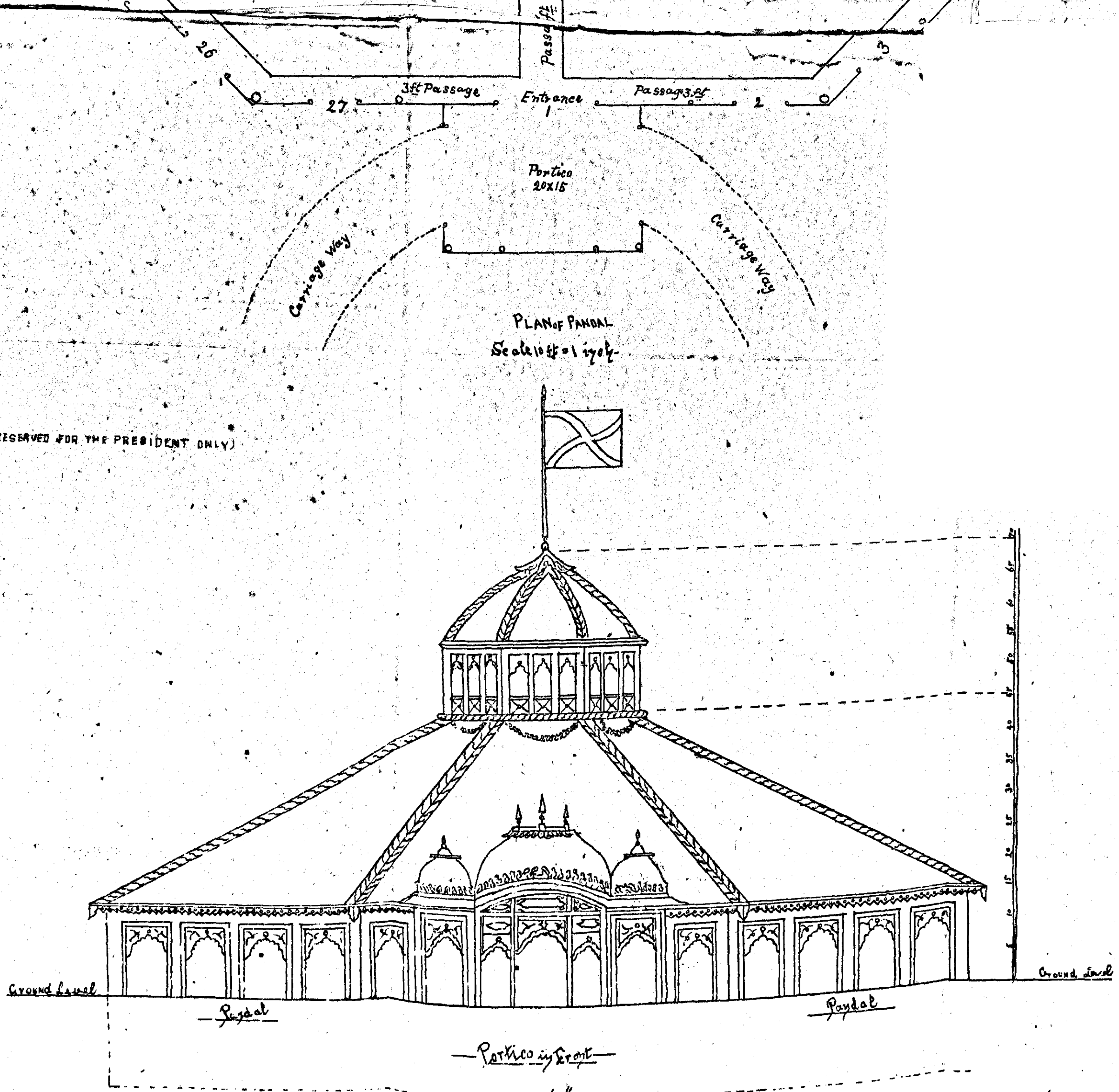


- 1 THE PATALI PUTRA RATE
- 2 THE CHANDRA GUPTA
- 3 THE BUD
- 4 THE VAISALI
- 5 THE SHEESHNAH
- 6 THE BINDUSARA
- 7 THE VIKRAMASILA
- 8 THE UDAYA
- 9 THE NALANDA
- 10 THE SITA
- 11 THE PARAS NATH
- 12 THE JARA SINDH
- 13 THE KAPILA
- 14 THE KALINGA
- 15 THE MAHA DHA
- 16 THE GAUTAMA
- 17 THE RAJAGRIHA
- 18 THE BIM BISARA
- 19 THE SAMADRA GUPTA
- 20 THE UDANTA PURI
- 21 THE UDAIGIRI
- 22 THE VIDYA PATI
- 23 THE AZIMUSHAN
- 24 THE GURU GOVIND
- 25 THE MAHAVIRA
- 26 THE GHANAKYA
- 27 THE ASOKA



PLAN OF PANDAL
Scale 1/8" = 1 foot

Scale 1/5" = 1 foot

ELEVATION

Banki Fur Congress
Pandal
1912

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INTRODUCTION.

The first session of the Indian National Congress to be held in Bankipur, the Civil Station of Patna, the Capital of Behar and Orissa was the twenty-seventh. The honour came rather late in the day, but it could not have come under happier auspices. Before the great Delhi changes were announced in 1911, Bengal was privileged to take the lead in matters affecting both interprovincial and intraprovincial interests. Bengal with its great press and manifold social and political activities concentrated in Calcutta had the commanding voice in the then provincial life, and if Behar agreed to play second fiddle, well and good,—if not it had had to make up its mind to be ignored. Not that the sense of local individuality was the less keen on that account. On the other hand, as the progress of the Provincial Conference and kindred movements amply shows, there were continuous strivings for obtaining means of self-expression. In a sense in which the same cannot be said of any other part of the country, Behar had early developed a high degree of cohesion in its public life, and no better preparation could have been made for the great change which took effect in April 1912 than the practical recognition of the community of interests which binds Hindus and Moslems in this Province in unbroken and unbreakable bonds of social amity and common service. It is not necessary here to dwell upon the immense benefits accruing to Behar by its separate constitution under the Royal command: it will be more germane to the matter in hand to note that it was devolved to celebrate our entry into the larger life of the country by inviting the Indian National Congress to hold its twenty-seventh session at Bankipur. The cost in money and the sacrifices in personal service were calculated to a nicety. Looking back, it may truly be claimed for Behar that the arrangements made for the comfort of the delegates and the conduct of the proceedings of the session reflected the highest credit on those responsible.

It was at the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1911 that Mr. (now Justice) Hassan Imam, on behalf of the Province, extended a formal invitation to the great convention of the Empire to hold its session at Bankipur; and the invitation was accepted. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Hassan Imam's elevation to the bench of the Calcutta High Court deprived this Province of one of its foremost workers in the public cause, and the Congress Committee of one who would have been a tower of strength. The regret at the withdrawal of his virile personality from provincial life was however quenched in the rejoicing that an eminent Beharee, admirably fitted by qualities of head and heart to administer even handed Justice, had been called to higher field of labour in the cause of the motherland. The Reception Committee was formed and immediately set to work with characteristic energy. The composition of that body is, in itself, typical of that Hindu Moslem entente which is so striking a feature of public life in Behar. The Chairman of the Reception Committee was that self-less patriot, Mr. Mazharul Haque, whose tenure of office as member of the Imperial Legislative Council (1910-12) had been rendered memorable, both in an individual and a political sense, by his fearless advocacy of the common interests of Hindus and Moslems. The number of Vice-Chairmen was twenty, and included veteran public workers and representative zemindars. The following is the full list:

- Maharaj Kumar Gopal Saran Narayan Sinha (*Gaya*).
- Rai Harihar Prasad Singh Bahadur (*Shahabad*).
- Babu Ugramohan Thakur (*Bhagalpore*).
- Rai Krishna Sahai Bahadur (*Bankipore*).
- R. A. Baxter Esqr (*Bankipore*).
- Chaudhry Karamat Hussain (*Shahabad*).

Molvi Syed Wazir Hussain (*Chapra*).
 Babu Jugeshwar Prasad Singh (*Mozafferpore*)
 M. S. Dass Esqr. C. I. E. (*Cuttack*).
 W. M. Dass Esqr. (*Bankipore*).
 Keshari Prasad Singh Esqr. „
 Rai Narayan Prasad Sahab (*Patna*).
 Babu Brijanandan Sing (*Bankipore*).
 Hon'ble Babu Brijakishore Prasad (*Darbhanga*).
 Babu Nandkishore Lall (*Gaya*).
 Babu Kalipada Ghosh (*Ranchi*).
 Doctor Ramkali Gupta (*Bankipore*).
 Rai Gajadhur Prasad Bahadur „
 Babu Durga Prasad (*Chapra*).
 Khan Bahadur Doctor Asdar Ali Khan (*Bankipore*).

Mr. Sachchidanda Sinha was General Secretary and Mr. Kuar Nandan Sahay, Joint General Secretary, while Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay was Treasurer. There were ten Assistant Secretaries headed by Mr. Parameshwar Lal (who was also Captain of the Congress Volunteers). The full list of Assistant Secretaries is as follows:

Prameshwar Lall Esqr (*Bankipore*).
 A. Hakeem Esqr., Do.
 M. Yusuf Esqr., Do.
 M. Yunus Esqr., Do.
 G. N. Bose Esqr (*Motihari*).
 Babu Sri Krishna Prasad (*Bhagalpore*).
 Babu Mathura Nath Sinha (*Bankipore*).
 Babu Nalini Ranjan Sinha Do.
 Babu Bhawani Sahay Do.
 Zakaria Gauhar Ali Esqr., Do.

A more representative Reception Committee in a popular sense, and one more efficient, could not possibly have been constituted. The Committee set to work with characteristic energy and it was not long before an organisation was evolved perfect in every detail and fully capable of making the Twenty-seventh Session of the Congress the unalloyed success it proved to be. It would be invidious to mention the names of individual workers, but it may confidently be asserted that there was no laggard in the camp. As already indicated, the generous co-operation of Hindu and Moslems smoothed the way when little difficulties had had to be encountered, especially in the matter of the selection of sites for the delegates Camps. The Congress pavilion itself was located in the spacious compound owned by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque on Fraser Road. The camps were pitched on suitable (and practically all available) sites on Fraser Road and Exhibition Road, which enabled the Committee to concentrate the entire Congress camp within a few minutes' walk of the Congress pavilion, thus rendering possible familiar intercourse and exchange of thoughts between the delegates from all parts of India and Burma.

Here it may be useful to give a description of the Congress pavilion, which was designed on somewhat unique lines and which has been considered worthy of reproduction (*vide* Appendix B.) It will be readily admitted that the design of the pavilion suffers in no way by comparison with that of any previous Congress. The compound was beautifully laid out and illuminated with rows of Kitson lamps, and the entire arrangements were remarkably satisfactory. The pavilion itself was a thing of beauty. Capable of accommodating five thousand persons, it was tastefully decorated and was draped, within and without. The unique feature of the pavilion was the twenty-

eight gateways opening into it each named after some great personality or event in the ancient or more recent history of Maghada.

The gateways were named and numbered as under :

- I. The Pataliputra Gate.
- II. The Chandragupta Gate.
- III. The Buddha Gate.
- IV. The Vaisali Gate.
- V. The Shershab Gate.
- VI. The Bindasara Gate.
- VII. The Vikarnasila Gate.
- VIII. The Udaya Gate.
- IX. The Nalanda Gate.
- X. The Sita Gate.
- XI. The Parasnath Gate.
- XII. The Jarasandha Gate.
- XIII. The Kapila Gate.
- XIV. The Kalinga Gate.
- XV. The Magadha Gate.
- XVI. The Gautama Gate.
- XVII. The Rajagriha Gate.
- XVIII. The Bimbassra Gate.
- XIX. The Samudragupta Gate.
- XX. The Udantapuri Gate.
- XXI. The Udaigiri gate.
- XXII. The Vidyapati Gate.
- XXIII. The Azim Shah Gate.
- XXIV. The Guru Govind Gate.
- XXV. The Mahavira Gate.
- XXVI. The Chanakya Gate.
- XXVII. The Asoka Gate.

One gate, reserved for the President, was unnumbered, and designated the Mahendru Gate.

The seating arrangements within the pavilion were perfect of their kind. The delegates' blocks were in the centre, the first and second class visitors' blocks being on either side, while the third class visitors' block was placed behind the delegates'. Two separate gateways were reserved for ladies, and similarly the other gateways were reserved for delegates, distinguished visitors, &c. Close to the pavilion were placed the Congress office, the Post and Telegraph offices, &c.

The laying out of the delegates' camps entailed considerable labour not to speak of the expense, and as will appear from the sequel, the arrangements in this regard gave the greatest satisfaction to the delegates. A brief description of the Provincial camps may not be out of place here. Of these were four, the Bengal and Burma Camp to the north-east of the pavilion; the Bombay, Madras and Central Provinces camp to the south-east; the Upper India camp to the south; and the General Camp (intended for the accommodation of delegates living in the European style) far off to the east. Some idea of the labour entailed in the laying out of these several camps may be gathered from the fact that nearly 320 tents had had to be pitched, besides accommodation provided for delegates in the private residences, on Fraser Road and Exhibition Road, of Messrs. Sinha, Krishna Sahay, Parmeshwar Lall, M. Yunus, K. P. Singh, and Behari Lall Bhattacharya. Thus, the President and party were put up at Mr. Krishna Sahay's, Messrs. D. E. Wacha and D. A.

Khare, the General Secretaries at the Behar Club, both on Fraser Road, while Mr. Surendranath Banerjea stayed at Mr. Bhattacharya's palatial mansion on Exhibition Road. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was Mr. S. Sinha's guest.

Here it seem appropriate to refer to the recorded opinion of that experienced Congressman and veteran critic, Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha, as to the efficacy and excellence of the arrangements made for the comfort of the delegates. This Congress veteran wrote :

The first thing that impressed me when I had gone round the pandal and the delegates' camps, beautifully and systematically laid out amidst sylvan scenery and under mango topes, was that some one with a master mind for method and manner had a very clear conception of what was wanted. He had conceived how the ground should be laid out, how harmony and order, as in nature, should be evolved, how utility must be attained at any cost and how beauty might be made a handmaid to that utility, without being subordinated.

Mr. Wacha goes on to describe the Congress pavilion in enthusiastic but not undeserved terms,—"the mind which conceived it and gave it body and form was certainly a methodical mind chastened by experience, refined by native talent." Elsewhere he says : "That kind of conception (of harmonious blending of beauty and utility) and method has been rarely seen at other Congress camps which I have visited these many years. All through, I repeat, there was order and harmony, utility and simple beauty combined. Again I could well take a mental note that the same mind had also an economic eye. So that if there was harmony and order outside, it was evolved at the least expense which was in striking contrast with the costly and fantastic surroundings I have marked elsewhere." No apology is needed for the following further quotation. After referring to the excellent arrangements made for creature comforts, Mr. Wacha concludes.

So far all these features we are bound to give out unstinted praise to the chief organisers and the workers. So I say, "Wah ! Wah !! Sabash Bankipore where the Congress was on virgin field. But was not there the veteran, though young, who *knows* what Congress organisation means. There was the genial Beharee who rejoices in the name of Sachchidananda Sinha. Let the Congress give him and that stately and majestic Grand Master of Ceremonies Mr. Haque, our own Congress side, K. M. C. O., our Knights of the Meritorious Order of Congress Organisers. You have Asoka's pillar near Bankipur. Why not have a Minor on the very site where the pandal is, to commemorate the first Congress ever held in the ancient capital of the Great Chandragupta and Asoka Empire ? I say Floreat Behar ! Attribute as generous on the part of the giver as deserved by its recipients.

The limit set to this Introduction precludes any reference to the proceedings of the Congress,—the brilliant address delivered by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque which, among other things, contains a forcible statement of the case for Hindu-Muslim *entente* ; the encyclopædic survey of Indian politics by the President, Sao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C. I. E.; the masterly review of the South African question by Mr. G. K. Gokhale ; and the skilful handling of the difficult questions bearing on Indian administrative problems by the speakers on the resolutions passed by the Congress, and notably on Autonomy for India, by Mr. Surendrath Banerjea ; on the Public Service Commission by Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu Garu, on the the Swadeshi movement by Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar, and last, not least, on the constitution of the Legislative Councils by Mr. S. Sinha. A pathetic personal touch was added by the heartfelt tributes paid to the memory of the Congress Budda—Allan Octavian Hume—

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward
 Never doubted clouds would break
 Never dreamed though right were worsted wrong would triumph
 Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
 Sleep to wake.

The appalling infamy of the Delhi outrage was a poignant memory when the Congress met, and it will not be considered an impertinence if the deliberate opinion be recorded here that the greatest of Indian orators touched the loftiest level, even of his eloquence, when he gave expression to the universal sentiment of horror and indignation at the crime and of sympathy with the illustrious sufferers.

This brief *resume* will not be considered adequate if it does not incorporate the notable message sent to the Congress by that Grand Old Man Dadabhai Naoroji. The following is the text of the Message:—

THE SANDS VEVOVA, AUDHERI.

has been published in the *Times* of the 20th December, 1912.

To

THE HON'BLE MR. M. HAQUE,

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the
Bankipore Congress.

My dear Sir,

I am very much obliged for your kind letter, inviting me to attend the Bankipore Congress, but I am sorry I shall not be able to take any part in the work of the Congress.

The Congress has done much good work in the past. But it has to do far greater work in the future. It says so in its constitution. The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibility of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administrations.

These are great objects and will need most earnest and devoted efforts. All I can say is that I wish from the bottom of my heart, equal success in the future as has been achieved in the past. The Bankipore Congress has to commence this very work. You refer, in your letter, to the Public Service Commission as the most important Indian question. It is the sole and whole remedy for the prosperity of Indian. Even to-day in the year 1912 our able and sympathetic Finance Minister says: "It was also a striking lesson of how narrow is the line in India between plenty and want." What is it that the Indians ask? In the blessed year 1833, the British people and Parliament achieved most glorious deeds. No nation on earth ancient and modern have achieved this glory. It is peculiarly and essentially British glory. The two great glorious deeds were the emancipation of the slave and the emancipation of the people of India from an unnatural anti-British and unfair system of Public Service—the system of remote foreign dominion with inseparable evils. The slave obtained his emancipation at once and became a free man. But the unfortunate British Indians are struggling for nearly the past 80 years; for the emancipation and the right which they obtained by the highest of all British rights, the right of a deliberate act of Parliament—this act of Parliament was not the result of any efforts, agitation or claims by the Indians themselves. It was the spontaneous result of the sense of the justice, of humanity and righteousness of the British people themselves and a deliberate decision after a spontaneous careful enquiry. This result was that famous clause—as Lord Macaulay called it—that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause.

The Indians are not asking any new reform. They had their reform of the public service granted to them by a deliberate act of Parliament long ago. They have been kept out of the right they already possessed for nearly 80 years. They

are asking only the right of an act of Parliament. His Majesty the King Emperor has bestowed upon us the precious gift of hope and with that hope I trust that the present British statesmen and people will unreservedly and fully give us with every grace and good-will, and according to the report of 1860 of the Committee of the India Office Council what we have already possessed by right for past 80 years, but what has been withheld from us all this long time. The Court of directors at the time the clause was passed in 1833 interpreted the clause "that there shall be no governing caste in British India &c. &c." In short we are asking what has already been our right and property for more than three quarters of a century.

I express my hopes again that we will not be again disappointed and that we shall be granted now what has been our own right for all this long time.

I sincerely wish every success to the Bankipur Congress till their objects are attained, to the glory of the British nation all their own and to the satisfaction and devoted loyalty of Indians, to British supremacy and Empire.

With best wishes,

Yours truly,

(Sd.) DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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

HELD AT
BANKIPORE

On the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1912.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Session of the Indian National Congress commenced at 1-30 P. M. on Thursday, the 26th December, 1912, in the Congress pavilion at Bankipore. Punctually at the appointed time, the President-elect entered the pavilion in a procession, under an escort of Volunteers, preceded by the Chairman and Officers of the Reception Committee and followed by the ex-Presidents of the Congress; and the whole audience were on their feet as the procession wended its way through the Hall, and on to the *dais* where the President-elect and other Congress leaders took their seats.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, then rose to deliver his address of welcome to the delegates and was enthusiastically cheered. The following is the full text of the speech, which he delivered in a highly impressive style :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my proud privilege to-day to offer you, on behalf of the people of Behar and Orissa, a most hearty and cordial welcome. Believe me, it is not merely a formal and conventional welcome that I am offering you, but a welcome which is sincere and heartfelt. It is for the first time in its history of over a quarter of a century that the Indian National Congress meets at Patna—the famous Pataliputra, once the great capital of the classic land of Magadha. The fact that this great national assembly was never invited to hold its sittings in our province, was a blot which we have at last been able to remove. At Allahabad we had the intention of inviting the Congress to hold its session at Bankipore in 1911, but owing to Moharram clashing with the dates of its sittings we had to forego the pleasure of seeing you in our midst. Last year at Calcutta, we took our courage in both our hands, and through the mouth of that eminent and patriotic Beharee, the Hon'ble Mr. Hassan Imam (Cheers), whom we are glad to see on this platform, invited you to come to Bankipore and partake of our humble hospitality. I say that we took our courage in both our hands, because, to tell you the truth, it was a tremendous responsibility that we were taking upon our shoulders and those of us who have worked in arranging for your reception, know that the anxiety then felt was not in the least exaggerated. However, we undertook the responsibility, but soon after that, our friend, Mr. Hassan Imam, was elevated to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court (Cheers). You all know how well he has made his mark on the Bench (Cheers), and how forcibly he has impressed his personality upon the administration of justice (Hear, Hear). We, in Behar, are proud of him (Cheers), and wish him a long tenure of service, so that he may continue to dispense uncompromising and stern justice tempered with mercy. We wish him a longer life so that after his term on the Bench is over, he may come back to us and work for the good of his motherland (Hear, Hear). But his absence the Congressmen of Behar could illspare at this critical moment. What was certain gain to the Calcutta High Court, was dead loss to the Congress cause in Behar. We were left without his able guidance. Well, we submitted to the decree of Providence and tried our best to reconcile ourselves to the new situation. Our inexperience, numerous difficulties, political and social, and many other obstacles, which other provinces must have

address of
Welcome.

similarly experienced in holding Congress sittings, came in our way, and we had to meet them. Trusting in the mercy of God and in the righteousness of the cause, we worked on, with stout heart and grim determination, and the result is before you. No one is more conscious of the unsatisfactory nature of our arrangements than we are. We know full well that many of you will be put to great inconvenience and discomfort. Many of the little comforts of daily life will be missed by you. Perhaps you will disapprove of some of the arrangements that we, in ignorance of your requirements, have made (Voices of "no," "no"). Some of you unaccustomed to the cold weather of this part of India,—I don't think we have had much of cold weather—would have liked to live in houses, but owing to the creation of the new province, there has been an influx of people into Bankipore, and houses are not available. Of all this we are fully conscious, but we hope that you in your generosity will forgive us all our shortcomings. You will accept the will for the deed. No effort has been spared by us to make you comfortable and we have tried to do our best. Next time you come to us, and I hope it will be soon, we will be better prepared and in a position to receive you according to your individual standards of comfort.

The Delhi Outrage.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with a heavy and sad heart that I refer to the dastardly outrage committed the other day at Delhi. The deed was most sacrilegious, in as much as it was an attempt upon the life of the representative of our Sovereign. And of all men to pick out for this black deed of contemplated murder, a Viceroy so popular, so sincerely attached to the interests of India and Indian people, a Viceroy who has dared to brave the hostility of his own countrymen in enacting measures that he honestly believed and rightly believed to be for the good of our country! Oh! it is too distressing, too horrible! Imagination shudders at the enormity of the terrible crime. A thrill of horror and indignation has convulsed the land and casts a miserable gloom over our proceedings to-day. But, brothers and sisters, God is just, and He in His infinite mercy has saved the lives of our beloved Viceroy and his gracious consort. (Cheers). We fervently pray that our Lord Hardinge may soon become convalescent and be restored to us so that he may continue to rule over us, with that large-hearted sympathy and nobility of purpose which has so far characterised his administration (Cheers). As to the miscreant who planned this foul and wicked deed, I will not say much. I will only say this, that he may be caught and be given the punishment which he so richly deserves. My heart is too full and I will not distress you and make you miserable any further by expressing my gloomy thoughts.

Messrs. Hume and Krishnaswami Iyer.

Brother-delegates, during the present year we have lost two really great men who devoted their lives to the Congress cause. Allan Octavian Hume was rightly called the father of the Indian National Congress (Cheers). His anxious solicitude for the advancement of the Indian people, his absolute sincerity of purpose, and his untiring unselfish devotion to the cause of our progress have given him a place in the history of modern India, which none can surpass and few may equal. His life was dedicated to a noble cause and when the history of the Indian National Congress comes to be written his will be the first and foremost name among its friends and well-wishers. Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer was another great leader who passed away in the very prime of life. He was a giant among men. A man of irresistible personality, of indomitable will and of unblemished reputation, he had no peer in the land. He made his mark equally in the fields of law, scholarship and statemanship. The gap made in our ranks by the death of such notable men can never be filled.

Behar.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are meeting to-day on a ground which is hallowed by some of the most sacred traditions and associated with some of the most stirring events in the history of India. The whole province is studded with rich archæological treasures, reminiscent of the glory and splendour of a bygone era. The city of Patna, under which lies buried the ancient Pataliputra, with the magnificent halls and palaces of Asoka the Great, has during the last 2,500 years played a part which no other city in India has ever

played. Its numerous rises and falls have no parallel in Indian history, perhaps not even that of Imperial Delhi itself. Leaving aside what the historians are pleased to describe as the mythological period, we have authentic records reaching into the distant past of the 6th century B. C., giving us an account of the kingdoms of Magadha, Anga, and Vaisali, which may be identified with the Patna, Bhagalpore and Tirhut divisions of modern Behar. Later on rose the mighty empire of Magadha. Bimbisara may fairly claim to have laid the foundation of this Empire. His ambitious son, Ajatasatru, extended it by conquest and built the fortress of Patoli which subsequently in the reign of his son, Udaya, became Pataliputra, the capital city of the Indian Empire, where mighty Chandragupta reigned and from where the world-wide *edicts* of the great Asoka were promulgated. It was during the reigns of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru that two of the greatest religious teachers preached their doctrines of humanity to the world. The great founder of Jainism, Vardhamana Mahavira was born at Vaisali in Tirhut and died at the village of Pawa in the district of Patna. Gautama Buddha, the great teacher of universal brotherhood, preached his mission of love and attained his Buddhahood at the sacred city of Gaya, a city only a couple of hours' journey from here, which perhaps some of you would like to see before you leave our province. I may mention here that the famous Nalanda University, the ruins of which can still be seen and wherein the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, saw more than 10,000 Buddhist monks and scholars receiving their education in the sacred lore, was situated in the modern village of Baragaon, a few miles north of the Rajagriha hills and is also within easy reach.

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The city of Pataliputra was the capital of such powerful dynasties as the Saisunagas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Sungas and the Guptas. The highest zenith to which the city reached was in the time of Asoka, one of the greatest monarchs of the world. His empire included not only the whole of India, excepting perhaps a small portion to the extreme south, but also what is now known as Afghanistan. Chandragupta, Bindusara and Asoka will ever remain in the history of the world as the three great Behar Emperors who ruled India with wisdom and humanity. (Cheers). These Maurya Emperors were not only great in arts of war and conquest but also in those of civil government. The civil institutions show to what a high pitch of civilization India had reached during those ancient times. The municipal, sanitary and fiscal institutions were based on liberal principles and were marvels of efficiency and good management.

In the sixth century A. D., a period of decay set in and we do not hear much of Patna until another Beharee Emperor,—this time a Musalman—Sher Shah, realizing the strategic value of the place, rebuilt the city, which through the greater portion of the Mughal period remained the seat of a governor, who was generally a prince of Royal blood. Prince Azimushshah, the grandson of Emperor Aurangazeb, improved and renamed it Azimabad, by which name it is still known throughout Muslim India. It became the principal centre of trade and commerce and one of the most populous and largest towns of India.

During British rule the city and the province played a conspicuous part, but the prosperity of the former commenced to decline steadily, and it would probably have become a second-rate town had not our King-Emperor by his announcement at Delhi, restored the individuality of our people and province and made Patna once more the capital of a Provincial Government (Cheers). It was with feelings of deep gratitude and unbounded joy that we heard the announcement. The thanks of our people are also due to his Excellency Lord Hardinge, who, with rare insight and the courage of a statesman, advised his Majesty to announce the change. Our gratification is the more that when these momentous changes were on the tapis an eminent son of Behar was a member of the Government of India (Cheers), who as one of the signatories of the famous despatch must have had his full share in shaping the new policy. We are proud that in his high position he did not forget that he was a native of Behar. (Cheers).

Ladies and gentlemen, we have entered upon a new life and embarked upon a new career, and no one knows what the future has in store for us. But I am bound to say that we have had a very fair start. We have started with the full machinery of a modern civilized Government. We have a Legislative Council and an Executive Council with an

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Indian member, and our first Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Bayley (Cheers), recognizing the new spirit of the times, has publicly asked and is anxious for the co-operation of the people, and I have no doubt that if the administration be conducted on liberal lines and the people be taken into confidence and treated with sympathy and consideration, they will heartily respond to the call of his Honour and will cordially co-operate with his Government. But after all the future of a people lies in their own hands. Character and capacity are the chief attributes which lead to success. (Hear, Hear). Sobriety, moderation, foresight and determination carry a people to progress and civilization, while rashness, impatience, opportunism and sycophancy mar their advance. The ambition of the people of Behar and Orissa is to improve their condition, come in line with their more advanced brethren of other provinces and subscribe their humble quota to the building up of an Indian nation. This is our ideal and we hope to work for it, and with the help of the Almighty, achieve it. Much leeway has to be made up, many obstacles have to be overcome, a long and weary road has to be traversed, but we believe that a stout heart and a strong will can triumph over all difficulties. We derive inspiration from our past history, a few incidents of which you will find inscribed on the twenty-seven gates of this Pandal and believe that a people who have produced mighty rulers like Asoka, Chandragupta and Sher Shah and great religious teachers like Buddha, Mahavira and Govind Singh can still make history (Cheers). And nothing is more opportune, more befitting than that in this the very first year of our new life, you the real leaders of the Indian people should come to help us with your welcome presence and wise advice and bid us God-speed in our new career. We do certainly require your advice and sympathy, and we have no doubt that in the achievement of our object all Congressmen throughout India will extend a helping hand to us (Hear, (Hear)). Sometimes people charge us with parochial patriotism. Well, we do not only plead guilty to the charge but we are proud of our love for Behar. However, if the charge is meant to convey the idea that we have no love for India or Indian nationality, then I must say that there is not a particle of truth in it. We yield to none in our love for mother India and we share with the Congressmen of the whole country the Congress ideal, the ideal which is throbbing in the heart of the Indian people.

Hindus and Mahomedans.

Ladies and gentlemen, we in Behar claim for ourselves the unique position of a people who are not troubled with the Hindu-Musalman question (Hear, hear and Cheers). By this it is not meant that every single individual is free from it. In this mundane world such an utopian condition is impossible. As long as human nature is human nature, there will always be people who for selfish ends or temporary advantages or under some mistaken notion, will be ready to jeopardise national interests. But what we do claim is that the heart of the people is sound to the core and any unfortunate difference which may crop up, as it occasionally does, passes away and leaves no permanent mark on the general good relations of the two great communities. Both are imbued with the same ideal, both work on the same platform and both try for the good of their motherland. As I have often said before, the solution of this question will prove the salvation of India. This is the question of questions which every true patriotic Indian should try to attack and solve. To me it has been a cause of deep and abiding regret that my own co-religionists have not seen their way to join this national assembly. It is an undeniable fact that Mohamedans as a community have kept themselves aloof and those who have joined have joined in their own individual capacity. Although in spite of this regrettable defection the Congress has got on very well, the Congress ideals have triumphed and most of the items in the Congress propaganda have been accepted by the Government, (Cheers), yet I believe that we would have got on better if our Muslim brethren had joined, and made common cause with us in the great and noble task of building up a nation. Then we would have moved on with quicker pace. A people counting among themselves seventy millions of souls and some of the very finest intellects and specimens of manhood, is a factor and a force which cannot and ought not to be lightly ignored. Often have I dreamed of a picture in my mind of three hundred and fifteen millions of human beings with one ideal, one aim, full of determination and enthusiasm, marching on the road of peaceful progress to the ultimate realization of their destiny. Such a force would be irresistible anywhere in the world. Perhaps the picture is too idealistic.

for its ever coming to be true. However, its reverse side where seventy millions of people detach themselves from the main group and march in the opposite direction is too gloomy to be contemplated with equanimity.

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Europe and Islam.

I had despaired of ever seeing in my life the two communities joining hands, but the ways of Providence are inscrutable and I never dreamt that the *reapprochment* will be brought about so soon and in such a tragic manner. The recent treatment of Islam by Europe has turned the scales. The sacrilege committed by the Russian troops on the sacred mausoleum of Imam Moosi Raza at Meshed in Persia exasperated the religious feelings of Muslims throughout the world. Sir Edward Grey, the author of the Anglo-Russian Convention, never raised his little finger to prevent the outrage. Then Italy invaded Tripoli, a country peopled wholly by Muslims of Arab descent and living peacefully under Turkish rule. It was a shameless act of brigandage attended by most inhuman atrocities, but this time Sir Edward Grey, with what I can only call indecent haste, recognized the sovereignty of Italy over a country which still remained to be conquered. Then came the greatest blow to the prestige of Islam, the invasion of the seat of its Khalilate by the Balkan States. While Turkey was still fighting Italy, she was treacherously attacked on all sides. If the belligerents had fought purely for territory, the war would not have produced any visible effect upon the Musalmans of India. But these Christian States openly preached a crusade against Islam. It was not a war against the Turks but a war to turn Muslims out of Europe, a war between the Asiatics and the Europeans, a war between the Cross and the Crescent. Then the feelings of the Muslim world rose in indignation against the perpetrators of this outrage upon humanity and their religion. It is to be regretted that most of the responsible Ministers of the British Government, including the Prime Minister of England himself, gave vent to their feelings which clearly showed their intolerance of Islam. Mr. Asquith in his Guildhall speech referred to Salonica as the gate through which Christianity had spread in Europe and expressed his pleasure that it was once more in the hand of a Christian Power. There was not a word of regret at the humiliation of England's old ally, Turkey, not a word of sympathy with the Muslim world, but a hope that Constantinople itself might fall and be cleared of the presence of the hated Turk (Cries of "shame"). Read the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Masterman and Mr. Acland, and you will find the same exultant tone at the expulsion of the followers of Islam from Europe. This attitude of the British Ministers deeply offended the sentiments and wounded the religious feelings of seventy millions of Musalman subjects of his Imperial Majesty in India. Luckily at this critical juncture two factors came in, which soothed the ruffled susceptibilities of the Muslim community. We have now at the helm of the Indian Government a Viceroy who grasped the danger and at once handled the situation with tact and sympathy. His subscription towards the fund of the Red Crescent Society greatly conciliated public opinion. He was nobly assisted in his great task by men like Lords Carmichael and Pentland, Sir Charles Bayley, Sir James Meston and many other high European officials. These great statesmen have saved the situation. The latest instance of this sympathy is the opening of a subscription list by her Excellency Lady Hardinge to enable the Indian ladies to subscribe. The Muslim of India can never forget all this kindness.

Hindu Sympathy.

But more, much more than this official sympathy, what moved the Muslim community most was the universal sympathy shown by their Hindu brethren (Loud cheers) in their dire affliction. It clearly demonstrated the fact that in times of danger and distress the two sister communities of India could still unite (Cheers). The moral and material support that we have received from them has gone straight to our hearts and conquered us. And in this respect no one has done nobler work than our veteran leader, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea (Loud cheers). You, Sir, day after day, in your paper, have soothed the lacerated feelings of your Muslim brethren, expressed your sincere sympathy with their outraged sentiments and vigorously pleaded their cause. I personally know that the daily comments in the *Bengalee* on the progress of the war, were read by the Muslims of Behar with eagerness and gratitude. You, Sir, have made a place for yourself in the hearts of your Muslim brethren, a place, permanent, abiding, which can never be shaken by any adverse wind of

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political controversy (Loud cheers). You and my Hindu brethren have done great work. You have brought the Hindus and Musalmans of India appreciably nearer to each other. It is only a question of time when the two will stand side by side on this our national platform and work shoulder to shoulder for the regeneration of our common motherland. (Cheers). I do not know whether you are aware of the fact, that already a great and powerful party of liberal Mussalmans has arisen, whose aims and ideals are the aims and ideals of the Indian National Congress (Hear, hear and cheers). It is their firm determination to work with their Hindu brethren. Your sympathy in their hour of adversity has accelerated the work and strengthened the hands of this party. And this is the party which is bound to lead in future the Muslims of India (Hear, hear). But I must raise a note of warning. Remember that this grand work of building up a great and powerful nation may be entirely and irretrievably ruined by one single thoughtless word or heedless expression uttered on the public platform or written in the press. The gentlemen of the press, I implore and entreat to be exceedingly careful how they handle any question which has the slightest bearing upon the Hindu-Muslim problem (Hear, Hear). It is no use to have a battle royal over insignificant matters such as the post of a deputy magistrate or a sub-inspector of police (Laughter). The press has great power in doing immense good to the country. It has also the power of doing immense harm. Let its power be utilized for doing good. Some people have the notion that by writing vigorously and strongly on a few appointments or a few nominations of municipal commissioners they are championing the cause of justice. Nothing can be further from the truth. They are simply creating dissension where there should be harmony, they are beeding ill-will where there should be feeling of brotherhood and affection. Let these petty things be left to smaller minds who cannot rise above their level. Let us have highest ideals and try to achieve them (Hear, hear).

To my Hindu brethren I say, treat your Muslim brethren with sympathy and please do not run away with the idea that all Muslims are hopelessly reprobate and there is no hope for their regeneration. Nothing of the kind. Try to understand them by putting yourselves in their position (Hear, hear). I have read of criticisms that the Musalmans of India think more of Turkey and Arabia than they do of India. It is quite true. But have these critics ever tried to understand why this is so? The fact of the matter is that religion is still, as it has ever been in this world, the chief determining factor of the conduct of a man and a nation. And the religion of the Muslims is outside India. Their holy places, Mecca and Medina, the Mausoleums of all their Imams, Sahabas and saints, are outside India. It is one of the cardinal tenets of Islam that all Muslims, no matter to what nationality, race or rank of life they may belong, are brothers. In their house of God, there are no reserved pews or any places of distinction, and the humblest Muslim will not give way to the proudest monarch of the world (Hear, hear). This doctrine is observed not only in theory but in actual practice. So there should be no cavilling at Musalmans looking outside India. As long as one is a Musalman one must look and cannot help looking outside India for one's religious salvation. What I want to impress upon my Hindu brethren is to have a wider outlook, accept facts as facts, and handle the situation with delicacy and toleration. Indeed, I believe that if they thoroughly and sympathetically understood the position, it would be a source of strength rather than of weakness to the cause of Indian nationality.

To my own co-religionists I say, as you are Musalmans you cannot but look beyond India, but do not forget your motherland. India has great claims over all her sons and your neglect of her interests is almost sinful. I invite you, nay I call upon you in the sacred name of your motherland to join this national assembly, which knows no distinction of class or creed, no distinction of Hindu or Musalman (Cheers). I have heard some friends say that the Indian National Congress is a Hindu organization. I deny the charge altogether. I repudiate it entirely. It may be worked by the Hindus; but why? Simply because Musalmans will not come forward and take their proper share (Hear, hear). Its ideals have always been national and never sectarian. If the Muslim community have any grievances against the Congress, I invite them to come here and ventilate them on this our common platform. I prophesy that they will find all their grievances chimerical and imaginary and will go away absolutely converted to the Congress cause. But perchance, if I

prove to be a false prophet, then we have a safeguard in our constitution to the effect that if a majority of $\frac{2}{3}$ the Muslim delegates object to a certain resolution being passed, it shall be dropped. Can there be anything fairer than this safeguard in our constitution? I know and I am confident that this appeal of mine will not go unheard and unanswered. It has already been heard in my own province. Look around you in this Pandal and you will find many Musalmans of light and leading taking part in our proceedings. Those who are not in the seats reserved for the delegate, are there in the seats allotted to the visitors. Perhaps thinking of the past, they have felt a little delicacy in openly joining us this year (Laughter), but they are now as true Congressmen as any of us. Only their body is in the gallery there, their heart is with us on the *dais* here. (Cheers). I have dwelt a little too long on this Hindu-Musalman question and I have no doubt that I have tired you, (Cries of No, no), but I could not help myself. This is my life-work. I wish the two sister communities to understand each other, have tolerance for each other's weaknesses, join hands and work together. To my mind this is one of the greatest works to which an Indian could devote his life. I have spoken freely and fearlessly. If I have offended any one in this Pandal or outside it, I beg his pardon and seek his forgiveness. I could not keep back my honest thoughts from this great gathering of my countrymen. I may have made a mistake, but I felt a call to speak out.

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Provincial Autonomy.

Brother-delegates, I have already taken much of your valuable time, but with your permission I should like to say a few words about some questions which are at present exercising the minds of the Indian people. The foremost of these questions is that of autonomous provincial Governments as foreshadowed in the famous despatch of the Government of India. Although the plain meaning of the simple words of the despatch has been repudiated by Lord Crewe, the people will not allow the Government of India to go behind their own written words (Hear, hear). Secretaries of State will come and go, but the despatch will remain for ever (Cheers), as a monument to the liberal spirit of its framers and as a sacred pledge which the Government of India will always be reminded to fulfil. The recognition of the principle of autonomous provincial Government is a great triumph for the ideal of self-government on colonial lines, which has been put forward by the Congress before the country. No doubt it is a distant ideal and at present the mind refuses to travel the long and weary distance, but a day must come when India as a partner and a predominant partner of the great British Empire will be called upon to manage her own affairs. Events are quickly marching towards this consummation. Of course, we shall have to prepare ourselves for the day by unselfish, strenuous and devoted work. Much of what now passes for patriotism will have to be swept away, the ideas of narrow sectarianism now rampant will have to be eradicated, character and capacity for the due discharge of the great trust will have to be acquired, the vast mass of depressed humanity will have to be raised to a higher level (Hear, hear), before we can aspire to the high and proud position of a self-governing nation. Evolution is always a slow process. It is slower in the case of a people who are backward in the ways of modern civilisation. My own ideal of the final constitution of the Government of the country is small Provincial States with complete autonomy and freedom from control from outside in provincial affairs, with an Indian Parliament controlling the general relation of these states and managing the affairs of the whole country, the entire machinery worked under the guidance and supremacy of the British Parliament. I may shortly put it in the phrase, federated states of India under the *aegis* of British rule.

Legislative Councils.

But descending from the giddy heights of ideals to every-day practical politics, we must endeavour to perfect the machinery of our present reformed Government which in my opinion is anything but satisfactory. The reforms that I would suggest are, a non-official majority for the Imperial Council, right of allowing members other than the questioner to put supplementary questions, and greater control by the representatives of the people over the Imperial and Provincial budgets. The Hon'ble members of the Imperial Council will bear me out that on several occasions, such as the debates on the cotton excise duty and

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the gold standard reserve, many official members were in agreement with the views of the non-official members, but an attitude hostile to the popular demand was taken up by the Government and the official members had to vote against their own conscience. This spectacle of high officials being compelled to vote against their moral convictions is hardly edifying. If we had a non-official majority, such a thing would be impossible. The Government need not have any fear of its being voted down on every occasion. It has a safeguard in the representation of different classes and divergent interests, who are not expected to combine on any measure which will injure the interests of either the Government or the people. But if they ever vote unanimously for any measure, then in my opinion it is proof positive of the fact that that particular measure is just and is absolutely indispensable. Then again a new safeguard will be added, and that is the sense of responsibility that this reform will breed in the members. Members will be more careful of their resolutions and questions than they are now. Of course the power of finally vetoing the measure will always remain as now with the Viceroy. In respect of the right of putting supplementary questions, it is at present confined only to those members who put the original questions. This procedure is highly unsatisfactory. If the right was extended to other members, much useful information could be extracted and sometimes the effect of a mischievous question counteracted. As regards budget discussions, I must confess that to me they have an air of unreality about them. A cut-and-dry financial statement is presented by the Finance Member and resolutions are moved. But there is no room for improvement. Already the assent of the Secretary of State has been obtained and any attempt to alter it is like knocking one's head against a stone wall. The final Budget may be debated upon and much valuable time lost in useless talk, but the Council cannot vote. The whole procedure is utterly absurd. What is required is that the representatives of the people should have a hand in framing the budget and not only in discussing it, and that the interference of the Secretary of State for India should be as little as possible. In short, there should be complete fiscal autonomy for India.

Another reform that is urgently needed is the revision of the Council regulations. It is a pity that the Government did not get hold of the opportunity this year of removing some of the objectionable features which disfigure them and have caused much legitimate dissatisfaction. My views on the subject are well known and I need not repeat them, but what I would urge upon you is not to give up your efforts until these regulations are modified. Without entering into controversial points, I must say that I have always felt the injustice done to the Hindu community in the matter of franchise (Hear, hear). While the landholders and Musalmans have a franchise which is liberal and extensive, the general electorates have merely an apology for a franchise. I look upon these elections, more in the light of a means for the political education of the people, than that of anything else and it is unjust that the largest number should have no chance of receiving this education. This inequality has given rise to a bitter controversy which is distracting the country, and it is high time that the matter should be put on a satisfactory basis. As regards special electorates I have often said, do not try to disturb the present arrangements, but oppose the extension of the principle to local bodies. The whole question is a very complicated one and full of difficulties, but in the interest of the country it must be solved. I would, therefore, propose a joint conference of Hindu and Musalman leaders at an early date. I believe that at the present moment both communities are in a better frame of mind to discuss the question fairly and amicably. After coming to a full understanding, let us jointly approach the Government of India to revise the regulations on the terms agreed upon (Cheers). And then, I believe, we shall succeed.

South Africa.

The next question which demands immediate solution is the South African question. Our people in the Transvaal and Natal are treated with unheard of cruelty, and we cannot be expected to sit quietly as long as their status is not improved. We claim, as subjects of his Imperial Majesty and as citizens of the British Empire, the rights of free citizenship (Hear, hear). If the South African Government are not willing or are not in a position to settle the question, then we must press our own Government to adopt measures of retaliation which will bring them to their senses (Hear, hear and cheers). I am sure there are numerous weapons in the hands of the Government of India, which, if vigorously employed, will open

the eyes of the colonists and make them see the utter untenability of their present position. If India is to remain contented, her people must be treated with fairness and justice and not like slaves in his Majesty's dominions. It is not a question of the treatment of a few thousand Indian colonists in South Africa, but it is a question of principle involving the dignity and self-respect of 315 millions of his Majesty's subjects. Our friend and leader, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale (Loud cheers), the idol and hero of Behar, went to South Africa to see for himself the condition of our people there, and I have no doubt that you will hear from his own lips the result of his mission. Let us, under his leadership, agitate for the redress of the grievances of our brethren and vindicate our own dignity and self-respect.

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The Public Service Commission.

Brother-delegates, the last point that I should like to touch upon, and that very shortly, is the Public Service Commission. The *personnel* of the Commission has given great dissatisfaction to Indians. Not that they object to the members appointed, but that the non-official element in it is represented by only one member. Undoubtedly, Mr. Gokhale is the most representative Indian that we could possibly have and a host in himself, but the addition of a few more non-official Indians would have made the Commission more representative and given weight and force to its findings. However, we must press upon the Commission four reforms which, to my mind, are absolutely essential for the good government of the country and the protection of our rights. They are the separation of the judicial and executive services, the holding of the Civil Service examination simultaneously in England and India, the recruitment of judicial officers from the members of the bar, and the larger employment of our countrymen in the higher grades of the public service. These reforms have been so often urged from the Congress platform and the reasons for them are so obvious, that I need not detain you by entering into details which, I am sure, will be fully and more ably dealt with by other speakers.

Conclusion.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would have liked to say something about a question which I consider as important as any that I have referred to, and that is the question of the introduction of free and compulsory education (Hear, hear and cheers), but I have already exceeded the proper limit and I must abstain. I once more apologize for any flaw that you may have noticed in our arrangements, and welcome you with hearty good-will to the new capital of the new province of Behar and Orissa.

