on their actions is sometimes ill-informed and even unjust, this is largely due to the veil of secrecy which carefully hides official proceedings from the view of the people in India. Moreover, theirs are at present all the privileges of the position and they must bear without impatience or bitterness its few disadvantages. I have already said that our advance towards our goal can only be gradual. Meanwhile, there is a great deal of work to be done for the country in which officials and non-officials could join hands. A considerable part of the way we could both go together, but it can be only on terms consistent with the self-respect of either side. In old times, when British rule was new and its higher standards and its more vigorous purposes excited general admiration, the Englishman's claim to a privileged position, even outside the sphere of official duties, was allowed to pass unchallenged. That is now no longer possible and those officials, who expect the Indians to approach them with bated breath and whispering humbleness—and the type is not confined to the new Eastern Province exclusively—not only make useful relations between the two sides impossible but do more harm to their own class than they imagine. In one respect the gulf between the official and educated classes of the country is bound to widen more and more every day. The latter now clearly see that the bureaucracy is growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to their national aspirations. It was not so in the past. In a most remarkable letter which I had the honour to receive, while in England, two months ago, from Mr. Hodgson Pratt—a great and venerated name among all lovers of peace—he tells us with what object Western education was introduced into this country. "Fifty years ago," writes Mr. Pratt, who in those days was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, "while India was still under the government of the East India Company, it was considered both just and wise to introduce measures for national education on a liberal scale, with adequate provision of schools, colleges, and universities. This event was hailed with lively satisfaction by the native population as heralding a new era of social progress, and as satisfying the active intelligence of the Hindus. Now it must be observed that the character of the teaching thus inaugurated by Englishmen would necessarily reflect the ideals which have for centuries prevailed among them. In other words, Indian youths would be brought up to admire our doctrines of political liberty, popular rights, and national independence; nor could it ever have been supposed that these lessons would fall upon deaf ears and cold hearts. On the contrary, the inevitable result of such teaching was clearly perceived by the Government of those days, and was regarded in a generous spirit. In support of this assertion I may mention that at the time of the inauguration of these measures I accompanied the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Frederick Halliday) on one of his winter tours through the province. Naturally, he called the attention of those who attended the public meetings held by him to the new education policy, and he always took occasion to declare that the schools would promote one of the leading purposes of British Rule, *which was to prepare the people for self-government*. It certainly was not supposed that at any subsequent time a policy would be adopted which would disappoint the legitimate hopes thus created." Now, however, that the time has come for the bureaucracy to part with some of its power in favour of the educated classes, all kinds of excuses are brought forward to postpone what is no doubt regarded as the evil day. One favourite argument is that the educated classes are as yet only a very small fraction of the community. The hollowness of this plea was well exposed by the late Mr. George Yule in his address as President of our National Congress in 1888. Quoting Prof. Tharold Rogers, he pointed out that a hundred years ago, not one man in ten or one woman in twenty knew how to

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read and write in England. Going another century or two back, he added, the people of England, man and boy, high and low, with the exception of a mere handful, were steeped in the grossest ignorance and yet there was a House of Commons. We have now in this country about 15 million people who can read and write, and about a million of these have come under the influence of some kind of English education. Moreover, what we ask for at present is a voice in the Government of the country, not for the whole population, but for such portion of it as has been qualified by education to discharge properly the responsibilities of such association. Another argument brought forward in favour of maintaining the present bureaucratic monopoly of power is that though the educated classes make a grievance of it, the mass of the people are quite indifferent in the matter. Now in the first place, this is not true. However, it may suit the interests of the officials to deny the fact, the educated classes are in the present circumstances of India the natural leaders of the people. Theirs is the Vernacular Press, the contents of which do not fail to reach the mass of our population; in a hundred ways they have access to the minds of the latter; and what the educated Indians think to-day, the rest of India thinks to-morrow. Moreover do the officials realize how their contention condemns their rule out of their own mouth? For it means that only so long as the people of India are kept in ignorance and their faculties are forced to lie dormant that they do not raise any objection to the present system of administration. The moment education quickens those faculties and clears their vision, they range themselves against a continuance of the system!

OUR IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

Gentlemen, a number of important questions will come up before you for discussion during the next two days, and following the practice of previous Congresses, you will no doubt record after due deliberation, your views on them in the form of resolutions. This is of course necessary; but may I suggest that for purposes of effective agitation in the immediate future, we should now concentrate our main energies on certain selected portions of our programme? Speaking broadly most of the reforms that we have been advocating may be grouped under four heads:—(1) those which aim at securing for our people a larger and larger share in the administration and control of our affairs; these include a reform of our Legislative Councils, the appointment of Indians to the Secretary of State's Council and the Executive Councils in India, and a steady substitution of the Indian for the European agency in the public service of the country; (2) those which seek to improve the methods of administration, such as the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, Police Reform, and so forth; (3) those which propose a readjustment of financial arrangements with the object of securing a reduction of the burdens of the tax-payers and a more efficient application of our resources; under this head come a reduction of military charges, the moderating of land assessments and so forth; and (4) those which urge the adoption of measures calculated to improve the condition of the mass of the people; these include a vigorous extension of primary education, facilities for industrial and technical instruction, grants for improved sanitation, and a real attempt to deal with the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry. Now what I would most earnestly and respectfully suggest is that we would select from each group such reforms as may be immediately urged with the greatest effect and press them forward in this country and in England with all the energy we can command. In my humble opinion our immediate demands should be:—

(1) A reform of our Legislative Councils, raising the proportion of elected members to one-half, requiring the budgets to be formally passed by the Councils and empowering the members to bring forward amendments, with safeguards for bringing the debates to a close in a reasonable time. The Presidents of the Council should have the power of veto. The Viceroy's Legislative Council consists at present of 25 members of whom only 5 are elected, one by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta—a body of Europeans—and the other four by four provinces. We must ask for the proportion of elected members to be now raised to 12. Of this number, two seats may be given, one to commerce and one to certain industries, and the remaining ten should be assigned to different provinces, two to each of the three older provinces, and one each to the remaining. And, to begin with, the right of members to move amendments may be confined to one amendment each. The two members for Commerce and Industries will generally be Europeans and they will ordinarily vote with Government. Thus even if all the ten provincial members voted together they would be only 10 out of 25. Ordinarily, they will not be able to carry a motion against the Government, but on exceptional occasions they may obtain the support of two or three men from the other side and then the moral effect of the situation will be considerable. In the provincial Legislative Councils, we must have an increase in the member, each district of a province being empowered to send a member. The objection that these bodies will in that case be somewhat unwieldy is not entitled to much weight.

(2) The appointment of at least three Indians to the Secretary of State's Council to be returned one each by the three older provinces.

(3) The creation of Advisory Boards in all Districts throughout India, whom the heads of districts should be bound to consult in important matters of administration concerning the public before taking action. For the present their functions should be only advisory, the Collector or District Magistrate being at liberty to set aside their advice at their discretion. Half the members of a Board should be elected representatives of the different Talukas or sub-divisions of the district and the other half should consist of the principal

District Officers and such non-official gentlemen as the head of the district may appoint. These Boards must not be confounded with what are known as District Local Boards. There is at present too much of what may be called Secretariat rule, with an excessive multiplication of central departments. District administration must be largely freed from this and reasonable opportunities afforded to the people concerned to influence its course before final decisions are arrived at. If such Boards are created we may in course of time expect them to be entrusted with some real measure of control over the district administration. The late Mr. Ranade used to urge the importance of such Boards very strongly. If ever we are to have real local government in matters of general administration the creation of these Boards will pave the way for it. One great evil of the present system of administration is its secrecy. This will be materially reduced, so far as district administration is concerned, by the step proposed.

(4) The recruitment of the Judicial Branch of the India Civil Service from the legal profession in India.

(5) The separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

(6) A reduction of military expenditure.

(7) A large extension of primary education.

(8) Facilities for industrial and technical education.

(9) An experimental measure to deal with the indebtedness of the peasantry over a selected area.

I think, Gentlemen, if we now concentrate all our energies on some such programme we may, within a reasonable time, see results, which will not be altogether disappointing. One thing is clear. The present is a specially favourable juncture for such an effort. In our own country, there is sure to be a great rebound of public opinion after the repression to which it has been subjected during the last three years. And in England for the first time since the Congress movement began, the Liberal and radical party will come into real power. My recent visit to England, during which I enjoyed somewhat exceptional opportunities to judge of the situation, has satisfied me that a strong current has already set in there against that narrow and aggressive Imperialism which only the other day seemed to be carrying everything before it. The new Prime Minister is a tried and trusted friend of freedom. And as regards the new Secretary of State for India, what shall I say? Large numbers of educated men in this country feel towards Mr. Morley as towards a master, and the heart hopes and yet trembles as it had never hoped or trembled before. He, the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the friend and biographer of Gladstone,—will he courageously apply their principles and his own to the government of this country, or will he, too, succumb to the influences of the India Office around him and thus cast a cruel blight on hopes which his own writings have done so much to foster? We shall see; but in any case his appointment as Secretary of State for India indicates how strongly favourable to our cause the attitude of the new Ministry is. Mr. Ellis, the new Under-Secretary of State for India, is openly known to be a friend of our aspirations. A more gratifying combination of circumstances could not be conceived, and it now rests with us to turn it to the best advantage we can for our Motherland,

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Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. I have no wish to underrate the difficulties that lie in our path, but I am convinced more than ever that they are not insuperable. Moreover, the real moral interest of a struggle such as we are engaged in lies not so much in the particular re-adjustments of present institutions which we may succeed in securing, as in the strength that the conflict brings us to be a permanent part of ourselves. The whole life of a people, which is broader and deeper than what is touched by purely political institutions, is enriched even by failures, provided the effort has been all that it should be. For such enrichment the present struggle is invaluable. The true end of our work," said Mr. Ranade nine years ago, "is to renovate, to purify, "and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his standard of duty, and developing to the full all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were—a chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly by all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and, lastly, with a love that overleaps all bounds, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land. Happy are they who see it in distant vision, happier those who are permitted to work and clear the way on to it, happiest they who live to see it with their eyes and tread upon the holy soil once more. Famine and pestilence, oppression and sorrow, will then be myths of the past, and the gods will then again descend to the earth and associate with men as they did in times which we now call mythical." Gentlemen, I can add nothing that may be worthy of being placed

by the side of these beautiful words. I will only call to your minds the words of another great teacher of humanity who asks us to keep our faith in spite of trying circumstances, and warns us against the presumption of despairing because we do not see the whole future clearly before our eyes :—

“Our times are in His hand

Who saith ‘A whole I planned,

‘Youth shows but half ; trust God : see all, nor be afraid ” (Loud and continued applause).

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, our duty now is to elect members of the Subjects Committee and I request that you will send up the names of those whom you want to represent your respective Provinces. The Congress meets to-morrow at 12 noon ; the Subjects Committee at 4-30 P. M.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SUBJECT COMMITTEE.

BENGAL

CALCUTTA.—	1. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji.
"	2. " T. Palit.
"	3. " A. Chaudhri.
"	4. " J. Ghoshal.
"	5. The Honorable Bhupendra Nath Basu.
"	6. Mr. J. Chaudhri.
"	7. " Heramba Chandra Maitra.
"	8. " S. K. Dass.
"	9. " S. C. Mukerjee.
"	10. Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
"	11. Mr. Prithwish Chandra Roy.
"	12. " Charu Chandra Ghose.
"	13. " Paramatha Nath Sen.
"	14. " Probhas Chandra Mitra.
"	15. " Ratneswar Sen.
"	16. " K. P. Kavi Bisharad.
"	17. " Charu Chandra Ghosh.
"	18. " J. N. Roy.
KRISHNAGAR.—	1. " Tarapada Banerjee.
"	2. " Hariprasad Chatterjee.
BURDWAN.—	1. " Abul Kassim.
MYMENSINGH.—	1. " Shama Charan Roy.
"	2. " Krishna Kumar Mitra.
"	3. " Nares Chandra Sen.
FARIDPUR.—	1. " Furna Chandra Maitra.
BARISAL.—	1. " Nibaran Chandra Dass.
"	2. " Rajani Kanta Guha.
RANGPUR.—	1. Kuar Jamini Ballabb Sen.
"	2. Babu Kishori Mohan Roy.
DINAJPUR.—	1. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Chakravarty.
BEHRAMPUR.—	1. " Hemendra Nath Sen.
"	2. " Baikuntha Nath Sen.
BHAGALPUR.—	1. " Deep Narain Singh.
"	2. " Upendra Nath Bagchi.
"	3. " Hemendra Lall Roy.
DACCA.—	1. " Sarat Chandra Ghosh.
"	2. " Surja Kumar Banerjee.
"	3. " Hidayet Baksh.
"	4. " Ratneswar Sen.
HOOGLY.—	1. Babu Beshnu Pada Chatterjee.
"	2. " Rash Behari Mandal.
JALPAIGURI.—	1. Mr. Annada Charan Sen.
MALDA.—	1. " Radbesh Chandra Seth.
GAYA.—	1. Babu Akhoyee Lakshmi Narayan.
"	2. " Anup Narain.
"	3. " Nand Kishore Lall.
MADHUPUR.—	1. " Rash Behari Mandal.
MAJAFFARPUR.—	1. " Sri Ram.
"	2. Pandit Badri Narain Chaudhri.
CHUPRA.—	1. Babu Maheshwar Prashad.
ARRAH.—	1. " Raghubir Saran.
"	2. Mr. S. Sinha.
"	3. Babu Mangal Charan.
"	4. " Syamlananda Sahai.

ASSAM.

KACHAR.—	1. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chandra.
ASSAM.—	1. " Upendra Nath Chatterjee.
"	2. " Bana Charan Ganguli.
BHANDARA.—	1. " J. M. Jahatcar.

UNITED PROVINCES.

AGRA.—	1. Pandit Radha Charan.
ALIGARH.—	1. Syed Fyaz Ali.
MERRUT.—	1. Chaubey Radha Lall.
"	2. Mr. Babu Lall.

SAHARANPUR.—	1. Pandit Mohan Lall.
BAREILLY.—	1. Babu Baldeo Prashad.
JHANSI.—	1. Mr. Gopal Dass Sharma.
ALLAHABAD.—	1. The Honble Pandit Bishambhar Nath.
"	2. " " " Sundar Lall, Rai Bahadur.
"	3. " " " Madan Mohan Malwaya.
"	4. Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave.
"	5. Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee.
"	6. " Tej Bahadur Sapru.
"	7. Babu Charu Chandra Mittra.
"	8. Mr. S. Sinha.
"	9. Babu Iswar Saran.
"	10. Mr. J. Simeon.
"	11. " C. Y. Chintamani.
"	12. Babu Durga Charan Banerjee.
"	13. " Ramanada Chatterjee.
"	14. " Gokul Prashad.
"	15. " Debendra Nath Ohdedar.
"	16. Mr. Tufel Ahmad.
BENARES.—	1. " R. C. Dutta, C. I. E.
"	2. Munshi Madholal.
"	3. Pandit Channoo Lall.
"	4. Mehta Baldeo Dass, Vyas.
"	5. Rao Gopal Dass.
"	6. M. Sankar Prasad.
"	7. Babu Jugole Kishore.
"	8. " Moti Charan.
"	9. Babu Shyam Sundar Dass.
"	10. " Badri Prasad.
"	11. " Hari Dass.
AZAMGARH.—	1. Mr. Basdeo Sahai.
CAWNPORE.—	1. Pandit Prithi Nath.
"	2. " Iqbal Narain Gurto.
GAZIPUR.—	1. Babu Bhola Nath Roy.
"	2. Rai Chattri Dhari Lal Sahib.
LUCKNOW.—	1. Babu Bansi Lal Singh.
"	2. Pandit Bishun Narayan Dar.
"	3. Mr. A. P. Sen.
"	4. Dr. H. D. Pant.
"	5. Babu Ganga Prashad Varma.
"	6. Babu Brahmanand Singhi.
"	7. " Chail Behari Lal.
"	8. " Sita Ram.
"	9. " Krishna Baldeo Varma.
"	10. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra.
"	11. Dr. Hira Lal Roy.
"	12. Babu Lakshman Prashad.
"	13. Pandit Sukdeo Behari Misra.
FYZABAD.—	1. Rai Gokul Chand Bahadur.
"	2. Babu Mahadeo Singh.
"	3. Thakur Lal Behari.
PARTABGARH.—	1. Munshi Awadh Behari Lal.
PUNJAB.	
PUNJAB.—	1. Lala Lajpat Rai.
"	2. " Duni Chand.
"	3. Sardar Gurcharan Singh.
"	4. Rai Sahib Sukh Dayal.
"	5. Lala Hansraj Sawhney.
"	6. " Amolak Ram.
"	7. " Gur Dass Ram Sawhney.
"	8. " Brij Lal Puri.
"	9. " Bhana Ram.
"	10. Mr. Dwarka Dass.
"	11. Pandit Madho Ram.
"	12. " Rambhaji Dutt Chaudhari.
"	13. Lala Sangam Lal.
"	14. Babu Bibari Lal Bhatia.
"	15. Lala Nanak Chand.
"	16. " Dhanpat Rai.
"	17. Bakhshi Jagan Nath.

PUNJAB—(Contd.)

18. Lala Mukand Lal.
19. „ Ramechand Manchanda.
20. Mr. S. S. Bhatia.
21. Sardar Kbarak Singh Dhillon.
22. Mr. Ganpat Rai.
23. „ Balak Ram Pandey.
24. Lala Gopal Chand.
25. Rai Sahab Murli Dhar.
26. Babu Durga Dass.
27. Rai Sahib Girdhari Lal.
28. Lala Lakshmi Narain.
29. Mr. T. C. Morton.
30. Lala Harkishen Lal.
31. Shaikh Umar Bukhsh.

BOMBAY.

BOMBAY.—

1. Mr. D. E. Wacha.
2. The Hon'ble G. K. Parekh.
3. „ „ D. A. Khare.
4. „ „ C. H. Sitalvad.
5. „ „ H. S. Dikshit.
6. „ „ Vithal Dass Damodar Thakursi.
7. Sir Balachandra Krishna, Kt.
8. H. A. Wadya, Esq.
9. Mr. N. N. Samarath.
10. „ D. G. Padhey.
11. „ J. Jehaugher B. Petit.
12. „ Lalubhoy Samuldass.
13. „ Pherooshah B. Patel.
14. „ Manekji Cowasji Patel.
15. „ Shapurjee Bhujji Patel.
16. „ B. N. Bhajikar.
17. „ Manilall Thakur Dass.
18. „ D. B. Sukla.
19. „ B. Joshi.

AHMEDABAD.—

1. „ G. R. Tondle.
2. Dewan Bahadur Ambala Sakarlal Desai.
3. Mr. Govind Apaji Patel.
4. „ Ramanbhai Mahiputram.
5. „ Gokul Dass Dwarka Dass, Talato.
6. „ Harjiwan Dass B. Shukla.
7. „ Thakore Lal Harilal Desai.
8. „ Jaicumlal Runchord Lal Deasi.

SURAT.—

1. „ Thakoram Kapilram.
2. „ Chuni Lal Maneklal.
3. „ Tribhonandas Kahandar.
4. „ Balwant Row Tripashankar.
5. „ Pranal A. Parneria.
6. „ Nathubhai Lalibhai, Vakil.

SATARA.—

1. „ R. P. Karandikar.
2. „ G. B. Phanselkar.
3. „ Ramechandra Ganesh Loman.
4. „ Shankar Mahadev Retnaker.
5. „ Sita Ram.

AHMADNAGAR.—

1. „ B. B. Deshpande.
2. „ G. K. Chetale.
3. „ K. B. Pararasharme.

BELGAUM.—

1. „ V. S. Nargundkar.
2. „ B. M. Lad.

GUJRAT.—

1. „ Ramechaddas Golwalla.

KATHIAWAR.—

1. „ H. B. Shukla.
2. „ B. A. Mehta.
3. „ N. A. Mehta.
4. „ L. A. Mehta.
5. „ B. B. Joshi.
6. „ D. B. Shukla.

NASIK.—

1. Prof. N. B. Ranade.
2. Mr. V. S. Khare.

POONA.—

1. „ B. G. Tilak.
2. „ S. M. Pranjapye.
3. „ L. R. Gokhale.

POONA—(Contd.)	4. Mr. Patdar.
"	5. " S. K. Damba.
SHOLAPUR.—	1. " P. L. Nagpurkar.
"	2. " G. R. Madhana Twalikar.
ICHALKARANJI.—	1. " G. R. Abhyankar.
"	2. " V. K. Mankar.
SIND.—	1. " Mathura Das Ranchand.
"	2. " Diwan Gopal Das.
	MADRAS
MADRAS.—	1. Mr. Tulsiram of Madura.
"	2. " Sreenevasa Iyengar, B. A., B. L.
"	3. " V. Krishnaswami Iyer.
"	4. " G. Subramanya Iyer.
"	5. " V. Rvru Nambiar.
"	6. The Hon'ble Mr. K. Venkat Rao.
"	7. Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu.
"	8. " C. Vija Raghava Chariar.
"	9. " G. Sreenevasa Row.
"	10. The Hon'ble B. N. Sharma.
"	11. " L. A. Govinda Raghava.
"	12. Mr. T. Rangachariar.
"	13. " K. Narain Rao.
"	14. " D. V. Hanumanta Rao.
"	15. " G. A. Nutesan.
"	16. " K. B. Ram Natha Iyer.
"	17. " V. S. Srenivasa Shastri.
"	18. " G. Venket Ranjhi Rao.
"	19. " C. R. Teruvenhataghari.
COIMBATORE.—	1. " K. V. Srinivasa Iyer.
CALICUT.—	1. " V. Kunhi Krishna Nayanar.
"	2. " T. K. Naraswami Chariar.
"	3. " B. V. Narswamia Iyer.
"	4. " T. M. Narsinha Chariar.
"	5. " S. V. R. Srinivasa Iyer.
"	6. " V. Suryanarain Row.
TINNEVELLY.—	1. " Sreenevasa Iyer.
"	2. Krishnama Charan of Lanmi Narain.
GANJAM.—	1. Mr. Jogiah Pantalu.
"	2. " N. K. Ramaswamy Iyer.
"	3. " S. V. Narasinha Row.
"	4. " C. V. Krishna Swami Iyer.
"	5. " N. Krishnama Chariar.
"	6. " S. T. Krishna Ayangar.
	BERAR.
BERAR.—	1. Mr. V. M. Mahajani.
"	2. " G. S. Khapurde.
"	3. " R. N. Mudholkar Rai Bahadur.
"	4. " M. V. Joshi.
"	5. " K. V. Brahma.
	NAGPUR.
NAGPUR.—	1. Mr. M. K. Padhey.
"	2. Dr. B. S. Moonje.
	CENTRAL PROVINCES.
RAIPUR.—	1. Mr. D. N. Choudhari.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, 28th December, 1905.

THE Congress assembled at 12 noon to-day when another large and enthusiastic gathering was present.

PRESIDENT:—GENTLEMEN, before we begin our proceedings to-day I have to announce to you that certain telegrams of sympathy have come. We have received telegrams wishing every success to this Congress session, and expressing inability to attend this meeting. The first telegram is from Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (cheers). The second telegram is from Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, another ex-President; the third telegram is from our friend, the Honourable Nawab Saiyid Muhammad. Then three messages, long messages, from ex-Presidents have been received. The first and foremost is a long letter addressed to this Congress by our great and veteran leader, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. That has already been printed and circulated among our delegates. The second one is from another ex-President, from Mr. W. C. Bonnerji (cheers). That also has been sent to be printed and copies will be circulated among you. The third is from ex-President, Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. It is a long message and I fear it will not be possible to get copies printed in the course of the day and, therefore it will be printed along with the proceedings. Before we begin further proceedings Mr. Wacha will read to you the rules that will regulate our discussions.

Mr. D. E. Wacha then read the rules for the conduct of business.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, the Subjects Committee has decided that the first resolution of the agenda paper should be submitted to you from the Chair. I will, therefore, read this resolution:—

“That this Congress, representing His Majesty's Indian subjects of all races, creeds and communities, most humbly and respectfully offers its loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of their visit to India.

“The Congress is deeply touched by the expressions of Their Royal Highnesses' sentiments of cordial good-will towards the people of India, is confident that the personal knowledge gained during the present tour will stimulate their kindly interest in the welfare of its people, and it expresses the fervent hope that His Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to submit, to His Majesty the King-Emperor, the earnest prayer of this Congress that the principles of the Queen's Proclamation be enforced in the Government of this country.”

(a) That the President do submit the above resolution to His Royal Highness by wire.

Gentlemen, I have already said what I had to say on the subject of this resolution in my speech yesterday. I do not think, therefore, that any further remarks are necessary from me to commend this resolution for your acceptance, and I am sure you will carry it by acclamation (cheers).

The resolution was carried amidst most enthusiastic cheers.

FURTHER EXPANSION AND REFORM OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

PRESIDENT:—The second resolution is about the further expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, and the Honourable Mr. J. Chaudhuri of Calcutta will move it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. CHAUDHARI (Calcutta).—Sir, and brother delegates, the resolution which I have been asked to move relates to the expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils. The resolution runs as follows:—

“That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for a further expansion and reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, so that they may become more representative of the people, and the non-official members thereof may have a real voice in the Government of the country. The Congress recommends an increase in the number of non-official and elected members and the grant to them of the right of dividing the Councils in financial matters coming before them; the head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.”

Gentlemen, you heard our Honourable President mention yesterday in his speech that four out of twenty-five memberships of the Supreme Legislative Council are given to us; that only Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the North-West Provinces have the privilege of electing a member each to the Supreme Legislative Council. The rest, that is 21 seats, are at the disposal of the Government. Now under these circumstances you can easily imagine that the Supreme Legislative Council is not at all representative of the people. Had it been so, I have little doubt what would have been the fate of the Universities Act including the Validation Act, the Official Secrets Act and many other similar Acts, and even if the Legislation that followed the Partition of Bengal and necessarily of the Partition itself, the fate of these measures which were opposed by the whole of the Indian community and some of them by the entire Indian and Anglo-Indian communities would have been very different. But now we only enjoy the privilege of addressing our opinions or the views of the people at large before that assembly. It rests with that assembly to say aye or nay. The Council is something like a debating society where we go and discuss a measure but when it comes to a matter of decision, the decision rests with the officials. And yet it is said, both in this country and in England, that this country is adminis-

tered on English principles and on the lines of civilised Governments. Now I wish to remind you that the reforms which have taken place in the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils under the Act of 1892, of course, you know the history of that Act, are due chiefly to the demands of Congress men; but even then the only concession that was given to us was that some of the Provincial Councils should consist of half official members and half non-official members. But with regard to the Bombay, Madras and the Supreme Councils, besides ordinary official members, there are the members of the Executive Government and then in the Supreme Council there are, over and above, some extraordinary members such as the Commander-in-Chief, and Provincial Governors, such as the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal when the Council sits at Calcutta, or the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab when the Council sits at Simla. So out of the whole not even half the members are non-official members. But out of these non-official members only four are representatives of the people. But it may be said by the Government that of the other non-official members some are our own countrymen. Some are supposed to represent us; but how far they are representative of us, I can illustrate by one instance and that a very recent one, and that one from the unfortunate province to which I belong. I do not mean Bengal but the Province which has now been given a new name and which we have not yet accepted, namely, the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Look at the injustice that Lord Curzon inflicted on us (shame). Wait a moment. I refer to the Partition only incidentally. There was only one man in North and Eastern Bengal, one Indian, who was in favour of the partition (cries of shame); that was Nawab Salim Ullah of Dacca. That one man went against his motherland and his fellow countrymen (shame). Not a single Indian, Hindu or Muhammadan, who had any stake in the country, lent his support to this iniquitous measure; it may be that amongst Muhammadans some retired Sub-Registrars or some retired Sub-Inspectors or Inspectors of Police might have supported the Government. But in the first stage when the fishes and loaves were not offered to them the whole community of Muhammadans were with us. Amongst Muhammadans there was only one man who, if I may be permitted to say so, proved a traitor to his people (shame). When this measure was carried into effect, when this partition was an accomplished fact, who do you imagine was sent to represent the people of Eastern and Northern Bengal in the Supreme Council? It was no other than Nawab Salim Ullah (shame). Lord Curzon thus added an insult to an injury. That is how the people of a Province are represented by non-official members whom Government nominate to the Supreme Council. They do not select from the point of view of the people but their choice falls on people who are opposed to their country's interest. So I consider it a very moderate demand on the part of my Honourable friend Mr. Gokhale that at least half of these memberships council should be thrown open to our countrymen. I would not even concede so much that one out of these 12 seats should be given to the Chamber of Commerce or the Trades Association or the representatives of English trade or European commerce. We know that in the Sedition Bill and many other measures, non-official European members while professing their fullest sympathy with us, when it came to the question of voting they voted solid with the Government (shame). So if the Council is to be really representative of the people we should have there at least half the number of members elected by the different Provinces. Now with regard to the right of dividing the Council I have told you that we only enjoy the privilege of being members of a debating society where we are of course allowed to vote on legislative measures but we can never carry anything against official view. My experience has been that whenever we suggest any departure from the official view every official member and the European members always hold up their hands *in terrorem* over us. We say then "that is our suggestion: reason is on our side; justice is on our side; the votes are on your side: do just as you please." That is our position in the Council. It is precisely the same so far as the Madras and Bombay Provincial Councils are concerned. In Bombay, of the 24 memberships only 8 are elected. Out of these 8, I believe, 1 belongs to the Chamber of Commerce. But what is the proportion of 8 to 24? So in order that the voice of the people may have some weight in these Councils, at least half the seats should be given to the people and the election should be by groups of different districts in the presidency or province. In Madras again, out of 24, only 7 seats pass through a process of election and even out of these 7, I believe, 1 is given to the Chamber of Commerce. We are much worse off in Bengal. Although we may remember that it is the Governor of Bengal who first of all had a Council and it is this Governor of Bengal who gradually became the Governor-General of India. But that was an evil day for Bengal. We are entitled to a Governor in Council under different Statutes. The Governor in Bengal, who always used to wield a large amount of influence in the capital, which is the capital of India, did not like another statesman to come out from England, and pursue his own policy in that Province. So he always preferred to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor which was under Parliamentary statutes merely a sort of make-shift arrangement in our Province. Whenever a policy for Bengal has been dictated by the Governor-General it has been faithfully carried out by his Lieutenant and in no case more faithfully than by Lord Curzon's Lieutenant, Sir Andrew Fraser.

In the Bengal Council we have 20 members; not 24 as in Madras or Bombay. Out of these, ten are officials and ten non-officials. Of these five are given to electoral bodies. You know the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta University are no longer self-

governing bodies. They have now been placed under the control of the officials and the non-official European community. There were 52 districts in Bengal, and among these only three memberships have been given to them. Out of the remaining seats one is given to the Zamindars. Of course the Zamindars should have their representatives in the Council. Curiously, election in their case is not carried on in the same manner as in Bombay. The Sirdars are allowed to select their representatives and in Sindh, the Talukdars are allowed to send their representatives. But here when the Mackenzie Bill was introduced which deprived the Calcutta Corporation of its self-governing powers, one of the Zamindars' Association which helped Government in the matter got in the barter one seat in the Council. That is a private association. I have some knowledge of the constitutional history and constitution of Governments of different countries. I have not yet come across any system of Government under which a non-incorporated body, a loose association or a private body has been given the right of electing members to the legislature of the country. So the election by Zamindars is also a farce, and it ought to be substituted by election proper. Out of the 4 remaining seats 2 are given to the European Chamber of Commerce and to the European Trades Association and the other 2 are in the gift of the Government, and so we are always in the minority. We demand, therefore, that not merely should our Councils be reconstituted by giving us the right of election with regard to at least half the seats in the Supreme and the Provincial Councils but that the Partition of Bengal be revoked and the Presidency of Bengal put under one Council. I say that the time has come for the introduction of popular representation in the administration of the country and for governing this country on a more or less representative basis.

THE HONOURABLE MR. L. A. GOVINDARAGAVA AIYAR (*Madras*).—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I beg to second the resolution so ably proposed by the Honourable Mr. Chaudhuri. The question of the expansion of the Legislative Council has been before this Congress for the past so many years and you, gentlemen, must, therefore, be familiar with the history of the literature relating to it. But, gentlemen, the present is the occasion when it is desirable that we should give our attention more closely to this very important question of the expansion of the Legislative Councils. We are passing through changing times and if the past history of those who are responsible for the Government of the British Empire at present, is any index as to what is to be the future, I believe, gentlemen, I may say with some confidence that that future, so far as India is concerned, is one full of hope. It is, therefore, desirable that we take advantage of such an occasion like this for the purpose of once again pressing our claim for the expansion of our Legislative Councils with a unanimity and persistency whose meaning and object it should be impossible to mistake. Gentlemen, until 1892, we had only nominated additional members of Council in the Viceregal Council as also in the Provincial Councils. In 1892 it was that we were allowed a modified kind of election. In the various Provincial as also Viceregal Councils we were allowed to have members who from the Government point of view are considered to have been nominated, but who from the people's point of view are considered to have been elected. The history of the work that these members of Council have done for the past 12 years and more in the various Councils in which they have taken part in the deliberations will redound to the credit not merely of this country but in any others in which they might have been. It is fortunate, and it speaks for the sense of fairness of Englishmen, that the weight of this work and the goodness of their work has been recognised by responsible heads of Government. Now, gentlemen, we have already shown by the history of our progress in the past 12 years that we are in a position to be trusted with greater liberties. If, therefore, it is merely a question of work to be done, we have shown good cause why Legislative Councils should be further expanded. But it is not on that footing alone that we base this proposal of ours. We say that one of the chiefest aims of England in India is not merely to efficiently govern her but also to make her self-governing. We say that prior to associating largely in the higher administrative posts of Government, the people may be associated with Government in their legislative assemblies much more largely than they have been. We ask that there should be a larger number of elected members who will represent the views of the people in the legislative councils, who will have their fair share of work to do in the drafting, preparation and the enacting of laws that are to govern her realm. Now, gentlemen, if it be considered that the aim of England is also to fit us to be a self-governing nation, this is the smallest that England can do for us.

There is another aspect, gentlemen, on which we require that our representation in Council should be much larger than has been. You are aware how when the India Councils Act was sought to be amended it was no less a person than the late Mr. Gladstone who insisted on such representation as is given to Indians being real and living representation. We say that unless you expand the Councils better, unless you allow a larger number of elected men to come into the Council there cannot be that living, real, representation on which both parties in the House of Commons were agreed that the constitution of the new Councils should be based. Gentlemen, there is yet another aspect on which it is desirable that this expansion of Legislative Councils should be allowed to us. Often, it is the extent of the responsibility that we feel for our work that not merely fits us to do it

but makes us also capable of efficiently discharging it. If, gentlemen, non-official members who are elected to the Council are given that important position to which alone they are at present relegated it is not strange that they should feel that perhaps their highest aim is to criticise the acts of the Government. They can feel no sense of responsibility for the measures of Government, because as a matter of fact they are given very little share in it. And recently, we had the assurance of one of the responsible heads of Government that all that elected non-official members in Council should care for is to see that as full and an adequate opportunity is given to them to make what representation they please and if once they have been given such opportunities, whether they have been heeded or not is a matter entirely for the Government. For, it is on them the responsibility of the administration rests. Now, gentlemen, this is a protest against that view. The resolution we ask for insists upon its being considered that the non-official members of Council are as much responsible for the administration of the country as any other individual member of Government may be, so far that administration is represented by its legislative department; and for the purpose of strengthening that sense of responsibility and for the purpose of producing in the minds of the elected members and of those to whom they owe their places in the Legislative Council a sense of solidarity, we ask that this expansion of this Legislative Council should be given to us. Now, gentlemen, what is the position of elected members? Those of you who have given yourselves the trouble of watching the proceedings of the Legislative Council, not as printed in the proceedings given for public intimation but as they are being conducted in the Council, will have noticed how sometimes with impatience, sometimes with contempt and often with indifference the speeches of non-official members are listened to by the members of Government (shame). That, gentlemen, is due to this, that there is a feeling, there is a view, that these non-official elected members have no real potency in the matter, that they have no power to divide the Council on anything; but that at best they can only come up with bills which it is left to members of Government either to reject or accept. We want ourselves to be more felt and we ask, therefore, that on occasions when the budget is discussed it is not merely enough that each gentlemen should be allowed to read the speeches prepared, but that there should also be a division of the Council on the views that he has propounded. But to safeguard the interests of Government, to meet the objections for those who may take extreme views on the other side, we are prepared to allow to the heads of Government the power of veto so that in any case it happens that the majority of the Council have taken a view which in the opinion of the head of Government appears to be inconsistent with the best interest of the country, it will be competent for him to veto the vote of the Council. Nothing more reasonable than this can be considered; especially when you take into consideration the fact that so far it has not been said from any quarter that the confidence or trust reposed in the elected members has been abused. We ask also in this resolution for an increase in the number of non-officials, whether elected or not. I may mention that, fortunately for us, our experience of non-official men has not been very much of the kind to which attention was drawn in the case of a particular instance in Bengal. I think it ought to be a matter of satisfaction to say that on the whole, non-elected non-official men have conducted themselves with a due sense of the responsibility they labour under; although, unfortunately, we find now and again instances such as those referred to by my learned leader and, though unfortunately, the presence of them is discovered only on critical occasions.

Now, you remember when the Act of 1892 was passed the power of interpellation was given to members. That power is being freely exercised; but sometimes it occurs to me, gentlemen, that that power has not been given to us at all. Why is it so? Because when the Government finds that those who interpellate and unfortunately it so happens that it is only the elected non-officials who interpellate most, when the Government finds that those who so interpellate are persons always in the minority in the Council, of necessity their voice is not much heeded. The consequence is that there is only some heart-burnings which is the result of interpellation. It is one of the distinguishing characteristics of a bureaucracy, much more so of the Indian bureaucracy, not to be told its faults, much less in public. And when by an interpellation attention is drawn to a grievance, woe to the man who suffers under it, his cause is most hopeless. Now, gentlemen, if the elected members have a real power in the Council, if they can make their voice felt, the extent of the usefulness of interpellation conceded to us will very much increase. Gentlemen, these are some of the considerations that ought to appeal to us for the purpose of this resolution. As I have already ventured to submit, the present happens to be an opportune occasion for pressing these views. We have the assurance from the Grand Old Man of India that we need not despair. He says, "I think the time is not far off. The love of liberty and justice is lately reviving strongly among the English people and with the effect of other events in the world I think our day of emancipation is much nearer than many of us imagine, if we are true to ourselves and to our responsibilities" (cheers). With a liberal ministry, with the department relating to India presided over by a statesman who by his past writings and career has illustrated the very best traditions of England, I think we have great cause for hope and if we make this appeal in the fair name of England, for the fulfilment of these pledges that have been made to us solemnly on solemn occasions by great men, and for the better justification of the mission that Providence has

entrusted to England in her relation to India ; I have not the slightest doubt, gentlemen, that with the constitutional agitation which has characterised us in the past we should be very much nearer to the achievement of this object which every one of us considers to be one which is most necessary for the purpose not merely of our advancement but also as a step towards self-government which ought to be the ideal of any body who thinks he is an Indian. With these words I beg to second the resolution and commend it for your acceptance (loud and prolonged cheers).

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (*Satara*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am conscious it takes a pretty long time for a moffussilite to approach this platform and the very few moments reserved for the supporters, most of them were taken away by my finding my way here. Sir, I shall be as brief as possible. My object in coming before you is to speak a few words as regards some of the points involved in this resolution. In particular, I would invite your attention to the expression in this resolution which says "that time has come for a further expansion and reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils". I was almost tempted to say that the time had slipped by, that the time had gone by. However, our's is a very moderate programme and one need not be nervous that it is not specified particularly that the time has been allowed to slip by. Let us profit by the time at our disposal. When the Bill of 1861 was before the Parliament, every effort was made on both sides to indicate that India was not then prepared for the introduction of representation in the Legislative Councils. Opinions varied in this matter. However, they veered round and ultimately they came to a compromise, as all statesmen come to compromise on very important matters, relating to subject races. It was Mr. Bright, who, in order to effect a compromise between two fighting opinions, remarked that perhaps the matter might be left to the Government of India with a mandate—I may not use the word mandate—but rather instruction from the Secretary of State inviting the attention of the Viceroy to the legitimate requirements of the people, and asking the Viceroy to be generous enough to include some element of representation, if possible. Again, in the year 1892, when another effort was made to improve this enactment you find there was also a compromise in which no definite directions were given to the Local Governments or the Viceroy's Government. But the whole scheme was left to the Viceroy. Of course, before the scheme was drafted, efforts were made on all hands. I know Calcutta tried its best, and a representation went forth from Calcutta requesting the Viceroy to publish beforehand the tentative scheme in order that the public may offer their criticism for such acceptance as was possible. But that was not done. The scheme was ready. It was there and people had to accept it. After that was done, representations were made to the Local Governments. When such representation was made to Lord Sandhurst, I know as one of those who accompanied a deputation that Lord Sandhurst was in a position to assure them that that was an opportunity which might be improved upon later on. When the Bill of 1861 was before the Parliament, a prominent member said "Let the people of India be trained in the matter of local self-government before any representative element is introduced into the Legislative councils." There was one Viceroy, whose name you so much cherish and honour, Lord Ripon, who saw that he had it in his power to prepare the nation for a gift of that kind and long before any amendment was made to this Act, it was in 1884, that Lord Ripon asked the people almost of his own accord to unite in the matter of local self-Government. That was the training thrown open to the country by that statesman in the hope that they may in the long run be able to fulfil the trust that is given to them for the purpose of governing their own country. After that, long 20 years have elapsed. During that time a genuine effort was made by Mr. Bradlau whose memory we all cherish. Then again there came to be a compromise. Mr. Bradlau fought for the introduction of a specific measure in the Parliament for the purpose of securing real, living representation. However, there was some opposition on the ground of expediency or some other ground, I cannot say. But Mr. Bradlau was bound to remain satisfied for the moment. It may be the political instincts of the nation that moved the Government or it may be the traditions or customary law which has resulted in a compromise which left the scheme to the Government of India. That being so, we have that scheme. The time has come and we proceed next. What is it? We have had experience of local self-Government. It has been amongst us for the last 20 years and more. Each and every report of responsible officers of Government would testify to the care and intelligence bestowed upon local self-Government by elected members. I believe the time has come when we might approach Government with this request namely, "if you find us prepared for the local self-Government give us a further share in Councils themselves." There is an opportunity offered to you. The same gentleman who is an ardent admirer of Mr. Gladstone happens to be your Secretary of State now. This is just the time for you to approach him with a representation or for the matter of that if no representation need go at all with this resolution and that "the time has arrived, we are fit for it, we have been prepared for it, by our own administration; give us a larger share of representation." I need not dilate on the general features of the scheme. I am only here representing my local province of Bombay. You know from the previous speakers that 8 seats have been allotted for Bombay. One of them has

been allotted for the urban population of the northern division; two others for the rural population of the southern and central divisions. Happily, we have a scheme which we can place before the Government and ask them to reconsider whether they may not increase the number from 8 to 12. We have got three divisions there in which we have got two interests to represent, one is urban and the other rural. As a matter of fact, while in one division the rural interests are ignored; in the other two the urban interests are ignored. If happily, Government has come to the conclusion that these municipalities in the southern and central divisions have so far been developed as to be able to share the responsibility with Government, why not give them one member each and thus make up the number 11 or 12. You have known from the previous speakers that there have been 24 members for the whole of Bombay by giving one member each to the municipalities in the urban interest of the southern and central divisions and giving also a member for the rural population of the northern division we will have three more members, thus making the number 11 or 12 as you might expect. It is only from that point of view I have to place this resolution before you. As a supporter I have no reason to be long. I hope you will carry the proposition with acclamation.

MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (*Amraoti*).—Well, gentlemen, I have rather a pleasant task and an easy task, if you please. You see we have got an old proverb which is embodied in one of the celebrated verses of Kalidasa *Mano Vaira samutkirna sutrasyevásti megalih*. When a diamond has been bored through by another diamond you can put a piece of thread through it. There is no trouble. I shall tell you in an easy manner what can be learnt by facts and figures. There was at first the period of nomination. Then there was the period of partial election and we are approaching a period of total extinction (laughter). That is how the thing is coming to be. I wish to tell you, if you happen to be walking in a forest if you are very hungry you pick what comes to your hand and you eat it. So the Government did the same. At the first period of nomination they went about nominating whoever had obliged them, been kind and good to them and given them feasts and fruits. But whatever you get first is not necessarily the best. It has been rather insipid; it is what we used to call *jo hukum* business. When I was a student, the members of the Council used to say *jaisa hona raisa karna jo hukum*. There was one celebrated member who used to say "do it this way or the other way" (laughter). This became a very insipid business. There is no taste. People did not like it. Government also became tired of it. Then they said "we shall have partial election." The history of it has been told you over and over again. I shall not tell you that again. Then they wanted to be sure there was no poisonous drug coming in. So they held the process of double distillation. There was first an electorate college; then that college should elect to the Legislative Council. Thus began this double distillation process. But you know you may exclude the poison if you like but the double distilled liquor is rather more stimulating than the ordinary ones. That business became still more troublesome. The Government found it out and in the example of our respected President, Government was simply nauseated. Lord Curzon said they were heroics. They were thus growing old. When you get a very powerful stimulant and you cannot stand it, the next process is to dilute it. And Government commenced operations. I speak with great respect (laughter). To be able to legislate, they selected a celebrated antiquarian to sit on the Council whose knowledge was great in regard to the Chalukyan dynasty and another dynasty which has disappeared to all but the orientalisists. One goes and the other comes. Like the philologist's vowels they interchange. You know the celebrated rule of philology. That celebrated rule is "consonants interchange and vowels matter not." In that principle Government began the dilution process. That was employed when the University Act was passed. That is the reason why it is so exceedingly clever and wise. The object of it was to get in the dilution process. Even that dilution process did not help much. What happened? When you came to the diluted particle it would not go down. Already the undiluted matter had stuck in the throat. It leaves a bad taste behind. That is not good. Government said "Look here, we ought to do something better than this." They tried the process of total extinction. Let me come to my own Province. I call it mine because six months ago I was thrown into it. Just as my friends in Bengal complain of partition, we complain of amalgamation. In this process of amalgamation great deal was lost. But we thought we had gained something. It was the Central Provinces which used to send one double distilled elected member to Calcutta to the Viceroy's Legislative Council. We have lost a great deal but we have also gained something. But the total extinction process was coming in. Instead of allowing District Boards and Municipalities to elect—they are after all very small things—even that was taken away and nomination was substituted. Even if you nominate a native he might say something unpleasant, and so a European was nominated. Another example of total extinction, if you like to have, was the Partition of Bengal. Lord Curzon was a great historian, a great antiquarian and a great everything else combined in one man (laughter). He said there was no use. This double distillation process did not bring the right sort of men. Nomination business was resorted to. He had double distilled air on the heights of Simla. There this double-distilled partition scheme was conceived and launched at

once on the whole of Bengal. You see how the process has been going on. I have risen to support the proposition, to tell you that we better ask Government to go back to the first way. I dislike partial election because it is a very peculiar double distillation process. I dislike nomination business altogether, because whoever has got the nomination in his hand generally puts forward people who have obliged him or his own people. Total extinction we don't want (laughter), we want to retain our existence here; we don't want to be wiped off the face of the earth; we want to remain here and retain our individuality. We want that our aspirations and our wishes should find a place in the policy of the Government. If this is so, the only remedy lies in expanding the Legislative Councils, you call them Legislative Council by courtesy, really speaking. Why is it by courtesy? Because the measure has been conceived before, thought out before and put forward, and Government, when it puts forward, puts forward with an explosive. There is the Law member of the Government of India who acts as a sort of explosive. You put forward an amendment; he says "no, no." In the matter of drafting it should be said so, though it does not mean that. You don't understand it; it is a legal term; in a legal way it means this and nothing else. That has been also our respected President's experience. What we propose is "let there be election first hand and first rate." Let all the three processes go. Not election of the kind my leader talked about. You give power to such municipalities and local bodies as you think deserving; not to any indefinite association of the kind referred to by the mover which may be described as a circle with its centre everywhere and its circumference nowhere. Not that kind of bodies but a real body with a definite organization—to these bodies this power of election should be given. With these words I beg to support the proposition.

Mr. Ali Muhammed Bhimji, of Bombay, supported the resolution in a most eloquent and witty speech in Urdu which was repeatedly cheered and applauded.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJI (*Calcutta*).—Mr. President and brother delegates, when I entered this hall I had not the smallest idea that it would be necessary for me to speak to any resolution of to-day. But the mandate has been laid upon me by your President that I should speak. Ten years ago when I was the President of the Poona Congress, I vehemently entered my protest against the mandate theory of Lord George Hamilton. By a bitter irony of fate the person who recorded that protest is now called upon to eat his own words and submit to the mandate of our worthy President. I obey because I regard you, Sir, the elect of the people, as occupying in my estimation, and I venture to think, in the estimation of the people of India, a higher and more responsible, and a certainly more affectionate, place than the Secretary of State can ever hold (cheers). I am in strong sympathy with this resolution. It used to be my own resolution on this platform from years' end to year's end. From the year 1886 up till the year 1892, if you turn up the Congress reports, you will find me either as a mover or seconder or supporter of the resolution in connection with the expansion of the Councils. And in 1890, along with my friends Mr. Mubolkar, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Norton and one or two others, we went on a deputation to England. We held many public meetings and we had the high honour of a personal interview with Mr. Gladstone (cheers). Sir, as the result of that deputation, as the result of the persistent efforts of the Congress, the Statute of 1892 was passed (cheers). We are dissatisfied with that Statute. It is a halting measure; an imperfect and inadequate measure of reform. It was bound to be so. Who were the authors of that measure? Who was the arch pontiff of that occasion? The authors of that measure were the Tory Government of that day, and the arch pontiff and high priest who ushered it into existence was George Nathaniel Curzon (shame). For he was then the Under Secretary of State in the India Office. If that were a measure which was introduced by a Liberal Government, if that was a measure which had behind it the inspiration of Mr. Gladstone's broad-minded Liberalism, I venture to think it would have been a very different piece of Legislation from what it has been. Sir, for 8 years I had the honour of a seat in the Bengal Legislative Council. I know how hopeless a task it was to fight the battles of the people and the country against the solid phalanx of officialism arrayed against you in the Councils of the Empire. We had the Calcutta Municipal Bill. It was a very important measure. We introduced amendment after amendment. What was the fate of these amendments? We lost most of them—90 per cent. of them. The 10 per cent. that were carried were carried not at the point of the bayonet but by the grace and condescension of our rulers; and in a moment of irritation I will not conceal the fact from you—addressing the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Woodburn, I said from my place in the Bengal Council, "Sir, what is the good of our being here? We come and place before you amendment after amendment only to be thrown out by this Council. If you have made up your mind about passing the bill in its entirety you have only to intimate the fact and we say good-bye and depart from this place". That was what I said. After that indignant protest a few of our amendments were allowed to be passed. I think, Sir, we make a very moderate demand. We say we want a further expansion of the Councils. In Bengal, a population of 70 millions, is represented by how many members do you think? By ten. I suppose the same unsatisfactory state of things prevails everywhere, wherever we have a Legislative Council. We want better and a more adequate representation of the non-official element. I would

like to suggest that a member should be taken from each district. I should like to suggest that we should have the right, as you suggest in the resolution, of dividing the Councils upon financial questions. The financial debates of the Councils are of an academic order. We make speeches. They listen attentively sometimes, and sometimes impatiently. The matters are promised to be considered. Sir, as a matter of fact, very little attention is paid to them. Here is our demand, but whether we shall have a further expansion of the Councils or not will depend upon ourselves. A noble people cannot have an ignoble Government and an ignoble people cannot have the gift of representative institutions. If you make up your mind determined and resolved in the depths of your heart to emancipate yourselves from your present condition of serfdom, then rise to the height of your manhood, assert your rights as responsible citizens (cheers). If you are determined to do that, the Councils will be expanded, but not otherwise. If you hold this meeting and then go to sleep for the next 12 months, do nothing, think nothing about your country, the chances of your political emancipation are remote. Therefore, brother-delegates, I ask you all once again to take the firm resolution in your mind that you will begin the agitation in this connection, continue the agitation through good report and evil report, determined to emancipate yourselves, and obtain for your country and for your countrymen the priceless gift of representative institutions, then the blessing of God will be with you and your labours will be crowned with the success which they deserve (loud and continued applause).

PRESIDENT :—The resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. I will now put it to the vote. The resolution was carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT :—The next resolution is about the Excise policy. It will be moved by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.

EXCISE POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION.

SIR BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA.—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have in the first place the disadvantage of following a most eloquent speaker. I will endeavour to the best of my ability to make my self heard, but I cannot claim the stentorian voice which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjee claims and possesses. The resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows :—

(a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into Excise Administration in the several provinces of the country, regrets that its composition is exclusively official, and that, therefore, it cannot inspire full public confidence.

(b) This Congress, concurring in the opinion of previous Congresses, expresses its deliberate conviction that the recognition of the principle of local option in practical administration and a large reduction in the number of existing liquor-shops are conditions precedent to any satisfactory reform in Excise Administration.

(c) This Congress respectfully urges on the Government of India the desirability of speedily carrying out the principal proposals contained in Sir Fredrick Lely's memorandum of last year on Excise Administration.

(d) That the Congress begs to protest against the virtual shelving, by the Government of India in its executive capacity, of the Bengal Excise Bill which has been welcomed as a sound and progressive piece of temperance legislation. Mr. Kharpade, while addressing you on the question of Legislative Councils, took the opportunity of informing you of double distillation and abstinence or rather reduction. I would say that I stand here on the platform of total abstinence not of total extinction. The policy of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on this question has been long an item of discussion at different Congresses, and in spite of the declaration of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State that they derive the excise revenue simply with the object of regulating the sale and traffic of liquor, and that they had not the slightest intention of increasing drunkenness or increasing the sale of liquor. During the last two decades the excise revenue has increased by leaps and bounds from 31 millions to 61 millions, that is every year or two by about two millions. The result has been that throughout the whole country there is a cry that the vice of drunkenness is excessively increasing amongst all classes of the community. I hope I am addressing an assembly which consists entirely of teetotalers, and I hope they will not take any offence when I say that drunkenness has been eating into the vitals of this country. When the appointment of the Excise Committee was announced by the Government of Lord Curzon, we thought that something was coming for the improvement of this condition, but we were disappointed when it was announced that it was simply to be an official committee. In spite of that announcement, the Temperance Council of Bombay addressed a protest to the Government of India and begged of them to appoint a non-official member on the Committee from each Province. I am informed that the different provinces have taken a similar action. The result has been negative as we expected. We were informed that there was no intention of dealing with any question of principle or policy, and that, therefore, there was no necessity for appointing any non-official members. I hold in my hand the correspondence which took place between the Temperance Council of Bombay and the Government of India. I do not wish to take up your time by reading it, but if any delegate or gentleman wishes to read

it, this paper will be at his disposal. This Committee has been sitting in *camera*, and has been taking evidence throughout the different parts of the country. I had the honour of being selected by the Bombay Temperance Council to place a statement before this Committee sometime ago in conjunction with my friend Mr. Gilder, the Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Temperance Council. What do you think has been the result? I do not know what the result will be, but I expect no good results from it. We put all the different points which were raised by the Memorandum that has been alluded to in this resolution, prepared and submitted to the Government of India by Sir Frederick Lely, a very clever and energetic revenue officer of the Bombay Presidency. He was a Commissioner of the Northern Division and, in his capacity as an additional Member of the Viceroy's Council, he submitted this Memorandum to the Government of India. It included three or four important points which have been urged on the attention of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments by the different temperance workers in the whole of the country. These points are local option, the opening and distance of shops in villages and country towns, the opening of shops at religious gatherings, fairs and cricket matches, and last, though not least, the employment of bar-maids, the employment of women to sell liquor at these liquor-shops. These points were very cogently urged upon the attention of the Government of India by Sir Frederick Lely, one of their own chosen officers, member of the Imperial Legislative Council and afterwards Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. That Memorandum, brother-delegates, is the *vade mecum* of all temperance workers. It was submitted to the Government of India. What do you think has been the result? It was not a memorandum submitted by faddists, not by temperance workers, but by a man who knew the policy of the Government of India, who ruled and in fact actually earned revenue from the different provinces in his capacity as Commissioner and Collector of Revenue. That man felt it as his duty that all these grievances should be placed before the Government of India. The Government of India, in a resolution and letter, said that they were very sorry that such a state of things existed, and expressed a pious hope that they would be able to deal with some of these. The Government of Bombay did not even express a pious wish but simply said that they did not admit what Sir Frederick Lely wrote. That is the policy of the Government in spite of the several despatches of the Secretary of State and the Government of India expressing that the vice of drink should not extend throughout the country, in spite of the protest of the temperance workers and others and in spite of the protest, continued protest of this Congress. The question of local option has been considered at several meetings. It has been urged upon the attention of revenue officers. It has been urged upon the attention of the Government of India. It has been sanctioned only in principle. But when you consider the question from its actual standpoint, what is it? Inspectors and Revenue Officers and even Collectors and Commissioners do not heed our protest but they simply give notice in the dark and allow shops to be opened. No real local option exists at present. I think it is not Government that is to blame, but it is ourselves. We ought to educate public opinion thoroughly; we ought to go to villages and to country towns and educate the people, educate their opinion and make them protest strongly against the opening of shops in villages and towns. Unless the number of shops is decreased I think there will be no use in simply having local option in principle. Then the opening of shops at religious fairs and gatherings is very objectionable. The temperance workers in Bombay have done their best in this direction, and the Government have yielded, to a certain extent. They have very graciously promised to close the shops on these occasions. I would urge upon the temperance workers in the different provinces to take the same line of energetic action, with a view to draw the attention of Government and not to stop their agitation unless they gain their point. That is what I would urge upon the people of this country. It is our duty. The Government have to earn the revenue. We have to see that our people do not drink and are reclaimed, and that our people do not fall into this first habit. Therefore, all those who are really interested in the cause of temperance should agitate strongly and persistently to draw the attention of Government until they gain their point. With reference to the question of the Bengal Bill, I am not thoroughly acquainted with it. I only know cursorily that it is an excellent bill. Because it is an excellent measure, it has been stabbed in the dark. Let Bengal rise equal to the occasion as she has done in regard to the Partition of Bengal; let the people protest strongly and they will get what they want in regard to excise administration. With these few observations I place this resolution before you, and I trust you will carry it with acclamation.