Brother delegates, now I invite you to proceed with the formal election of our President-elect, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Mudholkar (Loud cheers). His life-long services in the cause of his motherland are well known to all Congressmen throughout the length and breadth of the country. His work in the Imperial Council has been of such a character that any patriotic son of India may well be proud of (Cheers). Though nominated by the Government he ever raised his voice on the popular side and compelled the admiration of the officials and non-officials alike (Hear, Hear). We in Behar feel honoured by his presence amongst us, and we are sure that under his able guidance the deliberations of the Twenty-seventh Indian National Congress will be a complete success (Cheers, loud and continued).

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (Calcutta), who in rising to propose that the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar be elected as the President of the Congress, was received with ovation, said :—

Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen, before I proceed to discharge the duty which has been assigned to me by the Reception Committee, I desire, with your permission, to discharge a personal obligation. With your permission, Sir, I desire to thank you, Mr. Mazharul Haque, for the very kind words which you have spoken of me and of the great Hindu community to which I have the honour to belong (Cheers). Let me assure you that the troubles and the tribulations of Islam have awakened a deep

Mr. S. N.
Banerjee.

Mr. S. N.
Banerjee.

and responsive echo in the heart of the great Hindu community in India (cheers). We deeply sympathise with Turkey in her misfortunes, with Persia in her troubles and tribulations, with you, my Mahomedan fellow-countrymen, in your sorrow for the misfortunes of Islam. May this feeling of solidarity and growing sympathy between Hindus and Mahomedans increase and deepen to the mutual advantage of both the communities and to the abiding, lasting and permanent benefit of the motherland to which we all belong. That is the hope, the ideal, the aspiration of every Indian, be he a Hindu or a Mahomedan. Gentlemen, now that I have discharged my personal obligation, I desire to lay before you, at the request of the Reception Committee, a proposition which, I am sure, will be unanimously and enthusiastically, supported. I beg to propose that the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar be elected President of this Congress (Cheers). The cheers which have greeted this motion are an index that the motion has been accepted by you with alacrity and enthusiasm. They prove something more. They demonstrate that the feelings which had been evoked by a recent controversy, to which I will not more specifically allude, has altogether passed away and that the controversy itself has faded away into the domain of ancient history, and that, here assembled in this Congress, we are all prepared, according to the measure of our capacity, according to the measure of our opportunities, to accord to Mr. Mudholkar our whole-hearted support (Loud and continued Cheers) in the discharge of his arduous duties, so that his occupation of the Presidential chair may redound to the credit of our great national organisation and ensure the success of this year's sitting. Mr. Mudholkar does not come to us as a stranger, he is not an article imported from abroad (Laughter) and perched over our heads. He is one of us, he may not be one of the greatest, but still he is the first among equals, *primus inter pares*. Mr. Mudholkar is a veteran Congress leader, he belongs to that distinguished and patriotic band who, by their devotion and self-sacrificing labours, have built up this noble institution, which, it is no exaggeration to say, embodies all that is best and noblest in the public life of India (Cheers). If you go through the proceedings of the Congress meetings that have been held year after year and go through the long and voluminous records, you will find him always present, always helping us in our deliberations and always leavening the acerbity of our debates with that element of sobriety and moderation which constitutes so conspicuous a feature of his own public life (Cheers). Sir, it has often occurred to me that some one amongst us ought to write the history of this Congress movement which covers so wide an expanse of contemporary history; and if any one of us were to do so, as I hope some younger member will, I am sure he would assign a conspicuous place to the distinguished gentleman whom we are about to invite to fill the Presidential chair. The Indian National Congress has produced many notable men and Mr. Mudholkar is not the least notable among them. Sober, moderate, hard-headed, he is a Mahratta, never losing his balance of mind and the even serenity of his temper, not ruffled by the excitement of debate; and it is a pleasure to be associated with him in our deliberations whether as a friend or as a foe (Cheers). For more than 20 years, I hope I am not under-stating the situation, for more than a quarter of a century, Mr. Mudholkar has given all that is best in him to the service of the Congress and of the motherland. His has been in one sense a life of self-consecration and of self-dedication to the highest purposes of Indian advancement. And his activities have been of the most comprehensive order. They have not been confined to politics. He is a keen social reformer and an ardent worker in the field of Industrial activity. In the year 1890 he and I, associated with the late Mr. Allan Hume whose death we deplore, went on a deputation to England to agitate for a wider expansion and a re-constitution of the Councils. We were fortunate enough to secure the support and sympathy of Mr. Gladstone. The mission was successful; and in 1892 by a Parliamentary Statute of that year the Councils were reformed and expanded. I can bear testimony to the splendid work which my friend Mr. Mudholkar did on that occasion (Cheers). Since then many years have elapsed. He is no longer young. I am afraid most of us are not, but I am sure he has not grown old (Laughter). The ardour, the patriotic ardour, which distinguished him in his youth still remains unabated; age has brought its legacy of mature judgment and ripeness of experience. These are the qualities which we need in our leaders, especially in the President of the Congress in the new era which has dawned since the Royal visit, an era which, I hope and trust, will be signalised by our co-operation with

which my friend possesses in full abundance. We have invited him to fill the Presidential chair, because we believe he is fully qualified for that great office; we have invited him because we want to mark our sense of appreciation of his great and distinguished public service by conferring on him the highest reward which it is in our power to bestow and finally because we feel that in the new conditions which have been developed in this country we need the wise guidance of a leader of his great ability, of his unflinching patriotism, of his moderate views and of his genial personality. With these words, gentlemen, I beg to propose that the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar be elected the President of the Congress: (Loud and continued Cheers).

Mr. S. N.
Banerjee.

THE HON'BLE MR. G. K. GOKHALE, (Poona), who was received with an ovation and loud cries of *Bande Mataram* seconded the proposition and in doing so he said:—

Mr. G. K.
Gokhale.

Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to second this proposal. After what has fallen from our friend Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything more to commend this proposition to your acceptance. However with your permission, I will make one or two observations. Ladies and Gentlemen, it has been my privilege now for many years to be on terms of warm and affectionate friendship with Mr. Mudholkar and I have had therefore special opportunities of admiring the great qualities which we all associate with him—his ardent patriotism, his wide knowledge of public questions, his sound judgment and his great zeal and industry in the public interest; but it is not of these that I want to speak on this occasion. I would rather refer to one or two sides of his public life which, I confess, appeal to me even more in some respects than these qualities. First is his extraordinary devotion to this great National Institution of ours—the Indian National Congress. No man amongst us—I state the plain truth when I say this—no man amongst us has done more in his Province for the Congress than what Mr. Mudholkar has done in the Province of Berar. He has kept the flag of the Congress, through good report and through evil report, flying in that province such as no body else has done in his Province; he has freely placed his talents, his energy, his enthusiasm and his purse at the disposal of the Congress during quarter of a century and he has stood in this matter a test to which I should not ordinarily have referred, but to which I think I can very well refer this year. Ladies and gentlemen, I rejoice personally and I am sure we all rejoice that the honour of presiding over this Congress, the highest honour in the gift of this country has at last come to our friend, Mr. Mudholkar. Many of us feel that this honour has long been overdue to him (Hear, Hear); many of us feel that this should have come to him much earlier than now and many of us know how strenuous, how active has been his work for the Congress ever since the Congress came into existence. Oftentimes in the past, at any rate several times in the past, his name has been before the country in connection with the Presidentship of the Congress; and yet he has been passed over, sometimes passed over so markedly as to hurt even a man smaller than Mr. Mudholkar, some one less devoted to the Congress than Mr. Mudholkar. I am sure that we all admire the dignity with which he has borne himself when such occasions arose. He never said anything about this matter; and these occasions made no difference in his devotion to the Congress. He has always been at his post, at his duty; he has always been in his seat in the Congress; he has always done everything he could to further the cause of the Congress (Cheers). The second feature to which I want to refer is his generous attitude of appreciation and encouragement to all junior workers in public life. And here, gentlemen, I speak from personal experience, because I am one of such junior workers. Never have junior workers turned to Mr. Mudholkar for sympathy, advice or guidance in vain. He has freely given what was in him; he has freely given what was best in him, in order that these men might be encouraged and in order that they might acquit themselves well in their service to the cause of the country. I think we need leaders like Mr. Mudholkar in our public life, and I rejoice once more that at last we have an opportunity of offering him the Presidential chair and of showing the regard in which we hold him. With these words, gentlemen, I second the proposal that has been made.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (Allahabad), who rose amidst loud cheers to support the Resolution, said:—Ladies and gentlemen, it is with sincere pleasure that I support the Resolution, which has been so ably moved by my friend Babu Surendra

Mr. M. M.
Malaviya.

Nath Banerjee and seconded by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. I do not think I should stand any more between you and the President. I most whole-heartedly support the proposition and I have no doubt you will carry it with acclamation.

THE HON'BLE. MR. N. SUBBA RAO, (Madras) :—On behalf of Madras I heartily support the Resolution which has been placed before you.

LALA HARKISHEN LAL, (Lahore) :—I have also very great pleasure in supporting this proposition.

Mr. A. C. Mazumdar. **BABU AMBIGA CHARAN MAZUMDAR, (Bengal),** who was received with cheers, further supported the Resolution and in doing so said :—Gentlemen, there is scarcely any resolution in the Congress programme which does not at almost every session and at the outset go a-begging for a mover, a seconder and a supporter ; and although all our resolutions by a mysterious process ultimately find the strongest and the most powerful exponents for their advocacy, yet even the stalwarts in the camp seldom shoulder their guns without an amount of preliminary coquetry. But, gentlemen, the resolution which has been so ably moved by our esteemed leaders, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is an exception to the general rule. It is a resolution on which every one of this vast assembly at the slightest bidding from our esteemed Chairman of the Reception Committee would at once rush in crying "Yah, Yah, I move, I second, I support." Strictly speaking, gentlemen, it is not a resolution of the Congress. You have under the constitution already elected your President and this resolution is only a formal announcement to introduce to you and to this assembly the man of your choice, although in the case of our esteemed and familiar friend such introduction is perfectly unnecessary. The name of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar is familiar to the educated, the half-educated and the quarter-educated (Laughter) community of this country. Simple and unostentatious in his habits of life, lofty and majestic in his thoughts and ideas, steadfast and eminently practical in the execution of his work; Mr. Mudholkar is one of those few men in this country, who are perpetually pushed to the front by force of circumstances. Supreme in the command of the political situation of his own Province. Mr. Mudholkar has long been charged with the industrial expeditions into the country where his patriotic labours have served to give a strong and healthy impetus to the industrial and economical movement in every Province. The Victoria Technical Institute at Amraoti is a monument of his labours, while not a few of the mills and factories in the Berars bear eloquent testimony to his patriotic services towards the development of that Province. Like his own Province, Mr. Mudholkar has seldom known where to stand still and his many-sided activities have perpetually driven him from pillar to post. Gentlemen, in 1890 he went to England as your delegate to the British public, along with my esteemed friend and chief Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee, and you know what eminent services he then rendered to the country. His labours in the Supreme Legislative Council since 1910 are well-known to the country ; and I as a man of Eastern Bengal—as a Bengalee—can never forget the helping hand which he always stretched out to us in the days of our trials and tribulations (Cheers). Such is the man that has been chosen as the Speaker of this House at its Twenty-Seventh Session. Brother-delegates, you may well be afraid of his gong ; but I can assure you, if such an assurance were needed, that you have nothing to fear from his judgment and decision. With these words I support the proposal that the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar do take the chair of this Congress, and I hope you will carry this proposal with acclamation (Cheers).

**Maharaj-
Kumar of
Tekari.**

THE HON'BLE MAHARAJ-KUMAR GOPAL SOHAN NARAIN SINGH OF TEKARI, (Behar), further supported the election and said :—After the eloquent speech of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee not much remains for me to say regarding our President-elect. He has been a prominent figure in the public life of our country ever since the Congress was started and we all know how manfully he has worked for the national cause. When he went to England as one of our delegates in 1890 he did more than one man's work on that occasion. He is a monument of perseverance on public questions and his activities have been many-sided. At a time when very few of our prominent men took interest in industrial matters Rao Bahadur Mudholkar brought the industrial question to the front by his eloquence. The Victoria Technical School, Amraoti, owes its foundation largely to his untiring efforts. Several mills and factories in Berar owe their inception to him. He has all his life been an advocate of in-

dustrial and technological education, and has been the General Secretary of the Industrial Conference ever since the institution was started. In 1908 he was elected President of the All-India Industrial Conference at Madras and his speech on that occasion has given a masterly survey of the industrial situation of our country. His efforts as a political worker have been appreciated by the Government and our late Viceroy Lord Minto nominated him to the Council in recognition thereof. In the Council as well as outside it our Hon'ble friend has advocated the cause of his Province in the matter of its recognition as a unit of Provincial Government and the Legislative Council recently instituted for the Central Provinces and Berar has crowned his efforts with success in that direction. On behalf of our own Province I offer him my sincere congratulations upon the inauguration of the Council. With such a man as this to conduct our deliberations here our Congress is bound to be a success, and I commend to you his election as President of the first session of the Behar Congress.

THE HON'BLE MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE :—I take it that you elect the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar as our President (cries of "Yes," "Yes," and cheers).

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar was then inducted into the Presidential chair and garlanded by the Chairman of the Reception Committee who also garlanded at the same time the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, and Mr. D. E. Wacha.

THE HON'BLE RAO BAHADUR R. N. MADHGLKAR then rose to deliver his inaugural address and was received with a tremendous ovation, cries of *Bande Mataram*, and loud and continued cheers with the waving of handkerchiefs. When the cheers had subsided, the President delivered the following inaugural address :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I am very grateful to you for the signal honour you have conferred upon me by electing me President of this year's session of the Indian National Congress. The words in which my respected leader, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and my brother, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, and my other brothers have spoken of me have moved me deeply and all I can say is that I cannot better acknowledge what they have said than by saying that I feel highly honoured by what they have said. Gentlemen, the Presidency of the Indian National Congress is the highest dignity which an Indian can aspire to obtain at the hands of his countrymen. Deeply indebted as I am to you for the confidence and trust reposed in me I depend upon your kind co-operation and indulgence to discharge satisfactorily the responsible work entrusted to me.

The Attempt on the Life of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Brother-delegates, we had expected to meet under very happy and cheerful circumstances with a full measure of that buoyant hopefulness which has come so markedly over the country since His Imperial Majesty's gracious announcements and declarations of twelve months ago. The sky was clear and serene. There was not a speck of cloud, but now when every one was congratulating the country upon the prevalence of general goodwill a thunderbolt has fallen from the blue firmament and a peculiarly atrocious and heinous outrage committed by some miscreant upon one who, by his genuine sympathy for the people of this country and solicitude for their advancement, has won the regard, respect and admiration of all sections of the Indian community, has come as a shock to all, producing deep sorrow, anxiety and dejection. Every true Indian heart feels the most profound sympathy for His Excellency and the noble companion of his life, and while thankful that His Excellency has a Providential escape with his life, is plunged in real anxiety and is offering devoted prayers to the Almighty for his speedy recovery and restoration to health.

**Presidential
Address.**

For the perpetrator of that foul deed nothing but the most intense indignation and detestation are felt. We fervently hope that he and his associates will be discovered and will receive the condign punishment which he and they so richly deserve. Such persons are the enemies of their race, their country, of the whole humankind. Acts like these will not—can never—secure or promote the well-being and progress of any people. The spirit out of which has sprung anarchical misdeeds must be exorcised. Every body must join in stamping it out.

**Presidential
Address.**

Brother-delegates, the sons of India have before them a high and mighty task which is as noble as it is arduous. Born and placed in a country on which nature has showered her rich gifts bountifully and the inheritors of great civilizations, lofty ideals and stirring traditions, the Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsis, the Christians of this land have a mission as inspiring and as glorious as any that has moved ancient and modern nationalities to achieve feats of renown and conquests over mind. To create a nation by the fusion of what is jeeringly called a jumble of races, castes and creeds, to weld together communities which have often stood in sharp antagonism to one another, to wipe off the memories of rivalry and hostility continued for centuries and reconcile conflicting aims and ideals, to develop unity and solidarity amongst them, to raise their intellectual power to the highest attainable point, to secure for them a position of equality and respect among the nations of the world : this and nothing less is the work before them. And this and none other has been the object set before itself by the Congress.

The basic principles of the Congress, on the lines of which our work has been carried on these 27 years and which are embodied in the Congress Creed, constitute a goal which, while it is the only one possible, and attainable, is also elevating and inspiring to a high-souled people. The British rule is recognised by all rational and thoughtful persons to be a Providential dispensation, destined to contribute to the material, moral and political elevation of this land. It has brought about conditions which made a united India and an Indian nation possible. It has supplied the gaps and the deficiencies which existed in the Hindu and Mahomedan politics and in their political conceptions. It is affording the training, the trial and the probation necessary for the establishment of the representative form of government, the only form under which a self-respecting nation can consent to live. Subjects of the same Sovereign, governed by the same laws, living under the same administration, common interests, common disabilities and common responsibilities have generated a sense of unity and a feeling of brotherhood such as never existed before. Their minds expanded and their intellectual horizon widened by the study of the literature, history and political philosophy of the West, Indians have come to appreciate the higher political life developed in Great Britain and other western countries and to long for its introduction in India. British subjects, they claim the full rights of British citizenship. Members of a world-wide empire, they want to be placed on a footing of equality with the people of the most advanced parts of it.

This is our goal, and we aim at attaining it by constitutional procedure and by peaceful methods.

Our Ideal.

This goal is set up for the purpose of attaining a great ideal. A political organisation though the Congress is, we do not regard politics as everything, as the be-all and end-all of life. Political rights and privileges, political institutions, political power itself are only means to an end. They are useful only in that they facilitate the establishment of that higher, more harmonious, more perfected life in which men dedicate and consecrate themselves to the service of their fellow-creatures and the glory of God.

Brethren, the people of India have a great mission to fulfil, a great part to play in the progress of the world. The reconciliation of jarring creeds, the harmonising of all religions, the unification of all faiths, the spiritualisation of life in which, in the language of the holy Bhagavadgita, every thought, every word, every deed ought to be consecrated to God, is the task assigned to us. And it is to enable us to effectually perform this sacred duty that we are striving for the establishment of a social organization in which peace and order reign, which enjoys immunity from external trouble and aggression, in which knowledge and devotion flourish and in which love for one another and for the whole human race, aye, for all sentient things, is the basis of life.

Behar.

There is a peculiar appropriateness in directing our thoughts for a moment to the spiritual basis of our political work, the inner spring of our activities, on this occasion when in completing the fourth Saptaka (cycle of seven years) of its existence, the Congress has at the invitation of the leaders of Behar come to Pataliputra, the renowned capital of Magadha.

A powerful kingdom from the Mahabharat times when the redoubtable Jarasandha reigned over it, and a mightier empire in the times of the Maurya Chandragupta, Bimbisara and Asoka, Behar's ancient eminence is placed on a still higher pedestal by its being the country which gave birth to Gautama Buddha and Mahavira, the land which sent to distant climes light and message of peace, of universal love, of universal compassion. And though the turn of the wheel of fortune brought centuries of humbler condition, the constitution this year of Behar along with Orissa and Chota Nagpur into a province is an augury of the return of your former greatness and the forerunner of a higher fortune. Foremost among those who have been devoting themselves to unite in brotherly relations the Mahomedans and Hindus, you, men of Behar, have before you not only that great task, but the higher one of resuming the work of your forefathers to carry to all parts of this great continent a rejuvenated faith of universal fraternity and love. (Cheers.)

Presidential
Address.

Mr. Hume.

It is the belief in the loftiness of the mission of the Congress and faith in the great future of India which attracted to it the services and devotion of high-souled Englishmen like Sir William Wedderburn, the late Mr. Bradlaugh, Sir Henry Cotton, and of that great, good man Allan Octavian Hume. Brother-delegates, when we met last year this season, in Calcutta, we congratulated ourselves upon Mr. Hume being still left to us, and felicitated him upon the partial consummation of his desires and the accomplishment of the most important item of the Congress programme formulated in the year of its birth. He is now no more! The father, the founder of the Congress, he who worked for it day and night, winter and summer, through good repute and ill, to tend, to nourish the child of his affection, he who in the most critical and difficult period of its existence laboured for it as no other man did, has gone, and we all mourn his loss as that of a parent. It was my privilege to come into close and personal contact with him at the time when his energies were still vigorous. I witnessed not only the intense assiduity and application which he brought to bear upon his self-imposed task but saw every moment manifestations of the depth, the profundity of his love and affection for India. To our work he applied his great faculties, his clear and penetrating vision and his literary talents with the whole-heartedness of a devotee. For us he incurred the anger and hatred of men of his race, suffered obloquy and contumely and ungrudgingly bore even persecution. Abandoning all thoughts of enjoying his well-earned repose after years of hard, conscientious official work and giving up his favourite scientific pursuits which had secured him a recognition from eminent savants, he devoted his disciplined mind and his energies unstintedly to the rearing of his child, even when he was visited with one of the greatest domestic calamities which can befall a man and his heart was bleeding with a great sorrow. Ladies and gentlemen, it is very doubtful if the Congress plant would have been the hardy tree that it now is, if there had not been Mr. Hume to water and tend it in the years of its infancy and to protect it against the furious blasts of attacks and persecution. The progress of the reform movement in India and the victory it achieved within seven years of the founding of the Congress, were mainly due to the net-work of organisations brought into existence in this country under his guidance and the vigorous newspaper and platform campaign carried on in England by his efforts and those of his coadjutors, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadadhai Naoroji and the late Mr. William Digby. When advancing years, persistent illness and domestic sorrows rendered him incapable of continuing his former work, his heart was still in India; and oft from his sick-bed did he send stirring, warming, enlivening appeals and exhortations to cheer our drooping energies in the days of reaction and to rouse us into activity when we were slackening in our efforts.

Brethren, he was,

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward
 Never doubted clouds would break,
 Never dreamed though right were worsted wrong would triumph,
 Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
 Sleep to wake.

Men like him and Sir William belong to all climes and to all countries. His was a pure, loving, saintly life, devoid of selfishness and pettiness. We owe him gratitude,

Presidential
Address.

affection, love, reverence. May his soul attain that higher plane of elevation for it was qualified by a life of meritorious deeds!

True Hume Memorial.

Brother-delegates, the question of a suitable memorial to our departed great leader is engaging the attention of prominent Congressmen, and there is no doubt that Indians will not fail to testify their reverence and affection for him. His most permanent memorial, far more lasting than any work of bronze or marble or any architectural structure, will be the shrine erected in the tabernacle of the heart of a grateful and loving people, who will for ever cherish his memory, with or without a visible token, just as the memory of Moses or Aaron continues dear to the Israelites even unto this day, thousands of years after their entry into the Promised Land. Gentlemen, in no better way can Congressmen and Indians of all shades of political opinion demonstrate their admiration and esteem for one who made such sacrifices for their good than by continuing the work of national unification of mental, moral and economic regeneration, and of the promotion of British and Indian unity.

In one respect Mr. Hume was indeed more fortunate than Moses; for it was permitted to him not only to have a sight of the Promised Land but to see his people make their entry therein and to witness that they had some taste of the milk and honey of political life. It is true we are still far away from the Holy City and cannot say when our nation will be vouchsafed the blessed privilege of the sight of the Holiest of the Holy. But sure as day follows night shall we attain this consummation of our highest desires, if we are but faithful to the great men who joined to found the Congress, adhere to the principles laid down by Hume, Wedderburn, Dadabhai, Bannerjee, and follow the path marked out by them.

Recent Troubles.

Like the Israelites of old we too had our wanderings in the desert, our trials, our temptations, our doubts of the goodness of the Lord, the revolt of some of our countrymen against His authority, their worship of the golden calf. But all that has passed away like a hideous nightmare, never to return we devoutly trust. It was indeed a dark period of storm and stress, when the distrust and resentment produced by the smothering of just and long-cherished aspirations, by the open flouting by the head of the Indian Government of legitimate ideals, and the undisguised attempt to nullify Royal pledges and Parliamentary rights, while they filled the true friends of English and Indian union with grief and sorrow produced deplorable aberrations among some unthinking persons and impatient spirits. To the deep gloom and uneasiness of that *regime* of reaction and the ascendancy of autocratic methods, when even hopeful and sanguine temperaments had fallen into dejection and despondency, succeeded an interval of suspense, when the mind trembled between alternate hopes and fears, anxious to find out whether the Liberal party would prove true to its traditions, and whether the great philosopher-statesman whose words of wisdom had carried instruction and consolation to thousands would give practical effect to the principles expounded by him. These times of tribulation, of anxiety, of suspense, have been followed by a happier period, when a substantial portion of our most important demand having been granted, winter has turned into spring under the beneficent rays of the sun of reform and conciliation.

The New Era.

Gentlemen, in the development of this policy of conciliation and reform, the year 1912 was as memorable as the year 1911. In continuance of that noble and wise policy which has won for His Majesty the abiding affection, gratitude, attachment and loyalty of the Indian people, and which found a fitting expression in the momentous announcements made at Delhi, His Majesty made, in the course of the functions and ceremonials held at Calcutta, declarations which not only created unbounded enthusiasm and rejoicing in the country at that time, but have planted hope eternal in the Indian breast. Replying to the address from the University of Calcutta, His Majesty said: "Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy. To-day in India I give to India the watchword of hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life. Education has given you hope, and through better and higher education you will build up higher and better hopes."

Every utterance of His Majesty, his replies to public bodies, his valedictory speeches, his messages to the English nation, are instinct with loving sympathy for the people of India, deep solicitude for their welfare and generous desire to promote their advancement in every sphere of life. He has bid us HOPE, EDUCATE, UNITE. A more gracious, beneficent, loving advice could hardly be given. Presidential Address.

It is a matter of grateful satisfaction to us that His Excellency Lord Hardinge is actuated by a similar spirit of genuine sympathy and generous desire for the welfare of the people under his charge and that the policy of confidence and trust in the people is receiving greater and greater attention from the heads of the Provincial Governments.

Troubles of Turkey.

Brother-delegates, before I proceed to touch upon those questions which demand our immediate consideration, I have, on your behalf and of my humble self, to give expression to the profound sorrow and sympathy which the Hindus and all non-Moslem Indians feel for our Moslem brethren in the great misfortune which has overtaken the Khalifate, and the struggle for existence which the Turkish Empire has to carry on against a powerful combination. When the political sky is overcast with dark and threatening clouds, it is not desirable for us, the subjects of a Power which is striving to preserve the strictest neutrality, to enter into the merits of the quarrel between the various belligerent Powers, nor are we in a position to discuss them with adequate knowledge. But as staunch believers in the supremacy of the moral law and upholders of the principle of peaceful evolution, this much I believe is permissible to us to say, that it is possible to satisfy the just and legitimate aspirations of the Christian provinces of the Turkish Empire without destroying the existence or the importance of Turkey or subjecting her to the humiliating condition of powerlessness.

The Progress Achieved.

Brother-delegates, I now request your attention to the work which lies before us. The chief plank in the Congress platform has been and must continue to be the securing of a steadily increasing association of the people in the work of administration. In the interests of India and England alike, our great aim is to make the British Government a National Government of the British Indian people composed of the Indian communities and the domiciled and resident Britons. The first stage of this great work has been achieved. In both the legislative and higher executive functions of Government, Indians have, by the constitutional reforms, inaugurated in 1909, been accorded considerably greater participation and a higher position than before. The old Legislative Council have been expanded, the number of additional members has been largely increased, the principle of election recognised and applied in no illiberal spirit, their powers and functions enlarged, their capacity to serve popular interests enhanced by extension of the right of interpellation, of moving of resolutions on subjects of public importance, of discussing the Financial Statements. Two new Provincial Legislative Councils with like powers have been created.

In the sphere of higher executive function, our demand about the appointment of Indian in the Council of the Secretary of State and in the Executive Councils of the Governor-General and of Governors has been granted : and so has been that other claim of vital importance, the creation of Council Governments in other provinces. Bengal has got its Executive Council with an Indian member and so has the newly constituted province of Behar and Orissa. There seems every prospect of the United Provinces obtaining their desire soon.

In one respect the admission of Indians into the Executive Governments is even a more momentous step than the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils. In the case of these latter bodies what Lords Morley and Minto did was the extension and development of institutions which has been called into being more than forty years ago. The association of Indians in the discharge of the highest executive functions was essentially a new thing, and after the studied limitations sought to be imposed by Lord Curzon upon Indian aspirations, it was very much like the introduction of a new principle. The strenuous attempts made to throw obstacles in the creation of Executive Councils and of the admission of Indians therein testify to the importance rightly attached to them by the statesmen and administrators of the Tory party.

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It is true that there are some serious defects and imperfections in the new constitutional reforms as carried out and some of these drawbacks have caused considerable irritation and uneasiness. But it would be ungrateful to deny for a moment the beneficent character of these reforms as a whole, the potent power for good which they possess, their magical effect in restoring confidence and trust in British statesmanship and in placing on a solid foundation the people's hopes for the future.

You, gentlemen, who know what the real thoughts and sentiments of the people are, are fully aware of the effect they produced in reviving the drooping spirits of the constitutional party, in checking the unwise utterances of impracticable dreamers, in bringing about a cessation of the revolutionary propaganda and anarchical misdeeds.

Change in Spirit.

Over and above the actual reforms accomplished is the change—amounting almost to the birth of a new spirit—in the attitude of the official mind towards Indians and their aspirations. There is greater insistence by responsible statesmen and administrators on trust and confidence in the people and on the necessity of consulting their opinions and wishes, of drawing them and the Government into closer bonds of co-operation and mutual esteem. Two significant facts call for special notice. Lord Minto's scheme of 1908 proposed non-official majorities in the Imperial and Provincial Councils; and though Lord Morley disallowed the proposal so far as it affected the Imperial Legislative Council, and the Regulations under the Councils Act of 1909 explicitly lay down that the number of non-official members elected and nominated in the Governor-General's Council shall not exceed the total number officials in the Council, the facts that non-official majorities are allowed in the Provincial Councils, and that it was a Unionist Viceroy who recommended a non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council, go to strengthen our demand that the Legislative Councils should, in the main, consist of representatives of popular interests and views.

Provincial Autonomy.

Even more significant is the statesmanlike position taken up by the Government of India in the celebrated para. 3 of the Despatch of the Government of India of 25th August 1911. The important document says: "It is certain that in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a large share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be, gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, ordinarily restricting their function to matters of Imperial concern."

Now, gentlemen, there is a close family resemblance between this goal and that advocated from this platform. It is true that Lord Crewe has tried to explain away the statement in the Government of India's Despatch and to minimise its value. But his lieutenant, Mr. Montagu, one of the coming men of the Liberal party, to whom on his visit to India we accord a cordial greeting of welcome, has taken up a stand in his speech at Cambridge at the end of February last, which is a distinct affirmation of the principle clearly enunciated in that noble document (Cheers). After taunting Lord Curzon with having no policy at all, he said: "Where the difference lies is in this: that we have endeavoured to look ahead, to co-ordinate our changes in Bengal with the general lines of our future policy, which is stated now for the first time in the Government of India's Despatch that has been published as a Parliamentary Paper. That statement shows the goal the aim towards which we propose to work—not immediately, not in a hurry, but gradually, * * * At last and not too soon a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which we intend to advance."

Say what over-cautious statesmen may, the profound significance of such a statement in an important State document cannot be gainsaid. We have every reason to feel immensely strengthened and fortified by that declaration. It affords conclusive testimony that in

asking for self-government under the British supremacy we are not "asking for the moon," **Presidential Address.** and that even our present demands are not unpractical, our programme is not impracticable, our goal not illusory.

While on this subject, let us pay our tribute to the memory of one who is known to have taken a prominent part in the preparation of that despatch—one whom, in spite of a momentary misunderstanding, his Indian non-official colleagues in the Legislative Council had come to like and respect as a frank and good man, of large sympathies, liberal views and a wide outlook. Sir John Jenkins' sudden death under tragic circumstances, deeply mourned in this country, has deprived the cause of Indian constitutional reform of a sincere and staunch friend. We offer our sympathies to Lady Jenkins and her children.

The people of the Central Provinces and Berar owe a special debt of gratitude to him, for, it was mainly owing to the stand taken by him that that territory is about to get a Provincial Legislative Council.

Leaving aside an unprofitable, exegetical controversy and placing upon the words used their ordinary meaning, the correctness of the principle embodied in the paragraph and the necessity of giving gradual effect to that principle, are unquestionable. The great need of decentralisation has been pressed upon the Government of India from all sides, and by none more forcibly than by the members of the official hierarchy. The Decentralisation Commission was specially appointed to advise what devolution was to be effected. Surely, such devolution is not to be carried out for concentrating the devolved powers in the hands of uncontrolled individuals. If delegation is to be real and substantial greater powers and a large measure of independence are to be given to Provincial Governments, it would not only be anomalous but hazardous and out of tune with the spirit of the new constitution that these authorities should be absolute and unchecked. Not only will it be necessary to have Executive Councils with Indian members established for each province, but the Legislative Councils will have to be granted larger powers, the number of non-official members therein increased, the composition of these bodies made more fully representative.

Council Regulations.

And this brings me to a consideration of what must be done to obtain the full benefit which the Indian Councils Act of 1909 and the Government of India Act of 1912, are capable of producing. The first thing we have to address ourselves to is the removal of the anomalies, the inequalities and the defects in the Council Regulation. These fall under the following heads:—

- (a) Wrong methods adopted in the application of the principle of communal representation ;
- (b) discriminating treatment and unequal privileges.
- (c) omission to extend the principle of representation to some important tracts ;
- (d) faulty method of election adopted in certain cases.

As regards communal representation, the Congress has in view of existing circumstances recognised the expediency of adopting it ; but we contend that the principle on which it is allowable being the desirability of granting representation to important minorities, effect has to be given to it as much in the case of the Hindus where they are in a minority, as has been done in the case of the Mahomedans. It is indeed urged with no little cogency and justice that, strictly speaking there is no justification for granting special representation to Mahomedans in provinces where they are in a majority. But personally I am not disposed to press this point and do not wish to raise an objection to my Mahomedan countrymen getting two or three members more than they would have under the principle of the representation of minorities. What is of greater moment is that representation has not been given, as it ought to have been given to the Hindu minority in the Punjab and in Sind. This anomaly should be removed. It is also worthy of consideration that the great Sikh community is entitled to have a member to represent it.

A highly objectionable feature of the present regulations in the matter of communal representation is the constitution of separate Mahomedan electorates. Gentlemen, in my opinion nothing is more calculated to retard the concord and harmony between Mahomedans and

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Hindus, to obstruct the intellectual and political advancement of the Mahomedans themselves, and the growth of a sturdy catholic public spirit and life amongst them than these water-tight compartments of separate electorates. The undesirability of these separate electorates is acknowledged by several of the leaders of the Mahomedan community, by some of those very persons who were elected to represent its interest in the Vice-regal and Provincial Councils.

More objectionable than even separate electorates are the inequalities in the franchise. While the franchise is in a wise and liberal spirit conferred upon the middle class Moslem landholders, traders, merchants, graduates and professional men, no similar right is extended to the corresponding classes of the non-Moslem communities. Under the revised regulations issued this year a very slight concession is made in Madras, but it is utterly inadequate as it does not go beyond the ex-members of local bodies and title-holders above the class of Rao Saheb. In this matter we do not seek to bring down the Mahomedan community to our level. We want the non-Moslem communities to be raised to theirs.

Another inequality and hardship which has to be rectified is about the representation of those parts of British India like the North Western Frontier Provinces, Coorg and Ajmere Merwara which are under the direct administration of the Governor-General. These latter should be made into one constituency and one non-official member should be allotted to them.

Then there is the hard case of those tracts and districts which do not form part of British India technically as not being possessed of full sovereignty, but yet being held on a permanent tenure with exclusive and plenary powers of administration vested in the British Government, or for practical purposes in no way distinguishable from territories held in fee-simple. These are also entitled to be represented in the Council of the country.

The removal of these inequalities and anomalies would necessitate a certain increase in the number—about 5 or 6—of non-official members and a corresponding addition to official members. This is not a very radical change and does not involve any deviation from accepted principles. It can by no means be called an organic change. Of course Parliamentary legislation is necessary, but it would only be in regard to the schedules.

Another matter is the substitution of direct election in place of indirect wherever the latter system still exists. The abolition of the machinery of electoral colleges, which is a clumsy and unsatisfactory device, is necessary for securing the full benefit of the principle of election to the extent that it has been granted. There is absolutely no reason why the persons or bodies on whom the franchise is conferred should not themselves record their votes in favour of the candidate they prefer. The process of double distillation results on no rare occasions in the selection of a candidate put forward by a minority. This again is not an organic change. It does not even require a resort to Parliament. A change has to be made only in the Regulations and this is within the competence of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

With these few changes and the removal of these defects our Legislative Councils will be placed on a more satisfactory basis and the existing anomalies and inequalities will be removed. It is much to be regretted that in revising the regulations, these drawbacks and shortcomings were not removed or at any rate minimised. We must apply ourselves to free the new constitution from the anomalies and defects which disfigure it.

Responsibility of Indians.

But after all the success of the reformed Legislative Councils and the new type of Executive Councils depends more upon ourselves than upon any thing else. It can be achieved only by insisting upon a high tone, solid output and real efficiency. Institution in themselves can do little good if the spirit which should animate them is absent. Genuine interest in public affairs, burning zeal for the welfare of all classes, a high standard of work based on a thorough study of all the questions that call for consideration, freedom from bias, class prejudices and predilections are demanded more than ever. The work with which these Councils have to deal is by no means light, and as every day passes its volume and its complexity must increase. Members of the Legislative Councils must be prepared to devote their whole time to it during the session and no inconsiderable portion all through the year. You want a Parliamentary form of Government; your Legislative Coun-

cils are Parliaments *in embryo*. It rests with your representatives to secure their full growth.

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On the Indian members of the Executive Councils even a greater and a heavier responsibility rests. They have to bring to bear upon their task not only great study, application, thorough knowledge of facts, sound and calm judgment and scrupulous conscientiousness, but they must develop the quality of statesmanship, must cultivate a habitual wide outlook, the future as well, not only the immediate consequences but the ultimate ones also.

It is for you, gentlemen of the Congress, to keep your countrymen up to the mark both in the Executive and Legislative Councils, and this you can do only by yourselves studying minutely all public questions, examining them with knowledge in the Congress and in the meetings of Provincial Conferences, by keeping a watchful eye on the doings of the executive and the deliberations of the Legislatures.

Extension of Council Government.

Along with the removal of the defects in the Legislative machinery we have to work for the establishment of the Council type of Government in all the major provinces. There is reason to believe that the United Provinces will have an Executive Council with an Indian member within a short time. The turn of the Punjab and the Central Provinces must come next. The last taken in conjunction with Berar is as important a territory as the Punjab, and its administration should be vested in a Lieutenant-Governor with a Council.

Governors.

Indeed some years hence Parliament will have to consider whether as in Madras, Bombay and Bengal, it is not desirable to place the administration of all these territories under Governors in Council. This is not a question of the immediate present, however. But it is desirable to keep it in view, and to draw the attention of the Government and of the people to it. John Bright pointed out so far back as 1858 that that was the form of Government which would have ultimately to be adopted. Larger powers and fuller independence to Provincial Governments necessitate a higher type of administration. A freshness of mind, a position of detachment, a freedom from prejudices or predilections due to long residence or long connection with the services are considered necessary for the Viceroy and the Governors of Presidencies. The same principle applies to the heads of the other provinces.

Indian Representatives in Parliament.

But there is another reform of a more fundamental character to which I would invite the attention of the Congress, the country and the Government; and that is the representation of India in the House of Commons. This is no novel idea. After the decision that the Crown should take over the direct Government of India was arrived at, and when the Government of India Bill No. 1 of 1858 was under consideration, the objection was taken by Mr. Disraeli, the then leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, to the scheme of Lord Palmerston's Government, that no provision was made for the representation of the people of India in the Councils which were to be invested with the chief power. Later on in the year, when after the defeat of the Palmerston Ministry and the accession to power of the Derby-Disraeli Ministry, a new Bill, India Bill, No. 11, was brought in, Mr. Disraeli dwelt upon the desirability of having the representative principle applied to the Government of the country. He regretted that the unsettled state of the country did not admit of representation of the people in India itself, and all that could be done in the meantime was to approach as near to that form of Government as the circumstances would permit. Indirect representation was proposed by giving the right of electing 4 members to the Indian Civil and Military Services and certain residents, and 5 mercantile members to the Parliamentary constituencies of London, Belfast, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow. Though the underlying principle was admitted to be good by all, the method devised was seen to be wrong and unsuitable. And in laughing out an ill-devised scheme the important principle itself was abandoned. In a strain of impractical altruism it was said that every member of the House of Commons would regard himself as a member for India. How unreal in fact this assumption was has been demonstrated by the emptiness of the benches when the

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Indian Budget is laid on the table of the House of Commons or any Indian question is under consideration.

With the supreme power in regard to the Government of India vested in Parliament, the necessity of representation of Indian interests in the House of Commons has been perceived by many thoughtful people. In 1878, when one of the largest public meetings known in India was held in Bombay to protest against the License tax, a petition for presentation to Parliament was adopted which among other things prayed that such representation might be granted, and that as a first step the privilege be conferred upon such important cities and centres of commerce as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, &c., to elect a few members to the House of Commons. Several non-official Europeans took a prominent part in the proceedings of the day, and, one of the leading spirits of the meeting was that redoubtable champion of British ascendancy, the late Mr. James Mackenzie Maclean, who later on sat for a number of years in the House of Commons on the Conservative side.

Pondicherry elects a member to the French Chamber and Goa to the Portuguese Parliament. With infinitely vaster interests to be protected, the claim of India for a representation in the House of Commons cannot be called unreasonable. With Parliament as not merely the ultimate and final authority, but the actual directing and ordaining power, the demand for the small representation advocated in 1878 cannot be called untenable or chimerical.

Opposition is to be expected, but what reform has not been opposed and attacked? With the ever increasing number of Indian questions brought before Parliament the justice of voicing the Indian view in the House of Commons cannot be gainsaid. All honour and grateful thanks to those generous souls, who have during all these years championed the cause of India. But there can be no genuine, adequate and fully informed representation of the Indian view until India is given the chance of sending Indians howsoever few to the Supreme Council of the Empire. Nothing is better calculated to bind this country and England together in close union.

Decentralisation and Local Bodies.

Valuable as are the institutions which deal with matters of Imperial and Provincial concern, and great as is the necessity of placing them on a satisfactory basis and increasing their efficiency and scope, equally great is the need for properly developing those institutions which deal with local and district concerns, of establishing a system which will give adequate effectiveness to the popular voice in measures affecting such concerns, of associating the people more and more with the agents of the Government in the every day matters of their communal life. The rise of India depends as much upon the proper working of local bodies as upon the Legislative and Executive Councils or representation in Parliament. The greatness of the mother of Parliaments had its origin in the Parish councils. The municipalities, the district boards, the sub-district boards, the village Panchayats are the foundation upon which alone the great superstructure of Representative Government which we long to rear can be based. These obvious truths and rudimentary political principles are at times overlooked and in a manner even denied by some of our own people, who pour ridicule and scorn upon these humbler institutions. We have to secure the widening of the powers and functions of these bodies and the preponderance of the elective element in them.

The Provincial Governments have, as a rule, not shown themselves very responsive to the demands of the Indians for a higher political status, and not only did some of the Provincial Acts fail to give full effect to the principles laid down in Lord Ripon's resolution on Local Self-Government, but even such provisions as were embodied in those Acts were hedged with restrictions which greatly curtailed the powers of local bodies; while in the decade of reaction which followed the resignation of the Rosebery Ministry, the constitution and the composition of such an important body as the Corporation of Calcutta were altered for the worse. We have now to work for the recovery for lost ground and for further advance in the direction of the effective popularisation of local bodies. Real decentralisation and devolution have to be secured. The proportion of elected members should be three-fourths in district and sub-district boards and in the municipalities of all large and progressive towns and not less than two-thirds anywhere. Their powers and functions should be increased,

greater independence and greater freedom from petty interference secured to them; sub-district boards should be given real powers and not merely be the agents of the district boards. Every town should have its municipality; village Panchayats should be established in the larger villages and the smaller ones formed into unions. The association of the representatives of the people should be carried out not only in regard to sanitation, education, the construction of village, town and district roads and buildings, and in the maintenance of markets, *serais* and ponds, but in the preservation of law and order and in the performance of simple judicial functions. The reproach is often levelled against Indians that they are litigious and flood the courts with trivial disputes, civil and criminal. The most effective way of checking this is to establish conciliation boards and arbitration committees of the local bodies and to invest them with powers to try small civil and criminal cases. If the Government earnestly address themselves to the task, they can without impairing the efficiency of the administration, relieve highly paid officers of a vast amount of petty work which absorbs so much of the time of magistrates and civil judges. Such a devolution would also be a valuable training for the exercise of higher political privileges.

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Divisional and District Advisory Boards.

The devolution of important powers to Commissioners and heads of districts recommended by the Decentralisation Commission, necessarily brings in its train the creation of divisional and district advisory boards, half the members at least of which should be elected. The Decentralisation Commission while recommending the holding of district conferences do not perceive the necessity of divisional or district advisory boards. Uphill though the task may be, we have to convince the Government of the necessity of such bodies, in view of the larger powers proposed to be vested in Commissioners and heads of districts. The need for such boards arises out of the same considerations which justify the creation of Legislative and Executive Councils, *viz.*, to give help to the divisional and district officers of Government with advice, with information of local needs and sentiments, by conveying to them in a responsible manner the people's wishes, views and opinions. I for one am unable to understand the opposition to this demand. It is said that every district officer worth his place does consult and will continue to consult the men deserving to be consulted in his district, that it is undesirable that his discretion should be fettered as to whom to consult and when, and that he should not be restricted to seek the opinion and advice of only a selected few. There is evidently a misapprehension of the scope and purposes of the district and divisional advisory boards advocated. Nobody wishes to lay down restrictions on a Commissioner's or Collector's freedom to consult as many persons as he may be inclined to and as often as he might like. There is also no denial that a large majority of these officers at times do seek the opinion of representative men from amongst the people on important executive matters. But even men of prominence individually consulted may not fully see all the aspects of a question, and discussion with other representatives of different interests will afford greater material for judgment and a more responsible consideration. In a large number of cases, the people's selection would no doubt coincide with that of a well-informed and liberal-minded district officer, but even such an officer is not all-knowing. And even district officers and other high officers are after all human. They have not only their peculiar views and idiosyncracies, their likes and their dislikes; but the views or standards of no two men agree and where one officer would deem it a duty to consult the leading men of the place, another might consider that his own unassisted knowledge or intuition was a more infallible guide. What we seek is the establishment of a regular and certain system working with fair evenness at all times and securing due representation of all important interests in place of a fitful, varying, capricious practice.

Indians in South Africa and other Colonies.

Passing from the constitutional programme to a subject which though it affects a comparatively small body of individuals, numbering about a couple of lakhs, is none the less of immense national importance and has roused deep feeling in this country, I would draw your attention to the unsatisfactory position of Indians in the self-governing British colonies. It is a dismal tale of harshness, of unfairness, of injustice. The situation is most acute and pitiable in South Africa. In that region, there is first the deplorable con-

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dition of the indentured labourers, who, beguiled by the specious representations of unscrupulous recruiters have been enticed thousands of miles away from home into a service hardly distinguishable from slavery. On this platform and elsewhere have been recounted harrowing stories of their miserable condition and degrading surroundings. If I do not treat this subject with anything more than a passing notice, it is not from any want of sympathy for those unfortunate men, women and children, but because the recruitment of indentured labour is now prohibited and the system will disappear within a few years.