MR. G. A. NATESAN (*Madras*).—Mr. President, delegates and gentlemen, last night at about 8 o'clock in the Subject Committee I was put down to support this Resolution and now I get a promotion and I am asked to second. Though I should welcome promotions on other occasions, I confess I do not quite feel gratified with the present elevation. I had made only a few notes to perform my duty as a supporter. Gentlemen, the Hon'ble Sir Balachandra, who has taken a great deal of interest in the excise administration of India, has put forward the main points before you. I shall, therefore, content myself with a few observations. Gentlemen, two facts stand promi-

nently clear. In the good old days when we had our own rule with all its imperfections and defects and in the absence of all the civilisation of the present-day Government and of all the appliances and instruments of the present Government, the manufacture and sale of liquor was made penal. Now, gentlemen, not only does a civilised Christian Government like the British take to the manufacture of liquor but it also interests itself with all the keenness of a businessman in retailing its liquor in every part of the country so that its revenue might advance by leaps and bounds. No doubt the avowed policy of the Government of this country is that they shall not encourage drink, that their laws and rules shall be so framed that people who are not accustomed to drink shall not have it, that moderate drinkers shall have a moderate quantity served to them. But like many other things which the Government profess, like many other pious provisions which recently adorned papers especially during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, this Resolution says that the vice of drink has not been attended to as well as it ought to be. There is again another outstanding feature. In 1870 the excise revenue was about a million; ten years later it doubled itself. In 1903 it was four-fold. Take again another prominent fact. I find from the Board of Trade Journal's return that in Great Britain, especially Scotland, the consumption and manufacture of whisky and other stimulants has considerably decreased; and the Temperance papers there rejoice over the fact. Unfortunately, when I turn to the returns of our country, I find quite a contrary state of things prevailing. Despite all the professions of the Government of India that they do not care for the revenue, still all laws and regulations are so framed that as much revenue as possible is squeezed out of the people from the excise administration. It is all very well to speak of the principle of "local option;" but the principle of local option is not at all being given effect to. I venture to submit that the official attitude in regard to "local option" is a great farce. Gentlemen, contrary to the spirit of the Resolution of the Government of India, shops are opened in places where they ought not to be opened. Reference has been made to a Memorandum of Sir Frederick Lely. In that Memorandum he ably, moderately and with all the care and caution of an official, with his anxiety that the Government of India should not be made to look contemptible in its excise administration, he placed certain facts which show out clearly that the Abkari policy of the Government of India is not what it ought to be. Gentlemen, the complaint that the Abkari policy of the Government of India is unrighteous comes forth from Englishmen in all parts of the country. I shall not quote the testimony of Indians, but will press home the point I have before you by the evidence of Englishmen who feel keenly that shops are opened in places where they ought not to be, and that the revenue officers are more anxious for the revenue than for the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. I have many authorities to cite but I will simply mention one, namely Mr. Buckingham, a well known planter of Assam. He felt so much disgusted with the excise policy that he published a protest, and his protest was sent to the local Government by the Government of India and they attempted to trifle with it. But all honour to the Government of India that they fully recognised and owned publicly that the facts stated in Mr. Buckingham's Memorandum were true, and that the Government had not the slightest intention of minimising the gravity of the evil. They placed a number of reforms before the local Government which the latter reported on as being not sound and not capable of being carried out. The real fact is that the revenue officers do not care for the spirit of the Resolution of the Government of India; in plain words, the spirit and intentions of the Resolution do not permeate them. In 1899 the Hon'ble Sir Pheroessa Mehta was able to elicit an admission from Sir (then Mr.) H. E. M. James, Member of the Bombay Council. This is what he said:—"My hon'ble friend wants more expenditure on the police and on the plague, and if every respectable gentleman were to say 'I have a syce who is not a temperate person, I do not want him to get intoxicated, and as drink is only a luxury you should stop him from getting liquor, whence is the Government's excise revenue to come from.'" Gentlemen, this was the answer given by a responsible Bombay official to the most responsible representative non-official whom all India can afford to send to the Council. This is an answer which clearly, truly and genuinely puts forth the case of the revenue officials of the Government who are anxious to push forward the Abkari revenue and show as much revenue out of this branch of administration as possible. One word more. From a Punjab Report, I find a sentence in the report of the Excise Commissioner of the Punjab. He has to account for an increase of 3½ lakhs in excise revenue in his Province. Listen to what he says:—"The prejudice against liquor is breaking down." This is the spirit of an official who has to account for an increase of 3½ lakhs, and he explains it as above. (MR. WACHA:—It is a triumph of Excise Administration.) Our venerable friend Mr. Wacha asks me to say that it is a triumph of Excise Administration. The whole case is so beautifully put by Sir Frederick Lely that I shall simply quote it. He said, "and yet I have never met a native, official or non-official, intelligent or otherwise, who does not firmly believe that Government fosters the traffic for the sake of revenue, and would not willingly let it go. The reason mainly is that the administrators of all ranks are too prone to think that their work of prevention is done, when the price has been raised to the highest practicable point, and when they have ascertained that new shops meet a demand, and are not a nuisance to neighbours. They do not realise that their aim

should be first to put down illicit drinking and then drinking, altogether. The result is that the Abkari Department is often not in accord with the spirit of the Supreme Government, and not in line with the best moral sense of the country. The plan of campaign is right enough, but the minor tactics are often wrong." Gentlemen, I would venture to add often disgraceful. Lord Curzon in his speech at Byculla, you remember, wept for nearly an hour and protested his love for India. What exactly that love was you had ample opportunities to judge. He spoke of "the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble and silent millions, the 80 per cent., who subsist by agriculture." Gentlemen, remember that this scandalous, ever-increasing excise revenue is drawn from this patient Indian poor, the 80 per cent., who subsist by agriculture. I ask you if any responsible Government that is truly interested in the moral, material and spiritual welfare of such a large section of the population as the 80 per cent., that subsist by agriculture, will think that it is proper to put temptations in their way, will open shops so near them that as soon as they get out of their workshops, or as soon as they return from their paddy fields, they should have readily kept before them bottles of arrack and pots of toddy. I do not think that such professions are consistent with the rules and practices of the Government who talk so glibly of their love to India. Then again, another point is do the Government of India seem to think that if they enhance the duty on liquor they have done their duty. The ridiculousness that is involved in this was ably exposed by Mr. Gokhale in one of the brilliant cannonades which he gives on the annual financial statements. I am no authority on economic problems, but I will tell you what he said. He said that "the increase in revenue simply means that people are becoming more and more impoverished, that the man who is accustomed to drink is willing to spend all that he has for drink." And that is the exact thing that any common sense man will put forward as the best argument to refute the argument of the Government of India. But the most common sense argument often falls on deaf ears. I have several other arguments to press forward but I shall not waste your time. I will only point out that if the Government of India are sincere in their professions, if they want us to believe that their interest is that drink should not spread and that they do not care for revenue, they might immediately introduce local option. Men who live near a place are best fitted to judge whether a shop shall be opened there or not. They alone are the best judges. It is urged, and all agree, that we should point out that the spread of drink should stop. Government says that its revenue will decrease. We have lost many good things by the transference of the Government from the East India Company directly to the Government of India. One of them is this. As early as 1838 the Court of Directors passed an order intended to be circulated widely to all Collectors. It ran as follows:—"It cannot be too strongly urged upon Collectors that the object which Government has in view is to restrain and if possible to correct and diminish the total actual consumption of spirituous liquors, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded that any amount of revenue that may be lost by the efficiency of the system for this end will be repaid one hundredfold in the preservation and advancement of moral feelings and industrious habit among the people." Gentlemen, Lord Curzon is said to have declared before a Temperance Meeting in England "drink is a leper spot on the surface of the nation, a moral canker eating into the vitality of our people and producing effects which do not die with the year or the life, or even with the generation but which will be reproduced from generation to generation in a terrible legacy of poverty, misery and crime." On another occasion, addressing the Army Temperance Association at Simla he said, "no body will deny that a sober soldier is better than an intoxicated one, a moderate drinker than a hard drinker and a total abstainer better than all." The Viceroy added as eloquently as he always does "if every Commanding Officer in India were told that he himself were judged by the sobriety of his regiment and that a flourishing canteen would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel it would be a most excellent thing." Gentlemen, I think we are not passing the bounds of modesty in saying that this is the stand that the Congress takes year after year. If the Government of India says to us that there is an excess of excise revenue we may say that just as a flourishing canteen would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel, so also a flourishing excise revenue would be looked upon as a mark of the Government of India being absolutely a bad Government.

MR. S. S. BHATIA (*Lahore*).—Mr. President and gentlemen, in supporting this resolution I stand in a difficult and peculiar position. You will understand this when I say that I come from the Punjab. My Province is known to you, my countrymen, as the scene of the labours of the Sikh Gurus, hallowed with the memories of a Nanak and a Govind Singh (cheers). I feel, therefore, that in coming to Benares I am coming from one place of pilgrimage to another place of holy pilgrimage, Benares, and it is sad to have to confess that a wretched state of things prevails in our midst. Take Amritsar, the city of the Golden Temple, and it is studded with liquor shops. Thousands and lakhs of pilgrims come there from far and near to bathe in the sacred tank and drown their health in the dens placed as so many temptations in the path of the unwary pilgrim. I will relate to you a sad incident. Some years back a central distillery was established in that city and, to go further, a picture of the Golden Temple was adopted as a brand on the bottles. There was naturally a sensation and a protest, and the brand was given up but the bottle remained and we have the questionable honour of supplying liquor to the

whole province (shame). Take the case of another of our biggest towns. Miss Belgarine, an esteemed lady, the delegate of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, went round the shops in Lahore and gave it as her deliberate opinion in a public meeting that nowhere during her tour round the world had she come across a more openly disgraceful state of things. We have in our midst the system of back doors. The front door may be closed at the regulation time but the back doors, one or more, may be plying the whole night long. There are shops again which have practically got no doors to close. They believe in the policy of the open door. Turning to the country we find that there are few of our villages that do not boast of a liquor shop, but I go further and say that illicit distillation reigns supreme in numerous villages in every Tehsil and District; indeed, such villages have become notorious. There is another difficulty. Our people have become experts in legal intricacies, with the result that they go scot-free. They know that under the Excise Act no raids can be made or arrests effected in the night time so the process goes on under the veil of darkness. They know that until their possession is legally proved they need not fear law. So distillation is resorted to in the open fields whence men can fly when they get the scent. Fancy, gentlemen, that *Bhang* shops flourished openly at Amritsar until the Amritsar Temperance Society the other day moved and made it impossible for them to exist any longer. When this is the sad state of things, do you require to be told, gentlemen, why crime is increasing in the Punjab, litigation is prospering, morals are deteriorating and the physique of the people of the sword-hand of India is going down and getting stunted? It is time that the Government gave this aspect of the case their serious consideration.

Under the circumstances I feel that there has been too much of unnecessary jubilation over the recent pronouncements of the Government of India on the temperance question. I hope I will be pardoned, if I demur to the idea that we have got anything new. In the year 1887, I believe Mr. Samuel Smith and the late-lamented Mr. W. S. Caine carried a resolution through the House of Commons which was practically a vote of censure on the Abkari administration. The Secretary of State of the time embodied the wishes of the lower House in a despatch which has never been practically acted upon, and after these eighteen years we have been given these pronouncements again. I will ask you to withhold your jubiliations and rejoicings until we get something practical.

If these, gentlemen, are the stern realities of the Abkari administration how can we have confidence in the doings of a Committee which has only the heads of that department on it. They are the officials who were responsible for checking, controlling and supervising the details of that administration, and they can never inspire public confidence; we petitioned and protested against this and what is the reply vouchsafed? That the Committee has nothing to do with the policy of the Excise administration but with its details. Gentlemen, it is, not with the policy we quarrel at present, it is the details that affect us most, that have not given us satisfaction, and we are told that they do not concern non-officials and the general public. That is the sum and substance of the Government's reply, and it is, therefore, that I ask this Congress to protest against the exclusion of our countrymen from that Committee. I beg to support this resolution.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned at 2-40 P. M. and re-assembled at 3-20 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next subject is that of representation. I will call upon Mr. G. Srinivasa Rao, of Madura, to move this resolution.

REPRESENTATION.

MR. G. SRINIVASA RAO (*Madura*).—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that has been committed to my care runs thus.—

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

(a) The bestowal on each of the Provinces of India the franchise to return at least two members to the British House of Commons.

(b) The appointment of not less than three Indian gentlemen of proved ability and experience as members of the Secretary of State's Council.

(c) The appointment of two Indians as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and of one Indian as a member of the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras.

It is just possible that you may recollect that this resolution used to form part of a resolution which has been passed by you by acclamation just an hour or two ago. The resolution that I refer to is in regard to the expansion of the Legislative Councils of the country. This year it has been found necessary to divide it into two, considering the importance of the resolution which has been passed already. By that it is not meant that this is secondary in importance. This is as important as the other, but as the other concerns us at once, it has been passed at first, and it is for you to resolve to pass this by acclamation now. It is just possible you may think that it is unnecessary that I should address you at any length on this resolution inasmuch as all the arguments which

might be advanced in favour of this resolution are covered already by the arguments which have been mentioned to you by abler speakers whose words I have not the slightest doubt are still ringing in your ears. Still, inasmuch as I have come forward to move the proposition, let me say a few words. The resolution consists of three parts and I shall reverse the process in order that it may bring home to your minds the manner in which we proceed to understand the conditions of the thing. We will first see and examine clause (c). You know, as a matter of fact, that in the Councils of the Governor-General and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay there are two European Civilians who are associated with the Governor in the administration of the country. You know what difficulties generally crop up and how all that concerns us—I mean, Indians—is not placed before the Council so that the best interests of the country might be served. In order to avoid that, it is requested in clause (c) that so far as the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras are concerned it is just possible, when the time comes or next year that we meet, to add one more to them. We request Government that one Indian Member should be placed on the Executive Councils in these two Provinces, and also to have two Indians so far as the Governor-General's Executive Council is concerned. The importance of this is so great and so well known that it is unnecessary that I should take up any portion of your time in urging it. The resolution specially in this part has been repeatedly placed before the Congress in past years, and because our prayer is not granted, we are now repeating it so that we may move the Government on the same point again. Clause (b) is the next part which you have to take into consideration. When in the year 1857 there was a scheme for the transfer of the administration of the country from the East India Company to the Crown, Mr. Disraeli pointed out the importance of having some gentlemen of this country to represent India on the Council. Fifty years have nearly elapsed. Has any thing been done in this direction? None at all. Therefore, we are quite within our legitimate bounds to ask the Government to grant us this prayer. The third clause which is the first on the paper is with regard to the bestowal on each of the Provinces of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the House of Commons. You know this is a body which consists of 670 men, and so far as we are concerned if the prayer is granted we shall probably have 18 or 20 gentlemen to go from the nine or ten provinces of India. Compared to 670, 20 will not be much. But nevertheless there will be a handful where we have none at all, and the work which they will do will, if done zealously, advance the interests of our country to a great extent. More need not be said. Nevertheless, having this paper in our hands, whether this is the time for us to press our claims or not is best told to you in the words of our Grand Old Man. We want more men of that stamp. I have no doubt that other men will come in his place. What he says I feel tempted to read, because all of you have not got the message which Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji has sent to us. He says that self-government is the only remedy of India's woes and wrongs. He takes the trouble to quote the words uttered by Sir Henry Bannerman only three days ago, this message being dated 26th November. The words are:—“Good Government could never be a substitute for Government by the people themselves.”

Our need, therefore, is the utmost for the Government by the people themselves. Our veteran adds:—“Self-government is the remedy for India's woes and wrongs. For this purpose, we must strengthen this Congress, our great body, representative of all India, to go on making every possible effort to accomplish this end, which is quite practicable, as I have already said, and has been already successfully carried out very far by British rulers themselves as far back as 38 years ago, in the case of Mysore. On the other hand, it is as much absolutely necessary, that we should have a strong Committee in England of a number of permanently residing Indians with the powerful organ *India*, helped by sympathising English people and Press, to carry on energetically the propaganda of our claims and to attain them. A few competent and truly patriotic and enthusiastic Indian members in Parliament will largely accelerate work there, for, as I have said, it is in Parliament that the fight is to be fought and the last word to be said.”

With gentlemen of the stamp of the President of the Congress working for us in Great Britain and co-operating with our fellow-workers there, Europeans in the field, there is not the slightest doubt, that a great deal can be done for this country. The same gentleman also says that this is the best time for us and we must do it. He says:—

“Without self-government the Indians can never get rid of their present drain and the consequent improvement, misery and destruction. No palliatives of any kind whatever, no more alteration and tinkering of the mechanical machinery of a demonstration, can and will do any good at all. The drain can only be stopped by the Government by the people themselves. To be prosperous, India must govern itself like the Colonies.

“Stronger words than these cannot be put forward by me or by anybody else. It will be our duty, when this resolution is properly seconded and supported, to carry it by acclamation.”

In seconding the proposition Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit of Bombay said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition that I have the pleasure to second is so familiar to every one of you that it does not require many words from me to commend it to your favourable consideration. It has been the regular and

studied theme of sessions after sessions of the Congress; it has been the topic of able and exhaustive articles in the papers; it has been the subject of innumerable leaflets; it has been advocated from the public platforms and in various other ways, times without number.

The main points of the proposition may be summarised thus :— We advance our well-deserved rights to a larger, more effective and more representative share in the Government of our country. The desire to have these rights is the natural and legitimate outcome of education. It cannot be denied even by the worst enemies of the British Government that one of the many advantages that India has derived from British rule is education. This beautiful educational system, however defective it may be in some respects, produces thousands of graduates and under-graduates in all parts of the country year after year. These educated men who now number close upon a million come out into the world imbued with English ambition and English aspirations. They begin to understand what is good for them and what is bad. They begin to compare their institutions with the institutions of other countries, the history of which they learn during their school or college career, with the result that they find and realize with pain that they are far behind their times in the matter of self-government. They, therefore, claim, and justly, a larger and more responsible share in the Government of their country, and in this demand they are backed up by a growing and independent press which is in sympathy with their sentiments.

Gentleman, the early writings and speeches of Mount Stuart Elphinstone and other administrators responsible for the introduction of education in this country are abundant in unmistakable proofs of their intention to introduce the English educational system in this country with a view to fit the people for self-government. Even a casual reference to their early utterances makes it impossible for one to come to any other conclusion than this, and now that we have had so long in our midst this system so sagaciously introduced by great statesmen who had the dual work of conquering and consolidating to perform, it would be defeating their very aim and object if we are not to ask for our legitimate rights. Why! I say that this system was created for the specific purpose of advancing us on the path of evolution, and all the trouble taken over the spread of education would be practically wasted if we did not ask for what the system of education was created to give us. Whatever our opinion of the Englishmen that come to this country may be, I may assure you, with the experience of one who has closely studied life in England, that we can put faith in the good will of the English towards us and also in their love of fair-play, and that if we go on knocking at their door we are sure to succeed. I will go a step further and say that I firmly believe that no Government can long withstand the just and legitimate claims of a united people.

The proposition divides into three heads; the first refers to the election, from amongst the ablest men, of two members to the British House of Commons. Gentlemen, this privilege should have been given to us full fifty years ago. It is painful to feel that a country with such unlimited resources, with a population nearly 1/7th of the total inhabitants of the whole world, and with an area several times the size of England, Scotland and Ireland put together should be governed from a distance of seven thousand miles through the instrumentality of agents and servants on a far from representative basis. Every civilized country on the surface of the globe, however governed, has a voice in its own administration, and it is fair that we too should have a voice in the administration of our own; in fact, we should have had that privilege years ago.

The second part deals with the appointment of not less than three Indian gentlemen to the Secretary of State's Council. This Council at present consists of ten members, almost all retired Anglo-Indians, who carry into their retirement all the prejudices imbibed during their stay in this country. When the Government of India was transferred to the Throne from the East India Company in the year 1857, and when the India Council was brought into existence, the Earl of Beaconsfield had the sagacity of putting a clause in the Act constituting the Council reserving three seats for Indians in the Council. This clause was, however, ultimately omitted as it was argued that the country was not ripe for that arrangement. Now we maintain, and justly maintain, that this right is overdue, and the educated India of to-day demands that the wise arrangement which the sagacity of the far-seeing statesman then suggested should be introduced.

The last clause advocates the appointment of two Indians as members of the Supreme and Provincial Councils. In view of what I have said already this is self-explanatory, and I will content myself with saying that it is our right to have our chosen representatives in the Executive Councils of the Supreme and Provincial Governments. The benefit of this arrangement would be incalculable. Gentlemen, it is difficult to imagine why this right which is overdue should have been withheld so long. We say that we have been so long kept off without justification, and I have no hesitation in saying that we are correct in this view. If we grant the truth of the argument that no Indians have been found fit enough to occupy these positions, then I say that that argument is the strongest condemnation of British rule; for, what are we to think of a Government which, after a rule of 100 years, has not been able to produce even a handful of men worthy of going into the Executive Councils of the Governor-General and the Governors of Bombay and Madras. But, gentlemen, we do not

take such an uncharitable view of British Government in India and of the good work they have done; and we, therefore, persist in maintaining emphatically that this privilege has been withheld without reason and should now be bestowed on us.

For these reasons, I am sure you will support this proposition which seeks to do nothing more than ask for what is our due, for what has been promised to us time after time, and what has been withheld from us inexplicably and in a manner foreign to the acknowledged rules and policy of civilized governments.

In conclusion, I say that it ought to bring a blush of shame to the cheek of every Englishman who has the honour of his country at heart to think that after 100 years of English rule his countrymen have not been able to give to the inheritors of one of the greatest civilizations of the world what America has given to the Philippines, a far more backward race than the Indians, in less than 10 years. Indeed it will be a glorious day for England when, by her wise laws and thorough education, she will have raised this ancient and great but now fallen country to the level of a self-governing nation. With these words I beg to second the proposition, and trust that you will accept it in a most enthusiastic manner (cheers).

MR. S. R. DAS (*Calcutta*).—Mr. President and gentlemen, you have already heard two eloquent and able speeches on this subject, and considering the number of resolutions we have still to move and pass, I do not intend to take up your time in addressing you any farther. On behalf of Bengal I beg to support this resolution.

MR. FAZAL HUSAIN (*Aligarh*) supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported, and I now put it to the vote.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OVER INDIAN AFFAIRS.

THE PRESIDENT. The next resolution is about Parliamentary control over Indian affairs. I call upon Mr. Ambalal Desai, of Ahmedabad, to move it.

DIWAN BAHADUR AMSALAL'S DESAI (*Ahmedabad*).—Mr. President and brother-delegates, the proposition which I am desired to move runs as follows:—"That this Congress is of opinion that to enable the Parliament to discharge more satisfactorily its responsibility in regard to the Government of India, periodical parliamentary enquiries into the condition of India should be revived, and the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the British estimates."

Gentlemen, we have had to-day two resolutions, one proposing that the Councils of the Legislature should be enlarged, another that the element of representation should be more widely introduced. The basis of both these is this, that Indian opinion is not felt in the administration, and that we are all desirous that the public opinion of the Natives of India should be brought more into operation in the administration of India. The present proposition is of a piece with them. The principal fly-wheel, as I may call it, in the machinery of the Indian administration is the Parliament, the British Legislature. We may improve the machinery here and there; we may improve the local councils and local boards; but as long as the principal fly-wheel moves slowly or does not move at all, we cannot expect radical or great reforms. In the time of the East India Company, as you are aware, at every renewal of the Charter, an exhaustive enquiry was made into the condition of the people of India, and you are aware that every enquiry yielded some fruits. After the enquiry of 1813 the monopoly of the East India Company in trade was abolished. Twenty years later we got that precious Act, the Act of 1833, which placed the British subjects in India legally on the same footing with the subjects of the British Empire elsewhere. In 1853, the year of the last enquiry, the Civil Service was thrown open to all British subjects. In that way at each enquiry we have had some substantial gain. Now, according to the Act of 1858, the Government of India is, as you know, vested in the Parliament, and the Parliament is supposed to exercise the same sort of influence over the Government of India that it does over the Government of the British Isles and the Colonies. As a matter of fact, we know, to our regret, that Parliament practically takes little or no interest in the affairs of India, unless or until some convulsion occurs. Only once a year the Indian Budget comes before the British Parliament, and the time selected for it is such that most of the members are, as you are aware, away at that period. Scarcely forty members can be got together. The Secretary of State reads the Budget, and a resolution is passed approving of it. Now one cause of this state of things is the ignorance of the British Parliament. Naturally, they trust their own men who are sent out to India; but they are not aware of the great advance this country has made in education. It is necessary, therefore, that solid facts and figures should be placed before them, and those facts and figures can only be obtained by an exhaustive enquiry such as was held every twenty years in the time of the East India Company. The second part of the proposal is comparatively a mere matter of detail, but it has a double foundation. It so happens that while the British Government bears the whole cost of the Colonial Office, whereas that of the India Office is wholly charged to the revenues of India;

and so in point of justice the British Government ought to bear the cost of the India Office also. But there is another ground also for this request. If the salary of the Secretary of State were placed on the British estimates, according to the rules of procedure obtaining in the British Parliament, any Indian grievance could be brought before the Parliament when the estimates come up for discussion. This is another ground for the second part of the proposal. The effect of an enquiry would be, as I said, that the Parliament will be in possession of many solid facts. Personally, I always believe, and I think many others believe also, that it will not be a panacea for all our evils. Our final deliverance will depend upon ourselves (hear hear). In the meanwhile, it is quite permissible to adopt and recommend an expedient which might in some degree mitigate our evils. With these remarks I commend the proposition for your adoption (cheers).

BABU TARAPADA BANERJI (*Krishnanagar*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have been asked to second has been already placed before you in eloquent terms by Diwan Babadur Ambalal Desai. I do not find the resolution in the printed copy which has been furnished to me. There is a mere blank space and, therefore, you cannot expect me to say anything upon it. (At this stage the manuscript copy of the resolution was handed over to the speaker.) The resolution is to the effect that there should be a periodical enquiry into the condition of India. It is an important resolution, and I would have felt myself satisfied by seconding it had it not been for the fact that I feel that I ought to say something on the subject on account of certain reasons which I need not explain before you. I believe in the dispensation of Providence, and it is my firm belief that kind Providence has placed our destinies in the hands of men who live thousands of miles away for our good, and I do think that it is by their efforts our condition will be improved, and we will advance in the path of progress and civilization. But, Sir, it is absolutely necessary that they should know the true state of the country, they should know how India is being governed and on what principles our Governors here are guided, whether they follow the principles which the Parliament has laid down for governing India and which the Queen's Proclamation set out some years ago during the time of the Mutiny, or they are governing us on principles quite different. You know that it is not possible for them to know the true state of the country unless periodical enquiries are held in India. Papers cannot possibly give them that true statement of the condition of India. Officials do not; I do not know whether they will not or will, but, as a matter of fact, they do not give a true version of the state of things here. It is, therefore, for Parliament to appoint men who are truly anxious to know the state of the country, who are truly anxious to know our wants and who are desirous of removing our grievances. Enquiry should be held here, and it is the duty of all Indians to represent the facts as they are without any modification or exaggeration. I, therefore, think, gentlemen, that it is a resolution of the highest importance, and that you should all agree in carrying it unanimously (cheers).

MR. V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR (*Madras*).—Mr. President and gentlemen, I am glad to support the proposition which has been entrusted to me. It was after the year of the great conflagration of the Indian Mutiny that the Government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, and when it was so transferred there were those that expressed most serious misgivings as to the way in which the British Parliament would be able to exercise its control over Indian Affairs. Those misgivings have been in a great measure realised. The periodical enquiry to which the administration of this country was subjected at the hands of Parliament under the dictates of the people who were a zealous body of monopolists has ceased to be made, and because that enquiry has not been made, the British people, the great British nation, is not aware of the real situation of the various problems that are agitating the minds of the people of the country (hear hear). We are not asking for any particular boon from the British people or the British Parliament (hear hear). We want them to understand our position. We want them to enquire into our condition; we want them to study the problems that are engaging the attention of the people and the administrators of India; and with the knowledge so acquired we want them to govern this country with wisdom. Gentlemen, in 1773, which was one of the years in which the East India Company's Charter had to be renewed, the Regulating Act was passed. The year 1793 witnessed the great Permanent Settlement that was inaugurated by the Government of Lord Cornwallis. In the year 1813, another stage in the renewal of the Company's Charter, the great book was prepared which is known as the Fifth Report of Parliament, and which contains a record of the rights of land-lords and ryots of this country. In the year 1833, it was first announced by the British Parliament that the people of this country shall know no distinction from the people of England in all the offices, in the emoluments and in all that is good in this land, so far as it is possible for the government of the country to confer upon any body (cheers). In the year 1855, the doors of the Civil Service were thrown open for competition. It was no longer the case of writers or clerks being selected by a particular body of men to administer the affairs of this country, but it was through the open door of competition which knew no distinction of class, creed or race—it was through this door that the governors of this country

were to come. Now, gentlemen, in 1858 the Government of the country was transferred to the Crown. Then ceased all further enquiry on the part of Parliament into the administration of the affairs of this land. It is true that there have been Committees of Parliament occasionally appointed. It is true that in 1874 there was a Committee of Parliament, under the inspiration of Mr. Fawcett, to enquire into the condition of this country, and that was followed by great results. It is true also there was the Webby Commission appointed much later; and although the fruits of their labours were not much, still even that Commission was able to reduce the burden of this country to the extent of £250,000 a year. This shows the great advantages which this country has enjoyed from periodical Parliamentary enquiries. The proposition before you has two parts. We ask for an annual enquiry by placing the salary of the Secretary of State on the British estimates. We ask for a periodical enquiry once in twenty or thirty years according to the wisdom of Parliament so that the affairs of this country may be properly studied. I do not know, gentlemen, who called it, but I remember the phrase, it was said to be a policy of melancholy meanness, in dealing with the finances of the people of this country. It was the policy of melancholy meanness in dealing with the salary of the Secretary of State and placing it to the expenditure of the revenues of India, while the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the salary of the Secretary of State for War and the salary of the Home Secretary are all on the Home estimates and not on the estimates of the particular provinces to which they relate, like the salary of the Secretary of State for India. Gentlemen, in more ways than one have the revenues of this country been misapplied. It is no occasion for me to dwell upon it, but if you find the salary of the Secretary of State for India placed on the British estimates, then there is a necessity for an enquiry, the necessity for discussion with reference to the position of the people on the occasion of the passing of the British estimates generally at the opening session of Parliament every year. If you get a periodical enquiry by a Committee of Parliament taking evidence, then things that happened during the period of twenty or thirty years are examined in the light of it by the Parliamentary Committee with the experience and knowledge of those who have studied Indian questions, and the result of such examination cannot but be fruitful to the people of this land. It is in this hope that we ask for this proposition being accepted. I, for my part, have great faith in the British nation, I believe in the wisdom of Parliament, I have great confidence in the great heart of the British nation which has always throbbed in sympathy with the aspirations of all suffering humanity (cheers), which has throbbed in sympathy with the wants of those who have felt the need for sympathy, and I venture to think that if we appeal to that great Parliament for a periodical enquiry into the affairs of this land good only can result. Whether that good will be commensurate with all our wants and aspirations is another question; but all the good that could be achieved by such a measure will be obtained if you accept the proposition that is placed before you.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE QUESTION.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution relates to the Public Service question, and I call upon Mr. N. M. Samarth to move this resolution.

MR. N. M. SAMARTH (Bombay):—Mr. President and fellow delegates, I have the honour to place before you the resolution on the Public Service question.

The resolution runs thus:—

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

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

(c) That this Congress, concurring in the opinion of the last Congress, deplors the abolition of the competitive test for the Provincial Service. Past experience has amply

established the fact that a system of Government nomination degenerates, in the special circumstances of this country, into a system of appointment by official favour, and thus by bringing unfit men into the service, impairs the efficiency of the administration and, in addition, unfairly discredits the fitness of Indians for high office. This Congress, therefore, respectfully urges the Government of India to restore the competitive test for the Provincial Service.

Gentlemen, we give expression in this resolution to our resentment at the attitude which the Government of India, during Lord Curzon's régime, has publicly taken towards the Charter Act of 1833 and more especially towards the Proclamation of 1858. I would characterise that attitude as one in which, for the first time in the history of British Rule in this country, the responsible representative of the Crown tried to give public expression to the secret feelings which the official portion of Anglo-Indians as a class has all along entertained towards the Queen's Proclamation. What those secret feelings were and have been may be gleaned from the way in which Englishmen in India received the Proclamation on the day of its promulgation in this country. The Bombay correspondent of the *London Times*, in his account of the rejoicing on the Proclamation Day, noticed the fact that while the whole of the native town was ablaze with illuminations, one particular portion of the city was conspicuous by its darkness. And what quarter do you think it was which was thus in apparent mourning? Well, Sir, it was the quarter in which the European element lived in the city (hear, hear). At Madras both the Governor and the Commander-in-chief were absent from the city on that day, and there were no illuminations, no festivities, no street decorations, as in Bombay, Madras, was literally benighted on the festive day. That was the spirit in which the governing race, the English community in India, accepted or rather resented the Proclamation of a gracious Sovereign. Well, Sir, the resolution which appeared over the signature of the Hon. Mr. Risley on the 24th of May 1904, is, to my mind, little else than an attempt, by an imperious apostle of Imperialism, to give public expression to, and shape his policy in conformity with, the secret feeling of hostility which the official portion of Englishmen in India throughout maintained and endeavoured to enforce in respect of the promises and pledges of equality of treatment which the Parliament gave in 1833 and the Proclamation in 1858. Our resolution says that the Risley Resolution is inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. That is our contention, and I am prepared to prove it up to the hilt. To put it briefly, the Risley Resolution lays down that so far as the sphere of public service in India is concerned, a certain portion of it shall, for all time, be open practically to Englishmen alone on account of their possessing, partly by heredity partly by up-bringing and partly by education, those qualifications which are needed for successful administration and which the Indian subjects do not and can never possess; that outside this sacred circle of a *corps d'elite*, there will be a second circle open both to Englishmen and Indians, but even in this there may be, in certain departments, a strong admixture, and sometimes even a great preponderance, of the European element on account of Europeans possessing those high qualities of mind and body which Nature has denied to Indians. The main features of this resolution are these:—firstly, it seeks to make a distinction between Englishmen as the dominant or governing race and Indians as the subject race in India; secondly, it says distinctly that a certain portion of the public service in India shall never be open to Indians, but shall be exclusively reserved for Englishmen, as Indians are, by nature, an inferior race. All this disregards, discards and scatters to the wind the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. The section of the Act of 1833, which is pertinent in this connection, reads thus:—

“And be it enacted that no Native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company.”

The wording of this section is too clear to need comment. It removed the disqualification of those born in India for holding any place, office or employment on the ground of their race, colour or creed. No effect was given to this enactment for nearly twenty years, and turning over the Blue Books, one finds for the first time Lord Ellenborough writing a long Minute on the subject, regretting the fact that the Statute had remained a dead letter and recommending the appointment of one Indian, Dr. Chuckerbutty, to a convenanted post on the ground, among others, that some effect be given to the provision in order that Indians may not feel that Englishmen make empty promises, never meaning to carry them out. A few years after came the Proclamation of a gracious Sovereign, and the clause in that solemn document in respect of which Lord Curzon employed all the casuistry and sophistry which were the characteristic features of his rhetoric, runs thus:—

“And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.” Lord Curzon made the attempt to play the Jesuit with the expression “so far as may be” which occurs in this clause, and to spell out of it a justification for keeping the higher grades of the public service as a monopoly for Englishmen. That is an interpretation, which, I venture to think, is neither ingenious nor ingenuous (cheers). The words

"so far as may be," refer to the *modus operandi* by which the whole field of the public service is to be occupied by the people, namely, by qualifying themselves for it by education, ability and integrity. The clause in effect holds forth to the people of India the prospect of self-government as the reward of self-development (cheers). While the Section in the Act of 1833 was only a negative one,—removal of disability,—the clause in the Proclamation is positive, pledging the Sovereign's word to the ultimate evolution of a self-governing India in so far as such a consummation may be brought about by the process prescribed therein, namely, free and impartial admission to office of subjects, not on the ground of race or creed, but on the sole ground of education, ability and integrity. That this is the correct interpretation is made clearer still by reference to the previous clause in which the attitude of the Sovereign towards the subject races is embodied. That clause is a very important one and runs thus:—

"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

This clause embodies the Sovereign's pledge that there is to be for India no distinction between a governing or dominant English race and a subject one consisting of Indians, that the Natives of India are not the subjects of Englishmen, but fellow-subjects with Englishmen of a common Sovereign (cheers). All that follows is in fact but the application of this pledge in particular instances. Mark the words:—"Same obligations of duty which bind us to *all our other* subjects." These words preclude the idea of Englishmen, being the governing race and Indians being a subject race (cheers). This is the proper interpretation of the Proclamation, and I challenge any other interpretation of that solemn document by any one however highly placed he may be. The Proclamation of 1858 does not preclude the contingency but contemplates and provides for the possibility of Indians being able to rise to the highest rungs of the ladder in the public service of their native-land. The Risley Resolution, however, destroys that possibility, but attempts to confine the people of India to the lower rungs of the ladder for ever and for ever. I venture to question the power of any representative of the Crown to lay down a policy which whittles down the Sovereign's plighted word, as Lord Curzon has dared to do (cheers). Lord Curzon clearly exceeded his authority and misused his power in making an inroad on the rights and privileges guaranteed to India by a benevolent Sovereign (cheers). Happily for his Lordship and unhappily for India, we are not living in the days of Burke and Sheridan. Otherwise, one could well imagine the fate that would probably have befallen the late Viceroy on his return to England, after his trifling with the Queen's Proclamation (loud cheers). It is impossible to overrate the importance and sanctity of that solemn document. So long as England and English statesmen have any sense of national dignity and national honour at all, it must determine for all time the fundamental character of British connection with India (hear, hear). It supplies a definite standard by which the success or failure of Viceroys and Ministers shall be measured by India. By that standard they ought to be judged, and to that standard they must be made to conform by all those, Englishmen or Indians, who are loyal to the British Throne (loud cheers).

I need not dwell any longer upon this aspect of the question, I have justified my position that Mr. Risley's resolution is inconsistent with the Proclamation of 1858 and the Charter Act of 1833. I take up the further attitude that the principle of nomination which has been introduced is also inconsistent with the Proclamation. I have a shrewd suspicion that it has been introduced in order that the Proclamation may be rendered a waste paper by its being persisted in for a number of years. The Proclamation says that the *modus operandi* of the Indian people obtaining self-government as a reward of self-development, that is the substance of the clause I read—the *modus operandi* is education, ability and integrity. These are the qualifications prescribed. And, therefore, if you resort to nomination and select incompetent men and gradually show that Indians are unfit, you get a handle by means of which you will be able to say to the people that the Proclamation cannot be carried out as you are not fit to be appointed to the higher grades of the public service. That is a subterfuge, to use Lord Lytton's phraseology, to introduce nomination in place of competitive test—an insidious attempt to see that the Proclamation is reduced to a waste paper. I have said enough to justify the main features of the resolution before you. Only one aspect of it remains, *viz.*, that which you find in the middle portion of the resolution justifying the appointment of Indians in the higher grades of the public service in order to remedy financial and administrative evils. Well, Sir, I need not dilate upon it. You are all aware that the drain from India can be easily curtailed by a large employment of Indians in place of Europeans from year to year. That is the aspect to which reference has been made in the portion of the resolution which you find in clause (b). As to the justness of our claim being recognised, I have hopes, now that the liberal ministry is in power—I too am hopeful like my friend Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer in respect of the attitude which the liberal ministry is likely to take with reference to Indian questions. About this time last year Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, in a speech he made at Dumferline, a speech we will never fail to bring to his notice when he gets the reins of office into his hands, made the following observations.—

"The basis of our trust," said Sir Henry, "is never to forget that the subject races of Asia and Africa should be ruled in such a way that subjection shall not stand for degradation and for loss of liberty, or for any form of exploitation, and the measure of our success as a civilizing Empire will depend upon our building up such laws and institutions as will enable those races to make the best of themselves, not always according to Anglo-Saxon models and ideas, but according to their various characteristics and geniuses. We cannot say that we have succeeded so long as our protectorates are only held by arming the natives and drilling them to shoot their kinsmen down. We cannot boast of the extension of British justice, if our methods of taxation and our land system oppress them and are hateful to the people who live under them. We cannot reflect with thankfulness on extending civilization so long as its course is marked by the curse of slavery under whatever name it may be called. We are part of the great fabric built up in the dominion of India, but we are saddened by the reflection that there is another side to the shield, and that the wide-spread poverty of the Indian peasant, who has to support the weight of the whole Imperial fabric, is a source of discredit to our Empire" (cheers). I beg to remind Sir Henry of these words and ask him to show, now that he is in power, that they came from his heart and were uttered, as I take it they were, in order that they may be carried out to the letter and effect given to them in the policy which the Liberal Ministry would pursue towards India (loud cheers).

PANDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DAR (*Lucknow*).—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is impossible to advance any new arguments or state even old arguments in a new form upon the question that has been before the Government and the country for nearly three-fourths of a century. But when I think that for the first time in the year 1833 our claim to public service, to all ranks and grades of the public service, was acknowledged by Parliament, when I think that the great Proclamation of 1858 repealed and re-affirmed those claims, when I think that those claims were repeated and re-affirmed on such great occasions as the Delhi Assemblage in 1877, as the Queen's Jubilee in 1887 and also on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar in 1903, and when I think of the famous simultaneous examination resolution that was passed by the House of Commons in 1893, when I think of all these matters and those occasions on which our claims to public service were acknowledged unstintedly and without any qualification, when I think of the opposition that still exists in the Government quarters to our claims, I am but reminded of the famous words of Burke "Invention is exhausted, reason is fatigued, experience has given judgment but obstinacy is not conquered" (cheers). Gentlemen, finding it difficult upon any moral or upon any reasonable ground to justify this policy of unfairness towards Indians, the last course to which our rulers have resorted is to belittle the importance of those great declarations, those great pledges which have been given to us by the Parliament and the Sovereign of India. Sir James FitzJames Stephen called the Queen's Proclamation a diplomatic document which was not to be taken in its literal sense (cries of shame). Lord Ripon repudiated it in words as emphatic as they were true. Then later on in our own generation and time we have had Lord Lansdowne and Sir Henry Fowler preach the doctrine of irreducible minimum of Englishmen in the Indian service. Then came the great man with sympathy and courage for his watchwords and the Queen's Proclamation as the golden rule which was to guide his public conduct. He soon threw off his mask and told us with admirable candour that the brand of racial inferiority was down on our forehead which disqualified us for ever from most of the appointments in the higher grades of the public service. Gentlemen, you will excuse me if I read to you certain extracts from the resolution of the Government of India in which this doctrine is laid down in all its nakedness. That resolution runs:—

"The general principles which regulate the situation are, he conceives, two in number. The first is that the highest ranks of Civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service, the members of which are entrusted with the responsible task of carrying on the general administration of the country, though open to such Indians as proceed to England and pass the requisite tests, must, nevertheless, as a general rule be held by Englishmen, for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task, and that the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created and are responsible for it. The second principle is that, outside this *crops d'elite* the Government shall, as far as possible and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country, both because its general policy is to restrict rather than to extend European Agency, and because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence and character in the service of the State. This principal is qualified only by the fact that in certain departments where scientific or technical knowledge is required, or where there is a call for the exercise of particular responsibility or for the possession of a high standard of physical endurance, it is necessary to maintain a strong admixture, and sometimes even a great preponderance of the European element."

Now, gentlemen, in the face of this statement Lord Curzon had the hardihood to say

critic unabashed and says "Oh yes I know all that. But don't you see the closing words contain the qualification"—mark the phrase—"so far as may be." That is the qualification ; the application of this principle is to be qualified and limited by the test of practical expediency. Sir, in plain English, to my mind, it means nothing but that the Queen's words were a fraud practised upon the people of this country at the end of the greatest crisis in the history of India. No, Sir, I put no such interpretation. I most emphatically and solemnly protest against this selfish, unjust and impossible policy of the Government of India. It is not only a great betrayal of the honour of the British Sovereign and the British Parliament but I believe that if it is adopted and followed by Lord Curzon's successors in future years in the interests of the dominant race, then, Sir, to my mind it will go very far indeed to shake that faith in British honour and that sentiment of loyalty in the people upon which more than anything else depend the permanence and the stability of British rule in India (cheers). Now, if this is the state of things, are our grievances real, are they substantial or are they simply mere will-o'-the-wisps generated in the marshes of what has been called our tropical imagination ? I appeal to hard facts and figures on this point. There is the circular of the Government, dated 1879, in which with regard to certain minor departments of the public service, appointments from Rs. 200 and upwards are almost exclusively reserved for the natives of this country. How far has effect been given to that circular ? Well, Sir, I give you one instance. In the Opium Department, in the Salt and Customs, in the Mint, in the Post Office and Police Departments, in the posts from Rs. 200 and upwards there are 1,867 Europeans and 647 Natives of this country. This is how that circular has been carried out. That is not bad. But the higher you ascend from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300, from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 and so on the number of Europeans and Eurasians increases more and more, and the number of Indians becomes smaller by degrees and beautifully less until at the post of Rs. 800 in some departments and until at the post of Rs. 1,000 in some other departments and upwards it reaches the zero point. That is how that policy has been carried out. Now, Sir, there stands the policy of Lord Curzon, naked but not ashamed (laughter). Such is the state of things. In the higher grade of the Executive service our case is still worse. Indians are a negligible quantity there. I will say nothing at present as regards the Executive branch ; but I will just make one remark with regard to the Judicial Department where Indians have proved by their ability, by their integrity, by their knowledge and by their experience that they are as good as, if not better than, English Judges. The late Lord Selborne, who was Lord Chancellor of England, in speaking of Indian Judges spoke as follows :—"My Lords, for some years I practised in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and during those years there were few cases of any imperial importance in which I was not concerned. I had considerable opportunities of observing the manner in which, in civil cases, the Native Judges did their duty, and I have no hesitation in saying, and I know this was also the opinion of the Judges during that time, that the judgments of the Native Judges bore most favourable comparison as a rule with the judgments of the English Judges. I should be sorry to say anything in disparagement of English Judges, who, as a class, are most anxious carefully to discharge their duty ; but I repeat that I have no hesitation in saying that in every instance in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of true soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the Native judgments were quite as good as those of English Judges." That is what he said. Sir, here is the Judicial service, why if you really intend to give effect to your liberal and generous policy, why don't you appoint more Indian Judges to the Judicial Department. It is not impossible to find a sufficient number of competent men who can reduce the number of English Judges by at least 50 per cent. With regard to this I may be allowed to state that if this reform comes it will not be effective so long as those appointments are not made from the ranks of the legal profession. We have had enough of Executive recruitment. I have nothing to say against Executive officers ; they are very clever, they are businessmen, they are conscientious, they are honest and industrious. But I must say that executive duties carry with them their own bias. In order to command the confidence of the people and of the profession, it is most necessary that on the bench should sit those men who for their legal knowledge and experience command the confidence of the people and the respect of the legal profession (cheers). Well, gentlemen, as regards even the appointments in the higher grades of the Executive service, I must say that I repudiate, as emphatically and as strongly as I am able to, as a baseless libel upon the character and capacity of my countrymen, although from their ranks have come Diwans and Ministers who have ruled large Native States, men like Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Dinakar Rao and Sir Seshiah Sastri and our Grand Old Man Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji (cheers), although in the British service whenever opportunities are given there have come forth from the ranks men like Mr. R. C. Dutt (cheers) who rise high. I say I repudiate it as a gross and baseless libel upon the character and capacity of my countrymen, although they have given such proof of their power, knowledge, character and integrity that they should be debarred from holding high appointments in the public service of their own country (cries of shame). There is only one point which I wish to bring to your notice. That is as regards the abolition of the competitive test. One of the principle grounds upon which the competitive test was abolished and against which Anglo-Indians have particularly always written is that the great Mahomedan

community of India is backward in education, and in order to give them a fair opportunity it is necessary that the competitive test should be limited. Now, gentlemen, you have already heard a Mahomedan gentleman who has spoken as to the position and the attitude of Mahomedans towards political questions. Belonging to these Provinces, which are the prominent seats of the Mahomedan community, I also say that it is an insult to their intelligence to say that they cannot hold their own against the other communities in India (cheers). I give you a small instance in my own town of Lucknow. In Lucknow there are thirteen Mahomedan Barristers and five Hindu Barristers. In this Province there are five Covenanted Civilians, three Hindus, one Mahomedan and one Parsee. That is not a bad proportion. The greatest condemnation of the nomination system lies in the fact that the Statutory Civil Service has been abolished. The nomination system was tried on a grand scale with regard to higher appointments, but it egregiously failed, and the Government had to abolish it. Thus our demand then is based upon our education, it is based upon those pledges and promises given to us by Parliament and Sovereign; it is based upon considerations of economy, it is based, I must say, above all, upon those principles of justice which are written with the finger of God upon the hearts of men. If you ask me, gentlemen, whether there is any chance of success in this matter I say that so far as the Government in this country is concerned I do not hope for much. The tide of re-action is running high in this country; we have seen the passing of the Sedition Law, we have seen the passing of the Official Secrets Act, we have seen our national character traduced and calumniated by the greatest representative of the Sovereign (hisses), we have seen the military power triumph over the civil power, and lastly, we have seen the partition of Bengal, the suppression of the Swadeshi movement by coercion and force and the infamous circular of Mr. Fuller (hisses), we have seen all these. Well may John Morley, the present Secretary of State, say of such rulers and administrators that after having won India by breaking all the ten commandments they found it difficult to maintain it on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The darkest hour is close to the dawn; in the midst of this darkness to the eye of faith that can look into the future there yet shines the morning star of old (cheers). As certainly as there is God's justice in this world, as certainly as there is God's truth in this world, so certainly the cause of justice and the cause of truth by the blessing of God will not fail (cheers).

MR. J. SIMON OF ALLAHABAD supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

THE HON'BLE MR. K. R. GURUSWAMI AYYAR (*Tinnevely*).—Mr. President and fellow delegates, you will not expect me at this time of the day to make a speech, nor do I desire to detain you long on a resolution which has been completely threshed out by very able speakers. However, representing Madras I desire to make only a few observations on the leading points that are touched in the resolution. I did not think that it was given to Viceroys to make proclamations whose spirit was entirely contrary to the spirit that all the noble words of successive sovereigns have breathed in our behalf and to our advantage (cheers). It might have been permissible for a Viceroy to glorify himself and present a spectacle of *tamasha* from a Durbar at Delhi. But it was not competent on his part to arrogate to himself the function of promulgating rules with regard to the employment of Indians which are certainly contrary to the spirit of legal enactments and the gracious proclamation of our first Empress (hear hear).

I will not detain you on the question of the interpretation of the words employed in the Proclamation. Very eloquently and most clearly previous speakers have placed before you what they consider and what all of you will grant is the right interpretation to be placed on those words. It goes without saying that under a true interpretation of that Proclamation the resolution of the Viceroy stands condemned. I will, however, argue this question from another point of view. You will have to look at this administrative question from the standpoint which I consider is more important than any other, *i. e.*, from the economic standpoint. I submit that it is impossible to rule a country like India which is so poor on the costly scale of remuneration to its servants that has obtained for a long time. The second part of the resolution draws prominent attention to this aspect of the question. Gentlemen, if you were to consider the salaries of highly-paid Europeans you will see that for the amount of the salary given to one European you will be able to obtain perhaps two Indians to fill offices of equal dignity and importance. If in the higher offices more Indians were to be employed I have not the least doubt that the cost of administration would be very much reduced. Under the authority of the Government of India's Resolution which we are condemning in this proposition I may state to you that the higher offices have become more and more increased in number during the last 35 years. If during this period more Indians had been appointed instead of increasing the number of Europeans the cost of our administration would not have become the huge figure that it already is. From this point of view among others that have been already urged upon you I prefer to commend this proposition to your acceptance. As it is very late in the day I don't want to say more. This resolution is an all-important one. It has to be considered from the point of view of what is justice to the sons of the soil no less than from the standpoint of the tax-payer. The sorely-tried tax-payer of this country wants no doubt the best talent available for its administration. But he also wants to pay as little as possible consistently with efficiency. I say that the only proper solution for that difficulty will be to employ more Indians in the higher offices of the State (cheers).

(45)

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—The Congress stands adjourned till 11-30 a. m. to-morrow. The Subjects' Committee meets at 5-30 p. m. to-day.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 29th December 1905.

The Congress re-assembled at 11-30 a. m.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, there is a heavy programme before us to-day, and it will be necessary to enforce the rules about time limit more strictly to-day than it was done yesterday. I suppose that this general hint will suffice for the several speakers, and it will not be really necessary to pull up every one. Now we shall have a slight alteration in the order of subjects printed in the Agenda paper. We will take up the Financial question first, and we will ask Mr. G. Subramanya Aiyar to move it.

INDIAN FINANCE.

MR. G. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR (*Madras*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to move the following resolution :—

“That this Congress, while appreciating the action of the Government of India in applying a portion of its surplus revenues last March to some of the purposes recommended by the Congress, is of opinion that the financial relief given by it to the tax-payers of this country during the last three years has been most inadequate, and the Congress regrets that advantage has been taken of recent surpluses to increase largely the military expenditure of the country, raise the salaries of European officials in several departments and create a number of new posts for them. The Congress urges that any surplus that may arise in the future should, in the first place, be utilised for purposes of remission of taxation, and, secondly, be devoted to objects directly benefiting the people, such as imparting scientific, industrial and agricultural education, providing increased facilities of medical relief and assisting Municipal and Local Boards with grants to undertake urgently needed measures of sanitary reform, and the improvement of means of communication in the interior.”

Mr. President, this is rather a difficult question, and I am labouring, like other speakers at the Congress, under the disadvantage of being called upon to speak at the spur of the moment. But happily some of you might remember the masterful and exhaustive speech which Mr. Gokhale delivered on this subject last year in Bombay, and I need only repeat to-day some of the salient features of that speech.

The sum and substance of this resolution is this :—That for some years past the Government of India have been taking, from the pockets of the people, more taxes than are required for the current administrative expenses of the State and, therefore, that the additional burden placed upon the people by this excessive revenue should be reduced, firstly, by remission of taxation, by far larger remission than has taken place ; secondly, by giving a portion of the revenues back to the people in the shape of beneficial services rendered to Municipal Councils and other local institutions, and for purposes directly concerning the civil internal condition of the country. Gentlemen, you are aware that these so-called surpluses are not surpluses derived from the increased prosperity of the people, but are entirely derived from additional taxation, additional taxation imposed upon the people for the specific purpose of meeting the loss, the growing loss, from exchange as it was called. Year after year, for the space of six years, additional taxes were imposed upon the people for the specific and avowed purpose of meeting the loss from exchange. These additional taxes were patiently borne by the people in view of the increasing embarrassment of the State. But it appeared at one time that there was likely to be no need to this embarrassment caused by fluctuations in exchange. Therefore, the Government of India resolved upon legislation by which the exchange value of the rupee was fixed. But once the exchange value of the rupee was fixed by legislation, the so-called loss by exchange had ceased. It, therefore, followed that the taxes that were levied for the explicit purpose of meeting the loss from exchange should also cease, this loss from exchange having ceased. But somehow or other these taxes have been continued, even though the exchange had become steady. Not only are these taxes maintained, but as a fact the so-called steadiness of exchange, the artificial appreciation of the value of the rupee has operated as an indirect tax upon the people. This was a serious aspect of the Currency Reform of the Government, and many Anglo-Indian administrators and many Indian friends urged this aspect before the Currency Committee. In fact, Sir Antony Macdonnell and Mr. R. C. Dutt said so in so many words that this so-called Currency Reform was an indirect method of obtaining more revenue by means of indirect taxation from the people of the country. Of course, some people maintain that this saving, made by the Government of India by the artificial steadiness of exchange, has not operated as a tax on the people. But it is obvious that every rupee spent by the State, or every rupee saved in the expenditure of the State, must come from somebody's pocket. It cannot rain from heaven. From whose pocket

then could this saving of 10 or 12 crores have come? Not by means of the artificial value of the rupee, but from the pockets of the people. There are one or two eccentric people who maintain that this saving of the Government of India is paid by the British merchants. Simply absurd. The British merchants are not so foolish that they should voluntarily agree to pay, from their pockets, 10 crores of rupees in order to save that amount of taxation to the Indian people. Therefore, all these savings of the Government of India, besides recent taxes imposed upon the people, come entirely and exclusively from the pockets of the down-trodden ryots of this country (cries of "shame"). That being so, we now demand from the Government that for the past six years and longer the Government have had more than they wanted for the purpose of administration; although such was the case, they have still maintained additional taxes besides the indirect taxation that currency imposed upon the people; therefore, we ask that this additional taxation should be remitted and given back to the people. In fact, it is calculated that during the past six years nearly 45 crores have been taken from the pockets of the people over and above what the State wanted for its expenditure. According to the official calculation, nearly $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 13 crores were taken from this 45 crores, calling it the earning from mintage, from the coining of silver into rupees. But this $12\frac{1}{2}$ crores - which the Government gets as profit from mintage, it is alleged, comes from somewhere, forgetting that every rupee earned by the State must necessarily come from the pockets of the tax-payer. From where else can they come? Therefore, these $12\frac{1}{2}$ crores, although not strictly and technically taxation upon the people, still come from the taxable resources of the people. Therefore, it may be said that during the last six years, 45 crores have been taken from the pockets of the people more than what the State wanted. Now it is contended, on the side of Government, that about 20 crores have been given back to the people in the way of remitted taxes. But what is 20 out of 45 crores taken away from the pockets of the people? It is not even one-half of the excess amount taken from the people. If these 25 crores over and above the 20 crores were expended entirely for the benefit of the people, there would be some consolation and compensation. These 25 crores which the Government have had have been spent mostly upon military purposes. Because the Government have had more money than they wanted for current expenses they have been undertaking military enterprises on the Frontier; expedition to Tibet, *quasi*-expedition to Persia and all romantic commercial expeditions; these have been undertaken because they could not resist the temptation of the plethora money in their hands. Besides more extraordinary things that very seldom take place in the Government of civilised countries have taken place, namely, that about 30 crores from the current revenues have been spent upon the construction of railways. Now-a-days they can say, and the Government boast of it, that railways have begun to pay, that 7 or 8 crores are paid by railways. If that be so, why should current revenue be spent upon railways? Because they have had more money than then wanted, they have been spending current revenues upon the re-organization of the army, a procedure which is most unusual and criticised by Sir Charles Dilke, a procedure not obtaining in any of the civilised countries in the world. Any extraordinary expenditure on remunerative public works must be met, not from current revenues but from borrowed capital. Not only is the Government of India tempted to incur unnecessary and wasteful expenditure, but the Home Government is also tempted to impose obligations on the Government of India, because the Government of India have got more money than is required. It is a most absurd, unrighteous and unjust proposal to locate the British garrison in South Africa at the cost of India. That was done because the Home Government knew that the Government of India had plenty of money. In the same way a large number of new appointments have been created, and most extraordinary and romantic schemes have been undertaken. The expenditure in that way has been lavished because the Government have had more money than is wanted. Lord Curzon's chief principle of finance has been to tax heavily and spend lavishly instead of the more reasonable maxim "tax moderately and spend economically." After all it may be contended that most of the expenditure was incurred for good purposes, but there are numberless good objects which the State can undertake, and there must be some limit to the amount of expenditure incurred from the pockets of the people. There is some principle which the Government of India, as well as the Governments of other countries, must bear in mind. However beneficial may be the purposes for which the Government takes money from the pockets of the people, every rupee taken from the pockets of the people for purposes of the State cannot be so well spent as every rupee left in the pockets of the people. The State can spend the money of the people on purposes ever so good, but every rupee left in the pockets of the people fructifies and reproduces itself much more than the money taken from the people by the Government in the shape of taxation. Therefore, it is altogether an erroneous and delusive principle because the money taken from the pockets of the people is spent on beneficial purposes, it is, therefore, spent on best purposes. The resources of the people must be left as far as possible to fructify in the pockets of the people, and the expenditure must be limited within proper limits. The great maxim should be to tax moderately and to spend economically. During the last six years we have seen taxes taken from the people and spent on purposes some of which are beneficial; but if only taxation be levied within moderate limits, and if people were enabled to keep some of the taxes paid in their own pockets,

they would be much more prosperous than they are. Therefore, we say now that you have 6 or 7 crores more than what is wanted, remit a portion of it to the people. You have no doubt remitted a portion of the salt tax and some other remission has been given, but that is not enough. There is plenty of scope for further reduction and remission to the ryots living in parts sorely afflicted by famine, and who will, therefore, welcome any relief given to them. You also imposed a very improper excise duty on cotton manufactures. That was simply to please the Manchester and Lancashire manufacturers. You can, therefore, remit that excise duty and further remit taxes. You can also spend whatever money is still left for the direct benefit of the people in the ways suggested in this resolution, in the shape of increased grants to Scientific and Agricultural education, to Medical relief and to Municipalities and Local Boards. In all these ways you can spend what money you have for the benefit of the people and reduce the surplus to the lowest figure possible, so that the Government of India and the Home Government may not be in the constant temptation to incur wasteful expenditure because there is more money in the hands of the Government of India than what is required (loud cheers).

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (*Amraoti*).—Gentlemen, as the President has told us that the time before us is very short, it is necessary that we should compress all that we have to say within as short a space of time as possible. The subject is a very important one because, as has been very aptly stated, sound finances are at the foundation of the prosperity of the State. This sound principle has been ignored in the case of India. In the case of India, you find that instead of the first principle of taxation, namely, that as little as possible should be taken out of the pockets of the people, instead of this sound principle being followed you find that more money than is necessary has been taken. Instead of obtaining just the amount which is requisite for expenses, Government has been, year after year, taking out vast sums which leave vast surpluses in their hands. As our friend Mr. Subramanya Aiyar has pointed out, during the last seven years alone nearly 45 crores of rupees have been taken out more than we required, and the Government have had enormous surpluses, more than they knew what to do with. This has afforded them opportunity for increased expenditure. There have been heavy taxes imposed. Government have made large profits by what is called steadying exchange, and yet no sufficient attempt whatsoever has been made to remit taxes. Last year, out of the vast sums which the Government have had volunteered, a sum of 35 lakhs was allotted for the purpose of Primary education, and 56 lakhs were given as grant-in-aid to the District bodies. But the aid which is necessary, however, to have been given for purposes of Scientific, Agricultural and Industrial education has not at all been given. I do not want to go over the ground gone over by our friend Mr. Subramanya Aiyar. I shall but draw your attention to those things which have not been touched in his speech. The military expenditure has from 1884 been growing up every year. In 1884, 17 crores nearly were spent on military purposes. Now the military expenditure has gone up to 30½ crores of rupees. Nearly 13 crores have been taken out of the pockets of the poor for military purposes. This year, Government is going to spend not only for what is considered as required for the existence of the army, but they have got vast schemes. Some time ago there was the Re-armament scheme. We have now got the Mobilization scheme, and 3 crores every year are intended to be spent for what are called building barracks and other things for military purposes. It is not only military expenditure which has been growing, but civil expenditure also. During the last 3 years, 1½ crores have been added to the civil expenditure. During the last 3 years, 194 places of over Rs. 500 have been created. Out of them, 166 have been given to Europeans (shame). Well, this is the way in which money is spent for military purposes and for creating high berths for Europeans. The most important thing, namely, Scientific and Technical instructions, is wholly and utterly unheeded. I say utterly unheeded deliberately. I shall only state a few facts to show where and how we stand. Throughout the whole of India there are only two Agricultural colleges, leaving out of consideration the new institution at Pusa. These two colleges in 1901-1902 gave instruction only to 60 pupils. There was no single Government Technical institution. The only Technical institute worth the name was in Bombay, but that was established mainly through the munificence of her citizens. Government does give grant-in-aid of Rs. 30,000 a year, but that is all what they do for Technical instruction there. There are only 7 Schools of Art which give instruction to 1,600 pupils. There are only 76 Industrial schools which give instruction to 4,500 pupils. Compare this with what is being done in the two countries of Germany and England. Germany has a population of 56 millions, and out of these 8 millions were in Primary schools alone; 13,000 pupils are in what are called Technical High schools corresponding to our Technical institute in Bombay. In England, the city of Manchester alone spends 45 lakhs of rupees over her new Technical institute. There is the Leeds school which is organised to give instruction to 2,000 pupils. The Parliamentary grant to Technical institutions alone comes to 300,000 pounds. The grants from local bodies goes over 900,000 pounds. Compare this with what is done in India. In India, out of a total revenue of 125 crores, only 4 crores are devoted to all purposes of education (shame). Mr. Watcha asks me to point out that these do not all come from Imperial revenues. It is partly from Imperial revenues and partly from Local. So that is all that is being done by the Government. In England

there are now Science schools and classes, over 2,000 Science schools and 1,715 Arts schools. That is what is being done in their own country. We may well ask when they have got so much money, when they can spend 15 crores for building barracks, can they not give one crore for Technical institutes for the whole country? The resources of India must be developed. For no better purposes can the funds be spent than for the purpose of furthering the cause of Industrial and Scientific instruction (cheers). There is one thing which we can say to Government. If from 70 crores, the revenue has been raised to 127 crores, will you not make a proportionate increase in the money spent on purposes of education? There is one other point on which I shall touch, and I shall finish. The Government, in the last budget, made a provision for grants-in-aid to District Boards, but there is no provision whatever made to give grants-in-aid to Municipal bodies. In many parts of the country, Municipal bodies are in as difficult a position on account of famine, plague and different other things as District Boards. The work which they are called upon to perform is one which benefits not only the population in their area, but the whole country. We may well ask Government to devote a portion of their surplus for this purpose. With these few remarks I commended this resolution for your acceptance (loud cheers).