At present it is the status of free Indians and the treatment accorded to them in the colonies of Natal, the Transvaal and Orangia which are greatly exercising the minds of the Government and the people. In Orangia no Indian is allowed to enter except as a domestic servant; he cannot trade, he cannot hold a farm. In Natal, they are subjected to a special heavy impost of £3 per annum for every male above 16 and every female above 13, have been deprived of the political franchise they possessed at one time and are threatened with the loss of the municipal franchise as well. In the Transvaal, they are subjected to serious disabilities and are not treated like civilized beings. The most elementary civil rights are denied to them. They cannot walk on foot-paths, they cannot ride on the tramcars except on the outside, they cannot travel in railway carriages used by the lowest of the European population, they are subjected to innumerable difficulties in carrying on peaceful trades, they are confined to dirty locations, their children cannot attend public schools, they are not allowed to hold landed property, they are treated worse than even criminals. And it is not for any crime, for any defects of character or deficiency of morals, for any want of loyalty or for unwillingness to conform to laws that the British Indian is harassed and persecuted. When the British Government went to war with the Transvaal, one of the reasons assigned in justification of the step was the ill-treatment of the Indians. And now the plight of the Indians is even worse than what it was under the *regime* of President Kruger. Harsh laws, made harsher by the manner of their execution, have been enacted against them despite solemn promises. Even crooked devices have been adopted for sending out of the country persons already there, and entitled to be there. Our countrymen there under the leadership of that selfless patriot and philanthropist, Mr. Gandhi, have been carrying on a heroic struggle of passive resistance, against cruel laws which are a negation of justice, and the persecution to which these men and women have been subjected has intensified the deep resentment roused by the laws. In this matter, the Government of India are at one with us, and have been putting forth all the efforts they can. In fairness, it has also to be noticed that there is a considerable number of the respectable portion of the colonists who disapprove of the treatment accorded to Indians and sympathise with their demands for just and fair treatment. But neither they nor the British Government have yet succeeded in obtaining from the South African Union Government even the small modicum of humane and equitable consideration the Indians ask for.

It deserves to be borne in mind that our countrymen in that land who know how things stand there and are in the best position to judge what is practicable have come to the conviction that it will not do to take an impracticable stand. The principle, that as citizens of the empire, Indians should not be subjected to discriminating treatment, if pushed to the extent of insisting upon free and unrestricted immigration, has no chance of being accepted by the Government or the people of the South African Union. They feel that they must recognise as practical politicians the desire of the colonists to keep that sub-continent essentially a white man's country. It is unprofitable to discuss whether the attitude of the colonists is in consonance with justice or duty to the empire. They possess the fullest rights of self-government. No British Ministry will venture to coerce them. No Union Government can do anything against the wishes of the majority of the electors. Our countrymen in the sub-continent feel that if they stand up for an academic principle the position of Indians, already most serious, will become absolutely intolerable, and they might be practically driven out of the country. It is on the recognition of this that their leaders—the men who have fought their battles and suffered all manner of persecution—have been forced to the conclusion that a policy of compromise alone can prevent the disaster. What they therefore ask is—

First, that those already in that sub-continent should receive just, fair and humane treatment and be accorded the ordinary civil rights; *secondly*, in regard to future immigration, there should be no special restrictions, no degrading requirements, devised solely for Indians or Asiatics and based on colour, race or creed; *thirdly*, that due facilities be given for the admission of the teachers and religious instructors required by the resident Indian community; and *fourthly*, that Indian travellers visiting the country should not be subjected to special or humiliating restrictions.

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Gentlemen, we can not with any chance of being listened to ask for free immigration. But the Indians who are there are entitled to protection and just consideration. The system of indentured labour was called into existence for the good of the colonists of Natal. For the benefit of these same colonists inducements were given for over a generation to the persons whose indentures has expired to remain as free labourers. In the wake of the indentured labourers followed the traders and shopkeepers who supplied their wants. These persons were allowed to settle in the sub-continent and to make it their home. A new population has come into existence, born and bred up there and knowing no other country. It would be cruel to turn them away bag and baggage, as some whites urge, or to treat them as helots. The prejudice against them is due as much to race exclusiveness and pride of colour as to trade jealousy. The situation is no doubt a complex, difficult and delicate one. Our illustrious countryman, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, whose devotion to the country's cause is equalled by few and surpassed by none, has just returned from a visit to the sub-continent. His mission was to study the problem on the spot and to put forth his best efforts to bring about a better understanding and a better feeling between the different races. The reception that was accorded to him by the Union Government and by a large body of Europeans of position in the sub-continent holds out the promise of a fair consideration. We must remember, however, that the great difficulty in arriving at a solution honourable, equitable and just to both sides, has not been the disinclination of colonial statesmen to take a broad view of things or absence of sympathy from men of refinement and culture. It is the selfishness and the prejudice of the masses which have to be overcome. The present good results achieved by our distinguished countryman will prove a most powerful factor in gradually mitigating that selfishness and prejudice. But the task of the Imperial Government, of the Government of India and of the Indians here and in South Africa is by no means finished. Our countrymen in South Africa have still to continue their struggle and we standing shoulder to shoulder with them, have to give help and succour to them and to cheer them in their difficult work. In that struggle they and we have to show perseverance, tenacity of purpose, judgment and tact. We have truth and justice on our side. We take our stand on humanity. And God willing we shall succeed.

The question is a most vital one to us. For it is not only in South Africa that the bar sinister of colour is put against us, in distant Vancouver and in Australia the same policy of keeping us out on the ground of colour is followed. These methods have naturally roused great feeling in India. It behoves the British Government to put forth all its persuasiveness, its moral influence, nay, even such legal powers as it possesses, to bring about a change in the attitude of these colonies. The colonies are self-governing and no one dreams of suggesting coercion which, by the way, is impossible. But the resources of British statesmanship cannot have become so exhausted as to supply no moral force which shall open the eyes of the colonists and make them perceive that the contentment of India is a most important element in the maintenance of that Empire to which they themselves attach so much value.

Position of Indians in the Higher Services.

Gentlemen, the position of Indians in the Empire and the treatment accorded to them in the self-governing colonies or elsewhere, will in no small degree be determined by their political status here and their power to influence the affairs of Government. The scant consideration which is shown to our people by outsiders is only a reflex of the position that we hold in the country. Improvement in our political status among the nations of the world can only come when we have a potent voice in our legislatures and a commanding position in the executive machinery. This is one of the reasons why such

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immense importance has been attached by the Congress and by the political associations of pre-Congress days to the larger and ever increasingly larger employment of Indian in the higher grades of the public services of the country. And it is not our *amour propre* and our dignity that are affected, but our very existence as a civilized community is involved in this question. It is not a mere matter of a few scores of hundreds of high appointments for the scions of the educated middle classes as the apologists of the European monopoly and some of our own men say, but is one of the most vital things determining the present well-being and the future welfare of all the Indian communities—Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, and Christians. Financial and economic considerations, the interests of good government and the necessity of securing the attachment of the people to the British rule, all support this demand.

The subject calls for special consideration and practical treatment at the present juncture, as within a few days from now the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into and report upon the enlistment for the civil services in India will commence its work. In March, 1911, a resolution was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Honourable Mr. N. Subba Rao, for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of the existing system and to consider the deficiencies and defects therein. He presented his facts and his arguments with great cogency, skill and fairness, and he was supported by the majority of the non-official members of the Council. They relied on Parliamentary statutes, royal pledges and promises and declarations of responsible statesmen to show what the Indians were entitled to have, and quoted facts and figures from official publications to establish how inadequate was the effect given to those solemn assurances and the expectations which they raised. The representatives of the Government of India in the various departments in their replies did not controvert the facts, which they well could not; and the Hon'ble Mr. Earle (now Sir Archdale Earle) who wound up the debate on behalf of Government, admitted that there was a *prima facie* case made out for an enquiry, but that the Government would make such an enquiry itself and opposed the appointment of the commission proposed. In view of the position taken up by Government, our Honourable friend Mr. Subba Rao recognised the inadvisability of pressing for a division and with the consent of his supporters withdrew his motion. Gentlemen, though Mr. Subba Rao and his colleagues who were working with him felt greatly disappointed at the time, they and the country have now every reason to feel satisfaction for what has happened; for, instead of a commission appointed by the Government of India as then asked, we have a Royal Commission whose scope is wider and powers are larger. Here is a singularly valuable opportunity given to the advocates of Indian claims to substantiate their case, to prove their complaints about the defects and deficiencies of the existing system, and to suggest a practicable way for getting rid of them. The problem is no doubt a complex and difficult one like all great problems. There are conflicting claims and various considerations to be taken into account. But its solution is not beyond the resources of statesmanship, if certain well established principles are kept in view. We ourselves have to treat it in a responsible and practical manner.

Now, gentlemen, there are some unquestionable facts and principles which are to be borne in mind. So far back as 1833, the principle on which the Government of India was to be carried on by the British people and the place that was to be accorded to Indians in the administration of their country were laid down by Parliament. That first Charter of the Indian people affirmed the eligibility of Indians for the highest offices under the Government. It laid down that there was to be no dominant caste or class in India. Twenty years later, when the Company's Charter was to be renewed, it was found that the Act had remained a dead letter under the system of patronage which then existed. The system of recruiting the Civil Service by nomination was abolished and the method of competitive examinations substituted for it. It was perceived even then by the friends of India and by all who took an impartial view that, on account of the great difficulties, pecuniary and social, the opening for the entry of Indians was exceedingly small. There was, however, the consolation that an end was put to a vicious system and a small move made in the right direction. In 1858 came that great Charter, the memorable

Proclamation of Queen Victoria in which Her Majesty gave the most solemn assurances and promises to the people of India. That noble document says :—

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“ 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 the Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

“ 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.”

It was a now bright hope, but is yet to be duly fulfilled. In 1860 a committee of the India Council was appointed to consider how effect was to be given to the Statute of 1833, which for 25 years had remained untranslated into practice. It unanimously recommended the holding of the competitive examination for the Civil Service simultaneously in England and in India. Gentlemen, it deserves to be for ever borne in mind that the generous principles of Government laid down, the noble promises solemnly given, came voluntarily, out of a conviction of what was just and righteous, out of a statesmanlike recognition of what was necessary for the permanence of the British rule and for securing the attachment of the people of India to it.

The Civil Service Question.

The recommendation of the Committee of the India Council was not accepted by either the Liberal or the Conservative Government, but what was done for the purpose of giving effect in some measure to the Statute and the Queen's Proclamation, was first the institution of nine scholarships to enable natives of India to go to England, and then later on, in 1870, the embodying of a provision in a Parliamentary statute enabling the Governor-General in Council to appoint natives of India of proved merit and ability to places reserved for the Civil Service by the Statute of 1861, without their being required to pass the competitive examination. Neither the Statute of 1833 nor the Proclamation of 1858 was ever approved by the protagonists of race ascendancy and the upholders of monopoly. The Statute of 1870 was liked even less by them. Every effort was made first to thwart the Act and then to minimise its operation; and it took nine years before the rules required for giving effect to it could be promulgated. They sanctioned the creation of what was called the Statutory Civil Service, reduced the number recruited by competitive examination in England by one-sixth, and directed them to be filled by appointments made in India of statutory natives of India. It was a partial and, under the circumstances as then existed, not a very inadequate recognition of the claims of Indians. But unfortunately the mode of appointment laid down carried with it the seeds of the downfall of that Service. It did not provide for the possession of any high educational qualifications, or great intellectual capacity and worth as requisite for appointment. And many of the first selections were unfortunate. Not many of the nominees could stand comparison with the picked body recruited by the process of competition. Those who disliked the admission of Indians to high offices began to clamour that the experiment had failed. Our own people seeing how their future prospects were imperilled, called for the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service instead of asking for its being placed on a sounder basis as they should have done. Petitions were sent praying for the institution of simultaneous examinations. As might have been foreseen, the Statutory Civil Service was abolished, but our prayer for simultaneous examinations in England and in India was not granted.

In 1886, was appointed the Public Service Commission with the object, it was stated in a grandiloquent style, to devise a scheme which might reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service. It raised high expectations but the results were disappointing. In regard to the examination for the Covenanted Civil Service, the only thing done was to raise the age limit from 19 to 23, which was bound to be done in the interest of English boys, but the main demand of representative Indians for a simultaneous examination was rejected. Not only this, but in regard to the rights given by the rules under the Statute of 1870, were a distinct set-back.

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The great merit of the system inaugurated by these rules was that the members appointed thereunder were members of the Civil Service. Their salary may be $\frac{2}{3}$ and they may be called S. C. S. but they ranked with the I. C. S. Both sections formed one service. Secondly the rules provided for the appointment thereunder, ordinarily of one man to every five recruited by open competition. The total number of appointments reserved for members of the Covenanted Civil Service is now 998, and out of these 165 would have been held by Indians appointed under the rules. In both matters we have lost ground. In 1878, Lord Lyton's Government proposed to meet the requirements of the Statute of 1870 by the creation of "a close native civil service," but Lord Cranbrook put his foot down and the proposal was negatived because it would have created an inferior service, and would not have carried out the intentions of the Statute. But this is precisely what has been done by the Public Service Commission whose appointment was heralded with such a flourish of trumpets. The Statutory Civil Service was abolished. The right granted by the Statute of 1870 is sought to be given effect to by constituting an inferior service—the Provincial Civil Service, to be composed *mainly* of Indians.

To this service were thrown *open* some of the scheduled appointments numbering 93 when the rules were sanctioned and now standing at 102 only. Under the rules of 1879, the Statutory Civilians held an equal status with the members of the Covenanted Civil Service recruited in England, and the highest appointments were open to them. Under the new system the Provincial service men cannot rise to higher posts than those of District and Sessions judges or District Magistrates and Collector. The recommendations of the Commission were illiberal enough. Under the scheme as sanctioned, 15 of the appointments proposed by them to be open to the Provincial Service, were taken away.

Simultaneous Examinations.

The position created by the recommendations of the Public Service Commission caused immense dissatisfaction. The Secretary of State's final orders on those recommendations were passed in 1892. In 1893, the friends of India in Parliament took up the matter and a resolution moved by Mr. Herbert Paul was passed by a majority of the House of Commons in favour of simultaneous examinations, though the Government of the day—a Liberal Government—took a definite stand against it. The resolution runs thus:—

"Resolved—that all Competitive Examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit."

In regard to this resolution Mr. Russel, the Under-Secretary of State for India, stated later on in the Session that, though in his official capacity he had to oppose the resolution, the House of Commons having thought differently from the Government, "there was no disposition on the part of the Secretary of State for India or himself to thwart or defeat the effect of the vote of the House of Commons on that resolution." He then went on to say that they had asked the Government of India as to the way in which the resolution of the House of Commons could best be carried out. The Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, said: "The question is a very important one, and has received the careful consideration of Government. They have determined that the resolution of the House should be referred to the Government of India without delay and that there should be a prompt and careful examination of the subject by that Government who are instructed to say *in what mode the resolution could be carried into effect.*"

On the other hand, as was to be expected, the Secretary of States Council was up in arms against the resolution and the redoubtable Sir John Strachey, who had taken the most prominent part in devising Lord Lyton's scheme of 1878 of an inferior "close native civil service," entered a vigorous protest against even the sending of the resolution to the Government of India for their views. Lord Kimberley, who was himself opposed to simultaneous examinations, sent a characteristic despatch. The first paragraph of the despatch asked the Government of India to inform the Secretary of State "in what mode in your opinion and under what conditions and limitations this resolution could be carried out into effect." The second paragraph of the Despatch said that the Government of India had full discretion as to the observations they might think fit to make on the resolution, and it was

also stated in the third paragraph "that it was indispensable that an adequate number of the members of the Civil Service shall always be Europeans, and that no scheme would be admissible which does not fulfil that essential condition." The Despatch thus displays the action of opposing forces—of Mr. Gladstone's and Mr. Russell's desire to give loyal effect to the resolution and of the India Council's determination to thwart it. The inevitable result followed. The Local Governments in India, with the single, notable and creditable exception of the Government of Madras (and even there, there was a dissenting voice), emphatically pronounced against the resolution, said it was impossible to have simultaneous examinations, and boldly took up the stand that nothing more could be granted to Indian aspirations than what had been already given to them by Lord Cross's orders on the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. The Government of India took up the same position, and eventually the Secretary of State consigned the resolution of the House of Commons to the waste paper basket. With the retirement of Mr. Gladstone from public life there remained little chance of a more favourable issue. This is how matters stand at present.

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Gentlemen; the situation is this : Parliamentary Statutes and the great Royal Proclamation, which authoritatively lay down the principles of Government, explicitly give to Indians the right to be "freely and impartially admitted to offices in the public service the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge." On the other hand, several Ministers and administrators, alarmed by these generous declarations, have been steadily seeking to minimise their application. Some of them have gone the length of calling the glorious Proclamation of 1858 "an impossible Charter" and have tried to treat it as a diplomatic document by playing upon the words "so far as may be;" the European Civil Service has been openly opposing its full application. The attitude of some at least of the responsible parties is well represented by that oft-quoted though indiscreet confession of Lord Lytton : "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course." I would here parenthetically remark that the words "deliberate and transparent subterfuges" Lord Lytton uses, cannot be applied to her late Majesty or such real statesmen as the authors of the Acts of 1833 and 1870, whose sincerity and that of some Viceroys also cannot be disputed. But even where Viceroys and Governors have in all sincerity, expressed their sympathies with the demands of the Indian people for a larger share in the higher appointments, they have as yet failed to do anything substantial against the powerful influence of the Services.

Gentlemen, so far as we Indians are concerned, our case is simple. Equal laws for all, equality of opportunities to all and favour to none, is all we ask. Over and above the inherent justice to our claim, we take our stand on the great principles of wise statesmanship and the duty which lies on the British nation of loyally giving effect to the solemn pledges and promises of the Sovereign and of the Parliament. It would be a political blunder of the gravest kind to disappoint expectations which have been deliberately raised, when the conditions under which they can be satisfied have come into existence. We are willing to be weighed and judged by the same standard of mental and moral capacity, of physical endurance and high character, that may be laid down for Europeans.

Let us see what the case against simultaneous examinations is. The objections urged in 1893 were that—

(1) There are practical difficulties of a serious character in introducing a system of simultaneous examinations.

(2) It would be unfair to the people of the colonies like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, &c., to institute a simultaneous examination only in India.

(3) Open competition is not the best way of selecting Indians for the higher ranks of the service. It may be necessary in Europe in order to check nepotism, but in this case nepotism is impossible. Probation by actual employment forms a competitive examination of the best kind. Competitive examinations in India would certainly have the effect of admitting a large number of competitors deficient in the qualifications necessary for the higher ranks of the service and whose birth and antecedents would not be such as to command the confidence or

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the good will of the classes for whose welfare they would be responsible ; on the other hand, it would exclude the most valuable and capable assistance which the British Government could obtain from the natives of India, i. e., the Sikhs, Mahomedans and other races accustomed to rule and possessing exceptional strength of character, but deficient in literary education.

(4) In order to ensure the efficient government of the country, a minimum of European officials is indispensable. Such a minimum could not be maintained in the event of simultaneous examinations being held in this country.

(5) It would be entirely out of the question to reduce the existing minimum of Europeans at the present time.

I shall deal with these objections seriatim.

The first objection has ceased to have any force now. The difficulty of which so much was made was about the *viva voce* examination. There is no *viva voce* examination now except the conversation test in French, German and Italian. The practical tests in regard to science can easily be carried out in Calcutta or Bombay, Madras or Allahabad.

The second argument cannot possibly be treated as serious, and the Government of Bombay of the day which laid great emphasis on it cannot be congratulated on the position it advanced. The self-governing colonies recruit their civil services within their own dominion. Not only is an Indian—and for the matter of that an Anglo-Indian—inadmissible there, but there are obstacles interposed to the very entry of Indians in these colonies. The Indian Civil Service is recruited for the benefit of India. Indians have a right of entry therein. The residents of the central portion of the empire have also claims as the responsibility for the Government lies on the centre of the imperial authority. Indians are eligible for the Home Civil Service. The colonies which exclude Indians do not participate in the administration of India. It is strange that such an objection was deemed proper.

As regards the third objection, it is not a little surprising that after the deliberate abolition of the system of nepotism and patronage in regard to the Indian Civil Service, the old untenable arguments should be urged in the case of Indians. Nearly sixty years ago, Macaulay dealt with them in his inimitable style ; and not only have we his complete exposure of the case of upholders of monopoly and favouritism, but the experience of more than half a century has vindicated the wisdom of the principle of competition. As Lord Macaulay has shown with a lucidity of exposition and wealth of imagery peculiarly his own, men who have exhibited high literary or scientific talents have also made a mark in the domain of politics and administration. Those picked bodies—the Covenanted Civil Service and the Royal Engineers—are standing witnesses to this. It is to be deplored that men belonging to these distinguished Services should have descended to use language respecting educated men, which as Lord Macaulay points out would have better become the lips of Ensign Northerton or the captain in Swift's poem :—

“ A scholar when first from his college broke loose
Can hardly tell how to cry *boh* to a goose.
Your Novels, and Bluturchs, and Omurs, and stuff
By George, they don't signify this pinch of snuff.

To give a young gentleman right education
The army's the only good school in the nation
My schoolmaster called me a dunce and a fool ;
But at cuffs I was always the cock of the school.”

It does happen at times that men of high natural capacities, who have neglected their opportunities at school or college, attain to high eminence in life. These exceptions only prove that in youth and middle age can be rectified the mistakes of boyhood and lost opportunities made up. Another fallacy which underlies the argument is that high literary or scientific attainments are no proof of moral qualities. I emphatically deny the correctness of this proposition. No man can pass such a stiff and testing examination as the Civil Service Competitive Examination unless he possesses the moral qualities of industry, patience, self-denial, self-control, sobriety and perseverance. Nor is there any justification for the assumption that tests about the possession of character are to be dispensed with. It might be respectfully enquired, what tests as to possession of character have been applied in the case

of those favoured persons who have been honoured by Local Governments with nomination to the Statutory or the Provincial Civil Service and other high first appointments. The conduct in school and college will be a fair guide. As to physical fitness, the same standard and the same guarantees as are laid down for those appearing for the examination in England can be insisted upon in the case of those appearing for the examination in India. Presidential Address.

As to the plea about social position and rank and about justice to the so-called martial races, it might be respectfully enquired whether those high authorities who put it forward mean to assert that the standard of the test of education, ability and integrity laid down in Queen Victoria's Proclamation is to be abandoned, and a new test based on high descent, as it is called, influential connections and race considerations to be substituted for it. How long are statesmen and the Imperial Government to sanction the peculiar view of some Anglo-Indian administrators that indifferent education and assiduous attention towards persons of official eminence, combined with connection with some historic or rich family are the guarantees of fitness for important Government posts? The excuse about possible injustice towards the Mahomedans can have no basis in fact when we see the immense strides made by that community in education and public life. With highly cultured Mahomedans adorning the learned professions, the High Court Benches and the Legislative and Executive Councils, the Secretary of State's Council, and the Privy Council, it would be wrong to call the Mahomedan community a backward community. Assuming for the sake of argument that any important community does not find entry by the door of open competition and there are qualified individuals in that community of "proved merit and ability", the deficiency can be remedied by appointments under the Act of 1870.

Another wrong assumption on which the opposition to simultaneous examinations is based is that the persons who would in the majority of cases compete for the Civil Service would come from classes who in past times held no high political or official position and possess no great social status. This assumption is in direct variance with facts. Such a thing cannot be said of the Brahmins of the Deccan, nor can it be said of the Brahmins, Kayasthas or Baidyas of Bengal (the classes regarded with peculiar disfavour), for the majority of the Maharajas and Rajas, hereditary or otherwise, come from these classes.

After all, it is an utterly un-British position to take up. It is the dignity of the Government which is injured by the employment of such arguments.

The only arguments to which great weight is attached which deserves serious consideration is about the unimpaired maintenance of the ascendancy of the British principles of government, and preserving the high standard of efficiency and purity of administration, which is the distinctive feature of that Government. I would, with due deference, submit that this is raising an issue which does not at all arise. Nobody has even dreamt of questioning the supremacy of the British Parliament or the authority of the Government of India or the necessity of maintaining in full force the principles laid down by them. No good purpose is served by drawing a herring across the trail. The principles of government are determined by Parliament and the methods of administration by the British Ministry, or by the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State, in accordance with those principles. It is impossible to conceive how those principles and those methods would be affected by the proportion of Natives of India in the Civil Service being 50 per cent, instead of about 18 as at present. One fact which is always impressed upon us is that the majority of judicial and executive officers, commencing with sub-district officers and magistrates, are Indians. Now if with one million and a quarter of Indians in Government service, the essentially British character of the administration has not been affected, what basis is there for saying that danger would arise if out of 1,200 of the listed posts, even 600 are held by Indians instead of about 200 or 250, as under the present system? No district officer, not even a Commissioner, can make any change in the principle of government or the methods of administration. The Mahomedan supremacy under Akbar was not affected by his appointing a Hindu as the Governor of a Province, another as a General in his army and a third as his Finance Minister. The State of Hyderabad makes no distinction between Mahomedans, Hindus, Parsees and Christians. And neither in the stormy days of the 18th century, nor in the more peaceful times of the 19th century was the position of the Nizam touched in the least by this equality of treatment.

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In the debate which took place in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 17th of March, 1911, on the hon. Mr. Subbarao's motion, the fear was expressed by the hon. Mr. Earle, speaking on behalf of the Government of India, that the institution of simultaneous examinations might lead to a lowering of educational qualifications as the educational institutions in this country were not of the same high type as those in Great Britain, and Indians and Europeans who were not in a position to send their young relations to the English or Scotch Universities, would put them in the low kind of cramming establishments which would be sure to be opened. This fear again does not take account of the fact that high educational qualifications and intellectual attainments are secured by imposing exacting standards and having searching examinations. The resort to cramming or its discouragement entirely depends upon the nature of the standard and the character of the examination. Further all chances of the rise of cramming establishments can be obviated by laying down attendance at recognised British and Indian Universities and Colleges as a condition of permission to compete.

Another argument to which the greatest weight is attached, and which is indeed regarded as an axiomatic truth, is that to maintain the essentially British character of the administration and to keep British principles unimpaired, there must be a minimum of Europeans in the Civil Service. The number of appointments open to Indians cannot safely, it is said, be allowed to exceed a certain proportion; that the scheme sanctioned by Lord Cross in 1893, permits only a minimum of Europeans, and that the number of places open to Indians in India cannot now be increased without endangering the character of the administration. To this position also a cogent and, I believe, a conclusive answer can be given. Taking first the last point, that the proportion of one-sixth which is proposed to be worked up to cannot be allowed to be increased, it has to be observed that this proportion of one-sixth was what was laid down in 1879. It was one which was evidently considered sufficient in the state of things as it then existed. The Government of India's representative admitted in the debate of 1911 that the Government was in full sympathy with the aspirations of the Indians to a larger share in the administration. During the 33 years which have elapsed since 1879, education has made tremendous advance. The number of capable men has immensely increased. The proportion which held good at that time can obviously not hold good now. With the vastly larger number of men of real education and culture, a greater scope is necessary. The Government of Madras very properly pointed out in 1893 that one-third of the listed appointment could even then be thrown open to Indians, and this was a view which the hon. Mr. Garstin also—the dissenting member of Council—agreed to. That Government further stated that the limit of one-third would in course of time have to be raised. The argument therefore that the limit of one-sixth cannot be exceeded will not stand.

But to go to the main point, we have to consider how far the theory can bear close examination that there must be an irreducible minimum of European officers in the Civil Service, if the essentially British character of the administration has to be maintained, that such irreducible minimum has already been reached and that if simultaneous examinations are held in India and in England, such a large body of Indians and especially of Bengalees will be let in, that the very character of the administration will be seriously affected.

Now, gentlemen, I must point out that what is insisted upon for the preservation of the high English tone of the Government is the presence not of Englishmen but of Europeans. The entry of Frenchmen, Germans, Dutch, will not matter. They are foreigners. Their political traditions are different. At times the relations between the nations to which they belong and the British nation may be strained. But *they* can be depended upon to maintain the character of the administration all the same. There is even now intense bitterness between Irishmen and a large body of Englishmen. Irishmen are considered by these as unfit for Home Rule. But they are deemed quite fit to maintain the British principles in India. Indians on the other hand, who feel and believe that their very existence is entwined with the maintenance of the British rule, who are saturated with nothing but the doctrines of English political philosophy, they cannot be sufficiently trusted and relied upon to work the principles they believe in! I have no fault to find with, not the least insinuation to make against the members of the non-English European communities in the service of the

Government of India. All I am concerned in showing is the curious nature of the logic employed by the opponents of simultaneous examinations. Presidential Address.

Does not the very statement of this case, the insistence merely on the presence of Europeans, mean that what is of the real essence is the unimpaired preservation of the British principles of Government, of British methods of administration. The individuals who have to do it is a matter of secondary importance, provided they have fully grasped those principles, caught their spirit, thoroughly understand and appreciate those methods. It is not disputed that this essential condition is fulfilled by those Indians who entered the Civil Service through the competitive examination held in England. The high education which they receive and the personal knowledge which they obtain by residence in England are deemed to achieve this result. Now, what is there to prevent the acquisition of the same high education, the same personal knowledge of English political and social life, by men appearing for the same examination held simultaneously in India, if these men after selection spend two years at an approved University or institution in the British Isles? What is required is that the superior agency in the administration possesses certain mental and moral qualifications and has come into contact with British institutions and society. The nationality of the individual is a matter of minor importance, so far as this aspect of the case goes. Then again, what is the justification for the assertion that if the competitive examination is held in India, along with the examination in England, the Indians would extensively oust the Britishers? The Englishmen who say so do grave injustice to the capacity of their countrymen. The Indians who succeeded in obtaining entry into the Civil Service through the English examination have been for the most part men of exceptional calibre, and these men constitute a bare 5 per cent. of the successful candidates. If simultaneous examinations are instituted, another 5 or 7 per cent. from among the superior youths of India would probably be all that would succeed in getting in. Of the men who would get in by the Indian door some at least would be of European extraction pure or mixed. We can thus realise what is the real extent of the danger of which so much is made. Let us assume that the proportion of 5 Indians to 95 Britishers shown by the present method is so largely exceeded that as many as 3 Indians get in by the Indian door in addition to the one by the English door. That would only mean that by the method of simultaneous examinations there would be 20 Indians who would find entry in the Civil Service to 80 Britishers. Add to these 20 the 16 per cent., the maximum enlistment allowed by the rules under the Statute of 1870, there would be only 36 Indians as against 64 Britishers, and of the 36 Indians some at least would be Statutory Indians of European descent. That would not be such an alarming proportion of Indians of pure descent as to seriously affect the fundamental character of the administration. The Government of Madras 20 years ago, regarded one-third Indians in the Civil Service as not an objectionable number.

The great thing to be jealously looked after is the purity and efficiency of the administration. Now, have not these essentials been kept unimpaired by Indian Magistrates, Collectors and District and Sessions Judges? There have been instances of districts where the Collector and District Magistrate was an Indian, the District and Sessions Judge was an Indian, the Superintendent of Police was an Indian, the Civil Surgeon and the Superintendent of the Central Jail was an Indian and nobody had any ground for doubting the purity of the Judicial administration and the efficiency and strength of the Executive administration.

I ask our Government, I ask every liberal-minded and impartial Englishman, to consider the facts I have mentioned and then to say whether the system of simultaneous examinations is attended with the dangers attributed to it. It may result, and probably it will result, in some individual loss on a small scale to one class and a corresponding individual gain to the other. But, as Sir Dennis FitzPatrick frankly admitted, the interests of a couple of hundred families are not the matters to be taken into account. If the assurances lately given, of satisfying more fully the legitimate aspirations of Indians for larger employment in the higher branches of Public Service, are to be translated into practice, and they are to be fully and impartially admitted under the test of "education, ability and integrity", then the only safe way of doing so is by the method of competition. No other procedure can be adopted without serious disadvantages. Selection means more or less of favour and a lowering of standard. It brings

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in its train administrative inefficiency and deterioration of character—of both the dispenser of patronage and of its recipient. The Government and the people have to guard against this.

What we should urge before the Royal Commission is :—

I. That recruitment to what is called the Indian or Imperial Civil Service should be only by Competitive Examination held simultaneously in England and in India, those who compete being classified in one list and appointments given by strict order of merit.

II. That the candidates who are selected should be required to pass a period of probation and training of two years at one of the British Universities or approved educational institutions.

III. That the Statutory Civil Service as laid down by the rules of 1879 be revived; that half the appointment therein should be given to deserving members of the Subordinate Service, and half by first recruitments filled by Competitive Examination. The competitive test should be applied as much to first appointments under the Statute of 1870 as it is to the appointments under the Statute of 1861.

Scheduled Appointments.

I have dealt with only the question of principle, and have not gone into details, important though these are, as the time at my disposal does not allow this to be done, and I cannot make too great a demand upon your patience. But there is one head of this Civil Service question to which I shall make a very brief reference. And that is, what are the branches, of the public administration for which the Convenanted Service should be recruited. My view clearly is that it should be recruited only for the requirements of the Executive branch of the general administration. The time has long since come for taking judicial appointments out of what are called the scheduled appointments. The Civil Service is, taken all in all, a fine body of capable persons. But it was not recruited specially for judicial work. In fact executive administration is its special province. The system of seeking for judges amongst its ranks had its origin in times, when outside that Service there were few men available qualified for the discharge of judicial functions. Things are otherwise now. We may even say that now there is far more legal knowledge and judicial capacity outside the Civil Service than within it, of course *exceptis excipiendis*. Apart from the question of legal knowledge and judicial training, the executive frame of mind is not the one suitable for the discharge of judicial functions. Promptness of action and quickness of despatch, so often required in executive work, are not exactly calculated to produce that habit of close examination and patient investigation without which a judge's work cannot be efficiently performed.

Other Departments.

It was not only in the Civil Service that we lost ground by the action of the Public Service Commission. The differentiation into two distinct services—a superior and mainly European service and an inferior and mainly Indian service—which has been carried out in a manner similar to that in the Civil Service in almost all the other departments—Education, Public Works, Forest, Survey, Telegraphs, &c.—is a loss which has resulted to Indians from that Commission. Before the Commission the Europeans and the Indians in these departments, holding similar posts, worked side by side on the same pay as comrades and with—at any rate theoretically—equal prospects of promotion. We now have a superior and favoured “European pen” as Sir Valentine Chirol aptly call it, and an inferior and ill-paid “Indian pen.” The distinction is not based on the possession of any real higher merits, but merely on race. And you have the spectacle of a man of science whose eminence is acknowledged in Europe and America, Dr. P. C. Ray, languishing for years in the Provincial Service with absolutely no hope of entry into the superior service, manned by men not one of whom can bear even a remote comparison with him.

In the Public Works Department also, Indians have a similar grievance, intensified by the fact of its being brought about by breaches of distinct promises. The inferior status created in 1892, was aggravated in 1908, and though the rules of 1912 have mitigated some of the more serious hardships, the objectionable principle remains intact. In one respect the position is even worse in this department than in the Government Civil Service. In the Imperial branch of the Public Works Department recruited in England by examination, only 10 per cent. of Indians are permitted.

Similarly, unsatisfactory is the state of things in the Forest Department. The treatment of Indians in the Civil Department amounts almost to a scandal. Its injustice has been publicly exposed for years and though Lord Morley's instructions for remedying it were issued years ago, it remains practically unredressed. In the Telegraph Department the distinction of Europeans, Eurasians and "natives", is carried into the grades of masters and telegraphists even.

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Want of time prevents me from quoting figures to show how few are the places held by Indians in the superior grades of the Public Service. They are startling, but you who are well aware of the facts around you know how serious is the exclusion of Indians from higher appointments in all departments, and almost total exclusion in some, such as the Customs, the Company-managed Railways, &c.

Gentlemen, Indians cannot, will not submit to this. In the case of these other departments, even the specious plea urged in regard to the Indian Civil Service, that the majority of higher appointments in the Executive branch of the general administration must be held by Europeans to maintain the British ideals of government, has no application. Race and colour have nothing to do in Education, in the construction of Public Works, in Medical Relief, in Sanitation, in the conservation and working of Forests, in realising Customs dues and preventing smuggling, in making Surveys, in constructing and working Railways, in maintaining Telegraph lines or sending or receiving messages. We of the Congress have not asked, will never ask for high appointments being conferred on Indians merely because they are Indians. All we ask is that these places should go by desert and desert alone; and we protest most emphatically against the exclusion of Indian of even proved merit and ability. The competitive test is after all the only one available to us for *first appointment*. It is not ideally the best, it is not free from objections. But the system of selection has in every country, and in India itself, not only proved far more unsatisfactory, but has produced positively demoralising effects. Let the Government lay down as high a standard as it desires, impose the most searching test, insist upon the possession of physical mental and moral capacity. We have no objection. We welcome them. But the door of race or class privileges and individual favouritism must be closed.

I devoutly trust that the enlightened members of the classes and communities who took up in 1886, and on subsequent occasion a hostile position against the competitive test, will, now that the conditions of the progress of all Indian communities are better understood and appreciated, abandon the former undignified reliance on preference and favour and take up that more manly and dignified stand on justice, which alone will secure to Hindus and Mahomedans a due share in the higher Services of the country.

Commissioned Posts in the Army.

Gentlemen—The Royal Commission is empowered to deal only with the Civil Services. The question of admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks in the Army still remains where it was. The propriety—I would say the justice—of the step has often been admitted by responsible statesmen. And when some years ago the Imperial Cadet Corps was called into existence in Lord Curzon's regime, great expectations were entertained that the scions of high families who were enrolled as Cadets would eventually be appointed as captains, majors and colonels. That hope has not been realised. There is a wide-spread belief that Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, when he was Commander-in-Chief in India favoured an advance in this direction, and that his views are also shared by his Excellency the present Commander-in-Chief. Independently of the views of these great authorities, it is very necessary that the claims of Indians to higher positions in the army should receive recognition and that a beginning should be made in appointing selected and qualified Indians as Commissioned Officers. Twenty-seven years have elapsed since his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army recommended the formation of an Indian Sandhurst, but no movement in that direction has yet been made.

Other Questions.

Brother-delegates, I have treated in my address some only of the questions which are exercising the minds of the people. I selected those only which intimately concern the status

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of Indians and their position in the Administration. These constitute matters of principle on the due settlement of which depends the possibility of our further advance as a nation. They are the foundations and walls of the great edifice which has to be raised. There are several other matters of very great importance, vitally affecting the material and moral progress of India, which demand your attention. Education in all its aspects and all its grades, commencing from mass education, the improvement of the system of judicial administration by the separation of judicial and executive functions and in other ways, the purification of the machinery for preserving law and order, the development of the material resources of the country by the improvement of agriculture, and encouragement of industries, trade and commerce, reform of land laws, public health, wise administration of the national finances, are matters of the deepest import. If I have not dealt with them on this occasion, it is not because I do not realise their intimate bearing on individual and national well-being. They have received and must continue to receive close attention from the Congress. For dealing specifically with some of them, the sister organisation of the Indian Industrial Conference has been called into being. During my quarter of a century's service in the Congress I have had opportunities of contributing my quota to their discussion according to my lights and capacities. It is not possible to discuss them within the limits of a single address, and even the most cursory observations on them will try the physical endurance and patience of the most sympathetic audience. On many of these questions the Government and the popular side are in agreement as to the object. There is difference of opinion as to the means, methods and pace of advance. Free exchange of views and a spirit of mutual accommodation will bring about eventual agreement. Our reformed councils now supply a machinery the efficiency of which will become more and more manifest as time goes on. The generating power, however, is in the people, and this the Congress and other cognate public bodies must develop.

Necessity of the Congress.

To rouse popular interest, to keep it steady when roused, to give articulate expression to it, a net-work of organisations has to be established. Workers possessed of knowledge, ready to study facts, willing to make personal sacrifices are required. The leaders of the Congress have to devote greater attention to this matter than hitherto. It is said in some quarters that with the establishment of the Legislative Councils on a partially popular basis, the *raison d'être* of the Congress has gone. This is a mistake. With the new Councils the necessity of a general Association for the country with subordinate provincial, district, sub-district, town and village committees is all the greater. The people's representative in the Legislative Council can rely for their credentials only upon the pronouncements made by the country. Their usefulness and power depend upon the existence of a well-informed, sober and vigilant public opinion. It is the function of the Congress and of its subordinate associations to evoke such public opinion.

In connection with this, I have a suggestion to put forth. Till very recently, it was incumbent upon us to concentrate our main effort on the recognition of what might be called the basal principles and rudimentary rights of even a partially representative system of Government. With the expansion of the Legislative Councils, the introduction of the elective system therein, the awakening of the consciousness in Government that provincial autonomy has to be kept in view, the fuller admissions and greater desire manifested to accord larger scope to Indians in the higher branches of the public services, and the acknowledgement of the claim of Indians to equal and fair treatment as citizens of the empire, much of the discussion of simple political truths which hitherto was unavoidable has become unnecessary. It is now the application and suitable extension as time goes on, of those principles and truths—the detailed treatment of administrative problems—that we have to address ourselves to. And for this a change in our methods and procedure is desirable. The Congress must now direct greater attention and more time to the practical treatment of such questions as imperial and provincial finances, the system of taxation, economy in expenditure; greater activity in matters of education, sanitation, medical relief, work of public utility, etc.; the remodelling of the judicial machinery in consonance with the varying circumstances of each province, the correction of the defective working and the wrong system of recruitment complained of in the different departments, the removal of the grievances of landholders in temporarily-settled tracts due to periodical revisions and short-term settlements, the adjust-

ment of the relations between the various tenure-holders, the measures devised to prevent the expropriation of the cultivating classes by the non-cultivating ones, railway finance, public debt, management of treasury balances and reserve, the currency system, and so on. Most of these have more or less come before the Congress at one time or another. But under our rules discussion and the numerous claims upon the one dozen or one dozen and half hours available for discussion, it was not possible to do anything than to state a few general propositions and merely approach the fringes of practical examination. The time has arrived when fuller treatment and detailed consideration should be given by allotting at least two days for informed and practical discussion of three or four subjects each year by men who have studied them. The main speakers should be chosen beforehand and the time-limit might well be that laid down in the Imperial Legislative Council Regulations. I would ask the Congress to consider this matter. In my opinion the change is one which will enhance the value of our great institution.

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Brother delegates and gentlemen, the Congress has not to dissolve but to become more active, to put forth more steady energy to pursue more vigorously its efforts to bring within its fold more and more people. National in its aims, objects and aspirations, the Congress must strive to bring on its rolls a larger number from the various races and communities whose home is India, aye, even of those who are sojourners here. Your faithful adherence to its great principles is already bearing fruit. Communities which either kept aloof or maintained an attitude of critical opposition are coming round. The All-India Moslem League promises to become an ally and a loyal supporter. Mr. Rowlandson, sometime President of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of South India, speaking to an Anglo-Indian gathering at Ootacamund some two months ago, while acknowledging the great work of the Congress, suggested a federation of all the different communities of India. And only the other day, the chief exponent of sober-European opinion in this country said :—

“A long time must elapse before the Empire completely assimilates all the heterogeneous elements of which it is composed, but no one who keeps his eyes open to the tendencies discernible on all sides can doubt that the process is already in operation.”

A homogeneous Indian nation has not yet become a fact, but we are on the high road to it. Those who find comfort in dogmatically denying the possibility of such an accomplishment, evidently do not know what is going on in the country. When they talk of class and caste differences, of racial and religious antagonisms, or long-standing feuds, they forget the wars of the Saxons and the Danes, the gulf which existed for centuries between the Saxons and the Normans, the bitter feuds which were carried on by the English and the Scotch, the long-standing hostility between the Irish and the English and the intense hatred and irreconcilable differences which characterised the relations between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. I do not ignore the very special and great difficulties which exist in the case of India. But we know what a tremendous change has come over the Hindu community, and how that most difficult problem of caste prejudices and social observances is being quietly and gradually solved. Our critics are our great friends and they do us a positive service when they remind us of the immense difficulty of our task.

Brother-delegates and countrymen, let us constantly bear in mind that there can be no real or solid political advance without social advance and moral and spiritual regeneration. (Cheers) So long as the masses remain steeped in ignorance and the depressed classes are regarded as untouchable, so long as the mothers of families and the mistresses of households are kept without knowledge in the seclusion of the Zenana; not capable of participating in intellectual pursuits or public matters, so long as class is divided against class, caste against caste, race against race, and clannishness and sectional selfishness sway the actions of the members of the different communities, so long as true brotherly feeling and devotion to duty do not become the main guiding principles of our life, so long shall our aspirations remain mere dreams. (Cheers) It is only when Indians become a virile nation whose intellectual powers and practical capacities are expanded by knowledge and training, amongst whom the moral virtues of truthfulness, courage, faithfulness, industry and perseverance have been fully developed and whose whole life is dominated by patriotism and duty, it is only then that our beloved motherland will become—

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“ * * the land that freemen till,
That sober-suited freedom chose,
The land where girt with friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will.

A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom broadens slowly down,
From precedent to precedent.”
(Loud and continued cheers).

The Delhi Outrage.

The President :—Our friend the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Bannerji will now place before you a very important resolution which it was considered necessary to bring before the Congress just now.

Mr. S. N. Banerji. THE HON'BLE MR. BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJI (Calcutta) who was received with an ovation, said :—Mr. President, brother delegates and gentlemen, I have to place before you a very important resolution which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha will just read out to you. But before I proceed to lay this resolution before you, it is necessary to point out a slight irregularity which, I am sure, you will excuse, having regard to the urgency of the matter and the terms of the resolution itself. All our resolutions, before they are placed before the Congress, have to be submitted to the Subjects Committee and have to be adopted by them. This resolution represents an urgent matter and it could not be submitted to the Subjects Committee for their approval. But, brother delegates, you are here, members of the Subjects Committee, and you are in a position to accord your approval to a resolution without it being necessary to submit it to the opinion of the Subjects' Committee.

I am sure you will exercise your discretion and excuse the informality when you hear the terms of the resolution read by my friend.

Mr. S. Sinha. THE HON'BLE MR. S. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA (Behar) then read the following resolution:—

“That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of horror and detestation at the dastardly attempt made on the life of His Excellency the Viceroy, who has by his wise and conciliatory policy and earnest solicitude to promote the well-being of the millions of His Majesty's subjects entrusted to his care, won the esteem, the confidence the affection and the gratitude of the people of India. The Congress offers its respectful sympathy to Their Excellencies Lord and lady Hardinge and fervently prays that His Excellency may have a speedy recovery and restoration to health.

THE HON'BLE BABU BUPENDRANATH BASU—(Calcutta) suggested the insertion of the words “the affection” after the word “confidence”

Mr. S. N. Banerji. THE HON'BLE BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJI:—That will be attended to. Brother delegates, this resolution is a re-affirmation of the judgment of the country, its sense of horror and detestation at the terrible crime which was perpetuated at Delhi the other day. When I contemplate that crime and when I reflect upon the illustrious sufferer to whom we are bound by ties of affectionate gratitude, my feeling is and I am sure that feeling is shared by yourselves and the entire country, our feeling is one of shame, humiliation and indignation, that such a crime should have been perpetrated on Indian soil, in the capital of the great Moghals and within a few miles of a still more ancient city hallowed by the memories of one who, in the Hindu traditions, is known as Dharmaraj Yudhishtar (Loud cheers). Gentlemen, we in Bengal are specially beholden to His Excellency the Viceroy for the modification of the partition (“hear, hear” and cheers); you in Behar owe him a deep debt for constituting your Province into a separate administration (“hear, hear, and cheers”); and all India is grateful to him for bringing the blessings of peace, contentment, happiness and prosperity to the millions of our countrymen. (cheers) Think of 1908 and contrast it with 1912; think of the unrest, the excitement, the troubles of 1908 and contrast them with the peacefulness, the contentment, the happiness that prevail over India in 1912. To whom are we indebted for this great and marvellous transformation of the popular mind? It was as if a magician had waved his wand and brought rest, peace and tranquility throughout the length and breadth of this great country (cheers). Lord Hardinge will stand forth in the

pages of history as the pacificator of Bengal. ("hear, hear") The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale said in one of his eloquent speeches which we have all read with admiration, "My Lord, pacify Bengal and all India will be pacified" (cheers). Our grievance was a parochial one, a provincial one: But your sympathies, the sympathies of all India, raised it to the proportions of a great national problem. Here we begged and prayed and entreated and protested, but all in vain. Ours was a voice crying in the wilderness. We were met with the doctrine of "settled fact." Lord Hardinge came, unsettled the "settled fact", righted the wrong (cheers), remedied the grievances and asserted the dominance of popular opinion in the councils of the Government (cheers). Is it possible to conceive of a greater service done to the cause of Indian public opinion and of Indian Nationalism than the modification of the partition, (hear, hear) Then read the Government despatch of the 26th of August, 1911. Both the chairman of the Reception Committee and our honored president have referred to the terms of that despatch. Mr. Montagu speaking of that despatch—and that passage has been quoted by Mr. Mudholkar—said here was a Viceroy who had the courage and the statesmanship to lay down the broad lines of policy which English politicians were to follow in regard to the administration of India. There is the despatch, our greatest charter, our column of smoke by day and our pillar of fire by night, leading us onwards and upwards in that grand march of progress which is to be consummated by the establishment of self-government in this country.