BABU MATHURA DASS (Sindh).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to support the proposition which does not require any lengthy speech from me. I come from a distant corner of the country, from Sindh. I am not from the Bengal Presidency as described here in the programme, and my reason for coming here is that we should ask the Government of India to spend its enhanced taxation on building model sanitary towns. Our towns in Sindh have become plague-spots, and at a cost of 3 or 4 lakhs to the municipality they have been pulled down, but no expenses can relieve us. Most of the head-quarters of each district have become plague-spots from which plague refuses to go. We have been growing worse and worse year after year. All that we demand is that Government should open new towns instead of spending lakhs for the construction of barracks: 20 or 30 lakhs of rupees may be spent to advantage so that we may remove these plague-spots, and there will be nothing happier than this. Towns like Karachi and Hyderabad have been spending any amount to no purpose. Hyderabad contains 60,000 human beings within half a square mile, which is the highest density. And what sanitation could you expect there? Small narrow zig-zag lanes which do not see the light of the sun, and which do not get any breeze. Within a limited area 60,000 live and sleep. Nothing could be better than to break up that town and make the people live happier. Not only that but we have a large cantonment area near Hyderabad, 3 square miles, in which 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers are located, and we ask Government to give up the barracks and tell them to go and build barracks somewhere else. But they would not give these even for money. Only a small bit is claimed. There is another piece of land which the Government will not give us for the expansion of our town. They will sell pieces and make profit out of that, but will not give it to us for purposes of sanitation. With these remarks I will ask you to support this proposition, and ask Government to spend the enhanced taxation on improving the towns (cheers).

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—Before we go to the next question, I have to read a telegraphic message to you. You will remember that yesterday we passed a resolution offering our welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. A reply has been received to that telegram. It is from Sir Walter Lawrence addressed to myself as President of the Congress:—"Your telegram of yesterday had just arrived while the Prince and Princess of Wales were on their way to Calcutta. I am directed to express the warm appreciation and the thanks of Their Royal Highnesses for the cordial welcome offered to them by the Indian National Congress." The next question that we take is military expenditure. I will call upon Mr. H. A. Wadia to move the resolution.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

MR. H. A. WADIA (Rajkot).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been entrusted to me is in these terms:—

Resolved—(a). That this Congress, while recording its emphatic protest against any change which weakens the supremacy of the Civil control over the Military authorities, is of opinion that the necessary Civil control cannot be adequately exercised until and unless the representatives of the tax-payers are placed in a position to influence such control.

(b). That this Congress earnestly repeats its protest against the continued increase in the military expenditure, which is unnecessary, unjust and beyond the capacity of the Indian people.

(c). That this Congress is distinctly of opinion that as the military expenditure of this country is determined, not by its own military needs and requirements alone but also by the exigencies of British supremacy and British policy in the East, it is only fair that a proportionate share of such expenditure should be met out of the British exchequer and shared by the Empire at large instead of the whole of such expenditure falling on a part of the Empire which is the poorest and the least able to bear it.

(d). That in view of the changed position of affairs in Asia, due to the recent war between Russia and Japan and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, this Congress earnestly urges

that the large expenditure of 10 millions sterling sanctioned last year for the Re-organization scheme be not now incurred, and the money be devoted to an extension of education in all its branches and reduction of the ryot's burdens."

Gentlemen, it is needless for me to dilate at large upon the facts and circumstances which attended the recent controversy between Lord Kitchener and Lord Curzon. I am afraid, however, that we have been thinking the more of the relief from the retirement of Lord Curzon than of the trouble due to Lord Kitchener's triumph over Lord Curzon. I wish to speak in no disparaging terms of Lord Kitchener. He is no doubt a great soldier and has done valuable services to the Empire. But I submit, Sir, that the greatest soldier, ought to be a servant of the State and not its master, and that any step which is taken to transform the servant into master is perilous to the interests of the State. Lord Kitchener may be a very great soldier, but I say that for India he is an unsafe adviser, and my authority for saying this is the great predecessor of Lord Kitchener himself, Lord Roberts.

And yet, gentlemen, what have we seen? His Majesty's Ministers have overruled Lord Curzon and the whole of the Government of India at the behest of this unsafe adviser. One of the benefits that we have already derived from the change of ministry is that the present Prime Minister has declared that he will never allow Military service to overrule Civil control. For this we are thankful; but remember, gentlemen, that this Civil control exists only in theory, and hitherto in practice Civil control has been very little indeed. Year after year we have seen Commanders-in-Chief and Military Members of the Government of India received *carte blanche* from the Civil authorities to draw as much as they liked, and to draw as long as they liked, upon the impoverished exchequer of India. Some of our Finance Ministers, when freed from the trammels of office, have confessed how little they could influence the Commander-in-Chief and Military Member when they lead the Viceroy captive. This Civil control can be exercised adequately only when the representatives of the tax-payers of India are in a position to influence and to control those in whom the Civil Control is vested. If any proof were wanted of the misery of India's defenceless position, it is found in this Military controversy. Not only was the Government of India overruled, but the Secretary of State's Council was overawed, and the Parliament was hoodwinked. You all thought, we all thought, gentlemen, that when His Majesty's Ministers allowed the Indian Budget to be brought at an earlier date, there would be some benefit for India. But it was not so. The Budget was brought in. Within a few days afterwards the whole correspondence between Lord Kitchener and Lord Curzon was published. When the Parliament discussed the Indian Budget the Parliament was never informed and was not put in knowledge of all that was going on with regard to this controversy.

Sir, the next question is, what is the reason for the heavy burden that has been put upon us? We were never told of this reason. Lord Curzon only tried to satisfy us with magnificent perorations in his budget speeches, and it was only when Mr. Balfour spoke in Parliament last May that we came to know the real truth. I will not take up your time by stating what the facts are which Mr. Balfour represented before Parliament. I say they were so re-assuring that we were wondering what, in spite of that assurance and in the presence of a large assembly, this crushing burden was put upon the impoverished tax-payers of India. If it was so in May last have we not reason to enquire after the Treaty of Brisbane, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, why this burden should still continue? I have not the time to state to you, but I have taken some trouble to read what was the impression on the minds of the Russian people by the publication of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. The Russian people say, "we are content not to go a step forward provided England also exercises this self-denying ordinance." There is nothing unreasonable in this demand of Russia's. I will only say that the press in England has conceded this demand of Russia, and said that England was willing to agree to the promise if Russia does not go a step forward. India will not go a step forward in Central Asia. Then what is the necessity for additional taxation being put upon the shoulders of India? I can see no reason whatsoever; and, therefore, we were entitled to ask that 10 million pounds which are to be spent on the army re-organization, ought to be diverted from this wasteful purpose to a more beneficial and useful purpose. So far you know the condition of our poor people. You live amongst them, and see how they are suffering. I ask if these 10 millions are spent for proper purposes what hope will it not bring, and what relief will it not bring to the hearths and homes of people that are very nearly desolate? India's claim is this. As these expenses are incurred for the purposes of the Empire, it is not India alone that ought to bear that burden, but that burden ought to be shared by the British exchequer and the Empire at large. That claim is a righteous and a proper claim. I know this that if we press this claim and repeat the claim with one united voice on behalf of our people, in the end it is sure to gain the ear of the British people who, in the long run, are anxious to do what is just. I claim for the Congress that on this platform we can speak with that one united voice on behalf of our people. True they are steeped in ignorance; they are steeped in poverty and want. And when we claim to speak on behalf of the voiceless millions it is not so much a right that we desire to assert as a sacred duty which we aspire to perform. In the performance of this duty let us never waver, never falter. Remember, that if we go on urging and urging this righteous claim, we are bound to succeed in the end. There

are signs of hope already. The great autocracy which extended over two empires has declared it as a sacred duty to efface itself; and if the sun of autocracy is sinking in the West, a large and brilliant luminary has risen in the Far East, bringing to us in our darkness a light for which we can never be too grateful (cheers). The visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales is drawing the attention of the British public more and more to the needs and requirements of India, and to the Imperial problems which required to be driven home to the hearts and consciences of the British people. This visit is bound to do us good. His Royal Highness has spoken to us from his heart, and our hearts have gone forth to him with great good-will and greater hope. May we not, Sir, in passing this resolution, entrust to him a message to our King-Emperor that if His Majesty will do by and with Russia as he has done by and with France, the many millions of this land will bless his name, as a peace-maker, with greater reason for thankfulness because the more extended the mercy and relief such a peace will bring with it. For this message I know no more fitting season than now when all over Christendom from Cathedral and from Church and Chapel the great religion of our rulers proclaims to its followers the eternal virtues of peace and good-will, and good-will and peace and peace and good-will to all mankind (*applause*).

MR. V. RYRU NAMBIYAR (*Madras*).—Mr. President, ever since the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 the military expenditure of our country has swelled by leaps and bounds. It has overgrown the land revenue. Out of 82 millions of total revenue, 22 millions have been taken for military expenditure. A sound military policy of a country is based, in my opinion, upon two considerations. First, to preserve the internal peace and order, and also, secondly, to afford adequate defence against foreign invasion. Now let us consider whether the policy of the British Government in India is swayed by these two considerations or not. You will find that we have been enjoying order and peace for the last 100 years under the British Rule, and there is no fear that there will be any uprising in this land among the Indians so long as we are ruled with sympathy, as we are naturally a law-abiding people. Unless we are goaded by repression and oppression, we are not a people to take the law into our own hands. And, therefore, you will find there is no necessity to maintain a huge army to preserve the internal peace of the country. The question that we have to consider then is, is there any necessity to maintain a huge army for the defence of the Indian Empire? Gentlemen, it has been said that the only enemy of the country, so far as I have been able to find out, is Russia. Of course, the Lamas are not going to invade this country from the north nor the Amir of Afghanistan because he is an ally of our Government, and the only fear has been Russia. For the last 20 years the military policy of this country has been swayed by the consideration that Russia might invade India and, therefore, we must equip ourselves with a huge army. After the fall of Russia before mighty Japan, and now that she lies prostrate and torn by internal disorder and troubles, do you expect for two generations that Russia will raise her head? It is not my individual opinion alone, but it is the opinion of statesmen like Mr. Balfour, Colonel Hanna, Colonel Beresford, and all those gentlemen have pronounced alike that it is not possible that Russia can invade India for at least two generations to come. Such being the case, what necessity is there for this huge army? Russia is the only enemy from whom we expect some trouble and danger. That enemy who has been a standing menace having fallen prostrate, what necessity is there to continue this military policy and incur a large expenditure out of the revenues of India? And the peasants of this country who are poverty-stricken, are put to very great difficulties on account of this taxation. So it is the duty of the Government to reduce taxation as far as possible. Now that the danger of foreign invasion is at an end, I think it is necessary that the military expenditure ought to be reduced. The defence of India does not lie, in my opinion, so much in the strengthening of the North-West Frontier but the defence of India lies in the loyalty of Indians (*hear hear*). And the regime of Lord Curzon shows that that defence has not been properly maintained. By the re-actionary policy adopted by Lord Curzon, the feelings of the people have been alienated; it is only by conciliation and sympathetic treatment that one can secure the loyalty of the Indian people. What is an army of 2 or 3 millions compared with 300 millions of the Indian people? These 300 millions are the true defence of India. It is the duty of the Government in India to promote, not only the prosperity of the land, but to win the confidence of the people. No policy of distrust will gain the purpose of Government. If Government will only employ Indians in the higher ranks of Military and Civil Services, it will not only be our duty but dictates of self-preservation will enable us to fight for the country and Government against any invader of the country. The whole of the 300 millions will be at the back of the Government to fight any enemy. Therein lies the defence of India; not in the maintenance of 2 or 3 millions of army and in the building of barracks in the North-West Frontier. That is nothing before the confidence and loyalty of 300 millions. If internal prosperity is maintained, and if people are taken into more trust and confidence, the defence of the Empire is sure. It has been said, by Sir Edmund Ellis in the Viceregal Council, "just look at Japan, how much money has been spent upon the military by Japan." I cannot answer that question except in the words of our respected President. This is what he said:—

"Japan's destinies are guided by her own sons whose one thought and aspiration is the greater glory of their country; to further by every means in their power the moral

and material advancement of their own people. Is the Hon'ble Member prepared to adopt Japan as a model for all branches of the administration question? If so, let him induce his colleagues in the Government to treat the people of India as the Japanese Government treats the people in matters of education, of industrial development, of Military and Naval services, of appointment to high responsible office, and I, on my part, humble as I am, undertake to see that no Indian publicist raises any objection to such military expenditure as the Hon'ble Member thinks it necessary to incur."

With these remarks I second this resolution (cheers).

MR. N. B. RANADE (*Bombay*).—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I beg to support this resolution which refers to the reduction of military expenditure in India. In the opinion of veteran congressmen, and in the opinion of English sympathisers of the cause of the Congress, this question of the reduction of military expenditure ought to occupy a very high place in the programme of the Congress, being next in importance to the subject of representation only. For this reason: that out of a net revenue of 66 crores of rupees, about 33 crores, or half the net revenue, is being eaten up by the Army expenditure. Out of a total army of 210,000 soldiers, 70,000 soldiers are brought from England and 140,000 soldiers are recruited here and kept in India. Now, the question before us is: if the Indian Exchequer has to spend 33 crores of rupees annually upon the Indian Army should not England share a portion of the expenditure with us, for the reason that England's chief duty is to protect English commerce in India. From a reference to the statistical abstract of British Rule in India we will find that England's commercial gain from India is about 40 crores of rupees annually, and if these commercial interests are to be protected here, I believe that a part of the 33 crores should be shared by England. There is another question of the prestige of England. England's position in the history of the world is very great, simply because England possesses India. I believe that for the reason of prestige, and for the reason of commercial gain from India, England should share a portion of this expense. There is another question. With regard to the 3 crores allotted to Lord Kitchener last year for his new Army Re-organization Scheme now before Government, they have agreed to contribute annually a sum of 3 crores. Our prayer is that instead of sanctioning more and more money for army expenditure, if the Government will spend that money, as the previous speaker pointed out, on internal reforms there would be a contented Indian population, and if dangers from foreign enemies will arise the whole population of 300,000,000 will be behind the British army to protect the interests of England as well as of India. There is very little time to speak more, and I, therefore, just place this question before you with these few remarks (cheers).

MR. KRISHNA BULDEO VERMA next delivered an address in Hindi.

The Resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—Before we proceed to the next resolution I want to make just one observation. I understand that there is some misapprehension among our friends from Bengal about the non-appearance of a certain resolution that was settled by the Subjects Committee last evening, and that should have been on the agenda paper. I myself am surprised that the resolution did not appear, but on enquiry I find that a slight hitch has arisen. Nothing very serious, there is no disposition to shelve the question, we will take it up immediately after the recess. As question of partition and repressive measures have to hang together, I have not taken up the question of partition as yet. I hope this announcement will satisfy you that there is no disposition to shelve the question. (This announcement was received with shouts of *bande mataram*). The next question is the treatment of Indians in British Colonies. I call upon Mr. Madanjit to move the next resolution.

INDIANS IN BRITISH COLONIES.

MR. MADANJIT (*Bombay*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am perfectly aware of the short time at my disposal, and I have made up my mind to draw the attention of this assembly to a few salient facts that have happened during the last 12 months. The greivances under which we are groaning are further multiplied, and the colour contagion has spread to further area, right up to the borders of our Indian jurisdiction; and mind, all of them are within the limits of our benign British Empire.

Coming to the first part of the resolution expressing our satisfaction at the relaxation of certain disabilities by the Australian Commonwealth in the Immigration Restriction Act, I must remind you that that relaxation was not so much for the love those Australian Colonists bear towards our countrymen, but because, in the words of one of the Members of the Australian House of Parliament, "the Japanese have raised themselves in the scale of civilised nations" by flooring one of the mightiest nations in the world. You can derive your own lessons from it.

Coming to South Africa, the situation is much more gloomy. Before the war our position was considerably better in all the different Colonies of South Africa than what it is to-day. In fact, the position of the Indian is such as to pass comprehension.

In the Cape Colony, at the instigation of a private Circular emanating from the Office of Lord Milner, they passed anti-Indian legislation and began with the Immigration Restriction Act. That Act has been intensified in its rigour and harshness during the year, and very respectable Indians who were in the country are refused entrance because they could not satisfy the Restriction Officers moulded regulations as to their former domicile. This Officer wants these British Indians to prove that they were landowners or had their wives

and children in the Colony, and for the matter of that their businesses, etc., affidavits from respectable citizen being considered unsatisfactory. Now it is impossible and absurd to suppose that every man could own land or have his wife and children in the country of his adoption especially when he returns to his motherland for a temporary sojourn. But nothing could avail the exacting Restriction Officer and thousands of Indians, some of whom have trade relations in different parts of the world, are put to the most harrassing and exasperating treatment. Most of them could not re-enter the Colony. Natal, the land which was brought into its present flourishing and proud position by the Indians, continues its oppressive methods unrestrained and unabated. The Immigration Restriction laws yearly add to the rigor, and very many respectable Indians, not to speak of others, are refused entry. Its Dealers Licensing Act is the greatest and most effective weapon they have been using to stamp out Indian trade out of the country. By hook or by crook, even without a shadow of justice and decency, the white colonists are determined to utilise and exploit for their own sake the Indian labour but cast the Indians out when their purpose is served. They don't want any Indian to work on his own independent initiative. Last year I gave you an illustration of one Hundamal, a respectable Multani merchant, being persecuted by the Magistrate and the Municipality, and the poor fellow was compelled to cease selling his wares. Another Indian merchant, Suleman Varojee, has been compelled to close one of the doors of his shop because, though connected with it, it bore a different number, he being refused another license when that was wanted. But the case of Dada Oosman is simply preposterous. Gentleman, this man was trading for the last 15 years in Vryheid, formerly a district of the Transvaal, but now, after the war, incorporated with the Colony of Natal. He has been made to suffer through the double engine of both Boer and Natal laws. He could not trade in the district because it belonged to the Boer Republic; and could not take advantage of the present Transvaal Court because it was incorporated with Natal; and the Licensing Officer declined to issue the necessary license, and the man had to shut his business and nothing could protect him. The £3 poll-tax on time-expired Indians and other vexatious and irritating legislations are simply unimaginable for those who have not eye-witnessed the effects of all these legislations.

In the Transvaal there is no comparison between our position of to-day and that in the time of the Boer regime. We could enter trade and even own landed properties in one way or another, but during and after the war, through the instrumentality of Lord Milner, we could not enter or own landed property, and had it not been for the judgment of the Supreme Court no Indian might have been left in the country to trade. Sir, it is he and Arthur Lawley, Governor-designate of Madras, who instigated district boards and different associations of the Colony and different Governments of South Africa to agitate against the British Indians so that "their hands might be strengthened" against anything that the Secretary of State for the Colony might say on behalf of the Indians. The result is that anti-Indian agitations, under the auspices of the High Commissioner and different governments of the country, are being carried on and even boycott of our countrymen is resorted to. When Lord Milner left South Africa, British Indians felt a relief, but that relief was only short-lived, for Lord Selbourne, the present High Commissioner, seems to have imbibed all the policy of his predecessor so far as the British Indians are concerned. In one of his speeches to a deputation of Europeans he said "no Indians who were not here before the war will be admitted into the country till you have your own Parliament, and by your own representatives you can express your own opinion. I gave you that assurance as your Governor and High Commissioner. Before the war India was spoken of as "the British Empire," to be exploited and plucked and plundered of all its valuable contents. One of the causes of the war, according to Lord Landsdowne, was the ill-treatment the Boer Government meted out to the British Indians, and we became "the sons of the Empire after all." But as soon as the war ceased, we were forbidden to enter without a permit, and now according to Lord Selbourne, no Indian could enter the country before the Colonists could make their own laws through their own representatives. Thousands of refugees are rotting in adjoining colonies or out of them waiting for their permit. In the Orange River Colony our position is absolutely false. British Colony as it has been, it has prohibited the entry of any British Indian within its limits, and though there is no Indian so to say, the anti-Indian policy is prescribing for our countrymen the position of African savages and even below them. Fiji has its own laws, and so has Uganda. But perhaps most of you do not know that even Zanzibar, a purely Indian settlement and under the very jurisdiction of the Bombay Government, has, on the 18th of November last, enacted a restrictive act requiring from every Indian Immigrant into the Island a deposit of Rs. 50 as a guarantee for his vacating the island if he fails to secure employment within a week. With these words, gentlemen, I commend the following resolution for your acceptance (cheers).

"That this Congress, while expressing its sense of satisfaction at the passing by the Australian House of representatives, of a Bill to amend the Law of Immigration so as to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the people of India, again places on record its sense of deep regret that British Indians should continue to be subjected to harrassing and degrading restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies. The Congress particularly protests against the enforcement by the British Government of disabilities on the Indian settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River Crown Colonies, which were not enforced even under the old Boer rule, in spite of declarations by His

Majesty's Minister that the treatment of the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Boer Government was one of the causes of the late war.

“(b) In view of the important part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the Colonies, their admitted loyalty and peaceful and industrious habits, their useful and self-sacrificing services during the recent war, and, above all, the great constitutional importance of the principle of equal treatment of all citizens of the Empire anywhere in the King's Dominions, this Congress respectfully, but strongly, urges the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to insist by prohibiting, if necessary, the emigration of indentured labour and adopting other retaliatory measures, on the recognition of the Status of Indian emigrants as British citizens in all the Colonies.”

MR. B. N. SARMA (*Madras*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, coming after a speaker with an intimate knowledge of South Africa I have one preliminary remark to make. You are told and told often that you are well-governed and kept extremely well-governed, only by those who confess at times that India and Indians are but a puzzle and a riddle to them, and there is no reason why you should not, therefore, allow me to handle the subject with the knowledge of self-same character, second-hand, especially as I come from a densely peopled district in the Madras Presidency which sends up hundreds of emigrants to the Colonies of the British Empire. Now, gentlemen, the previous speaker has dwelt in detail upon the various grievances under which British Indian subjects labour in South and other Colonies, and I would crave your earnest attention for a few minutes when I invite your attention to the salient features of the situation, because I feel that the subject is one of extreme vital importance to the future well-being of our nation. One of the ostensible causes of the late Boer War was the cruel treatment of the Boer Republic of the subject Indian races when Boers were in power. Indian troops were lent, Indian troops were freely placed at the disposal of the Empire, Indian blood was shed in the battle-field and Indians showed their loyalty and devotion to the British throne. But what has been the result? It is too patent to require any detailed description. Year after year in Congress session and after Congress session in South Africa, in Australia, in India and in England have we emphatically protested against this cruel injustice. Even the British Indian Government, even the Government of India, we are extremely thankful to them for small mercies, have expressed their sympathy with us. But with regard to responsible British statesmen, what has been their attitude in this matter? They have told you in plain and unmistakable terms that they cannot help you, that the Colonies are self-governing Colonies, and, therefore, they are not in a position to interfere. Like a decrepid old father who is unable to separate himself from the aggressive eldest born who wishes to rule the family to his own advantage, despotically, unjustly and unrighteously, England, jealous of her nominal suzerainty over the Colonies, has given way in this and other points to the susceptibilities and feelings of the Colonies; and unless we help ourselves I do not expect any radical improvement in the future. Gentlemen, if the Colonial Legislature instead of treating Indians alone in this fashion, had chosen to pass a law that they would exclude in their own interests emigrants from some portion of the British Isles or from Germany or France, do you mean to say that the Government would have confessed its inability to deal with the situation? Would the Government be allowed to do so? It is only because the helpless and at present weak inhabitants, 300,000,000, of India it is because their destinies are at stake at present, that England fails, for expediency's sake, to move in the matter. I appeal to the British Government to read Indian History aright. They have been asking us to do the same on a large number of occasions. Akbar, when he attempted to weld Hindu and Mahomedan nations into one, showed no partiality in favour of the one over the other. He laid the solid foundation for the Moghul dynasty, but unfortunately his successors thought that one race should be supreme and that one race should be dominant over the other. We know the consequences but too well. Does the British Government, which talks incessantly over the consolidation of the British Empire, does the Government think that in the Empire over which the sun never sets, over which vast races have to be ruled, there can be permanently any racial supremacy, one race dominating the other? It may be in the immediate present that such a state of things might be allowed to continue but not long. Gentlemen, our position is very clear. So long as we simply agitate there is not much use. If we are undesirables in South Africa, if we are undesirables in Australia we have unfortunately for a long time not adopted that same attitude towards other nations. Let the Colonials be undesirables to us (laughter). It may be that the day has not yet arrived; but if you keep that aim steadily in view, we are, it is true, unfortunately only a few, so far as educated classes are concerned, relatively to the population of India, but yet numerically the number is large if we are true to ourselves and take the masses with us, realise that the greatest drawback of our civilization has always been that there are a few educated to the relatively many uneducated; if we realise that, and if we are true to ourselves, then the race which has produced the great philosophers, the greatest statesmen and the greatest warriors shall not crouch for this or that favour of the hands of other people (cheers). It is then and then alone that the South African problem, as well as other Indian problems, will find their best solution (cheers).

DR. B. S. MOONJER (*Nagpur*).—Ladies and gentlemen, the previous speakers have spoken on the subject in all its several aspects. So I have very little to add myself. I wish, therefore, particularly to bring to your notice three points that have not been touched upon. We are boycotted as a nation in every respect, both in India and out of India, particu-

larly in the British Colonies, to an extent of which those who have not personally seen the actual state of things prevailing there, can have no idea. With the Colonists, that word Indian has no other meaning than a mere stout cooly. It is completely beyond the powers of comprehension of a Colonist that an Indian cooly, as he is called there, can be a High Court Judge by dint of his own intelligence! An Indian cannot travel by the first and second class carriages; he cannot enter the main station building but has to be satisfied with a small thatched hut situated at a long distance from the main station building. He is not admitted in a hotel because they do not take coolies in. He is not allowed to live in the main town but is obliged to have his being in locations where we are required to pay the usual municipal taxes without claiming the rights and privileges; otherwise we are loudly proclaimed to be undesirable and breakers of public peace. We cannot walk by the foot-path which is there reserved for gentlemen only, but should we have the imprudence to walk by it, every Colonist has the right to drag us out into the centre of the road which is meant for beasts of burden as cattle and horses and carriages. We should not go into trams, otherwise we should be prepared to be kicked out of them for our inexcusable impudence of defiling the seats which are reserved for the Europeans. The traders there cannot be allowed to have their own way even in the matter of selection of their clerks and servants.

Such is, gentlemen, the systematic and strictly legalized procedure of boycott to which we are ruthlessly subjected. Compare it now, gentlemen, if you please, with what treatment we have to offer them in our own country. To India, they claim they have a right to come as honourable guests and members of those heaven-born services—the Civil, Medical and Engineering Services—to dominate and rule over us in the most imperialistic fashion. What a contrast! What an exhibition of our emasculation and their studied arrogance! But, gentlemen, for the present we have to put up with it. There is no other alternative.

The third point, gentlemen, is this. Before the late Boer war, hopes were held out to us most profusely, that our condition in Transvaal will be materially bettered if the Boer Government can be swept out of existence and British rule can be substituted. In fact, the treatment meted out to Indians in Transvaal during Boer rule was made one of the causes to justify the declaration of war with the Boers. During the war the Indians did yeoman's service in the Ambulance Corps especially instituted by their leader there, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and see now what is the result after the war is over and the rule of England is firmly established. Instead of any betterment, our condition is made distinctly worse and more humiliating, and all this is done by our English Rulers.

This is a clear breach of faith with us, but it is not the solitary instance; it is one out of the many more that we know of. After such persistent repetition of breaches of faith with us, after solemn promises, it is no wonder that a man should be driven to despair and be converted into an incredulous and suspicious being. But our rulers do not believe that we are men. They have faith and reliance on our proverbial cattle-like patience and endurance in suffering more than in our manliness. And we also, on our part, take a peculiar pleasure in constantly affirming and pinning our faith to the sense of British justice and fair play which, we all hope, will eventually prevent their temporary selfishness. So, gentlemen, in obedience to our past traditions of Congress, I place this proposal for your acceptance.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

MR. PRESIDENT.—Mr. R. C. Dutt will now move the resolution about the Administration of Justice

MR. R. C. DUTT (*Baroda*).—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentleman, the Resolution which has been entrusted to me relates to the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions. The question has formed the subject of Congress resolutions year after year, since the foundation of the Indian National Congress; indeed it is far older than the Congress, and has puzzled our administrators since the foundation of British Rule in India. In the eighteenth century, Lord Cornwallis solved the question satisfactorily by effecting a complete separation between the Executive and Judicial duties; and if the arrangements made by that wise and humane ruler had been continued, we should not have been called upon to discuss the question to-day. But early in the nineteenth century, when the British Power became involved in wars in Northern and Western India, the District Officer became once more invested with both Executive and Judicial duties, and since then this lamentable and incongruous combination of functions has continued.

Coming down to the time which I can remember, and which many of you in this hall can remember, I may remind you, gentlemen, that when the Indian Police Act of 1861 was passed, Sir Bartle Frere, then one of the Members of Council, gave us a distinct pledge that the combination of Judicial and Executive duties was only a temporary arrangement, and that those duties would be separated before long. More than forty years have passed since, but that pledge remains unredeemed to the present time.

More recently, the question was revived once more by our lamented friend, the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, of Bengal, and our no less lamented friend, the late Sir Richard Garth, Chief Justice of Bengal. They pointed out forcibly the iniquity of making the District Officer the head of the Police and the head of the Magistracy in his own District, and the arguments which they advanced have never been answered.

Gentlemen, I was myself a District Officer in Bengal some fifteen years ago—I was the head thief-catcher in my district and I was the head of the Magistrates who tried the thieves! A District Officer's conscience is sufficiently elastic, but nevertheless I felt, even then, that it would have been better if some one else than the head of the Police had been the head of the Magistracy. During my stay in England in 1893, on furlough, I expressed this opinion, strongly and emphatically, in an article in a London paper, and I am glad to say that Sir Richard Garth strongly supported me on that occasion. The ball of controversy was thus once more set rolling,—it has been rolling ever since,—but has not yet reached its goal! I do not know what my fate would have been if I, as an official, had written such an article in these days of repression; but in our time more liberty of expression used to be allowed. At any rate, I took the liberty, myself, of sending a copy of my article to the Ruler of Bengal, and it attracted some attention in India as well as in England.

Gentlemen, the incongruity and the iniquity of making the District Officer the head Executive Officer and the head Magisterial Officer in his District have been pointed out so often and so forcibly, that I have nothing new to add. But there is one aspect of the question which has not received sufficient attention yet. It is often said, that to take away Judicial powers from the District Officer would lower his prestige and the prestige of the British rule which he represents. The very contrary of this is the fact. It is the combination of Executive and Judicial powers in the District Officer which lowers the prestige of British rule in India,—to separate those functions would heighten the prestige of the British Government, and make it far more popular in India. I am sure if the District Officer was relieved of his Judicial functions, if he devoted the whole of his time to Executive work, to watching the condition of the people in villages, ministering to their wants, improving their condition, fostering their agriculture and trade, encouraging their manufactures, constructing roads and tanks, and in all ways representing the wishes and aspirations of the people,—he would be a far more popular and useful officer, and the alien Government which he represents would be far more in touch with the people. It is a political blunder, as the Government will find out before long, to arm the Chief Executive Officer with the powers of the Police and the Magistracy, to place him among the people as their dreaded punisher instead of as their representative and friend, and to forge a link of fear instead of a link of affection between the people and the Government. It would be an act of true political wisdom to make the District Officer, who represents British rule among the masses, a popular friend and a true representative of the people.

Gentlemen, only recently the question of the separation of Judicial and Executive duties came before Lord Curzon in the shape of an influential memorial forwarded to him by the Secretary of State, and you know what remarks Lord Curzon made on the occasion? He said the literature on the subject was voluminous, and was a foot deep, and he had not had time to study the question!

Gentlemen, Lord Curzon has had time to do many things since then. He has had time to wage a war in Tibet involving the death of hundreds of brave and patriotic and unoffending men. He has had time to send an expensive Mission to Afghanistan which ended in nothing. He has had time to bring about a Partition of Bengal against the protest of seventy millions of people. He has had time to talk about his own trumpet, here and in England, more continuously and vigorously than any Viceroy ever did before, or is ever likely to do again. But Lord Curzon had no time to study the question of the separation of Judicial and Executive duties.

Gentlemen, there is a saying, which is prevalent in all parts of India, that when Ravana the King of Ceylon was lying on his death-bed, Rama the Conqueror in the war came to the dying monarch for some advice. "Revan," said the Prince of Oudh, "you have been a mighty king and have ruled for many many years, I have not yet ruled a kingdom. Deign, therefore, to give me some words of kingly advice before you die, so that I may remember them when I become a king." "O Rama!"—replied the dying King of Ceylon, "my first advice to you is this." When you think of an act which is good and just and beneficial, do it at once. But when you think of a measure which is of doubtful justice, defer its execution, sleep over it, think over it, do not translate it into action in a hurry." Gentlemen, Lord Curzon must have followed Ravana's advice in his own way. The Tibetan War and the Partition of Bengal were to him acts of undoubted wisdom and beneficence, and he executed them with phenomenal promptitude. The separation of Judicial and Executive duties was a measure of doubtful justice in his eyes, and he has deferred the performance of that work from day to day and from year to year, and has now left the work undone!

Gentlemen, I have one word only to add. I said that the problem remains unsolved in India to the present day, I wish to correct myself. There is one State in India where the question has been completely solved, and the separation of Judicial and Executive duties has been effected. The British Government might, in this matter, take a lesson from His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda.

With these words I beg to move the following resolution:—

"Resolved (a) that in the opinion of this Congress a complete separating of Judicial from Executive functions must now be carried out 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 from the Legal profession more largely than at present,

as the system of appointing Civilians without special legal training to high Judicial offices, does not lead to satisfactory administration of justice in the Mofussil (loud cheers).

THE HON'BLE MR. SETALWAD (Bombay).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the second part of this resolution relates to the recruitment of the Judiciary in the mofussil. You are aware, gentlemen, that the present system of recruitment to the higher Judicial service in the mofussil, consisting as it does of Assistant Judges, District Judges and Joint Judges, that service is entirely recruited at present from the Covenanted Civil Service; almost entirely I should say. Under the present system, new Civilians coming out to this country are placed in Executive departments as Assistant Collectors. After they have served for two or three years in that capacity, those who wish to serve in the Judicial department are transferred to that department as Assistant Judges, and then they rise as Joint Judges and finally as District and Sessions Judges. As soon as an officer is placed as an Assistant Judge, he hears appeals against judgments of experienced Subordinate Judges, his decisions on questions of fact are final because there is no second appeal on facts to the High Court. Imagine, therefore, gentlemen, the immense power placed in the hands of these responsible Judicial officers. Bearing that in mind, any person with the least acquaintance with the working of our Courts, will tell you that for a proper discharge of these responsible duties what is necessary is not only complete mastery over Indian Statute Law and the intricate system of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, but also a complete acquaintance with English law and English equity. How is a Covenanted Assistant Judge or Joint Judge fitted by his training to discharge these duties. As Assistant Collector he has nothing to do with these matters of justice excepting criminal matters. He is called upon to pass an examination in the Criminal Procedure Code, in the Evidence Act and in the Indian Penal Code. At no time really has he had any training in Hindu and Mahomedan laws, English law, English Case law and English Equity. Still these responsible duties are placed in the hands of people who are not trained to carry them out. It must be remembered that however well this system might have worked in the early sixties, the conditions of the country have entirely changed. Round our Courts in the Mofussil has grown up a strong bar consisting of Law Graduates turned out in hundreds by the University and well equipped in law; and round the District Judge have grown Subordinate Judges also turned out in hundreds by our Indian Universities. Assistant Judges, Joint Judges and District Judges naturally suffer in comparison, with the result that the prestige of Law courts in India as administered by these gentlemen naturally suffers. Gentlemen, people acquainted with the working of these courts are aware that from time to time cases come before High Courts in which the incompetence of these Judicial officers is made patent. Only last month a case came on before the High Court of Bombay, a case disposed of by an experienced District Judge of many years' experience and standing. I will tell you how he behaved with regard to the criminal trial. A person was being tried for abducting a girl, and the trial was held with the assistance of a Jury. The evidence was heard, the trial was concluded, the Jury gave their verdict and the Judge took time to consider that verdict. He dismissed the Jury. After the Jury was gone, the accused was gone and his Counsel was gone; what did the Sessions Judge do? He called further evidence, he examined further witnesses in the absence of the Jury, the Counsel for the accused and accused himself, and in the absence of any cross-examination of witnesses he accepted that evidence and on that evidence convicted the accused (shame). When that case came up before the High Court our present popular Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, remarked in his judgment that it passed his comprehension how any District or Sessions Judge could conceive of following a procedure of that character. Still these are the District Judges and Sessions Judges in whose hands the liberties of the subjects are placed. Gentlemen, this painful situation became still more apparent again last year in the Presidency of Bombay. When there happened a vacancy to be filled up in the High Court Bench what did the High Court do? They were obliged to pass over two grades of Covenanted Officers before they could find a person competent to sit on the High Court Bench. They had to pass over fifteen officers before they could get a person whom they could consider fit. Still these are the people who administer justice. This is not a question of Indians against Europeans, but a question of proper administration of justice. We want justice to be administered by those people who are trained to do it and not by non-lawyers. Go to any country, you will not find non-lawyers placed on the Bench, as in this country. What we want is that law should be administered by people who are trained in law and trained to administer it. There is no lack of capacity in this country nor of people trained in this country. You have a large trained bar consisting of Europeans and Indians both in the Presidency towns and in the Mofussil, and it is no difficult task to secure people who would adorn the Benches from the profession. With these words I second the proposition (cheers).

DR. SATISH CHANDRA BANNERJEE (Allahabad).—Mr. Chairman, my sisters and my brothers, the proposition on which I rise to speak before this assembly under the mandate of the President is one which, as the programme shows, relates to the administration of justice. Now, gentlemen, I believe that the present system of the administration of justice is one of the soundest, one of the solidest plants upon which the edifice of the British Government rests, and I, therefore, believe, gentlemen, that no well-wisher of that government can be better employed than in devising means for the enduring of the stability and the soundness of that plank, and to make that plank even more sound and even

more solid than it is at present, if that be practicable. It is upon that ground that I say I readily rose to support this proposition. As you have seen, gentlemen, this proposition consists of two clauses ; the first clause deals with the matter which has been so well threshed out at successive sessions of this great national assembly that I feel I cannot add a single word to what has been already said on the matter usefully ; the second clause has not received as much attention as it should have in the past, and as it relates to a matter to which the attention of every practising lawyer in the Province is called almost every day, I think it very necessary for any lawyer who is called upon to address this assembly to say something from his own experience which can in some way be taken into consideration by you when you come to record your votes upon this proposal. Gentlemen, I have the greatest respect for the Indian Civil Service. I believe that Civilians as a body are very capable men. But then, gentlemen, there are no institutions of legal principles ; law cannot be learned by means of innate ideas ; training, long and in some respect painful training, has to be undergone before anybody can lay claim to the title of a lawyer, or can undertake to administer justice in the country where complex systems of law have to be administered. Now our District Judges are, as you know, all recruited from the Civil Service ; and so far as I am aware, though many gentlemen who compete for the Civil Service examination have to pass a very stiff test before they can be enrolled as Covenanted Civilians, yet you will find that very few of them have to pass any stiff examination in law. I believe none of them have to pass any examination in those complex systems of Jurisprudence known as Hindu and Mahomedan Law. The result, gentlemen, is when Civilians are permitted to sit as District Judges they sit in appeal over grey-headed Subordinate Judges and over grey-headed Munsifs. They have to consider and often reverse and set aside judgments recorded by people who have passed through the mill and have gained experience of Judicial work, and who may be trusted to understand what they talk about. Judgments of these people are set aside on appeal by persons who, I can tell you from experience, do not always understand what they talk about. I had occasion to appear before many District Judges, and I can tell you that, owing to exigencies of service in the United Provinces, we have now District Judges who have hardly been five years in the service. Before such District Judges judgments of Subordinate Judges of 25 years' experience come up. What do you think these District Judges do ? I know of a case which came up on appeal before the District Judge who has been in service for only six years. The question raised in the case was one which related to the law of Easement. This Civilian Officer, full of confidence in himself, never knew what Easement meant. What did he do ? He privately consulted the Subordinate Judge whose judgment was before him, and asked him what the law on the subject was, and how he arrived at the conclusion recorded in that judgment. I do not propose to expatiate upon the various points raised in the proposal. You can very easily see that this is a proposal the object of which is to secure an efficient judiciary ; and without an efficient judiciary you can easily understand, gentlemen, that the imperative needs of the country cannot be satisfied. The Public Service Commission recommended that the judiciary should be recruited from trained lawyers of the country. That recommendation was approved, but was never given effect to. It was only a few years ago that a report was current that the late lamented Chief Justice of the United Provinces, Sir John Strachey, drew up a scheme to give effect to that recommendation, but the man passed away and with him the scheme also, and we have never heard anything further about it. I say that if the British system of justice is to be placed upon a sound basis, it will be absolutely necessary that it should be rendered as efficient as possible. It is upon this ground I ask you, gentlemen, to pass this resolution with acclamation (cheers).

BABU BISHNUPADA CHATTERJI (*Bengal*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the principle of the proposition which I hold in my hand is as old as human civilization, and as regards the Congress as old as the Congress itself. The proposition has been examined in its abstract as well as in its concrete form, and has not been found wanting. The powers-that-be acknowledge the soundness of the principle but fight shy to give effect to it in India. The Congress for the last 20 years has been trying to impress upon the minds of the authorities that the mere acknowledgment of the principle in the abstract will not do, but that what is necessary is its application in the administration of justice. But as yet ours is a cry in the wilderness. Although the question has been examined, as you have heard from Mr. R. C. Dutt, although the question has been considered in all its phases by eminent men like Sir Richard Garth, Mr. R. C. Dutt and the late lamented Mr. Mana Mohan Ghose, gentlemen, they say that it is not given effect to on the score of expense. I do not believe it ; because you know if the Government sets its heart on a favourite scheme it does not shrink from it on the ground of expense. You have seen it in the case of the Partition of Bengal. There we pay for the double for half the work done ; but although the system is bad, although it is acknowledged to be bad, still it goes on. The system as you know is one by which a man who listens to the police gossip in the morning comes in the noon to dispose of a case upon evidence which he himself has procured. This is a system in which justice gets the second or third place in the day because they say important revenue work has to be done first. This is a system in which every year a rich harvest of crop is reaped in the shape of miscarriages of justice which is exhibited in the Congress pandal as justice curiosities and which can be very well

shown also in the exhibition which follows the Congress. I shall but give you one example. A man was run over by the carriage of a big man. "Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another." So the coachman of another big man was arrested and the Magistrate gave the usual slip to the Deputy Magistrate saying "give him six months." The Deputy Magistrate could not make up his mind to that extent, but gave him three months, and when the matter came up in appeal before the same Magistrate he reversed it and scolded the Deputy in unmeasured terms. Again, there were two sisters who were confined with a Missionary lady. The brother of the two sisters secured them from the Mission House after a good deal of trouble. The Missionary lady went to the District Magistrate and the Magistrate at once started a prosecution of kidnapping against the brother. There was the usual slip to the Deputy Magistrate, and he gave six months and Mr. Crawford, the Judge of Hooghly, reversed the case on appeal because the slip was on the record (laughter). The third case is a recent case in which the District Magistrate was the accused. I will not name him, but probably you are aware who he is. Although he was an accused, although the case was being tried by the Joint Magistrate, he wrote a piece of advice on the order sheet of the case which was pending before the Joint Magistrate. You will yourselves judge whether these are not justice curiosities to be placed in the Exhibition Pavilion. Therefore I say I have not answered as yet why Government has not given effect to the proposition, although the Congress Delegates are crying hoarse over the reform on this question. It is fear of loss of prestige; they think that it will be weakness on their part to grant what the ruled want from the rulers. The strong man will not give what the weak man wants. Such is the irony of life, although the contrary is preached in the whole of the civilised world in its moral, religious and spiritual teachings. You may ask me what is the use of the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions of Magistrates when Gurkhas and Lathis are the arbiters of the hapless people in the country, at least in one Province of the Empire (shame)? I will answer this question in one way. It may seem comic to the Anglo-Indians. It may to them seem like the fiddling of Nero when Rome was burning. I think we have confidence in God and His Wisdom, and as good cometh out of evil, I think the Gurkha regime and the Fuller regime will pass away like the shadow of a passing cloud (cheers).

The proposition was put to the Congress and carried amidst enthusiastic cheers.

POLICE REFORMS.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next Resolution relates to Police Reforms, and I will call upon Mr. S. Sinha to move it.

MR. SAOCHITANANDA SINHA (*Allahabad*).—Gentlemen, last night it was settled in the Subjects Committee that this resolution about Police Reforms would be placed before you by Mr. R. C. Dutt. It seems to me, however, that on second thought Mr. Dutt had come to the conclusion that it would not be dignified for him to face the police question. Therefore I have been drafted into the service by the President whose orders I may not disobey. He asks me to be brief; I shall not give him a chance for ringing the bell. I shall not read the resolution. It is divided into four parts. The fourth part says that the District Officers who are the heads of the police should be relieved of Judicial work and all control over the Magistracy of the District. You have heard from Mr. Dutt all about it. I should not say one single word more about it; nor shall I take up your time in referring to the question of throwing open employment by means of competitive examinations. Yesterday you heard from a large number of able speakers, addressing you on the public service question, all that was said in favour of examinations by competition in preference to giving away appointments by nepotism and jobbery. I wish simply to say one word. For some years past, for the last ten years, employments in the higher ranks of the police have been thrown open in England by means of competition exclusively confined to the Natives of the British Isles. We have been for years past protesting, strongly protesting, against that measure as one of iniquity. When the Police Commission was formed by Lord Curzon we were under the impression that that Commission would recommend the abolition of that examination on those lines, or that that would be thrown open equally to the Natives of India as well. I am sure I am expressing your opinion when I say that we have noticed, with great regret, that the Commission supported the system as it stands to-day. Therefore, on behalf of the Congress, we protest against it emphatically, and say that this is an infringement of the Queen's Proclamation and of our indefeasible right that any examinations held for the Indian purposes should be open equally to the Natives of India as well. So long as that system is not repealed and the examinations thrown open to all Natives of India, we shall be justified in repeating our demands year after year until our object is achieved. The next part of the resolution is that in the higher ranks of the police, a larger number of educated Indians should be drafted. I think that is a proposition that does not need any word of commendation. We have noticed with regret that the Commission have constituted a special Police Service, the object of which is to shut out Natives from the higher ranks. We also see that certain of the recommendations of the Commission are more or less satisfactory. I am glad to say that, I think I shall be carrying your sympathy in this observation that a service has been done to the country by the note of dissent of the Maharaja of Darbhanga who was a member of the Commission. When he was appointed a member, I myself was

in doubt what he would be able to do, regard being had to the circumstances and his position as a member of the Commission. But practically he has been able to do something, and his note of dissent is a valuable and important document which supports our views as to the separation of Judicial and Executive functions. His Highness is entitled to our thanks for this. So far you will agree that it is satisfactory, but on the whole I am sure you will agree with me that the recommendations of the Commission have disappointed us bitterly. I say the main points of the recommendation laid down the foundation of *corps d'elite* in which Indians cannot be admitted, and which is a gross injustice to us. Therefore we pray, as a primary contention of ours, that the examination in England should be thrown open to the Natives of India so that we might have a chance of entering the service on equal terms with the subjects of the British Isles. We want no favours; we want a fair field and no favour. We have a right as Indians to be entitled to compete for English examinations so as to enable us to enter largely into the higher ranks of the Police. (cheers).

MR. JOGIAH (*Berhampore, Ganjam*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am asked to be very short, and I shall try to be so. The resolution relating to the Police Reform is an old one, and in importance it yields to none that has been placed before you. This resolution was first taken up during the fourth session of the National Congress at Allahabad in 1888, and for about fourteen years we persistently urged upon the attention of the Government the supreme importance of appointing a Commission to investigate into the entire question as speedily as possible. Indeed it is a source of gratification that our efforts have so far borne fruit that we have been able not only to induce the Government to appoint a Commission but also to elicit a resolution from it. Gentlemen, be it said to the credit of the Congress that the Government have adopted, in certain important details, the suggestions made by the Congress. While appreciating thankfully and gratefully what has been done by the Government, I regret I am constrained to characterise the policy adopted by it in the more important matters of Police Reform as one not of progress but retrogression. Concerning the recruitment of officers into the higher ranks of the police service, the action of the Government is most disappointing. The resolution practically excludes the Indians from all responsible positions in the department. It says that no superintendentships should be reserved for the Indians, and the competitive examination which is prescribed as the test for appointing superintendents of police is restricted to the European British Subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor. This, I submit, is an unmerited slur upon our ability and honesty, integrity and capacity, and I ask you to enter your most earnest and emphatic protest against this invidious distinction made between race and race and creating what is called "a governing caste." Gentlemen, the history of the employment of Indians in the public service is the history of promises unfulfilled, pledges unredeemed and hopes unrealised. Gentlemen, the recruitment into higher ranks of the police is no exception to this. Gentlemen, last evening, when dealing with the resolution relating to the public service, speaker after speaker pointed out how the provisions of the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 are violated and exposed the interpretation or rather the misinterpretation put upon them by His Excellency Lord Curzon. I will not, therefore, trouble you again by repeating the same. But I will cite a few authorities to shew that the Indians are considered fit to occupy responsible positions in the Police Department (gong). The Government in its circular dated 1879 was pleased to say, regarding the fitness of Indians to discharge the duties of the offices in the higher ranks of the Police Department, that the Annual Police reports for various Provinces shew that the Native Police Officers when advanced to positions of trust do their work zealously and honestly. Lord Dufferin considered the proposals of the Congress with regard to Police Reform as a counsel of perfection (gong). Gentlemen, with these few words I second the proposition (cheers).

BABU ISWARA SARAN next addressed the Congress in an eloquent Urdu speech.

MR. NARGUNTI KAR (*Belgaum*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to support the proposition so ably and eloquently placed before you by the speakers who preceded me. Almost from the establishment of the British Rule in India, it is one loud and ceaseless cry of the people, that the Police is inefficient, corrupt and tyrannical. This condemnation is fully borne out by frank, deliberate and dispassionate opinions of high officials, and the Police Commission Report, and even the Resolution of Government on the subject fully proves that the people are not wrong in their complaint. But Government, not much relishing to swallow quietly this bitter pill of humiliation, made considerable efforts to tone down the hideous picture of the Police drawn by the Commission.

The people had fondly hoped that Lord Curzon would adopt really efficient measures to reform the Police Administration which was sinking under the vices of bad internal administration. But in comparison with the existing state of affairs the measure adopted are, like all His Lordship's other measures, more empirical, more demoralising more retrograde and more open to abuse. The only practical outcome of the new measure would be to create new places for Europeans, to put more money in their pockets, to create an invidious race-and-colour distinction, to beggar our Mother-Country still more, to deprive the people of some of their privileges and to scatter to the wind the

solemn pledges and promises contained in the Proclamation of the late illustrious Queen-Empress.

The reform proposed is in a few of its details for the better, in many of its details for the worse; but in principle the same old thing with all the antiquated but potent machinery of corruption and coercion in its train.

The odious clauses of the resolution which have graded the Police Force or rather degraded it into four different services, are already before you. The Natives of India, the sons of the soil, are, only for the colour of their skin, debarred from holding the higher posts. Have not the Natives of India filled with credit and capacity the higher posts in other Departments, which they were allowed to fill? Is Indian talent and capacity so low that the educated and experienced Indians are to be set down even below the English baby-faced lads of 18 or 19 who, instead of their being confined to their school-rooms, are to be taught Indian Vernaculars in English institutions, to be let loose on India, to be metamorphosed into big Indian Police Officers, and to be the Lecoqs or the Sherlock Holmes of the Indian Police Service. The real remedy for effecting a substantial reform in the organization and administration of the Indian Police, and making it trusted by the people, consists in employing the trained and tried educated Indians on all the higher posts. The European Officers, by reason of their imperfect acquaintance with the languages, manners and customs of our people, due to their inherent incapacity to feel as an Indian and accentuated by their supercilious aloofness, are quite incompetent to exercise close and effective check and supervision over their subordinates, and here lies the root of all evil. It is the subordinate officials and especially the low-paid constables on whom really falls the duty of detection, investigation and even the prevention of crime. The lower grades, therefore, should be placed above temptation by a substantial increase in their low pay, and it is not the pay but the temper of the already over-paid European Official that should be improved. The qualification for appointment or promotion should be worth and merit and not colour, parentage or influence. Our beloved Grand Old Man of India is crying himself hoarse from across the oceans that the Police Reform question has furnished Lord Curzon with another opportunity to apply more European leeches to suck mercilessly India's life-blood.

The situation is sufficient to fill our hearts with sorrow and anxiety. There is not one single Indian, high or low, rich or poor, whose position, prospect, comfort and general welfare does not, in numberless different ways, direct and indirect, suffer by the autocratic form of police administration. The resolution alone which I have the pleasure to support furnishes a true remedy. Reforms asked by the people in Police and other Departments as well, are no doubt hard to be obtained at the hands of an alien Government. Therefore great are the difficulties and strenuous will be the struggle.

Brother-delegates and gentlemen, I appeal to all who call India their home, without distinction of race or creed, I appeal to all, high and low, gentle and simple, rich and poor, let us now, one and all, alike for our own sakes and for the sakes of those millions getting not even one full meal a day, and against all odds and through all turns of fortune, in these evil days and amidst evil tongues, agitate and agitate, loyally and constitutionally, and I am sure we will obtain the desired reform.

For Reform's battle once begun.

Bequeathed from wearied sire to son,

Tho' baffled oft, is ever won (loud cheers).

MR. A. C. PARTHASARATHI NAYIDU.—Mr. President and brother-delegates, names have been booked and changes have been made; an unbooked, uncalled-for and unsolicited man is before you, and with but a few minutes at his disposal. This is a proposition concerning Police Reforms, a question upon which I had the honour of addressing the Congress at Allahabad in the year 1888. Sirs, clear seventeen years have elapsed since I spoke on this subject in the Congress Hall. Times have rolled away, but no appreciable good has resulted. Short is the word I hear from behind, but its effect is not to be seen in the resolution before it. There have been propositions placed before you during these three days, calculated to bring good to us, of course looming in distant anticipation. But this is a proposition, the effect of which we feel. I do not mean we who are assembled here but the man in the street—the man who tills the land from morn to eve in the hot sun of the day. Sons of the soil are the persons whom the present deteriorated system of the Police Department touches and affects. I remember the "Amrita Bazaar Patrika," when it was a demy-size paper, send over a few copies of the paper to the Madras Presidency, and there this department was characterised as a generation of vipers and watch-dogs of the public peace. Our revered gentleman, Mr. R. C. Dutt, said that he was going to speak upon the thief-catching department, whereas this department, the reform of which we want, is said to be the department of preservers of peace, our life and property. On the other hand, the name is honoured in the breach entirely. For the past 17 years, hopes like waves have risen and fallen; after all a Commission came—not one commission which characterised the previous regime—but Commissions after Commissions; even a Furniture Commission was once contemplated but did not come to pass. Commissions and Commissions but only a short remission has been given to us in the shape of reform. In my evidence before the

Commission I declared from my experience of 21 years of the department that it was absolutely necessary that the department should be purged of those who are now filling it. The superfluous commodity of England, namely English boys, College-rejected and school-abandoned, sons of high officials, they are the men who are now filling the department (laughter). Native Superintendents of Police—by the fingers we can count them—Assistant Superintendents, not many more and worse in other grades, to which have been relegated a few of the *apkwastes*. This is a department that requires thorough re-organization, inasmuch as this is indeed the department in which we expect our lives and properties to be saved. What are your grounds to ask the Government to comply with your request? I do not claim to be the maternal uncle's son nor the sister's son of our Government. No, we are not. I have some grounds upon which I think not only this request but every other request of ours may be granted. I remember the other day it was said that if the British Empire lost any part of its dominions it could survive, but if India were lost to the Empire the Sun of our Empire would set. Therefore, it is, I say, we, as subjects of this Empire, have a right to expect our demands to be met.

MR. KALIPRASANNA KAVYABISHARAD.—Gentlemen, I stand here only to give a formal support to this resolution which is before you. I shall not take up your time by inflicting a speech on you. I retire, and permit me to retire with your usual kindness.

The President then put this resolution before the Congress which carried it unanimously. The Congress at this stage adjourned till 3 p. m. when it re-assembled.

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next question is about the Partition of Bengal, and I now call upon Babu Surendra Nath Banerji.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJI rose amidst deafening cheers and shouts of *Bande Mataram* which were kept up for nearly five minutes. He then addressed the Congress as follows on the resolution relating to the Partition of Bengal, which was in these words:—

“That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the Province.

“That having regard to the intense dissatisfaction felt by the entire Bengali community at the dismemberment of their Province and their manifest disinclination not to accept the partition as an accomplished fact, this Congress appeals to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State to reverse or modify the arrangements made in such a manner as to conciliate public opinion and allay the excitement and unrest manifest among large masses of the people.

“That this Congress recommends the adoption of some arrangement which would be consistent with administrative efficiency, and would place the entire Bengali community under one undivided administration either by the appointment of a Governor and Council or by the adoption of some other administrative arrangement that may be thought desirable.”

Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, after the inspiring strains of *Bande Mataram* it is meet and proper that this resolution should be placed before this House, the subject matter being one which has convulsed the whole of Bengal (A VOICE: the whole of India). I rejoice to learn that our griefs, our sorrows, our disappointments and our trials are sympathised with by brother-delegates throughout the rest of the country (cheers). Encouraged by your moral support which we need as much as you can give, we are prepared to fight undaunted the battles of Bengal and the battles of India (cheers). I think, Sir, I am not guilty of the slightest exaggeration when I say that no question has, within the life of this generation, so profoundly stirred the hearts of our country-men or has given rise to such wide spread and intense dissatisfaction, irritation and indignation as the Partition of our Province—our beautiful Motherland. In our Province this question is the talk of the market-place; it is the gossip of the family circle; it is the burden of popular song; it is the theme of the inspiring eloquence of popular oratory (cheers). I never knew until now that my language, the language of my mother, the language she spoke to me and I spoke to her, was capable of such marvellous use for the purpose of explanation, of argument and inspiration (cheers). Sir, the year 1905 is one of the darkest and saddest in our annals, relieved by the reflection that it witnessed an upheaval of national life and an awakening of national consciousness without parallel in our history (loud cheers). Lord Curzon has divided our Province (shame); he has sought to bring about the disintegration of our race (shame), and to destroy the solidarity of our popular opinion. Has he succeeded in this novel endeavour (no no)? He has built better than he knew; he has laid broad and deep the foundations of our national life (cheers); he has stimulated those forces which contribute to the up-building of nations (cheers); he has made us a nation (hear, hear); and the most re-actionary of the Indian Viceroy's will go down to posterity as the Architect of the Indian National life (hear hear). That will be the authoritative, final judgment of history and posterity on the work of Lord Curzon's Government and administration. Sir, the year 1905 opens, so far as this Partition question is concerned, with a great public meeting held at the Town Hall of Calcutta. It was presided over by Sir Henry Cotton (loud and prolonged cheers), a name honoured in Bengal as well as in India (cheers). Great as our obligations are to Sir Henry Cotton, they have been accen-

tuated and enhanced by his strenuous efforts to avert the Partition of Bengal, and now that it has been accomplished, by still more arduous labours to undo it, he will be reckoned for all times to come, amongst the greatest benefactors of the Bengali people and race (three cheers to Sir Henry Cotton).

Sirs, at that meeting held at the Town Hall we confessed to a sense of relief at no decision having been arrived at in connection with the Partition question, and we expressed the hope that if there was any modification of the scheme it would be submitted for public consideration. We were living in a fool's paradise, for, at the time when we held this public meeting and were felicitating ourselves upon our good luck, the judgment of Lord Curzon had been pronounced upon the Partition question though we knew nothing at all about it; for on the 4th of July Mr. Brodrick, replying to a question in the House of Commons, said that he had already given his sanction to the Partition proposals of the Government of India which had been received by him on the 18th February last. It, therefore, stands to reason that these proposals must have been submitted and sent to England towards the end of January. On the 12th January, Sir Henry Cotton forwarded his proposals to the Government of India. We received an acknowledgment in three weeks' time; that was about the beginning of February. The Government of India had our resolutions before them; they were dealing with those resolutions; they knew that we had confessed to a sense of relief at the Government not having arrived at any pronouncement with regard to the Partition question. They knew that we were under a false impression. It was their duty to have removed that impression. They did nothing of the kind (shame). They lent countenance to the false impression which prevailed in the public mind. They became a conscious party to that false impression. Now, Sir, if a private person had dealt by me in that fashion I should have called him a dishonest fellow. Are we to understand that the code of morality which governs the proceedings of the Government of India is meaner and baser than the code which governs the relations of private life (laughter)? And if that be so, then what are we to think of those lofty principles of morality which were enforced with such consummate eloquence by the Chancellor of the Calcutta University on the Convocation day (ironical cheers). Sir, In the early days of the controversy some deference was shown to public opinion. The proposals of the Government were published in the newspapers; conferences were held in Belvedere; my friend was one of the shining lights of this Conference. I do not know that much came out of them, but they used to be held at Belvedere and Lord Curzon went down to the Eastern districts to ascertain public opinion by personal conference and examination. Sir, if the truth has to be told Lord Curzon went to the Eastern districts not to learn but to teach, not to ascertain what the public felt but to compel the public to adopt his views and sentiment. He failed. The people of the Eastern districts are a manly and stubborn race, possessed of much grit. They are prosperous and they exhibited the independence which prosperity brings in its train. I see before me the representatives of those districts. Brothers from East Bengal, from North Bengal, we had been parted by the fiat of an autocratic power, but the stroke of autocracy has brought our hearts nearer to you (cheers). We are, and shall always remain, of one mind, of one soul, animated by kindred hopes and aspirations, marching side by side towards the accomplishment of our common destinies (cheers). Who can sunder those who are tied by the bonds of Nature? The omnipotence of Government quails before the Majesty of Heaven and ties of Nature (cheers). Well, Sir, Lord Curzon failed, and when he failed to compel the people of the Eastern districts to adopt his views, the tactics of the Government underwent a great change. Then were held those secret conferences, those private deliberations of which the public knew nothing; they were not allowed to know anything. We knew nothing about the decision of the Government till the 4th of July last. I knew nothing about the particulars of the scheme till the Proclamation of the 20th of July. We begged, we prayed, we protested, but all in vain. No one would listen to us. Ours was a voice crying in the wilderness (shame). And, then, in utter desperation, as a last resort, we were driven to the adoption of the boycott (cheers)—the policy of passive resistance which represents a memorable departure in our political programme (hear hear). It was a protest, nothing more than a protest, against the indifference of the British public in regard to Indian Affairs, and the consequent contemptuous treatment of Indian public opinion by the Government of India. The protest went Home. It was marvelously effective. What we could not achieve in 500 meetings extending over 2 years' time we secured by a boycott lasting for a period of three months (cheers). Those who came to scoff remained to pray. The members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, which felt a grandfatherly interest in our concerns (laughter), sent a gratuitous piece of advice to us to give up the boycott, but at the same time they exerted all their influence upon the Secretary of State to cancel the Partition of Bengal (hear hear). I have the best reasons for believing, I have said so publicly, I said it to the Viceroy of India, I said so publicly, that a wire was sent by Mr. Brodrick to Lord Curzon on or about the 12th of October asking him if possible to postpone the Partition till the meeting of the Parliament (cheers). Lord Curzon declined to accept the suggestion (shame). With that exuberant love for the Bengalis and for the Indians he would not conciliate them. He added that the agitation was childish, and that it was about to subside. That was said on the 12th of October, to-day it is the 29th of December: the agitation has not subsided (no no and cheers), the agitation will not subside until the Partition is cancelled. To-day an immense meeting is being held in Calcutta to attract the Prince's attention to the consequences of

the Partition (cheers). The agitation will not subside ; it shows no signs of abatement until that perennial source of irritation, the Partition, has been modified or withdrawn (cheers). Well, gentleman, the boycott is a political instrument in our hands. We resolved to use it when necessary, subject, of course, to the safeguard that it is only to be used in extreme cases when there is a sufficiently powerful body of public opinion to justify its use and to ensure its success. It is a perfectly legitimate and constitutional weapon (hear hear). If our rulers will not listen to us, if they will treat Indian public opinion with contumely and disrespect, and if they will trample under foot the constitutional usages which constitute the guarantee of the British power and have given us so much contentment and happiness, they must make up their minds to part with some portion of their trade with India, and they must not be surprised if we decline to fill their pockets with gold. Well Sir, the Partition was carried out on the 16th October last despite the pledge which Mr. Brodrick had given to the House of Commons to the effect that he would lay the papers on the table of the House, a pledge which involved the undertaking that the Partition would be postponed pending the final pronouncement of Parliament. The 16th October is a memorable day in our annals. I trust it will be a memorable day in the annals of India (hear hear). It was a day of universal mourning, of universal fasting and universal fraternising, Hindus and Muhammadans embracing each other in public streets (cheers), or in private places, vowing the vow of eternal love and concord (cheers and loud applause). The shops were closed, the domestic hearth was not lit, food was not cooked, Calcutta presented the aspect of the City of the Dead. A spirit of desolation seemed to hover over the scene. The genius of the Mother-land was incarnate amidst this bewildering scene of grief and sorrow. Thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, of pious Hindus, and Hindus who were not pious, rushed to the waters of the Bhagirathi in order to purify themselves for the sins of their rulers (cheers).

Thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people walked through the streets of Calcutta barefooted, clad in the garb of woe. Amidst the wild scene of excitement, the National Fund was started; amidst this wild scene of excitement the foundation stone of the Federation Hall was laid (cheers) by one who was our President and occupied that place which you, now, Sir, adorn. Prostrate on the bed of illness, scarcely capable of moving, my illustrious friend, Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose (cheers), came in a litter attended by Doctor Nilratan Sarcar, to lay the foundation stone, perhaps the last function which he will be privileged on this side of the grave to perform, and thus conferred another obligation upon his countrymen. Well, gentlemen, while public excitement was so great, what was the Government doing? Forging instruments of repression, laying the foundations for the inauguration of a reign of terror (shame). Yes, it is a matter of inexpressible shame. Within eight days of the 16th of October, Mr. Carlyle issued his famous Circular (shame). Under the terms of that Circular, students are prohibited from taking part in public demonstrations (shame); and if they did what then? They were not to be punished, but the institutions to which they belong were to be disaffiliated, grants-in-aid were to be withdrawn from them, and their teachers were to be exalted to the dignity of Special Constables (shame). A more outrageous scheme of vicarious punishment never entered the imagination of the greatest autocrat of the middle ages. But it was in the new Province that the reign of terror was inaugurated after the latest and the most approved Russian pattern. In the new Province public meetings in public places have been prohibited; Sankeertan parties are not permitted to march through public streets; the singing of the *Bande Mataram* (shouts of *Bande Mataram* a voice once more jointly *Bande Mataram* was sung by a large section of the audience rising to their feet) the singing of the *Bande Mataram* which you have just sung with so much zest and devotion is punished as a crime and offence (shame). Respectable people have been degraded by being enrolled as special constables (shame). Not long ago a veritable reign of terror was established at Sirajgang and Barisal, and the Police were let loose in the streets, indiscriminately assaulted the people, selecting the leaders of the Anti-Partition movement as objects for special vengeance. When an aggrieved complainant to the Sub-Divisional Officer of Sirajgang the courts were closed against him. Magistrates would not receive the complaint. At Rajshay the other day a public meeting was disbursed at the point of the bayonet. I use the words "at the point of the bayonet," advisedly. In a place, in a private place, fifty policemen armed with rifles and bayonets commanded by a posse of inspectors and sub-inspectors marched down to the place of meeting, ordered the leaders of the meeting to disperse. My friend, Mr. Abul Kasim, I do not see him here (A VOICE, he is here) he was addressing the meeting and a gun was pointed at him (shame) (VOICES: let us see him, let him come on the platform). My friend asked the inspector to produce his authority, and the inspector said that he has received confidential orders from the Magistrate which he declined to produce. Very properly then he ordered the meeting to dissolve. Since the news of this incident arrived in Calcutta, Mr. J. Choudhuri and six others, every one of them resolved to go to jail if necessary (loud and prolonged cheers), went down to Rajshay in order to test the authority of the police and to vindicate the right of public meetings (hear hear). They held a meeting, the largest ever held at Rajshay, but the police would not submit to the test, the brave fellows that they were (ironical cheers). They were conspicuous by their absence, and since then we have been holding a meeting every day at Rajshay (cheers). Our boys are being prosecuted, and some of them even sent to jail (shame). I heard the

other day a touching incident regarding the pluck and heroism of young men—the pillars of popular movements—whom I always regard with a sense of affectionate and paternal interest (cheers). About half a dozen of them were locked up in a jail in one of the towns of the Eastern districts. As soon as they found themselves inside the lock-up they made the walls resound with the echoes of their patriotic songs (shouts of *Bande Mataram*). The jailors were touched. They brought them food which they declined to accept (cries of *Bande Mataram*). If our rulers think that they will repress us in this way, kill the Anti-Partition movement by having recourse to despotic Russian methods they are greatly mistaken. Repression will not daunt us (hear, hear); rather it will stiffen us in our opposition to the Partition, and our support of the Swadeshi movement (cheers). The blood of the martyrs is the cement of the church (cheers); and our cause will be consecrated by the sufferings of our young martyrs. We regard that cause to be of divine origin. Rightly or wrongly we believe ourselves to be humble instruments in the hands of the Almighty Providence (cheers), walking under the illumination of His Holy Spirit. Call it delusion; call it superstition; call it fanaticism; reckon us as being among the deluded maniacs of mankind. You have read lessons of history in vain if you do not realize the fact that men fortified by such belief and working under such conviction are irresistible and invincible; there is no danger which they are not ready to brave, no difficulty which they are not prepared to surmount. The Partition is now an accomplished fact; it has been carried out, but we at any rate do not regard it as an accomplished fact. The resolution says that the Bengalis have exhibited considerable disinclination to regard it as an accomplished fact, and the resolution says truly. And, gentlemen, if you read the resolution you will find that the essence of our prayer is that we want the entire Bengali community to be placed under the same common administration. We do not want to be separated from our kith and kin. Is that not an aspiration which is reasonable and righteous, and is there any one who will not respond sympathetically to an aspiration of that kind? May we not, therefore, appeal to Lord Minto and Mr. John Morley, the new Secretary of State, to reverse the decree which has been passed upon us by Lord Curzon? May we not be permitted to indulge the hope that Lord Minto's mission in India is to conciliate, to throw oil upon the troubled waters, to undo the mischief wrought by his predecessor? His illustrious ancestor who ruled over us about (100) hundred years ago gave us peace amidst war. May we not appeal to him to emulate the example of his illustrious ancestor and spread the blessings of peace, contentment and happiness throughout the length and breadth of the country? As regards Mr. John Morley, we are all more or less his disciples. We have sat at his feet; our intellectual and moral natures have been fed, stimulated and ennobled by the great lessons which he enforced with such consummate eloquence. He has taught us in his life of Edmund Byrke that Asiatics have rights and Europeans have their obligations in India. He has taught us the paramountcy of moral laws in the Government of human affairs. May we not ask him to apply his own principles to the solution of the Partition problem and the solution of other Indian problems? Above all, we must learn to depend upon ourselves. To native strength and native devotion and native courage dominated by the spirit of constitutionalism, we must look forward for our eventual emancipation. You know for the moment we have lost; for the moment we have been defeated; but let us not despond. The Irish have been fighting for Home Rule for over 100 years and they have not yet got it, but they are within a measurable distance of success. Let us emulate the courage, the enthusiasm and heroic self-sacrifice of the children of the Emerald Isle. Bear in mind that we are living through critical and great times. The sun has risen in the East. Japan has hedged the rising Sun but that Sun of Asia will pass in its meridian course over this hapless land and shed upon us its brilliance and lustre. Even now we feel the first flutterings of an awakened national consciousness. Oh! let us strengthen them and invigorate them, ennoble them for the glorification of our Mother-land, for the lasting credit of the great race to which we belong and for the permanence upon broad national lines of that great administration which in the past was fired with lofty ideals of duty towards India, but which, in the present moment, we are anxious to rescue from the reproach of re-action and retrogression (loud and prolonged cheers). I thank you, gentlemen, once more. I have nothing to add to this resolution.

MR. A. CHAUDHARI (*Calcutta*).—Sir and brother-delegates, I had no desire to speak on this resolution. We are too intimately connected with it. Besides, I do not believe in speeches unless they are absolutely sincere. I regret, and I have no doubt that you regret with me, that the present circumstances of the country do not compel candour (hear, hear). I may be permitted, however, to refresh the memory of our esteemed friend Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt. He quoted from the "Ramayana," about some advice given by the dying Ravana to Ram in his speech this morning. He must have forgotten about the advice given by the dead Ravana, I mean the ghost of Ravana, to Lord Curzon (laughter). It is to be found in the "Yogabashista Ramayana" and is to this effect:—"If there is anything bad, do it at once. If there is anything of doubtful utility, put it by" (loud laughter). It is upon this advice he took up the question of the Partition of Bengal. We, the Babus of Bengal, have failed to appreciate it—but don't they say that we do not know history—and have failed to take note of all the varieties of modern life, that for the West there is nothing impartible in the East. Gentlemen, the whole scheme of Partition is based upon one fundamental fact that Bengal is too big for one Lieutenant-Governor. I

don't want to answer it myself, but it was answered in a memorial which was suppressed, but which the *Englishman* of Calcutta somehow or other managed to publish. I will read a portion of it:—"If the burden of Bengal be too heavy for one Provincial Governor, how immeasurably heavier must the burden of India be for one Governor-General. So your petitioners beg respectfully to suggest, that in future the work of governing India should be divided among three Viceroys. A diplomatic Governor-General for the Himalayas, whose duty would be to watch and regulate the foreign relations of this country, to create complications and to pro-create problems; and whose field of activity would range from Bhotan to Khotan on one side, and from the Pamirs to the Amur on the other; secondly, an artistic and literary Viceroy for the Plains, whose duty would be to preserve ancient monuments and build new ones, and administer the country by means of peripatetic orations—occidental in inward worth and oriental in outward beauty; lastly, a commercial Viceroy, for the Seas, whose duty would be to constantly fit to and fro between Rangoon and Bunder Abbas, looking after the ports and controlling exports and imports in the light of the new fiscal policy. According to the Hindu Shastras, even the supreme ruler of the universe found it necessary to divide his personality into three—Shiva enthroned on the Himalayas, Vishnu in his incarnations disporting over the length and breadth of India, and Brahma on his lotus, floating eternally on the limitless ocean." Lord Curzon, when he came to India, put on his armour at Bombay and took it off there. The Knight Errant, proposed to accomplish wonders, which were to excel the seven wonders of the world. The programme was before us for seven years, but the wonders have not been accomplished, except the greatest one of them, which, however, was not in the programme. He achieved the wonder of removing himself from India for which we are deeply grateful (loud cheers). We heartily wish that he had removed, at the same time, some of those he had created.

Mr. Fuller, now in charge of the new division of Bengal, tells us that if Bengal had not been partitioned he would have come to Allahabad. Will you, our friends from Allahabad, kindly take him away (loud laughter, cries of "we don't want him"). Then, will he kindly shift for himself (cheers).

BABU BAIKUNTANATH SEN (*Barhampore Bengal*):—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, well after the able, admirable, excellent and exhaustive speech of the mover of this resolution, our worthy leader, it is perfectly unnecessary for me to add anything to what he has said for the acceptance of this resolution. But time-honoured practice justifies me, and duty demands, that I should add something, by way of supplement, to what has fallen from him. In the first place, on behalf of Bengal, united not severed, I beg to express our gratitude to this Congress for having allowed us to move a proposition of this sort (hear, hear). An indulgence of a similar nature was allowed us last year at Bombay where we met in December last when the Partition proposal was in a fluid condition. Now that the Partition law has been passed, and partition is being attempted to be given effect to by Government, the Congress is going to help us in this matter by permitting us to move this resolution. I hope it will be accepted by you. Now this scheme was conceived in secret, matured in darkness; I will not dilate upon it because my friend has already spoken upon it. It was, I say, matured in darkness and ushered into existence and light at a time when we were in strongest mortification and severe dissatisfaction with regard to this measure. This pet child of Lord Curzon, now in the cradle, is being exhibited in different parts of the Province. It appears to be a monster. We are appealing to the Secretary of State and to the present Viceroy for doing what they can. But these exhibitions of monstrosities are being made in the different parts of Bengal, East and West. It was given out that the object of the Partition was to relieve the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and to secure administrative efficiency. My friend, Mr. A. Choudhuri, has just now referred to it that it was perfectly unnecessary, and that no relief was needed. Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal have been administering that Province from a very long time, and no one felt inconvenience in any way in carrying on the administration. Of course a new and elderly Lieutenant-Governor has come to Bengal from a different place, who had no experience of Bengal. If that was the justification, instead of effecting a partition of Bengal the Governor might have been sent away elsewhere, and a new Governor might have been appointed. Now you see there is one question which I should like to place before you by way of supplement to what has been urged by the worthy mover. This question has to be looked at from two aspects, the material and the sentimental. With regard to the material portion of it, Government is the sole master. The Government no doubt has defined the boundary line, the imaginary line which we refuse to admit. But with regard to the sentimental portion we have got the entire control. The solidarity of the East and West Bengal cannot be broken if we remain united together (hear, hear). Referring to the 16th of October I will also place before you one other fact which has not been mentioned by the worthy mover. He forgot the *rakhi*, forgot the proclamation, the national proclamation. There we took the vow to remain united, whatever might be the attempt of Government to dismember Bengal, whatever might be the attempt of Government to keep us separated from each other; whatever might be their attempt to make us as it were two different nations altogether. We have taken the vow, we took the *rakhi*; we have taken the vow by our national proclamation on the same day. Undue haste, I should say indecent haste, has been shown by Lord Curzon in giving effect to this Partition, and one may ask why! Lord Curzon was a very able man; of that there is no doubt; he was confident, I tell you,

gentlemen, I should say over-confident of the doctrine of *factum valet*. And now it is in the air that when there was an interview between His Excellency the present Viceroy and some of our worthy colleagues, that though Lord Minto is inclined to help us he finds some difficulty in the fact of partition having been accomplished. Lord Curzon has created this difficulty. He knew that if he had left Indian shores without having given it an appearance of accomplishment the thing will be very easy for his successor to set at naught. So he has created this difficulty. We, however, refuse to accept that it is an accomplished fact. And here we appeal now to the Secretary of State and the present Viceroy, either for the reversing and the setting aside of what has happened, or for modifying the measure which has been adopted. We are asking simply for the restoration of the *statu quo ante*. We are asking for that, and if it be not feasible or practicable to do that, what do we ask? We ask for one undivided administration for the Bengali community. In this resolution you will find the expression Bengali community. By this it is meant those who speak the Bengali language, those whose mother-tongue is Bengali. It includes Hindus, Mahomedans and people of other castes, sects and races, refers to those who speak the Bengali language. All that we now ask is that if it be not practicable to set at naught the mischief which has been done or attempted to be done by Lord Curzon, we might have one undivided administration for the whole of the people who speak Bengali. We have our hopes, the present times are opportune. All that we must see is that we ought not to take very optimistic views because we know that the Liberals, with high hopes held out to us, have in the long run disappointed us. However, that is very good time to have this question agitated and brought up to the notice of the Secretary of State for India in Council. With these remarks, gentlemen, I ask you to carry this resolution.

RAO BAHADUR C. V. VAIDYA (*Bombay*).—Mr. President and brother-delegates, coming from Bombay I give voice to the sentiments of the people of the Bombay Presidency when I say that I look upon the Partition of Bengal as a cruel wrong inflicted not only on Bengal but on the whole of India (cheers), because it tramples under foot one of the most essential duties of every Government. It is the duty of every Government, whether in the East or in the West, to respect the feelings and unanimous opinions of the people (hear, hear). Our maxim laid down Raja Lokasya Ranjani—"the king is a king because he pleases the people." Rama, our ideal king, said on one occasion, "I will lay down my own life for the sake of that principle, namely, the pleasing of the people." Burke, referring to the discontent in America said, "England may have the right to impose taxes upon America and her Colonies, but it is unwise and it is unjust to wage war against a whole nation." The great Proclamation of the Queen-Empress Victoria vibrates with the same sentiments, "their contentment is our strength, and their happiness is our greatest reward." A measure which creates discontent and dismay among eight crores of people must be stigmatised as a measure which goes against the true spirit of the proclamation. That proclamation has been confirmed by our present Emperor, King Edward the VII. Even the Prince of Wales I tell you in that now historic speech which he uttered on placing his foot on the soil of India said, "if while travelling through the vast countries which go to make this Empire the Princess of Wales and I succeed in winning the good wishes and the sympathy of the people of India, we will consider our journey as amply repaid." That is the high ideal which every administrator ought to place before himself, namely, to win the sympathy and good wishes of the people. But Lord Curzon had no such ideal before him. When he came to India, gifted as he was, with intellect but blinded at the same time with his great egotism and imperialism, he came with twelve tablets prepared ready in his hand and was determined to apply them to India, whether the Indians liked them or not, and the last and the most disastrous action which he has taken is the Partition of Bengal. In my opinion the ostensible reason that has been put forward is only a flimsy one. He intended to deal a death-blow at the rising political aspirations of the people of that Province, who are avowedly, and I may say deservedly, in the front rank of political agitation (cheers); and even if we take the ostensible reason assigned, do we not find it to be no reason at all for the measure taken? Lord Curzon himself stated at the Byculla speech that the duties of a Viceroy were very heavy. Would he have himself brooked the proposal to divide the Viceroyalty into two portions. Would you brook the proposal that India, imbued as it is with new political ideas and desires from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the Indus to the Bramhaputra, would you like that it should be divided into two portions (cries of no, no). Common historical traditions, common language and certain geographical peculiarities weld together a country as well as a particular province. I believe if it was a crime to cut that province into two, to stab that political life on the pretext of administrative reform. Gentlemen, I think it is possible that the British Government in its wise statemanship will see its way to cancel this measure. No scruples of prestige should be allowed to interfere with the rectification of a huge error. Let me refer you to one example in the past history of India. Lord Dalhousie, whom Lord Curzon liked most to imitate and follow, enunciated the doctrine of lapse and ruthlessly applied it to Native States. The Native States remained loyal to the British Crown in spite of the doctrine of lapse during the dark days of the Mutiny. Even when the Mutiny was suppressed, the magnanimous Lord Canning laid that doctrine to rest by issuing *sannads* to Native States for adoption. Gentlemen, I hope that an equally strong idea to correct a huge error will prevail. I hope to

see that the government of Lord Minto, just like the government of Lord Canning, under the liberal ministry which has just come into power, will see its way to sweep away that ignoble memorial which Lord Curzon has raised to his own egotism and obstinacy in the Partition of Bengal by adopting some other provisions by which the living unity of the people of Bengal might not be separated. With these words I recommend this proposition to your hearty acceptance.

MR. S. SINHA (*Allahabad*).—Gentlemen, you have already heard four speakers on this topic, and I think I have been asked to appear before you in support of this resolution to place before you the views of the people of Behar and the United Provinces. My first words, therefore, are on behalf of the people of these two Provinces. I assure the Congress that there is the deepest sympathy with our brethren of Bengal in the misfortune which has befallen them. Throughout Behar and the United Province there is a feeling that in this matter the procedure adopted by the Government of India has been one grossly unfair. After having gone through very carefully the partition papers and followed the whole of the controversy step by step, I must declare my conviction that there is only one word which in my opinion can adequately describe the conduct of the Government of India, and that the whole procedure has been, from the beginning to the end, nothing short of dishonesty. I need not, therefore, waste your time by assuring my brethren of Bengal that throughout Upper India there is great sympathy in their misfortune. I would like before I sit down to say one word as to that clause of the resolution which asks the Government of India to cancel the partition, or if that could not be done, to modify it by making some arrangement which, while placing the whole of the Bengali community under one Government, will be satisfactory and lead to efficient administration. Mark, gentlemen, the Congress advisedly abstains from placing before the Government of India any definite scheme for the reason that if we place before them a particular scheme they might say this scheme would not do, and, therefore, they could not cancel the partition. But we suggest ways and means by resorting to which they could bring the whole of the Bengali community under one government, and safeguard their own rights. Of the suggestions made from time to time two are most prominent. One is that the whole of the Lower Provinces should be placed under a Governor with an Executive Council. But that has been rejected by the Government of India on rather perfunctory grounds. I must confess that amongst the thinking people—I am not committing a breach of confidence by referring to the speech made by Mr. R. C. Dutt in the Subjects' Committee—there is the opinion that an administration presided over by a Governor with an Executive Council is not quite so good as that of a Lieutenant-Governor. The Government, if they choose, can place the Lower Provinces under a Governor with an Executive Council as in Madras and Bombay. But if the Government say that they are not prepared to do it, if they think that a population of 77,000,000 is much too large even for a Governor and an Executive Council, there is the authority of Sir Henry Cotton to whom Mr. Gokhale referred in his Presidential address as the highest and greatest living authority—there is the suggestion of Sir Henry Cotton approved by Sir Charles Stevens and other Lieutenant-Governors that as the Lower Provinces are connected with Bengal and other provinces, the people of which have got no sociological connection with the Bengalis, they may be separated. I am not placing my own recommendations, but these are the suggestions of competent authorities. I am quite sure that if at this opportune moment, when Mr. John Morley is at the head of the India Office, the people of Bengal present to him a temperate and well-reasoned memorial, embodying suggestions and pointing out “here are diverse ways and means and alternative proposals before you in regard to the Partition of Bengal, and you take this scheme into consideration”—if you Bengalis do that, I am quite sure that the Government will take this measure into their sympathetic consideration.

MUNSHI HIDAYAT BAKHSI (*Dacca*) addressed the Congress in Urdu.

MR. ABDUL KASSIM (*Burdwan*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, if a distinguished leader like Babu Boikunta Nath Sen thought it unnecessary to deliver a speech on this resolution after the eloquent addresses of the mover and the seconder, I think it will be nothing short of sheer impertinence, on my part, to intrude upon your time and attention. I have only one word to say. Last year while addressing this Congress at Bombay I complained that whenever the Government of India wanted to introduce a repressive measure or to continue the retrograde policy which they could not defend on any reasonable, righteous or just ground, they fell back upon the unfortunate community to which I have the honour to belong. That statement of mine could not have been better illustrated than by the action of the Government of India with reference to the Partition of Bengal. Lord Curzon, in his serene wisdom, thought it advisable to divide the Bengali-speaking race; and all of a sudden in his resolution he gave it forth that he wanted to do it in order to bring together the Mahomedan population of the Eastern Bengal and for the amelioration of the condition of the Mahomedans of the Eastern Provinces. I was for a time surprised to find this show of concern on the part of Lord Curzon for the welfare of the Mahomedan community towards the end of his administration (laughter). May I ask Lord Curzon and his advisers whether the Mahomedans had ever suggested to him the Partition of Bengal or the putting of Eastern Bengal under one administration would ever improve their condition? The fact is that when Mr. Risley's resolution was first published the entire Bengali-speaking race, Hindus and Mahomedans, all joined together in raising their protest against that measure, and they continued their agitation till the 16th October.

I am not unaware that certain Mahomedan associations have since then come forward to support the Government measure. But these associations justify their existence, engineered and pioneered as they are by Government officials and *quasi*-officials, by simply supporting Government measures. Their conduct reminds me of the well-known verse of the Persian poet which translated literally would mean "that they have kept me like a parrot behind the screen, and I repeat what my master has taught me, and like a gramophone I repeat my master's voice." Gentlemen, I want to know if these associations, which pretend to exist for the thinking out and the carrying out of measures for the amelioration of the members of their own community, do not feel ashamed that they should support a measure which they are told would help in raising the status of the Mahomedan community. These associations which support the Partition of Bengal say that they do so because they believe now that the status of the community would be raised by this measure of Government. But may I ask these associations or their leaders how is it that they, who have sat together for the last fifty years thinking over the means of amelioration of their co-religionists, never had the idea that such a measure would improve their condition? They do not feel ashamed to acknowledge that the idea should have occurred to Lord Curzon and not to them. Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. The Government of Lord Curzon said that the agitation will subside as soon as the partition is made. But it has not subsided, and measures have been introduced by his lieutenants to check this agitation by means of repressive measures and by means of physical force. If we are silent for a time, they say that the agitation is waning; but if you continue the agitation they say that the country is almost in a state of revolt, so that whether we go backward or forward we are abused. With these words I beg to support the resolution,

RAO BAHADUR R. N. MADHOLKAR (*Amraoti*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the question of the Partition of Bengal is not a provincial one. It involves an important principal, and there has been of recent years no administrative measure which aroused great feeling throughout the country. It is a question in which not only Bengalis but the whole of India is interested, and the Congress feels it its duty to emphasize the fact. This is not the first time that this matter comes before the Congress. Twelve months ago the Congress passed a resolution protesting against the then threatened Partition of Bengal. It was hoped that the Government of India, guided as it was by a talented Viceroy, would be brought to perceive that the feelings of alarm and dissatisfaction roused were so universal, so deep, so strong, that it would not be a wise policy to ignore or treat it with contempt and to persist in the proposed course in defiance of it. Whether through lack of imagination and sympathy, or through the worship of that fetish of prestige which is only another word for pig-headed obstinacy, the Government of India declined to give any heed to the popular feelings and sentiments, and have effected the partition. But we cannot congratulate the Government on the wisdom of their course. They have made the division which the retired Viceroy so ardently desired. But it has been effected at a cost which no sensible Englishman or well-wisher of England ought to view otherwise than with grave alarm and anxiety. From the time that the Crown took over the direct Government of India never was there such a widespread, deep, universal dissatisfaction and discontent as have been roused not only in Bengal but throughout the country; never was there such resentment, such exasperation, such distrust of the Government, of their intentions, policy and methods. There is no people in India more peaceful, more law-abiding, less prone to provoke quarrels with constituted authorities than the Bengalis. But the action of Lord Curzon's Government has driven these into desperation, and rather than tamely submit to, and acquiesce in, the dismemberment to which they were subjected they have been driven to enter upon a method of emphasizing their just anger and dissatisfaction which has startled not only India but the civilized world. Ladies and gentlemen, it is no wonder that the feelings of Bengal have been so deeply moved. They are a nation descended from a common stock, speaking a common language, observing the same manners and customs, and so far as the Hindus go they follow the same religion and are governed by the same law. For generations—I ought to say for centuries—they have, amidst all the vicissitudes through which they have passed, lived under one Government and one administration, be it Hindu, Mahomedan or British. Social and religious ties, intellectual and moral sympathies, have with ethnical and linguistic unity helped to weld them into a homogeneous nation. When, therefore, it was noised about three years ago that the Government of India was intent upon severing them in twain the greatest consternation was roused; and when at last a few months ago the long-dreaded partition was effected they felt like a man who has received a wound in a vital part. One general cry of wail went from one end of the country to the other. But this time it was not the cry of helpless impotency. Along with it was mixed deep resentment and thorough determination to use all the armoury of constitutional agitation, and all methods of legitimate and legal action to bring pressure upon the English people, the real arbiters of their fates, and to obtain from them a reversal of the obnoxious and ill-advised measure.

Gentlemen, it is difficult to conceive how any statesman possessing the great intellectual calibre of Lord Curzon and claiming to be guided by sentiments of love for this country and its peoples, should have, in the first place, launched out such a measure as the Partition of Bengal, and in the second place, persisted in it when it was found that it had deeply stirred the whole Presidency and had evoked the strongest opposition. In doing so he has disregarded all the dictates of wise statesmanship. If the height of political wisdom consists in securing the loyalty, love, respect, reverence and attachment of the ruled, then

Lord Curzon has shown himself to be utterly wanting in such wisdom. Even if a case for administrative re-adjustment had been made out, the Government should have refrained from making an adjustment which was so strongly disliked and opposed. But gentlemen, there was absolutely no necessity for such a measure as has been enacted. Say what Lord Curzon and his admirers and partisans might, history will give its verdict that no case was made out for partitioning Bengal. Efficiency of administration did not demand it. It is a well-known thing that the majority of the District Officers did not support Lord Curzon's scheme. Even Mr. Fuller admits that he did not approve the partition. To speak of the work being too heavy is all moon-shine. With its permanent settlement and large zamindaries the Land Revenue work in Bengal is far less than what the Government and the District Officers are called upon to perform in ryotwari tracts. In fact, as a member of the Indian Civil Service himself has pointed out, the district charges in Bengal are the lightest in India. With a most docile, peaceful, law-abiding population the task of preserving peace and order is easy. And as to the plea of having touch with the different parts of the Empire it is sufficient to point out that Bengal is intersected by railways, navigable rivers and canals, and no district is more than twenty-four hours journey from Calcutta. Further, if effect had been given to that long-called-for administrative reform, the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, there would have been not the shadow of a ground left for saying that the burden upon the Local Government and the District Officers was heavy. Ladies and gentlemen, I deem it necessary to elaborate this point because effort has to be made to obtain a reversal of this most ill-advised, pernicious and harmful measure so distasteful to the people. Bengal is manifestly disinclined to submit tamely to this process of lopping and cutting. She is determined to carry her appeal to the superiors of Lord Curzon—to Parliament and the British public. And right she is in this resolve of hers. She has a splendid case. Never was there a measure less called for. Never was there one the manner of the carrying out of which was more objectionable. Gentlemen of Bengal, your appeal to Parliament has great chances of success because you can point out that in persisting in carrying out the partition at this time, not only has the authority of Parliament been defied but Parliament, the British Public and the people of India have been hoodwinked and the most obvious considerations of official decorum and decency violated. Say what Lord Curzon's partisans might, on all plain, unsophisticated men the only impression that could be produced by the declaration of the Secretary of State when Mr. Herbert Roberts brought forward his motion, was that the Partition Scheme would not be put into operation until all the papers were laid before Parliament and it has opportunity of examining and discussing the matter. After that declaration to have put the partition measure into force partakes of sharp practice.

Then, again, Lord Curzon was at the end of his Viceroyalty. He knew that not only were the people and many of his own subordinates—English officers—opposed to his scheme, but that even the Government in England unwillingly and grumblingly yielded to his pressure. Going away as he was within a few weeks he should not have tied down the hand of his successor. Ladies and gentlemen, as a gentleman and as an administrator well informed of the rules of official decorum he should not have sown the wind when he knew that it would not be he but another who would have to reap the whirl-wind.

My brethren of Bengal, you have been subjected to sore trials and hardships and the hearts of all your countrymen go towards you in your tribulation. You have a just case and a strong case. It is clear from the telegrams which were recently published that Mr. Brodick sanctioned the Partition of Bengal not because he and his Council were satisfied about the expediency and propriety of the measure but because Lord Curzon put pressure upon them. With the Liberal Government in power there is a fair chance of an unprejudicial hearing and reconsideration. Supposing that the province cannot be officially governed by one Lieutenant-Governor, there are various methods by which that difficulty can be coped with. They might entrust the administration to a Governor and Executive Council as in Bombay and Madras or make such a real adjustment of territories as would leave the Bengali-speaking territory and community all under one administration. The problem is certainly not beyond the resources of wise and sympathetic statesmanship and it is greatly to be trusted that the New Ministry will bear in mind the words of the Royal Proclamation:—"In their prosperity lies our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward," and give effect to these noble sentiments.

MR. NUSSURUDDIN (*Benares*) addressed the meeting in Urdu.

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

REPRESSIVE MEASURES IN BENGAL.

THE PRESIDENT.—We now come to Repressive Measures in Bengal.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVYA (*Allahabad*) who, on rising was received with loud cheers, said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the resolution which the Committee have done me the honour of entrusting to me reads as follows:—

"That this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest, and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people."

Gentlemen, the brilliant speech that you heard from my esteemed friend, Babu Surendra-nath Banerjee, told you all that was necessary to justify the acceptance of this resolution by you. You speak here of the repressive measures that have been adopted in Bengal. How those measures have come to be adopted is not a matter which requires to be told now. The Government of India, or rather Lord Curzon, determined upon the "Partition of Bengal." The people at the earliest opportunity they came to know of it submitted respectful representations against the proposal.

Memorials followed memorials, petitions were submitted, meetings of protest were held, and every constitutional means which the people were aware of was adopted to point out to Government that absolutely no case has been made out for cutting Bengal into two and placing it under two different administrations. All that was not heeded. People met together, they sent representations to the Secretary of State who was the next higher authority. Unfortunately that again was undecided. People took the last step of going up to the House of Commons and submitted petitions signed by a large number of people and got some English Members of the House to support the petition. A Debate was held, but nothing came out of it. Now, gentlemen, this went on for a long time. We live under a constitutional government. The means that have been pointed out as open to those who live under a constitutional government were the very means which the people of Bengal adopted. There was absolutely nothing that anybody could take exception to in their methods (hear hear). They proceeded in the coolest manner without showing any passion, using every possible argument that they could think of, and putting it in the most moderate language possible (hear hear). Gentlemen, some evil genius guided the intellect of those who were in power at the time. They turned a deaf ear to all representations that were so made. They determined upon the "Partition of Bengal." I will not go into the history of the matter as it has been so brilliantly put before you by previous speakers in connection with the other resolution. The result was that people waited. There was absolutely no show of violence even up to this time. Though peoples' passions have been excited to the uttermost, yet the Government heeded not. Gentlemen, any other people driven to that desperate condition would probably have taken steps worse than those that were adopted in Bengal. Be it said to the credit of our countrymen in Bengal (cheers), that on an occasion when their feelings had been stirred to their deepest depths, when the whole Province of Bengal has been agitated as no part of India had been agitated after the days of the Mutiny—be it said to the credit of the young men of Bengal (cheers), that in the midst of so much excitement not one case has been proved in which they have resorted to illegal or unjust means with the object of getting redress. Gentlemen, the Government which was anxious to carry on the administration of the country on lines of sound statesmanship would have rejoiced at the sight and would have been moved by the very circumstance that the people were so moderate and self-restrained, even on such occasions, to accede to their demands. It was the misfortune of the Government of India that it did not listen to these demands. The result was that people found themselves in utter darkness and despair. What did they do? They found out that their voices were feeble. Even the powerful voice of our friend, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, had failed to penetrate into the ears of the powers-that-be. The best of the men in the land, the most respected members of the community, men like Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, who do not love to indulge in what is called political agitation, came out of their retirement and pressed upon the Government the wisdom of listening to the prayers of the people. No response yet. People then said "what are we to do? Well, we are placed in this circumstance; very well, we shall raise another noise which probably will be carried across the waters and make a stir in England; we shall boycott foreign goods." It is an extreme measure I grant. No sensible man, no man who wishes the well of this country would for a moment desire that there should be anything done to create dissension between our fellow-subjects in England and in this country. No man who understands the real needs of this country and the situation in which we are placed will desire that there should exist anything but cordial good-will among our fellow-subjects in England and in this country. It was, therefore, no matter of satisfaction—it could not be to any well-wisher of this country—to either initiate the idea of boycott or to encourage it. It was boycott merely as an extreme measure which they found themselves compelled under the circumstances to adopt. It was adopted as a measure which might possibly, when all other respectful representations had failed, make an impression upon some people of England and lead to the consideration of the prayers of the United Bengal. Gentlemen, a great deal of commotion was created. Remember, that it was all a peaceful commotion, it was a commotion of a law-abiding people who know what is the measure they could adopt in the circumstances they were placed. Boycott went on. After it had been adopted, after the idea had been caught and had begun to work, came unfortunately a series of repressive measures. Men who had erred, instead of taking wisdom from the facts that have come into existence, determined to persist in their obstinacy, determined to refuse to consider whether there was any justification for people resorting to such measures. They began to persecute. Persecution is the only word that you can use for what you have heard from our friends in Bengal as having been adopted. To appoint respectable men as special constables when there was absolutely no shadow of excuse for saying that there

was any violence to authority intended or indicated to appoint respectable members of the community leaders, men of light and leading to that disgraceful position when nothing has been done to justify it, to abolish and take away from the doors of the people sign-boards whereon you found *Bande Mataram*, to tell people—advice is the word used in some of the correspondence—(laughter) advise people to leave their cities and go away in exile, to go and send a posse of policemen to watch the meetings of citizens held to consider what they should do to protest against what the authorities were doing—was there any necessity to do any of these things? Was there any indication that anybody wanted to rebel against the authority or the government of the country? Throughout all these many months, during the whole period, there was never a single instance of any misbehaviour. The best proof of this lies in the circumstance that not a single case had occurred which could afford any justification for the adoption of such a course. Petty and frivolous excuses were found to put people into trouble, to harrass them, to intimidate them, but not one single instance in which anything has been done which would have justified them to have recourse to such extreme and impolitic measures. Now, gentlemen, I may tell you that when you find a state of things like this, it ceases to be a question which concerns one province or one district. You have been much exercised, some of you my brother delegates, at the thought as to why this was a matter which should be taken up by the Congress. A matter which affects the whole Province of Bengal, which affects as large an area as the Province of Bengal, is not this a question for the consideration of the Congress? If injustice was done to one single individual throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, and if we felt that that injustice ought to be remedied or protested against, it would be your duty to do so (cheers). If you allowed such an outrageous course as has been followed in Bengal to go unprotested by you, you will be failing to discharge your duty (cheers). It has been the misfortune of Bengal that it has happened there. Gentlemen, do not console yourselves with the idea that such misfortune may not befall another part of the country to-morrow. What you have to do is to protest against such things happening under the rule of His Majesty the King-Emperor of England and India. They might happen in Russia; you and I are not concerned with them. Recourse has not been had to such measures in British territories for a long time past. We are not anxious that these methods should be perpetuated which they would be if we allow them to go unprotested. Gentlemen, this then is the justification for the resolution which I have placed before you. It is not that the Congress advocates the adoption of boycott all over the country generally (hear hear). You have to bear it clearly in mind that no one who understands the real interests of the country desires to create any unnecessary tension of feeling between our fellow-subjects in England and here. The Government, if they are really earnest and sincere in their desire to see that this spirit which the boycott movement has created ought to subside, have the remedy in their own hands. Let them undo the great mischief which has been done by this unnecessary partition and boycott, as a boycott, shall cease to-morrow (cheers). Remember, gentlemen, we ought not to mix up Swadeshi with boycott (hear, hear). It is a great mistake to mix up the two. Bengal was partitioned a short while ago. But the Swadeshi movement is as old, within my own personal knowledge, as thirty years ago. The doctrine was preached when I was at school, and I am happy and proud to say that I have been benefited by and adopted it the moment I entered college. Since that day to this, along with many other friends even in this Province, we have been using manufactures of Indian make so far as we have been able to obtain them. That movement stands on quite a different footing, and it would be wrong to the country and to the best interests of the people to mix up the two, to confuse the Swadeshi movement with boycott. Speaking for myself I do not want to keep up boycott of foreign goods. What is desirable so far as the Swadeshi movement is concerned is quite another matter. That has gone on and will go on. As far as boycott is concerned, I think I express the sense of all of you, or nearly all of you, when I say that the Congress would rejoice to see boycott come to an end, if the cause which has given rise to it were to cease to exist. It is, therefore, entirely in the power of Government to put an end to this boycott. If it continues it continues owing to no fault of the people, owing to no disposition among the people to keep it up. If they are wise, as I hope they will be, with the change that has come on in the Ministry, I hope that the powers-that-be will take the earliest opportunity to put an end to the feeling which has been created by this "Partition of Bengal." Gentlemen, with these few observations I beg to recommend this resolution to your consideration (cheers). With regard to one of those measures that have been adopted, I would like, with your permission, to add a few words. *Bande Mataram* is a very innocent exclamation. You simply say: "Hail mother-land, or I bow to thee the mother-land." Nothing insidious, nothing poisonous and nothing seditious about it. Now, gentlemen, I am surprised that any Englishman, any son of England who has been brought up on the noble life-giving literature of England, should object even for a moment to the use of *Bande Mataram*. In the few books of English literature which I had the good fortune to read, I came across a passage that Chatham in his dying moments cried out "my country, my country." Englishmen regard him with adoration. When you find Nelson sending out a message to his soldiers at a critical moment in the name of England, you admire and respect him. When you come across passages in Shakespeare where the feeling of love for the Mother-country is well and happily described, Englishmen rejoice as much as we do on reading those passages.

Throughout the whole literature of England, as in all the literatures of the world, you will find that the love for the Mother-land is regarded as an indication of healthy feeling. You will find that not only no exception is taken, but if you find a man lacking in that love for Mother-country reproach is cast in his face by Sir Walter Scott which was so well expressed by the President. That being so, I cannot understand how any Englishman who has got English feelings yet in him can really object to the use of *Bande Mataram*. We do not in the least degree want to encourage rowdyism either in young man or the old. The Congress does not desire that any agitation or any representation or any public demonstration that has to be made should be in the least degree affected or spoiled by exuberance of feeling. We have been taught by the Great Teacher, Sri Krishna, that duty has to be done in the *Satwik* manner, doing it merely as a matter of duty, not bragging or boasting that he was doing his duty, inspired by fortitude and by enthusiasm, unconcerned about the success or failure, determined only to do his duty and to do it merely as his duty. That is the attitude in which we have to approach the question (cheers). No feeling of hatred and no feeling of resentment ought to be brought into the matter. You have merely to do it as a matter of duty, and one means left to you by pointing out what you feel to Government has to be resorted. I hope the resolution that I have had the honour of placing before you will commend itself to your acceptance (loud cheers).

MR. LALA LAJPAT RAI (*Lahore*) who was received with loud cheers, said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I cannot deliver a speech in the strain which we have been hearing on the resolution of the "Partition of Bengal" and the present resolution before you. I give it my heartiest support on two grounds. You have been hearing of the misfortunes of our brethern of Bengal. I am rather inclined to congratulate them on the splendid opportunity (cheers) to which an all-wise Providence, in his dispensation, has afforded to them by heralding the dawn of a new political era for this country (cheers). I think the honour was reserved for Bengal, as Bengal was the first to benefit by the fruits of English education. Bengal, up to this time—excuse me for saying that—the Bengal lion, by some cause, had degenerated into a jackal, and I think Lord Curzon has done us a great service by provoking the lion in his own den (cheers) and rousing him to a sense of conscientiousness of his being a lion. I think no greater service could have been done to India, to the cause of India or to Bengal, by any other statesman. There are times, gentlemen, when I am inclined to pray that from time to time God might be pleased to send Viceroys like Lord Curzon to this country, in order to awaken the people of this country to a sense of their responsibility in this matter. Gentlemen, I believe, and I believe earnestly, that the political struggle has only commenced, and it was only in the fitness of things that when the Congress attained its majority, the attaining of that majority should have been preceded by a manly and vigorous protest on the part of the people of this country. It is only in the fitness of things that the movement's coming to age of majority should have been preceded by a vigorous and manly declaration of its approaching manhood. I think in the circumstances like ours, in conditions like ours, we are perfectly justified in taking the attitude that our brethern of Bengal have taken. What else was left for you? It has been explained that all possible things that could be done in the name of constitutional agitation have been exhausted. What was the example given to you by your fellow-subjects in the other parts of the Empire. Englishmen have been our teachers in all branches of human knowledge. Englishmen have given us constitutional rights. Was it not perfectly right to take a page from the book of the Englishman on the methods of constitutional agitation and adopt those methods which will be appreciated by themselves? Now let us see what Englishmen in England do. I do not say that our conditions allow of our exactly copying or imitating them, but surely we have a right to adopt that spirit, understand that spirit and follow it. Let me tell you what are the methods adopted by Englishmen in England when they have a grievance to be listened to by Government. The method which is perfectly legitimate, perfectly constitutional and perfectly justifiable, is the method of passive resistance (cheers). Although I am not at the present moment quoting any social democrat or labourman, I must admire them; I have great respect for them. I must tell you that the message which the people of England wanted to send to you through me was the message that in our utterance, in our agitations and in our fight and struggle for liberty, we ought to be more manly than we have been heretofore (cheers). An Englishman hates or dislikes nothing like beggary. I think a beggar deserves to be hated. Therefore, it is our duty to show Englishman that we have risen to the sense of consciousness that we are no longer beggars and that we are subjects of an Empire where people are struggling to achieve that position which is their right by right of natural law (cheers). Gentlemen, in every stage people were arbiters of their destiny, but we are not so at the present moment. We are perfectly justified in trying to become arbiters of our own destiny and in trying to obtain freedom. I think the people of Bengal ought to be congratulated on being leaders of that march in the van of progress (cheers). I rather envy them. I am rather jealous of them; at the same time I am proud of them. They have begun the battle, they have begun the fight and they have begun it in right manly style. They have effaced all those taunts, they have effaced all those insinuations against them of being timid and cowardly; they have exhibited a manliness, they have exhibited a spirit in this battle which has to be commended to other Provinces of India. If the other Provinces of India will just follow their example, I say the day is not far distant

rights. But if you simply go there as a beggar without the consciousness of your power, of your right to demand your rights, you go there simply to be rejected (cheers). If, therefore, you want to be heard, and you want to be heard with respect, you must approach with determination, with evidences of determination, with signs that you are determined to achieve your rights at any cost. Unless you do that, the goddess of liberty is very jealous. She shall never allow you to approach her, and she shall never allow you to enter her portals. You must remain outside because you are profane : you cannot enter because you are not sufficiently pure ; you must purify yourselves through the ordeals of fire and self-sacrifice. The goddess of liberty is the most sacred goddess in the world, and before you can approach her, you should show by your life, life of self-denial, that you are fit to enter her temple (cheers). What have we been doing to be fit to approach that temple. I am afraid that our record is extremely poor and extremely humiliating, it is extremely bad to look at. But there are signs of the rising sun. And if the people of India will just learn that lesson from the people of Bengal, I think the struggle is not hopeless. We are just awakening to a sense of our duty and a sense of responsibility to the mother-land. It may be that with the consciousness of that strength we may tread the right way, the right path in the struggle for freedom. I have only to say one word about that part of the resolution which deals with repressive measures. I think the repressive policy of this government is very encouraging. A government commanding 260,000 or 5,00,000 soldiers stooping to strike us by striking at our boys (cries of shame) ! I say what have these wise statesmen of government come to. Are they not displaying disgraceful weakness, a weakness of which the people are conscious ? It will be difficult for them to remain where they are. What would people conclude that this mighty government, with so many guns and cannons, with so many armies and with such an array of statesmen, have begun to fight with boys (cries of shame). I say that as friends of order, as friends of peaceful progress, as friends of the present government, because we are not ungrateful, we advise them to eschew these weak methods, disgraceful methods, and re-assert their manliness by pursuing paths of righteousness. If we were to adopt the methods of revolutionists, if we were to adopt the same secret methods which the government of Lord Curzon has adopted in pushing forth the Partition Scheme, if we were to adopt the same methods that the Government of India and bureaucratic rulers are adopting in dividing people against people, in setting the Hindu against the Mahomedan (shame), the Hindu against the Sikh, it will be a dangerous game. I say that the government is giving weapons which are sharp but which are disgraceful and which show signs of weakness. I, therefore, say that it is a dangerous game which the government is playing. It might injure them at any moment. Therefore, as friends of government, as friends of order, we warn Government against treading this path of danger and difficulty. Let government remember, and let you, gentlemen, also remember, that people once awakened and awakened rightly cannot be put down (cheers). It is impossible for the Government of India, after a century of British rule, after a century of liberal education, after having put the books of Burke, Bain and Mason in our hands, to put us down like dogs and slaves. That is impossible. The Bengalis have just now shown, they are only now showing, that the task is impossible even for a mighty government like the British government. Therefore, wisdom requires, statesmanship requires, that people should be governed on right lines, on liberal principles, on those democratic principles which are just now stirring the whole world. The wave of democracy is out. I defy any government in the world where there is any just civilization to keep the people out of their rights for any length of time. The history of Europe is before you. What is the fate of autocratic methods ? We pray our government not to adopt those methods. As my friend the Chairman has been telling English audience, the British government is foolish in following Russian methods. We are great admirers of British rule. As people who are benefited by that rule we call upon government not to trample under foot the best traditions of British rule, but to re-trace those steps and not leave the people of this country under the impression that their government is going to adopt nothing better than Russian methods. If these methods continue, gentlemen, what will be the difference between the Russian government and the British government ? There will be nothing left for the people of this country to be loyal to the British government if these things are taken away—if the rights of meetings, if the rights of petitions and if the rights of constitutional agitation are taken away from us. Let my governors tell me what shall be left to us to be loyal to them ? Why shall we be loyal to them ? I, therefore, say that it is in their own interests that they ought to retrace their steps and follow the noble example which has been set by some of their noblest statesmen, and remedy the state of things that exist. One word more and I have done. I see the time is going fast (cries of "go on"). No, I am not going to break the rule. I think I have already exceeded the limits. There is only one word I should like to say. If you have adopted this manly and vigorous policy, be prepared for the logical consequence (cheers). Don't conceal your heads, don't behave like cowards. Once having adopted that manly policy, stick to it till the last. Glorify yourselves as I have told you. Is it not a matter of shame for us that this National Congress in the last twenty-one years should not have produced at least a number of political Sanyasis that could sacrifice their lives for the political regeneration of the country ? Now that the Congress has come to a stage when it could become a father, a parent, I earnestly appeal to you to let it have its legitimate offsprings, a band of earnest missionaries to work out the political regeneration of the

country (cheers). There is no use of our talking aloud, there is not much use of our showing signs of discontent and disaffection, unless we are true to ourselves, true to our noble country, true to the mother-land, true to the cause of political regeneration and political agitation. If you show, in a few years, to our rulers that we are steadfast in our determination, that we are steadfast in our devotion to our cause, I assure you that there is no power in the world that can prevent you from going forward (loud and continued cheers).

MR. H. A. WADIA (*Rajkot*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have accepted the honourable task of supporting this resolution because I feel, Sir, that it is both necessary and right that our brethren from Bengal should receive sympathy and support to which they are entitled from all parts of our country. We deeply sympathise with them because we know that they have suffered from a measure of the grossest oppression and the gravest provocation, and we also admire them for the gallant stand which they have made in defence of their deeply cherished rights. We know, and we must acknowledge, that in that gallant stand they have galvanized into a new and vigorous existence the slumbering cause of Swadeshism, for they have associated with it that deep intense sense of patriotism which never accompanied it before, and which we trust will always accompany it hereafter, and if, in the excess of feeling and in the intensity of passion, anything has been done or said which, under other circumstances, would not be justified, we will not be of those who would laugh at them, we will not blame them in bringing retaliation to which they have driven and for which they have been made free victims of unjust vituperation and measureless punishment. We do feel we should be ashamed if you do not feel deep resentment and burning indignation at the measures of repression to which the authorities have resorted against our Bengal brethren whom we regard all the more because of their great sorrow and respect, all the more because of their unabated resolve to sacrifice and suffer rather than allow themselves to be dismembered and disunited (cheers).

THE HON'BLE W. D. A. KHARE (*Bombay*).—Mr. President and gentlemen, I know that no words of mine are necessary to support the resolution which has been so ably proposed and seconded, but the reason why this resolution should be supported from all parts of India is this. There has been a wrong impression created. I do not know how or why that the other Provinces of India have no sympathy with Bengal in the adoption of the boycott movement to which they have resorted as a protest against the "Partition of Bengal." I for one do not see that there is anything to be afraid of in mentioning the word boycott in this connection (hear, hear). I do not see why we should touch that point in a hesitating and gingerly fashion. I do not see why we should parade so many justifications for the adoption of this measure for which we show more pity than admiration. Under the circumstances no doubt, but with all due admiration, I do really say that Bengal was thoroughly justified in adopting boycott in the way it has done (cheers), and I do hope and trust that other people in this country, if driven to extreme positions, will carry to extreme measures all that is left in their hands of legal and constitutional methods. I do not see why we should be afraid of mentioning one constitutional method while we speak glibly of several other constitutional methods. After all what is boycott? It is a question of shop-keeping. I do know if anything has been made more patent in this agitation than another it is that our Bengal brethren have shown us that England is a nation of shop-keepers (laughter.) Repressive measures followed boycott, but they did not follow meetings, they did not follow agitations, they did not follow petitions, but they followed boycott. Why? Because Bengal said, "we will not purchase your goods," the British nation have shown us by their attitude this: "so long as you purchase our goods we do not care how many meetings are held, we do not care what you are saying or how you are criticising, go on purchasing our goods and that is all right." That is the one great service which Bengal has done. Another service which Bengal has done, and which I have to mention from this platform, is that it is to the credit of Bengal that they raised our political agitation to quite a higher plane (hear, hear). All political and constitutional agitations are no doubt in one sense begging, but there are differences in begging. We go to our Sovereign, we go to our rulers and ask for our rights. A beggar who has no value goes to beg; but a person with a value of his own, when he goes to ask for what he deserves, cannot be called a beggar. Although every constitutional agitation means asking on the one side and giving on the other, yet there is dignity in asking, and our brethren of Bengal have done this—they have learnt themselves how to ask in a dignified manner, and they have taught the whole country how to do the same. Gentlemen, I heartily support this proposition. I feel the greatest sympathy for the miseries and sufferings which they are undergoing on account of the present agitation of theirs. But I do not simply sympathise with them because they are beaten and whipped. I say whipping is wrong and ought not to have been given. I say that Bengal people are perfectly justified in raising their cry of boycott. With these few words I support this proposition (cheers).

MR. V. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyar (*Madras*).—Mr. President and gentlemen, you have carried with acclamation the resolution expressive of your sympathy with the indignation of the people of Bengal at the partition of their province. In words of marvellous eloquence which are still ringing in your ears, and in spite of the torrential speech of Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai (cheers), I say the spokesman of Bengal has told you that Bengal has not accepted this partition as an accomplished fact. Gentlemen, people of Bengal have been often told that they have been often reviled as a people who are mere talkers.

They have on this occasion shown that if there was any justification for that epithet in the past there shall no longer be any such justification; they have shown in a manner most conclusive to all who have ears to hear and eyes to see—they have shown that they are great in action as they are great in speech (cheers). What have the people of Bengal done? They have adopted what is generally described as the boycott movement—boycott of English and boycott of foreign goods in favour of indigenous manufacture. But, gentlemen, it was not reserved to the Bengalis or the twentieth century to make this discovery. The boycott of foreign manufactures is not a new process, it is not a new political weapon which has been fashioned for the hands of the Bengal people. In the year 1703, the Irish House of Parliament which existed then resolved that Irish people shall clothe themselves with the manufactures of Ireland, and shall not go in for the manufactures of other countries. In 1707, the Members of the Irish House of Commons took a pledge upon their honour that they will only wear clothing manufactured within the “Emerald Isle.” Gentlemen, when England imposed restrictions upon American manufactures in the eighteenth century, the richest citizens in America resolved that they shall only wear homespun cloths in preference to foreign manufactures. They resolved that they would not sacrifice the innocent lamb for the table because of the deficiency of lamb’s wool. Even in these modern days, even within the last few years, we have read of China combining for the purpose of acting upon the principle or the boycott of American goods. Gentlemen, who can say that this is unconstitutional or illegal, or that this is anything which is obnoxious to the laws of the realm. Gentlemen, nobody, I suppose, in his senses believed that boycott is an item in the economic policy for the people of this country at the present day. I do not think that there is anybody in this hall who is labouring under that hallucination. Boycott is a political weapon, it is a means of drawing attention of those who are responsible for the government of this country, and it is one of the most known weapons in time of great national crisis (cheers). What did the members who were representatives of the Irish people in the British House of Commons do? They adopted the constitutional policy of obstruction, obstruction for the purpose of preventing the carrying on of any other business, so that the Irish grievances shall first be redressed. Gentlemen, that is only a political weapon. Nobody could ever dream of charging the Irish representatives that they were doing anything illegal or unconstitutional (hear, hear). But, gentlemen, how has the Government of this country, how has the Indian bureaucracy, proposed to meet this exercise, on the part of a loyal people, of the most constitutional methods, for the purpose of carrying on their agitation? They met this action on the part of the people of Bengal by sending school-boys to jail; they met this policy of the people of Bengal by prohibiting public meetings (“shame”), by marching Gurkha regiments into the peaceful streets of loyal inhabitants (cries of “shame”), by intercepting Press telegrams which communicated information (“shame”). Well, gentlemen, is that a policy which is worthy of a civilised government in the twentieth century? I venture to affirm it is not. I venture to think, and I thought always, that such a policy has not very many years of life before it. Gentlemen, the people of Bengal have shown us how effectively to use this weapon for the purpose of drawing attention of the people of England to the grievances under which are they groaning. They have done it and the people of England have begun to ask the question and have begun to rub their eyes and ask: “what is it that is now going on, what is the measure that has so convulsed the country from one end to the other?” I venture to think that the time is not far distant when though the measure has been treated as an accomplished fact by Lord Curzon and his advisers, it will not be treated as such by the Government which has succeeded (cheers). Gentlemen, the policy of repression is a policy that is truly unconstitutional. The right of public meeting and the right of public speech are the inalienable rights of every British subject, and it will be impossible for Britain in the twentieth century to go back upon the best traditions of the British Rule, to go back upon the wisdom of Parliament which has established, not merely for the people of England but for people of all countries of the world, that people of the countries shall be governed according to the wishes and aspirations of the people of the land which is to be governed. Gentlemen, England has not hoped to build an empire on the dangerous quicksands of racial antagonism or official domination. But England has hoped to build this empire on the affections of a loyal people (hear, hear), and I venture to submit that the statesmanship of England which is not altogether dead, Sir,—I believe the statesmanship of England will be equal to the task of solving the problem that has been agitating the minds of the people of Bengal in a manner that will be satisfactory to them, that will re-establish the confidence of the people in the wisdom and statesmanship of the great British nation (cheers).