Mr. S. N.
Benerji.

This is the ideal, the grand ideal, the stimulating ideal, the ideal which will encourage us, inspire us and guide us in moments of darkness, despair and gloom. To whom are we indebted for that idea? To that illustrious ruler who was struck down by the hand of an assassin. I can scarcely conceive the sense of horror, the sense of indignation, the sense of detestation, that I feel in my heart of hearts when I contemplate the crime of this woeful magnitude levelled against the personality of him who has been one of the truest benefactors of our country. I have no desire to anticipate the judgment of history; but this I will say that Lord Hardinge will go down to posterity as one of the most illustrious of Indian Viceroys. His name is inseparably linked with those of a Bentinck, a Canning and a Ripon. Such is the ruler who was struck down by an anarchist. We here detest and execrate from our hearts anarchism and all the principles of anarchism. Anarchism, Sir, is not of the East. We are proud to say that it is a foreign excrescence which has been unfortunately grafted on this country (cheers). It is opposed to our deepest religious convictions, to our most cherished traditions. We abhor anarchism. Anarchism has done nobody any good. Anarchism has wrecked the prospects of Russian freedom; an emasculated Duma was the reply of the Czar to Russian anarchism. We can have no patience with anarchism. I only hope and trust that the even tenor of that benevolent policy which has been followed by Lord Hardinge will not be interrupted by the mad act of a lunatic who wanted perhaps to create a sensation. Be that as it may, we deplore the act. In your name we deplore it. All India is watching by the bedside of the illustrious patient. We are all present in spirit there and from every loyal and grateful heart there goes forth the prayer to the footsteps of the throne of the Supreme that Lord Hardinge may soon recover and resume those exalted duties in the performance of which he has won in an unstinted measure the esteem, the confidence, the gratitude and the admiration of the teeming millions whom Providence has committed to his care and keeping. With these words, I move the resolution. (Loud cheers).

MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay) who on rising was received with cheers, said:—Mr. President, Ladies and gentlemen—At this late hour of the day I do not want to detain you long but I share with my Honorable friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjee the feelings of detestation and indignation he has expressed in reference to this most pathetic tragedy which has staggered all Indian humanity, tragedy that has never before happened in India save in one instance as far as a Viceroy is concerned. On behalf of the Bombay Presidency in the first place and next on behalf of the Parsi Community of which I am the only representative here, I also share that indignation and I say that we detest the assassin and the assassination that was attempted to be committed on the Viceroy. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee has rightly said that this anarchism is an importation. It is a foreign importation. We have known that very many able statesmen in the past have been assassinated. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated;

Mr. D. E.
Wacha.

and later on, ten years ago in the very country of freedom, the United States McKinley was assassinated; and lately only the other day we have heard that the Spanish Statesman, dear to his country and dear to his people, Signor Canajilas, shared the same fate. We are all thankful to Providence that as far as India is concerned, our beloved Viceroy has escaped that fate which might otherwise have overtaken him. It seems, Sir, as the poet says, "There is a divinity that hedges kings." There is a Divinity that has hedged our beloved Viceroy. And we are all grateful that Providence had saved him for our Indian purposes. Lord Hardinge, as we all know, is the grandson of that great Hardinge who flourished here as our Governor-General from 1844 to 1848. You must have all read his life by Sir William Hunter in the Rulers of India Series. He has described what services he rendered to the country and to the Indian people, how he raised natives of India, how he tried to appoint Indians to higher appointments, well, the grandson of such a Viceroy—we expected from him that he will always be in sympathy with the aspirations of our Indian people and cherished the traditions inherited from his great ancestor. What has he done? We have seen that in the last two years he has tranquillised India, not only tranquillised but brought peace, contentment and prosperity with all his many acts of statesmanship. Therefore, Sir, we think that it is only due that from this platform of the Congress we ought to express our unqualified indignation and detestation of the crime and we hope that the perpetrator of the crime may be brought to justice. With these few words, I beg to second the resolution (cheers).

Mr. LAJPUT RAI (Punjab) who, on rising was received with an ovation and cries of *Vanle Mataram*, said in support of the resolution:—

Ladies and gentlemen, for myself and for the province to which I have the honor to belong, I associate myself fully and unreservedly with the sentiments expressed in this resolution and with the remarks made by the two previous speakers; and with your permission, I wish only to add to them one or two observations of mine. Just as Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee pointed out, I want to emphasise that once more shall we in this land of the Budha, in this land of the Vedas, in this land of mercy to animals, shall we blacken our past by taking to this cult of bomb? It is not only wicked and pernicious but it is absolutely futile for any progress be it social, moral, material or political. I know that the heart of this country is entirely against this cult of bomb and if there are any people in this country who believe that by propagating this cult of bomb they can advance the future political progress of the country, they are not only mistaken but they are doing a great wrong not only to the past of this country but to the future of this country because they are placing obstacles untold in the way of those who are trying their level best to raise the social moral and political status of their country, and work in the public life becomes almost impossible in this state of things when bomb after bomb is in this way thrown at persons who are doing their level best to redress our grievances, to make us hopeful, and to put us on a platform of confidence. I don't want to detain you very long: but I want to emphasise this fact that whoever they may be, Hindus or non-Hindus, whoever they may be who believe in this cult and who think that by having recourse to bomb they are advancing in the least possible way the interests of the country, they are doing the greatest possible harm to the cause of Indian progress. A warm eulogy and a deserving eulogy has been paid to the Viceroy's administration by the two previous speakers and I have only to add one word on behalf of the Punjab. I may say that the Punjabees endorse every word of what has fallen from the previous speakers on the question of the administration of the Viceroy. Just now after a period of unrest we have begun to witness a period of tranquility; just now the clouds have dispersed and enabled us to come in public and start public life again; but just now we find this most unfortunate and most atrocious deed committed in order to put back the hand of the clock again. We cannot command all the forces that we could command. We are bound to express our detestation of and abhorrence at such deeds and do all that lies in our power to counteract those influences which may be tending towards that direction, though I don't believe those influences are very many, very great, or very serious. As was pointed out by my illustrious leader Babu Surendarnath Bannerji this act may be the act of a lunatic but whoever he may be—of course we can rely upon the good sense of this country—all of us will do every-

thing in our power to undo the mischief that is being done by such atrocious deeds. We cannot sufficiently lay stress upon the horrible nature of this crime and upon the great injustice which it involves to the nation amidst which it is committed and also to the future of that nation. With these words, I beg to support this resolution.

Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malviya.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (Allahabad) who on rising was received with cheers said in support of the resolution:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen, it is not at all necessary for me to add any words of mine to what has been said by the previous speakers to commend the resolution to your acceptance. I am sure you all share one feeling of deep abhorrence at the crime, of deep detestation of the attempt made upon the life of the Viceroy. I am sure we all share one feeling and that feeling is that nothing good has ever been done and that none shall ever be done, by such atrocious attempts, by such wicked and foul attempts to take the life of innocent persons. As for His Excellency the Viceroy, what more could I say to add to what has been said by my previous friends. Every one knows how wise and conciliatory policy Lord Hardinge has been pursuing. Every one knows how anxiously how earnestly solicitous he has been to promote the well-being of the people in matters of education, sanitation, industrial progress and of general political advancement. Many of you must have read the speech which he was going to deliver in answer to the address which was to be presented to him on behalf of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council. I wish you to recall those words wherein he spoke of his great solicitude to do all that lay in his power to promote the well being of the people of India. That such a friend of the people, that a man who, since he assumed the reins of office as Viceroy of this country, has been labouring so earnestly and so honestly to promote the well-being of the people, should at such a moment when he was going to make public the feelings of his heart and unlose his mind,—that he should be struck by a villainous hand in the way he was struck is certainly a matter of the deepest national sorrow, a matter which has rightly touched the hearts of millions of people all over the land. Gentlemen, it is not in the power of us to prevent such outrages perhaps. We don't know whence this evil comes, how it disappears for a time, and how like a serpent, it springs upon us when no body ever dreamt that it was still lurking or in existence. But there is one thing which we can do and that the whole country is doing. While Lord Hardinge has suffered and Lady Hardinge has undergone a great trial, I am sure Their Excellencies will find a great deal of relief and consolation in the knowledge that tens of millions of people, tens of millions of hearts have been sorry, have been grieved to hear of this attack made on the Viceroy (cheers) and that tens of millions of men, women, and children in this country have sent up honest and earnest prayers to the Almighty at the providential escape which His Lordship had (cheers). I am sure Their Excellencies will find some satisfaction in the knowledge of the fact that millions of tongues have prayed these many days and will continue to pray for the speedy recovery of the Viceroy so that he may continue to discharge the duties which have been entrusted to his care. I am sure you will all pass this resolution with one united voice and I am sure that the millions of prayers which have been sent up to the Almighty will bear fruit and that Lord Hardinge will soon be restored to health (cheers).

Mr. N.
Subba Row
Pantulu.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. SUBBA ROW PANTULU (Madras):—I have come here on behalf of Madras to express our feelings in this matter and I entirely associate with all that has fallen on the subject from the previous speakers. It is hardly necessary to add any more on the subject, but I may venture to say that all the eloquence of my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjee did not adequately express our feelings of indignation and detestation at this dastardly act aimed at our beloved Viceroy. The previous speaker, Mr. Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya has alluded to the loving message which His Excellency sent in reply to the address of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. In those words His Excellency said "I have faith in India, I have faith in her people, I have faith in her destiny." It is during His Excellency's Viceroyalty that India has found a new stimulus, a new hope and a new inspiration for marching onward in her career of progress. When the Government and the people are reconciled together, when peace reigns over the land and everywhere there is tranquility, when there is no breath of discontent or stir anywhere, that such an act should be done in the broad day light at

Delhi on an occasion like that when His Excellency was making his state entry, was indeed an inexpressibly sad, and the most horrifying circumstance which has sent a thrill throughout the length and breadth of the land. Gentlemen, it has deeply moved our hearts and there is only one feeling throughout the country that His Excellency may be restored to perfect health and vouchsafed to prolong his beneficent Viceroyalty during his full term. (cheers).

Mr. Krishna Sahay. The Hon'ble Mr. KRISHNA SAHAY (Behar):—Mr. President and Brother delegates, I think I voice the feelings of the entire people of my province—the province of Behar and Orissa, when I say that the news of the dastardly attempt made on the life of His Excellency the Viceroy has filled every heart with grief and caused the strongest indignation throughout this province. Eloquent testimony has been borne, sir, to the high statesmanship, to the foresight of His Excellency in the government of this country. We in Behar associate ourselves with everything which has fallen from the previous speakers in regard to this point, but we in Behar have particular reasons to be grateful to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for the inestimable boon which he has conferred, upon us. The constitution of Behar and Orissa into a separate province is the offspring of the policy of conciliation adopted by His Excellency in the administration of this country (hear, hear) it is calculated to promote the growth of prosperity and contentment of our people; and we have further reason to be grateful to His Excellency for listening with sympathetic attention to the prayers which we have put before him in order to make our province a self-contained province. You can well imagine, therefore, the feelings of horror with which we received the news of the attempt on the life of His Excellency. I may add that no Viceroy in this country has endeared himself to the people of Behar in the manner that Lord Hardinge has done and we can only express our deep sympathy to His Excellency and Lady Hardinge in this, their hour of distress. Gentlemen, I support the resolution.

Mr. Syed Mahomed Ismail. MR. SYED MAHOMED ISMAIL (Behar):—Mr. President and Brother Delegates:—After the burning eloquence of our veteran leader Babu Surendranath Banerji you will not expect me to make any speech. Besides I don't happen to possess the oratory of the previous speakers who spoke on this resolution. However on behalf of the people of Behar and on behalf of the Mahomedan community, I fully endorse the feelings and sentiments expressed in the resolution which has been proposed by my learned friend Babu Surendranath Banerji and which has been placed before you. With these few words, I have the honour to support the resolution.

The President then put the proposition to the vote with the addition of the words "the affection" after the words "the confidence" and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. D. E. Wacha. MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay):—The President must be authorised to send this telegram at once. (cries of "yes," "yes").

Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque. THE HON'BLE MR. MAZHARUL HAQUE:—Brother delegates, we on behalf of the Reception Committee had sent a wire to the Private Secretary to His Excellency showing our detestation of this horrible deed and expressing our sympathy with the Viceroy. I think it is only right and proper that I should read the reply received from His Excellency's Private Secretary. It runs thus:—"Many thanks for the message of sympathy and indignation from the Reception Committee. It shall be shown to His Excellency as soon as he recovers from his wounds."

Hon'ble D. A. Khare. THE HON'BLE MR. D. A. KHARE (Bombay) then read the names of the members of the Subjects Committee appointed by the delegates of the various provinces.

The following is the list of members:—

Members of the Subjects' Committee.

BURMA.

- (1) Mr. V. Madahit.
- (2) Mr. Melvani.

MADRAS.

Ex-Officio.

1. Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohamad Bahadur (Madras.)
2. Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao (Rajhamundry).

3. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (Madras).
4. Mr. V. V. Jogiah (Berhampore, Ganjam).
5. Mr. S. Venkatanarsimha-Aiyer (Kurnool).
6. Mr. A. P. Patro (Barhampore, Ganjam).
7. Mr. S. S. Krishna Aiyar (Vellore).

Elected.

1. Mr. S. Somasundara Pillai (Madras).
2. „ G. C. Logantham Modaliar (Madras).
3. „ A. Doraswami Aiyar (Madras).
4. Hon'ble Mr. C. Venkat Narsimha Aiyer (Vizagapatam).
5. Mr. S. Harahara Aiyar (Madras).
6. „ C. Sambamurthi Rao (Ellore).
7. „ D. V. Prakasa Rao (Coconada).
8. „ L. Subba Rao (Coconada).
9. „ N. Srinivasa Raghavachariar (Chittoor).
10. „ G. K. Harikan (Guntakul).
11. „ N. Rama Chander Rao (Nellore).
12. „ Mangala Vadikar (Madras).

BENGAL.**Members of the all India Congress Committee.**

1. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee.
2. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu.
3. Mr. Baikuntha Nath Sen.
4. Dr. Nilratna Sircar.
5. Mr. Ambica Ch. Mazumdar.
6. Principal Herambo Chandra Maitra.
7. Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra.
8. Mr. Satyanand Bose.
9. Mr. Prithwis Chandra Roy.
10. Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee.

Ordinary Members.

1. Rai Bahadur Dabendra Chandra Ghose (Calcutta.)
2. Mr. Surendrapath Mullick „
3. „ D. C. Ghosh, „
4. „ Lalit Mohan Das „
5. „ Sasanka Jiban Roy „
6. „ Mathuranath Maitra (Faridpur)
7. „ Krishna Dass Roy „
8. „ Sachindra Prosad Bose (Jessore)
9. „ Abinash Chandra Sen (Dinajpur).
10. „ Amulyadeva Pathak „
11. „ Barendra Chandra Sasmal (Midnapur).
12. „ Girischandra Das (Dacca).
13. „ Ramani Mohan Dass (Sylhat).
14. Kaviraj Raj Mohan Roy (Khowlna),
15. Mr. Surendra Nath Maitra (Rajshahi).
16. „ Monomohan Neogi (Mymensingh).
17. „ Surjakumar Shome „
18. „ Sitanath Adhikari (Pabna).
19. „ Janada Govinda Chakerburty (Pubna).
20. „ Kisori Mohan Ray (Rungpur).

BOMBAY.

1. Mr. D. E. Wacha.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh.
3. Mr. D. A. Khare.
4. „ Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth.

5. Mr. D. G. Dalvi.
6. " Devdhar.
7. " Vaze.
8. Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.
9. Mr. Bhajekar.
10. Hon. Mr. Harchand Rao Vishundass.

PUNJAB.

1. Lala Lajput Rai.
2. Mr. Harkishun Lall.
3. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry.
4. Mr. Rajpal.
5. Mr. Fakirchand.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. V. M. Jakatdar, Bhandara.

BEHAR.

1. The Hon. Maharaja Kumar Tekari.
2. " " Mr. Haque.
3. " " Mr. Sinha.
4. " " Babu Brajkishore Prasad.
5. Mr. Parmeshwar Lall.
6. Mr. Yunus.
7. Babu Maheshwar Prasad.
8. " Bhawani Sahay.
9. " Srikrishna Sahay.
10. " Kuar Nandan Sahay.
11. Pt. Bhuvaneshwar Missir.
12. B. Girwardhar.
13. B. Sri Krishna Singh.
14. B. Jugeshwar Prasad Singh.
15. Hon'ble Babu Dwarkanath.
16. B. Rashbehari Mandal.
17. Dr. Ram Kali Gupta.
18. B. Ram Prasad.
19. Hon'ble Babu Bishun Prasad.
20. B. Kedarnath.
21. B. Ganesh Dutt Singh.
22. Mr. R. P. Singh.
23. Hon. B. Krishna Sahay.
24. Syed Mohamad Ismail (Patna.)
25. B. Sant Prasad.
26. B. Mangal Charan.
27. B. Raghubir Saran.

UNITED PROVINCES.

1. S. Mushran Esq (Allahabad).
2. Babu Narainprasad Asthana (Agra).
3. Dr. Ranjit Singh (Allahabad).
4. Hon'ble Rai Gokhul Prasad (Allahabad).
5. Babu Chhail Beharilal (Sitapur).
6. Hon'ble Babu Mahadeva Prasad (Benares).
7. Babu Raghunandan Prasad (Basti).
8. N. C. Kakkar Esq (Barially).
9. Babu Gawri Shanker Prasad (Benares).
10. Rai Brijnandan Prasad Gurtu (Allahabad).
11. Pt. Beharilal Nehru (Rai Bareilly).
12. Babu Munnilal (Hardoi).

13. Thakur Mahadeva Singh (Fyzabad).
14. P. Benimadho (Unao).
16. P. Surajnarain Dikshit of Kheri.

The President :—The subjects' committee will meet at 6 p.m. It is now half past five.
The Congress will meet to-morrow at 12 noon.

The Congress was then adjourned to 12 noon, the 27th.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Congress reassembled on Friday, the 27th December 1912 at 12 noon.

The President :—Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall begin our proceedings to-day with the recital of a poem composed by Mr. Ismail in regard to the Hindu- and Mahomedan unity (Hear, hear).

MR. ISMAIL then recited a poem in Hindustani with a few introductory remarks in the same language. The following is a translation of his speech and the poem :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

I am neither an orator nor a great politician, I do not take my stand here to display the flight of my wit and to entertain you with questions of the day which are exercising the public mind of the country; I leave these, to be done full justice to, by the distinguished leaders who are arrayed here on this pandal. My sole purpose is to give vent to the pent-up feelings that are aching my heart at the sight of the wretched condition of my country. The discord between the Hindus and the Mohamedans, that crops up ever and anon is doing an incalculable mischief and occasioning unspeakable loss to the country. Our Congress has been championing the cause of both. But the Mohamedans have stood aloof up till now by which the aims and objects of the Congress have not been furthered as they should have been. Hence by my feeble voice I have tried to rouse them up through the medium of this short poem thinking that the effect produced by verse is naturally greater than that by prose. Pray to God Almighty that my services to the cause of the prosperity of India may be acceptable to Him !

COUPLET.

Hafiz, your duty is to pray and nothing more,
Don't pause to reflect whether any one listens to you or not.

1. "O, rosy coloured cup bearer, fill up the cup of joy,
So that I may display the flight of my lofty thought.
2. The Congressmen are assembled here in all pomp and splendour,
The sight of whose loftiness is an object of envy to heaven itself.
3. Every one of them is Bagrat (an Athenian sage) of his time,
Such as the Grecians may wonder at.
4. They are the Badulehshan (best type of) rubies of the mines of India;
They are renowned throughout Europe and America.
5. They are the well-wishers of the nation and the country,
They are neither desirous of pomp nor of grandeur.
6. Their only aim is that the nation may prosper,
This country may be respected throughout the four corners of the world.
7. It is long since that this nation is lying in a pit.
The heartfelt desire now is that its wretchedness may be removed.
8. All the leaders of this nation who are present here,
Cannot be sufficiently eulogised by me.
9. These are the personages who have dedicated their lives
And their wealth to the cause of the nation.
10. They are so much engrossed in the service of their country and nation,
That they have neither rest nor comfort.
11. They have bid goodbye to their bodily comforts as well,
They are in meditation day and night that the conditions of the country may change.
12. The Congress in the outcome of these very things,
That it may place before the Government its wants.
13. The aims and objects of this assembly are such,
That the treasures of both the worlds may verily be obtained.

14. In India whether one be a Hindu, a Muslem or a Christian,
It is the advocate of the rights and privileges of every one of these, with love.
15. When the aims and objects of it be such,
It is lamentable if any of the creeds of this country be aloof from it.
16. The two communities of Hindus and Mahomedans that exist here,
Should have done well if they had joined it gladly.
17. There ought to have been love between them like brothers,
Their strength would have increased by their being of one heart.
18. Both of them being friends with each other in every thing,
Should have placed their needs before the Government.
19. It was impossible for the Government not to listen to them,
It was impossible that the door of acceptance might not have been thrown open.
20. In place of it here, there are enmity and discord,
Somewhere is the question of polluting touch and somewhere the cowkilling
disputes.
21. These are the results of ignorance and the outcome of foolishness,
It is the irony of fate and our own misfortune.
22. We instead of doing good to the nation and the country,
Bring forth every day a fresh calamity over it.
23. We don't perceive with our defective eyesights,
Whether the strength of the country increases or decreases.
24. Just see, O followers of the founder of Islam,
Don't disgrace India with your own hands.
25. You are also now the plants of India,
Try that the greenness of its garden may surpass that of any other garden.
26. For many centuries she seated you on her eyes (held you very dear),
She entertained you with an open heart.
27. She herself became a maid servant and made you her own master,
She served you for ages without any recompense.
28. Though you were strangers she made you her own,
She made a gift of all the wealth she possessed.
29. She wresting the Government of the country, from her own kith and kin, made it
over to you,
You must repay it if you have an iota of shame.
30. Just see, O sons of India, be you a Hindu or a Mahomedan,
Such things may not be done that the condition of India may become worse.
31. What means this daily discord between the two brothers,
Give up cow-killing and pronounce a curse upon the polluting touch.
32. Take the path of the wished for goal riding abreast of each other,
Regain the lost treasures by joint efforts.
33. Just reflect, the sons of which fathers both of you are,
(They were those) who acquired fame in every country and every nation.
34. The pages of history will testify to it,
Either you see the history of India or history of Arabia.
35. Both of them had shaken the four corners of the world,
It was their fame alone extended from east to west.
36. Such was the progress made by your forefathers,
And you are such as are beset on all sides with adversity.
37. You have got neither wealth, nor honour nor authority,
You don't know at all what are arts and industry,

38. You have fallen down from the sky of loftiness,
Don't you perceive at all your ignominy.
39. However, let bygones be bygones, but for God's sake,
Even now rise to the occasion so that your condition may change.
40. Disunion is a bad thing, give it up,
In whatever way it may be possible mutual love and good will must prevail.
41. The Hindus should cooperate with Muslims and vice versa,
Both should join hands together in every undertaking.
42. If this be accomplished, I swear by God, that in a few days,
You may regain all your lost treasures.
43. Everywhere there will be your exaltation alone,
India will acquire fame anew in the world.
44. Whatever you will ask from the Government jointly,
Believe me that all your needs will be satisfied.
45. You may even get self-government of India,
And rejoice under the aegis of the (British) Government.
46. O, 'Nat'g, how long will you give vent to your pent up feelings,
Now pray that O' Almighty Father,
47. As a charity of your Godliness make this country now,
The envy of the garden of paradise on the face of the earth.
48. God grant the residents of this soil an inclination,
That they may serve their country in unison,
49. Every art and science may so flourish,
And industry may so shine forth in all directions,
50. By the sight of which every country may be dumb-founded,
It may be on the lips of every one, "See the hand of God!
51. What it was yesterday and what it has become today,
How in a twinkling of the eyes the fortune of India has changed.
52. Only yesterday she was lying low, but today she,
has reached the Zenith
- This is the result of the Congress and the bounty of God.

Telegrams of Sympathy.

The President :—Gentlemen, we have received several letters of congratulation, First and foremost of all we have received one from our greatest leader, the veteran Statesman and Benefactor of the country Mr. Dadhabai Nowroji (cheers) "Many sincere thanks to Behar for the very kind invitation to Bankipore Congress. Very sorry cannot attend. Best wishes for success".

We have another telegram from Mr. Audinarayana Iyah of Madras. Mr. Jinnah has also telegraphed his inability to attend and wishing you success. There is a telegram from Dhulia Kandesh Provincial Congress Committee, wishing all success to the Congress and expressing inability on the part of any of the Khandesh Delegates to attend on account of peculiar circumstances. Then there is one from Pandit Sundara Lal, and another telegram from the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma. There is a telegram from our friend Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer. Then there is a telegram from the Hon'ble Mr. V. K. Ramanuja Chariar. A similar telegram "sudden unavoidable causes preventing attendance; wish you success" from the Hon'ble Mr. Hafiz Abdur Rahim. Mr. Parthasarathy Naidu of Madras is known to you very well. He also wishes "success to the Congress". Then there is our friend Raj Prithvipas of Sindh; he also says "feeling feverish, excuse unavoidable inability to attend; wish Congress all success". Then Mr. Satis Chander Bannerji has also expressed similar sentiments. Mr. Kishori Mohun Choudri also expresses regret at inability to attend and wishes greatest success. There is another from Mr. Ambilal Desai. These are the telegrams

we have received and we are glad that our friends in the country who are unable to attend have wished success to the Congress.

I now call upon the Hon'ble Babu Bupendra Nath Basu to move the resolution.

Death of Mr. A. O. Hume.

THE HON'BLE BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU (CALCUTTA):—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to be called upon to move a resolution (which must find an echo in every heart present here to-day; for it is a resolution to record our sense of the loss at the death of Mr. Allan Octavian Hume and our appreciation of the great services which he has rendered to our country. The resolution runs as follows:—

Mr. B. N.
Bose.

“(a) This Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow for the death of Mr. Allan Octavian Hume C. B., the father and founder of the Indian National Congress, for whose life-long services rendered at rare self-sacrifice India feels deep and lasting gratitude, and in whose death the cause of Indian progress and reform has sustained an irreparable loss.”

Gentlemen, strange though it may seem, the fact remains that young Englishmen who come out to this country to administer the affairs of our country somehow or other are not often permeated by that deep sympathy for the people which may be expected of them. Whether it be the pride of power, whether it be the pride of race, whether it be the natural differences that exist between the rulers and the ruled, whether it be the antagonism of colour or of creed, the fact remains and it is a matter of deep regret that it should be so. But a few there are, a few there have been, a few only, who have not allowed these considerations to which I have very briefly alluded to stand in the way of their dealing with the people of this country. Of the type of men of this class, that illustrious statesman who is to-day at the head of affairs in India and on whose life a cowardly attempt was only made the other day is the best and the most pre-eminent example. It is because he has disregarded the barriers which ceremony and circumstances have placed around him; it is because he disregarded what is of much greater force, *viz.*, those subtle entanglements which social customs impose upon the ruling community, in India, it is because he went outside them and it is because he knew and appreciated that his duty was to serve the people whom he had come out to rule, that, to-day, in the hour of his danger, there had been a universal prayer from one end of India to the other for his speedy recovery and a deep and indignant sense of horror and detestation at the dastardly crime that has been committed. Gentlemen, there have been others also who have cherished the same feelings towards us as our Viceroy to-day. Of these others, Mr. Allan Octavian Hume (cheers) has been one of the noblest and the best types. He inherited from his great father the high and noble principles of liberalism. He came out to this country animated with the sole desire of giving his best to the people among whom he came; and he throughout his long and strenuous life,—a life which for us happily was longer than of ordinary duration—throughout his long strenuous life he tried earnestly and sincerely to carry out the great principles among which he was born and brought up. Gentlemen, I shall not refer on this occasion and from this platform to the earlier services of Mr. Hume to us and to our country. Those of us who have read, and who are here who have not read?—of the thrilling story of the dark days of 1857 will remember with gratitude and pleasure the part he played in the saving of his favourite district of Etawah. Which of us will not remember with gratitude that after those dark days were over, when with the natural sequence of the great tension being removed for the moment, repressive legislation was anticipated and feared, he stood out against the operation of these repressive laws in his own district (cheers) and saved the people a great amount of misery (cheers) and trouble. Well, such is the man in whose honour, to whose memory, we are now paying a tribute. These things which no doubt are of great moment as shewing the real character of the man in Mr. Hume—things like these his subsequent brilliant official career in which he rose step by step nearly to the highest ladder, the feature in his official career which always showed a deep and earnest appreciation of the problems of administration in India, these are features no doubt which his biographer in future will dwell upon; but to us men of the Congress, to us the people of India, all these pale into insignificance when we pass on to another feature in his life, to another feature, to another trait which to-day has shown us the path of salvation. Gentlemen, the controversy has been raised—where is the man round whom

Mr. B. N.
Bose.

controversy will not gather in this little world of ours?—the controversy has been raised as to the persons from whom emanated this great ideal of the Indian National Congress. There have been claimants here and there, the annual assemblage of the Theosophical society, the Bengal National Conference which met in 1883—these and others may have been the precursors of the great movement in which we are gathered to-day. But Gentlemen, there have been,—there may have been—the unseen influences of the coming future in the atmosphere of the early eighties, the future being the huge struggle in which the whole India was engaged during the troubled times of the Ilbert Bill. These and others, the contempt and contumely to which all Indian races were unfortunately exposed, the common grievances, the common ideas, the common aspirations,—these were probably sending their unseen influences through the waves of the atmosphere from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin; but to Mr. Hume alone belongs the glory, to him the credit of conceiving the great idea of gathering the races of India, her different nationalities, her different communities, into one great temple, the temple wherein they were to worship their mother in simplicity of mind and in purity of heart. To him belongs the glory, to him the credit. My friend the chairman of the Reception Committee referred in most eloquent terms to the great past of Magadha. The Viceroy in his notable speech the other day which was intended to be delivered at Delhi referred to the glories of Yudishtra. There were indeed in India great Empires in the past; the house of Raghu reigned for a considerable number of years over Northern India and its most illustrious representative Ramachandra (cheers) performed a sacrificial ceremony the effects of which were felt all over India. Him followed the powerful clan of the Kurus, and Yudishtra whose seat of Empire is again sought to be revived also performed the sacrifice. He was followed at a long distance by the Royal House of Magadha. The pillars of Asoka in the sandy plains of Central Asia and on the fertile banks of Indian rivers still testify to a great and mighty rule, the centre of which was in this humble city of ours. But where has been the sovereign in the past, whether belonging to the Solar or the Lunar race, whether belonging to the Hindu or Buddhist period, who conceived the idea of binding the Indian nationalities, the Indian Kingdoms, the Indian peoples of the South and the North, the Dravidian and the Aryan, into one organic whole, into one common nation, having the same ideals, the same aspirations, the same hopes and swayed by the same fears. There was indeed one who conceived that noble ideal, one whom all India, Hindu and Moslem alike, respect and whose memory is alike cherished with feelings of gratitude by all the communities in India. Akbar came; but he came much too early for the realisation of his great dream of a united India and a United Indian nationality. Well, Hindus came and Buddhists and Mussalmans came and they went; but they were followed by an humble English official whose heart was in the work and who dared to conceive and carry out what great Emperors and Empires in the past had failed to do. He conceived the great idea of binding together the different peoples and nationalities and communities and creeds of India into one common nation. That is the title of Allan Octavian Hume to our gratitude and our reverence. He saw that India had lost much indeed and Hindus and Mussalmans had lost much of their ancient glory, and of their ancient prestige, much of what was high in their ancient religions, in their ancient traditions, in their ideals. But he realised what is a common fact that all may be lost, but the title deeds of humanity are never lost (cheers), that if we have got the perseverance, the patience, the energy and the tact, if we have got the devotion—those title deeds may be recovered and may be restored to prove that whatever may be our differences, whatever may be the external surroundings which divide us, they may—and God willing they must—disappear (Cheers). That is Mr. Allan Octavian Hume. I speak as one who knew him not by reputation only, for, gentlemen, I was associated from my early days in the work of the Congress with Mr. Hume and I knew what he did. Who do you think had the power in the early days of the eighties, to bring together men unknown to each other from Bombay, from Madras, from the Punjab, from Bengal from the United Provinces? Who of all the men that were then in India could show to them that the only way of making their influence felt, the only way of achieving what he and they felt was absolutely necessary for the salvation of the country, was to combine? It was Mr. Allan Hume. Of these, around these there can be, there has never been any controversy, and this resolution that I am entrusted with is to express our sorrow at his loss, There are

a few here whom I see on this platform and some probably in the seats of the delegates who have known Mr. Allan Hume personally; but there are many others here to-day who did not know him and I hope I shall be pardoned by the President of our assembly to-day if I trespass the limits of the time allowed to me by referring to a few personal reminiscences of this great and good man, reminiscences which are only as if of yesterday, reminiscences which tell you of the kind of man that Mr. Hume was. In 1911, I was commissioned by my friends in Bengal to proceed to England in anticipation of the Royal visit to agitate for the reconsideration of the question of the partition of Bengal. Mr. Allan Hume was then in his eighty fifth year. He was suffering from very very, bad health. For nearly 20 years he and I had not met; but he travelled all the way from his home to meet me in London. In the Committee room of the British Committee of the Congress he had caused to be assembled a large and distinguished gathering of members of Parliament. I went there unknown to them. There after 20 years I saw Mr. Hume and with the impulse and the instinct of an Oriental I bowed my head to the ground and took the dust of his feet (cheers). Well I saw tears rolling down his cheeks; he stretched his arms forward and embraced me on his bosom. Even now I feel that warm breath on my forehead and I feel the warm touch on my breast, and the members of the House of Commons who had not witnessed a scene like that stood surprised and moved at the bond of affection and reverence that bound me and Mr. Allan Hume. Well time passes and time presses to-day. I will not go into greater details. When I was coming away, I went to pay my last respects to him at his house in Norwich. There also in the gathering gloom of the evening as I bade him good-bye I knew that we had no reasonable expectation of meeting on this side of life. I bade him good-bye in the simple style of an Indian and I asked for his blessing. He said "Bhupendra Nath, who am I and what, that I can give you a blessing? "All that I can do is to ask Him who sees all hearts to "give you His blessing and not mine. I am old; you also are getting old. We may never "meet"; and he said "Bhupendranath good-bye. If for ever, then for "ever" Those are the last words that I heard from Mr. Hume before I left England. Gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer for we, who have been brought up under his feet, know so much of him that I could go on much longer if I had the time and the opportunity; but that need not concern you at the present moment. What I say is that we have met here to-day to pass a resolution to record our sense of sorrow and of loss. Is that to be the only thing that we shall all do on this occasion? Is it enough, I ask you Brother delegates, to express our sense of sorrow and of loss? We Hindus do not believe in death. Life to us is only but a temporary stage, a very temporary stage indeed in all eternity. I believe and I am quite sure the many eager faces that turn towards me do believe that to-day, now, at this moment from those regions to which Mr. Hume has gone he is watching over us, he is inspiring our deliberations. I feel his personal presence in this tabernacle of the country (cheers). May I ask in his presence, may I ask in this Holy of Holies of our country, may I ask at this holy spot sanctified by the memories of a thousand years, may I ask that the great blessings which Mr. Allan Hume sought to teach us, the great work which he began should be continued and completed. I appeal to my Hindu brethren to rise above the barriers of caste, of communities and of creeds, to forget in the presence of a brighter dawn the blinding mists of those sharp divisions which have retarded our progress in the past? May I ask them to forget all these, to purify themselves in the light of the coming day to render themselves worthy of the future that is before them? I know being a Hindu myself, I feel that it is a task of no easy account to the Hindus; but whether easy or difficult and all the greater reason if it is difficult the task must be accomplished; otherwise we are not fit to meet here to-day, not fit to take the name of Allan Octavian Hume, not fit to record a resolution of loss and of sorrow. But if there is even a lingering doubt in my mind when I appeal to members of my own community, I feel no sort of doubt or hesitation when I appeal to my Musalman brethren, who I am assured have gathered in large numbers in this hall to-day. For let them remember that on the plains of Arabia their great Prophet whom we honour as much as they do (cheers), their great Prophet taught the great lesson of equality amongst men. Let them remember that his mission is a mission which they ought to carry out in India on the fertile soil of India. Let them remember that they are missionaries in a great and noble cause. Let them remember that in the evolution of time what is equality within the creed must be stretched, must be extended to equality outside the creed (Hear, hear). If they do remember the lesson of their great Prophet, if they convert themselves into missionaries of his creed, we shall be content to follow humbly. We shall be content to see that the great

Mr. B. N. Bose. work which Mr. Hume inaugurated has been completed by them, my Musalman brethren in India (cheers) Let them realise what Akbar dreamed, and then what no memorials, what no stone or bronze may accomplish, what nothing material may achieve, they and we shall have raised a memorial to Mr. Hume which he will appreciate from where he now is and then only shall we succeed in placing his name in the highest pantheon of our mother-land. With these few words, gentlemen, I commend the resolution to your acceptance (Loud Cheers)

My friend the President reminds me that I have not read the second part of the resolution to you; with his leave and yours I will read it.

“(a) The President be requested to cable this resolution to Sir William Wedderburn Baronet, Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, with the request that he may convey to Mrs. Ross Scott, Mr. Hume’s daughter, the sympathy of the Congress in her great bereavement.”

THE HON’BLE MR. PANDIT MOTI LAL NEHRU (Alahabad):—

Mr. M. Nehru.

Mr. President, brother delegates ladies and gentlemen: I beg to second the proposition which has just been so ably moved by the Hon’ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu. Gentlemen, there are few Indians of any education who are not very familiar with the life work of Mr. Hume; and specially after the long and eloquent and interesting address which has been made by the learned mover of this motion, it is not necessary for me to say many words to commend the resolution to your unanimous acceptance. But gentlemen, it is in the fitness of things that the United Provinces where Mr. Hume spent the greater portion of his life in India should on this occasion offer their humble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead; and it is for this reason that I stand before you to say a few words. Few and incoherent my words may be; but I can assure you that the feeling which prompts them is as deep, it is as genuine as the feeling which found expression in the eloquent speech of my learned predecessor. Gentlemen, there is one feature of Mr. Hume’s life which, in my humble judgment, stands out as prominently as any other. You all know—and the learned mover has referred to it—that Mr. Hume found himself in some dark corners in the dark days of 1857. He was a witness to the many atrocities at which even to this day the minds of the Indians as well as Englishmen recoil with horror. Gentlemen there are some Englishmen even now who cannot contemplate with equanimity the events of that period. The expiring year of grace 1912 has witnessed an unseemly spectacle of a high official referring to these unfortunate incidents in a spirit of retaliation. On the occasion of the recent outrage on the life of our beloved Viceroy a high official asked us to remember what happened fifty years ago. Now, gentlemen, I leave that high official to himself to reconsider the fitness and the good taste of this reference. But I ask you here to contrast that with the attitude, the conduct and the whole life work of Mr. Hume (Hear, hear) He himself passed through the stress and storm of those eventful days but his broad mind, his cool head and his generous heart found no place for retaliation or retribution. Sagaciously he spotted the evil and courageously he strove to put it down and to ameliorate. Gentlemen, the evil was the ignorance of the masses and the remedy the uplifting of the masses. To this Mr. Hume applied himself, whether he was in official harness or whether he was free from the trammels of officialdom. He taught us how to acquire political privileges; he taught us how to fight bloodless battles of constitutional reform. He took us by the hand; he adopted us, if I may say so, as his children, and he taught us the right way to take. After years of strenuous service during which he served his Government with loyalty and the people of this country with affectionate sympathy, when he laid down the reins of office in the year 1884, he did not allow the grass to grow under his feet, but soon after in the year 1885 he gave birth to and founded this great organisation the result of which you see here to-day. Then, gentlemen, they were the infant days of the Congress. He guided the frail bark of the Indian National Congress through the shoals of official opposition. We all remember, most of you at least do, the great speech of Lord Dufferin at St. Andrew’s dinner and you all know the crushing reply which Mr. Hume gave to that speech. In fact we are all indebted to that speech for the classical phrase “microscopic minority.” Then, gentlemen, I still remember the day in 1887 when the Government of Sir Auckland Colvin had pledged itself in a manner to a crusade against the Congress,—how in April 1887 Mr. Hume made a remarkable speech in Allahabad, meeting all the objections and practically silencing all opposition. Then,

gentlemen, you all know the work he did in active service, in active Congress service in India, itself for a considerable number of years upto 1892; and when failing health and advancing age compelled him to seek rest which he so well deserved and had so well earned and the time came to retire from India, even in his retirement he lost no occasion, no opportunity, no time, and he spared no time or money in serving the cause of this country. What can be more touching, gentlemen than the affectionate admonition he administered to us from England in these words? He said "I have no flattering message to convey, no optimistic views of the future to propound; nay, I cannot honestly blame the Government for more than a portion of the grievous disabilities under which you lie. I can, I feel, say little that will please, much, if I speak, as I must, frankly that will pain, and pain the very people I have tried so hard, for so many years, to serve—the people that I have loved, and despite all their faults do still so dearly love". Then again gentlemen, what can equal the pathos, the heartfelt desire of Mr. Hume in the very evening of his life? This is what he said "I cannot now hope as I did eighteen years ago, to witness and share in your success: but if before I go hence, I could be sure that you were at last on the right path, at last in real earnest, at last determined (let the cost to each of you personally be what it may) that the just demands of India's people shall prevail, I could pass away contented, not only sending to all who are true to their country's cause as I now do, my most earnest sympathy and blessing, but in the sure and certain hopes that in your case at least, the triumph of the right could not much longer be deferred". Such, gentlemen, is the man in whose memory this resolution is proposed. Well may we, our children and our children's children remember the name of Mr. Allan Hume through succeeding generations with gratitude and reverence, and well may we lay to heart the last words of advice that he gave us which are contained in these few words. "Once more I say, the issues are in your own hand—be united—be brave—be unselfish, and no earthly power can long withhold from earnest single minded and persistent efforts the objects of your honourable ambition". With these words, gentlemen, I second the resolution.

The President:—Gentlemen, I call upon you all to pass the resolution by standing in your places in solemn silence.

The proposition was put to the vote and carried unanimously, the whole audience standing from their seats in solemn silence.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJI:—I have been asked by gentlemen to make an announcement in connection with Mr. Hume and it is this that Sir William Wedderburn is engaged in writing the life of Mr. Hume and the proceeds of this work will be devoted to the Congress work and the Congress funds. (Cheers). I am sure this work will be greatly appreciated by my countrymen and will be read by every Indian be he a Hindu or a Muhamedan (cheers).

The Viceroy's Reply.

The President:—Gentlemen the resolution which you passed yesterday evening expressing your horror and indignation at the outrage committed upon His Excellency the Viceroy and your sympathy with him and Lady Hardinge was telegraphed to His Excellency's Private Secretary; and just now I have received the following reply to that resolution of yours. "His Excellency sends his warmest thanks to the Indian National Congress for their kind message of sympathy and for their expression of regard. He is progressing favourably" (Loud and continued cheers). I now call upon the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to move the third resolution.

Indians in the Colonies.

THE HON'BLE MR. G.K. GHORHALE (POONA) who, on rising was received with loud cheering, said:—

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Gokhale.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to move the following Resolution for your adoption:—

(a) This Congress, anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the provisional settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Indian Community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic legislation of the Province regarding registration and

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immigration, and expresses its high admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Mahomedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interests of their countrymen during their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against overwhelming odds.

(b) Whilst appreciating the endeavours that have been made from time to time to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indians of South Africa and other British Colonies, this Congress urges that, in view of the avowed inability of His Majesty's Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude in this matter, the Government of India should take such retaliatory measures as may be calculated to protect Indian self-respect and the interests of Indian residents in those parts of the empire, and thus remove a great source of discontent among the people of this country.

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

(d) Whilst thanking the Government of India for the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for South Africa, this Congress is strongly of opinion that in the highest national interests, the system of indentured labour is undesirable and should be abolished, and respectfully urges the Government to prohibit the further recruitment of Indian labour under contract of indenture, whether for service at home or abroad."

Ladies and gentlemen, This resolution is the same as the one that this Congress adopted last year, and though it covers the case of all the colonies and in addition makes some recommendations about, the abolition of the system of indentured labour in general I propose in my remarks to confine myself to the case of South Africa; and I hope that the speakers who will follow me will deal with the other aspects of the question. I ask you to repeat the resolutions of last year this year because the position in South Africa continues to-day to be what it was last year. This Resolution, I may state, was drafted jointly by Mr. Polak and myself, Mr. Polak supplying the standpoint of the Indian community in South Africa. You are aware that I have just returned from South Africa and while there my work was done entirely on the lines of this resolution; and I therefore submit this resolution for your acceptance with the utmost confidence. Ladies and gentlemen, before I describe to you the situation in South Africa as it is to-day, I should like, in fact I deem it my duty, to correct one or two misapprehensions under which a few friends and co-workers of mine appear to labour in connection with my work in South Africa. It is said that I have made, I have given certain assurances to the Union Government and to the European community of South Africa in the name of India which I had no business to give. And it is further said that Mr. Gandhi and myself have practically surrendered India's rights in the matter of immigration. Now, ladies and gentlemen, if there were even a particle of truth in either of these two statements, I should not cease to regret my visit to South Africa till my dying day. As a matter of fact, however, I state at once, state categorically, I state with all the emphasis at my command that there is not a word of truth in these two statements. (Cheers). First as regards the question of assurances, neither I nor Mr. Gandhi nor anybody else has given any assurance to anybody in South Africa, neither to the Government of South Africa nor to the European community of South Africa. Much less has anybody given any assurance in the name of India. For myself I took care on every possible occasion to point out the capacity in which I was working there; and the very first thing that I said to General Botha and the other Ministers, when I met them in an interview which they were pleased to grant me, was that I was there without any official credentials from India and that I had not even been deputed by the people of India to go and help my countrymen there. I was there simply and solely as a private individual from India invited by the Indian community of South Africa to go over and help them and my only purpose at that time was to represent the views and the grievances of the Indian community of South Africa to the authorities of South Africa. There could be, there were, no negotiations between the

Boer Government and myself. There can be no negotiations between the Government of a great country and a private individual such as I was. I had neither the authority nor the position to enter into any negotiations with the South African Government. So far about the question of assurances.