MR. A. H. GAZNAVI (*Mymensingh*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates and ladies and gentlemen, I am a Bengali-speaking Mahomedan, and my mother-tongue is Bengali. I was longing to attend this session of the National Congress, the great assembly of my distinguished countrymen, ever since I read in the newspapers that the President-Elect was India’s great man. Mr. President, when you championed our cause at Manchester, when you explained to the Lancashire people to direct their anger not against the helpless Indians but against the officialdom attempting to rule India by Russian methods, when you explained to them that the sole object of the boycott movement in Bengal was to draw the attention of the British public to our grievances; to our helpless condition and our grave situation,

I can assure you, Mr. President, men and women living in these districts of Bengal must have offered their thanksgivings to the King of Kings for the great service you have rendered to that unfortunate Province (cheers). Gentlemen, is it possible in any modern country for a provincial Governor to let loose Gurkha soldiers upon peaceful citizens? That has been done in a district in Bengal. That district is Barisal. Gurkha soldiers have been plundering and assaulting men and women, and have been outraging women too (cries of "shame"). And the District Magistrate absolutely takes no notice of the whole thing, and never for a moment thinks that the fat salary that he enjoys and the very position he occupies he owes to Indians and Indian Exchequer (a voice "ungrateful"). What is the fault of these poor people of Barisal? Because they could not and would not vote an address of welcome to the new Lieutenant-Governor? They are awaiting their fate to be sealed by the House of Parliament, because they advocated the Swadeshi movement and because they shouted *Bande Mataram* in public streets. A respectable gentleman, a graduate of the Calcutta University, was assaulted in the broad day-light, in the public streets, and the Magistrate refused to take cognizance of his case. Look again at what has happened at Rangpur. Zamindars, Honorary Magistrates and men of high position and a Sanskrit professor who had nothing to do, were all ordered by the little Huzur, the District Superintendent of Police, to patrol in the streets with belt and batons as special constables. Look again at what has happened in Serajganj, a sub-division of Bengal. Leaders of the Swadeshi movement are good men, and they are pointed out by the Assam Police, and the Assam Police have been assaulting them. They went to the Sub-Divisional Officer to complain, but he said that he had no power to entertain the complaint. The complainant said: "are you not the Sub-Divisional Officer of Serajganj?" "Yes", he replied, "but I shall not take your complaint." That was after the interview with Mr. Fuller. What has happened at Rajshahye? A public meeting in a private house in a private compound, has been dispersed at the point of the bayonet. Again, at Jalpaiguri, three students have been sent to jail and one has been flogged. I will point out another instance at Rajshahye where little boys under 12 years of age were sent to jail under section 144 (cries of "shame"). Then, Sir, there is another thing. Government officials presided over public meetings and they told the Mahomedans that the Hindus were not their friends (shame), "that it is to your interests that you must not be united with Hindus. You will find it in the Koran that Hindus and Mahomedans should not join together." Is it not shameful, pitiful and disgraceful for a government officer to say so publicly to Mahomedans, and these Mahomedans are of the agricultural classes. One thing more. The Government is tempting them with fishes and loaves to abandon their brethren of Hindus. Let them do anything they like. Hindus and Mahomedans have been united, and let them stand side by side, come what may. So long as Bengal remains not united, they will never abandon the boycott, the vow that we have taken, the vow that our men, women and children have taken; we shall see that it is carried out. We shall see that in our household not a particle of English goods enters our house. We shall show that we are prepared to face ten more Fullers, and we are also prepared to go to jail, but that vow of ours must be maintained at any cost whatever. I will read to you the conversation which the Hon'ble Mr. Fuller had with Mr. Aswin Kumar, a leader of Barisal: I have a report of it in my hand, and it is follows:—

MR. FULLER AT BARISAL.

INTERVIEW WITH POPULAR REPRESENTATIVES.

HIS HYSTERIC THREATENS BLOODSHED,

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

BARISAL, November 16.

Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt, Dina Vandu Sen, President of the Bar Library, and the People's Association; Rajani Kanta Das, Chairman of the Municipality and Vice-Chairman of the District Board; Kali Prasanna Sen and Upendra Nath Sen, Zemindars, all the five signatories to an appeal to the people regarding the partition and the Swadeshi movement, were sent for by the Magistrate under the orders of Mr. Fuller. They went on board the steamer and were rated by Mr. Fuller. Mr. Fuller spoke to the following effect:—He was sorry that the partition was made against the wishes of the people. He himself was not in favour of the partition, because it offended their feelings. But he had not offended them, so there was no reason why he should be so treated. He was not ill-disposed towards the Bengalis. He liked them and had good Bengali clerks who had rendered excellent services. Babu Surendranath Banerjee, in saying that he hated the Bengalis, told a lie. The conduct of the Dacca people was too rude even for an angel to bear. He was a man and could not stand it; no body could. The people, he said, were in a state of mutiny. They had thrown stones at the Collector who was kind-hearted. The gentlemen present were responsible for inflaming the mob. The result would be that they would throw themselves 500 years back and be barred from Government service for three or four generations. The Government were determined to check the state of things at any cost. The Gurkhas were brought in to do so, and the gentlemen would be responsible for the bloodshed that might be necessary. Persons, associated with them, were exciting the mob by saying that salt was purified by bones, and that Mellin's Food had spittle in it. The partition, he said, could not be removed. There might be one or two angry speeches in Parliament, but nothing would come out of them. They ought to make the best of the situation. The Hindus, by what they were doing, would force him to go back to the times of Shaistha Khan. Referring to an appeal, issued by the leaders, he said that it was a proclamation, and the signatories had no right to issue proclamations which could be issued only by the Sovereign or his representatives. His Honour might issue one such. He then said that the concluding para. of the appeal showed that they were organizing committees of public safety in villages such as the French did during the Revolution, and that the line "all of you will see that except the stock-in-trade on fresh consignments of foreign goods may be imported" meant that breaches of the peace might be committed to resist the importation of foreign goods. His Honour asked the signatories either to withdraw the proclamation or he would at once bind them down to keep the peace. His Honour said they would get no redress in the High Court as it was an Executive order.

Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt rose to say a few words by way of explanation, but His Honour asked him to sit down. After Aswini Babu pointed out the concluding para. of the appeal, which suggested the foundation of People's Associations, His Honour immediately said:—"What you call associations I call committees of public safety." Babu Aswini Kumar was going to say that the line in question did not mean what His Honour thought as several lines

below the appeal clearly asked the people not to use force; but before he could utter a word Mr. Fuller burst forth saying "hold your tongue, please, I am not going to listen to any argument or reply. This is not a law-court."

The Hon'ble Mr. Fuller also took Babu Rajani Das, the Chairman, to task, saying it was rudeness on his part not to wait at the ghat to welcome the Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces. The Chairman said it was exceedingly rude, surely; but he could not help as public feeling was decidedly against it. His Honour said it was a weakness on his part. His Honour gave the gentlemen time to withdraw the appeal till 9 this morning, but in a second he changed his mood and said:—"Here's my ultimatum. Will you withdraw or not? Say yes or no." On this the gentlemen finding their position extremely difficult, thinking it useless to provoke a ruler who has not common courtesy, thought it better to comply with the request and agreed. But this did not satisfy His Honour, who wanted a written note from them before 9 this morning. When His Honour finished he rose abruptly. Aswini Babu was half a second late in rising as he was collecting papers from the table. At this Mr. Fuller angrily said—"Stand up; here's another bit of rudeness on your part."

Mr. Fuller's treatment of the leaders was throughout insulting. Great indignation prevails.

PANDAY RAMSARAN LALL (*Ghazipur*) next addressed the meeting in Urdu.

MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (*Amraoti*), who was received with cheers, said.—Ladies and gentlemen, you have received me with the words *Bande Mataram* which means that you hail your mother. That is to say there is an idea of love at the bottom of it. You love your mother with your whole heart. Therefore I ought to speak to you of love. You have given me an order and I will carry it out. There are two kinds of love, one love which comes out of feeling and another love which comes out of science. We love our mother because we like her. But Lord Curzon loved India scientifically (laughter), with the same kind of love that a botanist has for a rare flower that he sees. When he sees a good flower he takes it home because he loves it. He draws the petals out of it, because he wants to see what there is in it. Lord Curzon loved Bengal and he wanted to see how Bengal was like and, therefore, he took it to pieces (laughter). There is nothing wrong in it. He did it out of love and he opened it out. Another kind of love is the love of the anatomists. He goes about and sees, and when he sees a rare kind of bird he takes it from its nest and says "it is a very nice bird, I must preserve it, I must keep it." He does not keep it fed but he kills it with a pin, he puts it in water or in spirit and has it preserved in the museum. I told you yesterday that Lord Curzon was a great scientist. He employed the other method also. It is out of love for India that he collected these rare articles and is going to build a great building in Calcutta. These articles will be preserved there entirely out of love. However, there is one thing more to do. His love was so great and so intense that he could not brook a delay. You know that a lover is always an impatient man (laughter). Some of you made representations and our people joined in them. We induced the old man to send him a telegram. Do we think the young man is going to wait for the message of the old man. He would not wait. There is the scientific love. There is something else which has immensely tickled my fancy. You know in this world that of all things which excite laughter impotent anger is the thing which excites laughter most. But laughter has been on two sides. When members of Council went out of the Council hall in a body, they went stamping their feet to show their indignation. Then the laughter was on the other side. "Here are the Indians, they cannot understand, they cannot sit in Council, they become angry and go away." Then the laughter was against us. My friends in Bengal discovered a way of dealing with these people, and of touching them in their pockets. These people become very angry, and they threatened all kinds of things which my friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea told you. These gentlemen went out of Calcutta to hold meetings, but then people did not come. I suppose they were stamping their feet, and gnashing their teeth; and impotent anger is now on the other side and the laughter is on our side. Kindly continue the boycott movement and you will see still more and more funny things. We shall laugh and they shall cry (laughter). With these words I commend this proposition to you (cheers).

The Resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay*).—The President desires me to inform you that as we cannot finish the programme to-day we shall have a short session to-morrow morning commencing at half past eight o'clock.

The Congress then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, 30th December, 1905.

The Congress assembled at 9 a. m. to-day to complete the unfinished portion of the programme of yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, we proceed with the Resolution on Education, and Mr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, of Calcutta, will move the resolution.

MR. HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA (*Calcutta*).—Gentlemen, I beg to move the following Resolution:—

(a) That this Congress repeats its protest against the present policy of the Government of India in respect of High and Secondary education, as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the universities and restricting the spread of education.

(b) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the special grants made this year to Primary and High education, again places on record its firm conviction that the material and moral interests of the country demand a much larger expenditure than at present on all branches of education, and a beginning in the direction of Free Primary education.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress the recommendations of the Committee on Industrial education should be promptly carried out by the government for the better provision of Technical education to the youth of the country. The Congress would specially urge the government. The Congress especially urges the Government to order an Industrial Survey as recommended by the Committee (and as suggested by the Government of India itself in its Home Department Resolution No. 199, dated 18th June 1888), as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of an organized system of Technical education in the several provinces.

(d) That at least one central fully-equipped Polytechnic Institute should be established in the country with minor technical schools and colleges in the different provinces.

Gentlemen, in moving this Resolution in connection with which I had the honour of addressing the Congress on some previous occasions, I am for the first time oppressed by a thought which never troubled me before. I feel that the atmosphere is charged with elements which perhaps demand a more impassioned utterance than could be possibly introduced in any speech on the question of education. But I also feel that no topics of the hour, however importunate they may be, ought to divert our attention altogether from the question of education, which is one of abiding importance. Against the thought that troubles me to which I just now referred, I am fortified by one suspicious circumstance, namely, that for the first time in the history of the Congress the educational resolution is moved in the hours of the morning, hours when light is spreading over the world and the universe is robed in raiment of beauty and light. It was well that yesterday the resolution referring to repressive measures was moved when darkness was gathering over the face of the earth; and it is well that the Education resolution should be moved when light is spreading over the world. The Education question is one of those on which we have not been making any substantial progress; nay, gentlemen, as I hope to show before I sit down, we have been losing ground year by year. The broad facts of the case are that, while even in backward European countries like Spain, 68 per cent. of the population are illiterate, and at least 32 are literate. Even in Bengal which is supposed by many, I do not make the assertion on my responsibility, even in Bengal which is supposed by many to be the most enlightened Province in India, the proportion of the illiterate is 94½ per cent. (shame). As to the expenditure it remains about 1 per cent. of the revenues from year to year; while even in Spain the expenditure is 6 times that amount. These are the broad facts. We have not been able to make any impression on the government in this matter in spite of repeated protests and representations from the Congress camp year after year. That makes it all the more necessary that we should concentrate our attention upon the Educational problem, for it is general culture that has given rise to the Congress; it is culture alone that sustains it; it is culture alone that can help us to carry the banner of progress forward; it is culture alone that can give true regeneration socially, morally and politically to the country.

Now, as regards Primary education, the position is this that the tone of the government is apologetic, and it is on the defensive. It admits that Primary education is in a sadly backward condition. It admits that only one village out of four has a Primary school; it admits that. We are thankful, as the resolution says, to the Government for the increased grants that have been offered for Primary and also Higher education. These grants are sadly inadequate to the requirements of the case. When we come to the question of High education we are confronted by an entirely different set of circumstances. Somehow or other the rulers of the country are under the impression that High education is spreading far and wide. It is widely diffused though it is conducted on somewhat wrong lines. Lord Curzon, in the speech which he made to the Directors of Public Instruction on the 21st September last seeks to establish his claim as a great educational reformer. With regard to High education he says: "in regard to higher education the position was still worse, for here it was not a question so much of a blank sheet in the education of

the community as of a page scribbled over with all sorts of writing, some of it well formed and good but much of it distorted and wrong," as if High education has spread over the country though it was conducted on wrong principles and needed correction. What are the facts of the case? According to the last Census return even in Bengal where it is supposed that High education has spread far more than in other parts of India, one man out of 103 is able to sign his name in English. That includes a boy who ever went to an English school even for a few months, and also a girl who went to school for a few months; but still we see that we have entered upon a new era in the controversy. And we are told that it is better for the country that the area of High education should be narrowed. That is something which is deliberately defended, is not apologised for; it is not something of which Government is ashamed; it is something which is defended and maintained as absolutely just; it is considered very proper even to further restrict the spread of High education. The Indian Universities Commission, in the concluding sentence of their report, say,—“under the system we advocate, the expense of College education will in many cases be increased, and it may be argued that the measures which we propose will have the incidental effect of narrowing the popular basis of higher education. To this argument we reply that in all matters relating to the higher education efficiency must be the first and paramount consideration. It is better for India that a comparatively small number of young men should receive a sound liberal education than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction leading to a depreciated degree.”

As if almost every man in fifty were a graduate; as if almost every man in ten were a college student. What are the facts? There are only 23,000 college students in all British India; that is, 1 in 11,000 is a college student and yet Government is alarmed at the indiscriminate spread of High education (shame). And yet Lord Curzon speaks of High education being comparable not to a blank sheet but to a page scribbled over with all sorts of writings, good, bad and indifferent; that is, the scribbling has produced the magnificent result of one college student out of 11,000. What are we to think of a Government that is not ashamed of putting such an interpretation over such a shameful and disgraceful state of things? Is there no public opinion not only in India but all over the world? Are our rulers not ashamed of using language like this to us when we complain of the inadequate spread of high education? In the face of facts and figures like those to which I have just referred the theory propounded by the Indian Universities' Commission is absolutely false. Even if high education has spread far and wide, in what sense is it true that it is better, as the Commission says that there should be a few graduates well educated than there should be many ill educated? Now, why do we prize the education? Do we prize it from idle sentiments, or does it confer any tangible results or material blessings? If it confers these blessings either moral, social or spiritual,—whatever they may be,—it is certainly well that a large multitude should share them. Is it not better than that it should be confined to a small number? Certainly it is far more desirable than that it should be limited to a few. Is it better that a few men should have a surfeit of luxury and millions should starve, than that all should be moderately fed? Is it better that a few healthy strong giants should stride across the face of the country and others should be so many skeletons? Is it better that there should be a few saints in the country and the rest should be blackguards, than that all men should be of fairly good character?

In what sense is it true, then, that it is better to have a few graduates better trained than there should be a large number of inefficient graduates? We do not admit that proposition which is as rotten, as indefensible, and as unsound, perhaps, as any that ever was propounded by any set of responsible men in the world. Gentlemen, what are the number of graduates that made it possible for the Indian Universities Commission to bring forward such a theory as this? In 1902, the year in which the Commission was appointed, the year which they spent over their deliberations, 487 took the B. A. degree in Bengal, that is only one man out of 161,000—only one out of nearly 2 lakhs a graduate! And yet they think that it would be better that there should be a few graduates well educated than there should be many who are not well educated. Let me take this opportunity of saying that with regard to the status and the prestige of the University, I deny absolutely that there is any conflict whatever between the exaction of a high degree of proficiency from those who aspire to higher academical honours and the wide diffusion of useful knowledge in a way adapted to the capacity and requirements of the average students. I deny that there is any conflict between the latter and the former. Impose as high a standard of education as you like upon your M. As., upon your B. As. with honours. Why should not the average B. A. be allowed to come here under the same easy conditions under which he is allowed to come out of any foreign University, may I ask? I say this that the average Indian graduate—it is my firm belief—is not inferior to the average foreign graduate. The prestige of the University will always depend on the intellectual *elite* of the University and not on the average graduate, the graduate of average attainment. Therefore, to raise the status of the University is to do everything in your power to enable men of high intellectual powers to prosecute their studies in research in such a way that they may distinguish themselves in the field of science and letters, and to grant your degree to the average graduate on reasonably easy conditions. Yet, we have such a theory propounded by the Universities' Commission.

I next come to the point of officialising of the Universities. With regard to this point I will not say that the Indian Universities were ideal bodies. I will say this: that there was absolutely nothing to make it absolutely necessary for the Government to lower the status of the Senates, as it has been lowered, to make Fellowships tenable only for five years instead of allowing them to remain for life, in this way, to deprive educated classes of effective co-operation with the Government in furthering the cause of education. I admit that state control is indispensable; but I deny that there was not abundant state control under the former system. Lord Curzon, in his speech to the Directors to which I just referred, complains, "it is very difficult to carry out substantial reform in higher education in India because of the suspicion that we encounter among the educated classes, that we really desire to restrict their opportunity and in some way or other to keep them down. There is of course no ground whatever for suspicion." Of course, none; while the ranks of higher educational service are closed practically to our countrymen; while no Native now can enter the ranks of the Indian Educational Service, and while our science graduates are treated in a most shabby manner, it is claimed by Lord Curzon that he had sought to further the cause of the educational reform. I thought that one of the means of promoting Scientific education was to offer opportunities of higher appointments to our science graduates. In Agriculture, we have a Cambridge graduate in Geology and Botany holding a subordinate position in the Pusa College, while a European drawing Rs. 300 as the Manager of an Indigo Concern and quite innocent of education is now the head of the college drawing 4 times the salary of that man (shame). In Chemistry, a Prem Chand student has been denied the opportunity of entering the Government service on reasonable terms, while a raw graduate has been brought to fill a place temporarily rendered vacant by the going home on furlough of a European. In Zoology what has Lord Curzon personally done? The Committee of the Zoological gardens recommended a Bengali for the Superintendship when the present incumbent retired, and it was Lord Curzon that did not allow that recommendation to be sanctioned by the Government of India. That is the way in which he has been acting as a reformer. With regard to the ethics of his enlightened administration, there was never a finer preacher and a worse sinner, and yet he is one of those who complains against the prejudice of the Indians. These are the broad facts; and what we ask is that the expenditure on education should be adequate to the needs of the country. As regards the admission into the various branches of the service there should be some tests, whatever they may be, either educational or of researches, carried on or efficiency in teaching or reputation established from the field of letters and science; some tests other than the test of race. That was the demand put forward by our illustrious friend Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose in the Congress of 1896 in a speech of unsurpassed eloquence. That is the demand we put forward again. In plain language, what we ask for is, are we not to share in the spiritual and intellectual heritage of the English race? We are denied admission into South African Republics; we are denied admission into Australia. Are we also to be denied admission into the Republic of Letters? Are we not to be admitted freely to the franchises of the citizenship of the great Republic of Letters? And if I may feel drawn close to England it is not by men like Lord Curzon and their reforms, but by the sober imaginings and by the tragic genius of Shakespeare, by the argument and voice of Milton, by the noble patriotism of Earl Chatham, by the humane wisdom of Burke, by the impassioned eloquence of Charles James Fox, by the spirituality of Wordsworth, and by the infinite suggestions of Shelley, and we demand in the name of humanity that we should be allowed to be drawn closer and closer to England by the dissemination of light. With regard to social reform we have hitherto sincerely believed that the mission of England and India is that of the enlightened regenerator. If ever there has been a wavering of faith it has been owing to the doings of men like Lord Curzon. We claim, we demand, that we should be helped to believe that the British Government in India is a wise and humane dispensation and not a scourge for the punishment of the people for their former sins. That is all we demand and ask for in this Resolution. The noblest service which one man can render to another next to helping in the belief in the Glory and Goodness of God is to unfold the doors of the temple of culture to a man, and the cruellest wrong that one can do for another is to withhold from him the boon of education which is a solace to him in the days of sorrow, which is an augmentation in the days of joy, which is always a friend and companion. We demand that England shall not be deliberately guilty of that cruel wrong. With these words, I commend this Resolution for your acceptance.

MR. D. G. PADHYA (*Bombay*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the first paragraph of the Resolution which I have the honour to second draws particular attention to this aspect of the educational policy of the Government of India as it has now been developed, namely, that it seeks to officialize and to bring education as completely as it possibly could be under the control, under the thumb of Government. The features, main and distinct features, of the Universities' Act are all, I suppose, familiar to most of you; and I shall not enter into the several details thereof, of which the full effect we are now realising, when we are deliberating upon the new rules and regulations that are to be framed by the Universities. Into those details I will not take you; but there is one provision in the Universities' Act which more than establishes the position that the one single aim of that policy of which it is the embodiment is to completely bring all kind-

of education into the clutches of Government; and that provision of the Universities Act is this. There has been a Commission which has made recommendations, and in order to enforce those recommendations which were again formulated according to certain proposals that were passed in a secret commission, there was a secret commission by which was formulated the recommendations of the Universities' Commission. And then there was this Act which creates special machinery for the purpose of giving effect to these recommendations. That machinery the new Senates are asked to deliberate upon and frame regulations and rules and submit them to Government. What are the provisions of the Act? The Act says: "formulate all the proposals and send them to us and then Government will make any changes they like". They may hear you, listen to you as humble petitioners and they will make any changes whatsoever, and in the *Government Gazette* these rules and regulations will be published and they will be binding as laws. That is, all the trouble taken by the Senator will be absolutely useless. That one provision practically makes almost every deliberation of the peoples' representatives in the Universities absolutely useless and nugatory. That is the feature of the Universities' Act. Under one of these regulations, schools will be completely taken under the control of the University, and the University practically means the Government. The policy of the Universities' Act in regard to the officialising of the Senate is the crowning piece of a policy that has been most systematically, insidiously and most thoroughly worked out under the regime of the Viceroy who has gone away, and whose memory and name we will have to remember long long with pain and sorrow. The policy is this. The empty power and privilege of recognition of the school by Government is a power by which the Government wants to put such a halter on Managers that practically their independence is seriously jeopardised. I know it. I belong to a recognised institution not receiving a single farthing from the Government, not caring for it; yet for that little honour, if honour it can be called, for that little honour there was an educational officer come to pay a visit to my institution, and after the whole inspection was over, in jest I smelt it, I knew what was the meaning of it, some questions were asked which went to test my attitude as regards the present agitation moving the hearts of the public. That is the Government policy and its sum total and effect is this, that the Government aim in Primary schools, Secondary schools and in colleges to lay down strict lines of policy which shall determine according to the will of the Government, by whom boys shall be taught, what they shall be taught and what text-books shall be prescribed and rules framed, as to in what places they shall live and how they shall study, what are the opinions of the teachers and what they are going to do. In that way the entire scheme is to be completed; and all that the Government want to do is said to be for the purpose of, for the noble purpose of, higher education. It is not, however, for that noble purpose whatever talk there may be. The aim is to manufacture in India, to manufacture from colleges and schools, submissive slaves who will be willing instruments in the hands of despots who live upon the people of this country. That aim can never be defended whether from the educational point of view or from the point of view of statesmanship. One of the highest educational authorities in England, Mr. Sadler, has very happily put it that the educational problem in every country and at every time is but the epitome of the national problem, namely, the problem of national education must be solved according to the circumstances and according to the condition of each country. What are the conditions of the problems that are stirring the public mind in India whether it be from the point of view of the people or of the point of view of the ruling race? Well, gentlemen, India is a poor country, and while the masses are poor, no Government can consider itself to be safe and prosperous. We say the problem is that the people are poor, the people are illiterate and the people are themselves, from their own point of view, wishing to have some sort of advancement, moral and also intellectual. Even our aspirations, as regards representative Government, the aspiration that we should be associated more and more in the administration of our country, these aspirations are not entirely inconsistent with certain steps that have been taken by the Government in the hours when generosity was in the ascendant. They are often twitting us that the masses or the classes do not much care or show much interest in local self-government. They to a certain extent contribute or share some of the views in regard to the higher aims of the National Congress. For the purpose of the people taking an intelligent interest in local self-government in higher matters of politics, for the purpose of people finding remedies for the poverty in which they are sunk, and there is one more purpose, in which the Government is more specially interested, namely, for the purpose creating in the Indian public, an intelligent and well-informed loyalty that will be based upon true, genuine and intelligent appreciation of the blessings of the British rule and the prosperity and good that is to result to England and to India from the union of these countries in order that the masses should appreciate these, what is necessary? It is that education should spread among as large a proportion of the population as it possibly could do, and that that education should be useful and practical and serve the needs of all classes of the community of which the entire nation is made up. On that principle the resolution says, let higher education be reformed, and secondary education be reformed; and for the masses particularly let there be a system of technological schools and the apex of it a first class technological college. These are the problems of India, and for the

solution of them the Government of Lord Curzon is going to have one rigid, narrow, officialised and bureaucratic system, and by that system they intend to solve these problems (shame). I am sure this sort of policy of the Government is never likely to succeed. We know it for certain that the policy of government to separate the Bengali people can never possibly succeed in the same way. With equal assurance I do declare it as my conviction that the aim and policy of Government to take education completely into their hands is a policy which in the very nature of things is impossible to succeed. The only result of the efforts of Government must be one that, the more the Government set themselves against the opinions of the general public, the opinions of the literary classes and the cultured classes and of those who can think for themselves, the more will it be permanently to alienate those people from Government, and the effect will be that the cause of education will slip away out of the hands of the Government. Already there are ideas, I hope after the Congress is over it will be possible for our friends of Amroati to give us instances of which the result is the establishment of a school which seeks to serve the needs of India. There is the project in Bengal of a national university; the meaning of all that is that if Government pursue this policy, education will go out of their hands and the educated classes will be permanently alienated from them, and when this is accomplished I may say that Lord Curzon and those who are of his mind will consider that they committed a grievous mistake of which the result has been to take away from them the sympathies of the natural leaders of the people.

DR. NILRATAN SIRCAR (*Calcutta*).—Gentlemen, I shall confine my remarks to the subject of Industrial education. I think that is the most important subject at the present moment. The general policy of Technical education that has been found successful in countries like Japan, America and Germaay, if adapted to India, may be laid down as follows:—First, of course, there should be a system of Primary education in which the receptivity of the masses should be stimulated by a better sort of training, and this is done in other countries by adopting a system of every-day science teaching, as they call it, or by teaching with object lessons. Then, after such Primary education, they should be trained in the improved methods of Industrial education, and also to the improved results that follow the adoption of these improved methods either in agricultural or industrial pursuits. As regards Secondary education, our young men, a large number of our young men, should be trained in industrial and scientific subjects so as to enable them to carry on their work intelligently and on a scientific basis. As regards High education, I think there should be a technological department in all our universities so as to create a body of research workers amongst ourselves. What I mean simply is this, that Technical education should be given in three different grades of Primary, Secondary and Higher grades. Now let us see how far the work has been done by Government. Lord Curzon, while congratulating himself on his own performances at that meeting of the Directors of Public Instruction, was compelled to admit that up to this time the Government had given Technical education only in some Engineering colleges and schools; for instance, in Sibpur, Rurkee, Poona and Bombay; in two agricultural institutions and in a third agricultural institution which has been opened just now at Pusa; then in seven Schools of Art and then in one Government Commercial school in Calcutta which has just been opened and four other Commercial schools which have been opened by private enterprise in Bombay and other places; and 123 Industrial schools most of it do not deserve the name. That is the sum total of educational institutions for imparting Technical education in the whole of India. Now it must be admitted that this state of things is extremely unsatisfactory for the Government, and it is equally unsatisfactory for all of us. As regards the agricultural institutions, we have reason to admit that the Government is a little earnest because the development of the agricultural department would lead to greater production of raw products in this country. And our rulers are primarily interested in the raw products of this country. As regards industrial institutions, a commission was appointed in the year 1902, and the Commission came forward with a report in 1903. In that report there are a body of recommendations amongst which may be mentioned one most important, and that is the recommendation for an Industrial Survey of India. There is another recommendation for opening 6 institutes, industrial institutes, in different parts of India; and a third one for holding research in certain industrial products at an expenditure of Rs. 2,500 a year. I may mention that the expenditure under the head of opening industrial institutes did not exceed Rs. 3,30,000 and an annual grant of Rs. 1,87,000. The Committee also recommends the carrying out of Industrial education on certain lines. All this appears to us mere patch-work, and this sort of patch-work will never do to solve the Industrial educational problem of this country. What we advise and insist upon is this, that after an industrial survey, and after getting a clear idea of economic products of this country, what we should try to do is to convert, as much as possible, of these economic products into manufactured products through the agency of our own men, if possible, with the help of our own capital. Capital permitting, we should try to convert all these economic products as much as possible into manufactured products. How is this possible under the scheme adopted by the Government of India? It appears in this matter, as in many other matters, we cannot depend on the Government at all, but shall have to depend upon ourselves. If we depend upon the Government we shall have to be satisfied with a good programme so far as Agricultural education is concerned, but as for industrial development of the country and Industrial education of our young men the case is hopeless.

MR. M. K. PATEL (*Bombay*).—Gentlemen, I must confess in the very commencement that I am in a somewhat difficult position. I am not ashamed to confess to you, gentlemen, that I have the inveterate habit of speaking at considerable length whenever I am on my legs, and my previous experience of my Congress speeches warns me that I should pull myself up a bit whenever I am tempted to enlarge upon my theme. I have been particularly warned by some of my candid friends not to be very lengthy. I have resolved once at least in my life to bow to the advice of my friends and act up to that. The third part of the resolution which is now before the Congress relates to the introduction of a regular system of Technical education in India. That is the one point alone on which I should like to speak a few words. The policy of the Government of India with regard to the Industrial and Technical education in India I would describe in a few words. It is said that the art of printing was once explained to a savage king. The savage king after a little pause said, "this is a magnificent conception, but I cannot introduce the art of printing in my country because it would make knowledge equal, and I should fail. How am I to govern my country except by being wiser than my people?" This is exactly the policy, gentlemen, that the Government of India has adopted (cheers and laughter) with reference to India in the matter of Industrial and Technical education. They like to be wiser than the people in India, otherwise they think they would not be able to govern India. Human nature is essentially selfish, gentlemen, and if they were to teach you industries they think they would lose a little of their bread and butter. Therefore, they are very careful to make promises for the introduction of industrial and technical instruction in India. But these promises are either not entirely fulfilled or something is done which is merely an apology for doing nothing. Take one instance. In 1888, a very good resolution was issued by the Government of India, the resolution with regard to Technical and Industrial education. So many years have passed away since that time and nothing, or almost next to nothing, has been done by the Government in that matter. So, my brethren, you may be sure if you rely simply on the Government of India to help you in the matter of industrial regeneration of this country you will be sadly disappointed. What, therefore, remains for the people of India to do is to rely upon themselves and to put their shoulders to the wheel. We are very glad to see that the great Swadeshi movement which was commenced, as we were told by several speakers, about 20 or 30 years ago in India, is just now receiving a very great and extraordinary impetus in Bengal, thanks to the Government of Lord Curzon for that. That Swadeshi movement is a very hopeful sign of the times. This movement ought to be carried on by the people of India with all the vigour possible in their power (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I am not unaware of the fact that there are numbers of our own countrymen who laugh at the whole idea of Swadesism (shame). They say that you could not do anything. I do admit that there are tremendous difficulties in the way; but nothing that is worth obtaining in this world is easy. There must be difficulties, and to say that because there are difficulties, that we should not make a beginning is to say something which is exceedingly stupid. That is my only answer to those who laugh at the idea of the Swadeshi movement. If you cast your eye around you, what do you find at the present moment? You find that there has been the greatest strife among rival European nations for the markets of the world. The question which agitates the civilised world at present is how to capture the foreign markets for Home manufactures. That is the question of questions. Upon that question depends also the solution of our problems. It is rather deplorable that until recently we, the Natives of India, were very indifferent to the question of industries. We stood with folded hands looking at European nations, trying to capture foreign markets for their home manufactures. We did nothing as though we were quite unconcerned with the question, as though our interests were not at stake, as though our very existence did not depend on this question. Thanks to Lord Curzon, the people of India have now at length awakened from their sleep of ages. They have at length awakened to the consciousness that unless they put their shoulders to the wheel, unless they regenerate their industries they would not be able to hold their own among the various races of the world (the President here sounded the gong). The bell has already gone. I must cut short my remarks. One minute more is allowed to me. I will take advantage of it. Gentlemen, there are in India some Indians who can speak the English language very well; there are in India some Indian gentlemen who, I dare say, can speak the English language even better than some members of the British House of Commons, men like Surendranath Banerji, men like the Hon'ble Gokhale. There are Indians who can turn out very able disquisitions upon history and philosophy, but, gentlemen, there are but a few Indians who know anything about the vast natural resources of the country, and to these people India should turn her attention (cheers).

BABU RAMANANDA CHATERJI (*Allahabad*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, though according to my whole-hearted support to the entire resolution, I shall confine my remarks to that portion of it which deals with Primary education.

The light of knowledge is as much the birth-right of every man as the light of our eyes; nay more,—for the physically blind are also entitled to the privilege of education. Therefore, to deprive people of education is to withhold from them their birth-right. But to many this will appear a rather theoretical grievance so I come to matters more practical, things that are terrible in their reality,—I mean famine and plague.

I will not here refer to what our land revenue laws and settlement operations have to do with the frequent occurrence of famine. In spite of these laws much can be done to prevent famine by the improvement of agricultural methods and the revival of old and introduction of new industries. In order that our agriculturists may adopt improved methods, they first require to be roused from their lethargy; they must be made to see what other nations are doing in this field of human activity; they must be made to feel their own backward condition. It is only education that can accomplish this result. If they be roused from their lethargy, if their ignorance be dispelled, they can then take advantage of improved methods. The Government of India opened an agricultural department in 1870, with a view to carrying on agricultural experiments and to the dissemination of useful agricultural information. But this department has not been as useful as it otherwise might have been on account of the ignorance of the agricultural classes.

In India the importance of agriculture cannot be overrated, as the bulk of the people are directly dependent on agriculture. It is true that the pressure on land, consequent on the decay and disappearance of most indigenous industries, must be relieved by means of an industrial awakening, but two of the largest of our industries are themselves dependent on agriculture for the supply of raw material, namely, the cotton and sugar industries. In fact, if we examine the list of imported foreign goods, we shall find that the cotton and sugar occupy the first and second places in the list of foreign imports.

The value of improved scientific methods can be best illustrated from the history of the sugar industry. The manufacture of cane sugar is of immemorial antiquity in India. But it was only in 1760 that the Berlin Apothecary Margraf obtained in his laboratory by means of alcohol 6.2 per cent. of sugar from a white variety and 4.5 per cent. from a red variety of beet sugar. Yet at present in Germany 12.79 per cent. of sugar is obtained from 11.6 in France and 15.5 in Great Britain. The percentage of sugar that can be obtained from cane is 18. Moreover, beet sugar costs one penny per lb., to produce cane sugar a little less. In spite of the drawback in the case of the beet when as in 1840 of the quantities of sugar dealt with the sugar trade of the world, excluding India 4.35 was beet sugar; in 1901 the proportion of beet sugar was 67.61 per cent. Such is the power of knowledge and enterprise.

But however much we may improve our agriculture in order to make India prosperous, a much larger number of men than at present must be supported by various other industries. But here also our people require rousing, and education alone can rouse them from their state of apathy and indifference. The dependence of the national economic development on popular education has been stated thus by Professor Jews of Berlin in an essay on popular education.

On National Economical Development.

“General education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of National production, in agriculture, small industries, manufacture and commerce.”

But here the objection may be brought forward that certain social practices and customs of the people of India, certain defects in their national character and some of their religious beliefs, are responsible for India's poverty. The objector may in this connection refer to early and improvident marriages, extravagance on the occasion of the marriages and funerals, the fatalism of the people of India, the absence among them of mutual confidence, and of the power of combination and co-operation, making it difficult to promote joint stock concerns, the absence of punctuality and honesty among artisans and handicraftsmen, and of a sense of duty among labourers (which increases the expense of supervision). We may at once concede to the objector that there is much truth in what he says. But we may remind him that popular education is a most potent means of effecting reform in the social customs and religious beliefs of the people, and of improving the national character. Nor need the orthodox party fight shy of popular education. For if they be right, education may be as effective a weapon in their hands as in those of the reformers. Reformers and orthodox persons can all appeal to a wider public by means of the printed page than by any other means, and the appeal of the printed page is more lasting than any other that we can think of.

The ravages of plague are due to the poverty of the people and their ignorance of sanitary laws. Popular education is, therefore, likely to be as powerful in stamping out plague as in the prevention of famines.

We have briefly shown above the bearing of popular education on the material and moral prosperity of India. Our political salvation depends no less on Mass education.

It depends on every Indian, irrespective of age, race, creed, caste or sex, having an intense feeling of patriotism. No Government, however despotic or bureaucratic, can long resist the force of an enlightened and unanimous public opinion. But the growth of such opinion depends on universal education. At present the masses are too much steeped in poverty and ignorance to understand or think of their rights, or of the welfare of their country. But that even in their present backward condition they are capable of patriotic efforts and sacrifices, is shown by their splendid behaviour in connection with the present Swadeshi and boycott movement in Bengal.

Nor need the Government be afraid of Mass education. For though the direct benefits of education are moral, its indirect results being convertible into Rs. ans. and pies, all educational expenditure is in the long run remunerative and protective. Government can obtain more revenue from an educated, and, therefore, prosperous people, than from an ignorant and poverty-stricken community. Education will also lead to an improved and less costly administrative machinery. A great deal of oppression is due to the ignorance of the masses. Reforms in administrative departments may polish the surface, but the real evil will lurk beneath and will never be eradicated until the people come to know their rights and are able to resist the petty oppression of subordinates. Popular education will also in fact improve the character and capacity of the servants of the State. The spread of education among all classes of people would help in the isolation and stamping out of many an epidemic, and the prevention of many a serious riot. That Primary education leads to a decrease in crime is manifest from the following figures:—

In 1892, the number of persons convicted of crime in Great Britain was 12,581; but in 1901, in spite of an increase in population, only 11,924 were convicted. In London, the proportion of felonies per 1,000 was 3.303 in 1892, decreasing to 2.610 in 1901, though in the course of these 9 years the population of London had greatly increased.

If the people of India were universally and properly educated, they would be more prosperous, stronger, freer and, therefore, more contented. A contented people being the best safeguard against internal commotion and foreign invasion, Government could then very materially diminish military expenditure.

Short-sighted Englishmen think that an ignorant India is easier to occupy permanently than an enlightened India. But it is a mistake to think so. The mutineers of 1857 were not educated men. But supposing that view were correct, should Englishmen forget that the slave-driver becomes himself a slave, and that despotism injures the despot at least as much as its subjects? The degrading influence of backward subject races on the governing race need not be pointed out to those who are acquainted with the history of Imperial Rome during the days of her decline.

Let us now see whether our Government is doing its duty by the people. That it has not been doing its duty is evident from the following facts:—The percentage of illiterates in India is approximately 95. There are in India altogether 5½ lakhs of villages. Four-fifths of these villages are without a school, although the inhabitants of these villages pay cesses and taxes as much as other people. The following table is also instructive.

The figures are taken from reports of United States Commission of Education and relate to Primary education alone:—

Primary Education figures for 1897, 1898, 1899 or 1900 as available.

		Ratio of educated to population.	Expenditure per head of population.
			£ s. d.
Switzerland ...	...	20.7	0 8 5
England and Wales ...	...	17.7	0 5 0
Japan ...	...	7.8	0 0 11
U. S. A. ...	...	20.9	4 11 0
Russia ...	...	3	0 0 8
Egypt ...	...	2.17	Not available.
India ...	...	1.4	0.83d. or nearly 10 pies.

It is no doubt true that India is poorer than Europe or America; but without stopping to enquire whose fault it is that India is poorer, in spite of her fertile soil and abundant mineral resources, may we ask why India should have proportionately a lesser number of pupils at school than even Egypt? Then, also, it must be borne in mind that as on the one hand India is poor, her school-masters also require to be paid less than in other and richer countries.

Anglo-Indians frequently preach to us virtues of self-respect, education and self-reliance. They say we ought not like beggars to clamour for free or an almost free education. We would remind them that even if the Government gave us free education, which it does not, as we pay more than 50 per cent. of the total educational expenditure ourselves, the expenditure would be met from our money, not from the paternal estates of Englishmen. But we say that there is absolutely no question of loss of self-respect involved in free education. The principle of compulsory free education is accepted in many of the districts and most civilized countries in the world.

I will refer here to one of these countries, namely, the U. S. A. I will read a few brief extracts from the report of the Mosely Educational Commission to that most prosperous and enlightened country.

REPORT:—"The people of the United States spare no expense in providing the necessary free schools where children can obtain Elementary and Secondary education of the best type." The High schools being free, a (p. 1) large number of children pass into them from Grammar schools (p. 3).

"The free schools are largely used by all classes. The son of the wealthy man sits in the same class with the son of the labourer. In Washington, we saw the son of the President of the United States, two grand-sons of the late President Garfield, and many children of members of the Congress sitting and working in the same classes as the children of coachmen, gardeners, labourers, etc. Not the slightest difference is observed in regard to these children; they mix in the classes and play-grounds on terms of perfect equality (p. 4)."

Now, gentlemen and ladies, if free school education had a tendency to destroy popular self-respect, would such a liberty-loving and enlightened people as Americans have been so fond of it? I say if it had that degarding tendency, would the sons of the highest citizens of that land have availed themselves of it? No; this cry has been raised simply to hoodwink us. But the subterfuge is too plain to deceive any intelligent person.

Our demand is extremely moderate. We want that a beginning should be made, that the first steps leading ultimately to compulsory free education may be taken. We also ask that education should be made an imperial charge. It is at present a provincial charge, and Provincial Governments have given it over to local bodies whose resources are fixed and limited.

But because Government does not do its duty we should not be unmindful of our own. Let bands of young men become devoted educational missionaries teaching the people by means of books, evening classes and lectures, magic lantern lessons, Kathakatas (yatras) and the various other means of popular education; thus trying to imitate the glorious example of the President of the twenty-first Indian National Congress in the earlier portion of his noble career (cheers).

MR. NARESHCHANDRA SEN (*Calcutta*).—Mr. President, time is far advanced and I must be brief. I am glad, however, that on the particular subject on which I wish to speak so much has been said by Professors Heramba Chandra Mitra and Chatterjee. I shall speak a few words on Primary education. The Government policy on the subject is quite clear to you by this time. Well, the Government has very lately recognised the great importance of Primary education, and has made a grant I believe of thirty-five lakhs of rupees per annum. This is a step in the right direction. I am sure that none of you are going to take it as a complete solution of the problem. Gentlemen, I shall put the case before you in one light. I shall ask who are the classes of people that attend the Primary schools. The Government records show nothing on that point, but from my personal experience in connection with Mass education in my part of the Province I come to think that it is the poorer men of those classes, who disdain manual labour, that largely avail themselves of these Primary schools, while the great mass of the agricultural and labouring classes are altogether unsophisticated by, what one of them called, black letters. I am sure that Mass education could not progress adequately without Free education. The mass of the people in this country are abjectly poor and cannot afford to spend much on education. I myself have taken a very insignificant part in imparting some education to these voiceless millions. I know that they cannot afford to pay for their education, but they are glad to avail themselves of education if it is given free (cheers). Well, gentlemen, under the circumstances of the case, free education is rather a large order to make on paper. It appears that in Bengal out of the seven lakhs of rupees spent on Primary education altogether I mean the direct expenditure, no less than three lakhs and thirty-five thousand is obtained from the fees paid by the people; and in Upper Primary education, out of twenty-eight lakhs of direct expenditure, no less than sixteen lakhs is obtained from fees. Under these circumstances, it seems a very large order to make, but much depends upon ourselves. In practice, I can assure you, that I have found that Free Primary education is not very difficult of accomplishment, as it would seem. But we could possibly organise a local endeavour and a local enterprise in such a manner as to give Free education with very little external aid. Gentlemen, time is very short, and I shall conclude with an appeal to you to be true to the principles which the resolution enforces upon you, true to the principle that you owe a great deal to the mute suffering millions, and I ask you to resolve that whether Government does anything or not you shall not fail to contribute your humble mite to give voice to the voiceless millions (cheers). Much can be done by individual efforts in your villages possibly, and I hope that much will be done.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

FAMINE, POVERTY, ECONOMIC INQUIRY AND LAND REVENUE.

MR. B. G. TILAK (*Poona*), who was received with an ovation, said:—Mr. President and brother-delegates, the resolution that has been put into my hands refers to three subjects—famine, poverty and land revenue. Well, to speak upon a resolution like that I think, the time, even supposing that the President is kind enough to extend the usual period, is too short, and certainly I am not going to detain you long. The first thing

is that the subject has already been threshed out by abler hands. As regards the poverty of India you have Mr. Digby's book, and as regards land revenue you have the open letters of Mr. Dutt to Lord Curzon. Those have been replied to by the Government resolution issued by Lord Curzon in 1902. On that resolution you have an expression of opinion so far as Bombay and Madras are concerned from my friends the Hon'bles Mr. Khare and Mr. G. Subramanya Aiyar. That is the literature on the subject. It would certainly be a waste of time to quote figures from these books and attempt to prove here what has been already proved that India is poor, or that land revenue is excessive. I am not going to do it. But I am going to explain to you the general position so far as this question is concerned. What is the bone of contention? We have all heard of the Swadeshi movement going on all over the country. Anglo-Indian officials are claiming that they are Swadeshi in this land. So there are others, especially famine and plague, they are claiming that they are Swadeshis (laughter). They want to make India their home; they want to be claimed amongst you as Swadeshis, and we are trying to boycott them. Now this movement of boycott against famine, plague and poverty, how is that to be carried on? That is the question, and the answer to that question is given in this resolution. That is how I look upon it. There are two sides to it. The Government of India says, "we are not responsible for the poverty of the country, we are not responsible for the occurrence of famine; if God does not send rain;" the Government of India say "we cannot help it. If plague spreads out in spite of the preventive measures adopted by Government the Government is helpless. So with poverty, famine and plague. We have given you peace, we have given you railways, what more do you want? We are certainly not responsible for the calamity." That is one side of the question. There is another side of the question. What we maintain is that it is the duty of Government to introduce such a system of administration as would bring prosperity to the country. What we say is that it is not for the people to take any administrative measures to improve the general condition of the whole country; it is the duty of the Government and not of the people. If Government exists it is not merely for securing peace but for securing prosperity to the land. Financial questions, economic questions are not to be dealt with by individuals. If they are to be dealt with by individuals, what does the Government exist for? If we get rain every year, if there is no plague in the country, no diseases, why I am sure we can well dispense not only with Government but also with medical practitioners (laughter). The thing is that it is a clear duty of Government not to grumble at the conditions, they may be climatic or they may be economic, but to find out remedies, so that the whole of the country may enjoy prosperity. That is what the Government has to do. Take the case of England. The soil of England does not produce food enough for the population for three or four months in the year. If the English Government were to say "we cannot help, the soil is not productive, it only produces food for four months, you ought to go without food for eight months," what will people in England say? They will certainly go against the Government of England, and will ask the Ministry to resign. "If you cannot give food for twelve months you had better resign, and we shall have another ministry and another Parliament." That is what they will say. Something like that is a question here also. We have a quarrel with the Government of India and that quarrel is: if there is inequality of rain the Government of India ought to adopt some means by which the effect of inequality may be neutralised. If the rainfall is unequal, some means must be devised by which the supply of water may be regulated such as by irrigation and by others. If the wealth that is produced in the country does not remain but is drained away, it is the duty of the Government of India to take steps by which that wealth may not be drained (cheers). If, as I said, there is plague in the country, and if it is clearly shown that it is due to poverty and starvation, it is the duty of the Government not to adopt repressive measures but to remove poverty and starvation so that we may be better able to combat plague. These are the duties of the Government of India, and they have been neglecting those duties, and our contention is that the Government of India should be forced to do its duty. I may plainly tell you that it is not sedition to force the Government to do it. It is sedition to subvert it (cheers). We are asking the Government to do a thing which it is in duty bound to do, and which it is its function to do. We are asking the Government of India to take measures which will secure prosperity to this land. The whole question was placed before Lord Curzon by several able men, and how did he deal with the situation? He took no steps to stop the drain. He took no steps to revive the industries, and the only step that he took was to allot more money for irrigation, and you may perhaps ask me to thank him for it. I do not. Of course I must give my reasons for it. And the reason is this: all Indians are willing to work from morning till evening, for 12 or even 24 hours in a day. Even if you do that, we cannot get sufficient food to maintain ourselves, to keep body and soul together. It is clearly the duty of Lord Curzon to stop the drain, and also to revive the industries which have been killed by foreign competition. He did not do it. He only took up the question of agricultural improvement, and allotted more money for irrigation. To keep the drain open and at the same time to allot more money for agricultural improvements amounts, in my opinion, to this: that Lord Curzon wants the bleeding to be kept

up, and a little tonic to be given you, so that you may be bled the more, more for England and more for Manchester. That is the situation. Spending more money on irrigation and keeping up the wounds and at the same time allowing the drain to go on simply means that he is administering a tonic in order that his countrymen may the more benefit by the drain that is already established. That is the reason why I cannot thank Lord Curzon. It was he who said, I think, when the Punjab Alienation Bill was before the Council, that the Government mills grind slowly but grind very small. The administrative measures or the economic policy introduced by the Government of India hundreds of years ago have killed our industries, and that shows how the Government mill works. You don't feel the working, but in a hundred years the result is that the whole of the industry of weaving and other industries of the country are all swept away. We have been made an agricultural country. India was certainly not a purely agricultural country. The cloth that you get from Manchester was all manufactured here a hundred years ago; not only we manufactured it but we exported it to other countries. Now what is the economic condition? All those industries are destroyed. The land is our only resource, and the profits on the land are taken away by Government in such a way that even that industry is not prosperous. The demand is increasing every year at every revisional survey, and the reasons given for it are that there are more railways to take away the produce to England, and there are more railways and roads and so many channels to take away your wealth out of the country. That is because you have so many channels to send away the produce. Prices are rising, and you are to pay more to Government. That is the thing which is actually advocated by Government, not only advocated by Government but by sympathisers and supporters of Government. That state of things cannot last long. It is impossible in the nature of things that India can be drained away in this way. It cannot last long, and the resolution which I have to propose asks Government to institute an economic enquiry into every village. Of course our facts and figures are before Government. We ask the Government either to contradict them or to take them as true. If the Government are not doing it let them have an enquiry of their own, and let them say whether our facts and figures are correct, and if they are correct the measures that we suggest ought to be adopted. That is what the resolution says. The State demand on land is growing, industries are killed and the little that is done by Lord Curzon for irrigation would not meet the situation, and in fact cannot cure the disease. With these words I will read to you the resolution which I hope you will pass unanimously. The resolution runs as follows:—

“That this Congress deplores fresh out-break of famine in several parts of the country, and holding that the frequent occurrences of famines are due to the great poverty of the people, which forces large numbers of them to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, it again urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to institute a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a few typical villages in different yards of India.

“(b) (1) This Congress is of opinion that the property of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on land, such as was proposed by Lord Canning in 1862, by Lord Ripon in 1882.

“(2) It regrets that Lord Curzon, in his Land Resolution of 1902, failed to recognise any such limitation, and declined to accept the suggestions of the Right Hon'ble Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists.

“(3) It holds that a reasonable and definite restriction of the State-demand, and not the restriction on tenants' rights, such as has found favour in recent years, is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population.”

PANDIT GOKARAN NATH (*Lucknow*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been just now proposed by Mr. Tilak is one which really affects the masses of the country. We all know that the chief industry, the chief occupation which is left to the people of our country, is agriculture, and unless we ask the Government to limit its demand, to fix some proportion of the revenue, the condition of the masses cannot possibly be improved. Gentlemen, we are extremely thankful to our ex-President and friend, Mr. R. C. Dutt, who has brought forward this question of Government revenue into the forefront of the Congress programme. Now, gentlemen, I take the state of the United Provinces as the *data* upon which we say how the Government carried on its revenue policy. With regard to the United Provinces, we find that if the gross rental is Rs. 100 upon a certain estate, we find that although the Government says that it takes only fifty per cent. as its revenue yet that is not all. We have got sixteen per cent. as cesses, which, being worked out on the annual value of the estate, works out at eight per cent. Beyond that I have seen from the report of the Court of Wards administration of the United Provinces that with the best possible management you must always have at least five per cent. to realise the assets in a particular estate. Then we must have ten per cent. to defray the cost of collection. Then in every estate, however well managed

it may be, we have also got to meet some costs in litigation expenses; we have to institute suits for the realization of arrears, and we have to spend money in ejecting tenants. It has been put down even by the Court of Wards at five per cent. If I put down two per cent. for various miscellaneous items, that brings the total expenditure to eighty per cent., which leaves only twenty per cent. in our hands. If that is the state in the United Provinces, what will be the state in the Central Provinces and other places where the Government revenue has been fixed at sixty or seventy per cent. Gentlemen, I say we are now certainly putting a very reasonable demand before Government. Now the Government must fix a reasonable portion, it must limit its demand, and if the Government does not do so then certainly the condition of the masses of the country cannot be improved. The Government says, and the same is approved by Lord Curzon's resolution, that the state of the tenantry should be improved. But can the state of the tenantry be improved if the Government itself is not going to limit its demand, so far as the zemindars are concerned. You have seen now, and you must have read it in the Land Revenue system which has been published by the various officers of Government—they say that the permanent settlement of Bengal is a benign mistake of the British Government. Gentlemen, if that is a benign mistake I must say it is a mistake to say that it is a benign mistake. It is really a solid rock upon which the foundation of British Government rests (cheers). It will have been a very blessed day for the whole of India if the Government do give permanent settlement to the whole country. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance (cheers).

MR. N. K. RAMASWAMI Aiyar (*Tanjore*).—I concur fully

MR. MUNSHI SANKTA PRASAD (*Benares*), next addressed the meeting in Urdu.

MR. RAMBHUJ DUTT CHOWDHRI (*Lahore*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I will confine my remarks to the Punjab alone. By so doing I do not mean to assert any individuality of our own. We are a part of the same organism, the same undivided indivisible, one-united India (cheers), our dear Aryavartta. We are with aims, mighty aims like the Maharashtra and the Punjab, with the head like Bengal, with the heart like the United Provinces; we are one people (cheers). Our sentiments and views of the situation have been so ably, so fully and so eloquently expressed by our leader and brother, by Mr. Lala Rajput Rai (cheers). The strong and sound common sense of the Punjab has well understood and realised the causes of our poverty and famine. Our brother, Mr. Lala Harkishan Lal, with a horde of friends, has thrown himself heart and soul into the work of material reformation. He is trying banking, manufacturing and various other lines to which he can lay his hands. We know that the causes are simple. Our industry locally has been ruined and land revenue with repeated and periodical settlements is being increased time after time. Perhaps in Bengal there is no idea of what a periodical settlement means. I assure you, gentlemen, that the peasantry of Punjab suffers by settlement more materially, and has greater humiliation to undergo than the Princes at the Delhi Durbar by the visit of the Viceroy. But we, in fact, for ourselves, need no commission of enquiry. As Mr. Tilak said, we want the Government to re-assure itself that there are other causes than those which we have been placing before it time after time. We have found that the Swadeshi movement is the one and the only regenerator of our Province and perhaps of India. It makes us feel that the whole of India is one. Things manufactured in Bombay, Bengal and Madras, or in any part of India, are mine. It is creating a sentimental unity which no other movement ever created. But we want to go on with this question from purely industrial and purely economic views. The peasantry, I mean the small landlords of Punjab, who are peasants themselves, yield to none in hard work, in intelligence and in economy, and are perhaps most loyal of all peasants, and yet these labourers live on *janus* grain in the best of their days when the crops are *kucha*; but the moment they are ripe the Government on the one side and the sower on the other take away all the grains. The result is that if you take 500 *jats* of fifty-five years of age, or 500 of forty-five years of age, or 500 of ten, you will find not a degeneration in the general body but in the bone and the muscle. In fact the sight is simply unbearable. The lion of the Punjab is being reduced simply into a tiger-cot. I fear that Government does not understand the situation. These *jats* who have been supporting the honour of India and maintaining the honour of Britain, are being really reduced into poor, weak cowards. Therefore, I say, gentlemen, that it is to the best interests of Government that the peasant landlord of the Punjab should be supported and relieved of the enhanced taxes which are periodically placed on his shoulders. Gentlemen, I may tell you that with the mightiest rivers of the world, not five but six, with all crops and cotton, *jats* can hardly afford to cover their shame. They come as the shadow follows the position of the master, in fact one can say that life to them is not for living but for dying. Gentlemen, I have a hint from the President to stop, and, therefore, with these remarks, I beg to support the resolution (cheers).

MR. K. N. DESHMUKH (*Nagpur*).—Mr. President and gentlemen, the question of all questions that affects the agricultural masses is the question of the Land Revenue policy. Under the generous influences of Lord Canning the wise policy was to promote the growth of substantial and influential classes of landholders who would be the natural leaders of the people and the loyal supporters of the Crown. To accomplish this noble

ideal, (1) the assessment was made light, (2) the term of settlement was made long, (3) in more advanced provinces the permanent settlement was granted, and in others it was solemnly and openly promised on fulfillment of certain conditions. At the recent settlement the policy was changed. There came a fatal reversal of the policy. The central idea running through the new policy was (1) to bring in largest profits to the Government and subordinate all other considerations of high statesmanship; hence the term of settlement was reduced; (2) assessment was made high and half assets rule deliberately violated; (3) the question of permanent settlement became an impossibility.

Do you know, gentlemen who were the authors of this new policy, the mischievous policy, the dangerous policy? They were Sir A. Mackenzie, then the Chief Commissioner of our Province, and Mr. Fuller, then the Revenue Secretary. Both of these gentlemen are well known to my Bengali friends, the one for giving a death blow to the local self-government and the other for his repressive measures and Russian methods for putting down the Swadeshi movement. The inevitable results of the short term of the settlement are that there is no inducement for the people to invest their capital or put forth their strength for improvement of their lands. The disastrous effects of the heavy assessment are (1) that the tenants are often hopelessly left in arrears of rent and the landlord is obliged to pay up the land revenue regularly on days fixed. To do so, he has to (1) postpone the marriages of his grown up daughters, (2) neglect even the primary education of his children, (3) mortgage his state, (4) sell his ornaments, even plough cattle, (5) last, but not the least, in the list of his miseries, to go to jail not for his own fault but for the default of his tenants. You will be shocked to hear, gentlemen, that a friend of mine, well educated, from a respectable Deshpandey family, a big honorary magistrate, had to go to jail because he refused to pay up the land revenue on the ground that he was not bound to pay as his tenants were unable to pay owing to scarcity and the famine. When the Famine Commission of 1901 visited Nagpur, and when Lord Curzon came there, we Nagpurians thought that Daniel had come to judgement, and the Holy Ghost came down upon us like a Dove, but to our great disappointments we soon learned that we were mistaken to our bitter experience. We realised that we were under a snare and delusion. Then and then only, we were convinced by the policy of Lord Canning was to give the cultivator as much as possible and take from him his little as possible. We also learned another lesson and that was that the policy of Lord Curzon was to give the cultivator as little as possible and take from him as much as possible; to talk of his welfare as much as possible and do for him as little as possible. With these remarks I support the proposition (cheers).

QUARANTINE AT BOMBAY.

THE HONBLE MR. G. K. PAREKH (*Bombay*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition that has been put into my hands runs as follows:—"That having regard to the fact that there is ten days international quarantine in existence at Kamran, this Congress holds that the quarantine of five days imposed at the port of Bombay upon the Mussalman pilgrims before embarking for Jeddah is unnecessary and vexatious, and produces a feeling of discontent, this Congress, therefore, prays that the quarantine imposed at Bombay be entirely abolished." Ladies and gentlemen, the introduction of this resolution is one of the illustrations you have of the close ties of brother-hood that the Congress is knitting between the different communities of India (hear, hear). So far, the grievance to which this resolution relates is a grievance which affects the Mahomedan community, inasmuch as it causes them harrassment in undertaking a religious duty; but it is a grievance which they feel keenly in reference to which the Congress should pass this resolution. When there is already quarantine of ten days at Kamran, it is perfectly unnecessary that the same people should be subjected to any quarantine in Bombay, and the difficulties of quarantine are great. The pilgrims, when they come to Bombay, have first to go to the railway offices to pay a sum of money for the return journey before they receive any passes for being taken to the quarantine ground. After receiving receipts, they have to visit the offices of the Protector of Emigrants from day to day till he is able to secure a steamer, and it is five days of the day that the steamer sails that passes are given to take them to the quarantine ground. That ground is a piece of desolate island to which they can only go by sea. All these difficulties and the way in which people are kept must cause considerable inconvenience to them. These are the grounds upon which people have good reason to feel discontent, and I think it would be a great service to them if the Government are pleased to take action with the foreign authorities for the purpose of abolishing this quarantine (cheers).

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJI (*Bombay*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, sister-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that has been brought forward by the Honble Mr. Gokuldas Parekh is a resolution worthy of this Congress. It has been thrown in the teeth of the Congress that this Congress is a Hindu Congress, that this Congress was a Babu Congress, a Bengali Congress, and that it was not a Congress representing all the classes of the people inhabiting India. This resolution will prove and give the lie to those who say that the Congress does not look to the interests of the people who inhabit this poor India of ours. With this preface I am going to tell you the whole

history within but a short time. The history is this: that after the outbreak of plague in Bombay, the Bombay Port was closed for the embarkation of pilgrims from Bombay to Jedda and Chittagong was opened. A complaint was made to Government that it was far too distant, and entailed great expenditure. After a while the port of Karachi was opened, then Pore Bunder was opened. At least three years ago the port of Bombay was thrown open for pilgrims. An order came from the Government of India that pilgrims could embark from the port of Bombay but somebody—I do not know for what purpose—sent back word that quarantine must be imposed on the pilgrims before embarkation from Bombay. Then ten days' quarantine was imposed. Representations from Mahomedans went to Government saying that this was unnecessary, there being already an international quarantine at Kamran which is close to Jedda where they are to land. Quarantine may be necessary before landing, but quarantine before embarking on a sea voyage, what necessity is there, what good would it do? None whatever. Then five days were taken off and five days were kept. Another representation was made to Government. That movement was headed by our late Sheriff of Bombay, Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy, who is an influential man. Thousands signed the petition which was sent to the Government of India, but it had no effect, and no notice was taken of it. Then we were compelled to appeal to the Congress to take up this matter and come to our assistance, and by doing so to prove to those who want the "divide-and-rule-policy" that we are not divided but that we are undivided (cheers), and also to express your sympathies because to-day it is the Mahomedan's turn and to-morrow it may be the Hindu's turn. Who knows what may happen under the present circumstances? This is the explanation that I have to give you because efforts will be made to tell you, brethren, that you do not know anything about Mahomedan pilgrimage and custom. I have, therefore, explained this to you so that you may be armed to argue the matter with others. With these few remarks I commend the proposition to your acceptance (cheers).

MR. MOULVI ABDUL KAYUM (*Lucknow*) addressed the meeting in Urdu.

MR. G. S. KHARE (*Nasik*).—At the quarantine place, people lose their things and are left to the mercy of the charitable people. You know that when the Hon'ble President of the Reception Committee proposed to us that we might accept their food for nothing as guests; we ourselves never like the idea because we have come to the shrine of the National Congress. In the same way these pilgrims who go to a holy place are unwilling to accept the charity of other people.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

SOME IMPORTANT PROVINCIAL GRIEVANCES.

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay*).—As the voice of our President has gone, I am desired to read the resolutions which are to be put from the Chair, and I will do so with your permission. The first resolution is:—

"This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, strongly urges—

- (1). The constitution of Punjab into a Regulation Province.
- (2). The expansion and reform of the Punjab Legislative Council in accordance with the Indian Councils Act of 1892.
- (3). The establishment of a Chartered High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.
- (4). The Enactment of Legislation for Berar by the Supreme Legislative Council and not by Executive order of the Governor-General in Council.
- (5). The restoration, to the people of the Central Provinces, of the right to elect their representative on the Supreme Legislative Council instead of his being nominated by the Government.
- (6). The cancellation of the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States as being a serious infringement of the liberty of the Press in those tracts."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

INDIA AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

MR. K. VENKATA RAO (*Bellary*).—Mr. President and delegates, the resolution that I have to propose is a very easy, simple and pleasant one. It runs as follows:—

"That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidature of Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji for North Lambeth, and appeals to the electors of that constituency to return him to Parliament."

The difficulties which the Grand Old Man is undergoing are very great. I worked for four months in the British Committee in London, and went round with Mr. Dadabhai

Nowroji on several occasions. There are between five and six thousand electors. I know that for two years he has been calling upon the voters and electors and viewing the constituency. At the rate of forty or fifty electors a day, it takes about three hours to see these forty or fifty electors, and when he has to visit 6,000 electors it becomes a difficult task. Not only is that insisted upon but he has two opposing candidates, conservative and liberal. He has to represent the democratic party. He has to fight in a triangular way, with the conservatives and liberals. Fortunately the Liberal candidate has disappeared, and Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee has to fight against the Conservatives only. For nearly two years our Grand Old Man has been working hard, and when I left him he was very hopeful, and according to the letters I have been recently receiving his success is almost assured. We must also send our congratulations in anticipation to the electors of North Lambeth (cheers).

Mr. J. N. Roy (*Calcutta*).—I venture to felicitate you on the fact that I have got a severe chill which makes it impossible for me to make anything like a speech. Truly I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to associate myself in so conspicuous a manner with this resolution for three reasons. In the first place, my earliest and happiest political memories refer back to the days when it was my great good fortune to work under the direct guidance and control of Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee (cheers.) The lessons I then learnt of unflicking courage and fearless utterance I will never forget. Those were also very stormy days, days of Poona troubles and seditious prosecutions. Now, gentlemen, my next reason for being proud to be associated with this resolution is that I am a Bengali. At a time when the leaders of the community in the other parts of the country have not as yet approved of the boycott movement, he sent a message to the Bengalis saying this:—"In this you have shown true political instinct and true political courage, and whatever might happen to the boycott movement—whether you succeed or fail, there is no reason why you should fail—keep it up for that is the right path (cheers)." My third and next reason for being proud to be associated with this resolution is the fact that I am an Indian, a young Indian; and yet I can speak of the sense of those present, young and old, men and women, that there is no man who has unquestioning allegiance to the people of India more than Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee (cheers). It is not because he has been longest in public life, it is not because he has made the largest sacrifice in public life. We have a large number of politicians, I prefer to call them patriots, who have done great service. And is there any question that among them Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee is the noblest. There is no disputing that fact. It is not on that ground that I am proud to be associated with this resolution, but because Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee has shown, more than anybody else, the true instincts of a leader. In this connection I will only read to you one line from the message which he sent to the present Congress, which will make my meaning clear. What he says is this:—

"No palliatives of any kind whatever, no more alteration and tinkering of the mechanical machinery of a demonstration, can and will do any good at all."

That is a lesson which we would do well to take to heart. There is no question that we are standing at the parting of ways, we are entering upon a new political life. Let us recognise in Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee once more the true leader of the land in order that he may make his influence more felt at a place where our destinies come up for shaping now and then. I am proud to be associated with this resolution, and I ask you to accept it.

Mr. G. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR (*Madras*).—I beg to propose three cheers to Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee (loud cheers). As pointed out by Mr. Roy, Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee is a political Guru, not only amongst the youngest but also amongst the oldest present here.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE HON'BLE Mr. D. A. KHARE (*Bombay*).—Mr. President and gentlemen, I am called upon to perform a very pleasant duty indeed. The resolution which I have to propose embodies.

"THANKS TO THE INDIAN DELEGATES TO ENGLAND."

"That this Congress desires to record its sense of high appreciation of the manner in which the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., and Lalla Lajput Rai discharged the onerous duties imposed on them in England."

Gentlemen, you know who these delegates are? They are named in the resolution. One of them adorns the Presidential Chair on this stage (Cheers), and the other is one whom you have heard so eloquently setting forth his own views on the Bengal boycott and partition yesterday. Gentlemen, this resolution designates both of them as delegates. We will not quarrel with that term, because in some places it is said that the one or the other of them did not go as delegate of the Congress. They are all delegates. We did appoint them to perform services for us, and it does not require any long description from me to make you acquainted with the signal services that they performed on our behalf, and the achievements they have already scored for our good. Gentlemen, certainly it must be said that language fails me to adequately describe the

services they have rendered us. They have been, while in India, peculiarly qualified to perform the duty entrusted to them by the last Congress. Gentlemen, we heard yesterday that throughout the twenty years that the Congress has lived it has not succeeded in producing political recluses. Fortunately for us in these two delegates there are illustrations that, as a matter of fact, the Congress has produced political recluses of a very high order (cheers). The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has practically renounced the world although he has not become a Sanyasi with all the ceremonies of initiation; yet he has initiated an order of Sanyasis who will do political service to India with greater zest than before. As regards Mr. Lalla Lajpat Rai, although he has not declared that he is a recluse, we all know that he has devoted all his resources, mental, physical and monetary, to the support of an institution in the Punjab which is calculated to be of immense service in the future. These are two illustrations which we have got before us. I have no doubt that their example will prove inspiring, and in time to come we will have many followers in their path. Gentlemen, the President says I should be very short on this resolution. I quite admit that. The sincerity of heart always makes one brief and overwhelming obligations are more conducive to silence than to loquacity. I always do feel that instead, any large comment and enlargement would certainly be less than a solemn expression of our deep thanks to them for the great services they have rendered to us (cheers). I would rather take the way of saying, without any more explanation, that we could not certainly adequately express our thanks and obligations to them for the work that they have done. I will only say one thing more. It is said that these two gentlemen went to England at a very opportune moment. In one sense the tide was with them that helped them in their success. It is all very well to say that opportunities help men. It is not always so, gentlemen. The man succeeds who best knows how to take advantage of the opportunities that are offered. Opportunities offer themselves in every one's life. Those are the best who avail themselves of them and make use of them to the greatest advantage. In Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Lajpat Rai we found that if we send proper people to England we shall certainly succeed more in doing and achieving our work there than if we make an indiscriminate choice. I should prefer to rely on chosen individuals than sending large battalions of people who are not so well informed. No doubt Mr. Lajpat Rai could not remain in England so long as Mr. Gokhale could do. Although the time was short, the work they did on public platforms and in private meetings, especially in private interviews, is so potent that it will certainly bring forth advantageous fruition in no long time to come. Gentlemen, with these words I propose this resolution (cheers).

MR. K. NARAYANA RAO (*Multras*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I come forward to second this resolution which really requires no seconding at all. You know that the political agitation that has been carried on in this country has to be carried on also in England, and for this purpose we require men of great talent, also of great tact and unbounded energy, and also of supreme confidence and faith in the justness of our cause. We should congratulate ourselves that we did succeed in securing, on this occasion, two men who satisfied these requirements. About Mr. Gokhale, so much has been said that I do not wish to say anything further. I only wish to say that he is a true and living exponent of that creed under which he has said that the public life in this country ought to be spiritualised. He has really given effect to it in his own life, and we must thank ourselves that on this occasion his services were available to us. He carried on his work in England; the work has been characterised to be brilliant, but I should say it has been indeed phenomenal, because during the short period of 50 days or so he delivered addresses in several parts of England on varied subjects on 45 occasions. We can easily understand what amount of work and good he has done for us. The result of the work, I wish to state it in the words of one who was present on the spot, of one who was able to give us his sympathetic help. I mean Sir Henry Cotton. Only one line I quote from his message to the Indian National Congress. This is what he says:—"Finally the year closes with the deputation of Mr. Gokhale as an Indian Delegate to enlighten the people of England on the claims and needs of India. His campaign in which he spoke with all the authority of the President-designate of the next Congress, and his words, enforced with his accustomed eloquence and knowledge, have fallen on a fertilised soil where they will yield a harvest in comparison with which the result of former deputations must be considered to be insignificant."

Mr. Gokhale did not work single-handed. He had his co-adjutor and co-worker, our friend Mr. Lajpat Rai (cheers). You heard him yesterday; you have heard him speak with that eloquence which really held the whole of this assembly spell bound. Not only so. Every word of that speech spelt real enthusiasm, earnestness and loyal patriotism. I wish we had more of such men. He also did excellent work, and it is needless for me to dilate upon this topic. Without saying anything further I, hailing from the far off South, come forward to second this resolution (cheers).

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Mr. Ally Bimji called for three cheers for Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Lajpat Rai which were enthusiastically accorded.

MR. M. V. JOSHI (*Benares*).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, and gentleman, I have been asked to place before you the proposition No. 22. It runs as follows:—

“APPOINTMENT OF THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE AS DELEGATE TO ENGLAND.”

“That in view of the importance of urging the more pressing proposals of the Congress on the attention of the authorities in England at the present juncture, the Congress appoints its President, the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, C. I. E., as its delegate, and deposes him to proceed to England for this purpose.”

Gentlemen, this is a proposition which requires very brief comment indeed. You have heard what Mr. Gokhale has done described in a manner which does not bear any repetition. He has done us signal services in the past, and we are now only qualifying ourselves to be further indebted to him by asking him to be our delegate once more. In Mr. Gokhale we have found an advocate who is just the kind of man that we require at the present juncture (hear, hear). He is a man known to have moderate views, moderate in thought, moderate in expression, possessing immense tact in handling men and things, and above all, he possesses an amount of knowledge and intellectual capacity which is necessary for an advocate. If you get these sort of advocates at this peculiar juncture when a new Liberal Ministry is heralding the dawn of hope, I believe the chances of our success are not small. The prospects are very re-assuring. I do not wish to take up your time any further than by suggesting that this proposition should be adopted by you.

The Congress offered three cheers for Mr. Gokhale.

MR. C. VIJIARAGHAVA CHARIAR (*Salem*).—Gentleman, you are asked to appoint our worthy Chairman on an important political mission in England; you are further asked to authorise him with the necessary credentials. I believe the occasion is very important, and we have reached a crisis in our political life, I might almost say in our national life, culminating in untoward things in Bengal which make life in Bengal uncomfortable. On the other hand, the opportunity presenting itself in England is very great. Those that have had a most casual acquaintance with modern politics will easily believe when I say that with the advent of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman and Mr. John Morley, the reign of moral law, inaugurated by that great man of the nineteenth century, Mr. Gladstone, will probably return (hear, hear). At the same time, it is true that Mr. Morley is supposed to wear, so far as India is concerned, the mantle of Mr. John Bright, and it is elsewhere said that the needs of India are never out of his mind. At the same time, readers of the life of Mr. Gladstone probably cannot but confess to a feeling of disappointment that his knowledge of India and of the Indian people and of our requirements is somewhat scanty and is by no means adequate to the demands which his great position would require; and it is, therefore, right and proper that we send a proper man to go and instruct him. It is impossible that at this juncture you can find a more worthy gentleman than Mr. Gokhale (cheers). Though comparatively young—I hope he will pardon me for saying so—he has had a varied, and I should almost say sad, experience, and his judgment has been mellowed to a degree rarely reached by political men in this country. For I need hardly tell you, gentlemen, that a born patriot, as he is, and public man all his life, he has had an inevitable share of misfortunes and misrepresentations, and these in my humble opinion have the effect of rounding off asperities of judgments and views; and although some may be here who might perhaps hesitate to entrust our affairs to a single man at this juncture, you may rest assured that if there is one man to whose safe keeping we can entrust our affairs, he is Mr. Gokhale. I hope you will carry the proposition (cheers).

SISTER NIVEDITA (*Ramkrishna Vivekananda*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I fear that I shall have great difficulty in making my voice heard by this vast audience. I beg you to listen very attentively for the few moments that I shall keep you, for it is my desire to say a few words to you for the moment in the character of a European-speaking on behalf of Europe. To my mind the evolution of a great national sentiment and a great national voice in India is a necessity to Europe if she is to be saved from the very awful perdition of inhumanity (cheers). All the sacrifices that human beings could make to India, many thousands of times over, might well be made in the name of the salvation of Europe. And it is for this reason that I want you to mark specially an aspect of this proposition which appears to be escaping your delegates and escaping your own notice. It is through the English language, if you at this moment will make sacrifices or efforts, that it is possible for you to make them fruitful through the person of this noble man whose power and whose steel you have already put to the test (cheers). If you do this thing, if you will faithfully stand by him, support him and carry your assault in numbers further and further, with every year that goes, if you will do this thing, you will enable history to repeat itself upon a grander scale than hitherto. Remember, my brothers, it is the law that history repeats itself. Look back 100 years. You see the birth of nationality in Europe; go on for some 30 or 40 years; you see that Mr. Nowroji, your old rishi, Mr. Nowroji, your old Parsee Indian rishi, spoke to the English people, with tears in his eyes. Has the England of so many emancipations grievously forgotten her great role; has she grievously dared to trample on her high destinies of late years? Indian people stand by and redeem English tradition, re-make it, re-create it; make England true to herself not for the sake of England but that you may eventually redeem the world from the spectacle of a continent in which the impulse that began as an impulse of nationality against the Napoleonic wave of consolidation and centralization (cheers). I

have not even finished my sentence, dear brothers, in which the wave that began as an impulse of nationality, the impulse of many centredness, the impulse of the worship, of humanity thrown aside, was deflected, was degraded until to-day, you see six or seven or eight camps of armed men talking about European peace and British peace. We will redeem England, we will redeem Europe, we will redeem this world from this spectacle. Our dream of an Indian nationality is not a selfish dream for India, but it is a dream for humanity (cheers) in which India shall be the mother of a great cause; shall be the fosterer and the nurse of all that is noble, humane and great. If you would do this, then India must not be passing passive in the present but be an authorised and accredited representative in the great struggle that is now once more about to open, in which, I trust to heaven, the real issues of the English politics will be made clear, in which these nonsenses of distinction between the old-fashioned obsolete Conservative and Radical will be swept away for ever, and we shall see the absolute question of English Empire to be Imperialism vs. Nationality, Slavery for Nations vs. Nationality for the peoples of the earth (Loud cheers).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS.

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay*).—The next resolution to be put from the Chair runs as follows :—

“That a Standing Committee of the Congress be appointed to promote the objects of the Congress and to take such steps during the year as may be necessary to give effect to the Resolutions of the Congress.

“That the following gentlemen be appointed members of the Standing Committee for the year 1906 :—

- (1) The Hon'ble Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta, K. C. I. E. (*Bombay*).
 - (2) The Hon'ble Daji Abaji Khare (*Bombay*).
 - (3) G. Subramania Iyer, Esq. (*Madras*).
 - (4) The Hon'ble Nawab Sayyid Muhammad (*Madras*).
 - (5) Surendra Nath Banerjee, Esq. (*Calcutta*).
 - (6) A. Chowdhuri, Esq. (*Calcutta*).
 - (7) Maulvi Abdul Kasim (*Burdwan*).
 - (8) S. Sinha, Esq. (*Bankipur*).
 - (9) The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (*Allahabad*).
 - (10) Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma (*Lucknow*).
 - (11) Lala Lajpat Rai (*Lahore*).
 - (12) Lala Har Kishen Lal (*Lahore*).
 - (13) Rao Bahadur R. N. Madholkar (*Amraoti*); with
 - (14) D. E. Wacha, Esq. (*Bombay*); and
 - (15) The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E. (*Poona*)
- } as Secretaries of the Committee.”

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RE-APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARIES.

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay*).—The next resolution is :—

“That this Congress re-appoints A. O. Hume, Esq., C. B., to be General Secretary, and D. E. Wacha, Esq., and the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., to be Joint General Secretaries for the ensuing year.”

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Three hearty cheers were given to Mr. Hume amidst shouts of *Bande Mataram*.

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay*).—The next resolution to be put from the Chair runs as follows :—

“That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., and the other members of the British Committee, its most grateful thanks for their disinterested services in the cause of India's political advancement.”

I will say one word on my own personal account. Last year the same resolution was on my hand, and I spoke specially on that occasion. I cannot at this juncture refrain from expressing our gratitude to Sir William Wedderburn and to other Members of the British Committee, not merely for the ordinary work which they have done but for the phenomenal work they did this year during the campaign of Mr. Gokhale.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

RAI YATINDRA NATH CHOUDHURI (*Calcutta*) who was received with shouts of *Bande Mataram*, said :—“Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is a great honour and a high

privilege to be able to invite the Indian National Congress to his own Province. Gentlemen, it is with much pleasure, therefore, that I, in behalf of my brethren of Bengal, do humbly invite this National Congress to meet at Calcutta at about this time next year (cheers). Gentlemen, you are all aware that Bengal, under the present circumstances, created by the new method of the Government of Bengal, is passing through a time of troubles and tribulations, and we of Bengal are sincerely thankful to you gentlemen of this Congress, for having expressed your hearty sympathy in our sorrows and miseries, and I am afraid that although we may fail, to a certain extent, to do our duty in the matter of the splendid hospitality to which we have been accustomed, in this as well as in the other previous Congresses, I hope gentlemen, that under the peculiar circumstances you will kindly excuse our shortcomings and omissions in this respect. We hope that we shall not be guilty of any conscious omission. Gentlemen, I hope you will accept our intention for the deed. With these words I place this humble invitation, demi-official, before you, and I hope you will accept it (cheers).

The invitation was accepted by the Congress.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT SUNDERLAL (*Allahabad*).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have been asked to move is one which I have no doubt you will carry with acclamation. It is a resolution proposing a vote of thanks to the worthy President of our meeting, namely the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. His services in the past are well known to you. He has worked throughout his life simply for the good of this country with the only desire that we may approve of his services, and that he may succeed in doing all that he hoped to do (cheers.)

The resolution was received with acclamation amidst shouts of *Bande Mataram*, the whole audience rising to their feet.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVYA :—Gentlemen, the resolution that has been placed before you does not require any further support. You have already carried it by acclamation, I am sure you will pass this vote of thanks with heartier acclamation again (cheers). The services which our esteemed President has rendered to the country have been numerous in the past, but the services that he has rendered during this session of the Congress require special recognition at our hands. I am sure that we are very deeply grateful to him for the able way in which he has conducted the proceedings of this important assembly. Gentlemen, it does not fall to many persons to be called upon to discharge the high functions which it has been the privilege of our esteemed President to be called upon to discharge during the last few years of his life. Lord Curzon came out at an early age as Viceroy and Governor-General. It was a happy circumstance that one of the younger generation of politicians of India was selected as representative of Bombay in the Supreme Council. Lord Curzon was a man with consummate powers of debate. He found, however, that the Indian member returned from Bombay was more than a match to him. Lord Curzon was an statistician. He found that his statistics were proved to be wrong, incorrectly compiled and that there was one man in the Council Chamber who could hold his own and prove that the figures which he put forward were the real figures (cheers). Gentlemen, it was an experiment you may say. England sent out no doubt one of her most capable Statesmen as Viceroy. India sent up one of her young politicians, if I may be pardoned for saying so, to the Viceroy's Council. England's selection proved unfortunately to be unhappy; India's selection has proved to be happy (cheers.) For that service alone the country has rejoiced, and has been most whole heartedly thanking our President. There was another higher and a soarer trial awaiting my esteemed friend. That was to be called upon to preside over the deliberations of this great National Congress where he had to meet, not half-a-dozen capable members of the Government of India's Council, but the most capable members of the whole of the Indian Empire gathered from all parts of India. Questions that were coming up for discussion, some of them, it was well known, were of a very very stormy character. They required patience and statesmanship; they required the greatest consideration, and we all know with what ability, with what patience, with what unflinching courtesy, with what statesmanship and prudence our Chairman has conducted the proceedings (cheers) both in the Subjects' Committee and in the Congress. Gentlemen, I think we may whole-heartedly congratulate our President and ourselves upon the way in which it has been done. Gentlemen, I express the sense not only of those present here when I say that we feel deeply indebted to him (cheers). There is one other circumstance which I should like to mention. Probably it is not known to many gentlemen that Mr. Gokhale was most unwilling to accept the Chair of this year's Congress; that it was only after the most earnest request had been made that he yielded to that request; that he repeatedly expressed his desire that senior veterans, many of whom he named, should be asked; and that he should be permitted not to be called upon this year. No doubt his esteem for his seniors was right and well. I am sure that all those senior friends rejoice with us in having made the selection of such a good and excellent President for this year. I am sure you will agree with me that not a little of the great success and the credit of this session belongs to the President. I am sure you will carry this vote with ~~acclamation~~. (Loud cheers)

BABU SURRENDRA NATH BANNERJI.—Gentlemen, I have to make an appeal to you. I am sure you will respond to it because it is a reasonable and proper appeal. Mr. Gokhale has lost his voice in your service, and, therefore, it will be necessary for you to accord to him not only a sympathetic but an indulgent hearing. I beg of you as a request from all of us that you will not insist upon his speaking too loud. "Louder, louder"—I hope these words will not be heard, Mr. Gokhale speaks now. One word more, I forgot to say it. I beg that after the Presidential reply is over you will not disperse. Mrs. Dutt Choudhuri and some other ladies will sing the *Bande Mataram*.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, we have come to the last stage of our proceedings, but we cannot separate without performing one or two duties. Our first duty is to accord our hearty thanks to the Reception Committees for the hospitality which they have shown us and the arduous tasks that they had before them in making arrangements (cheers). I do not wish to mention any names because it is invidious to mention names; but one name I will mention in connection with the Reception Committee, and that is of its Chairman, the Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal (cheers). Our next duty is to tender our most sincere thanks to the volunteers, those young men who have devoted themselves to the work that was assigned to them with so much love and so much enthusiasm. What they have done is only a training—a preliminary training—for the responsibilities which in course of time will devolve upon them (cheers). Gentlemen, it has been well said that when the heart is full the voice is weak. My voice is doubly weak to-day, and I will, therefore, make one or two remarks and then bring my speech to a close. It is impossible for me to express, even in the most inadequate manner, how deeply and how profoundly grateful I feel to you all for the kindness, for the affection, for the enthusiasm which you have lavished on me. From the moment I came to Benares down to this time I have received nothing but marks of the greatest friendship, greatest cordiality and good-will from every one of you all. I believe that during the last five days I have lived the proudest moments of my life. Whatever the future may hold in store for me, whether it is much or whether it is little, even the much of such a one as myself, can after all be but little—and this I can tell you that the recollection of what I have felt and what I have experienced and what I have enjoyed that will always have a most enduring place in my memory. Gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you any further. If this Congress session has been extraordinarily successful, I think we may very well say that the credit is due to you, the delegates, who, with such patience, with such wonderful judgment and restraint, have enabled me to control the proceedings of this body properly (Loud cheers).

The Congress then dissolved with 3 cheers to His Majesty the King Emperor 3 cheers for Mr. A. O. Hume and 3 cheers for the President.

APPENDIX.



LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

TWENTY-FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT BENARES, DECEMBER 1905.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
1	Bengal	Calcutta	Bengal Landholders' Association	Mr. A. Chowdhri, M. A. (Cal.), B. A. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law, Fellow of the Calcutta University, Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Landholders' Association, &c., &c.	Bengalee, Brahmin.	Zemindar, Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, 37, Baligunge Road, Calcutta.	Elected at a meeting of the Committee of the Bengal Landholders' Association on the 17th December, 1905.
2	"	"	Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta.	Babu Murlidhar Roy ...	Bengalee, Hindoo.	Zemindar and Banker, 16, Banamali Sarkar's Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta held at 10, Hastings Street on 20th December, 1905.
3	"	"	"	Babu Surendra Chandra Sen.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Kayastha.	Manager of the "Bengal Soap Factory," 64/1, Mechna Bazar Road, Calcutta.	Ditto.
4	"	"	Bengal Landholders' Association	Satyendra Nath Tagore, Esq., I. C. S. (retired), Zemindar.	Bengalee, Brahmin.	19, Store Road, Ballygunj.	Ditto.
5	"	"	"	T. Palit, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Calcutta High Court.	Bengalee, Kayastha.	35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.	Ditto.
6	"	"	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta.	Babu Kishori Mohan Roy.	Bengalee, Hindoo.	39, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta held at 10, Hastings Street, on 20th December, 1905.
7	"	"	"	Babu Kedar Nath Mukerjee.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Brahmin.	Sastitala, Baranagore, Calcutta.	Ditto.
8	"	"	"	K. S. Chowdhry, Esq., B. L.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Vaidya.	Zemindar, 44, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.	At the Committee meeting held on the 22nd December, 1905, Bengal Landholders' Association.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religion, denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
9	Bengal	Calcutta	Bengal Landholders' Association, Calcutta.	Hon'ble Jogesh Chandra Chaudhri, M. A., Member, Bengal Legislative Council.	Hindoo, Brahmin.	...	At a meeting of the Bengal Landholders' Association on the 17th December 1906.
10	"	"	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta.	Babu Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A., B. L.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Vaidya.	5, Noor Mohammed Sircar's Lane, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta held at 10, Hastings Street on 20th December, 1905.
11	"	"	"	Babu Sanat Kumar Chowdhry.	Bengalee, Hindoo.	Attorney-at-Law, 5/1, Mahes Chandra Chowdhry's Lane, Bhawani-pur, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta held at 10, Hastings Street on 20th December, 1905, & at a public meeting held at Anudpur, District Burdwan, on 17th December, 1905.
12	"	"	"	Babu Baidya Nath Mukerjee, B. A.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Brahmin.	Landholder, 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta held at 10, Hastings Street on 20th December, 1905.
13	"	"	"	Dr. Nilratan Sircar, M. A., M. D., F. C. U.	Hindoo, Kayastha, Brahmo.	61, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	Ditto.
14	"	"	"	Babu Badharaman ...	Kayastha, Hindoo.	Jute Merchant ...	Ditto.
15	"	"	"	Babu Phanindra Lal Dey,	Bengalee, Hindoo, Kayastha.	Merchant, 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.	Ditto.
16	"	"	"	R. N. Roy, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	...	Ditto.
17	"	"	"	Babu Jatindra Nath Basu, M. A., Attorney-at Law.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Kayastha.	Solicitor, 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.	Ditto.
18	"	"	"	N. C. Sen, Esq., M. A., M. R. A. S. (London).	Brahmo	Barrister-at-Law, Landholder, sometime of the Colonial Civil Service.	Ditto.
19	"	"	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	A. C. Dutt, Esqr., B. A. (London).	Hindoo, Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law and Landholder.	At a meeting of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division held on December 20th, 1905.

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20	Bengal	Calcutta	Southern Electoral Division Calcutta.	P. K. Sen, Esqr.	Brahmo	Barrister-at-Law, 26, Beadon Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division held on December 20th, 1905.
21	"	"	"	Sudhansu Mohan Bose, M.A. (Cantab), LL.B. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Calcutta High Court.	Brahmo, Hindoo, Kayastha.	Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, Bar Library, Calcutta.	Ditto.
22	"	"	"	Babu Lalit Mohan Ghoshal,	Bengalee, Hindoo, Brahmin.	38/1, Baghbazar Street, Calcutta.	Ditto and also at a public meeting at Kutighata Barawapur, on 24th December, 1905.
23	"	"	"	Satish Chunder Mookerjee, Esqr., Barrister-at-Law.	Hindoo, Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, 89, Chukkerbere Road, Ballygunge.	Ditto.
24	"	"	Do. and British Indian Association	The Honourable Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, M. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Kayastha	Attorney-at-Law, 10, Hastings Street.	At a meeting held on 20th December, 1905.
25	"	"	Northern Metropolitan Division, Calcutta.	Mr. Kunj Behari Sen ...	Hindoo, Bengalee.	Merchant ...	At a committee meeting held on the 20th December, 1905, and also elected by the Bombay Presidency Association.
26	"	"	"	Pandit Nityananda Misra	Brahman	6, Lucas's Lane, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division held on December 20th, 1905.
27	"	"	"	Babu Mohini Mohan Bose	Hindoo, Kayastha.	Zemindar, 4, Rosemary lane, Hawrah.	At a meeting held on 20th December, 1905.
28	"	"	Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Prabhas Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.	"	Vakil, High Court, and Landholder, 73, Padmapuker Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.	Ditto.
29	"	"	Southern Electoral Division, Calcutta.	Babu Kamala Kumud Mookerji.	Bengalee Hindoo, Brahmin.	Zemindar, 50, Bakulbagan Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.	
30	"	"	Indian Association Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Babu Charu Chander Ghose, B. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Kayastha, Bengalee.	Vakil, High Court, 54, Kansaripara Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Indian Association held on the 16th December, 1905 Do. Do. at a meeting held on the 20th & 24th December of the Northern and Southern Metropolitan Divisions, respectively.
31	"	"	Southern Metropolitan Electoral No.	Babu Basanta Kumar Hoaldar	Bengalee, Brahmo.	Advocate, Burma, 18, Ram Mohun Dutt's St., Bhawanipur, Calcutta	At a meeting held on the 24th December, 1905.
32	"	"	British Indian Association Calcutta, Northern Electoral Division, Calcutta.	J. Ghosal, Esq., Zemindar, Bengal.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta 37 Old Ballygunge Road.	Elected at a meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association held at the rooms of the Association on Tuesday, the 5th December, 1905 and 20th December 1905 by the Northern Electoral Division, Calcutta.

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33	Bengal	Calcutta	Indian Association	Babu Kamini Kumar Chanda, M. A., B. L., Vakil, High Court.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Kayastha.	Pleader, Silchar (Assam)	At a meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on 16th December 1905.
34	"	"	"	Babu Hemendra Mohan Bose	Bengalee, Kayastha, Brahmo.	Manufacturing Perfumer, 6, Sibnarain Das's Lane, Calcutta.	Ditto.
35	"	"	"	Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra, M. A., Fellow of the Calcutta University.	Bengalee, Brahmin, Brahmo.	Professor, City College, 61, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	Ditto.
36	"	"	"	Babu Pramatha Nath Sen, M. A., B. L.	Bengalee, Vaidya.	Vakil, Calcutta High Court, 21, Nebutala Lane, Calcutta.	Ditto.
37	"	"	"	J. N. Ray, Esq. ...	Hindoo, Vaidya.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
38	"	"	"	Babu Surendranath Banerji, B. A., Fellow of the Calcutta University.	Bengalee, Brahmin.	Journalist & Educationist; Secretary, Indian Association; Editor, and Proprietor, "Bengalee;" Professor, Ripon College; 70, Colootola Street, Calcutta.	Ditto.
39	"	"	"	Pandit Kali Prasanno Kabyabisarad.	Bengalee, Brahmin.	Author and Journalist; Editor of the "Hitahadi," 33 Balaram Bose Ghat Street, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.	Ditto.
40	"	"	"	Kabiraj Upendra Nath Sen.	Bengalee, Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner, Pharmacist, 29, Colootola Street, Calcutta.	Ditto.
41	"	"	"	Krishna Kumar Mitra, B. A.	Bengalee, Kayastha, Brahmo.	Editor, "The Sanjibani," 6, College Square, Calcutta.	Ditto.
42	"	"	"	Pramatha Nath Banerji, M. A.	Bengalee, Brahmin.	Professor and Landowner, 41, Sukeu's Street, Calcutta.	Ditto.
43	"	"	Indian Association.	Rai Yatindra Nath Chaudhari, M. A., B. L.	Bengalee, Kayastha.	Zemindar, Baranagore, 24-pergunnas.	At a meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on 16th December, 1905, and by the British Indian Association on 5th December, 1905; Northern Metropolitan on 20th December, 1905; and at Bengal Landholders' Association and at public meeting, Baranagore.
44	"	"	"	Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray.	Bengalee, Kayastha.	Landholder; Author and journalist; Editor, "Indian World," 121, Dhurumtola Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on 16th December, 1905; and at Faridpur Peoples' Association on 3rd December, 1905; and at Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division on 20th December, 1905.
45	"	"	Bengal Landholders' Association.	Mr. Satis Ranjan Das, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Calcutta High Court, Landholder, &c.	Bengalee, Brahmo.	23/2, Theatre Road, Calcutta.	Elected at a meeting of the Committee of the Bengal Landholders' Association held on the 17th December, 1905.

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46	Bengal	Calcutta	"	Mr. Pran Sunker Rai Chandhary, Zemindar, Teota, Dacca.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Vaidya.	44, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.	Elected at a meeting of the Committee of the Bengal Landholders' Association on the 17th December, 1905; and at a special meeting of Dinajpur Standing Congress Committee held on 7th December, 1905.
47	...	...	Calcutta	Manadabhiram Borooah, Esqr.	Assamese, Hindoo, Brahmin.	Of independent means, 21, Rosemary Lane, Howrah.	In a meeting of the Assamese Residents in Calcutta held in the Ripon College premises on the 24th December, 1905.
48	"	...	Koostia	Babu Satendra Nath Roy M. A., B. L., son of late Babu Shama Prosonna Roy. Thana Koostia, Nadia, Bengal.	Municipal Commissioner Koostia, Vice-Chairman, Charitable Dispensary Committee, Koostia; Pleader.	Koostia, Nadia (Bengal), Koostia Sub-Division to be represented.	At a public meeting held on the 19th December, 1905, at the Koostia Bar Library.
49	"	Calcutta	...	Babu Dakshina Ranjan Acharjee.	Hindoo, Brahmin.	Zemindar, Member, Local Board, Kushtia, Kushtia, Nadia (Bengal), Kushtia Sub-Division, to be represented.	At a public meeting held on the 19th December, 1905, at the Kushtia Bar Library house.
50	"	"	Calcutta	Babu Akhoy Kumar Roy,	Bengalee, Brahmo.	Merchant ...	Elected by Calcutta Kavirajes on 25th December, 1905.
51	"	"	"	Kaviraj Rakhal Chandra Sen, L. M. S.	Bengalee, Hindoo.	Kaviraj, 10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.	Elected by Calcutta Kavirajes on 20th December, 1905.
52	"	"	Howrah	Babu Charu Chander Sinha, M. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Kayasth.	Pleader, Ramkristipur, Howrah.	At a meeting of the Peoples' Association, Howrah.
53	"	"	Howrah	Babu Nitya Din Mukherji	Hindoo, Brahmin.	Mukhtar, Howrah ...	At a meeting of the Peoples' Association, Howrah, on 19th December, 1905.
54	"	"	Midnapore	Babu Nageshwar Prasad Sinha Roy.	Hindoo, Bengalee, Khatria.	Zemindar, Kechkapore, Hony. Magistrate, Dt. Midnapore.	Elected at a public meeting held at the Bayley Hall, Midnapore, on 17th December, 1905.
55	"	"	Beliaghatta	Babu Upendranath Sen Gupta, M. A.	Baidya, Hindoo.	... ..	On the 19th December, 1905, in a public meeting held at 16, Barwarin Tola Road, Beliaghata, Calcutta; and also at the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division on 20th December, 1905.
56	"	"	Alipur (24-Pergunnas).	Babu Debindranath Bagchi, M. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Brahmin.	Pleader, Alipur ...	At a general meeting of the Alipur Bar Association held on the 21st December, 1905.
57	"	"	"	Babu Bejoy Krishna Bose, B. A., B. L., Pleader.	Kayastha, Hindoo.	Pleader, Alipur Judge's Court.	At a meeting of the Bar Library held on the 21st December, 1905.
58	"	"	"	Babu Surendranath Mallik, M. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Kayastha.	Lawyer, No. 2, Chandronath Chatterji's Street, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Alipur Bar Library held on the 21st December, 1905.

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59	Bengal	Calcutta	Krishnagar (Nadia).	Babu Akshoy Kumar Mitra, Honorary Magistrate, Chakdaha Independent Bench, Nadia.	Hindoo, Kayastha.	Zemindar, Chakdaha (Nadia, Bengal).	At a public meeting held at the instance of the Branch Indian Association on the 16th December, 1905, at Krishnagar.
60	"	"	"	Babu Tarapada Banerji, M. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Brahmin.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
61	"	"	Krishnagar (Calcutta).	Babu Jadunath Chatterji, B. L., Chairman, Krishnagar Municipality; Zemindar, Pleader.	"	Vakil and Zemindar, Krishnagar (Nadia).	At a meeting held on the 16th December, 1905, at Krishnagar.
62	"	"	"	Babu Hari Prasad Chatterji, B. L., Pleader and Zemindar.	"	Pleader and Zemindar, Krishnagar, Nadia.	At a public meeting held on the 16th December, 1905, at Krishnagar.
63	"	"	"	Babu Jotish Chundra Pal Chowdhry, Zemindar, Natudah (Nadia).	Hindoo, Tamuli.	Zemindar, Natudah (Nadia).	Elected at a meeting held on the 16th December, 1905, at Krishnagar.
64	"	"	Khoolna	Jagindra Nath Das, Esq., M. R. A. S., F. S. A., Zemindar and Rector, Khalishpur A.-V. School.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Vaichya, Barnijiti.	Khalishpur, Khoolna...	Public meeting held on 19th December, 1905.
65	"	...	Purulia	Sarat Chandra Sen. B. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Baidya.	Vakil, High Court, Purulia; Calcutta Landholder, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Distt. Board, Maubhum.	Elected at a meeting held on the 16th December, 1905.
66	"	Calcutta	"	Babu Janendranath Ghosh, B. L.	Hindoo, Kayasth.	Pleader ...	Elected at a meeting of the Purulia Bar Association held on the 17th December, 1905.
67	"	Orissa	Cuttack and Pooree.	Babu Gobind Chandra Prusti.	Goldsmith	Trader ..	Elected by the Orissa Association on the 17th December, 1905.
68	"	Calcutta	Burdwan	Molvi Abdul Karim, B. A.	Islam ...	Aimadar ...	Public meeting held on 23rd December, 1905.
69	"	"	"	Molvi A. K. M. Abdul Kayoon, M. A., B. L.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
70	"	"	"	Sreejukta Babu Anulya Deb Pattuck, B.A., B. L.	Hindoo, Brahmin	Pleader, District Courts, and Zemindar, Surdwa.	Elected on the 20th December, 1905, at a meeting held at the Taylor Memorial Hall, Burdwan.
71	"	"	"	Sreejukta Sarat Chandra Busy, B. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, and Zemindar.	Ditto.
72	"	"	Barakar	Babu Devindra Nath Bain, L. M. S.	"	Medical Practitioner, Burakas.	Ditto.
73	"	"	Hughli and Chinsurah.	Babu Bishnupada Chatterji, M. A., B. L.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Brahmin.	Vakil, Judge's Court, Hughli; and Chairman, Hughli and Chinsurah Municipality.	At a public meeting of the residents and inhabitants of Hughli and Chinsurah held on the 18th December, 1905.
74	"	"	"	Babu Ramesh Chandra Mandal.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Subarnabauik.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate.	At a meeting of the residents and inhabitants of Hughli and Chinsurah held on the 18th December, 1905.

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75	Bengal	Calcutta	Midnapore	Babu Moti Lal Mukerji, B. A., B. L.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Midnapore.	Elected at a public meeting held at the Bayley Hall, Midnapore, on 17th December, 1905.
76	"	"	"	Babu Raghunath Das, M. A., B. L.	Uriya, Hindoo, Kavan.	Vakil, Vice-Chairman, District Board; and Chairman, Sudder Local Board, Midnapore; Zemindar, Colonelgola, Midnapore.	At a public meeting held at the Bayley Hall, Midnapore, on 17th December, 1905.
77	"	"	Cuttack and Pooree.	Babu Padan Sahu ...	Teli ...	Trader and Contractor	Elected by the Orissa Association on 17th December, 1905.
78	"	"	"	Babu Hurry Mohan Roy Chowdhury.	Brahmin	Mukhtear ...	Ditto.
79	"	"	Peoples' Association, Bagerhat.	Babu Behari Lal Roy, B. A.	Bengalee, Kayastha.	Head Master, Bagerhat H.-E. School; Secretary, Peoples' Association; Secretary, Bharat Bhandar; Joint Secretary, Girls' School; Honorary Magistrate.	At a public meeting of the Association held on the 15th December, 1905, at the Loan Office room.
80	Eastern Bengal and Assam.	Dacca	Mymen-Singh (Tanguil).	Babu Narsh Chandra Sen, M. A., B. L.	Hindoo, Vaidya.	Research Scholar, 5, Noor Mohammed Sircar's Lane, Calcutta.	At a committee meeting of the Tanguil Peoples' Association held on the 18th December, 1905.
81	"	"	Munshiganj District Dacca.	Babu Ratneswar Sen, B. L., Vakil.	Vaidya, Hindoo.	Vakil, Munshiganj, Dacca.	At a public meeting held at Munshiganj.
82	"	"	"	Babu Umar Chand Das, B. L., Pleader.	"	Pleader, Munshiganj, Dacca.	Ditto.
83	"	"	"	Babu Durga Das Das ...	Bengalee, Hinduism, Baidya.	Pleader, Dhubri, Dist. Goalpara.	At a meeting of the Legal Practitioners' Association, Dhubri, held on the 13th December, 1905.
84	"	"	Dhubri	Babu Upendra Nath Chatterji, B. A., B. L.	Bengalee, Hindoo, Brahmin.	Pleader, Dhubri, Dist. Goalpara.	At a meeting of the Legal Practitioners' Association Dhubri, held on the 13th December 1905.
85	"	"	"	Babu Gauri Nath Chakrabarty.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
86	"	"	"	Babu Ramacharan Ganguli, B. A., B. L.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
87	"	"	"	Babu Pyari Mohan Datta	Bengalee, Hindoo, Kayasth.	Ditto.	Ditto.
88	Eastern Bengal and Assam.	"	Malda	Babu Krishna Lal Chowdhry.	Teli ...	Zemindar ...	Elected at a public meeting of the Malda Association on the 19th December, 1905.
89	"	"	"	Munshi Muhammad Nurbun, Municipal Commissioner of English Bazar.	Mahomedan.	Lawyer, Landholder...	Elected at a meeting of the Executive Committee specially meeting held a Association, held on 19th December, 1905.
90	"	"	"	Babu Bepin Bihari Ghosh, B. A., B. L.	Kayastha, Hindoo.	Pleader and Jotilar ...	Ditto.
91	"	"	"	Babu Panchanan Mujumdar, B. A., B. L.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto. held on 19th December, 1905.

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92	Eastern Bengal and Assam.	Dacca	Malda	Babu Radhesh Chandra Set, B. A., B. L.	Bnsak, Hindoo.	Pleader; Municipal Commissioner; Secretary, District Agricultural Association; Joint Secretary, Malda Club and Public Library.	Elected at a meeting of the Executive Committee specially meeting held a Association, held on 19th December, 1905.
93	"	"	Brahmanbarria, Comilla.	Babu Dinabandhu Dutt	Bengalee, Hinduism, Vaidya.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Brahmanbarria, Dist. Tipperah.	Elected by a public meeting held on the 17th December, 1905.
94	"	Comilla	Comilla	Babu Bhudhar Das Bahadur.	Hindoo	Pleader ...	Elected on the 23rd December, 1905, by Tipperah Peoples' Association.
95	"	"	Comilla	Babu Ananga Mohan Ghose, B. L.	"	Ditto. ...	Elected on 23rd December, 1905, from Tipperah Peoples' Association.
96	"	"	"	Babu Akhil Chandra Datta, B. L.	"	Ditto ...	Ditto.
97	"	...	Chittagang	Babu Sarat Chandra Chakarvarti.	Hindoo, Brahman.	Head Master, Saraotali H.-E. School.	Elected by the Chittagong Association at a meeting held on the 22nd December, 1905.
98	"	Calcutta	Sub-Division Chandpur, District Tipperah.	Dr. Mohendra Chandra Karmakar.	Hindoo, Kayastha.	Medical Practitioner, Chandpur, Tipperah.	Elected at a public meeting held at Chandpur, Tipperah, on the 12th December, 1905.
99	"	"	Chittagong	Babu Woomacharan Kabiratna	Hindoo, Brahman.	Physician ...	Elected by the Chittagong Association at a meeting held on the 22nd December, 1905.
100	"	"	Dibrugarh	Babu Umesh Chandra Mukru, L. M. S.	"	Doctor ...	On 23rd October, 1905, at annual meeting under presidency of Dr. B. Mitter, M. A., B. L.
101	...	...	...	Babu Jadav Chandra Bisi	Hindoo, Brahmin, Bengalee.	Zemindar, Member, District Board.	At a meeting of the Congress Committee held on 3rd December, 1905.
102	Eastern Bengal and Assam	...	Gauhati	Mr. T. R. Phookun, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Calcutta High Court; Zemindar, Gauhati, Assam.	Brahmin	52/4, Park Street, Calcutta.	Elected at a meeting of the Committee of the Bengal Landholders' Association held on the 17th December, 1905; and also at a meeting of the Assamese resident, in Calcutta held in Ripon College on 24th December, 1905.
103	"	Calcutta	Goalpara	Babu Ganga Charan Sen	Bengalee, Hinduism, Baidya.	Banker and Merchant...	At a meeting of the Goalpara public, held on the 11th December, 1905.
104	"	"	"	Srijukta Horiprashad Nath, Muktear, Member of the Goalpara Local Board and Municipality.	Assamese, Hinduism, Jogi.	Mukhtear, Goalpara (Assam).	Elected by the Goalpara public at a meeting held on the 11th December, 1905.
105	"	"	Karimganj.	Babu Ramani Mohan Das, Merchant, Zemindar and Tea-Planter; Member, Local Board, Karimganj.	Hindoo, Bengalee.	Merchant and Zemindar, P.O. Karimganj, District Sylhet.	By a general meeting of the Karimganj Association held on the 22nd December, 1905.
106	"	"	Munshiganj, District Dacca.	Dr. Kamekhyia Ch. Banerji, Author.	Hindoo, Brahmin.	Doctor and Author ...	At a public meeting in the beginning of December, 1905.

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107	East Bengal and Assam.	Dacca	Dacca	Babu Govinda Chandra Datta Roy.	Bengali, Kayastha.	Talukdar, village Brahman Kitta, Post Office Keraniganj, President Pauchayet.	At a meeting of the Dacca Peoples' Association, held on the 11th December 1905.
108	"	"	"	Babu Har Mohan Seal ...	Sabarna Banik.	Merchant	Ditto.
109	"	"	"	Syed Hidayat Buksh ...	Mahomedan.	Talukdar and Merchant	Ditto.
110	"	"	"	Mr. Dakshinaprasad Bose	Bengali, Kayastha.	Landholder, Khalsi, "The Peace Lodge, B. O. Khalsi.	At a meeting of the Committee of the Khalsi Hitasadhini Sabha.
111	"	"	"	Babu Gokul Chandra Das	Shaha	Merchant, Babubazar...	At a meeting of Dacca People's Association, held on the 11th December 1905.
112	"	"	"	Babu Prindaban Chandra Bysak, B. L.	Bysak	Merchant and Pleader, Judge's Court.	Ditto.
113	"	"	"	Babu Surja Kanta Banerji, B. L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Judge's Court	Ditto.
114	"	"	"	Babu Sarat Chandra Chakerbutty, B. L.	Brahmin	Talukdar, Member, District Board, and Pleader, Judge's Court.	Ditto.
115	"	"	Munshigunj.	Babu Girindra Chandra Banerji.	Brahmin	Mukhtiar, Munshigunj	At a public meeting, held on 22nd December 1905.
116	"	Mymensingh.	Muktugacha.	A. H. Ghaznavi, Esq. ...	Bengali, Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Delduar ...	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1905, in the Reading Club Rooms, Muktugacha.
117	"	"	"	Babu Bhabani Nath Sanyal.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Zemindar, Muktugacha	Ditto.
118	"	"	"	Babu Suryya Kumar Sarkhel.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Manager of the estate of Babus Haradas, Binayakdas and Tarakdas Acharyya Chaudhuri, of Muktugacha.	Ditto.
119	"	"	Mymensingh.	Babu Padmini Mohan Neyogi.	Bengali, Baidya.	Taluqdari and service, P.O. Sakrail, Tangail.	At a public meeting held on 18th December 1905 in Mymensingh Town Hall.
120	"	"	Tangail	Padmini Mohan Neogi, Esqr.	"	Sub-Editor, "Indian World," Sakrail (Tangail).	At a meeting of the Peoples' Association held on 17th December 1905, and Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division of Calcutta, held on 20th December 1905.
121	"	"	Mymensingh.	Babu Shama Charan Roy	Bengali, Kaistha.	Chairman, Mymensingh Municipality; Member District Board; Secretary, City College, Mymensingh Branch; Pleader, Judge's Court.	At a public meeting held on the 18th December 1905 in the Mymensingh Town Hall.
122	"	"	Gouripur, Mymensingh.	Babu Paresh Nath Bando-padhya.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Inspector, Gouripur Zamindar's estate.	At a meeting of the members of the "Krishi - Silponnati Bidhagini Sabha," held on 18th December 1905 at Gouripur.

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123	East Bengal and Assam.	Mymensingh.	Sherpur Town, Mymensingh.	Babu Gogesh Chandra Nag	Kayestah	Talukdar, Sherpur Town, Mymensingh.	At a public meeting held on 22nd December at Rai Sadhabugoo Chowdhri's house.
124	"	Faridpur.	Faridpur.	The Honourable Babu Ambika Charan Mozumdar, M. A., B. L.	Bengali, Vaidya.	Member, Bengal Legislative Council; late Chairman, Faridpur Municipality; President, Faridpur Peoples' Association; the Swadeshi Samiti and the Association for the Improvement of Scientific and Industrial Education; Zemindar, Pleader.	At a public meeting held at the instance of the Faridpur Peoples' Association and the Swadeshi Samiti of Faridpur on the 3rd December 1905.
125	"	"	Faridpur	Babu Kamini Kumar Mukerjee.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Landholder, Pleader, District Court.	At a committee meeting of the Faridpur Peoples' Association on the 20th December 1905.
126	"	"	Faridpur	Babu Purnachandra Maitra, L. L. B.	"	Pleader, late Vice-Chairman.	At a public meeting at Faridpur on 3rd December 1905 at the instance of Peoples' Association, &c.
127	"	"	"	Babu Mathura Nath Maitra, B. L.	"	Late Vice-Chairman, Faridpur Municipality; Pleader, District Court.	Ditto.
128	"	Barisal	The Barisal Peoples' Association	Babu Kailash Chandra Sen.	Vaidya	Mukhtiar ...	At a meeting of the Committee of the Barisal Peoples' Association, held on the 21st December 1905.
129	"	"	"	Babu Satish Chandra Chatterji, M. A.	Brahmin	Professor, Srajamohan Institution.	Ditto.
130	"	"	"	Babu Sibaran Chandra Das Gupta, M. A., B. L.	Vaidya	Pleader ...	Ditto.
131	"	"	Barisal	Babu Rajani Kanta Guha, M. A.	Bengali, Brahmo.	Principal, S. M. Institution.	Ditto.
132	"	Dungpur.	Dungpur.	Kumar Jamini Bullav Sen, son of Raja Janaki. Bullav Sen, Zemindar, Dinla, P. O., Rungpur.	Bengali, Kayastha.	10. Duff Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Committee of the Bengal Landholders' Association, held on the 17th December 1905.
133	"	"	"	Babu Tara Sunder Roy, B. L.	Brahmin	Pleader and Zemindar, Zaibindha (Rungpur).	At a public meeting held at Gaibandha, on the 17th December 1905.
134	"	Dinajpur.	Dinajpur	Babu Akshoy Kumar Roy	Bengali, Brahmin	Pleader, Raigunj ...	At a special meeting of the Dinajpur Standing Congress Committee held on the 17th December 1905, at Dinajpur.
135	"	"	"	Babu Basanta Kumar Sidhyanta.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Raigunj.	Ditto.

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136	East Bengal and Assam.	Dinajpur	Dinajpur	Babu Jogesh Chandra Guha Khasnavish, M. A., B. L.	Bengali, Kayesta.	Zamindar and Pleader, Dinajpur.	At a general meeting of the Standing Congress Committee, Dinajpur, held on the 10th, December 1905.
137	"	"	"	Babu Sarendra Kumar Sen, M. A., B. L.	Bengali, Baidya.	Pleader, Dinajpur ...	Idto.
138	"	"	"	Babu Jogindra Chandra Chakraverty, M. A., B. L.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner, Pleader and Member, District Board.	Idto.
139	"	"	"	Babu Biraja Sanker Roy Chowdhery.	Bengali, Baidya.	Zamindar, Dinajpur ...	At a special meeting of the Dinajpur Standing Congress Committee, held on the 17th December 1905, at Dinajpur.
140	"	Pabna	Pabna	Babu Rajani Kanta Chakraverty, B. A.	Bengali, Brahman.	Treasury Accountant, Cooch Behar State.	By a public meeting held at Pabna on 13th December 1905.
141	"	"	"	Babu Sramadu Gorinda Chowdhery.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Zamindar, Tantibund	Idto.
142	"	"	"	Babu Binay Kumar Roy, Pleader.	...	Pleader, Judge's Court; Assistant Secretary, Pabna Association, Pabna Scientific and Industrial Association, etc.	Idto.
143	"	Bogra	Bogra	Dr. Peary Sunker Dass Gupta, L. M. S.	Brahman	Doctor ...	At the Bogra Peoples' Association held on the 16th December 1905.
144	"	"	"	Babu Mukuda Narayan, Zamindar, Shupur, Bogra.	Bengal, Brahman.	Zamindar, at present of Sonarpura, Benares City.	Idto.
145	"	Jalpaiguri.	Jalpaiguri	Babu Trailakya Nath Moulick.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	At a meeting of the Standing Congress Committee, held on 17th December 1905.
146	"	"	"	Babu Annada Charan Sen, B. L.	Kayastha, Hindu.	Idto ...	At a meeting of the Friends' Union, held on 23rd December 1905.
147	"	"	"	Babu Tarak Chandra Chakraverty.	Brahmin	.....	Idto.
148	"	"	"	Babu Sireswar Ganguli, B. A.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	At a meeting of Branch Indian Association and Standing Congress Committee, held on 17th December 1905.
149	"	"	"	Babu Jogesh Chandra Ghosh, B. A.	Kayastha	Landholder ...	Idto.
150	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Mohan Singh, Jotedar.	Kshatriya	Idto ...	Idto.
	"	Rampur Salum.	Sirajgunj	Munshi Rahmatullah ...	Mahomedan.	Mukhtiar, Sirajgunj ...	At a public meeting held at Sirajgunj on the 11th December 1905.

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151	Eastern Bengal and Assam.	Rampur Baulia.	Sirajganj	Babu Sasidhar Nay, L.M.S.	Kayastha	Medical Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner.	At a public meeting held at Sirajganj on the 11th December 1905.
152	"	"	"	Babu Abhoy Charan Guha	"	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.
153	"	"	Rampur-Baulia.	Babu Jadav Govind Sen	Bairya	Zemindar and Member, Nator Local Board.	At the Rampur-Baulia standing Congress Committee on the 15th December 1905.
154	Bengal	Berhampur.	Murshidabad.	Babu Ramani Mohan Sen	"	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner.	At a meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on the 9th December 1905.
155	"	"	"	Babu Hemendranath Sen, B. L.	"	Vakil and Zemindar, 76, Musjidbaree Street, Calcutta.	Ditto.
156	"	"	"	Babu Boikunt Nath Sen, B. L.	"	Vakil and Zemindar, Vice-President, Murshidabad Association; Municipal Commissioner, etc.	Ditto.
157	"	"	"	Babu Golap Das Varman...	Kshatrya	Merchant, Khagra ...	Ditto.
158	"	"	"	Babu Sudhansushekar Bagchee.	Brahmin	Silk Merchant and Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
159	"	"	"	Babu Panna Lal Singha	Kshatrya	Manager, Nehalia estate, Jagunj (Murshidabad).	Ditto.
160	"	"	"	Babu Ashutosh Chuckerbutty, Zemindar.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Nimita, Aurangabad.	Ditto.
161	"	"	"	Babu Nafar Das Roy	Kshatrya	Honorary Magistrate, Secretary, Murshidabad Association, Zemindar, Girabazar.	Ditto.
162	"	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur	Babu Surindra Nath Basu, M. A., L. B.	Bengali, Kayastha.	Pleader ...	At a meeting held in the Bhagalpur Bar-Library on 12th December 1905.
163	"	"	"	Babu Ananta Parshad Mandar.	Bihari, Mandu.	Zemindar, Madhopur, and Member of Local Board and Sharer's institute, Madhopura.	At a meeting held in the Bhagalpur Bar-Library on 12th December 1905.
164	"	"	"	Mr. H. L. Roy, B. A., B. L., F. T. S.	Bengali, Brahman.	Pleader and Professor of Law, Vice-President of the Bunjiya Sahitya Parshad; President of the Theosophical Society; late Editor to the Pataka "Naba Prava" (Calcutta) and "Behar News;" Secretary "Swadeshi" Committee, Joint Secretary Congress Committee.	At a public meeting held in the Bar-Library Hall.
165	"	"	"	Babu Sri Mohan Mukur	Maitelu Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	Ditto.

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166	Bengal	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur	Babu Badri Nath Upadhya	Maithil Brahmin.	Zamindar ...	At a meeting held in the Bhagalpur Bar-Library on 12th December 1905.
167	"	"	"	C. Chowdhary, Esqr. ...	"	Ditto ...	Ditto.
168	"	"	"	Babu Surindra Nath Dass	Bengali, Brahmin.	Landholder, Madhipura	At a public meeting held at Bhagalpur on the 13th December 1905.
169	"	"	"	Babu Barada Prasada Mukerjee, B. L.	"	Pleader ...	At a meeting held at the Bhagalpur Bar-Library on the 12th December 1905.
170	"	"	"	Babu Rash Behary Lal Mandal.	Behari, Hindu.	Zemindar Madhopore...	Ditto.
171	"	"	"	Mr. Deepnarain Singh	Hindu	Zemindar, Barrister-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
172	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Bagchi, M. A., B. L.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court; Zemindar and Chairman, Bhagalpur Municipality.	Ditto.
173	"	"	Beguserai (Bhagalpur).	Babu Achyntanand Sahay, B. A.	Behari Kayastha.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 17th December.
174	"	Purnea	Purnea	Hon'ble Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerjee, M. A., B. L.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Member of the Bengal Legislative Council; Commissioner, Purnea Municipality.	At a public meeting held at Purnea on 6th December 1905.
175	"	"	"	Babu Ram Prashad, B. L.	Behari, Kaisth.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Purnea Municipality.	Ditto.
176	"	"	"	Babu Dhanusdhari Prasad Singh, M. A., B. L.	"	Ditto	Ditto.
177	"	"	"	Babu Chit Narain Singh	"	Mukhtiar, Land-holder, etc.	Ditto.
178	"	Bhagalpur.	Monghyr	Babu Upendra Chandra Banerjee.	Araya, Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held in the Bar-Library, Monghyr, on the 12th December 1905.
179	"	Behar	Patna	Babu Jamana Prasad	Hindu, Kayastha.	Zamindar, Bankipur; Manager, General Padam Jang Rana Bahadur.	At a public meeting held at Bankipur on 25th November 1905.
180	"	"	"	Babu Ramgopal Singh Chowdhry, B. A., B. L., scion of Chowdhry family, Patna.	Bhumihar, Brahmin	Zamindar-Mahajan, Pleader, Chowdhritola Bankipur; Secretary, Executive Committee of the Bhumihar Brahmin Sabha and Member, Behar Landholders' Association.	Ditto.
181	"	"	"	Babu Pares Nath Chatterjee, L. B. S.	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner, Moradpur Post Office, Bankipur.	At a meeting held on the 28th to 29th November 1905.
182	"	"	"	Babu Manmath Nath Dey, B. L.	Kayastha	Pleader, Bankipur ...	At a public meeting held in Bankipur on the 25th November 1905.