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Then it is said that Mr. Gandhi and myself have surrendered India's rights in the matter of Immigration. Let me assure you again, fellow-delegates, that there is not a particle, not a tittle, not an iota of any right enjoyed by the people of India, whether in theory or in practice, that has been surrendered either by Mr. Gandhi or by myself in anything that we have done (cheers). I will proceed to explain this position more clearly to you when I describe the passive resistance struggle conducted by Mr. Gandhi and the object with which it was conducted. Because the South African Government tried to take away, not from the Indians in South Africa, but from the people of India here a right which they have all along enjoyed in theory, therefore, Mr. Gandhi and the brave band of passive resisters working with him underwent all manner of suffering and made all manner of sacrifices in order that that right should not be so taken away; and ultimately they succeeded in preventing that right from being so taken away from the people of India. But then it is said that in the provisional settlement which Mr. Gandhi had arrived at with General Smuts the principle of the free immigration of Indians into South Africa has been surrendered. I will come to examine that and when you hear what I have to say, I am sure you will see that Mr. Gandhi has done no such thing. After you hear the statement I have to make on this subject then it will be for you to judge between Mr. Gandhi and those who say he has made any sacrifice of any principle in this matter. What was the position, ladies and gentlemen, before the passive resistance struggle was started? At the end of the Boer War, taking the Immigration question only, the Immigration law was the same in Cape Colony and Natal for Europeans and Indians alike. That is, everybody could get in by passing an education test. Now, of course, that was on paper. In actual practice the law was worked differently for Europeans and Indians; but at any rate in actual law, in actual theory, there was no difference between Europeans and Indians. In the Transvaal the Indians had to register themselves and to pay three pounds for registration. There was no registration required on the part of European. In the Orange Free States the Indians were expressly prohibited by a statute from entering that colony. That was in the time of the Boer Government and therefore that was the position at the end of the Boer war. Therefore, there was no theoretical equality for our people in two of the Boer Provinces, leave alone practical equality. We had a sort of theoretical equality but no practical equality in Cape Colony and Natal. This was bad enough. But about five years ago the Government of the Transvaal attempted to take away from us such theoretical equality as we possessed and impose upon us harsh and humiliating conditions, and two laws were passed one in 1907 and one in 1908—and, mind you, passed with the sanction and the assent of the Imperial Government—laws which in the first place expressly prohibited us from entering the Transvaal by name as British Indians, and secondly which required all resident Indians to undergo registration and submit to most degrading conditions in thus registering themselves. These were the two laws that were then passed and this legislation was only the forerunner of similar legislation for the rest of South Africa. It was well known that, if this legislation had been accepted by the Indian Community, the same legislation would naturally have been extended to Natal and Cape Colony. Mr. Gandhi and those whom he led therefore made up their minds to sacrifice all, if that was necessary, but not to put up with this legislation, and they started what is known as the Passive Resistance movement. The struggle was hard and bitter, as hard and bitter as any struggle of which we read in history. It lasted for nearly two years. Untold suffering was borne in the struggle, and sacrifices beyond your conception or mine were cheerfully undergone by our countrymen in South Africa in that struggle. Would you believe it, that 2,700 sentences of imprisonment were borne by the Indians in order that this degrading legislation should not be passed against our country there? The legislation was only so far as the newcomers were concerned. The legislation did not affect the Indians who were already there. They were there already. The legislation only affected those who wanted to go there from here; but in order to maintain our theoretical equality with other parts of the Empire these brave men and women also (for they suffered greatly) underwent all this suffering rather

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than put up with this degradation. 2,700 sentences of imprisonment were borne; and borne by whom? Not by educated men. There are no educated Indians in South Africa. They were mostly men from the street, pedlars, hawkers, working men and so forth. But they were touched by Mr. Gandhi's spirit and, as I said in Bombay, that had wrought the transformation: and they cheerfully underwent all that sacrifice. When men could not act for themselves any more—when most of the men were in jail—the women and children of tender years carried on the struggle (cheers). It was a struggle which will ever constitute a memorable chapter in the history of our people: and all this struggle was gone through by our countrymen, because they wanted to prevent this theoretical equality which our people till then possessed from being taken away from them. Well, but it is said, "Well, that is all right; so far as the struggle is concerned it was all right; but then Mr. Gandhi afterwards entered into a compromise with General Smutts,"—what is known as the provisional settlement to which the first clause refers—"and by that settlement, in accordance with that settlement, he practically surrendered the principle of the free immigration of Indians into South Africa." Ladies and gentlemen, consider what that settlement was. Mr. Gandhi knew, as well as anybody else in that country could know, that there can be no free immigration for our people, in the present circumstances, into that country. It was not a question of practical politics; it was not a question of practical politics any more than the appointment of an Indian Viceroy to-day is a question of practical politics. You may keep that as a goal in the distance. You may steadily advance towards it, but then you cannot bring that up as a question of practical politics. In South Africa to-day, Mr. Gandhi did not want a racial bar against us in the legislation of that country and in order that that racial bar should not be there he brought forward this passive resistance movement; and he and those who were associated with him underwent all that sacrifice and all that suffering. From the beginning he had been contending that there should be no racial bar in the legislation. After that of course everything must depend upon the discretion of the executive. Now here again there is a mis-apprehension. There is no doubt whatever that Mr. Gandhi has agreed to suspend the Passive Resistance movement on condition that a certain minimum number of Indians are admitted into the country under the terms of this agreement every year. But why then did he enter into this compromise? Just consider what the position would otherwise be without a stipulation of this character. The Union Government found itself driven by the Passive Resistance movement to have somewhat the same law for Europeans and Indians. But any law of this character must necessarily vest a large amount of discretion in the executive. In Australia and in Canada it is so and it is bound to be so in South Africa. In Australia though nominally the law is the same for Europeans and Indians, not a single Indian is allowed to enter Australia in practice. The executive exercise their discretion in such a way as to prevent the Indians from entering. The Canadians are also going to adopt the same policy. They have made up their minds to allow no more Indians to go there and they are going to exercise their executive discretion in keeping out anybody who is an Indian. Mr. Gandhi was afraid that the same may be done in South Africa. The law may be the same for Europeans and Indians; but they would in the exercise of executive discretion say "We will not have any more Indians". There is no appeal and no relief. The Imperial Government won't come to your assistance. The Government of India would not come to your assistance. What was to be done? Taking the average of the last few years it was found that at least forty free Indians used to go into South Africa every year. There used to be two to three hundred labourers going in as indentured labourers. Of course the system of indentured labour has been stopped and I am glad, and I rejoice that the system of indentured labour has been stopped in South Africa. But taking the number of free Indians who immigrated into South Africa the average for the last few years was about 40 a year. That was what we actually enjoyed in practice. In theory there was a sort of equality, but in practice only 40 people were going into the colonies. Mr. Gandhi was afraid that though we may get the right of equality in theory in practice even the forty might be lost. Therefore he insisted that this minimum of forty Indians should be admitted into the colonies in the exercise of executive discretion. If they admitted more so much the better; but it should not be less than forty. That is what he had insisted upon—six for the Transval and the rest for the other colonies. He insisted upon this as part of the bargain. Thereby he thought that the position of Indians would not become anyway worse.

than what it was. If you look at it in this way, you will understand that it is not a limitation of the Indian right to immigrate freely into South Africa, but it was a limitation of the discretion of the executive, a discretion that otherwise might not admit anybody. If this limitation were not to be there, if this stipulation had not been made, the executive would be free not to admit any Indian and there would be no immigration. Would you prefer that? I am sure if you look at that question in that way you will see that even in agreeing to this minimum number as Mr. Gandhi has done he has only watched over the true interests of the Indian Community in South Africa. Then again you must remember this. It has been said "Well, after this, he gives up the struggle in connection with the Passive Resistance." The struggle is suspended if the Government have the same law for all and admit at least forty Indians every year for the whole of South Africa, six in the Transvaal and so many others in the other colonies. All that Mr. Gandhi has done is that the recent struggle in this matter is over. There are so many other questions in regard to which the Indian community has to work, of which I will tell you presently. But so far as the particular question of immigration is concerned, having removed from the mother country this bar which was attempted to be placed on her path and having ensured that our position there does not become worse than what it is, Mr. Gandhi thinks that it is wise, it is politic, it is statesmanly to leave the question at that. That does not mean that other Indians are not at liberty to agitate that question, if they please. That does not certainly mean that we in this country should not agitate that question if we like. Nothing ever has been said or done by him, or by me or by anybody else that could in any way fetter your discretion in this matter or in any other matter in regard to what you do in your own way. If there is any desire in this country to immigrate to South Africa and if more than 40 go there and are turned back, it becomes a legitimate grievance for you and by all means agitate in that matter and no man will wish you success in the matter more than Mr. Gandhi himself. He does not want that you should sit with folded hand; but so far as he is concerned and the others associated with him are concerned, they feel that in this question of immigration nothing more is possible for them at present and such energy as they have, and such capacity as they have, and such resources as they have, they want to direct to other purposes. They want to direct them to the removal of other grievances far more pressing and far more intolerable than this restriction of immigration.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, this briefly is the position so far as the provisional settlement is concerned. I will now proceed to state what those other grievances are to which I have just now briefly referred. But I hope you are quite clear now that no sort of guarantee has been given by anybody, no sort of guarantee was asked of us by anybody and we never dreamt of giving any guarantee to anybody. One expression was used both by Mr. Gandhi and myself, which I find has been misapprehended in this country. There is no question whatever that anybody who goes will see that the European mind in that country is dominated by the fear that the people of India will gradually swamp them and turn their country into another India. Now the position of the European there is extremely difficult. You may talk with an average European and you will find that he talks as if he were sitting on a volcano. He is surrounded by a large indigenous population and somehow there is a feeling—a vague feeling on both sides that things are drifting towards a conflict, though they may not end actually in a conflict. It is the hope of the best men on the European, on the English side that here would be no conflict, but the average European feels that things are drifting towards a conflict. He naturally does not want the position to become still more complicated by the introduction into it of a third element, such as the entry of the Indian would constitute. At the present moment the number of Indians is 150,000 against a million and a quarter or 12½ lakhs Europeans. That itself appears to him to be a serious number; but he thinks and he feels constantly that there are 300 millions of people in India and he feels that if only a few millions went over from here to there—he always talks of India in millions—he feels that if only a few millions went over there from India, it will be difficult for the European to maintain his position in that colony. It may be that the feeling of fear is absolutely unjustifiable, as we know, because there is no desire in this country to emigrate to South Africa. What is there for us to do? There is no career there for educated men.

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Only small traders can flourish there and they are subjected to the utmost indignity possible. The people are taken by the Government under indentures and the population has gone on increasing. Now that the indenture system has been stopped, the Indian population of South Africa, unless better treated, is bound to dwindle down gradually till at last it disappears. Therefore, there is no question, so far as we are concerned, there is no desire on our part to go and flood that country as each one can think for himself. But the Indian community there is however suspected of a design by the European community—the Indians were suspected of a design to import from India Indians in large numbers so as to swamp that country and so as to occupy everything that is worth occupying by Indians themselves. Mr. Gandhi and those who are associated with him see that as long as this fear dominates the European mind, so long there is no chance of the other grievances of free Indians being redressed; and the other grievances you will understand are far more intolerable than even this grievance about the restriction of immigration. What however matters to them—and this is a point upon which people have not been clear in this country—what matters to them is not what we do here. The South Africans do not care for what we do in this country. They ask for no guarantee as to what we do in this country. You may start any number of agitations; and they do not care. They only care for any agitation that may be started there, like the passive resistance movement started by Mr. Gandhi. If there is an agitation in that country, by the Indian community resident in South Africa on the subject of Immigration, then of course the fear becomes intensified. If there is no such agitation there by the Indian community, that fear is allayed. Mr. Gandhi and others who are working with him recognise that having effected so much on the subject of immigration, the question of immigration might be left aside; and later on when the community grows strong and when India supports that community better than she has done in the past and Indian themselves count more in the Government, then that question may be reopened, or perhaps another generation may take up this question and press it still further; but for the moment at any rate nothing more under this head is possible. And therefore Mr. Gandhi is content to leave that question at that. It is like our own selves in this Congress, taking at one time one reform and pressing it in the forefront leaving others in the background, at another time taking up another question and pressing it, leaving the rest in the background. They therefore took up this question and after fighting it up to a certain point left it at that without sacrificing or surrendering an iota of any one's rights, the rights either of the Indians there or the Indians in this country.

Now if you will consider what the other grievances are that they suffer from, you will yourselves see that it is not possible for them, the Indian community, harassed beggared and exhausted as it is to-day, to fight for free immigration when they are suffering intolerable wrongs in other respects. We have been talking of equal citizenship in the empire, and it is said if there is no free immigration, there is no equal citizenship. Well, my friends there is no equal citizenship in several matters even in this country (cheers): so that if there is no equal citizenship in regard to immigration that will not be your only grievance. But the question of equal or free citizenship is involved more in other questions than in this question of immigration. Roughly you may say this; that if we were absolutely equal subject of the King, we should in the first place be able to go to South Africa on the same terms as the Europeans and secondly when we are there, we should be able to live in that country on the same terms as the Europeans. That also involves the question of free and equal British Citizenship. Now this second equality, if I may call it so, may be analysed under eight or nine heads. It means that if we were equal subjects of the King in South Africa when we go there and settle, there we should be able first of all to leave the country temporarily when we want to leave it and go back to it when we want without hindrance or trouble or difficulty. An Indian who wants to go to India, and come back should experience no more difficulty than an Englishman experiences every time he goes to England and comes back. Secondly, no Indian who is in South Africa should have any difficulty in moving about from one province to another, for instance from the Cape to Transvaal and from Transvaal to Orangeia without trouble. Thirdly an Indian should be at liberty to reside where he likes in whatever quarter of the town he pleases. Provided he is able to live in the style which is the common style of that quarter. Fourthly, an Indian should be able to acquire and own land and other permanent property. Fifthly, an Indian should

be able to trade and follow any other avocation such as any European does—trade on equal terms. Sixthly, an Indian should be able to provide for his children the same sort of education that Europeans are enabled by the State to provide for their children. Seventhly, an Indian should be free from those special disabilities and burdens which the rest of the community has not got to bear. Eighthly, Government service should be open to Indians just as it is to Europeans. And ninthly and lastly, the franchise should be available to Indians; and public careers, careers in public life, in Parliament, in Municipalities and in all these places should be available to the Indians. If the Indians were the equal subjects of the King, if the Indians who have gone there and settled were the equal subjects of the King, they should be the equals of Europeans in these matters. I have left out of account those disabilities which I might call social disabilities—people not being allowed to attend theatres and to stay in hotels, their not being allowed to sit on benches in parks, their not being allowed to walk in the footpaths, etc. Some of these have a public aspect, because where the property is municipal property, our people have a legitimate grievance inasmuch as they pay taxes to the Municipality; but these are more or less social disabilities and for the moment I leave them aside; but really speaking they should have not existed if we were the equal subjects of the King and if we were treated on terms of equality with Europeans in that sub-continent. In each one of these nine respects, our people have been suffering not only hardships but intolerable hardships for the last twenty years and more in one part or another. The Indian community of South Africa has been carrying on sometimes a hopeless and sometimes a more hopeful struggle but a fierce struggle all along under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi in order to get rid of these disabilities. Where people are labouring under these difficulties, where they have to pay taxes to one of which only I refer, a tax absolutely monstrous, where if they cannot pay the tax they must reside at distances of three, four or five miles from the town, where they cannot trade without a license—a license may be withdrawn for any reason—and where they cannot move from one province to another and where they cannot have education for their children, do you except a community suffering all these intolerable hardships to put up with all these hardships and direct what little energy it has to get the doors of South Africa thrown open to the people of this country for free immigration? They do not object to more Indians coming there. It is all the better for them, because they will feel stronger in the struggle they are making. It is a disability resting upon you if you are not allowed to go there. Start a dignified agitation if you have the stuff in you; go about the country, make the kind of sacrifice that Mr. Gandhi and others have made and then insist upon free immigration into South Africa. It is all very well to sit at home and criticise men like Mr. Gandhi, God knows that most of us are poor enough clay, and when once in a way a man rises amongst us, here we are sitting quiet at home and criticising him and tearing him to pieces in the manner that some of us are doing. Ladies and gentlemen, therefore you will see that Mr. Gandhi and those who are acting with him are absolutely right in the line that they have adopted and that those who criticise them here, if they were there will not do anything else. The energies of the South Africa Indian community are therefore directed to-day towards securing the redress of these nine grievances. I will just say a word or two with regard to each one of them.

First is the permission to leave the country and go back when they want. This is what is known as the working of the Immigration Law. The Immigration Law itself applies only to those who go there for the first time, not those who are already there. If they want to leave the country and come back again, because they are settlers in the country, the thing ought to be made as easy for them as possible. Yet things are to-day made in South Africa as hard, as difficult, and as monstrously difficult as possible for these people. I have given one or two instances in the speech that I made in Bombay, but I think I had better mention them to you here because they will give you an idea of what things are happening there to your countrymen. In Cape Colony this is the most liberal colony in the four provinces—the Indian who wants to get out of the country must take out a permit with him which specifies the period within which he should return. He takes out the permit and goes away. He must come back within the time of that permit according to the law. But the law vests a great deal of discretion in the executive officer, the Immigration officer. Just about the time

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I arrived there, a case occurred which drew pointed attention to this law. It is only typical of the many cases that have been happening. A man had come back to India, because his brothers or sisters were ill and he took a year's permit and came to India. He himself fell ill. He had left his wife and children there to look after his business. He started back from India in time to go back to South Africa and if the steamer had run according to the scheduled time he would have gone there three days before the time. But the steamer was unfortunately held up by a storm for four days and the man returned one day late and the immigration officer exercising the letter of the law and not the spirit turned him back (cries of shame,) though everything was clear that the man was not to blame. What does this mean? It means absolute ruin to the man; his wife and his children must come back and the shop had to be closed as no body else could conduct it, no new licenses being granted to Indians. Another man could not be put in charge of it and all the goods had to be sold at second-hand rates and the man must come back to India after so many years' stay there. It is these things that are driving the Indian community there to madness and not the restriction on the free immigration of Indians into South Africa. Of course that is felt as hardship but it is like many other hardships with which we have to put up in this country, such as the Arms Act and the denial of careers in the army and many others under which we live. So also they accept the restriction of immigration up to a certain point as unavoidable. In Natal and Cape Colony another thing has been happening. That is not the law there. These are the two forward Provinces—Natal and Cape Colony. The Transvaal and Orangia are admittedly most anti-Asiatic and most bigoted. In Natal a domicile certificate is granted to those who have been there for a certain time. It is understood that the domicile certificate gives you a right to go out of the country and come back to it whenever you choose; but only in order to prevent fraud and in order to see to it that one man does not go out and another man come back the immigration officer has the power to cross-examine the holder of the certificate. Well, things have gone on without much trouble till very recently. But now the immigration officer, in order to exercise his discretion as harshly as possible, cross-examined a man as to the minutest particulars in his life, as to when he went to the Colony first. Every man's name is registered; every man's address is registered; his movements are registered. The man who has been there for 15 or 16 years goes back with his certificate with him, feeling confident that there will be no trouble. But he is suddenly asked when he went to the Colony first, in what street he lived, what business he did, how much business he did in the first year and so on and if there is the smallest discrepancy between the answer he gives and what is recorded, the man is told that the certificate is a fraud and he will not be admitted. I ask you, how many of you can answer if you are suddenly asked where you were this day, last week? What will you do if you are suddenly asked this question (laughter)? If such questions are put after an interval of 15 or 16 years, how are these poor innocent people to answer these questions? This it is which is driving the Indian community in Natal, just as the operation of a similar law in Cape Colony is driving them to despair.

Well this is the first. The second is the permission to move about in the country itself. Gentlemen, you know South Africa is a united country; and in that United country a man cannot cross the border from Transvaal to Orangia, a man cannot go from Cape Colony to Natal without passing an examination. Under no circumstances can a man go from Orangia to the Transvaal without passing an examination. A man may have his principal business in Durban and a branch in Johannesburg. He cannot go to the branch without a permit. All these restrictions are most harrassing. They make the life of the Indian community perpetual torture.

The third is residing where they like. In Transvaal there is a law which condemns all Indians to locations, but our men have been successfully avoiding this law, because the authorities have no other course and there is no penalty provided for this and no sanction. Therefore they have been defying the law. Another law has been since enacted, the gold law. If gold is found in any area it is proclaimed as a gold area and the Indians must then reside in locations; otherwise special penalties are provided. The whole of the Transvaal is full of gold, and therefore the whole of the Transvaal has been declared to be a gold area and as soon as it is declared a gold area the best

of you must give up your houses and go and live in locations 3, 4, or 5 miles from the town and do your business from there if you care for it, or if not get out of the country. Well, this is another hardship which naturally the higher class of people feel most—to be condemned to live like that.

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Then again there is the question of acquiring land and other properties in the Transvaal. You cannot acquire land, you cannot acquire houses, you cannot build houses because you can acquire land only on less than 10 year's lease and no body would build a house on a land the lease of which might be over in 10 years. In Orangia you cannot do even that. You cannot be a tenant or a farmer, leave alone the owning of land.

Well, then again as regards trade and other avocations the situation has become so critical that it is the issue on which the greatest fight will have to be waged and unless we help the Indian community solidly from here I fear the Indian community there will go to the wall. This is really a question which affects the more substantial Indians in that country and involves property worth lakhs and lakhs of rupees. Both in Cape Colony and Natal licenses for trade have to be renewed every year. Now these license are granted by the local authorities. These local bodies are manned by men who are the rivals of the Indian traders, they are the small European traders. Most of them have a seat in the Municipality and their interest is to extinguish the Indians because they cannot stand Indian competition. The scale of expenditure of an Indian is less; and he easily beats his European competitor in the market. Therefore the European does not want the Indian there. Under one pretext or another, the licenses of respectable people are being extinguished. The new policy is not to grant any new licenses. What are the children of the community to do if no new licenses are to be granted? The licenses are steadily withdrawn. If in parts of the country they cannot have land, cannot enter Government service, if they cannot trade or follow other avocations, what are the people to do? The policy of the Colonies is to harass the people in such a way that they would of their own accord leave the country. That is the position.

Then there is no provision for the education of the children anywhere. There is just a little provision made by the missionaries and there are a few schools, primary schools started by our own community. Throughout South Africa there is not a single Secondary school, and not a single school for technical instruction, leave alone any institution for higher education. These children are growing up in ignorance and darkness and the moral helplessness which comes out of ignorance and darkness. I may mention that one reason why the Government is not inclined to give education to the children is that if they are educated they will demand the franchise later on. I said to the ministers when I met them that the Indian Community did not raise the question of franchise, but that did not mean that they gave it up. They do not raise it now to-day, just as they do not raise the question of Government service, because it is hopeless, and just as they left the question of immigration at a particular stage because anything further is hopeless. They put it on a level with the admission of the Indians into the Government service or with Indians being allowed the franchise. But because the Government thinks that if the children of the Indians are educated they will demand the franchise, therefore they are withholding educational facilities from them. Therefore our people must agitate. The Indian South African community must agitate there, and we must back them from here in order that they may be able to provide educational facilities for their children. If the State does not do its duty in the matter, we must help them; they are our own kin, we must supply them with funds so as to enable them to do their duty by their children.

Well, this is the sixth. Then there is the freedom from special disabilities and burdens. If we were the equals of Europeans we should be free, as free as they are from these special disabilities and burdens. I have spoken of social disabilities and burdens. I will mention one burden which in some respects is the most monstrous burden anywhere imposed by any Government on any people. That is what is known as the three pounds license or three pounds tax. Ladies and gentlemen, I have seen some comments in this hall on the three pounds license which show that those who pass such comments do not realise what miseries are caused by this three pounds license tax to many of our countrymen in that land. Well, the three pounds license tax is a tax by which every Indian who goes there as an indentured labourer or his

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descendants must pay every year for mere permission to live in that Colony. The tax has to be paid for every male above 17 and every female above 13. And the man of 17 or the woman or girl of 13 is liable to be sentenced to hard labour if he or she does not pay the three pounds every year to the State. (Cries of shame). This has to be paid not by the richest classes who can easily pay the three pounds, but by the labouring classes. Take an average family consisting of a father and a mother with two girls of 13 and 15, an illustration which I have taken because I have actually seen a case like this. A father, a mother with two daughters, 13 and 15 and smaller children for whom nothing has to be paid. For these four persons, at the rate of 3 pounds for each, they have to pay 12 pounds a year or £ 1 a month. The average wage of a man in that country is 25 shillings a month. A woman with two daughters can add 15 shillings more to it by doing work after the household work. Altogether it comes up to 4 pounds a month. Out of the total income per month, one pound every month must be given for mere permission to live in the Colony,—and this is after 5 years' work in the Colony as indentured labourers by the father and the mother,—for the prosperity of the Colony. Two pounds is Rs. 30. Just fancy an income tax of eight annas in the rupee on all persons who get an income of Rs. 30 a month! That is what it means. If you can realise that, then you will see how strongly the grievances are felt. At the present moment there are 20,000 Indians in South Africa—that is the estimate which Mr. Gandhi makes—who are liable to pay this tax of three pounds. Not more than 5,000 or 6,000 are able to pay it with the utmost difficulty. It is extremely difficult for these poor people to pay. One leading member of the Natal legislature who at one time acted as a Prime Minister stated two years ago in the Natal legislature that the tax was a monstrous tax and broke up families and drove the men into paths of crime and the women to a life of shame. (cries of shame). That is what has been happening to your own people there. There are 20,000 people who are liable to pay this tax. Only about 5,000 or 6,000 pay it with the utmost difficulty. That is bad enough; but the condition of the remaining 14,000 or 15,000 is worse. They live in mortal dread of the Police. They do not know when they will be arrested and placed before the Magistrate for non-payment of the tax. Whatever they can scrape up they pay to the Police, or are in hiding. Just imagine what this means. The whole community consists of 150,000, of whom 120,000 are in Natal. 20,000 of them are in this state and 40,000 more are serving under indentures; and when their indentures are completed they will have to be in the same state. Is this a small matter—a matter for you to consider small? I remember that one of the most pathetic and heart-rending sights at which I was present was at a meeting of the three pounds tax-payers. Five thousand persons attended that meeting. One man whose heart had been broken, and who had lost everything, had grown crazy. He merely writes verses about the three pounds tax, goes to the jail when the Police catch him and when he is out of it he goes about the country and merely writes verses about the three pounds tax, or sings them. He has grown quite crazy. A woman—I was told she was from this Province, from Arrah, she was about 65 years of age, I remember the sight and I cannot recall that sight without emotion even now—came and told us that she had been six times in jail—a woman of 65 (cries of shame). You will really see how grave the misery is that these people are suffering from this 3 pounds tax.

Then the next question is Government service. This Government service is closed to us Indians, all over the country. In no Colony can Indians enter Government service. One or two Parsees in some way or other entered the Postal department. They too have been chucked out. No Indian can now enter Government service. Just fancy what that would mean here; and then you will see whether the immigration question is more important or the question of entering Government service. But there the people do not feel this so much because there are so few educated people there. The people are denied education and the few educated people that are there do not care much for Government service. But the community, every member of which is excluded from the Government service, must remain in a depressed state.

Lastly, the franchise. In Cape Colony our people have a little franchise. Political franchise they enjoy and Municipal franchise they enjoy. I have stated that there are few educated people and they do not care for the political franchise. They do not come and

register. In Natal they enjoy Municipal franchise; but they do not enjoy political franchise, though it appears they enjoyed it before 1893. In the Transvaal and Orangeia there is no political franchise not only now but the determination of the authorities is not to grant the franchise as long as they can. So we have no political franchise there and of course Indians cannot have any careers in public life.

These are the hardships which our countrymen in that country are enduring; these are the hardships against which they are struggling. They do not expect that these hardships would be removed at once. Men who have sacrificed their all in the cause of the passive resistance struggle—property worth 40 and 50 lakhs has been sacrificed by our people—men who had once been wealthy have become paupers; and for a time they used to go about with bundles of cloths on their heads selling them and earning their livelihood like that. These people who have made these sacrifices are under no delusion. Mr. Gandhi is under no delusion and the others are under no delusion. They know, they realise, that the struggle before them is a long and weary struggle; but they are not faint-hearted. They are going on with their struggle.

A question has been asked in this country, "Mr. Gokhale has been there. What has he been able to do?" My friends, we have been in the habit of sending deputations to England. Do you expect a single deputation to England to achieve everything at once? This agitation cannot be regarded in that way. You must knock and knock till it is opened—Even if it is not opened it is your duty to go on knocking till it is opened. (Cheers). It is only those friends who are extremely simple in public life who can expect such results. What is the visit of one man or even of a hundred men, when you consider the catalogue of the grievances of our Indian brethren in South Africa? They themselves are going on with the struggle and I want the people in this country to help them in the struggle they are carrying on. I have referred to the criticism and I leave it to the Congress to judge of Mr. Gandhi and those working with him. I only worked under his guidance. He has borne the brunt of the sufferings and made all sacrifices. My privilege has been to stand by his side for a little while because he invited me to come there and to give a little assistance in his work because he asked me for it, and my highest reward is that he is satisfied with my visit so far. (cheers) But Mr. Gandhi is under no delusion and I want you to consider and to judge now whether he can still fight this question of immigration or whether he is wise in directing all his energies towards these other grievances that I have spoken of. I am sure your judgment will be right and I am sure that those who have criticised us, friends and workers as they are, they themselves will see the necessity of revising their judgment and they will even regret, I am sure, that they did not wait till my return before expressing their judgment emphatically.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, one word more—and my last word, is this: the struggle is, as I have said, a long and weary struggle. The men who are engaged in it know how long, weary and bitter it is to be; but as I have said, they are determined to go on with it. Only remember that the community there is an exhausted community; it has already made tremendous sacrifices. The other day I happened to say in Bombay that we in this country have not done our duty in this matter. A friend of mine for whom I have great respect said he could not understand this statement because he said "we held several meetings." That shows how inadequate is our conception of the needs of the people and of what we have to do in this matter. You may hold ever so many meetings. It does not matter to them. If you hold meetings and send them your sympathies of course that is something. That is better than doing nothing. But what they want is financial assistance first and foremost; secondly steady and continuous pressure on your own Government from year to year, from month to month from week to week and from day to day. The Government must be given no rest till the grievances of your countrymen in South Africa are remedied. By holding occasional meetings our duty in this matter is not discharged. And after all how much money has been spent? As I have said, a small community has lost about forty or fifty lakhs in the course of the struggle. That is the lowest estimate; some place it even higher. But how much have you sent altogether from this country? Altogether about 1½ lakhs during the last three years and out of this 1½ lakhs about Rs. 75,000 was given by one man, Mr. Ratan Tata [Cheers]. The whole country

Mr. G. K. Gokhale. consisting of 800 millions contributed in aid of this struggle only Rs. 75,000 while 40 or 50 lakhs have been lost by these unfortunate individuals struggling against these overwhelming disabilities; and I therefore leave it to you to consider whether there is or is not room for you to do more for these people. I earnestly hope you will do your best. However remiss we may have been in the past, I earnestly hope that we shall do our duty better in the future, because, after all though the question concerns only South African Indians, our own status in the Empire is really involved in this struggle; and if we care for our status we must be solidly behind our Indian brethren in South Africa; else we shall deserve nothing better than what is befalling them there. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance (Loud and continued cheers).

Three cheers for the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale were called for and heartily responded to.

Hon'ble
Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviva.

The HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, Allahabad, seconded the resolution and in doing so delivered a powerful speech in Hindi which was received with considerable enthusiasm.

THE HON'BLE MR. MAZHARUL HAQUE (Bankipore):—

Hon'ble
Mr.
Mazharul
Haque.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the able and lucid exposition of the case of our brethren in South Africa by my esteemed friend Mr. Gokhale, I do not think I will be justified in inflicting a speech upon you. I will content myself by whole-heartedly supporting this resolution.

LALA LAJPAT RAI of Lahore who on rising was received with cheers and cries of *Bande Mataram* supported the resolution in a vigorous Urdu speech, which elicited frequent rounds of applause and roused the enthusiasm of the audience to a very high pitch.

Hon'ble Mr.
Harchand
Rai Bishan
Dass.

THE HON'BLE MR. HARCHANDRAI BISHANDASS. (Karachi):—Mr. President, Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen, after the exhaustive speeches that have been delivered by the brilliant congress leaders on this subject who have covered the whole ground, I do not propose to detain you long. Only two or three considerations I will put before you. In this year events of history have been unfolding themselves in one quarter of the globe which offer a very strange comment upon the consistency of the white man. That quarter of the globe is Persia. Now every where else in Asiatic countries just as in Persia the white man not only claims the right of free entry, but also, if the management of the country is not to his satisfaction, he claims the right to take the management into his own hands; whilst in South Africa and other countries which he calls his own countries, not only does he not allow any question of management but he would consider is a sheer piece of impertinence on the part of any brown or black man to think of sharing the franchise with him. He does not permit him even a right of free entry. In the first place he says you have got no right of entering my country. In the next place, if some how or other the brown or black man forces himself into this country, he tries to impose such degrading conditions on his existence that he thinks life is not worth living in that country and tries to get away from that country. But that does not redound to the credit of the white man who is near weary of dinning into our ears and of bragging of his love of righteousness, fair play and justice. The second consideration I will put before you is that you must remember that we congressmen have made it an essential part of our creed—we have put in the foremost plank in our platform the attainment of the right of self Government on colonial lines. Now that being so, brother delegates, you must remember that you must first of all try to show to the world that you do consider yourselves in qualifications, in merit and in ability equal to these colonials who are enjoying the right of self-government, in which case we cannot possibly allow these degrading restrictions that are being placed without protest on our part. We know our helplessness: we know that it is not in our power to remove these restrictions. At the same time it is in your power to place on record our violent protest against the imposition of these restrictions. Therefore as this has been already dealt with by previous speakers, I need not repeat what they have said and take up your time on this point. We owe a debt of great gratitude to Mr. Gandhi and those great leaders who have undergone so many sacrifices in order to keep up the prestige of our country and in order to keep the flag of the honor of the country flying for ever and for ever. That is all we can do—to

place on record the sense of our equality with these colonials like whom we wish to claim the right of self-government.

The third point that I shall place before you is that I consider that after the mark of appreciation that you showed to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale at the conclusion of his speech, I may take it that I may convey to him from you, my brother delegates that we fully realise that so far from his having done any dis-service to his country during the time of his recent visit to South Africa he has done a great deal of service (cheers), that he was the victim of great misunderstanding which has been completely cleared up and that the words he has used before you show that so far from the question of the right of immigration being in any way surrendered by us as a matter of fact by the terms of compromise that that has been arrived at by him and Mr. Gandhi—as a matter of fact a limitation has rather been put upon the restriction that the white men there were imposing upon us. I shall conclude here and I shall not take up your time. I wish only to assure Mr. Gokhale that we are all at one with him and that we are highly obliged to him for the great trouble he took in visiting South Africa and that he has done a great service to our country and to his fellow-countrymen in Africa. (cheers).

SRIJUT PRAMATHA NATH BANERJI (Calcutta):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, In supporting this resolution I have only to offer our tribute of gratitude to Mr. Gandhi for the truly heroic manner in which he has carried on the struggle in South Africa and also to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale who undertook a tour to South Africa in a state of very bad health and at great personal sacrifice, I need not say anything more. (cheers.)

**Srijut
Pramath
Nath
Banerji.**

**Mr.
Madanjit**

MR. MADANJIT (Rangoon):—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, after the brilliant speeches you have heard from our Congress leaders, it is not possible and it is not for me to tell you anything further. I will confine myself to the question of emigration to other parts of the British territory as well as to other countries, as also to indentured labour in India as well as outside. The question of the Indians in South Africa is not a small question harrassing 150,000 Indians in South Africa alone. If the low class of South African white men trouble so many Indians in that country, there are high-class white men in East Africa as well as in other parts of the British colonies who trouble our brethren in those parts and harrass them in the same way as the South African white men do in South Africa. If we cannot do anything else for our South African brethren, we can do this much: we can help them to the utmost of our power and capacity, in order that our position might improve here as well as there. Gentlemen, so much has been said about these questions that I need not dilate upon them; but the question of indentured labour is so grave and so great that if we are to assert our right as human beings we must not allow this indentured labour question to lie in abeyance. The Government of India are at present considering the question of indentured labour in Assam; and indentured labour in Assam is as bad and as disgraceful as it is anywhere else. There are indentured Indians not less than 50,000 in number in the Fiji Islands and my friend Mr. Mani Lal of Mauritius who has recently gone to Fiji has sent me a letter asking me if we can be moved to ask the Government of India to stop indentured labour because that system in itself is most degrading to our self-respect. There are indentured Indians in Trinidad, West Indies, and British Guiana and all suffer from the same disabilities; and, gentlemen, it is our bounden duty here in the Congress as well as outside the Congress, whether we are rich men or poor men, whether we are educated men or middle class men, to go amongst the people and ask them not to sign the indenture and if possible press the Government here never to allow the system to continue even for a moment (cheers.)

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI (Allahabad):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is somewhat embarrassing for a junior in the ranks of Congressmen to have to follow so many Generals and Lieutenant-Generals of the Congress Army. At the same time the task of such a junior is lightened considerably by the fact that his duty is done if he faithfully dots the I's and crosses the T's of what the previous speakers have said. I find myself in that position. After the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale it is absolutely superfluous for me or for any other speaker to take up the time of this Congress with an attempt at a recital of the various grievances from which our countrymen in South Africa are suffering, or an exposition of the case of these countrymen of ours or the methods which

**Mr. C. Y.
Chintamani**

**Mr. C. Y.
Chintamani**

should be adopted with a view to better their condition. The problem is a two-fold one. One is the condition of those already in South Africa ; and the other is whether those who are not there but who are still in this country and might wish to emigrate to South Africa are to be permitted to go there or not. But the question whether we here desire to go there or not is a different one. Now what Mr. Gandhi has done is not only to fight for the betterment of the condition of those who are already there, but also to secure the permission in the eye of the law for those who are not there to go there whenever they choose. Equality in the eye of the law is the principle for which Mr. Gandhi started the passive resistance campaign and suffered hardships for so long a time as Mr. Gokhale has explained to us. But if the right of unrestricted immigration of Indians into South Africa, even as a matter of fact it were practicable, is to be insisted upon, the difficulty arises that the South African Government have neither the willingness nor the ability to take any steps with a view to redress the grievances of those who are already there. The South African Government is a constitutional one, responsible to the people of South Africa and no Government has a chance of living for 24 hours unless the feeling of the whites in South Africa is respected. And the feeling of the whites in South Africa may be imagined from this single fact in regard to Mr. Gokhale's visit which has been welcomed by the Government. A correspondent of a European journal wrote that those Europeans who had taken part in the reception to Mr. Gokhale were a disgrace to the white race (cries of shame). That simple fact indicates the feeling among the whites in South Africa and there is another circumstance which you must bear in mind, Even those few Englishmen or Dutchmen in South Africa who are prepared to render assistance to the Indian cause and the members of Parliament, in England interested in the South African question headed by Lord Ampthill who has done great service on behalf of Indians (cheers) are prepared to work only on this footing, that there will not be unrestricted emigration from India to South Africa. Just as we in India are content with slow progress, are content with equality in the eye of the law and gradually hope to attaining greater freedom by gradual administrative measures, in the same way the Indian in South Africa must also be content with slow progress, with the redress of their grievances, with the assertion of the right of their countrymen to go there so far as the legal right is concerned. That has been secured by Mr. Gandhi. As a result of Mr. Gandhi's labours as well as of Mr. Gokhale's visit and interviews with the South African Ministers, valuable concessions are going to be offered, so far as we are able to judge from what we have been told, and the condition of the Indians there will be appreciably better than what it is to-day. The position taken up by Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi is absolutely correct. It is made clear by the fact that in the most recent public meeting held in Bombay convened by the Sheriff with Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta on the platform, when Mr. Polak took up the same position. The memorial submitted by that meeting at Bombay to the Government of India asked for the same concessions as those for which Mr. Gandhi in South Africa and Mr. Gokhale have asked for ; so that until a few days ago we did not know that there was any difference between the position taken up by Mr. Gandhi, and the position taken up by the leaders in Bombay. We in this Congress are reaffirming our last year's resolution ; and we are reaffirming our right of immigration into all parts of the British Empire and protesting against the assertion of the whites in South Africa and other places that Indians ought not to go there and at the same time insisting upon the redress of the grievances of those of our countrymen who are already there. In this we are simply doing what the leaders in India and in South Africa have all along, ever since the agitation was started, been contending for. There is therefore absolutely no controversy upon this matter and there ought not to have been any controversy among any section of the community at any time on this matter (cheers).

**Mr. Kedar
Nath.**

MR. KEDARNATH, (GAYA) :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is almost with a heart full of sorrow, a heart bleeding, that I rise to support this resolution. It is our misfortune that at a time and in a season when peace and goodwill should be proclaimed throughout the world, there comes to us the sad and heart-rending news from a man who has visited the country and personally made himself acquainted with the wants and the wishes of the people there, that our countrymen, a large section of them are being treated there as helots and as slaves. Gentlemen, Christian Europe has laughed at our caste

system, has been fierce in its denunciation of that system, because according to it it perpetuates the distinction between man and man. Does not the Christian conscience of Christian Europe awaken at this sight of these people to whom it owes the prosperity of its land being treated like animals and even worse than animals? Ladies and gentlemen, I was told, we have all been told that the underlying cause of all this trouble is that the British settlers there are dominated by the thought that if they relaxed the law they would be simply swamped by Indian immigrants. Let them be told once for all that the Indian here has no ambition to go out of his country. He is too home-loving for that. If he is taken to South Africa or to any other country, it is by the allurements offered by the recruiters. But, gentlemen, the clouds will clear up, a bright future is before our countrymen in South Africa. All credit to Mr. Gandhi and his self sacrificing compatriots that they have shown us the way to work; we will achieve success in the end and triumph. Our cause is just. It is founded, it is based on righteousness and it is bound to triumph. Ladies and gentlemen, after the experience we have had of these recruiters and their methods and the doom to which our countrymen have been lead by them in South Africa, is it too much to expect that these people, these very recruiters will bring about troubles nearer home in other ways also and has not the time come when these recruiters should be told that they have absolutely nothing to do with this country and that our countrymen shall have nothing to do with any foreign land? (cheers.)

Mr. Kedar
Nath.

THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE:—I want to add one more clause. I propose that this additional clause be added to the resolution, "that the President do despatch the following message to Mr. Gandhi:—"The Congress reaffirms last year's resolution; expresses its warmest appreciation of your efforts and assures you and your fellow-workers of the country's whole hearted support."

Hon'ble
Mr. Gokhale

The original proposition with this addition was put to the meeting and unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, before I come to the fourth resolution there is one thing which it is necessary for me to impress upon the gentlemen who have so kindly undertaken to speak on the various resolutions. You have got only two days before you. It is now 10 minutes to 3 and you have practically done what we might call one-tenth or one-eighth of your work. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to stay for even 3 or 4 days if our Behar friends will have the Congress for four days; but your leaders cannot afford to stay and therefore to suit their convenience we have to restrict the right of the speakers. I know that gentlemen who are called upon to speak have much to instruct us about; but I beg all of them to kindly observe the time limit laid down from the year 1887 viz. 10 minutes for the proposer and 5 minutes for the seconder and the supporters. It is a very painful thing for me to pull up any of my friends; it is a most unpleasant duty forced upon me and I have to carry it out however unpleasant it may be. I now call upon the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao to move the fourth resolution.

The Public Service Commission.

THE HON'BLE MR. SUBBA RAO Pantulu, Madras, who, on rising, was received with cheers said:—The resolution which I have the honour to move runs thus:

Hon'ble Mr.
Subba Rao.

"(a) This Congress records its sense of satisfaction at the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Service and while expressing its regret at the inadequacy of the non-official Indian element thereon, trusts that the deliberations of the Commission will result in the just recognition of Indian claims to appointment in the various departments of the Public Service.

(b) This Congress urges the introduction of the reforms outlined below:—

- (1) The holding of the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service and Public Services now recruited in England simultaneously in India and in England;
- (2) The recruitment of the public services as a rule by means of competitive examinations and not by a system of nomination;
- (3) The abolition of the division of services into Imperial and Provincial as now constituted, and the equalisation of the conditions of service as between

Hon'ble Mr.
Subba Rao

Europeans and Indians ;

- (4) The abrogation of all rules, orders, notifications and circulars which expressly or in effect debar Indians as such from any appointment in any department ;
- (5) The removal of restrictions against the appointment of persons other than members of the Indian Civil Service in certain high and miscellaneous offices ;
- (6) The complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions and services. The creation of a distinct judicial service to be recruited from among members of the legal profession, and a proportionate curtailment of the cadre of the Indian Civil Service ;
- (7) The constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service for Civil Medical appointments and the restriction of members of the Indian Medical Service to military posts only, the designation of the Indian Medical Service to be changed to Indian Military Medical Service ;
- (8) The closing of all Indian Services to the natives of those British Colonies where Indians are not eligible for service."

Gentlemen, this is indeed a very long resolution, covering a number of important points affecting us and asking for reforms in the constitution of the public service in various directions. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has pointed to you that we should secure our status in the Empire ; but before we can secure our status in the Empire, it is our duty to secure our status at Home, in our own country and the tale with regard to our status is one which he who runs may read. No doubt the statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria have secured to us privileges and rights similar to those of our British subjects. She has declared by that proclamation 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"—not by virtue of colour or creed but by virtue of ability, integrity they are able to discharge. So far as theory is concerned, our position is perfectly clear; but as I have said when we come to the present circumstances, the tale is, as I have said, one which he who runs may read and the position is perfectly clear. It is by various rules and regulations, by the recommendations of the last Public Service Commission that there have been constituted two services, one called the Imperial, recruited in England and composed mainly of Europeans, and the other called the Provincial recruited in India and composed mainly of Indians, the higher appointments being reserved to Europeans of the Imperial Service and the lower appointments to Indians of the Provincial Service. That is the broad line of distinction that characterises the two services. The second characterisation of these two services is that the number of higher appointments in the Imperial service as compared with the higher appointments in the Provincial service is anything between 9 to 1 and 5 to 1. If you look at the general outline of the way in which these services are recruited in England where the examinations are held, you will find that with regard to some departments the door is practically closed to Indians. For instance, the Police department. Those who have to compete at the examination have to be British born subjects of His Majesty. Indians are not admitted at all to these examinations. In fact, you may be surprised to hear that parents are warned that, in order to prevent disappointment, in cases of doubt, where there is some admixture of non-European blood, an application should be made to the Secretary of State-in-Council for a decision as to the candidate's eligibility to compete for the examination. In the case of Public Works, 10 per cent of the appointments are allowed to Indians, the remaining 90 per cent being reserved to British born subjects of His Majesty. Then there are some examinations in which all the natural born subjects of His Majesty are allowed to compete Indians, Europeans, colonists and all kinds of people are allowed to compete, but unfortunately the examination is held in England and not in India. The result of that is that very few Indians are eligible, very few natives are able to come out of that examination. In fact, since that examination has been instituted from the year 1863 up-to-date we have got at present only 64 out of something over 1,200 and odd Europeans

in the service, that is to say, 5 per cent of those who hold high appointments in India are Natives, the other 95 per cent being Europeans. I shall read to you briefly a short extract from the recommendations of the committee appointed by the Secretary of State in 1860. As regards the unwisdom of holding these examinations in England, the Committee said:—

Hon'ble Mr.
N. Subba
Rao.

“ Practically, however they (Indians) are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native, leaving India and residing in England for a time, are so great, that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England.

Were this inequality removed we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping the promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by all other natural born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is to hold simultaneously two examinations one in England, and one in India, both being as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both the countries being finally classified in one list, according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object”.