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183	Bengal	Behar	Patna	Babu Ram Chander Bhaduri, B. L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Bankipur ...	At a public meeting held at Bankipur on 25th November 1905.
184	"	"	"	Babu Davender Nath Das	Kayastha	Pleader, Bankipur ...	Ditto.
185	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Sahay, B. L.	Behar Kayestha.	Vakil and Law Lecturer, Patna College; Municipal Commissioner; Member, District and Local Boards; Member, Behar Landholders' Member, Behar Industrial and Agricultural Association, etc.	Ditto.
186	"	"	"	Babu Kali Kumar Sinha, B. L.	Kayastha	Pleader and Zemindar; Author, Journalist, Member, Behar Landholders' Association.	Ditto.
187	"	"	"	Babu Alakh Kumar Sinha, B. A.	Kayastha	Zemindar and Secretary, Literary Association, Bankipur.	Ditto.
188	"	"	"	Babu Nilambar Prasad ...	Kayastha	Pleader ...	Ditto.
189	"	"	Chupra, District Saran.	Babu Chandi Prasad Missir	Brahmin	Pleader and Zemindar	At a public meeting held on the 23rd December 1905.
190	"	"	Shahabad, Arrah.	Babu Kaylash Chandra Banerjee, M. A., B. L.	Brahmin, Kulin.	Pleader, Arrah E. I. R. (Shahabad).	At a General Meeting held in the Bar Association Room on the 18th December 1905.
191	"	"	Shahabad	Rabu Shewdhar Prasad...	Kayastha	Zemindar of Chowsa, District Shahabad.	At a meeting of the Public Union (Association). Chowsa, on the 15th December 1905.
192	"	"	"	Babu Sheo Kumar ...	Agrawala Jain.	Zemindar ...	At a general meeting held in the Bar Association on the 18th of December 1905.
193	"	"	Shahabad, Arrah.	Babu Mangala Charan, B. A., B. L.	Kayasth, Sribastob.	Vakil, Arrah E. I. R., Shahabad.	Ditto.
194	"	"	"	Babu Bhugwut Sahai, B. A., B. L.	Kayastha, Sreebastub.	Pleader and Zemindar	At a general meeting held at Arrah on the 13th December 1905.
195	"	"	"	Babu Raghbir Saran, B. A., B. L.	(Kayastha), Srivastab).	Pleader and Zemindar and Proprietor of Coal Mines, Arrah.	Ditto.
196	"	"	"	Munshi Syamalaoanda Sahay.	"	Pleader, Zamindar ...	Ditto.

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197	Bengal	Behar	Shahabad	Pandit Bishun Dutt Pathak,	Gour Brahmin.	Pleader, Zemindar Arrah; Secretary, Arrah Ratepayers' Association; and President of the Arrah Union Club.	At a Public Meeting held at Arrah on the 18th December 1905.
198	"	"	Muzafferpur.	Dr. Sarendra Nath Sinha, L. M. S.	Kayesth	Doctor	At a public meeting on 13th December 1905.
199	"	"	"	Babu Jnanendra Mohan Datta, B. L.	Bengali, Kayesth.	Pleader	Ditto.
200	"	"	"	Babu Dwarka Nath, B. L.	Behari, Kayesth.	Ditto.	Ditto.
201	"	"	"	Babu Basanti Charan Sinha, M. A., B. L.	Bengali, Kayesth	Pleader, Managing Director, Tirhut Stores; Secretary, Oriental Club; Secretary, Scientific and Industrial Association, District Committee, Muzafferpur.	Ditto.
202	"	"	"	M. Mohammed Akhtar, M. A., B. L.	Mohammedan.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
203	"	"	"	Rai Permeshwer Narain Bahadur.	Kshattrya	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate.	Ditto.
204	"	"	"	Babu Durga Das Singh, B. A.	Kshattrya, Hindu.	Zemindar	Ditto.
205	"	Gaya.	Gaya.	Babu Akhowry Lakshmi Narayan, B. L.,	Behari, Kayestha.	Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Zemindar	At a public meeting held on Saturday, the 16th December 1905.
206	"	"	"	Babu Anup Narayan, B. L.	"	Vakil, Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
207	"	"	"	Babu Keshari Pershad Singh, M. A.	Rajput	Zemindar, Chowgoin, District Shahabad.	Ditto.
208	"	"	"	Babu Kali Prasad Singh	Brahmin	Zemindar, Hasoa, District Gaya (via Telaiya, S.-B. R.)	Ditto.
209	"	"	"	Babu Nand Kishore Lall, M. A., B. L.	Kayestha	Vakil, and Zemindar	Ditto.
210	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Pandit Bishambhar Nath	Kashmiri, Brahman	Advocate, High Court; Mothigunj	At a public meeting, held in the Kayasth Patsaha Hall, on the 13th November 1905.
211	"	"	"	Honorable Rai Bahadur Pundit Sunder Lall	Nagar, Brahman	Advocate, High Court; Member, Legislative Council, and Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University.	Ditto.

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212	United Provinces of Agra and Outh.	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Pandit Moti Lal Nehru	Kashmiri, Brahman	Advocate, High Court	At a public meeting held in the Kayasth Pathshala Hall on the 13th November 1905.
213	"	"	"	Babu Charu Chandra Mitter.	Hindu	Zamindar, Mittrashram	Ditto.
214	"	"	"	Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, B. A., L. L. B.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court; Member, Legislative Council and Fellow of the Allahabad University.	Ditto.
215	"	"	"	Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave	Sagar, Brahman.	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
216	"	"	"	S. Sinha, Esq. ...	Kayasth	Bar-at-Law, Editor, "Hindustan Review."	Ditto.
217	"	"	"	Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. A., L. L. D.	Kashmiri, Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court	Ditto.
218	"	"	"	Babu Durga Charan Banerji, B. A.	Bengali, Brahmo.	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
219	"	"	"	Babu Davindra Nath, Ohdedar, M. A., L. L. B.	Bengali, Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, Muthiganj.	Ditto.
220	"	"	"	Dr. Satish Chandra. Banerji, M. A., L. L. D.	Bengali, Brahman.	Advocate, High Court	Ditto.
221	"	"	"	Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh, L. M. S.	Kayasth	Medical Practitioner and Zemindar.	Ditto.
222	"	"	"	Mr. J. Simeon ...	Indian Christian.	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
223	"	"	"	Mr. Sarat Chandra Chaudri, M. A., L. L. B.	Bengali, Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, 5, Elgin, Road.	Ditto.
224	"	"	"	Babu Nagendra Nath Gupta.	Vaidya	Journalist ...	Ditto.
225	"	"	"	Babu Ramanand Chatterji, M. A.	Bengali, Brahmo.	Principal, Kayasth Pathshala.	Ditto.
226	"	"	"	Babu Satya Chandra Mukerji, M. A., L. L. B.	Bengali, Brahman	Vakil, High Court. ...	Ditto.
227	"	"	"	Dr. Baroda Prasada Dutta, L. M. S.	Bengali, Kayasth.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
228	"	"	"	Babu Iswar Saran, B. A.	Kayastha, Hindu.	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
229	"	"	"	Pandit Mohanlal Nehru	Kashmiri, Brahman	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
230	"	"	"	Babu Sadan Lal ...	Khatttri.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
231	"	"	"	Babu Ramnath Bhargava, B. A.	Bhargava	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
232	"	"	"	Pandit Bal Krishna Bhatta.	Brahman	Professor, Kayasth Pathshala.	Ditto.
233	"	"	"	Babu Parbati Charan Chatterji.	Bengali, Brahman.	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
234	"	"	"	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani ...	Hindu, Brahman.	...	Ditto.
235	"	"	"	Babu Lachmi Narayan	Banker ...	Ditto.

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236	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Pandit Bhagwati Prasad, Pandey.	Brahman.	Vaidya, Johnstonganj Road.	At a public meeting held at the Anglo Bengali School Hall on the 13th December 1905.
237	"	"	"	Babu Maheshwar Prasada, B. A.	Kayasth.	Manager, "Hindustan Review."	Ditto.
238	"	"	"	Mr. Tufail Ahmed, B. A.	Mohamedan.	Zemindar, Dist. Budaon.	Ditto.
239	"	"	Cawnpore	Pt. Brij Narain Gurtu, M.A.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Vakil ...	At a public meeting convened by the local Congress Committee on the 19th December 1905.
240	"	"	"	Babu Tryloki Nath Bannerji.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
241	"	"	"	Jwala Prasad, B. A., L.L.B.	Vedic, Kayastha.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
242	"	"	"	Babu H.C. Chatterji, B. A., F. C. U.	Bengali, Brahman	Professor, C. C. College, Cawnpore.	Ditto.
243	"	"	"	Babu Bansi Dhar ...	Vaish.	Rais, Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
244	"	"	"	Babu Anand Swarup ...	Vedic, Kayastha	Pleader, President, Aryasamaj Secretary, D. A. V. College Committee.	Ditto
245	"	"	"	Dr. S.W. Sen, L. M. S. ...	Bengali Vaidya.	Private Practitioner ...	Ditto.
246	"	"	"	Babu Munna Lal ...	Kayastha.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
247	"	"	"	Babu R. C. Chatterji.	Bengali, Brahman.	Leather Merchant,	Ditto.
248	"	"	"	Mr. R. C. Sen, Engineer.	Bengali Vaid.	Engineer ...	Ditto.
249	"	"	Dehra Dun.	Babu Jyoti Swaroop.	Arya.	Vakil, Hony. Magistrate.	At a meeting of the Congress Committee, Dehra Dun.
250	"	"	Saharanpur.	Mr. Nihal Chand, M.A. Bar-at-Law.	Vaishya.	Advocate, High Court.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Saharanpur, held on 10th December 1905.
251	"	"	"	Kuar Pirthi Singh.	Rajput	Prince of Sukit State.	Ditto.
252	"	"	"	Mr. Joti Prasad.	Bhargava.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
253	"	"	"	Pandit Mohan Lal.	Brahman	Bar-at-Law ...	Ditto.
254	"	"	Moradabad.	Babu Brij Nandan Prasad, M. A., L. L. B.	Khatri Hindu.	Vakil, Honorary Magistrate.	At a public meeting convened at the Mission High School, Moradabad on the 16th December, 1905.
255	"	"	"	Lala Babu Ram ...	Vaish.	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.

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256	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad.	Moradabad	Babu Raj Kumar Banerji, M. A.	Bengali Brahman.	Medical Practitioner...	At a public meeting held on the 16th December.
257	"	"	Kumaon.	Pt. Lakshmi Dutt, Pande, B. A.	Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Almora.	At a public meeting held at Almora on the 10th December 1905.
258	"	"	Bareilly.	Baldeo Pershad	Kayastha.	Pleader, Zemindar, President, Arya Samaj, and Governor, Arya Samaj Orphanage, Bareilly.	At a public meeting held at Bareilly on the 28th November 1905.
259	"	"	"	Seth Purnan Pershad.	Arya Vaish.	Rais and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
260	"	"	Shahjahanpur.	B. Kulka Prasada, B. A., L. L. B.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Tilhar.	At a meeting held on the 21st December 1905.
261	"	"	Meerut.	B. Pearay Lall Elbeun.	Arya Agarwal.	Rais, Sadder Kachery Bazar.	At a public meeting held on the 26th of November 1905.
262	"	"	"	Babu Lachman Prasad B. A.	Agarwal	Vakil	Ditto.
263	"	"	"	Lala Seeta Ram, M. A.	Vaish Agarwal.	Rais, Banker and Zamindar.	Ditto.
264	"	"	"	B. Kunwar Behari Lal.	Kayasth.	Vakil.	Ditto.
265	"	"	"	B. Baboo Lall, B. A.	Vaish.	Ditto.	Ditto.
266	"	"	"	Babu Ghasi Ram, M. A.,	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
267	"	"	"	Lala Jagan Nath.	Vaish, Agarwal.	Rais and Zamindar ...	Ditto.
268	"	"	"	Choudhary Radhe Lall.	Brahman.	Pleader	Ditto.
269	"	"	Agra.	Pandit Gobind Sahai Sharma, B. A., Barister-at-Law.	Brahman.	Advocate	At a public meeting of the Congress Committee Agra, held on the 21st November, 1905.
270	"	"	"	Pandit Prabhbu Dayal, B. A.	Brahman.	Pleader	Ditto.
271	"	"	"	Pandit Rajnath	"	Rais and Landholder, Chhili Int.	Ditto.
272	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Prasad	Bhargava.	Rais and Landholder,	Ditto.
273	"	"	"	Professor Manmatha Nath Ghosh, M. A.	Bengali Kayastha	Professor, St. John's College, Agra.	Ditto.
274	"	"	"	Professor Bani Kanta Datta, B. A.	Bengali Kayastha	Ditto.	Ditto.
275	"	"	Muttra.	Radha Charan Goswami Vidya Jogish.	Goswami Brahman.	Hony. Magistrate	At a public meeting held on the 29th November 1905.
276	"	"	Aligarh.	Mr. Ishur Das, Varsheni, M. A., C. I., Chemical Engineer.	Vaishya.	Manager Oriental Glass Works, Sikandra Rau, Aligarh.	At a public meeting held at Dharam Samaj, Aligarh on 20th December 1905.
277	"	"	"	Babu Girdhari Lall, L. L. B.	Vaishya. Agarwal.	Vakil	Ditto.
278	"	"	"	Lala Kishen Dyal.	"	"	Ditto.

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279	United Provinces of Agra & Oudh.	Allahabad.	Aligarh.	Babu Chhannan Lal ...	Vaishya Agarwal.	Banker and Factory owner, Khurja.	At a public meeting held on 20th December, 1905.
280	"	"	"	Babu Lokman Das, LL.B.	Vaish.	Vakil, Aligarh. ...	Ditto.
281	"	"	"	Babu Hira Lal ...	"	"	Ditto.
282	"	"	"	Syed Fazul Hasan Hasrat B. A.	Mohammedan.	Editor, "Urdu-i-Moalla",	Ditto.
283	"	"	"	Dr. Manohar Lal ...	Kayastha.	Medical, Practitioner.	Ditto.
284	"	"	"	Thakur Kedar Nath, B. A., L. L. B.	Thakur.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
285	"	"	"	Mr. Babu Lal Govilla, Textile Engineer and Chemist (Tokio).	Vaish.	Consulting Engineer and Factory Owner, Khurja.	At a public meeting held at Dharm Sanaj, Aligarh on 20th December 1905.
286	"	"	Mainpuri	Pandit Debi D a y a l Pathak, B. A.	Brahman.	Vakil, Judge's Court,	At a public meeting held on the 20th December, 1905.
287	"	"	"	Babu Shiam Sunder Lal, B. A., L. L. B.	Kayasth.	Ditto.	Ditto.
288	"	"	Etah.	Babu Raj Bahadur Varma, M. A., LL. B.	Aryan Kayastha.	Vakil ...	At a public meeting held at Etah on the 3rd November 1905.
289	"	"	Farrukhabad.	Chowdhry Makhan Lal,	Brahman Chowbey.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on 17th December 1905 at Farrukhabad.
290	"	"	"	Pundit Sheo Prasad.	Brahman.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
291	"	"	"	Babu Suraj Prasad.	Arya Khatri.	Pleader and Contractor,	Ditto.
292	"	"	"	Babu Shambhu Narayan,	Kayasth.	Zamindar, Kanouj ...	Ditto.
293	"	"	Jhansi.	Babu Bnsant Kumar Sanyal.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader, District Court,	At a meeting held on the 22nd December 1905.
294	"	"	"	Pundit Gopal Dass B. A., L. L. B.	Gujrati Brahman.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
295	"	"	Mirzapur.	Babu Sri Ram ...	Khatri Vedic.	Pleader and Zamindar, Member, District and Municipal Boards.	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1905.
296	"	"	"	Babu Mahadeo Singh, B. A., L. L. B.	Kshatriya	Pleader, Zamindar and Banker.	Ditto.
297	"	"	"	Babu Judu Nath Singh,	"	Zamindar and Banker,	Ditto.
298	"	"	"	Munshi Bindeshri Pershad,	Kayasth.	Pleader and Zamindar,	Ditto.
299	"	"	"	Munshi Bhagwan Prasad, B. A.,	"	Vakil.	Ditto.
300	"	"	"	Babu Aghore Nath Mukarjee, B. A. L. L. B.	Brahman.	Ditto.	Ditto.
301	"	"	"	Munshi Ganga Prasad (I)	Kayastha.	Pleader and Zamindar,	Ditto.
302	"	"	"	Munshi Mahadeo Pershad B. A.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
303	"	"	"	Pandit Bhagwan Pershad, Pathak.	Brahman.	Zamindar ...	Ditto.

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304	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	Allahabad	Mirzapur.	Lala Esant Lal ...	Agarwala.	Shellac Merchant and Broker.	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1905.
305	"	"	"	Lala Raj Bahadur Lal ...	Kayastha.	Pleader. ...	Ditto.
306	"	"	"	Lala Ganga Pershad, III.	Agarwala.	Merchant and Banker,	Ditto.
307	"	"	"	Babu Mahabir Pershad Singh.	Bhainhar.	Pleader and Zamindar Korh.	Ditto.
308	"	"	"	Munshi Sheomora Lal B. A.	Kayastha.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
309	"	"	"	Seth Behari Lalji ...	Agarwala.	Merchant, Banker, Mill-owner.	Ditto.
310	"	"	"	Seth Kunj Lalji ...	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
311	"	"	"	Lala Parsotam Dass ...	Arya, Kulwar.	Proprietor of the firm of Paddi Ram Parsotam Dass, Shellac Manufacturer and Wood Merchant.	Ditto.
312	"	"	"	Babu Munoo Lal.	Khatri.	Service and Zamindari,	Ditto.
313	"	"	"	Babu Durga Pershad.	Khatri.	Stone Merchant and Contractor.	Ditto.
314	"	"	"	Mohammad Ahsan Saheb.	Mohammedan, Syed.	Zamindar, C/o M. Furzoud Ali.	Ditto.
315	"	"	"	Munshi Luchman Pershad.	Kayastha.	Legal Practitioner, Wellesly Ganj	Ditto.
316	"	"	"	Babu Beni Pershad.	Bhargava.	Stone Merchant, Contractor, Honorary Magistrate Member District and Municipal Boards.	Ditto.
317	"	"	"	Babu Badri Narain Choudhari.	Brahman.	Zamindar ...	Ditto.
318	"	"	"	Babu Baghonath Dass,	Kulwar.	Proprietor of the firm Fakir Ram Baghonath Dass, Banker and Shellac Manufacturer.	Ditto.
319	"	"	"	Lala Monohar Dass.	Rustogi.	Zamindar, and Medical-Practitioner.	Ditto.
320	"	"	"	Babu Mahadeo Pershad.	Kulwar	Proprietor of the firm of Sheamber Ram Mahadeo Pershad. Shellac Manufacturer.	Ditto.
321	"	"	"	Babu Kunj Mohan Mukurjee.	Brahman.	Contractor ...	Ditto.
322	"	"	"	Sabu Beni Pershad ...	Kulwar.	Of the firm of Sheocharan Ram Sabai Ram Banker, Zamindar, Shellac Manufacturer.	Ditto.
323	"	"	"	Babu Mahadeo Ram.	Kulwar.	Proprietor of the firm Kulai Ram Mahadeo Ram. Banker, Shellac Manufacturer.	Ditto.
324	"	"	"	Babu Bhagwan Dass,	Kulwar.	Proprietor of the firm Budhu Ram Bhagwan Dass, Banker, Shellac Manufacturer.	Ditto.

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325	United Provinces of Agra & Oudh.	Allahabad.	Ghazipur.	Panday Ram Saran Lal,	Kayasth. Srivastava.	Zamindar, Vice-Chairman, District Board, General Secretary, Kayasth Conference.	At a public meeting held on the 6th December,
326	"	"	"	Munshi Ishwar Prasad.	Kayasth.	Zemindar and Pleader, Member of the District Board.	At a public meeting held at the City Library Ghazipur, 6th December 1905.
327	"	"	"	Babu Khuddu Rai.	Bhunihar, Brahman.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
328	"	"	"	Babu Bholu Nath Rai B. A.	"	Vakil	Ditto.
329	"	"	"	Rai Saheb Panday Chattr Dhari Lal.	Kayastha Srivastava	Zamindar and House Proprietor, Member District and Municipal Boards.	Ditto.
330	"	"	Gorakhpur.	Charu Chander Das, B. A. L. L. B.	Bengali.	Vakil, High Court,	At a public meeting held on 26th November 1905.
331	"	"	"	Babu Jugul Kishore, B. A.	Jain, Agarwal.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
332	"	"	"	Munshi Chhote Lal ...	Kayastha.	Pleader and Landholder.	Ditto.
333	"	"	"	Munshi Shew Nandan Prasad.	"	Vakil ...	Ditto.
334	"	"	Azamgarh	Munshi Bhairon Pershad.	"	Vakil ...	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1905.
335	"	"	"	Munshi Basdeo Sahay ...	Arya, Kayastha.	Late Teacher, Mission High School.	Ditto.
336	"	"	Benares.	Babu Sham Sundar Dass B. A.	Khatri ...	Secretary Nagri Pracharai Sabha.	At a public meeting held on Sunday the 10th December 1905.
337	"	"	"	Babu Kalyan Dass, B. A.,	Agarwala.	Banker and Zemindar...	Ditto.
338	"	"	"	Rai Batuk Prasad ...	Hindu.	"	Ditto.
339	"	"	"	Babu Gajadhar Prasad ...	Vaish ...	Banker ...	Ditto.
340	"	"	"	Md. Rahmatullah.	Mohammadan.	Medical Practitioner...	Ditto.
341	"	"	"	Babu Badri Prashad.	Khatri.	Zemindar and Banker,	Ditto.
342	"	"	"	Mr. G. L. Bhaw, Bar-at-Law.	Hindu.	Bar-at-Law ...	Ditto.
343	"	"	"	Dr. Radhika Nath Sahai, M. R. C. P., Gold Medalist in Medicine and Surgery.	Gandhabani.	Private Practitioner...	At a meeting of the Sujan Samaj held on the 21st December.
344	"	"	"	Pandit Chhanno Lal, Jyobshi.	Bhatmewara, Brahman.	Pleader, Secretary Kashi Sujan Samaj.	At a public meeting held on 10th December and at a special meeting of the Kashi Sujan Samaj held on the 21st December 1905.

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345	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad.	Benares.	Babu Lukshmi Dass ...	Vaish.	Banker ...	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1905.
346	"	"	"	Babu Kali Charan Mukerjee.	Brahman.	Druggist, C/o, S. D. Mukerjee.	Ditto.
347	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Dass.	Sipahi, Nagar.	Banker and Zemindar. Honorary Treasurer Bagan, Union.	Ditto.
348	"	"	"	Pandit Krishnaji Rao, Pashwath Moghe, B. A.	Maharatta, Brahmin.	Teacher and President, Maharatta School Board.	At a special meeting of the Kashi Sujan Samaj held on the 21st December 1905.
349	"	"	"	Rao Madho Rao Karmarkar.	"	Money Lender ...	Ditto.
350	"	"	"	Pt. Raviram Jaini ...	Brahman, Vadnagra.	Zemindar and Banker...	Ditto.
351	"	"	"	Pandit Cheda Lal ...	Brahman, Satnewara.	Vakil, District Court...	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1905.
352	"	"	"	Babu Moti Chand ...	Agarwal	Banker ...	Ditto.
353	"	"	"	Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, M. A. LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Educationalist, Central Hindu College.	Ditto.
354	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Prasad Gupta.	Vaish.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
355	"	"	"	D. H. Dutt, Esq., B. A., (Cantab).	Brahman.	Professor of Physics, C. H. Collego.	Ditto.
356	"	"	"	Pandit Babu Nandanji Vaidya.	Gour, Brahman.	Physician ...	Ditto.
357	"	"	"	Babu Jogul Kishore ...	Khatri.	Banker and Zamindar...	Ditto.
358	"	"	"	Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dutt, C. I. B.	Kayasth.	Revenue Minister, Baroda.	At a meeting of the Benares Reception Committee, held on the 26th December 1905.
359	"	"	"	Babu Shiv Shanker ...	Chattri.	Zemindar and Banker	At a public meeting held on Sunday the 10th December 1905.
360	"	"	"	Syad Basheer-ud-Din ...	Syed, Mahomedan	Pleader ...	At a special meeting of the Kashi Sujan Samaj on the 21st December.
361	"	"	"	Munshi Sankta Prasad ...	Khattri.	Zemindar ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Benares, on 18th December 1905.
362	"	"	"	Babu Sankta Prasad. (Urdu Poet).	Khattri.	Member, Kashi, Sujan Samaj.	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1905 and at a special meeting of the Kashi-Sujan-Sumaj, on the 21st December 1905.
363	"	"	"	Mr. J. Mukerji ...	Brahman.	Retired Government Servant.	At a public meeting held on Sunday the 10th December 1905.
364	"	"	"	Babu Hurry Das, Rouh...	Gujrati, Vaish.	Zemindar and Banker,	Ditto.
365	"	"	"	Pandit Surendra Narayan Sharma.	Brahman.	Service ...	Ditto.
366	"	"	"	The Hon. Munshi Madho Lal.	"	Zemindar and Banker, Member of the Legislative Council.	Ditto.
367	"	"	"	Babu Buldeo Das Veyas, B. A.	"	Honorary Magistrate.	Ditto.

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368	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma.	Khatri.	Editor "Advocate" and the "Hindustani" Fellow of the Allahabad, University.	At a public meeting held at Lucknow on the 15th December 1905 in the Advocate Library Hall.
369	"	"	"	Pandit Gokaran Nath, Misra, M. A., L. L. B.	Brahman.	Vakil, Municipal Member.	Ditto.
370	"	"	"	Pandit Ganesh Behari, Misra.	"	Zamindari, Golaganj,	Ditto.
371	"	"	"	Babu Lakshman Prashad, Srivastava, B. A.	Kayestha.	Pleader, Mashakganj, Lucknow.	Ditto.
372	"	"	"	Brij Kishore ...	...	Pleader ...	Ditto.
373	"	"	"	Babu Hira Lal Rai ...	...	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
374	"	"	"	Babu Bhooban Mohan Roy.	Brahmo.	Trader ...	Ditto.
375	"	"	"	Babu Parshadi Lal ...	Khatri.	.....	Ditto.
376	"	"	"	Babu Shiam Soonder Lal,	Khatri.	Contractor and Mill owner Nazirabad.	Ditto.
377	"	"	"	Munshi Hidayatul Hasan,	Mohamedan.	Mohan District, Unao	Ditto.
378	"	"	"	Dr. H. D. Pant, L. M. S.	Brahman.	Physician and Surgeon.	Ditto.
379	"	"	"	H. M. Addul Hakim Khan.	Sunni.	Lucknow ...	Ditto.
380	"	"	"	Shaikh Fayyaz Ali ...	Mohamedan.	Zemindar ...	Ditto.
381	"	"	"	Babu Brahmanand Sinha, M. A.	Bengali, Kayestha,	Secretary, U.I.C., Paper Mills Co., Ltd., Lucknow.	Ditto.
382	"	"	"	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.	Hindu.	Bur.-at-Law ...	Ditto.
383	"	"	"	Babu Haray Kishen Dhaon, B. A., LL. B.	Khatri.	Vakil, Goldarwaza,	Ditto.
384	"	"	"	M. Saddiq Mirza ...	Sunni.	Lucknow ...	Ditto.
385	"	"	"	M. Hirday Narayan ...	Khatri.	Agent of the Appointment Procuring Agency.	Ditto.
386	"	"	"	Babu Chail Bihari Lal B.A.	Kaistha.	Vakil, Sitapur ...	Ditto.
387	"	"	"	Pandit Shyam Manohar Nath, Sharga M.A. L. L. B.,	Brahman.	Vakil, Kashmiri Mohalla ...	Ditto.
388	"	"	"	Mr. C. M. Roy, C. E. ...	Bengali, Kayestha.	Engineer ...	Ditto.
389	"	"	"	Babu Fateh Bahadur, Nigam.	Ditto.	Vakil, High Court,	Ditto.
390	"	"	"	Meer Mohammad Ali ...	Mohamedan.	Service ...	Ditto.
391	"	"	"	Babu Munna Lal ...	Kalwar.	Banker and Zamindar, Barabanki.	Ditto.

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392	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Babu Madan Mohan ...	Khatri.	Accountant, Allahabad Bank.	At a public meeting held on the 15th December.
393	"	"	"	Babu Srikrishan Das ...	"	...	Ditto.
394	"	"	"	Babu Salig Ram, ...	"	Railway Contractor,	Ditto.
395	"	"	"	Babu Akhoy Kumar Bose, B. A.	Rengali, Kayesth.	Pleader, Sitapur ...	Ditto.
396	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Baldev, Varma.	Khatri.	Zemindar, Kalpi district, Jalaun.	Ditto.
397	"	"	"	Lala Munnu Lal, Varma.	"	Zemindar and Rais, Rath, Kalpi District, Jalaun.	Ditto.
398	"	"	"	Swami Akhandanand Ji.	Sannyasi.	...	Ditto.
399	"	"	"	Pt. Kashi Prasad Misra.	Brahmin.	Updeshak ...	Ditto.
400	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Shankar, B. A.	Kaystha.	Kaiserbagh ...	Ditto.
401	"	"	"	Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari, Misra, B. A., L. L. B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, Zemindar ...	Ditto.
402	"	"	"	Babu Awadh Behari Lal, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu, Kayastha	Vakil, Pertabgarh ...	Ditto.
403	"	"	Fyzabad.	Thakur Mahadeo Singh, B. A.	Kshatriya.	Vakil ...	At a public meeting held on the 16th December 1905.
404	"	"	"	Thakur Lal Behari Singh, B. A., LL. B.,	"	Zemindar and vice Chairman Municipal Board,	Ditto.
405	"	"	"	Babu Baldeo Prasad, Zemindar.	Khattri.	Advocate ...	Ditto.
406	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Lal, M. A.,	Hindu.	Vakil, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
407	"	"	"	Babu Dhani Ram, Banker and Zemindar.	Agarwala.	Banker, Fyzabad ...	Ditto.
408	"	"	"	Lala Deskali Pershad,	Khatri.	Banker Member, Municipal Board.	Ditto.
409	"	"	"	Bhadra Sheo Shankar Pershad.	"	Zemindar, Akbarpur, Member, District Board,	Ditto.
410	"	"	"	Rai Gopal Chand Bahadur.	"	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and Vakil.	Ditto.
411	"	"	"	Babu Raghubath Sahai, B. A., L. L. B.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
412	"	"	Rai Bareilly.	Pandit Sheo Dolarey.	Brahman.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held at Rae Bareilly on 23rd December 1905.
413	Punjab	Punjab	Delhi.	Thomas Carr Norton, Esq.	..	Bar-at-Law, Delhi.	At a public meeting held on the 18th December. 1905.
414	"	"	"	Rai Sabibh Gindhari Lal.	Vaish Agarwal.	Government Pleader,	Ditto.
415	"	Delhi.	"	Lala Chandu Lal, Chawalwala,	Vaish,	Merchant ...	Ditto.

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416	Punjab	Punjab	Delhi	Pandit Behari Lal Sharma	Brahman	Marwaries' Guru ...	At a public meeting held on the 18th December 1905.
417	"	"	"	Lala Shiri Ram ...	Vaish Agarwal.	Indian Cloth Shop, Harishan Ray & Co., Nai Sarak.	Ditto.
418	"	"	"	Lala Banarsi Das, B. A. ...	Arya, Agarwal.	Choori Wala Mohalla	Ditto.
419	"	"	Umballa	Lala Ganeshi Lal, B. A., L. L. B.	Agarwal	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 10th December, 1905.
420	"	"	"	Pandit Madho Ram, B. A.	Brahman	" ...	Ditto.
421	"	"	"	Lalla Dwarka Das, M. A.	Arya	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab, Lahore.	Ditto.
422	"	"	"	Lala Badri Pershad, B. A., L. L. B.	Agarwal	Pleader ...	Ditto.
423	"	"	"	Rao Jaideva Singh ...	Rajput	Jagirdar ...	Ditto.
424	"	"	"	Lala Shib Saran Das ...	Agarwal	Wheat merchant ...	Ditto.
425	"	"	"	Lala Kashi Ram ...	"	Lala Bihari Mal Eishamber Das, Bankers.	Ditto.
426	"	"	"	Lala Gunga Ram ...	"	Banker, Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
427	"	"	"	Lala Duni Chand, B. A. ...	Sud	Pleader ...	Ditto.
428	"	"	"	Sardar Jhanda Singh, B. A., L. L. B.	Khatri	" ...	Ditto.
429	"	"	"	Lala Kashmiri Mal ...	"	" ...	Ditto.
430	"	"	"	Lala Karam Chand ...	Agarwal	Manager, Upper India Flour Mills.	Ditto.
431	"	"	"	Babu Hari Nath Mukerji	Bengali Brahman.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
432	"	"	"	Babu Shama Charan, Mukerji.	Bengali Brahman.	Proprietor, Medical Hall	Ditto.
433	"	"	Ferozepore	Lala Kirpa Ram Badhwar	Khatri	Rais, Landlord, Mill Owner and Banker.	At a public meeting on the 17th December 1905
434	"	"	"	Lala Brijlal Badhwar ...	"	Mill Owner and Banker	Ditto.
435	"	"	"	Lala Jai Gopal, M. A.	Hindu	.....	At a public meeting held on 25th December 1905.
436	"	"	"	Lala Ishar Das ...	Kamoh Hindu.	Manager, Punjabi Cotton Factory, Muttra City.	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1905.
437	"	"	"	Lala Kishori Chand ...	Khatri	Rais, Municipal Commissioner, Mill Owner, Landlord and Banker.	Ditto.
438	"	"	"	Lala Radha Kishen Badhwar.	"	Rais and Banker ...	Ditto.
439	"	"	"	Lala Jadav Nath Badhwar, B. A.	"	Rais ...	Ditto.
440	"	"	"	Lala Harji Ram ...	"	Pleader, Chief Court	Ditto.
441	"	"	"	Lala Ram Lal, B. A., LL. B.	Arora	Pleader, 1st Grade ...	Ditto.
442	"	"	"	Lala Shiv Narain, B. A.	Khatri	Pleader, 2nd Grade ...	Ditto.
443	"	"	"	Lala Barkat Ram, B. A., LL. B.	Khatri, Arya.	Pleader ...	Ditto.

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444	Punjab	Punjab	Ferozpur	Lala Bhana Ram, B. A.	Vaish Agarwal.	Pleader, 1st grade ...	At a public meeting held at Ferozpur on the 17th December 1905.
445	"	"	"	Lala Mokaud Lall, B. A.	Khatri	"	Ditto.
446	"	"	Gujranwala.	S. Narain Singh, B. A. ...	Sikh	Pleader, Gujranwala ; Contractor ; Merchant.	At a public meeting held on the 23rd December 1905.
447	"	"	"	S. Ram Singh ...	"	" ...	Ditto.
448	"	"	"	S. Sant Singh ...	"	" ...	Ditto.
449	"	"	"	S. Gopal Singh ...	"	" ...	Ditto.
450	"	"	"	Sirdar Gopal Singh ...	"	Merchant ...	Ditto.
451	"	"	"	Sirdar Narain Singh, B. A.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
452	"	"	"	Ram Singh Kabuli ...	"	Contractor ...	Ditto.
453	"	"	"	Sirdar Sant Singh ...	"	"	Ditto.
454	"	"	Lahore	Lala Lajpat Rai ...	Arya	Vice-President, D. A. V. College ; Managing Committee, Director, Punjab National Bank ; Pleader, Chief Court.	At a public meeting held on the 19th December 1905.
455	"	"	"	Sirdar Autar Singh ...	"	Bar.-at-Law ...	Ditto.
456	"	"	"	Sirdar Shivdev Singh ...	"	Proprietor, Punjab Iron Works.	Ditto.
457	"	"	"	Rai Sahib Maya Das ...	"	Pleader and Managing Director, Punjab and Kashmir Trading Co.	Ditto.
458	"	"	"	Lala Har Kishan Lal, B.A. (Cantab.)	Hindu	Bar.-at-Law and Managing Director of People's Bank, &c., &c.	Ditto.
459	"	"	"	S. Gureharan Singh, B.A., LL. B., Bar.-at-Law.	Sikh	Advocate, Chief Court ; Landlord ; Fellow, Punjab University ; Professor, Law College.	Ditto.
460	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutta Choudhry, B. A., L L. B.	Arya, Brahman, Mohyal.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
461	"	"	"	Mr. S. S. Bhatia, B. A., L L. B.	Hindu	Pleader and Editor, the "Daily Times."	Ditto.
462	"	"	"	Mr. B. L. Bhatia, B. Sc.	"	Manager, Punjab Science Institute and Workshop.	Ditto.
463	"	"	"	Rai Sahib Lala Sukh Dial	"	Pleader, Chief Court	Ditto.
464	"	"	"	Mr. Duni Chand, Bar.-at-Law.	"	Advocate, Chief Court	Ditto.
465	"	"	"	Babu S. K. Bose ...	"	Proprietor, Bose Bros. and Co.	Ditto.
466	"	"	"	Mr. Mansa Ram, B. A. ...	"	Pleader, Rawalpindi ...	Ditto.
467	"	"	"	Mr. Lachhmi Narain, B.A., LL. B.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
468	"	"	"	Mr. Gunpat Rai ...	"	Bar.-at-Law and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
469	"	"	"	Mr. Durga Das, B. A., L. L. B.	Arya	Pleader Chief Court.	Ditto.

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470	Punjab	Punjab	Lahore	Lala Sangam Lal, B. A., B. L.	Arya	Pleader, Chief Court...	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1905.
471	"	"	"	Mr. Nanak Chand, Bar.-at-Law.	Hindu	Advocate, Chief Court	Ditto.
472	"	"	"	Lala Dharam Chand, B.A., L. L. B.	"	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
473	"	"	"	Lala Dhanpat Rai, B. A.	Arya	"	Ditto.
474	"	"	"	Lala Gopal Sahai ...	Arya, Khatri.	Cloth-Merchant, Hoshiarpur.	Ditto.
475	"	"	"	Mahasha Ram Chand ...	Brahman	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
476	"	"	"	Babu B. C. Chatterjee, Bar.-at-Law.	Bengali, Brahman.	Advocate ...	Ditto.
477	"	"	"	Babu Sohan Lal ...	Arya	Pleader, Chief Court...	Ditto.
478	"	"	"	Mt. Balak Ram Pandey	Hindu	Auditor of Accounts ...	Ditto.
479	"	"	"	Sirdar Bharat Singh, B.A., L. L. B.	Sikh	Zamindar and Pleader, Chief Court.	At a general meeting of the Indian Association held on the 19th December 1905.
480	"	"	"	Mr. Nihal Chand Mehra, B. A., L. L. B., Bar.-at-Law.	Hindu.	Advocate ...	At general meeting of the Indian Association held on the 14th December 1905.
481	"	"	"	Sheikh Inam Baksh, B. A.	Mohamedan.	Managing Agent, Pioneer Leather Co., Ltd.	Ditto.
482	"	"	"	Mr. Indar Narayan Brij Mohan Lal, B. A.	Khatriya	.....	At the general meeting of the Indian Association held on 19th December 1905.
483	"	"	"	Lala Gopal Chand, B. A., L. L. B.	Hindu	Secretary, Kayasth Sabha; Secretary, District Bar Association; and Pleader, Chief Court.	Ditto.
484	"	"	"	Pandit Onkar Nath Zutshi.	"	Lawyer ...	Ditto.
485	"	"	"	Lala Kashi Nath Kapur	"	Merchant ...	Ditto.
486	"	"	"	Mr. Mohan Lal Seth, B.A., L. L. B.	"	Pleader, Kasur ...	Ditto.
487	"	"	"	Bakhshi Tek Chand, M. A.	Arya	Lawyer ...	Ditto.
488	"	"	"	Mr. Madan Gopal ...	"	Merchant ...	Ditto.
489	"	"	"	Lala Hans Raj, Bar.-at-Law.	Hindu	Advocate ...	At a meeting of the delegates held on the 25th December 1905.
490	"	"	"	Malik Harnam Singh, B.A.	Sikh	Merchant and Contractor, Rawalpindi.	Ditto.
491	"	"	Amritsar	Lala Sheo Narain, B. A. ...	Hindu	Pleader, Chief Court...	At a public meeting held on the 19th December.
492	"	"	Jullundur	Doctor Pundit Ram Nath	Arya	Proprietor, Medical Hall	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1905.
493	"	"	"	Lala Badri Dass, M. A. ...	Khatri	Pleader ...	Ditto.
494	"	"	"	Lala Deo Raj ...	"	Rais ...	Ditto.

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495	Punjab	Punjab	Jagadhri	Mr. Anand Swarup, B. A.	Hindu	Service	At a meeting of the Indian Association held on 24th December 1905.
496	"	"	Gujranwala	Kunwar Harnam Singh, Bar.-at-Law.	Sikh, Jat	Advocate... ..	At a public meeting held on the 23rd Decem 1905.
497	"	"	"	Sirdar Gulab Singh ...	Sikh	Managing Proprietor, Oil and Flour Mills.	Ditto.
498	"	"	"	Lala Khem Chand ...	Hindu	Pleader	Ditto.
499	"	"	Lyalpur	Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, B. A., L. L. B.	Vaidic Arora.	Pleader, Chief Court	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1905.
500	"	"	"	Lala Bodh Raj ...	Khatri	Legal Practitioner ...	Ditto.
501	"	"	"	Mr. Jugatram ...	Hindu	Bar.-at-Law ...	Ditto.
502	"	"	Shahpur	R. L. Sawhney, Esqr.	"	Zamindar, Bhera ...	At a public meeting held on 22nd December 1905.
503	"	"	"	Lala Brij Lal Puri ...	Khatri	Pleader	Ditto.
504	"	"	"	Lala Sahib Ditta Mal, B.A.	Bhalia	"	Ditto.
505	"	"	"	Sardar Sujan Singh, B.A., LL. B.	Sikh	"	Ditto.
506	"	"	"	Sardar Mehtab Singh ...	"	Bar.-at-Law ...	Ditto.
507	"	"	"	Lala Mangal Sain Sethi, B. A., LL. B.	Khatri	Pleader	Ditto.
508	"	"	Hoshiarpur	Lala Faqir Chand, B. A....	Hindu	"	At a public meeting held on 17th December 1905.
509	"	"	"	Lala Karam Chand ...	"	Cloth Merchant, Ludhiana.	Ditto.
510	"	"	Umballa	Lala Alakh Dhari ...	Khatri	Head Clerk, U. I. Glass Factory.	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1905.
511	"	"	Rawalpindi	Bakhshi Jagannath, B. A., LL. B.	Arya, Mohyal.	Pleader	At a public meeting held on 8th December 1905.
512	"	"	"	Lala Diwan Chand Ohrai, B. A., LL. B.	Brahman	Pleader, Abbotabad, N.-W. F. Province.	Ditto.
513	"	"	"	Lala Hans Raj Sawhny...	Arya, Khatri.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Murree; Chairman, Board of Directors, Punjab National Bank, and Zamindar.	Ditto.
514	"	"	"	Mr. Gurdas Ram Sawhny.	"	Bar.-at-Law ...	Ditto.
515	"	"	"	Lala Uttam Chand Abbot	Hindu, Khatri.	Merchant, President, Sanatan Dharam Sabha	Ditto.
516	"	"	"	Lala Amolak Ram ..	"	Pleader, Zamindar, Retired E. A. C.; Director and Secretary, National Bank, Punjab; Director, Rambir Match Manufactory, Hafizabad, and Oriental Co-operative Stores.	Ditto.

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517	N.-W. F. Province.	"	Dera Ismail Khan.	Lala Jhinda Ram ...	Arya.	Pleader and Landholder Dera Ismail.	At a public meeting held on 20th December 1905.
518	Central Provinces.	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, C.I.E.	Hindu.	Malguzar, Banker, President, Nagpur Municipality.	At a public meeting held on the 8th December 1905 at Nagpur.
519	"	"	"	Mr. Chuckerbutty, Bar-at-Law.	Bengali Brahman.	Bar-at-Law ...	Ditto.
520	"	"	"	Mr. Yadav Prabhakar Watak, B. A., B. L.	Maratha Brahmin	Pleader, Chhindwara.	Ditto.
521	"	"	"	Mr. Ram Chandra Bhargava Gadgil, B. A., B. L.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
522	"	"	"	Mr. Wasdeo Vithal Limaye, B. A.	"	Medical Practitioner, Seetabaldi.	Ditto.
523	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadeo Krishna Pardhye, B. A., B. L.	"	Pleader, Proprietor "Desh Sewak Press."	Ditto.
524	"	"	"	Mr. M. K. Sapre, B. A. ...	"	Manager "Deshsewak Press."	Ditto.
525	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Chintaman Tambe, B. A.	"	ardha ...	Ditto.
526	"	"	"	Mr. N. L. Dharmadhikari, B. A., B. L.	Hindu.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
527	"	"	"	Mr. N. R. Dhole B. A., B. L.	"	Pleader, Warjha ...	Ditto.
528	"	"	"	Yadavrao Krishna Bhagdikar B. A., B. L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Bilaspur ...	Ditto.
529	"	"	"	Mr. Yadav Waman Tamaskur	"	Malguzar, Bilaspur ...	Ditto.
530	"	"	"	Mr. Amritrao ...	"	Malguzari, Bilaspur ...	Ditto.
531	"	"	"	Mr. Amaitrao ...	"	Malguzar, Nawagarh, Bilaspur.	Ditto.
532	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbak Moreswar Pardhy.	Maratha Brahmin.	Engineer and Textile Manufacturer, Sitabardi	Ditto.
533	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Mukund Buti.	"	Banker ...	Ditto.
534	"	"	"	Mr. Balkreshna Sheoram Moonje L. M. S.	"	Eye Surgeon and Medical Practitioner.	Ditto.
535	"	"	"	Mr. Madheo Shivhari Aney, B. A.	"	Teacher Private, High School, Amraoti.	Ditto.
536	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Ranganath Alekar B. A., B. L.	"	Pleader, Kukdes Wada	Ditto.
537	"	"	"	Mr. Manik Nago Rao Deshmukh.	Hindu.	Landlord ...	Ditto.
538	"	"	"	Mrs. Laxmi Bai (wife of Pat-Sinha.)	"	Moneylender ...	Ditto.
539	"	"	"	Mr. Beniram Mukund Lohdi.	"	Malguzar and Saukar,	Ditto.
540	"	"	"	Mr. Hariram Beniram.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
541	"	"	Jubbulpore.	Pundit Gopal Rao	Marhatta Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting of the residents of Jubbulpore held at the Town Hall on the 17th December 1905.

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542	Central Provinces.	Central Provinces.	Jabalpur.	Pundit Nathu Ram Tewari.	Brahman.	Member of Municipal Committee, Merchant and Malguzar.	At a public meeting held at the Hit Karni School Hall on the 17th cember 1905.
543	"	"	Raipur	Babu Kedar Nath Bagchi, B. A.	Bengali Brahman	Pleader and Malguzar.	At a public meeting held on the 10th December, 1905.
544	"	"	"	Babu Debendra Nath Chaudhari, B. A., B. L.	"	Municipal Commissioner, and Pleader.	Ditto.
545	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Rao	Marhatta Brahman.	Malguzar, Dhamtari.	Ditto.
546	"	"	"	Pundit Gobind Lal, Purohit.	Marwari Brahman.	Merchant and Malguzar.	Ditto.
547	"	Nagpur.	"	Mr. Yado Amrit Deshmukh B. A. B. L.	Brahman.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on 10th December 1905.
548	"	"	Bilaspur.	Mr. Moti Chand ...	Kayastha.	Pleader ...	At a meeting of the Bar Association held on 11th December 1905.
549	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Rao Chincholkar.	Mahratta Brahman.	Municipal Member and Pleader,	Ditto.
550	"	"	Hoshangabad.	Mr. Raojigovind ...	Brahman.	Pleader ...	At a meeting of the Bar Association held on 16th December 1905.
551	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Prasad,	"	" ...	Ditto,
552	"	"	"	Mr. B. N. Chandhry ...	"	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
553	"	"	Itarsi ...	Mr. Bhim Raj Girdhari Lal Seth Chaudhari.	Marwari Agarwal,	Mahajan ...	
554	"	"	Chhindwara.	H. Varma, Esq., B. A. Cantab, Bar-at-Law.	Kayastha,	Land-holder and Legal Practitioner,	At a public meeting held on 16th December 1905 in the City Library Hall, Chhindwara.
555	"	"	Akola ...	Mr. R. V. Mahajani B. A. L. L. B.	Deccani Brahman.	High Court Pleader,	At a public meeting held at Akola on the 16th December 1905.
556	"	"	"	Mr. M. G. Marathe ...	Brzhrman.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
557	"	"	"	V. M. Mahajani Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Retired Educational Inspector, Berar, Vice Chairman Akola Municipality and Landlord.	By the Council of the Residence Agr Court,
558	"	"	Wardha	Moreswari B. Agashye B. A., B. L.	Brahman.	Landlord ...	At a public meeting held at Wardha 22nd December 1905.
559	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Narayan Rao Deshmukh	Brahman.	Agriculturist Land-lord and Pleader.	Ditto.
560	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram N. Deshmukh B. A. B. L.	Brahman.	Cultivator and Pleader,	Ditto.
561	"	"	"	Ghansham Laxman Deoskar B. A.	Brahman.	Landlord, Banker ...	Ditto.
562	"	Berar.	Amraoti	Rao Bahadur Rahgnath Narsinh. udholkar B. A. LL. B.	Maharashtra Brahman.	High Court Pleader Municipal Commission and Landholder.	At a meeting of the Amraoti District, Congress Committee held on 10th December 1905.

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563	"	Berar.	Amaroti.	Mr. Ganesh Sri Krishna Khaparde, B A. L. L. B.	Maharashtra Brahman.	High Court Pleader, Vice, Chairman, Amnoli Town Municipality, District Board, Chairman Cotton Market Committee. Fellow of the Allahabad Univesity and Malguzar, Landholder	Ditto.
564	"	"	"	Mr. Moro Vishwanath Joshi B. A. L. L. B.	"	High Court Pleader and Landholder.	Ditto.
565	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Malhar Bedarkar B. A. L. L. B.	Maharashtra Brahman	High Court Pleader,	Ditto.
566	"	"	"	Mr. Parshotom Kesho Palekar, B. A. B. L.	Maharashtra Brahaman.	High Court Pleader,	Ditto.
567	"	"	"	Sadashiv Krishno Durani, B. A. L. L.	"	High Court Pleader ...	Ditto.
568	"	"	"	Mr. Kesho Waman Bramha.	Maharashtra Brahman,	" "	Ditto.
569	"	"	"	Mr. Sarayan Rao Bind	Vaishya.	Landholder and Agent.	Ditto.
570	"	"	Bhandara.	Mr. Tej Singh Hira Singh.	Kshatrya.	Head Master Normal School F. R. A.	At a meeting held at Bhandara on the 21st December 1905.
571	"	"	"	Mr. Vishna Madhaa Jakardar.	"	Pleader.	Ditto.
572	"	"	Yeotmal.	Mr. C. L. Bapat.	Brahman.	Pleader ...	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 17th December 1905.
573	"	"	"	Mr. Kishanji Luxman Peshwa B A B. L.	"	High Court Pleader Yeotmal.	At a meeting of the Yeotmal District Congress Committee held at 17th December 1905.
574	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Ganesh Mundle, B. A. L. L. B.	"	High Court Pleader and Vice Chairman, Municipality.	Ditto.
575	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Ramchandra Sandge.	"	Izardar, and Member Dist. Board.	Ditto.
576	"	"	"	Mr. Sadashio Morshwar Deo.	"	Pleader, Izardar.	Ditto.
577	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Raghunath Bapat	"	District Pleader, Member of District Board and Vice Chairman Talook Board.	Ditto.
578	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Sir Bhabandra Krishna, Kt.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner ...	At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 12th December 1905.
579	"	"	"	Hon'ble Chiman Lal, H. Situlwad.	"	Advocate High Court	Ditto.
580	"	Bombay.	Bombay.	The Hon'ble Mr. Gokul Dass, Kandas Parekh, B. A. L. L. B.	Hindu.	Vakil High Court,	At a meeting of the Bombay Association held on 12th December 1905.
581	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Hari Sitaram Dixit, B A. L. L. B.	Hindu	Solicitor, High Court.	Ditto.
582	"	"	"	D. E. Wacha Esq.	Parsi.	Member Municipal Corporation; City Improvement Trust and Mill Agent.	Ditto.

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583	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	B. B. Joshi. B. A., L. L. B. Bar.-at-Law.	Brahman.	Bar.-at-Law, Rajkot.	Ditto.
584	"	"	"	D. B. Shukla, Esq.	Hindu.	Ditto.	Ditto.
585	"	"	"	N. M. Samarth Esq., B. A. L.L. B.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court.	Ditto.
586	"	"	"	M. R. Bodas Esq., B. A., L.L. B.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
587	"	"	"	H. A. Wadya Esq.	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law.	Ditto.
588	"	"	"	Sundardas Narondas Esq.	Hindu	Solicitor High Court, partner of Messrs. Dikshit Dhanjisha and Soonderdas Solicitors, Hummem Street.	Ditto.
589	"	"	"	D. G. Padhye Esq. M. A.	"	Member Municipal Corporation, Fellow. Bombay University Principal Gokuldas Teput, High School.	Ditto.
590	"	"	"	Manekji Kavasji Patel, Esq.,	Parsi.	Merchant Khehtwady	Ditto.
591	"	"	"	Lalobhoy Samaldas Esq.,	Hindu.	Mill owner	Ditto.
592	"	"	"	Hansraj Pragji Tkakeracy Esq.	"	Agent of Mills at Bombay one of the owners of Market Merchant.	Ditto.
593	"	"	"	S. S. Wagle Esq.	"	Land-lord Farvatitmai buildings Thakurdwar.	Ditto.
594	"	"	"	Vankatish Sadashiv Rao Nargund Kar Esq.	"	Inamdar, Landholder, and Banker.	Ditto.
595	"	"	"	Prabhakar Govind Vaidya Esq.	"	Merchant and Agent Bombay Banking Company Ltd. Girgaun.	Ditto.
596	"	"	"	Mr. Nathubhai Lalubhai Vakilna.	Bania.	Municipal Councillor City Municipality Mill Stone Supplier and Machinery agent. Haripura, Surat.	Ditto.
597	"	"	"	Mr. Premdas Khemji.	Bhatwa. Vaishnava.	Pleader.	Ditto.
598	"	"	"	C. V. Vaidya Esq.	Hindu.	.....	Ditto.
599	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Shiva Rao Dharkar.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Land-lord and Merchant, Pen District L. Kolaba	Ditto.
600	"	"	"	Pherozesha B. Petit, Esqr.	Parsi.	Merchant.	Ditto.
601	"	"	"	Jehangir Bomanji Petit Esq.	"	Merchant.	Ditto.
602	"	"	"	B. N. Bhajikar Esq. B. A. L. L. B.	Hindu.	Vakil High Court.	Ditto.
603	"	"	"	Shapurji Bhicaji Patel Esq.	Parsi.	Merchant Tardeo	Ditto.
604	"	"	"	Lalji Ramji Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant.	Ditto.
605	"	"	"	Govind Dasarath Esq.,	"	Banker.	Ditto.
606	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas D. Thakarsi.	"	Merchant.	Ditto.

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606	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	Mr. Govindji Madhavji...	Hindu	Merchant ...	At a meeting of the Bombay Association held on 12th December 1905.
607	"	"	Nasik	The Hon'ble Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A. LL.B.	Brahman	Fellow of the University of Bombay Additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, High Court Pleader, Byculla.	At a public meeting held in Nasik on 3rd December 1905.
608	"	"	"	Ali Mahomed Bhimji, Esq.	Mahomedan	...	Ditto.
609	"	"	"	Liladhar Sunderjee Roy, Sampat, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant, 199, Mody Street Fort, Bombay.	Ditto.
610	"	"	"	Mr. Moreshwar Wasudeo Kawe.	Brahmin	Land-lord and money-lender of Bhiwudi Dist., Thana.	At a public meeting held at Bhiwudi District, Thana on 16th December 1905.
611	"	Belgaon	Belgaon	Mr. Balkrishna Malhar Lad	Hindu	Mukhtyar ...	At a public meeting held in Belgaon on the 18th of December 1905.
612	"	"	"	Mr. Shivmurtaya Gadgaya Kudachi Nath.	Lingayat	Merchant ...	Ditto.
613	"	"	"	Venkatish Sadashivrao Nargundkar, Esq.,	Brahman	Inamdar, Land-lord, and Banker.	Ditto.
614	"	"	"	BalGangadhar Tilak, B. A., L. L. B.	"	Editor, Kesari ...	Elected at a meeting of the Managing Committee of Sarvajanic Sabha held on 20th December 1905 of the Deccan Standing Committee.
615	"	Poona	Poona	Mr. Govind Dhondeo Dandawat.	"	Landlord Municipal Commissioner, Poona.	Ditto.
616	"	"	"	Mr. Shiv Ram Mahadav, Parnjape, M. A.	"	Editor, Kal ...	Ditto.
617	"	"	"	Prof. Vajjanath, Kashi Nath Rajwade, M.A.	"	Fellow of the University of Bombay. Professor of English Ferguson, College.	Ditto.
618	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Gangaram Bhao, Mhaske, Esq.	Mahratta	Landlord ...	Ditto.
619	"	"	"	Mr. Rangnath Bapuji Melag	Brahman	Merchant and Banker ...	Ditto.
620	"	Poona	Poona	Hari Narayan Apte, Esqr., Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, 2nd Class.	"	Editor Dnana Prakash Karamamork.	Ditto.
621	"	"	"	Haji Munshi Shaikh Husain, Shaikh Chand of Jobmat.	Mahomedan Sooni	Laud Holder	Ditto.
622	"	"	"	Mr. Beshna Ragoonath Awasty.	Brahman	Contractor ...	Ditto.
623	"	"	"	Laxuman Raghunath, Gokhale.	"	Pleader, Municipal Committee. Secretary Deccan S. C. Committee.	Ditto.
624	"	"	"	Prof. Abaji Vishnu Kathavate.	"	Retired Professor of Oriental Languages Deccan College, Poona	Ditto.
625	"	"	"	Dr. Shivaram Hari Sathe.	"	Editor, Ayashraya ...	Ditto.
626	"	"	"	Mr. Shitaram Keshava, Dambe, B. A., L. L. B.	"	Preacher and Editor ...	Ditto.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
627	Bombay.	Poona.	Nasik.	Mr Vaman Sakharan Khare, B. A., L. L. B.	Brahman.	Vice President Municipality, District Local Board. and District Court Pleader.	At a public meeting held in Nasik, on 3rd December 1905.
628	"	"	"	Prof. N. B. Ranade, B. A.	Brahman.	Agriculturist and Author,	Ditto.
629	"	"	"	Mr. V. Madanjit ...	Brahman (Nagar)	Proprietor, Indian Opinion, Natal.	Ditto.
630	"	"	"	Mr. Gauri Shankar, Pranshankar Vyas.	Brahman Audichya	Merchant and Commission Agent Pretoria, Transvaal.	Ditto.
631	"	"	"	Mr. Magan Lal K. Gandhi,	Bania	Phoenix Natal S. Africa,	Ditto.
632	"	"	Khandesh.	Madhav Rao Narayan Gadre, Esq.	Brahman	Pleader and money-lender.	At a public meeting held at Dhulia on 13th December 1905.
633	"	Satara.	Satara.	Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar.	"	High Court, Vakil ...	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1905.
634	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Ballal, Phansalkar.	"	High Court pleader, Wai Satara District,	Ditto.
635	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchander Ganesh, Loman.	"	District Pleader, Satara.	Ditto.
636	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Narhar Ashtaputre.	"	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held at Wai, on 15th December 1905.
637	"	"	"	Shankar Mahadeo Patankar.	"	Pleader, Wai.	Ditto.
638	"	Bombay.	Bombay.	Dulobbji R. Desai Esq., B. A., L. L. B.	Hindu.	Pleader ...	By the Council of Bombay Presidency Association on the 12th December 1905.
639	"	Satara.	Satara.	Pt. Shitaram Ganesh ...	Brahman.	Supdt. New English School.	Ditto.
640	"	Sholapur	Sholapur.	Prabhakar Lukshman Nagpurkar.	"	Pleader ...	At a meeting of the People's Association.
641	"	"	"	Gori Rao Madhava Tawalikar.	"	Agriculturist ...	Ditto.
642	"	Surat.	Surat.	Mr. Pran Lal Abheram Parneria, B. A., L. L. B.	"	Legal Practitioner Municipal Councillor, Kot Safil.	At a public meeting held in Surat on 17th December 1905.
643	"	"	"	Mr. Chunilal Maniklal Gandhi, B. A., L. L. B.	Bania.	Legal practitioner Kinari bazar, Nanavat,	At a public meeting held in Surat on 12th December 1905.
644	"	"	"	Mr. Nathabhai Lalloobhai Vakiina.	"	Municipal Councillor. Haripura.	Ditto.
645	"	"	"	Mr. Thakorram Kapilram, B. A., L. L. B.	Brahman.	Municipal Councillor, Legal practitioner, Saugandia Wad.	Ditto.
646	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Rao Tripurshanker.	"	Legal Practitioner, Bhatra Chukta.	Ditto.
647	"	"	"	Mr. Tribhovandas Khandas.	Bania.	Engineer, Municipal Councillor, Panini Blit.	Ditto.
648	"	Dharwar.	Dharwar.	Mr. Shantaram Narayan Vinekar, B. A., L. L. B.	Brahman, Saraswat.	Pleader and Chairman, Gadag Municipality.	At the meeting of Gadag Association, held on the 24th December 1905.

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650	Bombay.	Ahmad-nagar.	Ahmad-nagar.	Mr. Balwant Babaji, Deshdanpe B. A., LL. B.	Brahman.	High Court Pleader ...	At a public meeting and by the Liberal Club held on 16th December 1905.
651	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Bapuji Parashrami.	"	Pleader, Chairman Municipality, Sanjamner.	At a public meeting at Sanjamner 26th November 1905.
652	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Krishna Chitale, B. A., LL. B.	"	High Court Pleader ...	Ditto.
653	"	Ahmadabad.	Rajkot.	Harjivan B. Shukla, Esqr, B. A., LL. B.	"	Lawyer ...	At a public meeting held on 22nd December 1905.
654	"	"	"	Narbheram A. Mehta, Esq.	Jain.	Banker ...	Ditto.
655	"	"	"	Liladhar Amrit Lal, Esq.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
656	"	"	"	Bhagwanya A. Mehta Esq. B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
657	"	"	"	Amrit Lal I. Buch, Esq.	Hindu, Nagar.	Merchant Near Bedi Gate, Rajkot City.	Ditto.
658	"	"	"	Hathi Bhoi Harishankar, Esq.	Brahman.	Shastri, Jamnagar ...	Ditto.
659	"	"	Ahmadabad.	Mr. Ramanbhai M. Mikanth B. A., LL. B.	Nagar, Brahman.	Honorary Secretary, Social Reform Association, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting held on 12th December 1905.
660	"	"	"	Mr. Chuni Lal Naranlal...	"	Weaving Master ...	Ditto.
661	"	"	"	Mr. Kaishavlal Mahasukhran.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
662	"	"	"	Mr. Jaikumal Ranchhodlal Desai B. A., LL. B.	Bania.	Lawyer, High Court Pleader, Bombay.	Ditto.
663	"	"	"	Mr. Ratilal Keshavlal Sitwala.	Patidar.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
664	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Ramkrishna Tendle B. A., LL. B.	Dawadiya, Brahman.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
665	"	"	"	Mr. Govindrao Apaji Patel B. A., LL. B.	Deccani, Brahman.	Honorary Secretary, Gujrat Sabha.	Ditto.
666	"	"	"	Gokuldas, Dwarkadas Talati B. A., LL. B.	Vaishnavo Bania.	Pleader, Nadiad ...	Ditto.
667	"	"	"	Mr. Thakore Lal Hari Lal Desai.	Bania.	Vice President, Gujrat Sasiya Sabha.	Ditto.
668	"	"	"	Mr. Manju Thakore.	Bramha.	Kstatrya, Khadia.	Ditto.
669	"	"	"	Dewan Bahadur Amba Lal Saker Lal M. A., LL. B.	"	Late Chief Justice of Baroda.	Ditto.
670	"	"	"	Mr. Ranchod Lal Bhogi Lal.	"	Merchant.	Ditto.
671	"	Sind.	Karachi.	Mr. Rewachand R. Bugtaui.	Arya.	Merchant, Mithandar.	At a public meeting held in man Densin Hall on 12th December, 1905.
672	"	"	"	Mr. Chhagan Lal, Hargovand Das.	Hindu.	Merchant.	Ditto.
673	"	"	"	Mr. Bewa Chand Fate Chand.	"	Merchant.	Ditto.
674	"	"	"	Mr. Lokamal Chellaram.	"	Merchant.	Ditto.
675	"	"	"	Diwan Gopal Das B. C.	Hindu.	Retired.	At a meeting held at Hyderabad Sindh on the 20th December 1905.

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676	Bombay	Sind	Sukkur Larkana	Mr. Ramchand Asowal Geboni.	Kinsu Anwil.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held at Sukkur on 16th December 1905.
677	"	"	"	Mr. Molechand Pesumal Samtani.	Lohana.	" ...	Ditto.
678	"	"	"	Mr. Rochaldas Fatehchand Balani.	Amil.	" ...	Ditto.
679	"	"	"	Mr. Karanchand Dharamdas, Chabiria.	Anil.	" ...	Ditto.
680	"	"	"	Mr. Mulechand Gurudinal Phalajyani.	"	" ...	Ditto.
681	"	"	"	Mr. Fundandas Hasanand Keswani.	"	" ...	Ditto.
682	"	"	"	Mr. Zilarani Manjhanmal Esq.	Bhatia Vaishva.	" ...	At a public meeting held on 17th December 1905.
683	"	"	"	Mathuradas Ramchand Javeri, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader and Zamindar Member of the District Board and Municipality of Hyderabad.	Ditto.
684	"	"	"	Mr. Walisram Abinchand Esq.	"	Service ...	Ditto.
685	"	Ichal-karanji, S. M. C.	Sangli, S. M. C.	Mr. Vinayak Krishna Mainkar B. A., LL. B.,	Aryan.	Pleader ...	At a meeting held at Sangli on the 19th of December, 1905.
686	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Raghunath Abhyanker B. A., LL. B.	"	"	Ditto.
687	"	"	"	Arant Vinayak Potbordun, B. A.	"	" ...	Ditto.
688	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	The Hon'ble Mr. T. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer, B. A., B. L.	Brahman	High Court Vakil The Tuz.	At a meeting of the Mahajan Sabha held on 11th December 1905.
689	"	"	"	Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar B. A., B. L.,	"	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Ditto.
690	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Esqr., B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Ditto.
691	"	"	"	Mr. E. R. Tiruvhataghari, B. A., B. L.	"	"	Ditto.
692	"	"	"	S. Srinivasa Iyenger	Hindu.	High Court Vakil ...	Ditto.
693	"	"	"	T. Ranga Chariar, Esqr., B. A., B. L.	Brahman	High Court Vakil, Egmore.	Ditto.
694	"	"	"	V. Rynu Nambiar, Esqr., B. A., B. L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil,	Ditto.
695	"	"	"	T. V. Gopala Swami Mudliar Esqr., B. A., B. L.	Mudliar.	High Court Vakil.	Ditto.
696	"	"	"	K. Narayana Raw, Esqr., B. A., B. L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Egmore.	Ditto.
697	"	Town Madras.	"	A. C. Parthasaradhi Naidu.	Hindu.	Editor, Andhraprakasi-ka and Commissioner, Madras Corporation.	Ditto.
698	"	"	"	G. Vankata Ranju Row, Esqr., M. A.	Brahman.	Triplicane] ...	Ditto.
699	"	"	"	G. Subramania Iyer., Esqr., B. A.	"	Editor, "United India", Triplicane.	Ditto.

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700	Madras	Town Madras	Madras	Pandit Gopala Charu, Esqr.	Brahman	Ayur Vedic Doctor, Govindappa Nnick Street, Black Town.	At a meeting of the Mahajan Sabha held on 11th December 1905.
701	"	"	"	A. Srinivasa Raghava Charlu, Esqr.	"	Mylapore	Ditto.
702	"	"	"	G. A. Natesan Iyer, Esqr., B. A.	"	Printer and Publisher, Explanade.	Ditto.
703	"	"	"	K. H. Ramnatha Iyer, Esqr., B. A., L. T.	"	Professor, Pachappa's College, Triplicane.	Ditto.
704	"	"	"	V. S. Srinivasa Sastrin, Esqr., B. A., L. T.	"	Headmaster, Hindu High School, Triplicane.	Ditto.
705	"	Madras	Triplicane	P. Lakshmi Narasu Naidu, Esqr., B. A.	Budhist, Non-Brahman.	Assistant Professor, Madras Christian College, 367 Mint Street.	Ditto.
706	"	"	Ranipat North-Arcot District.	Mr. L. Srinivas Raghao Aiyar.		Pleader, Ranipat and Landholder, Lalapet, North Arcot.	At the meeting of the residents of Ranipat held on the 12th of December 1905.
707	"	"	North Arcot District Association	T. K. Narasimha Charlu, B. A., B. L.	Brahman	Pleader, Chittoor; Secretary, North Arcot District Association.	At a meeting of the North Arcot District Association held on 6th December 1905.
708	"	"	Vellore	Mr. N. Krishnama Chariar, B. A.	Vishnavite Brahman.	Landlord, Vellore; Honorary Magistrate and Member of the District and Taluk Boards, N. Arcot.	At a meeting of the North Arcot District Association (Vellore Branch) held on 20th December 1905.
709	"	"	Ganjan Berhampore.	Mr. V. V. Jugiah Pantalu Guru.	Brahman	First Grade Pleader, Member, Kallikote Rajah's College Committee.	At a public meeting held in the Buckingham Town Hall Berhampore on the 21st December 1905.
710	"	Bellary	Bellary	Mr. Sindigi Marisiddappa	Lingayat Siva.	Cotton and Silk Merchant, Honorary Magistrate.	At public meeting, held on 10th December 1905.
711	"	"	"	Hon'ble K. Venkata Rao.	Brahman Siva.	1st Grade Pleader; Chairman of Cotton Pressing Factories, Member of the Legislative Council.	Ditto.
712	"	"	"	Mr. T. Samasondara Row	"	Pensioner and Landholder.	Ditto.
713	"	"	Kurnool	Mr. S. Venkatanarasimha Rao, Esq., B. A.	Brahman	Pleader, Vice-Chairman of the Municipality and Member, District Board.	At a public meeting held at Kurnool on the 7th December 1905.
714	"	"	Proddatur (Cuddapah Division.)	Mr. Kurudi Krishna Rao, B. A.	Vishavit, Madhwa Brahman.	Teacher	At a public meeting held in the Proddatur Town Hall on Wednesday the 13th December 1905.
715	"	Madura	Madura	Mr. Lakitwaha Bhega Vathew.	Sourashtra	Merchant	Public meeting Madras.
716	"	"	"	Mr. G. Srinivase Row, B. A.	Brahman	Chairman, Municipal Council.	Ditto.
717	"	"	"	Mr. Tulsi Ram, B. A., B. L.	Sourashtra	High Court Vakil	Ditto.
718	"	"	Tinnevelly	Mr. S. D. Krishna Aiyengar, B. A., B. L.	Brahman	Vakil	Ditto.

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719	Madras	Madura	Tinnevelly	Mr. S. P. Raja Gopala Chariar, B. A., B. L.	Brahman	Landholder ...	Public meeting Madras.
720	"	"	"	Honorable K. R. Guru Swami Iyer (Avarge, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil, District Board Member, S i w a Devasthanam Committee.	Ditto.
721	"	"	"	Mr. R. Srinivasa Ayar, B. A., B. L.	"	Vakil ...	Ditto.
722	"	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore.	Mr. K. V. Srinivasa Ayar, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil ...	At a public meeting held on the 15th December.
723	"	"	Erode	M. R. Ry. N. Srinivasa Charya, B. A., B. L.	Brahman Vaishnava.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting of the Citizens of Erode held on 10th December 1905.
724	"	Malaba-	Calicut	Mr. Vengayil Kunhikrishna Nayanar.	Hindu.	Landlord, Paramba P. O.	At a public meeting held in the Town Hall at Calicut on the 11th December 1905.
725	"	Salem	Salem	Mr. P. L. Ramaswami Naiker.	Vishnavite.	Miltadar of Pagalpatti	At a public meeting held at Salem on the 9th December 1905.
726	"	"	"	Mr. B. V. Naraswamia, Esqr., B. A., B. L.	Brahman Saivite.	High Court Vakil, Salem.	Ditto.
727	"	"	"	Mr. G. Chockabagan Chettier.	Saivite.	Zemindar of Elamballi Namakal Taluk.	Ditto.
728	"	"	"	Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, B. A.	Brahman Vishnavite	Pleader ...	Ditto.
729	"	"	"	Mr. A. Ramaswami Iyenger.	"	"	Ditto.
730	"	"	"	Mr. T. M. Narasinha Charair.	"	"	Ditto.
731	"	"	"	Mr. K. Srinivasa Row, B. A., B. L.	"	"	Ditto.
732	"	"	"	Mr. T. S. Mutha Krishna Iyer.	Brahman Saivite.	"	Ditto.
733	"	"	Tanjore	Mr. N. K. Ramasami Iyer, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil.	At a meeting of the Desabhimani Sabha held at Tanjore on the 21st December 1905.
734	Madras Presidency.	Gaujam	Parvatipur	Mr. O. V. Jagannatha Shastri.	Brahman	1st Grade Pleader, Northern Circars.	At a public meeting held on 16th December 1905.
735	"	"	Chodavaram Vizagapatam.	Mr. Nandarpa Narasimham	"	Pleader, Chodavaram	At a public meeting held on 12th December 1905.
736	"	"	"	Mr. Vaddadi Krishnamurti B. A., B. L.	"	"	Ditto.
737	"	"	Godaveri	Mr. Duggirala Lakshmi Devalaraju Guru.	"	Landlord, Cocanada ...	At a public meeting held at Cocanada on the 7th December 1905.
738	"	"	Vizagapatam	Mr. Dasarwa Vaesha Narasingarao, B. A., B. L.	"	Vakil ...	At a public meeting held on the 14th December.
739	"	"	"	Mr. Bayya Narimheswara Sarma Guru, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil ...	Ditto.
740	"	"	"	Mr. Tekumalla Seetharama Swami.	"	Landholder, Bimlipatam, Vizagapatam.	Ditto.

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741	Madras Presidency.	Ganjan	Vizagapatam.	Mr. Primmara Vinkati Surya Narayam Row, B. A.	Brahman	Pleader, Rajam, Virazapatam District.	At a public meeting held on the 14th December.
742	"	"	"	Mr. Vepa Purnanjan, B. A., L. L. B.	"	Pleader, Vizagapatam...	Ditto.
743	"	"	Rajamundry.	Mr. P. Kondalrao ...	"	Land holder, Rajamundry.	At a public meeting held at the Town Hall on 10th December.
744	"	"	"	Mr. Mamidi Bachayya	Vaisya	Merchant, Manudi Buchayya, Rajamundry.	Ditto.
745	"	"	"	Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu Guru, B. A., B. L.	...	High Court Vakil and Land holder.	Ditto.
746	"	"	Masulipatam, Kristna	Mr. Kopalte Hanumantha Row, M. A., B. L.	Brahman	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 9th December Kristna District Association.
747	"	"	"	Mr. S. Hanumantha Rao Pantulu Guru, B. A., B. L.	...	Public Prosecutor and Vakil.	Ditto.
748	"	"	"	Mr. V. Suryanarayana Rao Pantulu Guru, B. A., B. L., L. T.	...	High Court Vakil, Madras; Vice-President, Kristna District Association.	Ditto.
749	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu Guru, B. A., B. L.	...	Joint Secretary, Kristna District Association; Vakil, District Court, Kristna, Masulipatam.	Ditto.
750	"	"	"	A. Seturama Aiyar, Diplomaed Agriculturist.	Brahman	Farming and Banking, Vidamanyalam, Tanjor	At a public meeting held at Vidamanyalam on 14th December 1905.
751	Mysore Govt.	Mysore	Mysore	Pursota Nandgiri ...	Sanyasi	Money lending or Landholder and Jeweller.	At public meeting held at Mysore on 16th December 1905.
752	"	Secundrabad.	Hydarabad Secundrabad.	Mr. Ram Shandra Voman Ramachandra Naib.	Brahman	Vakil ...	At a public meeting held at Secundrabad on the 3rd December 1905.
753	"	"	"	Mulla Abdul Kaiyum ...	Mahomedan.	Retired First Talukdar.	Ditto.
754	"	"	"	Mr. G. Krishnan Chariar B. A., B. L.	Brahman, Vaishnavite	High Court Vakil and Government Pleader.	Ditto.
755	"	Madras	"	Mr. E. S. Thirunarayana Iyengar.	"	Journalist, Deccan ...	Ditto.
756	British Burma (Lower)	Rangoon.	Rangoon	Mr. Vasudeo Govind Bijapurkar.	Brahmin	Pleader, 4, Safraz Road	At a meeting of the Hindu Community, Rangoon, held on 17th December 1905.
757	Rangoon	"	"	Mr. A. V. Joseph ...	Christian	Saw Mill-owner and Landlord, Botatoung.	Ditto.

APPENDIX B.

List of Members of the Reception Committee.

- Benares.*—1. Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal; 2. Babu Motichand; 3. Pandit Mahamaha Upadhyaya Adityaram Bhattacharya, M. A.; 4. Babu Anand Kumar Chaudhry, M. A., LL. B.; 5. Pandit Chhanno Lal; 6. Mehta Baldeo Das Vyas, B. A.; 7. Mr. A. C. Mukerjee, B. A.; 8. Goswaini Bhawanipuri; 9. Babu Brindaban Behari; 10. Rai Bato Krishn; 11. Babu Brindeswery Prasad; 12. Babu Badri Prasad; 13. Babu Balram Das, M. A.; 14. Pandit Babunandanji; 15. Babu Chhotey Lal; 16. Babu Chuni Lal Mahesri; 17. Pandit Damoder Lal; 18. Babu Girdhar Das; 19. Babu Gopinath Singh; 20. Babu Iswar Chanda Chaudhuri; 21. Pandit Jagannath Mehta; 22. Babu Janki Prasad; 23. Rai Krishnji Saheb; 24. Babu Kalicharan Mitra; 25. Babu Krishnaram Bhawe (Dudh Vinayek); 26. Mirza Ishaq Beg; 27. Munshi Mahadeo Prasad; 28. Babu Mahadeo Prasad; 29. Babu Nand Gopal; 30. Babu Nivaran Chandra Gupta; 31. Babu Nand Kishore; 32. Goshwaini Ramchandrapuri; 33. Rai Raghunandan Prasad Bahadur; 34. Babu Raveendran Prasad; 35. Babu Radha Kishan Das; 36. Rai Shyama Krishna Sahib; 37. Babu Satish Chandra Mozumdar; 38. Pandit Bidyapat Tiwari (Aurangabad); 39. Babu Vithal Das; 40. Babu Rup Narain Singh; 41. Babu Mahendranath Chakravarte (Orderly Bazar); 42. Rai Balbhadar Das Saheb; 43. Mr. Nil Madhov Roy; 44. Babu Kedarnath Ghose (Ramapura); 45. Munshi Tara Prasad (Daranagar); 46. Rai Shiv Prasad; 47. Rai Shambhu Prasad; 48. Babu Kashinath Ramchandra Bhawe; 49. Babu Sarup Narain Singh; 50. Babu Sarju Prasad; 51. Babu Kishun Prasad; 52. Jha Ram Shankar; 53. Babu Bulaki Das, Debi Prasad; 54. Babu Ramchandra Naik Kalya; 55. Rao Gopal Das, Rao Baijnath Das; 56. Babu Girdhar Das, Hari Das; 57. Babu Jagannath Das, Mathura Das; 58. Lalji Gopal Das; 59. Joshi Permanand Keshoji; 60. Babu Keshore Das, Gopal Das; 61. Babu Jugul Kishore; 62. Babu Dwarka Das; 63. Babu Shyam Sunder Das, of Kothi, Babu Madho Prasad; 64. Mehta Krishnaramnagar, B. A.; 65. Babu Kalka Prasad; 66. Selhat Chunilalji; 67. Babu Ganeshram; 68. Babu Kedarnath; 69. Babu Madho Lal; 70. Babu Gokulchand; 71. Hakim Brij Mohan Lall; 72. Babu Narain Das Andhriwallay; 73. Seth Shyam Das; 74. Babu Gopal Krishna; 75. Ratan Shankar Jha; 76. Chaudhari Ramprasad; 77. Babu Sitaram Keshoram, of Bhadaini; 78. Babu Ramadas of Kothi, Babu Madho Das; 79. Babu Ballab Das; 80. Babu Maksudan Das; 81. Babu Kameshwar Prasad, Babu Gajadhar Prasad; 82. Babu Ajodhya Prasad; 83. Pandit Gauri Prasad Vyas; 84. Babu Murli Manohar; 85. Doctor Ganesh Prasad Bhargava; 86. Babu Girdhari Lal; 87. Rai Krishnchand; 88. Babu Krishn Chandra Chaudhari; 89. Babu Kali Das (Central Hindu College); 90. Babu Mathura Das; 91. Seth Harkishen Das; 92. Mr. Hanumant Rao, of Gaekwar; 93. Babu Gopal Das, of Kothi, Udaikaran Das; 94. Babu Hari Das.
- Agra.*—95. Babu Kedarnath; 96. Babu Madhuban Das; 97. Munshi Narayan Prasad.
- Allahabad.*—98. Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya; 99. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani; 100. Mr. Charu Chandra Mittra; 101. Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave; 102. Babu Lakshmana Prasad; 103. Dr. Sattish Chandra Bannerji; 104. Pandit Bishambhar Nath; 105. Hon'ble Pandit Sunder Lal; 106. Rai Ramcharan Dass Bahadur; 107. Babu Gokul Prasad; 108. Babu Durga Charan Bannerji; 109. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru; 110. Babu Jogendra Nath Chaudhari; 111. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.
- Aligarh.*—112. Mr. Vazir Hussain; 113. Hafiz Abdurrahim; 114. Munshi Kishore Lal; 115. Syed Fazul Hussain, Editor, *Urdu Maulla*, Aligarh.
- Bareilly.*—116. Mr. Nandkishore Kakar; 117. Munshi Jai Narain, son of Rai Damodar Das Bahadur; 118. Mr. P. N. Bannerji; 119. Babu Pryag Narain; 120. Rai Mohan Lal Bahadur; 121. Babu Jwala Sahai; 122. Pandit Parmeshwari Nath; 123. Raja Sunder Lal; 124. Babu Peare Lal; 125. Babu Raghunandan Prasad, M. A.
- Ballia.*—126. Babu Jamuna Prasad.
- Cawnpore.*—127. Rai Debi Prasad; 128. Dr. Mohendranath Ganguli; 129. Dr. Mohendranath Sircar.
- Dera Dun.*—130. Pandit Anand Narain.
- Farukhabad.*—131. Babu Gaiandan Lal, Vakil.
- Fyzabad.*—132. Rai Gokul Chand Bahadur; 133. Babu Manohar Lal.
- Ghazipur.*—134. Babu Bholanath Rai; 135. Babu Gobind Narain Singh; 136. Chaubey Rash Behari Lal; 137. Babu Jwahir Lal Singh.
- Gonda.*—138. Babu Harihar Prasad (Utraola).
- Gorakhpur.*—139. Qazi Ferasat Husain; 140. B. Ramgarib Lal; 141. Babu Ajodhya Das; 142. Babu Mahadeo Prasad; 143. Babu Shekherchand; 144. Babu Mahabir Prasad; 145. Lala Ishwari Prasad; 146. Lala Audh Narayan Singh; 147. Lala Harnarayan Singh;

148. Lala Keshari Narayan ; 149. Lala Narsing Sahai.

Lucknow.—150. Mr. A. P. Sen ; 151. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar ; 152. Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma ; 153. Babu Basdeo Lal, M. A. ; 154. Pandit Gokarannath Missra, M. A. ; 155. Dr. H. D. Pant ; 156. Babu Bansi Lal Sing ; 157. Pandit Badri Datt Joshi.

Mainpuri.—158. Babu Ganga Prasad.

Meerut.—159. Babu Ramsharan Das ; 160. Babu Gopal Lal ; 161. Lala Ramanujdial ; 162. Lala Dalip Singh ; 163. Pandit Ram Prasad, M. A. ; 164. Chaubey Radhey Lal ; 165. Lala Ramchandra Saroop ; 166. Lala Raghunath Prasad ; 167. Lala Jugul Kishore and Babu Sitaram, M. A. ; 168. Mr. Lala M. Sharma, Bar-at-Law ; 169.

Mirzapur.—170. Babu Sri Ram ; 171. Babu Mahadeo Prasad Singh ; 172. Babu Behari Lal ; 173. Chaubey Badri Narain Sharma ; 174. Babu Bindheswari Prasad ; 175. Babu Beni Madho Das ; 176. Munshi Hussain Ali ; 177. Babu Ram Prasad.

Moradabad.—178. Pandit Ganga Prasad Misra ; 179. Babu Brij Nandan Prasad ; 180. Babu Ram Kumar ; 181. Babu Brijraj Saran.

Muthra.—182. Jani Madho Lal.

Muzaffarnagar.—183. Hon'ble Rai Nihalchand, Bahadur.

Naini Tal.—184. Pandit Jwala Dutt Joshi.

Partabgarh.—185. Babu Oudh Behari Lal ; 186. Babu Raghbir Saran Sahai.

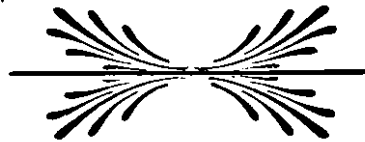
Pilibhit.—187. Pandit Ramadhin Missir Agnihotri.

Saharanpur.—188. Khan Bahadur Md. Naim Khan ; 189. Pandit Mohan Lal, Bar.-at-law ; 190. Babu Joti Prasad Bhargava ; 191. Babu Nemi Das ; 192. Lala Jamna Prasad ; 193. Syed Aga Haider, Bar.-at-law.

Shajahanpur.—194. Mr. Kallumall ; 195. Babu Bakhtawar Singh.

Sitapur.—196. Munshi Murli Dhar.

Banda.—197. Munshi Mata Prasad ; 198. Babu Parshotam Dass, Vaid, Jaipore.



APPENDIX C.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S MESSAGE.

22, KENSINGTON ROAD, LONDON, S. E.,

26th November 1905.

MY DEAR GOKHALE,

I SHOULD have much liked to be present at the Twenty-first Congress. It is the last before coming of age, when it is time to look back over the past and consider the future.

Looking back 52 years to the year 1853, when the first three Political Associations had their birth, *viz.*, the British Indian Association of Bengal, the Madras Association and the Bombay Association, we see how limited our political ideas and aspirations of that time were. The extent and causes of the increasing poverty of India we had hardly any clear conception of, nor had we fully realised our rights and duties as free British citizens. Like all beginnings this was small, but it was sound and healthy in the circumstances and knowledge of the time. I can say this as I was present at the inauguration of the Bombay Association and have taken part in it and in its subsequent work. Of these three the British Indian Association has preserved its existence till to-day, doing much good work. The Bombay Association after several years of good work came to a close but was revived, and after some years was succeeded by the present active Bombay Presidency Association. I think the Madras Association had also similar chequered career, and is now represented by the present active Madras Mahajan Sabha. There were some Provincial Associations also formed in time as the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and others. Now what was the result in brief of all this our first awakening and work. The work done by these Associations and the seeds sown by them during 32 years till 1885, produced their fruit in a larger conception of our political condition and knowledge, and what was of still greater importance—a closer union among all classes creeds and races of the whole country—results of which at our political birth in 1853 there was not much a clear idea of anticipation. And further the development of the political ideas and forces carried with it an impetus and larger awakening of the social ideas and forces, and they have gone on working side by side as they ought each influencing the other. Coming to later times, the work done during the 32 years, from 1853 to 1885 gave birth to our Indian National Congress as its best and natural fruit, leaving a great legacy, of union and political progress, and fairly leaving a claim to gratitude from the succeeding generations. Nearly all those who began the work in 1853 have, I think, passed away, leaving duty of further work on the rising generation of the day.

How that generation from 1885 up to this time had done its work, has been before us year after year in our national gatherings and their reports. But over and above the formulating and pressing for the various reforms in the defects in the existing administrative machinery, there were other far more important objects to be attained by the Congress. The first and most important was the change in the policy of the present system of Government, further on the one hand the educating and awakening of the people of India to a knowledge of their political and civil rights and duties as free British Citizens, and on the other hand to educate and urge upon the British people their duty to grant those rights. This double work, both in India and England, was absolutely necessary, and would remain necessary to the end of the chapter as long as we have to claim and obtain our rights for the British people and Parliament.

This double work has gone right well so far as means and opportunities have permitted. We see in India a result—a new India has arisen chafing under their present object, subjected and impoverishing condition under a policy of foreign destructive despotism and aspiring to higher and pressing aims—aims of self-government like that of the Colonies. For self-government is the only effective remedy for the drain and all its deplorable and terrible consequences, of extreme and increasing impoverishment, starvation, famines, plagues and moral debasement and intellectual deterioration from which India is suffering. The Colonies have prospered with self-government, and India can and will also prosper by the same means only. The British Empire must be an Empire of free and prosperous men, and not an Empire of tyrants and slaves and perishing humanity. Macaulay truly says—"the works of all tyrannies is the tyranny of a nation over a nation."

In preparing and creating this new India with its higher and most urgent aims, the Congress has fulfilled its highest mission. And we see this new awakening producing its fruit even now in the robust and straight stand all India made against Lord Curzon's University Speech and against Lords Hamilton and Curzon's restrictive, re-actionary and injurious measures with the view tightening upon us the bonds of despotism and increasing the impoverishing drain from which India has been already so badly suffering. But the latest fruit of the rising public spirit is the united vigorous action which Bengal has taken in the matter of the Partition of Bengal with the sympathy of the rest of India.

Before I refer to the future, I feel in connection with the British Committee that I should express a word of thanks to the four Anglo-Indian gentlemen—Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. W. Martin Wood and Sir Henry Cotton, who are still working with us in the British Committee and who have with no little sacrifice and odium guided, inspired and helped us from an early period of our efforts to demand and obtain our just rights. I do not forget the thanks that are due to several other Anglo-Indians and Englishmen living and dead.

We are now on the eve of our arriving of age, and we have to make a new start forward with all the advantages of the experience and result of past political work and progress of 52 years. What should be our future work? The work of the Congress in India and England has developed, as I have already said, a clear and most urgent aim, *viz.*, self-government like that of the Colonies, in the way most suitable to the peculiar circumstances of India. It is now a most pressing problem.

A most serious responsibility now rests upon us as well as upon the British rulers. What are the means necessary to accomplish that aim! Like every movement, great or small, thorough union and men and means are necessary. Union among all is the one absolutely necessary fundamental condition. Without union all other efforts will be vain. Any one who produces a dis-union and thereby stultifies or dissipates our energies or forces, cannot but be an ill-wisher of his country. With the enormous difficulties before us we cannot afford to be divided among ourselves.

We have now around us a new generation, well educated and prepared—thanks to past work—for this great task before them. Theirs is now the responsibility. Let the youth of the rising generation rally round the Congress with that energy, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which the vigour of youth and manhood can alone most furnish. Let them come with their fresh ideas, place them before the Congress, discuss them, abide by and undertake the burden of carrying into effect the decisions of the majority. Let those who desire to have their own way, let them work in their own way towards the same goal and not hamper or destroy others work. There is ample work for every one to do, his best in his own best way for the one ultimate end of our self-government. I do not despair. I think the time is not far off. The love of liberty and justice, is lately reviving strongly among the English people and with the effect of other events in the world, I think our day of emancipation is much nearer than many of us imagine, if we are true to ourselves and to our responsibilities.

But the transformation from a system of tyranny into a self-governing system in India is not a very impracticable thing. It has been partly already done. This case is one of those bright spots on the many dark pages of British Indian History. It is an event of the inspiration of hope in us yet. Queen Victoria aided and influenced Lord Salisbury and Sir Strafford Northcote to promote this blessed work, and a transformation in the right direction was actually effected, self-government was actually largely and practically commenced in Mysore and Mysore, which was then in a miserable condition, rose in prosperity with its enjoyment of even its partial self-government. I cannot enter into details here but refer to my letter to the Royal Commission, in my book (pp. 373-376). But I may here cite two remarkable utterances of these two Statesmen, as they point to the solution to a large extent as a commencement of this very problem of self-government. Here are Lord Salisbury's statesmanlike words (1867):—

“The general concurrence of opinion of those who know India best is that a number of well-governed Native States are in the highest degree advantageous to the development of the Political and Moral condition of the people of India.”

Sir Strafford Northcote said:—“There might be difficulties; but what we had to aim at was to establish a system of Native States which might maintain themselves in a satisfactory relation.”

With these pronouncements and the actual practical application of them before our eyes, in the case of Mysore to a certain extent, why should we despair of either this or some other suitable transformation being carried out as a beginning. Here is an accomplished fact, and all the British Government has to do is to carry it out in all India in the true British spirit with which Queen Victoria was actuated, the two statesmen were inspired and a great and good work was actually done. And as an earnest of a genuine and honest desire to give self-government immediate effect should be given to the resolution of 1893, for simultaneous examinations, though ultimately self-government will make its own arrangements for all its services. Never despair—the object is within our grasp. Depend upon the revised British spirit of freedom that is at present passing over this country. Our time is near, we grasp it by strenuous efforts and peaceful is rising of unceasing demand from all over the country.

For the purpose of inspiring the people with the desire of the duties and right of British free citizens, each province should furnish a band of educated men to become the missionaries of this work, and to devote themselves under suitable organization to do it by diffusing the knowledge of this great and pressing demand and of the resolutions of the Congress. Even in England itself, the English have even to this day to do the same spade-work among the people, for various reforms and their object. The Democracy is being now taught its lesson, and being aroused.

Side by side with work to be done in India there must also be vigorous work of propagandism in England. We cannot accomplish our object by working only in India or only in England. They are two halves of one whole, and by their combination only can the whole work be done.

With regard to the work in England, every effort should be made to get more properly qualified Indian Members in Parliament. Do not suppose a few members cannot do anything. Our cause is so fast and so important to England herself, that its moral force alone brings us the practical sympathy and aid of many members. The Resolution for simultaneous examinations was carried by such sympathy and aid of 57 Liberals and Radicals, 25 Irish, 2 Labour and 2 Conservatives. We need not despair for a right and just cause. It may take some time, but it must triumph in the end. You have no idea what a moral force of a dozen or even half-a-dozen true and able Indians will be in the House of Commons. We shall have all that is best and noblest in the British instinct and character at our back. Liberal principles must side with us. The Democracy is particularly in sympathy with you. The Irish sympathy needs no mention. It is in Parliament we have to fight our last fight, and say our last word, and I am not more unhopeful with such backing.

I have been anxious for some time past about the work in England. The present workers in the British Committee are not immortal. Besides, whatever help we may get from sympathising, and just-minded Englishmen, we must depend mainly upon ourselves. We need a body of half-a-dozen at least if not a dozen of enthusiastic and well-qualified Indians for the work of the Committee here, and of propagandism by our organ, literature and lectures, to be permanent residents in England. These may be either well-educated and competent well-to-do men who can live on their own means, or the well-to-do should supply the means to enable such well-qualified men to live there. Our success must depend upon our own *proper men and sufficient means*.

Indians must make up their minds for large sacrifices, both personal and pecuniary. In England itself we have object lessons. Taking one instance only of the Abolition of the Corn Laws, many

men like Bright and Cobden worked devotedly, and the League raised, if I am not mistaken, funds of two millions to fight the cause. This for one cause only. How many movements for reforms of one kind and another are now going on here with devoted men and women, and large means. Our work is of the utmost importance and of the greatest difficulty, the emancipation, freedom and prosperity of some 300,000,000 of mankind—and in proportion to the importance does it demand from us the most strenuous devotion and large sacrifices. Yes, the Japanese people, high and low, made such sacrifices, and the world knows the result and is the better for it to-day. Should we fail

Owing to this work already done in England we shall now be able to continue our work under more favourable conditions than ever. The power of the British Press was a great difficulty to us before. But now a powerful section of this Press is directing its attention to the claims of and justice to India. This help is of great importance to us and a powerful factor on our side, and we have to be very thankful for it. I am sorry *The Times* yet does not realise to the full extent our true condition and our just claims. It sees the India of the Anglo-Indians—not the India of the Indians. This is a misfortune and injury both to England and India. I may name some of those who are helping the just cause: *The Daily News*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Morning Leader*, *The Star*, *The Daily Chronicle*, *Justice*, *The Investor's Review*, *The Reynolds's Newspaper* and others. The help of the press is one of the satisfactory results of the work done in England by the British Committee and the journal of *India*.

India is and must remain, like every other organ of every cause, the right aim and weapon of the Committee and Indian work in England. The Indian papers cannot reach the Press and people here, besides, *India* is the only paper that can spread over the whole surface of India at once. All Indian papers are confined to localities. *India* has a great work to do both in England and India, and must be made proportionately large and important. We cannot fight without a weapon of this kind, and the paper must be extensively distributed at Indians' cost over the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. It is by means of such an organ in the Press that we can reach the whole people and press here with whom we have to deal, as well as influence in the same direction the whole of India. Of the hearty help we are now getting from the English Press, I shall give you only one instance. In *The Daily News* of a few days ago (18th October), a leader ends with this para:—

"The Liberal Party will do well to follow events in India more clearly than it has been accustomed to do in the past. It is pretty evident that as a result of Lord Curzon's contemptuous treatment of Indian sentiment the question will soon have to be faced of whether India is to be given a double dose of coercion or to be invited to co-operate with her British rulers in the work of self-government. And this we say is an issue which Liberalism can only ignore at its peril."

You will see what a new force of the Press is now in the direction of British liberty and justice for us!

To sum up. We require on the one hand to inspire the people of India at large with the desire of attaining and enjoying their birth-and-pledged rights, and the absolute necessity of freedom and self-government like that of the Colonies for their material and moral development, progress and prosperity. Without self-government the Indians can never get rid of their present drain, and the consequent impoverishment, misery and destruction. No palliatives of any kind whatever, no more alteration and tinkering of the mechanical machinery of a demonstration, can and will do any good at all. The drain can only be stopped by the Government, by the people themselves. To be prosperous, India must govern itself like the Colonies. Here are remarkable true words uttered by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman only three days ago on the 23rd:—"Good government could never be a substitute for Government by the people themselves." Our needs, therefore, is the utmost for government by the people themselves.

Self-government is the only remedy for India's woes and wrongs. For this purpose we must strengthen this Congress, our great body, representative of all India, to go on making every possible effort to accomplish this end, which is quite practicable. As I have already said and has been already successfully carried out very far by British rulers themselves as far back as 38 years ago in the case of Mysore. On the other hand it is as much absolutely necessary that we should have a strong Committee in England of a number of permanently residing Indians with the powerful organ *India*, helped by sympathising English people and Press to carry on energetically the propaganda of our claims and to attain them. A few competent and truly patriotic and enthusiastic Indian members in Parliament will largely accelerate work there, for as I have said it is in Parliament that the fight it is to be fought and the last word to be said.

But above all, I repeat with my utmost emphasis, the most important and absolutely necessary fundamental condition is union and enthusiastic and self-sacrificing work among our people themselves.

I am so glad that there is to be there time the first Industrial Congress besides the Social Congress, with the National Congress. Yes, all these forces must go on working side by side with their good influences upon each other, and from me are my most hearty words and wishes of success for every effort you may make for the salvation of your country. The tide is with us. The English people and Press are beginning to understand the wrongs of India. All Asia is waking up. The Isle of the East have made the start. A great autocracy in the West is crumbling to dust—and we may fairly expect that in dealing with such people as the British, with yours very sincerely, their instincts for liberty, justice roused our emancipation is not far off but I hope near. My words:—Never despair or despond—go on, go on thoroughly united—come weal come woe—never to rest but to persevere with every sacrifice till the victory of self-government is won."

With my kindest regards and best wishes to the three Congresses.

Yours very sincerely,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE'S MESSAGE.

KIDDERPORE, BEDFORD PARK, CROYDON,

December 8th, 1905.

MY DEAR GOKHALE,

I AM sorry I was not able to write to you last week as I had fully intended to do. Writing to-day I shall be in time for the meeting of the Indian National Congress at Benares.

I consider it a great misfortune to myself that I am not able to be present at the meeting and take part in its deliberations. As an old Congress hand I may possibly have been of some use to you, but it is needless to dwell on this topic. It seems to me that we are passing through critical times in India, and that we ought to exert our best to make the events that are happening to further the cause of our country and to enable the Congress fully to achieve the ends for which it was established now 21 years ago. Young people are apt to feel disheartened because no immediate result is visible in any agitation they may undertake. They forget that existing institutions cannot be changed without years of patient struggle in endeavouring to convince those who are guardians of the institutions that their alteration and reform would be of benefit to the country. What we have to keep in mind is that the mere fact that we desire self-governing institutions for our country is not enough of itself to justify the grant of such institutions by our rulers to us. We have to show that our progress has been such that the grant of such institutions would be an advantage alike to India and to England. We ought to call to mind that in the early days of what are now the self-governing Colonies they were mere crown Colonies, and that they were not invested with the privileges, duties and responsibilities of self-government until long afterwards. The early settlers in these Colonies were emigrants from Great Britain and belonged to the same race and had been trained in the same way as those that remained in the mother-country, and yet self-governing institutions were not conferred on them immediately they demanded them. They waited and agitated, agitated and waited, and at last got what they wanted. We do not belong to the ruling race and have never been brought up in the same way as they have been. Our case, therefore, is more difficult of achievement than that of self-governing Colonies, and we must wait and agitate, agitate and wait longer than they were destined to do. With patience, perseverance and persistence I am sure we shall reach the goal of our desires in time, and, therefore, we must never lose heart. Your recent visit to this country must have shown you that the people you came across both in your public meetings and privately are disposed to be just—yea, generous—towards our aspirations, all that is required is that we must show to them that we are capable of self-government. The members of the Congress are rightly convinced that we are, and if we keep up our agitation and prefer our demands in season and out of season, thus showing that we are in earnest about the matter, I am sure we shall succeed in convincing the British public that our desire for self-governing institutions is just and legitimate, that we are capable of understanding and working these institutions and that the grant of them to us would be alike beneficial to our country and to England, and once convinced of these facts the British public, you may be sure, will not long hesitate to invest us with these institutions. To convince the British public that we are in earnest a constant agitation of matters Indian ought to be kept up in this country, for it is the British public who are alone capable of giving what we want, and to show to them that our agitation in this country is based upon a solid foundation, strong agitation on the lines laid down by the Congress must be kept up in India. The agitation in India must be the lever on which the agitation of this country must be worked. Let me, therefore, implore you to impress upon our Congressmen from your Presidential Chair the necessity of maintaining the Congress, of keeping up the agitation in India on the lines laid down by it, and of vigorously continuing the agitation in this country. Time does not allow me to write more at length on the subject, but I think I have said enough, and I trust you will excuse me for inflicting this long letter on you.

Trusting the Twenty-first Congress will be as successful under your Presidency as its predecessors, and with kindest regards to you and to all our Congressmen,

I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
W. C. BONNERJEE.

THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE, C. I. E.

MR. A. M. BOSE'S LETTER.

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

IN expressing the deep rejoicings of my heart at your occupying the Presidential Chair of the Indian National Congress, fresh with your laurels from the West and, what I think is more honoured and loved by us all, for your long and many noble services in the country's cause in the past, permit me to send for your consideration, and that of my brother-delegates, some thoughts which occur to me with regard to the working of our beloved Congress. I greatly grieve that I cannot personally present them before you and my brethren. But illness claims me as its own, and for nearly a year I have been practically chained to my bed. But though I shall not be with you to explain, justify or urge my views, I am sure they will receive such consideration as they may deserve.

There were two main objects with which the Congress was started 20 years ago, namely, to bring nearer together all earnest workers in the country's cause, remove sectional or provincial prejudices and consolidate sentiments of National Unity; and secondly, to record, after full discussion, the opinions of the educated classes, on some of the questions of the day, and by subsequent practice, forward them to Government.

The first of these two objects has, one is glad to feel, been largely attained so far as the educated classes are concerned, and this I consider to be a great and notable gain. But I think the time has fully come when we must extend this work so as to embrace, within its scope as largely as possible, the peoples, the masses of our different Provinces and Presidencies. This is essential in order to secure, not in a day but by and by, the solidarity of the whole Indian Nation and the unity, the fellow-feeling and sympathy for each other, of the inhabitants of different parts of the country.

I would suggest for this purpose the delivery of addresses in the vernacular of the Provinces by speakers selected from the whole body of delegates at places outside the Congress Pandal; and what is more important, at different towns and important centres in the neighbourhood, say within fifty or sixty miles of the Congress, when there is communication by rail. These meetings, of course, are not for delegates to the Congress, but mainly for the common people; and there might be at the same time Congress fairs and various attractions to draw them together. Let me state here my own experience in connection with the holding of the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Leicester. I had the honour of being sent as a delegate to that gathering, and of being selected as one of its speakers, an honour done, I was told, for the first time to an Indian. What I said was most appreciatively noticed, in the *Manchester Guardian*, in terms which I need not quote here. But the important point to which I wish to draw the attention of our Congress is this, that the speakers or the chief speakers at the meeting of the Federation were divided into different groups which addressed various places around Leicester, the day and evening previous to the meeting of the Federation at that place. A member of Parliament and myself were allotted to Market Harborough (if I remember the name aright), where we addressed gathering, of the local people coming the next day to Leicester for the annual meeting. Such a plan would produce, I believe, very beneficial results, and limiting the number of days for the Congress itself. If this be possible, as I believe it is, I would devote one or two days at least to several of our speakers, including many local gentlemen, addressing meetings held at different places around the Congress centre. There would of course be interpreters with them, wherever this may be needed. And not only should there be meetings but also, as stated before, different kinds of entertainments, games and sports. In this way we would popularise the Congress, and further Congress ideas and general political education to a much larger extent than is the case now kindled amongst the people of the Province, a feeling of enthusiasm and of brotherliness towards the other Provinces. I wonder if we could not have a "Congress Rakhibandhan," both for Hindus and Mahomedans, for delegates as well as non-delegates, as a symbol of union and fellow-feeling just as we had in Bengal on our ever memorable 16th of October last. I wonder, too, whether, at least to some extent, and in spite of difficulties of caste and otherwise, we could not place Congress delegates from different parts in private houses at the Congress centre. It may perhaps be said that this will interfere with the delegates coming to know each other as at present. But I think this result could easily be prevented, or at least very greatly mitigated. I need not enter into details, but it is at any rate obvious that the arrangement I have suggested will, to the extent it is carried out, enable local friendships to be formed, and useful local knowledge to be acquired. I will only add that this also is the plan which is adopted in England in connection with the holding of the National Liberal Federation and other Congresses. In my case I was the guest of a Unitarian family which originally Liberal, was Unionist in its political complexion, and bitterly opposed to Mr. Gladstone and his Home Rule Policy. And of course they did not join in meetings of the Federation. But yet I have a most pleasant recollection of my stay with them, and I formed valuable friendships with members of the family.

In connection with this subject, though not coming immediately within the scope of my foregoing observations, may I mention the desirability of having a Secretary or Secretaries at all the principal places of India, whose duty it would be to receive visitors, properly introduced from other parts, in the course of the year (not coming of course on their own business), accommodate them in private houses or in suitable Halls, if there are any, and place them in the way of making acquaintances and acquiring information as to the social habits, local institutions and local feelings, etc. In cases in which they specially desire it, the visitors might make their own arrangements as to their meals. It is accommodation that will be specially needed, and which should thus be provided for. In this time of revival, should we not do something to re-vivify the ancient and valued virtue of hospitality which we are in danger of losing from our contract with an alien civilisation. I will not dilate on the beneficial results of carrying out this plan, which indeed are sufficiently obvious.

I am not one of those who look upon the Congress as a three-days' *Tamasha*. On the contrary, I believe that a good deal of very important work has been and is being carried on by our beloved gathering. But I most earnestly wish that in the interval between one Congress and its successor, much more of practical, sustained and devoted effort should be made to spread information, create

interest and promote in various ways our National cause. Permit me in this place to quote a passage from the address delivered at Madras by the President of the Fourteenth Indian National Congress:—"Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come when, if we are to reap the full fruits of our deliberations and to give *living force* to our resolutions, we must have a standing organization to carry on the work of the Congress from year's beginning to year's end, to carry on that work continuously, steadily, earnestly, sending agents and missionaries to different parts of the country, spreading information, awakening interests, issuing leaflets and pamphlets, educating the public mind, drawing attention to the many wants and grievances of the dumb masses, whose spokesman it is the privilege of the Congress to be, pointing out the duty we owe to Government, and helping the Government to the best of our power in its endeavours for the better administration, the better education, the better sanitation of the country,—and we must have men wholly devoted to this most important work. As I am standing before you my mind goes back to the great gathering at Leicester in March last, the National Congress, I may say, of the Liberal party, which it was my privilege to attend and to address as a delegate from Cambridge. There are many points of resemblance that struck me between the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation and the Indian National Congress. * * * But behind all this what a difference, what a busy, active, powerful organization with a Secretary and a staff of officials wholly given to its work, with a Publishing Department, with its separate staff of officials, with its Council Meetings held throughout the year and directing its operations, with its army of agents and workers and its allied Associations at work all over the country and the same is the case with the great Conservative Party whose organization won such splendid results at the last election. Brother-delegates, I do not expect you to reach to such heights. If Rome was not built in a day, neither are organizations. They are the results of patient labour for many a long day. But let us resolve that at least a beginning, a fair beginning, shall be made in the year before us, that when in the closing year of the century we meet once again we may look back upon some work done, some foundation laid, some progress achieved in the direction I have ventured to indicate."

The passage was received with much cheering. Instead of one, seven years have since then winged their flight. I ask my brother-delegates seriously to consider what progress has been achieved in the meanwhile in the direction there indicated, and if much or sufficient work has not been done in our different Provinces, should we not, in these evil days of re-action, or even in good days, if they should come, brace ourselves up for practical and active work, for strenuous and manly efforts, for the progress of our cause, and on behalf of our dear Mother-land. Ah ! Never so dear as now.

As to the other object of the Congress, namely, formulating and conveying our views to Government, I think we have done enough for the present, to give work for another dozen years or more, even to a sympathetic Government. Barring exceptional cases, and new or recent measures of a retrograde character which have been carried out or proposed since the last Session of the Congress, we must enlarge our Omnibus and be content simply with re-affirming our previous resolutions. And with respect to proposals which may have to be separately brought before the Congress, I would suggest that with perhaps the exception of two or three speeches, besides the Presidential Address, these be embodied in pamphlets previously written in which facts, figures and arguments can be clearly and correctly set out, and which would be readily accessible for future reference. A summary of these pamphlets could also be given by the writers at the Congress meeting. I would also suggest that not more than two or three matters be taken up (at least as main subject) at each sitting of the Congress, and we should confine our chief attention to them in the ensuing year. In this way we can, I think, compress the work of the Congress itself, including the Presidential Address, into two days instead of three as at present, and devote the day thus saved, and more, in the way I have indicated, including visits to the Industrial Exhibition and places of local interest, in social parties and entertainments and other ways that would readily suggest. This limiting of subjects would at the same time have the advantage of giving definite direction and concentration to our practical efforts in the coming year.

With regard to the present practice of sending copies of our Resolutions to the Government, would it not be better to embody them in a representation which would succinctly give the arguments and facts on which those Resolutions are based ; and this, modified to some extent, if necessary, would at the same time form a sort of Congress manifesto to the outside and specially the British Public. This matter may be worth the consideration of the Subjects Committee.

I will not enter into the question as to how far certain privileges and concessions granted since the Congress came into being may really be placed to the credit of the Congress propaganda ; but with regard to which some of our friends think that they were granted by Government of its own motion and would have been granted just the same even if there were no Congress in existence. But this, however, is certain that now and for many years past the Resolutions of the Congress are treated by the authorities with utter indifference, and in some cases even with ridicule or contempt. What happened last year ? While the representatives of a commercial gathering were received with the utmost cordiality by the Viceroy, and were encouraged by his speech addressed to them, the President of the Indian National Congress himself but lately a most distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service and an administrator of the widest experience and the highest repute personally known to the Viceroy, was not allowed the very small privilege of presenting the resolutions of the Congress personally to him. And the Secretary of State for India, when appealed to in England, defended this action of the Viceroy. And also bitter and painful experience in Bengal of only the other day has shown with what contempt the Government treats the Resolutions of the Congress, and the unanimous and earnest expression of opinion by a whole people, and the methods of repression with which it puts down that expression. We must, as our first and foremost duty, strenuously strive to educate and energise our people, teach them more and more to rely on their own efforts and learn the sacred lesson of sacrifice for the country's sake and to be manly and brave in the great constitutional struggle that lies before them. Let them revive their industries, re-introduce their own village communities or Panchayats, establish Arbitration Courts, take charge as far as may be of their own education at least in its primary stages, and of village roads, water-supply and sanitation and other practicable matters. In

the next place we must direct our efforts more and more towards England, frequently sending, and if possible, permanently maintaining, deputation to that country. Alas, Sir, your brilliant work in England, nobody will question or doubt, if only we can get suitable men for the purpose, the desirability of having such deputations. But I very humbly think that for this purpose and for accomplishing the chief work that lies before every lover and well-wisher of his country, we must not take a bold step forward and try to get Local Legislative Councils based wholly on election, with power of financial control, for at least three of the older Presidencies. Our friends in the other Provinces may be sure that if the experiment should succeed with these Presidencies, it will not be long before their turn comes to obtain similar Councils.

It is almost with fear and trembling, that I submit this proposal to make the granting of such Elective Assemblies not indeed the sole, but the chief, object of our deputations to England, and as the main plank in the Congress Platform. Leaving our Anglo-Indian friends aside probably some of our honoured leaders may deprecate and criticise such an idea, as being a departure from the Congress ways as hitherto pursued, and as wanting in moderation. But if I make the proposal with a feeling akin to fear I make it also with a strong assurance and a firm faith that in a few years' time we shall be wondering we did not direct earlier our attention to this matter. That it is a new departure I admit, but for what does a progressive organization like the National Congress exist if not in the progress of time, for absorbing and taking up of new ideas? And as for the charge of absence of moderation, why we might earn ever the praises of the *Pioneer* and other Anglo-Indian papers, if like some organizations that I know of, we were to sing poems as to the blessings conferred by our rulers with just a mention of a few petty grievances and prayers, to give piquancy to the song of praise. Need I state to my brother-delegates that moderation depends on the point of view of the on-looker, that what is moderate looked at in one way becomes revolutionary when looked at in another way, that what was regarded as extreme some years ago is now considered moderate and fair, that even the proposals of our Congress propaganda, mild as they are, are looked upon as wild and visionary, yea, in some quarters as almost akin to sedition. All that promoted, not by illegal and unconstitutional I would care for is, whether the prayer we make is just and practicable, and if it is of violent means, but in the open daylight by constitutional methods and without the slightest or the faintest tinge of violence or disloyalty. We have often been used to look down to the ground. We must now learn to look up and behold the snow-clad mountain and the azure skies, and then we shall admire their beauty, and breathe in their inspiring and ennobling influence.

Let me more fully explain my proposal. It is not necessary to enter into the details of election, though no doubt property and education will be important factors, and the number of members should not be less than about a hundred. If it be deemed necessary I would further admit the element of sectional representation allotting to different communities or interests a certain minimum representation in the Local Councils. Then further I would give to the Government the very important power of vetoing any legislation or part of legislation, whether of a general or financial character, after granting a hearing to some members selected by the Council for the purpose. The reason for the Government disallowing any legislation should be recorded in a Resolution which would be placed for a certain length of time on the table of the House of Commons, and be open to consideration of the House on the motion of a member of it, or say of five of them. While this would provide for the vetoing of any legislation which the Government considered objectionable, I would at the same time allow the Government in special cases to introduce into the Supreme Council, where the nominated element would preponderate, any measures of a local character which it should consider desirable so to take up. It should record the reasons for introducing such a measure directly in the Viceroy's Council and in any case it should grant a hearing to nominees selected by the Local Council, on the merits of the measure. It would, as finally passed, together with the reasons for its introduction in the Supreme Council, be liable to the same process before the House of Commons as in the case of vetoes above described. If thought absolutely necessary, I would further allow the Government to nominate one-fourth, including officials, of the members of the Local Council, though with the checks and positive powers above described I do not think this concession to be either just or called for. A certain number of official members would have the right to be present and speak at meetings of the Councils. I would at the same time allow the Supreme Government to reserve all matters involving questions of Imperial Finance for consideration before the Viceroy's Council. One-third of the members of this Council should be elected by the elected members of Provincial Councils, a certain number being allotted to each Province. The remaining two-thirds, including officials, would be nominated by Government.

There is, it is true, in some quarters or with some authorities, a feeling of doubt in regard to the representative system. But even from such quarters, no not even for Russia with autocratic principles ingrained as it were for all these ages in the minds of its people, has any other system been proposed. And never were Representative Institutions introduced and nursed under better or more hopeful auspices than in the sketch I have ventured to set forth above. For the vagaries, if any, of the popular will, would at once be checked and controlled in the way I have mentioned by the Government which would wield no mere shadowy power, but very real power with the Army at its command.

I have had, I think I may say, a fair amount of acquaintance with the English Agricultural Labourer with whom I have come into contact, and whom I have addressed in connection with several election meetings, and I know our ryots at least in Bengal. And I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that whether in intelligence, sobriety or power of grasp over different questions, the average Indian ryot is superior to the average English labourer who delights in the possession of a vote. And for me quite unexpectedly I have had the testimony of many Anglo-Indians whom I have met in England to the same effect. I considered, therefore, that our prayer, hedged round further as it is by the safeguards previously described, is a just one.

Then the question arises is this request a practicable one? After what you, Sir, have said in England as to postponing this prayer, and confining our attention to certain matters important in their own way, no doubt, but comparatively minor in their character, such as the enlargement of our Councils, introduction of an Indian element in the Executive Council of the Government of India

and the Indian Council in England, it is with every deference to your views and with the utmost hesitation that I raise my voice in favour of my proposal. In this state of my health I have been able to read only a few of your eloquent utterances in England; I am not sure, therefore, whether you may not yourself have advocated raising to the first place the proposal I am now submitting. I am in the utmost sympathy with you in the proposal as to introducing a certain limited number of India's representatives in Parliament. I myself had the honour of advocating this step several years ago. But I am afraid the English people will not grant it. I am also in thorough sympathy with the other proposals mentioned above. But permit me to say that it is only retired Anglo-Indians and a very limited number of other people who will fully understand them. But it is not from them that we can expect much help or support. Whereas the question of introducing Elective Legislatures will present a clear issue which the English people will grasp and understand—an issue with which they are familiar both in the history of their own country and of other countries, that they know of and with which a great many of them no doubt after some continued agitation on our part will be in ready sympathy. No taxation without representation is a maxim deeply cherished by them, and is enshrined in their hearts.

It is a difficult matter to prophecy, but I thoroughly believe that this last prayer of ours has a chance of being granted as early as the minor proposals mentioned above, if indeed not much sooner. Let us remember that in this prayer of Elective Legislature, we shall at once have the sympathy of the Irish Nationalists who form a large compact phalanx in the House of Commons, of the Labour Party with its growing influence, of the Social Democratic Party, and certain other existing and living organizations as well as of many Liberals and Radicals. Here are these organizations already formed, and yearly wielding greater and greater power, whose co-operation we can secure if not indeed at the very start at least in a very short time. But this cannot be said in reference to our other proposals. We shall have no doubt misapprehensions to remove from interested, prejudiced or official classes. But I humbly venture to think that some years of sustained agitation amongst the English people who, after all are right-minded and justice-loving, and are wedded to the representative system, will secure our object. And they have no interest whatever in a poverty-ridden India with the heavy annual drain from her resources, and furnishing a few loaves and fishes and pensions to the official classes. All their interest on the other hand is in a prosperous India with the growing needs and commerce of her teeming, well-doing and contented millions, increasingly buying their numerous products; delighting in her connection with the mighty mistress of the main, the inheritor of the proudest, traditions of progress and liberty, the Mother and Dispenser of free institutions and the centre of the largest and the most powerful Empire that the world has ever seen. Beloved England, how I love thee and cherish the memory of many dear friends and the righteous and heroic men and women whom I have met in your glorious land. Speak of loyalty to England! What loyalty can be greater than that of this country with its noble past and succeeding gloom rejoicing in the helping hand lent her by the English people in her time of distress, and raising her, glorying in the intelligence, the skill, the sobriety and the moral grandeur of her people, to her rightful place amongst the nations of the world? I advocate the granting of representative institutions and gradually of administrative power of the people of India because it will intensify and strengthen the feeling of loyalty to England, because it will be alike to the interests, material and moral, of both the people, because it will make more abiding, more permanent and more glorious the connection between the two countries, both belonging to the same Aryan stock, which Providence in its Dispensation has brought together.

I have taken more space with this subject than I had intended on account of its supreme importance and comparative novelty. I do not enter into the question of a constitution for the Congress and other topics. I need hardly say that I am not wedded to the particular system of election, a short outline of which I have given in this letter. I daresay a much better system may be devised. It is the *system* of representative Institutions, it is controlling the destinies of India by her own people, subject, it may be, to certain safe-guards, it is preventing the unmaning and the demoralising effects of the present system by which Indians are kept away from the higher posts, and in consequence of which they are every day losing whatever of manliness, of fitness to command and control which they possessed in the past, that I advocate, and on behalf of which I raise my voice in these perhaps my closing days.

As to the method to be pursued to attain our end, I need not say anything more. I have already said that it will be absolutely constitutional, appealing to the conscience and reason, yea, even the generosity of the English people. I trust, therefore, that I have said enough to show that our prayer for the Representative system and enlarged liberty is just and practicable, and is to be carried on by loyal and constitutional methods. I trust I shall not be considered a revolutionary, but moderate, just and reasonable in my proposal, and that from the Holy City of Benares will go forth in trumpet tones the holy cry of freedom that from the city which, it is said, belongs not to Earth and where Emancipation is granted to the Spirit from the terrors of "Yama," the mighty Lord of Death, the sweet and melting strain of Emancipation from official thralldom, shall go over the length and breadth of this land, awakening new life, infusing new vigor, kindling new enthusiasm and meeting with responsive sympathy from the heart of the Great English Nation.

In conclusion permit me, my dear brethren of the National Congress, to convey to you, one and all, my deep love and kindest wishes. Though absent in body my heart will be with you. May the Lord of the Universe, the God of this ancient and ever-beloved Mother-land, guide your counsel, bathe you in the fountain of His Love, and grant you this day a new Inspiration and a new Strength.

Yours fraternally,

AN EX-PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.