Thus, so far back as 1860, simultaneous examinations were recommended by a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State whose members were members of the Secretary of State's Council. Thus, gentlemen, you see how Indians have been handicapped by the I. C. S. examinations being held in England. So also is the case in regard to the Indian Medical Service. The examination is held in England. Apart from these two modes of recruitment there is a third mode and that is by nomination by the Secretary of State. He recruits, he nominates people to the educational, to the survey, to the telegraph, to the veterinary, to the forest and other departments, and in all these the rules lay down distinctly that preference should be given to graduates of the Universities of the United Kingdom. In the Forest Department, for instance, it is put down that a fair knowledge of English and Elementary Mathematics and either French or German is necessary, thus practically excluding Indians from being appointed to the forest department. You find in the Survey department, for instance, that the qualification laid down is a University degree, and a knowledge of French or German will be regarded as important. As regards the Telegraph department, it is stated in the rules that it is chiefly recruited from the United Kingdom. In the Veterinary department, it is stated that candidates must possess a diploma from the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in England. Thus, gentlemen, whether the examination is open to the natural born subjects of His Majesty or whether it is open only to the British born subjects of His Majesty or whether it is confined exclusively to nomination you find practically it is Europeans that get into these services and thus it is that the Imperial service has come to be mainly recruited from Europeans. The position was well recognised by Mr. Montagu, the Under Secretary of State, who said that the result of the present system was that in almost all services, Indians were shut out from the more important and highly paid posts. At present, Indian hold something like 8.6 posts in all appointments carrying a salary of over Rs. 1,000 a month. This question is like an ugly boil on the face. It stares every one in the face; and therefore it has become necessary to appoint a Royal Commission and that Royal Commission has arrived in India and begins its sittings in Madras on the 8th of January. The terms of reference to the Commission are indeed very wide, very much wider than those of the last Public Service Commission. This Royal Commission is presided over by one from England, Lord Islington; whereas the previous commission was presided over by a member of the Indian Civil Service, Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Whereas the previous commission entirely excluded from its purview the manner of recruitment and the conditions of service attaching to those who pass out in England, the present terms of reference ask the commission to examine the whole question of the recruitment for the public services and to recommend such changes as they may deem expedient. They have to examine the methods of recruitment,

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Rao.

the systems of training and promotion, the conditions of salary, pension and leave and also such limitations as still exist in the employment of non-Europeans, working under the existing system of the division of services into imperial and provincial. Therefore, two very important questions arise for consideration for this commission. The first and the most important question is whether there should be simultaneous examinations in England and in India. That is a question which was considered by the last commission, but its verdict was against India. They said that it was inadvisable that simultaneous examinations should be held in India as it is done in England. Now one important question which has to be considered in this connection is whether there should be any monopoly of any particular class of people among those who pass out of the examination, whether a certain number of places should be reserved to a particular class of His Majesty's subjects among the number that pass out of the examination; in other words so far as the Europeans are concerned whether there should be an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service. That is an important question which was considered last time by the Public Service Commission and they said that there should be an irreducible minimum and that was also followed up by the India Government; and when Mr. Herbert Paul moved his resolution on simultaneous examinations, as the President pointed out, the reference to the Government of India was to examine that resolution with reference to this one condition, viz., to provide for an adequate number of Europeans in the service of the country. Now once that condition is attached to that reference the result was a forgone conclusion. So long as there should be a simultaneous examination, it is impossible to provide for an adequate number of any class of His Majesty's subjects. It may be that in the examination the required number may not come up. It may be possible—hypothetically we may assume—that any one class may not succeed in that examination. Therefore so long as that condition existed, there cannot be simultaneous examination held in England and in India. Therefore, we must take it that this condition of an irreducible minimum or an adequate number of any class of His Majesty's subjects should go; and unless that condition goes we can have no simultaneous examination. I lay emphasis on this fact because, before the last commission, evidence was tendered by some Mahomedan gentlemen in which they urged that they would not have simultaneous examinations because if such an examination were held they would have no place in that examination and therefore they would rather prefer to have nomination. The majority of witnesses coming from the Mahomedan community gave evidence in that way; and on the strength of that evidence the Public Service Commission (a voice:—"That is not the only ground")—of course that is one of the grounds put forward—and also upon other reasons they negatived this proposal. Therefore, gentlemen, this is an important point, which has to be borne in mind by all communities inhabiting the country whether they are Hindus, whether they are Mahomedans, or Sikhs or whether they belong to any other class of His Majesty's subjects, viz., so long as you want representation in the public service, so long you cannot have an open competitive examination. If you want representation, you must have recourse to nomination only. Nomination means favouritism, whereas open competitive examination means the high road—the most honourable way as Lord Macaulay said, to enter the public service. The question is whether you would elect the most honourable way to enter the public service or whether you would enter the service by the back door of nomination. Evidence will be forthcoming before the Commission from Mahomedans, Sikhs, Jains, and members of the other classes; and I wish they will remember this one fact that if they want representation they must be content with nomination and favour. Therefore, gentlemen, we must strenuously oppose all representation of classes in the public service whether they are Europeans, whether they are Indians or whether they are of any other nationality. It follows from this, gentlemen, that the present division of Imperial and Provincial Services as now constituted must go and we also ask that, as a general rule, all entries to the public service should be by competitive examinations. You may remember that at the last public service commission one of the recommendations made was that the Provincial Service should be recruited partly by competitive examinations and partly by nomination or by promotion from the lower ranks. Well, the competitive system was introduced in various provinces; but gradually the Government found it more convenient to select people and later on they found it more convenient to promote people from the lower ranks. At present the matter stands thus. It is only in the Punjab that you have a limited competition for two or three posts; but with regard to all other provinces except Madras, the recruitment is by selection, not by competition,—and

according to favour and there youngmen will have to enter the services according to the favour of the authorities. To Madras alone is reserved the honour of doing away with both the competition and selection and the recruitment is confined entirely to what is called promotion from the lower ranks, so much so that the result is that a person who is promoted from the ranks can never hope to rise, not to speak of topping the list, even up to the middle rung of the ladder. Therefore, gentlemen, we must make it a condition that it must be obligatory on the part of the Government that for the recruitment for appointments of over Rs. 200, that is to say, for the Provincial service, as it is now constituted, the recruitment must be by competition and not by selection or by promotion from the lower ranks. No doubt some portion of the appointments will be left for promotion from the lower ranks and then we ask that there should be an open door to all His Majesty's subjects in all departments of the public service and to all appointments. Then we come to the judicial service. The resolution asks that there should be a distinct judicial service and that it should be recruited from the legal profession, that there should be a separation of the judicial and executive functions. So also it asks for the recreation of a civil medical service and lastly it asks that the door should be closed to Natives of British colonies while Indians are not eligible for service in the colonies (The President sounded his gong). Therefore, gentlemen, I don't wish to detain you further; my voice is not sufficiently strong to speak at length on this subject; but the questions coming up before the commission are of the highest importance, affecting our self-respect, affecting our status, and affecting our very existence in this country. Therefore, gentlemen, we have to concentrate our efforts and see that we are all, more or less, practically unanimous in the evidence which we give before the Commission. No doubt the commission is not adequately represented by Indians as the sole representative of the non-official element on the commission, leaving out Mr. Madge who represents the Anglo-Indian Community is Mr. Gokhale. He is a host in himself. We have got one peculiarity in the constitution of this Commission and it is that half the number of members are Englishmen, that is to say, practically those who have not had very much to do with the actual administration of the country. I mean the question is practically a question between the Civil Service and the Indians, and, therefore, the resolution says that we trust that the deliberations of the commission will result in the just recognition of the Indian claims to appointments to the various departments of the public service. With these words, gentlemen, I place the resolution before you for your acceptance. (cheers)

Hon'ble Mr.
N. Subba
Rao.

THE HON'BLE RAI BAHADUR BAIKUNTH NATH SEN BENGAL, in seconding the resolution, said:—Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been entrusted with the duty of seconding this resolution. This is a resolution by which the Congress expresses its opinion as regards the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services which has been appointed and which is to commence its work very soon. We are all law-abiding men, we Congress men. Our self-made laws enjoin upon me obedience to the chair. I have been allotted five minutes or at the most seven. And within these five minutes or seven given as a grace, I must finish my remarks in as condensed a way as I can. Now, Gentlemen; in the first place with regard to the constitution of the commission itself this Congress while expressing its satisfaction that a Commission has been appointed, it expresses its regret at the inadequacy of the representation of the non-official element in it. If I have to go into details, it will take some time which I have not got any my disposal. We have got only two non-official gentlemen on the commission. Then, notwithstanding that, we still entertain a hope and we trust that the commission after its deliberations will come to conclusions which will lead to the just recognition of Indian claims to appointments in the various departments of the Public Service. From 1858 when Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria was pleased to issue the proclamation, which we always claim as our Magna Charta— from that time we had been entertaining hopes of having a larger share in the administration and of getting and securing higher appointments in the different branches of the administration and notwithstanding that a commission was appointed, in 1886 I believe, and notwithstanding that a resolution was passed in the House of Commons for simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in India and in England some years ago, our hopes have not been fulfilled. Notwithstanding that, we still entertain a hope that the present commission will give us satisfaction. Now you have got eight heads in the Resolution i.e., the Congress urges the introduction of the

Hon'ble Rai
Bahadur
Baikunth
Nath Sen.

Hon'ble
Babu B. N.
Sen.

reforms outlined in these eight clauses. It is not for us to dictate ; it is merely our expression of a wish. These are all what we desire. I condense them further and I urge that the main things which we covet at, which we aim at, and which we wish to have, are first, simultaneous Civil Service examinations in England and in India, and open competition next. Next we want that preference should be given to competitive examinations. Services should not be made dependent on nomination. Nomination, as a rule, should be dispensed with. By that I do not mean to say—and the wording of our resolution is also to that effect—that, as a rule, appointments or recruitments should be made exclusively by competitive examinations because we can't expect that the Government would deprive itself altogether of the right of nomination. Some appointments should be kept at the disposal of the Government ; but, as a rule, appointments should be made on the basis of competition. Then what we want is that there should be separation of judicial and executive functions altogether. We have been urging for this, year after year and for a long series of years. It has been admitted by Government that it is absolutely necessary,—that it is a counsel of perfection ; but still for some reason or other, the measure has not been given effect to. Now we urge upon the Royal Commission to give effect to that. Then what we wish is that the recruitment for the judicial service should be made from the legal profession. The recruitments to be made from the open competitive simultaneous Civil Service examinations should be confined to fill the executive branch. Those who pass in these examinations should undergo a further training. With regard to those who pass the simultaneous Civil Service examination in India, I would urge that the view which was taken by the minority of the Commission in 1886 should be adopted that those who pass in India should go to England and receive training there at least for a couple of years. Similarly, I would urge that those who pass in England should also come to India and get training here for a couple of years and then receive their appointments (Hear, Hear and Cheers). Then in other branches what we suggest is that a larger number of appointments should be given to Indians. Gentlemen, and brother delegates, you know that the Government has enjoined by various resolutions a certain irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service. Well, that irreducible minimum is a great block in the way of appointment of Indians. Time has arrived when my countrymen, my Indian brethren, have by their acquisitions, by their qualifications, by their ability, fitness, integrity and honesty, made themselves fit for filling up a larger number of higher appointments. Formerly, of course, it might be said in 1833 or in 1858 that there was a paucity of fit men for filling up these high posts ; but those days are gone. I claim on behalf of the Congress to assert that now a sufficiently large number of persons can be had who would fill up these higher appointments with equal, if not greater, ability than those gentlemen who have been filling up these posts. These are the different matters to which the attention of the members of the commission should be drawn and evidence should be placed before them. Material should be placed before them to justify them in fulfilling our expectations. There is one branch of this resolution which is number seven in the items, and should be dealt with by better hands, by medical men who would be in a better position to explain the subject : and as I find my esteemed friend Dr. Nilratan Sircar is one of the speakers, I dare say, I might safely leave that part of the resolution to his care. With these remarks, gentlemen, I ask you to accept this Resolution (cheers.)

Dr. D.
Sarvadhikari.

DR. DEVAPRABAD SERYADHIKARI (Bengal), in supporting the resolution, said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which has been just proposed and seconded has been described to you by the mover as too long. To me it appeared to be far too short, considering the large number of questions that has been already circulated by the Commission for being answered by those interested in the vital questions raised in that series of questions. It is not possible, however, to go into the whole of these details, and the subjects' committee has rightly centred its attention on the salient features affecting the vital issues now before the country. People used to tell themselves and one another that whenever there was a desire to shelve any particular question which was far too ripe to delay solution, a commission has only to be appointed and the question was shelved, and not solved, indefinitely. I do not know whether this is another such commission; and whether the questions that have long been before us are still further to be indefinitely shelved or whether their solution is to be expedited remains to be seen, that is to say, at the end of two years which this commission will certainly take. The resolution before us calls upon us to rejoice that a commission has

been appointed and I suppose it is sound and dutiful to do so in the hope that ultimately there may be something tangible to rejoice about. In the meantime, a variety of questions regarding the schemes which had long ago been prepared and matured will have to hang fire and to be shelved—questions like the improvement of the subordinate judicial and executive services, the improvement of the subordinate educational, and police services which had been threshed threadbare in the Legislative Councils, Imperial and Provincial, in the last five years, which were said to be near solution. We were told that we were near the solution of the question of the separation of the judicial and executive services; and that was inevitable after the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission; and now we have another commission which will still further delay the matter. It reminds me, gentlemen, of the troubles of a litigant with which lawyers are familiar. It is not difficult at times to get a decree, but it is difficult to find a sheriff strong enough, capable enough and willing enough to execute that decree. We have decrees by successive commissioners in our favour. We have decrees from the time of Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation of 1858 onwards; but where is the execution? is what the sickened heart asks. Well, I suppose we must wait. In the meantime, it is our duty to place all the evidence we can, unitedly before the commission, so that there might be no differentiated issues raised and it may be possible for them to hold their hands with regard to those matters and almost commonplace questions regarding which we are obliged to ask them for indulgence. That there should be simultaneous examinations, that no appointment should be given except by competitive examinations are matters regarding which collection of materials is unnecessary; it is only decision and execution that is necessary. While I was coming here, I was reminded by the President that the previous speakers had not dealt with subclause (8) of the resolution. That refers to the request regarding the closing of the Indian service to the natives of those British Colonies where Indians are not eligible for service. That, I suppose, has to follow after all that is happening abroad. Where Indian interests are concerned it may be harmless enough, a pinprick, which possibly has its uses if not in active and effective administration at least by way of protest from representatives of the people of India gathered together for considerations of these vital questions. There are other matters that have been referred to regarding which there might be a field for difference of opinion. For example whether following simultaneous examination, there ought or ought not to be compulsory training in England. Public opinion is evenly ranged on either side of the question and evidence with regard to these matters will have to be carefully gone through. But there is one matter which is not referred to in all the items now before us and that is the age question. We thought when the age under the Civil Service Regulations was raised, the country was going to benefit, but, judging by results—I do not know what the reason may be—our expectations have been realized by our admirable system of examination and training. We so happen to crush out all there is in our young men that by the time they attain the mature age of 21 there is very little left in them. Probably what is every where good at 19 is not good for us at 21, whereas the English boy in the meantime scores. I just throw this by way of incidental observation for the consideration of those who have this question to consider and finally to decide. With these observations, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution entrusted to my care (cheers).

PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA (United Provinces) in supporting the resolution, said:—
Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen. The resolution which I have the honor to support has already been dwelt at length by the previous speakers. I will only take two or three points which are contained in that resolution and deal with them so far as my own province the United Provinces, is concerned. The first question which affects us most and which we should lay before the Public Service Commission is the question of the recruitment of public service as a rule by means of competitive examinations and not by means of nomination. Gentlemen, you will all remember that in the year 1894, during the administration of Sir Charles Crossthwaite, for the first time, a system was introduced by which the heads of the various colleges in the United Provinces were asked to nominate the names of the graduates in these colleges and the Government used to select the candidates out of the nominated candidates, for the posts of Deputy Collectorships. This system prevailed for about three or four years. Then when Sir Antony MacDonnell came as the Lieutenant-Governor of

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the United Provinces, he introduced the competitive system. The competitive system was hailed as a great privilege by the educated middle classes in my province and all brilliant graduates offered themselves for competition and the result was that very good recruitment was effected, so far as the executive service was concerned. I remember it was four years after that, when Lord Curzon proclaimed his famous resolution by which the competitive examinations in all other provinces of India were to be abolished, the competitive examination in the United Provinces was also abolished and the system of nomination was introduced which system had this defect that it was impossible for any middle class graduate to get into the executive public service. Only those graduates were given appointments who were the sons of big landlords, or who belonged to the aristocratic classes; but to the educated middle classes the door of recruitment was absolutely closed. With a slight modification that rule has continued up to the present time. We all from the United Provinces should protest when the Public Service Commission comes to our province, that the recruitment by means of competitive examination must be introduced. This is the first point, gentlemen, I beg to lay before you.

The second point which I also wish to lay before you out of these various points is that at present you must have heard that in the various Head-Assistants of Commissioner's office and the offices of the Sanitary Commissioner and Inspector General-ship of Police, all these posts are held by Europeans or Eurasians and not a single Indian is appointed to these posts. I had personally a talk with almost all the clerks of these offices and they have got a great grievance that, however hard they might work, their work is never rewarded and they can never rise to the highest posts in their offices (cries of shame) We must now make it a point that that mark of inefficiency should be removed. These clerks are ten times more efficient than those European or Eurasian head-assistants (cheers;) and though these head-assistants always rely upon them, yet it is impossible for these clerks to be appointed to these posts. Therefore we must, as is stated in this resolution, ask for "the abrogation of all rules, orders, notifications and circulars which expressly or in effect debar Indians as such from any appointment in any department."

The third point to which I should also invite your attention is the point that there are various offices about which there is no restriction as to the appointment of the Civil Servants; but of late there has been a tendency on the part of the Government to appoint only Civil Servants to these posts. I put before you only one example, that is, the Registrar of the Judicial Commissioner's Court of Oudh you may remember that only about six or seven years ago a member from the provincial service was taken and was appointed to that post—either a Sub-Judge or a Deputy Collector—but now that post has been given only to a member of the Indian Civil Service. Now we must protest against the inclusion of the post as one reserved exclusively for the Indian Civil Servants and one to which the members of the executive or judicial service cannot be appointed. Now the third thing of which we are all aware is that in this Public Service Commission we must all insist that the system of recruitment of the judicial service must be changed. We are all aware, at least the persons who belong to the legal profession are aware that the District Judges in whose hands the administration of justice has been placed are quite incompetent to discharge their duties (cheers.) It is our daily experience that they sit in judgment over the decisions of capable subordinate judges of 25 and 30 years' standing, and often it happens, it is in our experience, that they admit appeals against the judgments of these subordinate judges; and the beauty of the land is that there is no second appeal on a point of fact to the High Court you can well imagine the iniquity of a provision like that. I would very well take the first appellate court's judgment as final, provided it is the judgment of an officer who is a really experienced officer, upon whose judgment we can rely as the judgment of a competent court, but not one of a boy-civillian who is only of five years standing, (cheers) who was only officiating as joint Magistrate for a few months and who was then suddenly translated to the chair of a District Judge, overruling the decisions of subordinate Judges. So we must now insist that if the Judicial service is to be recruited on given principles, we must have a fair proportion of the members of the legal profession introduced into that service. Gentlemen, the last point that I would like to deal with is the question marked number eight

in the resolutions, which is with regard to the placing of restriction upon the people of those colonies who do not allow Indian British subjects to go there to be enrolled as public servants in those colonies. We have already seen the disabilities under which the British Indians labour in these colonies. Can we not retaliate, can we not tell them—that certainly lies in our hands we can go to the Government and say—that if these colonists will not have British Indians as public servants in those colonies, then we will also not have the colonists as public servants ruling over us (Cheers)? Let us say this with all the emphasis that we possess, and I am perfectly sure that something will be done in order to remedy this grievance. With these few words, I have most pleasure in commending the resolution to your acceptance (Cheers).

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Misra.

Mr. D. G. DALVI (Bombay):—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and gentlemen, the discussion of this important question has been so threadbare that I do not feel myself justified in taking anything like a long time to discuss the various and complicated issues involved in this controversy of the Public Service Commission. I shall, however, deal with one or two points which I think need to be reiterated before this Congress. First and foremost, then, is about the person of the Commission. The resolution expresses our regret at the inadequacy of the non-official element. Coming as I do from Bombay, we are certainly well off in this respect, because, out of the three non-official members in the Commission, as many as two come from Bombay; and though it may be a matter of pride and satisfaction to us in Bombay still therein lies a feeling of disappointment and sympathy with the other provinces, especially with the major province of Bengal, that it finds none of its representatives on the Commission. The subject was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State by questions in Parliament; but so far no heed was given to it. The press also gave expression to the desire that, as the Commission goes to every province, a member or two may be coopted on it, but so far that suggestion has fallen on deaf-ears. Therefore, we have to make the best of the situation and try and see that some tangible results are derived from the labors of this Commission, constituted such as it is. The next point to which, ladies and gentlemen, I shall refer concerns various reforms which this Congress authorises us to suggest to the Public Service Commission. And in this respect, the question of simultaneous Civil Service Examinations must receive our first attention. It is the crux of the problem, it is the sheet-anchor of the whole question, and on this subject I believe that we may proceed upon the principle of equal opportunity for equal capacities. That is the definition of "liberty" given in one of the books by an eminent writer. If we proceed upon that definition, we certainly cannot fail to see that at this day our Indian brethren have shown equal capacity with Englishmen in all departments of public administration; and therefore it is right to argue that if we have shown equal capacity, we must be given equal opportunity for entering the various departments. And now while I am on this subject, I may be allowed to express my view upon a certain fear expressed in some quarters, in Bombay. I am told—it is believed, at any rate in Bombay—that the Government may take us at our word and and say "we give Civil Service examinations, not in the way we want it but in the way we do not want it. It is believed that they might hold the simultaneous examinations in India and in England, but limit the examinations in England to Englishmen and limit the examination in India to Indians, at the same time reserving a certain fraction of appointments in India every year. Suppose the number of appointments is fifty. They may say that one-tenth may be kept in India for Indians and the remainder for Englishmen in England. But that is a solution which makes the remedy worse than the disease. I am inclined to believe this for this reason, because this solution may also solve another question, viz., the question of Indian students in England. You well remember, ladies and gentlemen, that the largest number of students that go to England is for the Civil Service. And if by one stroke of the pen, Indians could be confined to this country, this question, you will see, may also be automatically solved. Therefore, assuming that that question will come to the front in future, I humbly submit that we must express our dissent on this question for this reason. What is the situation today? Out of about a thousand appointments in the Civil Service, one-sixth are open to Indians at present, i.e. about 150. Out of that, about sixty or seventy are already filled; and if the results of the Civil Service Examination were as good as last year—we passed about eight—we may expect to reach the limit very shortly. But if all this is to go away, and a limit is to be placed to the number of Indians to be admitted into the Civil Service, I submit it will be an ill remedy, a remedy worse than the disease.

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Mr. D. G.
Dalvi.

There I pass on to the next point which I wish to lay before you. That will be in connection with the division of the service into Imperial and Provincial. These services have existed in these two water-tight compartments for some time; and speaking of Bombay, we have every day come to realise the hardship of this hard and fast division. I will give one instance from Provincial Educational Service. We have in Bombay a distinguished scholar, Registrar of the Bombay University, Professor Dusturi on the verge of retirement. Those of us who have learnt under his feet know what a competent man he is and what an excellent registrar he is; and yet that gentleman, cannot rise to the same level in salary as the young stripling who came from Oxford or Cambridge five years ago. We have got instances like this also in the Judicial Service and my friend who preceded me has dealt with the Judicial Service and I will not touch upon that question any more except to say this—that within my limited experience of practice before mofssil courts in the presidency, we have come to realise that those few Indian gentlemen who have been drafted from the Provincial Service into the Civil Service as District Judges have invariably been better than the young Civilian members who act as District Judges in our Presidency. Then take the Revenue Service. There is a rule in each province that out of the Provincial Service, as many as four appointments may be raised to a par with that of the higher service. So far, there is only one instance at present and Heaven only knows why the other three places yet remain unfilled. Therefore, this division into Imperial and Provincial Service works to the detriment of the country in this way, viz., that the Provincial Service do not offer sufficient prospects for the best talent of the country to go into that; and the result is that, while the higher departments of administration are manned by people who are admittedly incompetent, comparatively speaking, the best talent is not available because the prospects of the lower service are not so bright. Thus the country suffers by its indigenous talent not being made available for its purpose.

Ladies and gentlemen, one word more and I shall have done; and that shall be in connection with clause marked number 8, dealing with colonial service, viz., "the closing of all Indian Services to the natives of those British colonies where Indians are not eligible for service." My friend Mr. Misra has threshed the question; and I shall only content myself with referring to one or two instances which came specially to my notice two years ago in this connection. You may remember, gentlemen, that in the year 1906, when this trouble about Transvaal and other colonies arose, a rule was made restricting Indians from being appointed in the colonial service. Lists are made for entering the Home Service, the Indian Service and the Colonial Service: and in the year of which I am mentioning, two Indian gentlemen who were quite on the border were passed over and Englishmen about twenty places below them were sent to Hongkong and Straits Settlements. When our Indian gentlemen are denied the right of going to the colonies, it is but just and proper that we should demand that India should be made a close preserve for Indians and Englishmen and that the members of the colonies should not allowed to have a finger in the pie. Ladies and gentlemen, I think I need not labor this question because, as I have said, the question of the Public Service is a vast ocean and all that we can do is to pick up a few pebbles from the seashore; and more it is impossible for me to do, within the limited time at my disposal. With these words, I support the proposition most heartily. (Loud cheers).

Dr.
Nilratan
Sircar.

Dr. NILRATAN SIRCAR (Bengal) then rose and said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the question of the Indian Medical Service is a little too intricate and the time at my disposal is too short to go through the whole of that critically. At the same time, permit me to remind you, gentlemen, that there are two medical services in India—the Army Medical Service and the Indian Medical Service. The Army Medical Service is a purely military type, manned by Europeans and European officers and we have got nothing whatever to do with that service. But it is the Indian Medical Service that has dominated over the civil appointments and has practically ousted the Indian from the superior Medical Service of this country. Gentlemen, at a time when there was no independent profession in the land, there was some justification for forming the service for the convenience of the Government. There was no question of right in it, there was no question of reserve in it, it was a mere matter of convenience that these appointments were made for the military department, but such as it is it has practically ousted all Indians from that service. At the present moment, we have to see such sorry sights as:

Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, members of the Royal College of physicians, of England serving as assistant surgeons on Rs. 175, whereas men with much lower qualification serve as their superiors in the Indian Medical Service. The service, as it exists at present, the system as it prevails at present, is neither convenient nor is it economical; and as you all know, it is unjust and at the same time quite iniquitous. It has been repeatedly condemned by critics inside and outside Government, and let me remind you that the Government is also convinced of the weakness of their position; and since the last few years, they have been trying to remedy the evil in some way. For instance, they have just increased the pay and prospects of the Civil Assistant Surgeons to some extent and have thrown open some appointments to them, hitherto enjoyed by members of the Indian Medical Service. Then again, the Government have recently organised a superior Sanitary Service, the recruitment for which will be from the open profession in India and in England. These are good measures for which we are much grateful to the Government. At the same time, they are mere patchworks in comparison with the magnitude of the mischief that prevails in the higher Medical Service; and so long as the main service remains a purely Military Service, we should try and agitate for the removal of this state of things with all our energy. Now, why should these services be allowed to remain a purely Military Service? There is the question, the old question of reserve. It has been disposed of from this platform and also from the press; and it has been repeatedly shown that the question of reserve is after all a myth, and there is no reserve at all. So far as the character of the service is concerned, it is a purely Civil Service. Then again, we know that, though there is no reserve, it is a close preserve of some members of the military department, I mean, of the Indian Medical Service. But it is preserved against Indian talent, against Indian aspiration and against Indian merit. Gentlemen, the opportunity has come now when you ought to combine and when you ought to try and remove this state of things. Twenty years ago, under the leadership, of the late lamented Dr. Bahadurjee we had thought of solving the question in a somewhat different way. At that time, we approached Parliament with a petition to bring about a combination of the army medical service and the Indian medical service, somehow or other, our prayers went unheeded; our efforts were not successful. After that the Government has changed its opinion to some extent in this matter. They are now convinced of the injustice that is being done to the Indian graduates and to the open profession in this country and they are trying to conciliate Indian opinion in many ways. At this time, I think, if we press for the entire separation of the Indian medical service from the civil Department, if we press for a total separation of the civil medical department, I think our efforts may be successful. Now, that would mean the creation of a civil medical service. And that can easily be done by open competitive examination both in India and in England. A civil medical service may be formed and they may do all the work in the departments of sanitation, of medical education of research and of medical relief. And the present subordinate medical service which actually occupies the position of the Provincial Service in this department may also form a part of that service. There is nothing impractical in the suggestion. The suggestion is quite clear. We should have a civil medical service in India, recruited by open competitive examination both in India and in England. Then the civil department may be placed in charge of such a service. There is a condition attaching to the Resolution that has been moved and been so ably seconded and supported by so many of our friends, that after recruitment, the successful candidates may have to go to England to pass a couple of years in training. Well, that would hold very good in the case of the members of the higher service; but in the case of the subordinate branch of this service, I mean, the position now occupied by the assistant surgeons, I think it will go a little hard to compel them to go to England or to any foreign country, for the matter of that, for medical studies, after passing a successful examination in this country. Anyhow, a solution may be arrived at later on. It may be later on settled, but, on the whole, the scheme is practicable and is, I believe, such as would commend itself to your acceptance. (Cheers).

Dr. R. RANJIT SINGH (United Provinces):—Mr. President, brother-delegates ladies and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure and feel honored in having been entrusted to support the part of the resolution which has been so ably, lucidly and eloquently, put before you by my illustrious senior. Dr. Sircar of Calcutta has been doing an eminent

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service to the profession to which I and he have the honor to belong, in advocating the cause of the profession on this sacred platform for the last twenty years. But, gentlemen, unfortunately our cause has not been pleaded with the same earnestness during late years with the result that we are where we were about twenty years ago. In fact, in some points we are exactly in the same position as we were about a hundred years ago. Dr. Sircar has given all the facts and I would not reiterate them. I would just make a few observations on this portion of the resolution entrusted to me. Practically it means that the Indian Medical Service,—the name Indian Medical Service should be changed into Indian Military Service, and that they should create another service called the Indian Civil Medical Service. The Indian Medical Service, if you trace its history, was really created for the wants of the Government servants. It dates back to the time of the Hon'ble East India Company. That was the time when there was no one practising the Western system of medicine in this country and it was therefore necessary for the employers to import a doctor of their own and to treat their own men. Gentlemen, things have changed and I hear from various leaders that a new era has dawned, and new hopes are visible. But I confess that to my profession, which is, by the way, called and acknowledged to be the most honorable of professions, all these things seem a dream. We are called guardians of health, and I think it is a shame that the guardians of health of the country should have been treated in the way they have been. The men of the Indian Medical Service are supposed to be capable of anything, from the post in the battlefield, with one stroke of the pen, they can be transferred to the professional chair of a Medical College. Now, gentlemen, there is a saying "Do unto others as you would like them to do unto you." You can imagine that the teaching of any subject really requires a whole-time man, a man who devotes all his life and all his time to the subject which he is supposed to teach. But here we find young captains who perhaps spend more time at the billiard table and more time over the polo tournament, are suddenly turned on to the Medical College, while meritorious and capable men who possess much better qualifications than they, who possess a very large practice which points out to their merits are supposed to be incapable of filling these posts. There has been a cry that the Indian Medical Service is required for war and must serve as a reserve for the war. Now, gentlemen, I fail to understand why when the military people can arrange every thing without falling back on the civil department, they cannot have their own doctors. My predecessor has just mentioned that there is a Royal medical corps already and if the regiments and military department depended entirely on the Royal medical corps, leaving Civil Surgeons aside, I think they could get on just as well. Now, the creation of a separate Civil Medical Service is another very important portion of this resolution. The Assistant Surgeons have suffered very long. Time has come when Indians have risen high in other branches. You find they have even gone to the India Council in England, to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Councils have expanded; but the poor Assistant Surgeon besides a little increase in salary which Dr. Sircar has mentioned—that has occurred only during the last three or four years—is where he was. An Indian Medical Service man, once he passes his examination in England, is supposed to be competent for the rest of his life; whereas the Assistant Surgeons most of whom pass if not a more difficult examination, at least just as stiff an examination, they are examined twice again and still are not supposed to have the same merits as the Indian Medical Service people have. To crown all this, there is another class of people who are placed at the heads of immensely qualified Indians. And this is called the Subordinate Medical Service. I just want to give you a few hints or ideas of the Subordinate Medical Service. In the first place, it is a service entirely closed to the Indians. It is manned by Europeans and Eurasians alone. Youngsters, fifteen or sixteen years old, who are just able to read and write, are taken into the college. While in the case of Indians, they must be graduates or at least under graduates, before they can join the college, those people, as long as they can read and write English, are taken. Then another difference comes in. The Indian Subordinate Medical Service men are supposed to read only for four years, do not undergo any University examination, are examined by the professors who teach them and are at once given posts. They start from Rs. 100 a month and their chances are that they rise to Rs. 800 a month. They are mostly placed as heads of Indian Assistant Surgeons, who are B.A.'s and M.B. and C.M.'s. Now, gentlemen, this is

simply preposterous. Time has come when you must help the so-called guardians of health. There is a fear in some quarters I mean European quarters, that if the Civil Medical Service is thrown open to the Indians, there would be a little hardship in some of the towns where there are Europeans and no European doctors to attend them. Now, gentlemen, I may tell you that people who are entitled to the service of the Civil Surgeons are Government servants getting a pay of Rs. 200 or above. Now, if you take the example of a third class or a fourth class district and compare, you will find that the Indian officers under the employ of the British Government who are getting more than Rs. 200, their number is more than that of the European officers in that district and if the Europeans grumble at getting a doctor who does not belong to their own kith and kin. Why should not the Indians also grumble at having a doctor who is not their own. With these words, I support the resolution (cheers).

**Dr.
Ranjit
Singh.**

PANDIT HRIDAY NATH KANZRU (United Provinces)—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen.—If the Congress ideal is to be realised we must press not only for an increasing participation in deliberative functions, but also in the work of administration. It is for this reason that the question of the more extensive employment of Indians in the Indian Civil Service which includes the most important judicial and administrative appointments has been one of the main items in the Congress programme. The reforms of 1909 have given us a greater share in the deliberations of the Council and the various provincial Governments. And advance is also expected in the administration of local bodies. But similar justice to our claims remains to be done in the case of the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the public service. An act was passed in 1870 to do justice to our claims and though it was extremely unsatisfactory, still it practically entitled us to one sixth of the appointments recruited annually in England; but the Public Service Commission in 1889 put us back by recommending the division of the service into Imperial and Provincial, and by substituting a fixed number of appointments in place of the proportion of one sixth, hitherto prevailing; and all these appointments,—when held by an Indian, even then, he was not to be considered a member of the Indian Civil Service,—were amalgamated with a certain number of subordinate judicial appointments, the two together to be known as Provincial Service. At present roughly speaking, the proportion is, out of 1,000 appointments reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service, about 92 are occupied by Indians. Thus although a quarter of a century has elapsed since the Public Service Commission made its recommendations, this number of appointments is ten less than the number of appointments listed in the nineties; and if past experience is to be relied on, our position will continue to be unsatisfactory until the open competitive examination takes place simultaneously in India and in England. Experience of the last forty years shows us conclusively that mere repressive legislation will not meet the requirements of the situation and that nomination is a highly objectionable method of selection. Competition may not be the ideal and the best means of selection, but it is the best available. But in order to be real, it must be carried out both in India and in England. The present system, although theoretically equal both to Englishmen and to Indians, practically debars Indians from competing for the Indian Civil Service. For, as the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Row has pointed out, since 1833 to 1910, only eighty Indians have entered this service as against 2,600 Europeans. Our position in other branches of the service remains equally unsatisfactory. In the Educational Department, for instance, there are two divisions known as the Imperial and the Provincial, the indigenous talent being confined to the Provincial service; similarly in the police, public works, customs and other important departments, as was pointed out by Mr. Subba Row, we suffer under similar disabilities. In reality, our position has even deteriorated during the last twenty-five years; not only have no new appointments been listed but during the last forty or fifty years, the increase in the number of appointments carrying a salary of Rs. 500 and more, has been practically 3,200 and of this, roughly speaking, only about 800 has gone to Indians i. e. only 25 per cent. But, gentlemen, the question of appointment to the higher posts of the public service is not one merely of the loaves and fishes of office. There are various other considerations first, that of economy, which is no mean consideration in the case of a poor country like India; secondly it is a question of character, the supremest defect in the present system being that it makes those who are affected by it to believe that they really deserve the inferior position assigned to them. For these reasons, I support the resolution (cheers).

**Pandit
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Kanzru.**

Hon'ble
Babu
Dwarka
Nath.

THE HON'BLE BABU DWARKA NATH (Behar) :—Gentlemen, I have the misfortune to appear on this platform after a long array of brilliant speakers and I suffer consequently from one great malady, the malady being the paucity of arguments. You have already heard all the arguments which can possibly have been advanced on this subject and I believe gentlemen, that if I were only to repeat those arguments, it will be simply tiring your patience and wasting time. But, gentlemen, I believe you would like to know what is the position in the newly constituted province of Behar and Orissa, with regard to the appointments in the higher branches of the civil service and other departments, I want to tell you, gentlemen, that out of nearly 108 appointments held by the members of the Indian civil service, only four are held by Indian. Out of the heads of the department in the various branches of the service in Behar, the Inspector General of Excise and Registration is an Indian, the Inspector General of Prisons is an Indian, and the Legal Remembrancer is an Indian. Excepting these three high appointments, all the other appointments are held by Europeans. Gentlemen, it is certainly not a satisfactory state of affairs and we are by no means satisfied with it. We are very grateful to Lord Hardinge for having separated our province, for having given us a distinct individuality of our own; but we must say with the utmost respect for our authorities that we are not satisfied with the present position of the higher public services in Behar. Gentlemen, I believe some of you are overjoyed at the prospect of the Royal Commission; but we were told by Lord Curzon that there are commissions to solve and commissions to shelve. We do not know, gentlemen, what would be the fortunes of this Commission whether the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale will have to end his labors, just as has been suggested, by writing a very able and brilliant note of dissent, or whether he will be able to wring out some concessions for us from the members of the Commission or not, remains still to be seen. I very well remember the debate at the fourth Indian National Congress at Allahabad where I was a volunteer, when Mr. Eardley Norton delivered his famous oration on the then Public Service Commission saying that the mountain was in labour and brought forth only a mouse. I do not know, gentlemen, what would be the labors of this Commission, but certainly it is the duty of every Indian to do his utmost to bring the labors of this Commission to a successful issue, and for that, I would respectfully ask all those who are intelligent enough, who are patriotic enough, to give their time and attention to study the problem in all its aspects and to send the ablest, the most intelligent, the most patriotic members of their community to give evidence before the Commission, because that is the work before us and much depends on the number of persons sent and on the manner and the method of study which is brought to bear on this question, and the quality of evidence which is laid before the Commission for the proper solution of the question. Gentlemen, speaking of the judicial service, as I belong to that profession, the bar, I feel bound to tell you, that it is a matter of the deepest regret to us that our District Judges are selected not from the members of the legal profession. I told an eminent European barrister, that even if he wanted to insist that some District Judges must be Europeans, I said select them from among the European members of the bar, I mean, the practising members of the European bar, because the District Judge in most cases is called upon to decide questions and hear appeals from the decisions of subordinate judges who enter the judicial service before the District Judge, was, at the time I should say, in his cradle and what can you possibly expect from a District Judge who has only been recently called upon to administer justice? I very well remember the case of a District Judge who asked me, "well, you have been arguing so long. I have heard your arguments, will you kindly tell me what is meant by equity of redemption?" (Laughter). That was a case under the Transfers of Property Act, and so, when he asked me what was meant by equity of redemption, I had to explain the whole thing. Gentlemen, if real justice is to be done to us, we must have Europeans who are trained at the bar and even if they insist on having members of the Indian Civil Service as District and Sessions Judges we must insist that they must undergo same training that our munsifs and sub-judges, undergo before they are appointed District and Sessions Judges. There will be no doubt that the Government will accept a proposition like that. If they say we will have members of the Indian Civil Service only, we say "By all means have them, if you insist upon it; but under the circumstances, give them the same judicial training, exactly that which our Munsifs and Subordinate Judges receive." And the Government is bound to listen to our advice. For Behar, we have

been agitating that our Subordinate Judges should be recruited from the members of the legal profession; and the question was put in the Bengal Legislative Council, that pleaders of ten years' standing should be made Subordinate Judges just as they have been made in the United Provinces under the Government of Sir Antony Macdonnell; and this is a suggestion which I respectfully submit for the consideration of the Government of Sir Charles Bayley because it is impossible to improve the service in Behar unless we have Subordinate Judges from among the practising members of the profession. Well, gentlemen, I am not going to tire your patience now. (Cheers.)

Hon'ble
Babu
Dwarkanath.

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

The Swadeshi Movement.

THE PRESIDENT:—We will now take the resolution about "the Swadeshi movement" leaving the resolution about local self-government, to be taken up to-morrow. I will now call upon Babu Ambika Charan Muzamdar who, I hope, will be called honorable very soon, to move this Resolution.

BABU AMBICA CHARAN MAZUMDAR (Bengal), who, on rising was received with loud cheers and cries of *Bande Mataram*, said:—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposition with which I have been entrusted runs as follows:—

Babu
Ambika
Charan
Mazumdar.

"This Congress accords its most cordial support to the swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of India to labor for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice."

Gentlemen, this is a resolution upon which so much has already been said; that there is very little to be said without repetition. I shall, however, deal with two aspects of the question upon which I think something might yet be said. We in Bengal are free to confess that the movement there had its origin in a feeling of gross outrage and a strong sense of retaliation (cheers). That feeling has happily gone, the wrong has been redressed and the the feeling has been conciliated. It is five years to-day that a pathetic and prophetic voice was heard on the heights of Simla " My Lord, conciliate Bengal " (cheers.) That voice fell on deaf ears, for five long years, until a strong viceroy and a true statesman came to unsettle the settled fact, and consign this monstrous measure to its grave. Oh! black ingratitude! that such a Viceroy, and such a statesman should suffer at the hands of an assassin on Indian soil! While I am speaking of the Viceroy my heart goes forth to that poor brave Jamedar who, like Casabianca, on the burning deck, fell dead in the discharge of his duty behind the Viceroy (cheers). Friends and country men, forgive me this short digression to which I have been drawn by my own impulse. But though the wrong has been redressed, though the feelings have been conciliated, Swadeshi refuses to go, for it has come to stay. People are not wanting among the lovers of true Swadeshi who say—" Well, the partition has been modified; there is peace and tranquility throughout the country, why do you again cry for Swadeshi? " My answer to that is this; that although Swadeshi was at first planted on the sandy surface of the soil of revenge and retaliation, its roots have gone deeper and struck on the firm ground of love and patriotism (cheers).

Gentlemen, two grounds are urged against us—first, that the cheapest and the best article must be patronised and secondly, that the principles of Swadeshi are opposed to the principles of Free Trade. Now, I shall briefly deal with these two objections. The cheapest and the best article must be patronised. Indeed! But this is a question between the buyer and the seller. If the buyer can reduce the price, he can have an advantage over the seller; if the seller can raise the price of his commodity, he gets an advantage over the buyer. But what when both the buyer and the seller are one and the same individual? You ought to judge it from a national point of view. The buyer is an Indian; the seller is an Indian; and whether the price be higher or lower, the money goes to the Indian (Hear, Hear and Cheers). Look to the wage strikes now going on in England. Does England become poorer by giving larger wages to the workmen, or become richer by giving them lesser wages? Because after all money remains in the country; he laborer and the employer, the buyer and the seller belong to one country and to one nationality, so that the question of the cheapest article does not arise at all. The next point is that—it is opposed to the principles of Free Trade.

Babu
Ambica
Charan
Mazumdar.

Free Trade indeed! But we cannot forget that Free Trade is another name for Protection. What is Free Trade to one country is Protection to another. England is the greatest manufacturer, the greatest producer in the world and the whole world is her market and she will of course like free trade throughout the world. Why cannot England go to France and Germany and educate and preach that "Free Trade is the best thing, why should you not open your doors to us?" (cheers). Free Trade indeed! An excise duty has been imposed on cotton goods—that is Free Trade! Hall marking our silver—that is Free Trade indeed!!! What is Free Trade? The other day Mr. Chamberlain was advocating retaliation, preference and so forth. These are words without a meaning. What you call retaliation, what you call preference, it is that which we call Protection and it is that which we want. What is the good of telling us "we, Englishmen, have got the entire market in our hands and therefore you must also open your door to us." In fact it is a fallacy, a political jugglery. Now, friends and countrymen, if you really love your country, love yourselves, if you want to ameliorate the condition of the masses, if you want to tackle the problem not in mere theory but in solid practical work, I say stick to the Swadeshi vow; observe it (cheer), Remember that every pie that you spend on a foreign article is a robbery of the limited resources of the country (cheers).

Remember what Mr. Ranade said to a Bengalee when he asked him 'why do you wear the coarse dhoty of Bombay?' He said 'Because Bombay does not produce better'. Let us be men, let us be Indians. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof (cheers). What is the use of masquerading in the garb of jackdaws and borrowed feathers (Laughter)? Let us try to be men, let us try to elevate the masses from the depths of their misery and affliction, Your motherland cries for your help, cries for her salvation. Great Nature cries, Deny not. With these words, I commend the resolution to your acceptance (Loud and continued cheers).

Mr. V. V.
Joglah
Pantulu.

Mr. V. V. JOGLAH PANTULU (Berhampore, Madras), in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, many words of mine are not necessary to commend this proposition to your unanimous acceptance, especially after the able and eloquent speech with which we have been treated by my distinguished chief, the grand old man of Faridpur. I will therefore speak a few words on this proposition. What is Swadeshi? The Swadeshi movement is one by which we endeavour to foster and encourage our home industries and to promote and stimulate our indigenous manufactures. It deserves hearty sympathy, support and co-operation. There is nothing sinful or hurtful about it. On the other hand, there is every thing that is laudable and praiseworthy about it. The Government of India professes to favor it; our leaders induce us to abjure foreign articles in favor of Swadeshi ones. It is a movement adopted by almost all the nations of the world, when they are confronted with unfavourable situations. England used it as a weapon of offence against Ireland and America. In the year 1882 when there was a depression of trade in England you may remember Lord Devonport from his seat in the House of Lords raised a debate and advocated Swadeshi or Protection. At the time, you may also remember our friend, the *Pioneer* of Allahabad—who is not known to be a special friend of the Swadeshi—advocated in effect the Swadeshi vow for all Englishmen. Mr. Chamberlain has advocated the system of Swadeshi by his policy of Protection. Mr. Balfour did the same thing by his scheme of retaliation; and several countries, such as France, Germany, Australia and the British Colonies, have advocated the same thing by tariffs. But I am sorry to state that India cannot do that which other countries did, because it has no control over its own fiscal legislation, nor can it persuade the Government of India to adopt the policy of Protection, for England at present is a Free Trader. And however much the Government of India desires to help us, it cannot do so because England is afraid of offending Manchester and other commercial countries. Therefore, the duty is plain before us. We must help ourselves, and I am sure if we do that, God will help us. We must do by voluntary protection what the State might have done by tariffs and bounties. Gentlemen, you are all aware that we send out a large amount of raw material to foreign countries and get in return finished goods at horribly high prices. Again, you are aware that every year we export articles to the tune of about 120 crores and import articles to the value of only 85 crores. That means India has every year been suffering a loss of about 35 crores. This is really too great an

economic drain on this country. But what is this due to? It is due to want of co-operation, want of capital, and want of skill in our workmen. I beg to submit that all these can be had if we have a little more of self-sacrifice than we now possess. If we are prepared to spend a little more on our Swadeshi goods, which are of course coarser and dearer, than the Videshi goods, we will be able not only to improve our home industries but we will also be able to put a little money into the pockets of our poorer brethren to whom we can supply more food and more clothes. Gentlemen, with these words, I appeal to you to do all that you can for Swadeshi and help it in all possible ways (Cheers.)

**Mr. V. V.
Jogiah.
Pantulu.**

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—The Congress will now adjourn to 11-30 A. M. to-morrow and the Subjects Committee will meet exactly at 5-15 P. M. in the tent over there.

The Congress accordingly adjourned to 11-30. A. M., the 28th of December.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

28th December 1912.

The Congress re-assembled to-day at 11-30 A. M.

Local Self-Government.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, we shall now take up the resolution on Local Self-Government and I call upon Rao Bahadur S. V. Narasimha Rao of Madras to move it.

RAO BAHADUR S. V. NARASIMHA RAO (Madras) :—

Rao Baha-
dur S. V.
Narasimha
Rao.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, The Resolution on Local Self-Government which I have to move for your adoption runs as follows :—

“This Congress expresses its regret that the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission with regard to the further development of Local Self-Government have not yet been given effect to and urges that the Government of India may be pleased to take steps without delay to increase the powers and resources of local bodies.”

Gentlemen, as you are aware, the scheme of Local Self-Government as inaugurated by that illustrious Viceroy Lord Ripon was mainly devised as a means of political and popular education. After about 25 years of working it was left to that far-sighted statesman, Lord Morley to discover that the authorities in India had not given that scheme a fair trial and he therefore urged in his memorable Reform Despatch of 1908 that the Government of India should affirm and actively shape their policy upon the principle authoritatively set forth by Lord Ripon's Government in the famous resolution of 1882. With your permission, I will read just two sentences from that resolution. The principle there alluded to is in these terms :—

“It would be hopeless to expect any real development of Self-Government if the local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of detail: and the respective power of Government and of the various local bodies should be clearly and distinctly defined by statute, so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible within the limits to be laid down in each case. However, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies.”

Shortly after the issue of this memorable Reform Despatch, the Royal Commission on Decentralization made some valuable recommendations with respect to the further development of Local Self-Government, which if given effect to by the Government would go far to strengthen the basis of a popular system of Local Self-Government in the country. Their recommendations relate to the constitution, functions and resources of Local Bodies, urban as well as rural. With respect to urban bodies, that is to say, Municipal Councils they recommend that they should have a substantial elective majority and that they usually have elected non-official chairman; and they also recommend that they should be freed from the undue and excessive interference exercised by the Government or their officers with regard to the framing of their budgets to expenditure generally. As things stand at present, Municipal Councils have no independent power with respect to the preparation of their budgets. In all Provinces, except Bombay, Municipal Budgets require the previous sanction of an outside authority. Then with respect to expenditure and several other petty things the Government exercise undue control and interference. With respect to the expenditure on works costing beyond a certain amount the estimates have to be sanctioned by an outside authority, that is, the Government. You will see under such circumstances it is impossible to expect any real advance in the direction of Local Self-Government, so much so that the Royal Commission on Decentralization said that Municipal Councils could not make real progress if constantly kept in financial leading strings; and similar recommendations were even with respect to rural councils, that is to say, Taluq Boards and District Boards, in the direction of extending their elective basis and of enlarging the powers and resources of these bodies, though with respect to non-official presidents for these bodies their recommendation is against the spirit of Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882. But generally their recommendations with respect to the further development of Local-Self Government are very liberal in spirit and will, if given effect to, tend to improve the efficiency of these Self-Governing Institutions.

But the most important recommendation for the further development of Local Self-Government in the Country is the constitution of village panchayats. As Lord

Morley has very well put it in his memorable Reform Despatch, "the village in India has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty."

Rao Bahadur S. V. Narsinha Rao.

Under present conditions those living in rural areas have hardly any share in the management of Local Self-governing Institutions. Therefore the Royal Commission on Decentralization rightly urged that Village Panchayets should be constituted throughout the country. Gentlemen, these recommendations of the Decentralization Commission were submitted to the Imperial Government nearly 3½ years ago and they have been under the consideration of our Imperial Government and the Provincial Governments for the last 3½ years. Even with respect to some interpellations put in the Imperial Legislative Council the Government said that they were considering this recommendation. This resolution urges that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give effect to it; and if they do so, a substantial impetus will be given to Local Self-Government in this country. I will not take more time in placing this resolution before you.

MR. N. A. DRAVID (Berar):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, The proposition that I have come here to second reiterates in substance the resolution which we unanimously adopted last year. It is a pity that the resolution should have to be repeated here again, that is to say if the Government had in the meantime given effect to our prayers and the recommendations made by the Decentralization Commission three years ago, there would have been no necessity for our taking up this resolution again. It is a pity it is so; but we have to meet the situation and it is this. The question of local bodies and their efficient working has to be considered from three standpoints. First, we might consider from the point of view of their *personnel*; secondly, we might consider it from the point of view of their powers and functions, and thirdly, we might consider it from the point of view of the adequacy of their resources for the work that they have to do. In point of *personnel*, I will repeat what I said here last year that in the Central Provinces we have got a two thirds majority of elective element in all our rural boards. The major Provinces cannot be so lacking in public spirit that they should not have an elective majority of half in their rural councils. It stands to reason that the major provinces should have an elective majority.

Mr. N. A. Dravid.

Then as to their powers and functions. With reference to this point, I will make only one or two references. Our present Home Member, Sir Reginald Craddock, was once the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and in reviewing the administration reports of local bodies he has expressed it as his view over and over again that in the present condition of the pitifully small powers of local bodies, the wonder is not that so very few people have taken interest in them but that as many educated Indians as have taken interest should continue to do so under the present circumstances. With regard to these two points, there is not very much to complain of; and if the Government will only give effect to the recommendations made by the Decentralization Commission our grievances would be redressed.

Then the third question is with regard to resources of these bodies; and this to my mind is the most important of the three points from which we have to approach this question. With regard to this, there has been something attempted in the Imperial Council this year. You know that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution with regard to this question, *viz.* the inadequacy of the resources placed at the disposal of these bodies. You may improve their *personnel* and give them larger powers; but if there were no funds to carry on the work, the improvement in the other direction will be of no avail. The most important, at any rate, one of the important points that emerged from the discussion in the Imperial Council is this: that generally it appears to be the official view that these Local Bodies having been thrown back on their own resources they must develop their own resources, and to see that these bodies are adequately financed was not the concern of either the Imperial Government or the Local Governments. But this view is utterly mistaken and many of us thought so; but this view has been prominently brought forward as a result of the discussion that took place in the Imperial Council. I was one of those who watched the discussion from the gallery in the Imperial Council; and to my mind it appeared that the view put forth there by Mr Gokhale seemed to have made considerable impression on the minds of the official members there. One point of view he urged was this. We are not lacking in our contributions taken together to the Imperial and the Provincial Governments. Our contributions

Mr. N. A.
Dravid.

are not less per head than they are in other countries. We contribute to the Imperial and the Local Administrations taken together, the same proportion of our Income per head, and, in spite of these two things, there is no equitable distribution of the resources between the local bodies and the general administration. That fault is not ours. You take especially the example of rural boards. Outside Municipal limits, the chief property consists of land: and most of the revenues from lands are appropriated to the Imperial accounts. If all this is taken away by the Government, it is not our fault that there is not very much left for us. If your contribution gives the same percentage of our annual income, the fault is not ours if there is no equitable distribution. Now they have adopted a liberal policy with regard to the resources of the local bodies; they are giving us doles for this purpose and that purpose. That is not what we want. In adjusting their provincial Budgets, the Provincial Governments have been incessantly complaining of the policy of giving doles. From the point of view of local bodies we have the same complaint to make. Instead of these doles, we must have regular substantial contributions, so that we may take up large questions and large schemes of improvement in addition to ordinary things. If we get our fair and legitimate share of the contributions to the Imperial and Provincial Exchequer there should be no complaint on this ground. We are contributing the same proportion of income per head; and so from that point of view it cannot be said that we are lagging behind all the other countries where they do everything to secure the efficient working of their local bodies. What we mean to say is this that with regard to the question of resources, the Government must place us also on the same footing as local bodies in other countries are placed. Provided these things are given—and in all these three things the Decentralization Commission have made favourable recommendations—and if effect is given to these recommendations we should have no complaint. We pray in this resolution that speedy effect might be given to this recommendation.

BABU ARIKSHAN SINHA (BEHAR):—

Babu
Arikshan
Sinha.

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution that has been so ably moved by my friend Mr. Venkatanarasinha Row and seconded by Mr. Dravid. I come from Behar and especially from that part of Behar which has been described by His Honour Sir Charles Bayley, the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar, as the land of the Hudsons, the Lloyds, the Elliots and the Lowises. It is that place wherein originated for the first time the "My-dear-Konstam" theory. The representation of the Indian community on District Boards and Local Boards is merely a farce. The European planting community preponderates in the local and District Boards. Besides this, there are Union panchayats and a large number of these Union panchayats have Europeans as presidents having the chowkidars and the duffadars under them. The situation is so very deplorable that an Indian can hardly be returned to the Local Council without seeking the suffrage of the planters and seeking their protection. It so happened, gentlemen, that this year when a candidate had to stand for the Local Council from the District Board of Tirhoot Division, he had to apply to the Planters' Association for help and support and it will be surprising to you, gentlemen, to learn that the Planters' Association passed a resolution supporting the candidature of that particular candidate and he has been returned unopposed to the Behar Legislative Council. I was amused to read today the editorial in the *Statesman* which notices the speech of our President and says that Mr. Mudholkar insisted that India should be adequately represented on the House of Commons. The journal goes on to say that the representation of Indians is not so necessary in the House of Commons as they are taking a larger share in the Local Self-Government. The journal further says "Mr. Mudholkar wisely insists on the importance of developing Local Self-government. Local institutions gave the people of England their training in the management of public affairs. And all genuine representative government as you see it to-day has had its foundations well laid in bodies corresponding to the Municipalities, District Board and Village panchayats of this country". Gentlemen, we want the same thing and nothing else. The District Board and the Municipalities are the only channels open to the educated middle classes to seek their pass-ports to the Provincial Legislative Council. The people of Tirhoot division are obliged to the Hon'ble Babu Biraj Kishore Prasad for bringing forward a resolution in the old defunct Bengal Council to the effect that an elective system in the District

and Local Boards of Tirhoot division should be introduced. We have read that Mr. Kishore Lal Gosami, the member in charge of Local Self-Government, in the Bengal Council, and the Hon'ble Mr. Filgate, representing the planting community, said that the Zemindars of Sheohar and Narhan and other places are not willing to serve on the District and Local Boards. Brother delegates and gentlemen, I have asked them and they are willing to serve on these Boards; but how are the people to know when the nominations will be made and when to put forth their candidature. The nominations are made without giving any notice to the people actually paying the road-cess tax. The result of all this has been that the Zemindars and the ryots who pay the road cess tax have been excluded from taking any part in the District and Local Boards. One result of this non-representation of the mofussil Landholders and the ryots on the Local and Municipal Boards is that the roads are maintained by the District Boards but used by the planters. The Zemindars' and the ryots' carts are not allowed to pass on the District Board roads. Unless and until the elective system is introduced in the District and Local Boards of Tirhoot Division, the Indian community of Tirhoot will be nowhere and they will have always to be dancing attendance on the District officers for being nominated either to the District Boards or to the Local Boards and they will have to go to the planting community for supporting their candidature to the Local Legislative Council. I hope that in the next Provincial Council the Hon'ble Babu Kishore Prasad with his usual zeal and energy will press this point and urge upon the Government the introduction of the elective system in the District and Local Boards of Tirhoot Division as early as possible.

Babu
Arikshan
Sinha.

Brother-delegates and gentlemen, I now pass on to Municipalities. In the Municipalities of Behar we have not got a single non-official chairman. There was a non-official chairman in Bhagalpur before Behar was separated from Bengal and at the time of separation Lord Hardinge, our sympathetic Viceroy, made his memorable speech in the Calcutta Council hall. Addressing the Behar members he said, "I have separated you from Bengal. May you go and live happy and in peace and prosperity". But gentlemen, the moment Behar was separated from Bengal the Chairman of Bhagalpur Municipality had been officialised and the District Magistrate put in as the Chairman of the Bhagalpur Municipality. I must congratulate my friends in Bengal and other provinces where they have non-official chairmen controlling their own local affairs. But Behar is most unfortunate in this matter. There are scheduled Districts such as Patna, Gya, Mozaffarpur and Bhagalpur and other places wherein the Municipal Commissioners are entitled to elect their own non-official chairman, but no encouragement has been given them, and often the District officers are pressed upon them as their Chairman. And so these Municipalities in Behar have become more or less official and the Municipal Commissioners are mere statues. In my own District in 1909 the Municipal Commissioners dared to elect a non-official chairman. In the meeting of the Municipal Commissioners an official member is said to have addressed the candidate for Chairmanship "are you prepared to stand as a rival candidate with the District Magistrate in matters of Chairmanship of the Municipality?" Anyhow that gentleman had courage enough to stand as a candidate and he was elected as Chairman of the Municipality, but on his case being referred to the Government of Bengal, the Chairmanship of the non-official member was vetoed and set aside by the Government of Sir Edward Baker, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. One result of the official control over the Municipalities has been that harsh and stringent privy rules have been imposed upon the rate-payers of Mozafferpur Municipality. The rate-payers wept and cried but it was of no avail. Ultimately, they submitted a long memorial to the Government of Behar signed by over 3000 rate-payers protesting against the privy rules, but in spite of the protestations and lamentations of the poor rate-payers of Mozafferpur the privy rules have at last been sanctioned by the Government. The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga who is in charge of the port-folio of Local Self-Government was approached by the rate-payers and he actually went to Mozafferpur and saw everything with his own eyes, but he could not help the poor rate-payers of Muzafferpur; and at last when the rules were passed it was stated on behalf of the Maharaja of Darbhanga that the rules were passed without consulting him. It is a pity that the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga could not come to the rescue of the poor rate-payers of Mozafferpur. Brother-delegates and gentlemen, unless and until the principal towns of Behar are given non-official Chairmen, local Self-Government in Behar will be a farce

and the suggestions made by the *Statesman* will fall to the ground. With these few words I heartily support this resolution. (cheers).

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Provincial Autonomy.

Babu
S. N. Baner-
jea.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA who, on rising, was received with enthusiastic cheers said:—Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I have the honour to move the following resolution:—

"This Congress records its satisfaction at the recognition by the Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State for India, dated the 25 August 1911, of the necessity of introducing autonomous form of administration in the different provinces of this country, and begs to record its respectful protest against the interpretation sought to be put upon the despatch which is contrary to its letter and spirit."

Brother-delegates, whatever differences of opinion there may exist with regard to the Congress and its methods of work, there is absolutely none as regards its status and its position as a factor, a potent factor, in the public life of India. Our movement stands forth before the eyes of civilised world as the one recognised political organisation of the peoples of India (hear, hear). Tennyson, in his own inimitable fashion, has described Milton as the organ voice of England. Truly, may we say that the India National Congress is the resonant trumpet voice of educated India (cheers). It is the mouthpiece, it is the organ, voicing its deepest convictions, its most cherished ideals. A pronouncement made by the Congress has thus a significance all its own. A resolution passed by the Congress means that it has become a part of the political programme of the nation. When the Congress has definitely made up its mind about any political reform half the battle is won (hear, hear). You have referred, I think, both of you, Sirs, the President of the Congress and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to the Royal visit as inaugurating a new era in the history of this country, an era of peace, of concord and conciliation, an era in which criticism is to be supplemented by co-operation, culminating, as I hope and trust it will culminate, in enduring and beneficent results. The Public Service Commission, the one that has been newly appointed opens up a prospect of a wider employment of our countrymen in the Public Service, of fuller justice being done to their claims. This prospect is brightened by a new and a brighter hope, which, when fulfilled, will confer an unspeakable boon upon our people; constituting a most enduring monument of British rule (Cheers)—I mean the hope derived from the pledge and the promise of autonomous governments in India (cheers). Ladies and gentlemen, Self-Government is the ordinance of nature, a dispensation of divine Providence. Self-Government has been the principal plank in the Congress platform from the earliest days of the Congress movement. We welcome the Reform Scheme, because it marks a stage, small stage, none the less a definite stage in the direction of the expansion of self-Government. We want Self-Government as it prevails in the colonies. We know we cannot get it in a day. The journey to it will be long and wearisome; but we have learnt patience in the hard school of disappointment and of constitutional agitation (hear, hear). If we have to arrive at that goal it must be through a process of evolution not of revolution, through many stages of development which will call forth all that is best and noblest in us. Provincial autonomy is one of those stages, a half-way house towards Colonial Self-Government (hear hear). We value it as such, we welcome it as such. Ladies and gentlemen, I daresay some of you, at any rate, have read the third paragraph of the Despatch of the Government of India. You are aware that a good deal of controversy has raged round that Despatch. Our feeling towards Lord Crewe—and I think I echo the sense of the Indian community at large—our feelings towards Lord Crewe are those of gratitude for the general liberality of his policy; but at the same time we cannot congratulate him upon his exposition of the third paragraph of the Despatch. He says it does not formulate a scheme for the expansion of Self-Government; it merely enunciates a scheme of decentralisation and devolution of power from the superior to the subordinate authorities. This view is inadmissible, and before I have done I will show that it is inadmissible, first on the ground of presumption, and secondly on a reference to the actual text of the Despatch. Does it—I will deal with the ground of presumption—does it stand to reason that, in a momentous document of this kind, issued on a great historic occasion, associated with the honoured personality of His Excellency the Viceroy—does it

stand to reason that in a document of this kind so much prominence should be given to a mere scheme of decentralisation and under conditions which might give rise to misapprehension and create false hopes? Nor is this all. The document bears the date 25th August 1911. I am not making much use of the date like a lawyer because I am not a lawyer at all (Laughter). It was issued on the occasion of the Royal Visit. Therefore behind it stands the towering personality of His August Majesty, and I ask does it stand to reason that the Government of India would allow the sacred name of His Majesty and the glorious reminiscence of the Royal Visit to be associated with a despatch which, in one of its most memorable passages, while professing to confer a boon, does nothing of the kind? The Despatch—I have got it here—the Despatch is a record of boons. Read paragraph after paragraph; it is a noble and illustrious record of Royal boons proceeding from the fountains of Royal mercy and beneficence. The partition is modified. That is one of the paragraphs of the Despatch. Bengal is raised to the status of a Presidency; and how fortunate we are in having a Governor like Lord Carmichael! (Cheers). Behar is raised to the status of a Presidency; and last but not least, and here I pause for a moment, the capital has been transferred to Delhi (Laughter). I am afraid my feelings towards this act of Royal grace are of a mixed order (Laughter). We in Bengal do not approve of it. We do not sympathise with that part of the boon. But still so far as the rest of India is concerned, it is a boon: and standing upon this Congress platform and speaking on behalf of the Congress and in the name of the Congress, it must be declared to be a boon (Cheers). Therefore, we have it that this Despatch is a Despatch pregnant with boons; and now when we come to the third paragraph, no boon of any kind! (Laughter). Is that consistent with the spirit of the Despatch? Is any interpretation reasonable which nullifies the graciousness of the third paragraph of the Despatch? Why talk of a boon? Why, if Lord Crewe's interpretation were accepted, instead of a boon we should have an unqualified curse (heart, hear). It would mean, assuming Lord Crewe's interpretation to have been correct,—it would mean that the Government of India by the terms of the third paragraph of the Despatch deliberately resolved to create a number of Provinces free from its control, but without providing any control as a substitute. It would mean the installation in each Province of an absolute, unqualified, untempered bureaucracy, responsible to none, save and except to the phantom of authority which might sit on the heights of Simla or might deliberate on the floor of the House of Commons. (Cheers). Do you call that a boon? From the eccentricities of Provincial Governments we appeal to the impartial justice of the Supreme Government. Relieved of this control, the Provincial Government would be left to themselves, answerable to no authority save and except that of their conscience and their God. Well, Sir, I am therefore driven by a consideration of these presumptive grounds to hold that Lord Crewe's interpretation is incompatible with the obvious sentiments of the third paragraph of this Despatch.

But let us look a little closer, and I hope, Mr. President, I am not tiring your patience (cries of no, no). Last night you threatened me with the gong (Laughter). Let us look into the matter a little closer. Let us look at the terms of the Despatch. I will not trust to my memory though it is good enough for all purposes. This is what the Despatch says, "It is certain," that is the third paragraph, "that in the course of time the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied." The just demands of the Indians for a larger share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied. That is the problem which the Government of India sets before itself, the gratification of the legitimate ambitions of the people of India to be associated in an increasing measure in the government of their own country—that is the problem, that is the question, which the Government set itself to solve. How does it solve it here? What is the answer of the Government? The problem is—that is the crux of the whole question—the satisfaction of those ambitions which have been awakened in our breasts largely through English influence and English culture for a share, an increasing share, in the Government of the country. How does the Government solve that problem? This is the answer of Government:—"The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of Self-Government"—to give the Provinces a larger measure of Self-Government, it does not stop here—"until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs with the

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Government of India exercising a superintending control over them." The problem is the satisfaction of the demands of the people of India for a larger share in the government of the country. The solution is : give the Provinces a larger measure of Self-Government by making them autonomous in all provincial matters. And mind you, this measure of Self-Government is to be a progressively increasing measure. We have got the word "until" there; and I think my lawyer friends will support me, that means that a larger measure of Self-Government, is to be given and it is to grow, to increase, until at last the culminating point is reached when autonomy is to be introduced into the various provincial administrations. I ask, could anything be clearer or more convincing than these words? Is it possible to put upon them any other interpretation than that which we have put upon the terms of this Despatch? No amount of equivocation, no amount of shuffling, or specious sophistication can minimise the significance of this grand pronouncement. And it so happens that we have high and distinguished authority on our side on this matter. Mr. Montagu whose visits to India we all most heartily welcome (cheers), Mr. Montagu, the lieutenant and the right-hand man of Lord Crewe has given this interpretation of this paragraph. Speaking at a Liberal Club in Cambridge he claimed, and with justifiable pride, that the policy laid down in the third paragraph of the Despatch was a triumph of Liberal statesmanship. Mr. Montague was not satisfied with giving that explanation. He has given us a reason for the insertion of that paragraph in the Despatch of the Government of India. He said—"Here were the revolutionists," because the Despatch was issued at a time when the country was full of unrest and excitement—"Here were the revolutionists conspiring against the Government. Here were the millions of loyal people, the constitutional party. The latter had to be reconciled. The latter had to be reassured, and it was necessary to lay down the broad lines of Liberal policy, the broad lines of policy which it would be the duty of English statesman to work up to for the realisation of the high purpose of British rule." Well, gentlemen, I do not know that I need discuss at any great length the history of this document. I am reminded in this connection of the memorable controversy which happily is now over, in connection with the Queen's Proclamation. You remember that Queen Victoria on the eve of the issue of this Proclamation, wrote to Lord Derby that he was to write that Proclamation in his own elegant language, in such a way as would be worthy of a female sovereign addressing a distant and multitudinous people. Lord Derby faithfully and loyally carried out the Royal behests. But what about the servants of the Crown who in this country tried to belittle this Proclamation and to frustrate the beneficent intentions of the Sovereign? Happily that controversy is now at an end. For Lord Morley has declared from his place in Parliament that the Proclamation of the Queen is not to be interpreted in a pettifogging spirit, but that a large and generous construction is to be put on it. History has the knack of repeating itself; and here we are launched in a fresh controversy in regard to a matter of this solemn importance. Sir, you were pleased to say, (turning to Mr. Haque) in that admirable address to which we all listened with so much interest and I may say with great admiration, in that address you were pleased to say, I am quoting your words, because they have been impressed upon my memory—"Ministers may come and Ministers may go; but the solemn words of the Despatch will remain" (cheers). Yes here they will remain; but I am prepared to go a step further. Let these words be blotted out, if any Minister should so wish. But what about the hearts of the people? (hear hear). There they are engraven in a deep and ineffaceable manner, never to be obliterated (cheers). God grant that these words may be borne unto the souls of our children, our children's children, so that they may be to them a source of ever-living inspiration (cheers). The Israelites of old when on their journey to Canaan were led by the pillar of smoke and the column of fire. To us these words will be the column of smoke and the pillar of fire illuminating our path in that grand march to the promised land (cheers) where awaits the blessing of Self-Government (cheers).

Sir, I have been told that this ideal of Colonial Self-Government is a dream. May be so. I am old enough to remember that some of the dreams that we have dreamed in the early years of the Congress have all been fulfilled (cheers); and that the dreams—and here history proclaims the truth—that the dreams of one age are the realities of the next. The greatest benefactors of mankind fired with a living faith and lofty enthusiasm for the success of their Divine-sent mission, have all been dreamers, worthy dreamers if you like. Mahomed,—if I may without irreverence for a moment refer to the divinely inspired Prophet of Islam—Mahomed dreamt great dreams in the caves of Mount Hira when his tongue was touched and his spirit

illuminated by celestial inspiration from on high. Buddha and Jesus Christ dreamt great dreams in the wilderness of their fastnesses, then in their communion with the invisible powers of heaven they reflected upon the solemn problems of life and salvation. Columbus was a dreamer when he went from one European court to another soliciting aid for the discovery of America. So were Mazzini and Garibaldi? Let us dream,—a little dreaming does good if it be of the right sort (cheers). A nation without ideals is a dead inanimate thing, without life for the present, and without hope for the future. Colonial Self-Government is our ideal. Colonial Self-Government is that for which we must work, for nations by themselves are made. We have blazoned, we have unfurled the banner on which is inscribed in golden and glittering letters the words, "Self-Government"—Self-Government for the Provinces, Self-Government for the Federated States of India, thriving and prospering under the paramountcy of England, living in indissoluble union with that great country which has all along been the home of free institutions. Lord Hardinge has told us that he has faith in the destinies of the people of India. Let us have an undying faith in the future of our race. Then God will help us. Let us make that future what it ought to be, the future of that land of our love and our passionate enthusiasm, a future that may be greater, brighter and nobler than the past, a future which will throw into dimness even the resplendant glories of Aryavarttha of ancient times. That is the hope, that is the prayer, the aspiration of our souls. May the God of nations fulfil them in full and abundant measure. (cheers)

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MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE (Bombay):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, my learned leader Babu Surendra Nath Bannerji has said that the idea of autonomous provincial administrations may be a dream and if we only dream, still, he would cherish it with very great avidity. But, Sir, I must say that that idea has advanced far beyond the stage of a dream. It is not a dream which we are dreaming now. That great Radical statesman John Bright in 1858 authoritatively laid it down that India was too vast a country for one Government to govern and he commended the idea that the Provinces ought to be separated and assigned under separate Governments with a central Government at the head. So that is not a new idea of which we can give the credit of discovery to the present Government of India. It may be that John Bright dreamt the idea at that time; but you see how his dream has been successfully and consistently carried out by successive administrations of the Indian Empire. In Lord Mayo's time the idea was further developed by that sagacious statesman although he was a Conservative. We know that his administration carried out certain measures which were fraught with great eventualities for our people. It was Lord Mayo who conceived the further idea of financial decentralisation. There you have the next milestone in the idea of the development of provincial autonomy. Then Major Baring developed that idea further on, and we have the so-called provincial contract by which for certain periods the Government of India have been assigning particular parts of the revenue for particular administrations, individual governments. So there you have actually some of the elements of provincial autonomy infused into the administration of the country. And then it is only a logical step further on which is taken by the Despatch. You, Gentlemen, know what the great philosopher Francis Bacon has said and what Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has laid stress upon here that the dreams of to-day are the realities of to-morrow. But here in this Despatch there is nothing laid down as a matter which is to be achieved in the distant future. It is a matter which has been already partly achieved and which has only to be carried into perfection. Now the Despatch distinctly lays down that India is to get autonomy in the provincial administrations. Now, as a matter of fact, in the face of that wording, several arguments have been raised *pros and cons* to understand the meaning of the words laid down. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has said he will not put forth the argument which a lawyer might; but I being a lawyer I do think that when you have the written text of a document before you, it is but futile and irrelevant to go and ransack old declarations of several people either to support the wording of the document or to oppose it, where the words are clear and there can be no clearer exposition of the principle than the words which the Despatch lays down. Whatever Lord Crewe or any other statesman may say, it is not his words that are to guide us or to guide the future policy of the Government. It is the wording of the written Despatch put down solemnly by all the members of His Excellency the Viceroy's Council which has been submitted

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as the authorised opinion of Government of India and has been accepted by the Secretary of State as the valid and legitimate statement of the principles on which the government of India is to be carried on in the future. No doubt Lord Crewe tried to resile from the words of the Despatch. One can understand easily why Lord Crewe perhaps felt himself compelled to shilly shally about the meaning of the words used there. We know his position in the House of Lords. Whatever strength the present Ministry may have in the House of Commons, in the House of Lords they are very much wanting in strength. Therefore, we see his Lordship being badgered by such forceful people like Lord Curzon, on all sides. It is quite conceivable that his Lordship lost his head and tried to assuage the acerbated feelings by saying that the Despatch meant nothing of the kind that the words mean. It is really very strange that all this explanation was wanted. If the words were ambiguous, one can understand the enquiry about the meaning of the words. But if the words are quite clear, I do not see that there was any occasion for Lord Crewe to lay any interpretation upon these words; and I cannot conceive any other circumstances but the one I have mentioned under which his Lordship was compelled to do it. But there too we have a difference of opinion. His Lordship's lieutenant, Mr. Montagu, gives quite another version of the Despatch to that which was given by Lord Crewe. But whether Lord Crewe says this or Mr. Montagu says that, our point is that the meaning of the Despatch is quite clear and the clearness of the Despatch is emphasised by certain sentences not read to you by Mr. Surendranath Banerji. Not only the Despatch says that the seat of the Government of India is removed from the seat of any provincial administration, but the third paragraph at its end puts down a very pregnant sentence. It says, "The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is therefore a measure which will materially facilitate the growth of Local Self-Government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great Central Government should be separate and independent and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, in Canada and Australia." I should like to know why reference was made to the United States, Canada and Australia, if it was not meant to convey by this paragraph that India was to have in the near future a system of administration very much allied to the administrations prevailing in those countries (Cheers). We are to be like the United States, we are to be something like Australia. What does that mean? There is no ambiguity in that. We are to be the Federated States of India with a central federal government, the Government of India situated at a place entirely apart from any of the provincial or federal government, situated in the centre of the country and responsible only for its foreign relations or for general affairs. Why the Government of India wasted ink and paper to put forward these superfluous words, nobody seems as yet to have been able to say how this reference was made and how it can be explained by any amount of words which Lord Crewe may use. Gentlemen, I do not think that the clear proposition laid down there would require any detailed argument either on this platform or anywhere else but since we are here we have not only to respect the written words of the Government but even the casual utterances of statesmen. It is on that account that we feel exercised in our minds, although the Despatch is clear in its terms. Under different circumstances similar statesmen for the time being may not feel inclined to carry out the very words of this Despatch. If that is not so why should we not protest very strongly against the wrong interpretation put upon the words of the Government of India by Lord Crewe? We might do it with great humility and respect; but we must standing on this platform tell his Lordship that all that, pettifogging would not do. It was once tried and the Queen's Proclamation was sought to be tampered with by Lord Curzon. But we shall not allow either Lord Crewe or anybody else to tamper with this solemn statement of the Government of India (Cheers) which in a measure is a further charter for our future government. That is why we are here all of us to-day, to tell his Lordship that we refuse to have any oral interpretation, that we look only to the solemn words of the Despatch and that we shall abide only by its wording. Gentlemen, with these words, I support this resolution (cheers.)

Mr.
Shashanka
Jivan Roy.

MR. SHASHANKA JIVAN ROY (Calcutta) :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Royal visit to this great country is an epoch-making event in more senses than one in the history of the political evolution of the people of India. The Royal visit evoked a wave of loyal enthusiasm throughout the length and breadth of India owing to the felicitous and gracious utterances of His Imperial Majesty as also to the modification.

Mr.
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Jivan Roy.

of the partition of Bengal. But Gentlemen, most important event connected with that memorable occasion is the publication of the great Despatch of the 25th August 1911 which we regard as our Magna Charta. Gentlemen, our illustrious leader and revered preceptor Babu Surendranath Banerjea has already referred to the most important passage in the third paragraph of the Despatch which clearly and distinctly lays down a policy of granting autonomous administrations to the various provinces of India with a view to meet the growing aspirations of the people of India. But gentlemen, coming as I do from Bengal, I cannot but refer to a particular fact for it concerns us especially the Bengalis. Gentlemen, it is the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. The reason that was urged in the Despatch in justification of this removal is this : that in order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the supreme government should not be associated with a provincial government. That is the reason why the capital was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. Gentlemen, in view of this reason assigned in this despatch it does not lie in the mouth of the Government of India or the official head of His Majesty's government so far as Indian matters are concerned, I mean Lord Crewe, to repudiate or attempt to explain away the clear meaning of this passage. Gentlemen, it has been sought to be interpreted as meaning that its object is to carry out a scheme of pure administrative devolution, and financial decentralization in India. Gentlemen, under the existing circumstances the final superintending control over the different provincial governments is vested in the government of India. The moment it is divested or taken away from the Government of India it must vest somewhere. If it vests in the executive heads of the various provincial government, the result will be the establishment of decentralized autocracy in the land. Gentlemen, of all autocracies that which is removed furthest from the people is the best and that which is most in touch with the people is the worst. If this interpretation be the correct interpretation, the result would be a calamity for India which would never have been the intention of the framers of the Despatch. Gentlemen, this interpretation is opposed to the whole spirit and traditions of British rule in India. It is opposed to the spirit of the Reform scheme of Lord Morley. It is opposed to the spirit of the message of hope given to us by His Imperial majesty. His Majesty himself has said : "Six years I sent from England to India a message of sympathy. To-day in India I give to India the watch-word of hope." The publication of the Despatch appeared at a time when His Majesty gave us this watch-word of hope. Gentlemen, if this interpretation sought to be put upon it by Lord Crewe be accepted as the correct interpretation, then this watch-word of hope means nothing to us. Therefore, I say that this cannot possible have been the meaning of the framers of the Despatch. Now, gentlemen, it is sometimes said that financial decentralization is the meaning of this particular passage. If it is so, I concede that financial decentralization is essentially necessary for the establishment of complete provincial autonomy. But have the recent contracts with the government of India, the financial contracts with the government of India, carried us any step forward towards the establishment of financial decentralization in India. I beg to submit it has not. The central principle in a scheme of financial decentralization, namely, that the revenues of the province should belong to the provincial administrations which should be given the power of apportioning a part of the amount for the object of maintaining the Government of India, this central principle has not been recognised by the recent financial contracts of the Government of India, Therefore, gentlemen, admitting that this is a scheme for complete financial decentralization I submit even if it be so the superintending control over the executive heads of the various provinces must vest in the legislature. That is the various provincial governments should be subject to the control of the various provincial legislative bodies. It won't do to increase the powers of the executive heads but in order to provide safeguards for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people greater and more extensive powers should be conferred upon the local legislatures over the executives heads of the respective provinces of India. Gentlemen my learned predecessors have completely proved before you that this interpretation is utterly untenable. Now, Gentlemen, I want to refer for a moment to stirring events that are happening in the world. The British Empire and all the self-governing members of the British Empire are being drawn into an Imperial federation for the purpose of Imperial defence and for the maintenance of the prestige and dignity of the Pax Britannica. Is it possible that when such a scheme of federation is being headed by Imperial statesmen, educated Indians should submit to be treated as a people

Mr.
Shashanka
Jivan Roy

to remain in a state of perpetual political tutelage? (cheers.) Gentlemen, when the colonial governments are acquiring day by day greater powers of self-government and are even attacking the foreign policy of the British Empire is it conceivable that we educated Indians should remain content with our existing laws. Therefore gentlemen this interpretation is wholly opposed to the spirit of British traditions in this country as well as to the growing national sentiments of the Indians. Gentlemen, the sentiment of nationality is coming to stay in this country. It cannot be put down, it cannot be fritted away by reckless statements, made by various irresponsible persons. Gentlemen, you ought to remember that nations by themselves are made. No doubt the statement of the policy is in the Despatch; but the effectual realisation and the translation of these principles into action depends entirely upon our own efforts. (Cheers). Gentlemen, if you want to realise that in India we must first of all realise our own responsibilities, Rights are nothing but the reverse of responsibilities and the reverse of duties. If you realise the responsibilities, if you are always alive to them, if you always act according to these principles, you will then be in a position to acquire political rights and political franchise. So gentlemen, I beg you, I appeal to you to always realise this principle in your heart of hearts that nations are by themselves made and to try to make yourselves fit by education, by culture, self-sacrifice and devotion to the national cause to attain self-government as the ultimate realisation of your political aspirations. (Cheers). With these words, I beg to support the resolution (Cheers). The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Legislative Councils

THE PRESIDENT:—I call upon the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha to move the resolution in regard to the Legislative Councils. I find that in the proof as printed there is an important omission. We settled yesterday at the Subjects Committee that the the 13th proposition passed at the last year's Congress, which was only a reiteration of a similar proposition passed at Allahabad should be included in it. Through mistake either in copying or in printing that has been omitted. Mr. Sinha will add that proposition to-day and read the whole thing as settled by the Subjects Committee.

Hon'ble
Mr.
S. Sinha.

THE HON'BLE MR. S. SINHA (Bankipore):—Brother delegates, the resolution which I have the honour to submit to you for your acceptance is rather a long one and runs in the following terms:—

“(a) This Congress records its sense of keen disappointment that at the last revision of the Legislative Council regulations, the anomalies and inequalities, the rectification of which the previous Congress strongly urged upon the Government, have not been removed. And in order to allay the widespread dissatisfaction caused by the defects complained of, and in view of the experience of the last three years this Congress earnestly prays that—

- (1) There should be a non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council;
- (2) There should be a majority of elected members in all Provincial Councils;
- (3) The system of voting by delegates be done away with where it still exists;
- (4) The franchise be broadened by simplifying the qualification of electors basing it on education, property or income;
- (5) The Government should not have the power arbitrarily to declare any person ineligible for election on the ground of his antecedents or reputation;
- (6) No person should be held ineligible for election on the ground of dismissal from Government service or of conviction in a criminal court or from whom security for keeping the peace has been taken, unless his conduct has involved moral turpitude;
- (7) No property or residential qualification should be required of a candidate, nor service as member of a local body;
- (8) A person ignorant of English should be held ineligible for membership;
- (9) It should expressly be laid down that officials should not be allowed to influence election in any way;
- (10) Finance Committees of Provincial Councils should be more closely associated with Government in the preparation of the annual financial statements.
- (11) There should be a Finance Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council as

- in the case of provincial Legislative Councils ;
- (12) The right of putting supplementary questions should be extended to all members and not to be restricted to the member putting the original question ;
- (13) The strength of the Punjab Council be raised from 26 to 50 and more adequate representation be allowed to Punjab in the Imperial Council.

Hon'ble
Mr.
S. Sinha.

Then come clause (b) to which the President referred : " And further this Congress while recognising the necessity for providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Mohamedan and other communities where they are in a minority, this Congress disapproves of the resolutions promulgated in 1909 to carry out this object by means of separate electorates and in particular urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the regulations framed under the Indian Councils. Act of 1909 before another election comes on so as to to remove the anomalous distinctions between different section of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise, the qualification of the candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils."

Gentlemen, as the President has told you, the last portion of the resolution which I am submitting to you namely clause (b) is precisely and word for word the same resolution which we passed at Allahabad two years ago after a very full and careful consideration of it lasting some three days; and it was reaffirmed last year at Calcutta and I ask you to give your consent to its reaffirmation here in this Congress assembly. In substance it refers to the grievance known as that of separate electorates provided by the Government for certain communities and classes. We standing here on the Congress platform as nationalists declare that there should be and there shall be for all Indians only one general electorate in which every person has a right to join if he is otherwise qualified as a voting member or as a candidate. We declare therefore that separate electorates, whether for particular communities or particular classes are undesirable and inexpedient and if they are to be kept up for certain purposes on grounds of expediency for the time being not only particular communities but all communities which are in a minority in certain provinces should have the benefit of these regulations that is, the old regulations. I shall draw your attention only to a few points. They are Nos. 1 to 13, which are set forth in the first part of the resolution. They are matters which have come to importance in the course of the last three years in which we have gained considerable experience in the working of the Council regulations. These are matters of detail with which you are all more or less familiar and I do not suppose there is any item in these thirteen which requires any elaborate discussion. One of the most important clauses is that members possessing a knowledge of English alone shall be qualified to represent us in the Councils. I have had experience in two councils, the United Provinces Council and the Imperial Council, and I can assure you that the fact of members being there who do not know a word of English in some cases makes their proceedings ludicrous. There was a gentleman—I desire to speak of him with all respects as a colleague; but I must state the facts for what they are worth—there was a gentleman in the Imperial Council who did not know a single word of English and who tabled a question about some postal or telegraph regulation and the reply was to be given by Sir Harvey Adamson, the Member, who was a Burma official and did not know any of the Indian languages. The question was asked by the gentleman in Hindustani and Sir Harvey Adamson who was furnished with a translation thereof rose immediately and gave an answer in English. The member who had put the question in Hindustani could not understand it and asked me what it was. I told him that there was no hurry to understand it and that he could wait till the proceedings were published. Such a thing happened in the United Provinces Council also. This anomaly should certainly be removed. Similarly, as matters stand at present, the regulation that restricts that only members of Municipal and District Boards shall be eligible to become candidates entails great hardship on people who have not cared to join these Boards. The reason why they have kept aloof from the boards are various, we know one is because the Boards have not been useful or attractive because they are all dominated by officials. To lay down that those who are not members of these Boards are not eligible is to exclude a desirable class of persons. There are similar other provisions set forth which will satisfy you that these recommendations are necessary for improving the Councils and making them more efficient, for the discussion of public questions and for enacting

Hon'ble
Mr.
S. Sinha.

popular legislations. Particularly the grievance has been felt in the Punjab that, whereas all the other councils have got a large number of members from 40 to 50 in the Punjab the election is confined to 8 Municipal and local bodies. The total number is small. It is but fair and proper that this Congress should reaffirm the proposition adopted last year that the Punjab should be given better representation on more liberal lines. I do not want to trespass upon your patience by taking you through the several item. I will take some at random. Officials should be excluded from influencing the elections. I think it is the experience in most of the provinces that in spite of the orders of the Government to the contrary officials of very high position, Indian or European, do take part in influencing elections. In the province of Behar I have got in my possession a document to show that a particular high official, unfortunately an Indian, has been taking an active part in influencing these elections. That has certainly a very undesirable and demoralising effect upon the public interests. Therefore the Government should certainly make a rule that officials, whether European or Indian, should in no way interfere in the elections. These are but some of the provisions set forth and as I said we are reaffirming them. The second portion is the most important and it is the same as we passed last year. I do not think I need take up any more of your time and I leave the resolution in your hands.

Hon'ble
Babu
Dwarkanath.

THE HON'BLE BABU DWARKA NATH. (Muzaffarpur):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, We are deeply grateful to Lords Morley and Minto for the reform of the Imperial and the local Legislative Councils. Gentlemen, these Councils are to be the future Parliaments of India, and it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should try our utmost to find out what the irregularities are and in what these Councils are capable of improvement. For the last three years, we have been carefully observing the various defects and irregularities in the regulations promulgated for the councils and we have come to find out that there are a series of most glaring defects in the regulations which must be corrected before the Council can be real, living, representative institutions of the country. Gentlemen, the first point which strikes me is this; that the educated middle classes in this country have got no direct participation in the franchise. We wish joy to our Mahomedan brethren and to the land-holders who have got a direct participation in the elections; but we must say that the educated classes are nowhere. Gentlemen, a Mahomedan graduate has got the franchise; but the Hindu graduate is nowhere (Shame). Gentlemen, the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha is a member of the Imperial Legislative Council; but the doors of the Behar Legislative Council are sealed to him for ever unless he seeks election to the Municipalities or the District Boards of any of the Divisions. Gentlemen, this is a serious anomaly. I very well remember the feeling of dismay, I would say the feeling of consternation, which overtook all of us when we first read the regulations. Almost all the members of the bar had assembled; and not one of them at Muzafferpur had the franchise; not one of them could stand either from the Municipalities or from the District Boards, for the simple reason that he was neither a member of a Municipality nor of a District Board. But there was rejoicing in the camp of our Mahomedan friends. Almost every graduate of ten years standing could participate in the election. Not only that, but even the Miajies and Maulvies could participate in the elections. But, gentlemen, the graduates of the universities either of Oxford or of Cambridge, if they have the misfortune of not being the followers of the great Prophet of Islam, would be completely debarred from standing for the Legislative Council or for voting at any of the elections. Gentlemen, the only remedy now left to the Hindus is either to become Mahommedans and then you can get the franchise (laughter)—Gentlemen, that is one remedy or, gentlemen, you must be a member of a Municipality or a District Board; otherwise you cannot get the franchise.

The President:—I must remind the gentleman that this is the national Congress and we ought not to speak against any community, a brother community (Hear, hear).

Hon'ble
Babu
Dwarkanath.

THE HON'BLE BABU DWARKA NATH:—I bow to the ruling of our President. If I have offended in that direction, I am very sorry for it. I never meant any reflection upon the Mahomedan community. I meant only a reflection upon the framers of the regulations, who so framed them that the Hindus are completely debarred from standing for elections, so long as they are Hindus. That was my object. I know that this Congress consist of both Hindu and Mahomedans. We are brothers, we are bound together by ties of love and affection. We are bound to work, shoulder to shoulder. We are bound to work out the destiny of this

country, shoulder to shoulder in the common march to that autonomous self-government which has been promised to us by the Imperial edict. What I meant to say was that there ought to be absolutely no distinction between Hindus and Mahommedans, so far as the regulations are concerned. That was the object I was driving at and absolutely nothing else.

Hon'ble
Babu
Dwarka
Nath.

Gentlemen, the third point which strikes me is this ; that, as the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha has told you, it is absolutely necessary, at least it ought to be necessary, that every member must have a knowledge of English. I do not know, gentlemen, what is meant by knowledge of English. There are the educated classes, the half educated classes and the quarter educated classes, and, gentlemen, I must say that the Government will have to make some distinction between these people. I think it is much better to have a gentleman on the council who is quite innocent of English literature than to have one who will dabble in English but may not understand things at one and the same time. Further, gentlemen, I think it is absolutely necessary that the knowledge of English possessed by a candidate must be such as to enable him to participate in the deliberations of the Council and not only such that he can only read out the speeches prepared for him by his political secretary. That is not a very desirable thing. Manuscript eloquence must cease in these councils, because it is manuscript which is doing all this gollal. The private secretaries and political secretaries prepare these speeches and these gentlemen, mostly men of the landed aristocracy, read out these speeches (laughter) and it comes to be known that such and such a landed magnate has prepared a magnificent speech although he cannot understand much of what he has read (laughter). Gentlemen, I say that that is not a desirable state of things.

Gentlemen, the last point which I want to urge before you is this. This Congress, no doubt, is the Indian National Congress, it cannot support or favour any particular class or community, it must condemn special electorates, whether they are granted to Hindus or Muhammadans ; it must condemn special electorates as a matter of principle. But what has actually happened? In spite of the absolute unanimity which prevails in all parts of the country that special electorates are mischievous in principle, special electorates have been actually granted to our Mahomadan friends. Then the question arises, what are we to do as a body assembled at the Congress, whether we are to condemn special electorates or whether we are to find a medium which will satisfy both Hindus and Mohammadans. I must respectfully submit that this is a proper question for enquiry by the members of the Congress assembled here to-day. Gentlemen, no condemnation on your part of the special electorates will deprive our Muhammadan friends of their special electorates. That is because our Muhammadan friends want it and they want it very badly, as they say, and they are the best judges of their own interests. We have absolutely no right to say that "it is injurious to you or detrimental to you". If our Muhammadan friends want it they must have it. We wish them joy ; but at the same time I say to our Muhammadan friends "We are brothers ; let us love each other ; and at the same time do not do anything, do not be overjoyed by having any special political concession or privilege which will be injurious to the best interests of your brothers who are the Hindus." And gentlemen, if you look at the working of the special electorates, you will find that it has resulted in an excessive representation of the Muhammadans in the local and the Imperial Legislative councils. (hear, hear), and gentlemen, this evil can only be done away with if the Muhammadan friends are not allowed to participate in the general elections. As long as they are allowed to participate in the general elections there will be no peace in the country. Either do away with special electorates altogether, or let not our Muhammadan friends participate in the general elections. If a Muhammadan stands from the Municipalities or the District boards, what is the position, the dangerous position, I should say the unenviable position, of a Hindu friend of his ? If he sends him to the Council, the result is that the number of Muhammadans is mostly increased, because they have already got their own members in the Provincial and Imperial Legislative councils beyond their numerical strength. (At this stage the President's gong was sounded) One word more and I have done. If he does not send them to the council they say that Hindu gentlemen do not support the Muhammadans, do not support the Muhammadan claim and as pointed out by Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar from this chair the Hindu is confounded between the devil and the deep sea (laughter), as he put it. Therefore I want to tell you, tell the people of

Hon'ble
Babu
Dwarka
Nath.

the Congress : Preach the idea of the nationalisation by all means as you have been preaching it. It is a glorious record of which any country, any nationality, can well be proud ; but at the same time let us look straight into the situation itself and if we look to the situation as it at present unfolds itself to us we find that our Muhammadan brethren, (here the President's gong was sounded a second time) are bent upon having special electorates ; and if so, we must see that they do not get excessive representation and are not allowed to participate in the general electorates also. (Cheers .)

The President :—Gentlemen, you have imposed upon me authority and you have also imposed upon me the privilege of regulating your proceedings. I derive my authority only from you. Now you have got a very long programme before you, and unless the speakers respond to my appeal of yesterday to faithfully obey the rule of the Congress, namely, to finish the seconding and supporting speeches in five minutes, it will not be possible for you to get through your programme even if you sit tonight till nine or ten o'clock. Therefore I request, I appeal to you to abbreviate your remarks as far as possible and speak only to the point. I now call upon Mr. A.S. Krishna Rao to support the resolution.

Hon'ble
Mr. A. S.
Krishna
Rao.

THE HON'BLE MR. A. S. KRISHNA RAO (Nellore):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, ladies and gentlemen, this is a very long resolution involving within its scope a variety of subjects ; and within the limited time that has been allotted to me I shall content myself by making a few observations regarding two or three clauses of this long resolution. As I belong to the Province of Madras, I think it necessary to place before you the circumstances and the conditions prevailing in that Province. I may state at the outset that I propose to make a few observations regarding clauses 3, 4 and 10 of this long resolution. Gentlemen, before I point out to you the necessity for adopting this resolution regarding the 3 clauses I referred to, it is necessary for me to point out how matters stand so far as Madras is concerned. When the Regulations were promulgated in 1909, the right of the franchise, so far as the general electorate was concerned, was conferred upon the existing members of the Municipal Councils and District and Taluq Boards ; and when these regulations were revised at the end of this year, some alterations were made extending the franchise to other persons as well. According to the regulations now in force all non-official members of Taluq and District Boards and Municipal Councils and all past members of these local bodies who have sat for a full term of 3 years within the last decade and certain title holders above the title of Rao Bahadur who do not possess the right of franchise in any other special electorate are entitled to vote. Though according to the revised regulations the number of nominated seats has been reduced by two and two more seats have been thrown open for election, the number of official seats thrown open for nomination has not been reduced. Though, as a matter of fact, the system prevailing is certainly and decidedly better than the system of voting by delegates, it is impossible to forget that it is against the principle of direct representation, which is to be our goal in the matter of all elections. It no doubt requires a careful examination of the circumstances of these Local Bodies, before we can really appreciate the necessity for the resolution. As matters stand at present, in these Taluq or District Boards the principle of election has not been quite extended to the extent to which it ought to be extended ; and even in the matter of the Municipal Councils the maximum limit allowed by the Act has not yet been reached ; and we also find that, so far as rural boards are concerned, we rarely find persons possessing the necessary educational qualifications, the necessary knowledge and experience to make them useful members of any of these bodies. Unless we reach a stage when all the liberal recommendations of the Decentralization Commission are fully adopted, unless we reach a stage when we make a decided advance in the cause of local Self-Government, it is impossible to state that all the educated classes are properly represented through these local bodies. It is therefore necessary that the franchise should be broadened, as stated in clause 4, by simplifying the qualificationons of the electors and basing them on education, property or income. Before I pass from this portion of the subject I may point out that except in the province of Bengal there is hardly a non-official majority, though the principle of a non-official majority has been authoritatively conceded so far as the Provincial Legislative Councils are concerned. No doubt nominally we find that the number of non-officials allowed to be in these Provincial Councils is in excess of the official element. But the elective element in these provincial Councils is far less than half the total strength

of the Councils except in the case of Bengal. So long as that provision is allowed to continue we can not expect any satisfactory result. The experience we have gained from the working of these Councils in the last three years in all these provinces, must satisfy us that regarding several resolutions proposed and supported by the non-official representatives in the Councils almost all of them were thrown out. So far as Madras is concerned, there was only one solitary instance when a resolution proposed by a non-official was accepted (here the President's gong sounded) Gentlemen the time of 5 minutes that has been allotted to me, the President tells me, is over.

Hon'ble
Mr. A. S.
Krishna
Rao.

THE PRESIDENT :-There is one minute more.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao:—The President is kind enough to give me one minute more. I have only one or two words to add. Therefore I shall not dwell upon this clause any further. I shall just run through what I have to say regarding clause 10. With the President's permission and the proposer's permission I wish to point out that so far as clause 10 is concerned, "It should expressly be laid down that officials should not be allowed to influence elections in any way" the words "or to vote" should also be inserted. I find it necessary to state this, because, so far as my Province is concerned though the regulations prohibit officials from standing for election they do not prohibit them from voting. There are two different clauses inserted. In the absence of a provision in the clause relating to the qualifications of the electors prohibiting them from voting we find that officials who have been Rao Bahadurs and Dewan Bahadurs are included in the electoral rolls.

BABU SURENDRA NATH MALLICK, Calcutta:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to support this resolution and I may say that the only way in which I can give a well defined expression to the gratitude that I feel is by not detaining you by attempting to make a speech on the subject. I made a promise to-day that I would not speak and I stick to that promise. I will only say that I support this resolution.

Babu
Surendra
Nath
Mallick.

PANDIT RAMBHUI DUTT CHOWDHRY (Lahore) supported the resolution in Hindustani.

PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA (Lucknow) also supported the resolution in Hindi.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru: (the United Provinces)—Gentlemen, it is my misfortune that I do not agree with the resolution as it stands. Those delegates from the United Provinces with whom I have had an opportunity of talking about this matter, and myself, are of opinion that there should be a further clause added to this resolution. The clause which I propose for your acceptance is this: "so long as separate electorates are in existence, those who are eligible to be voters or candidates in them should not be allowed to be voters or candidates in the general electorates". Gentlemen, I have been warned against the risks which I undertake in moving an amendment like this on the platform of the Indian National Congress; but I feel persuaded that it is by no means against the objects of the Indian National Congress that, if any one member of the community feels some grievance against any particular matter he should come forward on this platform and ask the Congress to redress that grievance. Gentlemen, we in the United Provinces do feel that the Hindus have not been fairly dealt with in the matter of representation in the Councils. Let me tell you frankly that I do not wish the Congress to commit itself to any particular position with regard to separate electorates. Whatever may be my views and whatever may be the views of my fellow delegates from the United Provinces, we are anxious to avoid raising any controversial questions regarding separate electorates on this platform; nor do I propose to raise any question regarding excessive representation. You are quite welcome to concede or oppose separate electorates; you are quite welcome to concede excessive representation or oppose it if you choose; but we do say that there is one way of minimising the evil which has resulted from the regulations as they stand; and that way is pointed out by the amendment which I have placed before you, viz., that these communities or those bodies who have got separate electorates provided by an over-anxious legislature for them should not be entitled or allowed to participate in the general electorate either as voters or as candidates. Fortunately for me, gentlemen, I am relieved from addressing you any long argument in support of that, I have the highest authority in support of the position I am taking. The President of the last Congress held at Calcutta expressed these very views in his very

Dr. Tej
Bahadur
Supru.

**Dr. Tej
Bahadur
Sapru.**

able address and I adopt the words of Pundit Bishan Narayan Dar the President of the Calcutta Congress in their entirety. Therefore I submit that, if these views are good enough for a President of the Indian National Congress, surely they ought to be good enough for a private individual who represents one of the unfortunate provinces in this matter. I will not say one word more after I have read those sentences from that speech. They represent my views and they are the views of the delegates from my province and the views of a large number of delegates from the Punjab. Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar said in the Congress at Calcutta:—

“Undoubtedly joint electorates have their advantages, they are a check upon the evil of total separation and hence some of our most enlightened leaders have always supported them. But it is my decided opinion which I believe is shared by a considerable body of my countrymen and which I here venture to express with due deference to some of my most public-spirited Mahomedan friends, that with the excessive representation secured to the Mahomedans through their separate electorates, joint electorates are incompatible; and that if this excessive representation remains it would be impossible to maintain them. For the existing arrangement puts the Hindus in a very awkward position: If, when the Mahomedans have secured a share of representation in excess of what their numbers justify by means of their separate electorate, the Hindus oppose then in the elections by joint electorates, they lay themselves open to the charge of sectarian hostility and other charges which partisanship can invent; but if they act otherwise they deprive themselves even of little which they owe to the bounty of Anglo-Indian impartiality. Is it fair to the Hindus that they should be thus placed between the devil and the deep sea? You will observe, gentlemen, that in urging this point I set up no claim of historical or political or any other sort of importance on behalf of the Hindus but only the claims of justice and equity.”

And it is on grounds of justice and equity that I also put this amendment before you.

**Mr. C. Y.
Chintamani**

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI (Allahabad) in seconding the amendment said:—Mr. President, and Fellow-delegates, on this platform, the platform of the Indian National Congress we speak not as Hindus or Mohamedans or as Parsees but as Congressmen and as Indians; and surprising as it may seem to some of you, I am here to support the amendment moved by Dr. Sapru, as a Congressman and as an Indian, and not as a Hindu. We are a composite people. We are aspiring to be a united nation. In the case of a people situated as we are in India, a sentiment of nationality can be developed only under one condition; and that is that the component parts which constitute that nation should feel that by reason of forming one nation, none of them suffers any injustice, none of them receives any preferential treatment and that all receive their just dues and none suffers anything that legitimately belongs to it. If you concede this principle, that the attainment of that feeling of equality among the various parts of the Indian Nation is the only basis upon which a united Indian nation can be built up, then I venture to say with confidence that, so long as the principle enunciated in this amendment moved by Dr. Sapru is not conceded, so long will you delay the day when the Hindus and the Mohamedans and others in this country will feel that none of them suffers by reason of joining together as one assembly on a common platform to put forward common national aims and aspirations. Now, gentlemen, Mohamedans have been given separate electorates at their own request; Mohamedans have been given excessive representation, judged by the test of numbers, at their own request. The Mohamedans put forward what they regard as their legitimate claim. The Hindus speaking for themselves not as congressmen on this platform, have also put forward what they think to be their legitimate demand. It is for the Government to come in and arbitrate between them. The Government have decided, rightly or wrongly it is not for me to say at the present moment, that the Mohamedan demands for a separate electorate must be conceded. They have further stated that they are under a pledge to Mohamedans not to abolish that arrangement of separate electorates so long as the Mahomedans themselves do not come before and ask them to abolish the separate electorates. At the same time the Government have also for certain reasons agreed to the Mahomedan demand that they should be given more seats on the Councils than they would be entitled to by the test of their numbers. In this amendment moved by Dr. Sapru the system of separate electorate is not combated. It is conceded. The concession of excessive representation to Muhamedans

is not quarrelled with. That is allowed to remain as it is. But granted separate electorates as well as excessive representation, it is put forward that, further, Mahomedans who have separate electorates and excessive representation should not come forward to vote or to stand as candidates for election in the general electorates as well. The result of this concession being given to them has been in not a few instances that several seats on the general electorates have also been taken away by the Mahomedans and the Hindus feel an amount of discontent which those of you, gentlemen, who fortunately belong to Southern India cannot form any adequate conception of. Those gentlemen in Northern India, who do not happen to be Mahomedans and who take interest in public affairs, who have experience either as candidates or as voters or public men who watch the election operations, will all tell you with one accord of heart and mind that the feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent that prevails among the Hindus in the United Provinces, in the Punjab and also in this Province of Behar, as the previous speaker has made clear, is so keen, deep and widespread that, so long as the present arrangement continues in its entirety without any change whatever, so long is it humanly impossible for the Hindus and Mahomedans to work together in harmony and friendship, and with mutual good will (cries of no, no.) I am speaking for the Province from which I come. It is because of this, because I feel as a Congressman in the interests of the Congress which can only prosper and grow so long as the feeling between the Hindus and the Mohamedans continues friendly and which can only prosper so long as the Hindus who have hitherto formed a predominant portion of the population feel that their interests are not jeopardised—it is only because it is necessary that such a feeling should not arise among the Hindus, if, this congress is to prosper and not to dwindle, that Dr. Sapru and I with great sorrow, in spite of several personal appeals made by several respectable leaders on this platform have felt it to be our duty as Congressmen to put this amendment before you and to appeal to you in the interests of the Congress and in the interests of the future of this national organisation, when we all expect to be a composite and united Indian nation, not to allow this feeling of inequality to grow up among the Hindus and not to drive them from the platform of the National Congress, and not to allow the conditions to grow up if the Congress is to thrive more and more. It is out of this national feeling as Congressman and as Indian that I appeal to you as strongly as I can to accord your support, your enthusiastic and unanimous support, to the amendment which has been placed before you (cheers)

Mr. C. Y.
Chintamani

The Hon'ble Mr. MAZHARUL HAQUE:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, my first and foremost duty both as a Congressman and as a Mahomedan is to enter my strongest protest against the unjustifiable and offensive language which has been used by Babu Dwarakanath against my community. I am as true a congressman as any one else in the Pandal. I am as true a lover of my motherland as anyone in this Pandal; but it does not amount to saying that I have ceased to be a Mahomedan. I will not say more on the point. (Cheers). The whole of India knows my views on this point. This in my humble opinion is the most inopportune moment to bring this amendment (Hear, Hear) I hope my Hindu brethren will not misunderstand me. For the last four or five years I have been vilified, I have been abused by my own Mahomedan co-religionists. Why? because I stuck to my views (hear, hear) and I still stick to these views which I have already given expression to on so many platforms (Cheers). But I will ask my very esteemed friend, Dr. Sapru—I thank him for the very nice language that he has used in moving this resolution—that at least for one year for the sake of my Mahomedan brethren he will drop this Resolution, and we shall see in the meantime what we can do. I appeal to him as an Indian Nationalist.

Hon'ble Mr.
Mazharul
Haque.

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU:—I believe we Hindus have always been ready to make every sort of concession to anybody and I think I may plead I am discharging my duty to my northern countrymen in withdrawing this amendment.

Dr. Tej
Bahadur
Supru.

THE HON'BLE MR. MAZHARUL HAQUE:—I thank my friend Dr. Sapru on behalf of my community.

Hon'ble Mr.
Mazharul
Haque.

The President:—Gentlemen, after the acknowledgment made by Mr. Haque it is only necessary for me to make my acknowledgment to my friends Dr. Sapru and Mr. Chintamani for withdrawing this amendment. It would have landed us in innumerable difficulties. The question is a very difficult one and I am glad they have withdrawn it.

The
President.

The Resolution as originally proposed was put to the vote and carried by a majority, a Mahomedan gentleman saying that he was against clause 2.

Executive Councils for the United Provinces and the Punjab.

Hon'ble
Pandit
Motilal
Nehru.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU (Allahabad):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, The resolution which I have been called upon to move reads as follows:—

“This Congress again urges that an Executive Council with an Indian member be established in the United provinces at an early date, and is of opinion that a similar Council should be established in the Punjab too.”

Gentlemen, the very modest demand contained in this proposition is so obviously reasonable and just that the necessity to move a Resolution on the subject in the 27th Indian National Congress can only be attributable to a cruel irony of fate. So far ago as the year 1833 an Executive Council for the United Provinces was sanctioned by a Legislative enactment. It has since loomed very large in the horizon of the Province. We have made during the last 80 years such progress as the other Provinces have made. We have marched on but the horizon has receded further and with it the Governor and his Council. Gentlemen, what happened in the year 1833 was that an Act was passed creating, or rather permitting the creation, or sanctioning the creation of a Presidency of Agra under a Governor and an Executive Council. Then at that time it was all but an accomplished fact, and to this day it remains all but an accomplished fact. Something or other has always happened to postpone the fulfilment of the promises of 1833. First of all, gentlemen, there was another Act which suspended the operation of the Act of 1833; but it only suspended the operation of the Act and did not repeal it, so that the Act remains and adorns the Statute book to the present day. Then, gentlemen, there was for a time a change of policy and the United Provinces were governed directly for a time by the Governor-General in Council. But shortly afterwards they were relegated to the charge of a Lieutenant Governor. Governors-General and Viceroys have since come and gone. Lieutenant Governor after Lieutenant Governor has held undivided sway over the Province and after his term was over has handed over the reins of Government to his successor and the successor in his turn has held as tight a grip upon those reins as his predecessor before him held. Gentlemen, officials of the type of Sir George Chesney have pronounced against the system of one-man rule for so large a territory as the United Provinces. The Decentralization Commission, as we are all aware, has strongly supported the claims of the Province to an Executive Council and pious hopes and wishes have been expressed in other quarters too. But we are as far from getting them as we were in the year 1833. It was in the year 1909, that an Act of Parliament was passed by which a Council, an Executive Council and a Governor were given to Bengal; and it was raised to the status of a Presidency. This Province of Behar was luckier, and by the mandate, the direct mandate of the King Emperor, it was given an Executive Council and its own constitution. So that the baby Province of Behar has now to be nurtured in the arms of an Executive Council. But the older province, the United Provinces, still remains without one. Gentlemen, the demand for an Executive Council is not confined only to what are termed the Congressmen or to what are usually called the educated Indians. But it has penetrated through every shade and form of opinion. The landholders, the Moslem League, in fact the whole country, have unanimously demands it; but the Act of Parliament that I have spoken of has done very little for the United Provinces. All that it has done is that it has made it possible for us to continue to hope that an Executive Council may one day at some future date be granted to the Province. So that, gentlemen, we are now exactly where we were in 1833, and you know the reason why. It is simply because we are a very well behaved people; and it is said that the credit for our good behaviour belongs not to us but to the line of strong Lieutenant Governors who have ruled over our destinies from time to time. Now, gentlemen, out of this line of strong Lieutenant-Governors there are two names which stand out more prominently than others in connection with this particular reform of which I am speaking. The first is that of Lord Macdonnell who was one of our Lieutenant-Governors and who, you are aware, was subsequently raised to the peerage. Lord Macdonnell no doubt was a very strong Lieutenant-Governor and when he found a colleague in and joined forces with Lord Curzon who was

one of the strongest Viceroys, they between them managed to secure the deletion of clause three of the Bill which originally provided for the establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces. The other gentleman, which stands out prominently is the name of Sir John Hewett, our late Lieutenant Governor. His towering personality carried everything before him. You will all remember that my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject and what was he told in reply? He was in effect told that he would not get an Executive Council, because Sir John Hewett did not want it. I myself, gentlemen, had the temerity to send up a similar resolution to the local Council, but I was told that Sir John Hewett did not consider it expedient in the public interests to allow any discussion of the question and so the resolution never came to be discussed. After that gentlemen, who can say that Sir John Hewett was not a strong man? But his strong regime is now over and the strength of his successor Sir James Meston lies not in riding the high horse but in broadminded and liberal statesmanship, in deep-rooted sympathy with the aspirations of the people whom he governs (cheers). And it is to be expected, nay, it is to be hoped and believed that in his regime an Executive Council will soon be given to the United Provinces. But, gentlemen, we have got so accustomed to "hope deferred" that we shall not rest satisfied and content with the mere expectation of a Council being granted in course of time. I think it is our duty to go on pressing for it and demanding it till it is an accomplished fact, and it is for this reason, not because I am without hope, but for the reason that we must not stop and not lie by and must not simply wait and expect, but work for and agitate till we get it actually, that I ask you to adopt this resolution.

Pandit
Motilal
Nehru.

Gentlemen, there is a reference made in the resolution to an Executive Council for the Punjab. I find that one of the supporters of this motion is my friend Lala Harkishan Lal of the Punjab and I have no doubt that he will speak to you with special reference to the situation in the Punjab. But it appears to me that on general grounds there is no reason whatever, why an important province like the Punjab should go without an executive council. And I therefore commend this resolution to you acceptance.

MUNSHI CHAIL BIHARI LAL:(Sitapur).—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, The resolution which I have the honour to second is a very simple and non-contentious one. I need not give you the history of the subject that is dealt with in this resolution. You will find all that in the very admirable speech that was delivered by my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha when he moved his well-know resolution on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council. You will find in that debate that the reasonableness, the necessity and the expediency of creating an Executive Council was admitted by the Government. All that was said against it was that the then Lieutenant-Governor was not in favour of the proposal. Now that Lieutenant-Governor is not here, he has retired, and we are assured by our leaders that fortunately, our present Lieutenant-Governor is what I may call an upto-date civilian in full sympathy with the aspirations and the ambitions of the Indians, let us hope that the reform which has been so long delayed will soon be conceded to the Province and that an Executive Council will soon come into existence. Speaking from this platform in the Province of Behar I think there is much force in the appeal that I make to the Government. This Province which is but a creation of yesterday has got an Executive Council and I see absolutely no reason why the United Provinces which is an older Province should be delayed the boon which has been granted to this Province. I am not speaking in any spirit of jealousy or envy. As a lawyer I simply call this as a precedent and I hope that what has been given to this new province will be given at once for the old province, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Munshi
Chail
Bihari Lal.

LALA HARKISHAN LAL:—I heartily support the resolution.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously

Lala Har-
kishan Lal

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINDS AND ASSAM

Rao Bahadur R. G. MUNDLE (Yeotmel, Berar) who was received with cheers on rising said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Rao Baha-
dur R. G.
Mundle.

The resolution entrusted to me to be placed before you for your kind acceptance is in these terms:—

Rao Bahadur R. G. Muddie.

“This Congress thanks the Government for the establishment of Legislative Councils in the Central Provinces and Assam and is of opinion that the former administration should be raised to the status of a Lieutenant Governor's charge.”

Gentlemen, this is a mere formal resolution. The Government has been pleased to grant us this right and it is placed before you for your consent on this ground that it involves a general principle and that principle is that where a people are advanced materially, morally and educationally they are entitled to be associated with the Government in the administration of their country. That principle has been observed in this province and there is also another principle and that is this that a Government like that of His Excellency Lord Hardinge is always willing to give that right whenever the people are entitled to it or are capable of exercising it in the proper manner. In this connection, I have only to say that the Central Provinces have been under the British Administration for the last six years and in such a small period they have made considerable progress not only in education but in trade, in industries and in arts. In connection with the establishment of a Council for the Central Provinces I have to bring to your notice another fact and that is along with the member of the Central Provinces the Government of Lord Hardinge has been pleased to allow a member to be nominated after they have been duly elected from Berar. Gentleman, you are all aware of the peculiar position this province of Berar occupies in India since 7 or 8 years that it has been amalgamated to the Central Province; it is looked upon as good as a British Province because that is the wording even in the resolution by which the Income-tax was levied on the inhabitants of Berar. No, the inhabitants of Berar pay income-tax as you, gentlemen, do; they pay the Stamp duty as you do; they are subject to the same laws as you are subject to and when the matter of sending a member to the Council comes then the question arises as to whether we are British Indian subjects or the subjects of any other Sovereign. Well, technically, we are the subjects of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. In as much as we are under the British administration, in as much as we are under the same law and under the same liabilities as the residents of British India are under we are entitled and besides I am proud to say that Berar is far more advanced than any of the Divisions in the Central Provinces both in education and in industries. Well this difficulty has been created by Lord Curzon, a very powerful Viceroy, a very strong Viceroy, who wanted to have whatever he set his heart on. He did not care for the consequences. His idea was “let me have what I want: let consequences take care of themselves.” Well fortunately for us His Excellency Lord Hardinge found out a way by which we were enabled to send representatives from Berar to the Central Provinces Council. The system adopted is one that was in vogue before the new act was passed. First members will be elected by the Berar people that is, the Municipalities, the District Boards, the Landholders and the Mahomedans, and when they are elected they will be nominated by Government. His Excellency the other day assured us that under the circumstances, under the difficult circumstances, that was all he was able to do and we are deeply thankful to His Excellency for this. But we pray that in as much as we have this right given to us which can be said to be rather not a direct right His Excellency will be pleased to allow a member from Berar, on his own that is, the Imperial Council. By allowing this right the proportion of the non-officials to official in the Imperial Legislative Council will not be in any way disturbed. We have already the honor of having our President as a Member of that Council. With these remarks I place before you this resolution for your acceptance. (Cheers.)

Mr. G. N. Kane.

MR. G. N. KANE (Amraoti) in seconding the proposition said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I have a very pleasant duty to do on this occasion. I have to thank the Government for having granted us the boon which we wanted last year and the year previous to it. Last year the resolution as given on page 5 of the Calcutta report is to his effect “that this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar and for according to Berar which is now held by the British Government a permanent tenure the status and privileges which are accorded to provinces included in British India.” Our demand for a legislative Council for the Central Provinces was made from year to year but definitely and strongly made in the Calcutta Congress and that was last year and this year we find that the boon has been granted to us by the establishment of the Provincial Legislative

Council for the Central Provinces. Our Province of Berar is held by the Government of India on a permanent tenure and we are put under the administration of the Central Provinces Government. Now that Government is provided with a Legislative Council, and we also have been promised a share in the deliberations of that Council, our law will also be discussed in that Council, and then promulgated for our guidance and used by the Government of India under its notification so that the boon that we sought last year has been granted to us this year. We have every reason to be satisfied with what has been given to us by Government. Gentlemen, we have every reason to be satisfied and I only express that satisfaction on the part of our Province. We have only added one clause to last year's resolution, viz. that the status of the head of Central Provinces and Berar should be raised from that of Chief Commissionership to the status of a Lieutenant-Governor. The Province of Sind is administered by the Governor of Bombay. The Governor of Bombay has two Provinces to administer, the Province of Sind and the Presidency of Bombay. Now our Lieutenant-Governor, our chief whom we propose to be raised to the status of a Lieutenant-Governor has two Provinces to govern, viz. the whole of the Central Provinces and Berar under him the permanent tenure of the Government of India. We only ask that the status of the Chief Commissioner of the two Provinces should be raised not to the status of a Governor but only to the status of a Lieutenant-Governor. I think our demand in this resolution is just and I have no doubt that Government will see its way to grant that status to our Chief. Now gentlemen, it reminds me of Professor MaxMuller who said on one occasion, viz. at the beginning of the century a great discovery was made. That was "Heavenly Father" the word was found in the verses of the Rig Vedas; that he considered that to be the great discovery of the 19th century for this reason that all humanity was centred and joined together as sons of the One heavenly father. The word Dyauspitha is also to be found in Greek, in the word Jupiter in Latin and in all the languages. That he considered to be a great discovery for purpose of joining humanity together. I also appeal to you and ask you whether what I say is not a discovery of the 20th century. राजा मित्र केन इष्टं सुतं वा *Raja Mitram ken Drishtem Sruthamva* that is a question which has been asked by one of the writers of Sanskrit literature. He says: has anybody seen a king to be a friend or heard a king to be friend. I submit we have found the solution of the question in the person of our present king His Majesty Emperor George V (applause). He is our best friend. We have seen him as our friend, we have heard of him as our friend, because he has been granting to us one boon after another. The partition of Bengal was abolished by his one word, the raising of the provincial Government of Behar was also done by him and lot of things have been done for our benefit. Therefore, gentlemen, I submit for your consideration whether that the Sanskrit poet said has not been satisfied in the person of our King Emperor George V. We have heard of him as our friend, we have seen him as our friend. Now with these words, gentlemen, I beg to support the resolution so ably moved by my predecessor. (Cheers.)

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Separate Electorate for Local Boards.

MR. PRESIDENT:—Now we come to the resolution on Separate Electorates for Local Bodies, which has been already discussed from this platform. The principles of it having been accepted it will be put from the chair as settled by the Subjects Committee last night. The resolution runs as follows:

"This Congress strongly deprecates the extension of the principle of separate communal electorates to Municipalities, District Boards or other local bodies."

No remarks of mine are necessary. I put it to the Congress whether they accept the resolution or not, (Cries of all all). The proposition was therefore carried unanimously.

Law Membership.

THE PRESIDENT:—Now we come to resolution on Law Membership, which runs in these terms:—"That in view of the fact that Section III of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to members of the English Bar only; thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection can be made, this Congress urges that the said

section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils and Attorneys-at-Law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office."

In regard to this proposition which I have been authorised last night by the Subjects Committee to put before the Congress from my place here, I will only say a few words. One reason why we put forward this resolution is mentioned there, viz., that we should have a wider field of selection. I go further and say that amongst advocates and Vakils at times you find men whose knowledge of law not only of the Statutory law of India but of general jurisprudence and above all of the principles of legislation and politics is far higher than that possessed by the general run of members of Council. It is a curious anomaly, a most unsatisfactory thing that persons who deserve to be entrusted with the legislative portfolio should be unable to occupy that position, should be unable to be put in charge of that portfolio by an antiquated piece of legislation when it was not known that anyone except Barristers-at-Law would be competent to be in charge of it. At that time when that law of 1833 was passed it was not at all contemplated that legal knowledge would make the advances it has done in India, as it is our best men, men like Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, men like Sir Gurudas Bannerjee men like Sir V. Aiyenger—they are incapable of being appointed to this office. I am quite sure that in this matter the Congress will be unanimous as it was on previous occasion. I therefore move this resolution and ask all of you who are in favour of it to raise your hands (cries of all).

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Education.

The President :—I now call upon Mr. Bose to move his resolution on Education.

Mr. Sachin-
dra Prasad
Bose.

BABU SACHINDRA PRASAD BOSE (Calcutta) then rose and said :—Ladies and Gentlemen, The resolution which I have the honor to move in this House runs thus :—

- (a) "While expressing its satisfaction and thankfulness that Government have announced a more active educational policy, this Congress regrets the defeat of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and affirms its conviction that the introduction of a measure of free and compulsory education is essential to secure a rapid extension of elementary education.
- (b) This Congress cordially approves of the movement for the establishment of teaching and residential Universities in India".

Gentlemen, last year in Calcutta when this Resolution was brought before the Congress the whole question of Primary education was discussed by a number of delegates. In fact, it was dwelt upon at such a length that there practically remains not a single point to add to it. Besides, Mr. Gokhale, the originator of the Bill, has so thoroughly analysed the whole question and has placed such an overwhelming mass of information before the public that no one can venture to add a fresh fact to the proposition, but in spite of all this, in spite of arguments, for Mr. Gokhale has given you all sorts of arguments in favour of compulsory free education, he has met all possible objections, that might come from whatever quarter, he has given you facts which are convincing and indisputable but—in spite of all this fact, in spite of arguments, reasons facts, figures and statistics the Bill has been thrown out by the Government of India. Mr. Gokhale has been defeated in his purpose, what are we to do now? Shall we sit idle over it and take the defeat lying down or shall we rise equal to the occasion and concentrate all our attention, energy and activities on this one question alone which could regenerate the future of India (cheers) and could solve the problem of Indian questions. Gentlemen, I know that there are still among us men and they must be said to be honorable men—there are still among us men who think, unfortunately rather seriously, that education is not for the poor man, that education is the privilege to which the favoured few alone are entitled and not the poor masses. But fortunately for us, the number of such shallow thinkers is very small; practically they are a microscopic minority and they only show their inward selfishness when they express such views. Education, on the contrary, is the greatest blessing that can be conferred by any State or Government on the people (cheers), and it was therefore that our beloved Emperor had announced to us in his Coronation boons—and it is referred to in this resolution—that a grant of 50 lacs would be made to India for the furtherance of Primary education

(cheers), yes; Education is the only lever, the strongest lever with which nations can be raised, (hear hear and cheers) for it is the light of knowledge alone that can dispel darkness, ignorance, superstition, and all sorts of tyranny from the people. Ah! how many millions of them! Brother-delegates how many millions of our own Countrymen are now without this education! Brother-delegates, shall I put it to you in a plain and straightforward way? What are we? What is the use of India? what are these Congresses and these Conferences, these political assemblies and institutions,—are they not the products of education, the noblest, the mightiest, and the grandest products of education? Well, if education has done so much for us, then why should you hold it back from the millions of our countrymen who are sunk in ignorance and superstition, sunk in a state of wretchedness and degradation which is unsurpassed if not unparalleled, in the history of the world. Brother-delegates, it is a shame to us that they are yet in such a degraded state. It is a calumny to the Congress that no effective propaganda has been chalked out with regard to this Elementary Education Bill, though one year has come and gone since the Bill was thrown out by Government. I do not know if any serious effort was made in any province to start a regular campaign for bringing home to the people the benefits of education. I know, gentlemen, that the struggle that is before us is a long one, and I am afraid it may be a weary one too; but the struggle has to be faced like men, or we can never aspire to attain that goal of our political ambition, for it has been chalked out from this chair that our political goal is the attainment of Self-Government within the Empire. But I put it to you that this Self-Government within the Empire can never be attained by people, the overwhelming majority of whom is sunk in darkness and ignorance. They never care to know what this Self-Government means, they have no idea of the extent and the magnitude of this great Empire which we choose to call our Motherland. Brother-delegates, for the last twenty-seven years, we have been meeting in Congresses and Conferences and we have passed cart-loads of resolutions for drawing the attention of the Government to our needs, requirements and grievances. I do not say that all these have been in vain; but what I do mean to say is this that our recommendations do not receive that amount of consideration from Government which they should have received going as they are from the national assembly of the people. How is it? Why is it? Why should it be so? The answer is plain and obvious. Now, the Government knows well, knows, fully and thoroughly well, that the Congress is yet lacking in that greatest strength which proceeds from the people alone and not from otherwise. If these resolutions are backed by the voice of the millions, if these resolutions are backed by them, then I can assure you that the whole face of the country would be changed in a day (cheers). But here they are, they are struggling in darkness these poor people, millions and millions of them our own kith and kin, the bone of our bone and the flesh of our flesh, these millions and millions of our countrymen. Well gentlemen, our sufferings are many and our sufferings are great, and if any one would ask me as to what would be the proper remedy for all these grievances and sufferings, I would tell him unhesitatingly and all at once, in the words of Lord Ripon, that the first remedy is Education the second remedy is Education, and the third remedy is Education. (Loud applause) and fourth, it is education alone that can bring salvation to India (cheers). It is the universal balm, the sovereign remedy, for all sorrows and sufferings that flesh is heir to. Let us go in hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands to these teeming millions of India and carry this message of salvation to them. Let us carry the stores of knowledge from door to door and within a short time, we will find from every cottage of this vast Continent—yes, India looks like a Continent—will rise one long and ceaseless cry which will demand in no uncertain words a system of education which will not only be free but compulsory also. And gentlemen, one word more. Never forget this portion of the resolution. We want compulsory education for compulsion is the real thing of the whole Bill, for without compulsion, education can never be made universal. A patient does not like the hospital and the medicine, nevertheless, the hospital and the medicine are necessary for him to recruit his health. So also the ignorant child may not like his school and his books, but these are things which are absolutely necessary for him to get on in this world. If the poor father cannot afford to give education to the child, the State must come forward and help him and give him free education. This is what is happening in England, America, France, Germany and all the civilised countries of the world. Let us follow in their wake and then we shall have this grand achievement fulfilled within a measurable distance of time. Let us take this vow.

Mr. Sachin-
dra Prasad
Bose.

Satindra
Prasad
Bose.

Standing on this hallowed ground, in this Behar Congress, Behar which was once the greatest seat of learning in ancient India, Behar which still holds the sacred relics of the University of Nalanda.—I thank the Chairman of the Reception Committee for erecting that Nalanda gate and it has been the proud privilege of the Bengalee delegates to enter into the Pandal by that gate.—Let the cry go forth from that Nalanda gate, to the teeming millions of India, educate your children, educate all your children, educate every one of your children: with these words, gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your acceptance (Cheers).

Mr. C. P. R.
Aiyar.

MR. C. P. RAMASWAMY IYAR (Madras), in seconding the resolution said:—Mr. President and Brother delegates, Not the least of the Royal boons that was announced some time ago was the gift of 50 lacs for education and was the promise of further gifts to augment it from time to time. That showed the real royal solicitude for the true welfare of the people of the country. At the time the Congress met last year, Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill was on the anvil; and you all heard the thrilling accents with which he summoned all of us to rise as one man to agitate until his Bill was passed into law. It was not passed into law. It was not without a feeling of surmise of the end which was to come in respect of that Bill that Mr. Gokhale made that impassioned appeals. The end has come: the Bill has been rejected: What then does it behove us to do? We ought to agitate as one man, and see that that Bill finds its place in the Statute-Book. Remember, gentlemen, during the year 1910-11, not more than 63½ lacs of people, throughout the whole length and breadth of the continent, enjoyed the benefit of any education whatsoever. Remember also, gentlemen, that the proportion of the school-going population to the whole population is 1·9. In this respect, this country stands far below Russia, and the Phillippines. Gentlemen, such a state of things ought not to be tolerated. The remedy lies entirely in your own hands, you must agitate with the Government, concentrate all the private efforts in the land until you find that by private aid or by forcing the attention of the Government upon this problem that education is made free and compulsory. Gentlemen, is it necessary after the eloquent and thrilling words of the previous speaker to say more on this subject? But this resolution comprehends another branch and the second portion of the Resolution is that "This Congress cordially approves of the movement for the establishment of teaching and residential universities in India." Mr. President and Gentlemen, It has often been hurled against the educational system in this country that it is barren of results. It has been said that graduates turned out of the universities do not produce any startling or original results—that research is absent in this country. This gentlemen, may be ascribed not only to the soullessness of the teaching that is imparted in most of our colleges and Universities.—that soullessness which it is the aim of Hindu and Mohammadan Universities to combat—but also to the system of what might be called cramming establishments which are what the Universities really are all over the country: The Universities are really centres of cramming throughout the country and it is the aim of all persons who have the interests of true education at heart, to convert these universities into residential and teaching universities, to revive in India the glories of the old Home university system. Gentlemen, the last speaker referred to the University of Nalanda. Picture to yourself the system of education that was practised in ancient India, it was truly a residential university. The pupil sought the home of the teacher and derived inspiration from daily life with him and from his example as well as his instruction. It is really that to which Western nations have approximated in the great and advanced countries of Europe and America. And it is that to which we must approximate, before any real progress in education is possible. This system of examinations and reading for examinations alone has wrought great ruin, great havoc on the intellectual constitution of the country. It has produced a race who are, in the language of our hostile critics, fit only to be clerks. We want band of organised research, we want a band of men who will carry forth the torch of science and truth, as the earnest band of such men carry forward in other countries. To achieve that end, we can only advance through residential and teaching Universities. Great credit is therefore due to the organisers of the Hindu and Muhammadan universities who are striving to achieve that end. But we do not want Hindu and Mohammadan universities alone. We want not two, but twenty universities scattered all over the country, based on the

residential and teaching basis, diffusing the light of knowledge throughout the length and breadth of the motherland. Gentlemen, with these words I second the proposition (cheers).

THE HON'BLE MR. RAMANBHAI MAHIPATRAM. (Allahabad), in supporting the resolution, said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, One of the great forces which have built up modern India and which will built it still further is widespread education. All administrative reforms, all efforts of progress essentially depend for their success on increasing and extensive education. The boon of education which has been given to us by the British Government in the discharge of their duty as a civilised nation,—if this boon were withdrawn, all our political growth, in fact the whole edifice of our national life would crumble to pieces like a pack of cards. While, therefore, retrograde educational policy of former days has made us apprehensive, we must now feel grateful that the Government of India have announced a policy of furthering education and we must remember that this too has come to us as a Royal gift, from His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar. The large educational grants which the Government of India have given in pursuance of that policy are sure to give an impetus to the spread of education, though to be really effective, they require to be largely augmented. But the treatment which the Government has given to Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill is inconsistent with the educational policy launched by the Government and there is no doubt that the Government have been wrongly advised in believing that the measure is opposed to the needs of the country or that there is some political danger lurking under it. Neither is the measure premature. The masses of India are steeped in ignorance ; they are too ignorant even to appreciate the advantages of education.

Hon'ble
Mr. Raman-
bhai Maht-
patram.

No problem of sanitary reforms or agricultural improvement or industrial progress or local co-operation, in fact no problem of the people's life can be solved without widespread education ; and the masses are in such a condition that they cannot be brought to accept education, unless it were made free and compulsory. And let us hope that the Government will see their way to re-consider the question. With these remarks, I beg to support the proposition (cheers).

MR. R. C. GHOSE.—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. Sir, I confess that of all the resolutions of this Congress, I regard this which I have the honor to support as the most vital and important. Sir, I do not think I am using the language of exaggeration when I venture to say that, the subject of free and compulsory education is the most dominating question that is waiting for our solution. Some one has said that in questions of education one really handles the life pulse of future generations. That is so. If the condition of India is to improve and she is to take her place as one of the progressive countries of the world, the first thing necessary is undoubtedly the banishment of illiteracy from the land. I therefore respectfully invite this Congress to treat this question of free and compulsory primary education as the most dominating issue in Indian politics,—dominating issue, Sir, because in the long run, it absorbs and overshadows every other. Gentlemen, what is the position to-day with regard to mass education in India? Out of a population of nearly 300 millions less than 16 millions can read and write,—not 15 millions of the whole population and not one million out of the whole female population ; and this modest amount of literacy is mainly confined to a few privilege castes. Gentlemen, in 1882 Lord Ripon appointed an Indian Education Commission and one of its chief duties was to find out what progress had been made with regard to mass education since 1854 ; and in 1882 it was found that only 25 lacs of the entire population were receiving instruction in primary schools. In other words, only 1.27 per cent of the whole population was receiving instruction in Elementary Schools. Now, to-day, after more than quarter of a century, we find that only 1.9 per cent of the whole population is receiving instruction in Elementary Schools. Gentlemen, it is interesting to observe that the greatest indictment against the present position of mass education is not to be found in the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale but in the pages of a Government report. Mr. Orange in the quinquennial report of 1907 says this :—“ But the rate of increase whether for the last 35 years or for the last five years is very slow, when compared with the distance that has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continues to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years, and these were no increase in population,

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several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-age were in school." Gentlemen, after this, it does seem odd that people should still argue that the voluntary method of persuasion has not been proved to be a complete failure. Gentlemen, it seems that some people having got into their heads the idea that compulsory education is an evil, persist in believing that the contrary proposition cannot be successfully proved. Gentlemen, now let us consider for a moment the fate of Mr. Gokhale's Bill. You all know that it has been rejected this year and you all know perhaps also that it will be introduced again and that process will go on until Government adopts compulsion. Gentlemen, I may remind you that it is the opposition of Provincial governments that has really killed Mr. Gokhale's Bill. They seem to think that education has given birth to a tone of mind that is always discontented and they are therefore opposed to any further spread of education. They seem to think, gentlemen, that by the experiment of giving education to the people of this country, they lay a hen's egg but some how a fighting cock has emerged from it, Gentlemen, however, we have to reckon with the opposition of the Provincial governments and should try our best to remove it. Gentlemen, I venture to think that we shall succeed in making the Provincial governments change their mind by two ways.—First, by keeping up a vigorous agitation throughout the country and simultaneously by opening and maintaining free Primary schools wherever possible. Our distinguished countryman, Mr. Lala Lajput Rai, has already collected large sums of money for opening and maintaining free primary schools in the Punjab, and our distinguished leader, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee has asked us in Bengal to do the same. We in Bengal are certainly going to open free primary schools, and I earnestly hope that the idea will be taken up by all the other provinces. Gentlemen, let us not forget why it is that compulsory primary education was adopted in the West. For the origin of compulsory education, we have to go to the west for it is there that we find that in the last century, when the controversy as to the best form of representative government was finally settled in favour of representative democracy, and it became necessary to vest the sovereignty of the nation upon a widely extended popular vote and also the industrial movement created an enormous demand of efficient workers,—that it became apparent that a certain amount of general instruction was an obligation which every nation owed to all its members. Gentlemen, may we not say even now that we have got already the germs or both self-government and modern industrial development. Do we not wish to get self government? and do we not wish to build great industries? If that is so then our double purpose will only be served by universal diffusion of primary education. (On this stage, the President's gong was sounded). Gentlemen, further I have to remind you that today in the twentieth century we are hopelessly lagging behind in the onward march of the civilised world. Macaulay once said that India is like Europe in the fifth century. Gentlemen, with this transition from the fifth century in some parts, in slow uneven stages up to the twentieth century, you have before you as it were, all the centuries, and a distinguished statesman and philosopher has described it; this transition will have to be guided by us with wisdom, courage and foresight, and if that is done, it will be generally realised that, after all, in the widest diffusion of education is the only means that will bring about the ultimate success of this stupendous process. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution. (Cheers).

Mr. A. P.
Patro.

MR. A. P. PATRO (BERHAMPUR):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution before you. The need for the most rapid extension of elementary education was conceded by the Government. The people also require that there should be more rapid extension of education. Though both the Government and the people are agreed that there should be more extension of elementary education, yet in the methods and in the means to be adopted, the people and the Government differ. If the slow method that is now adopted by the Government were to go on, it will take centuries for the expansion of mass education, since the passing of the Local Boards' Act in 1884, duties have been cast on the local boards and the municipal boards to expand the elementary education in fact it was laid down under special Government orders in the various Presidencies that a portion of the income in the local boards and municipalities should be reserved for the expansion of elementary education. Nevertheless, we see that in my own province, there is only 20 per cent. of the school-going population, while in other provinces the

proportion differs equally and if at this rate we are to carry on the progress, in spite of the incentive and impetus given recently, the progress must be slow. The Educational Conference held at Allahabad in February 1911, recognised the principle and resolved that a detailed survey of the condition of elementary education was very imperative, the principle object of the survey being to find central villages where central well-equipped school can be established, which would be fed by simple forms of schools. It was thought that the campaign against illiteracy should be started by a large and widespread expansion of elementary schools of a lower type which would in time develop into upper primary schools where conditions were favourable. It was felt that the line of advance would differ considerably in different provinces and parts of a province. The expansion by means of board schools rather than aided schools was favored but where this is financially impossible, aided schools under recognised management should be increased. The reports on Public Instruction in some of the provinces reviewing the educational condition disclose in a striking manner that the desire for education is making progress among the agricultural population. The report of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal, for instance, observed "The increase in the aided and unaided primary schools is a sign of the people's efforts, to provide some sort of education for their children and given requisite amount of support, mass education is sure to spread rapidly." The report for Punjab also records that there has been a pronounced increase in the number of pupils. The District Boards have increased the salary of trained teachers. The Government of Madras emphasise the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralisations and urge on the Local Boards to direct their attention to the spread of elementary education, yet no attempt has been made by Government under the special contributions to expand education on those lines. Though a special grant has now been given by Government to the various provinces, the conditions are so strict, and the rules so rigid that no discretion is given to the Local Boards. The educational authorities make their proposals and the Inspector of Schools has to approve of them. The boards have simply to carry out the proposal by allotting their funds. Beyond this, no independence or discretion is given to the boards as to the best way in which those grants can be utilised. Thus there are no means by which they can be utilised for the advantage of the country. You find from the reports of the Government that they intend to make this Educational grant a recurring one; but unless we agitate that a more independent method is adopted the object cannot be at all attained. For instance, you have a system working in Japan. Thirty years ago, the system began and you find from the latest report that the object then intended has now been nearly attained. The Imperial Edict passed thirty years ago declared "It is hereby designed that there may not be a village with an ignorant family nor a family with an ignorant member." This was really considered a boast of the Emperor; and now Japan has realised the ideal and Japan has sacrificed for it and you see the result now. The duties cast on members of the local boards and municipalities are not only to depend on the contributions Government would give, but to raise funds in their localities, to find out centres and localities where schools can be established on more national lines suited to the local conditions and requirements. If we put our shoulder to the wheel, if we take the hat round, surely there are people who are willing to contribute their funds. We have only to try the experiment and we will find it successful. If methods were adopted by the people themselves, it will be helpful to the Government and we can ask the Government with a better grace for larger funds for the expansion of elementary education. Two objections are raised against the introduction of free and compulsory elementary education: *viz.*, (1) The people are not yet prepared for the compulsory system and it will harass, it will work a great hardship on the poor people, (2) The financial burden will be very large. But the difficulties are much exaggerated. I need not answer those objections here because they have been more forcibly replied to by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. One thing is that the compulsory system is essential. For instance, with regard to vaccination, we had to start by making it compulsory. It has not worked any hardship. People are reconciled to it and are now thankful that that legislation is in existence. With regard to finance, the local boards, if they prepare the budget in a more careful way ought to raise large funds in support of elementary education. There is now the supervising authorities of Government and instead of contributing to education, municipalities and local boards now spend it in other directions. The 15 per cent if saved for purposes of education and if the general surpluses as are now available are also authorised by Government to be utilised in this particular direction, if these

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two funds are also made available for the expansion of education, truly you will find that a better system and more rapid method of expansion would prevail. There is a third method which is in the hands of the people and that is to raise the strength. In my own province, the percentage of school-going children is 20 per cent. In certain municipalities 40 to 60 per cent are under instruction. The strength of the schools is in my province about 30 on the average. If the full complement is raised, from 30 to 50 or 60, as was hotly discussed in the conference at Allahabad, you will then find that the proportion of expenditure on schools would be considerably reduced. Again, when it is necessary, when we pay so much also in the shape of land cess, in the shape of water-rate, it will be a taxation on property, it will be a taxation on professions and the contributions from the Imperial funds will certainly give us sufficient finances for the rapid expansion of elementary education. Now you will see that the financial difficulty will thus be solved. But Mr. Gokhale's position is not that the full system should be introduced all at once in the country. It is only to be introduced in places where there is sufficient strength, sufficient desire on the part of the people. If there are about 30 to 35 per cent of the school-going population under instructions and if a local board or municipality desires and if the local Government sanctions it, then you will go to the Imperial Government for raising funds by taxation. Thus, so many safeguards are placed. All these protections are sufficient to show that, if only we members take real interest in it instead of making speeches here, if only we put our shoulders to the wheel and take an earnest interest then we will find enough funds to help the spread of elementary education and unless we are ready to sacrifice we cannot hope for the realisation of the ideal in the near future. (cheers.)

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

Sanitation.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now call upon Mr. Devadhar to move the Resolution on sanitation.

Mr. G. K.
Devadhar.

Mr. G. K. DEVADHAR (Bombay):—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to submit the resolution on sanitation for your acceptance. It reads thus:—

- “(a) This Congress, while thanking the Government for having initiated a system of scientific enquiry into the origin and progress of plague, malaria and other diseases, urges the necessity of immediately taking in hand such practical measures as the opening of congested areas, the reclamation of silted rivers, the clearing of jungles, the draining of water logged areas, and better provision for the supply of pure drinking water throughout the country.
- (b) And this Congress exhorts Local Bodies and Public Associations to systematically educate public opinion in matters relating to sanitation and hygiene and facilitate the working of those measures that are inaugurated with a view to check the spread of disease and the increase of mortality and to secure better health and sanitation of urban and rural areas.”

Ladies and Gentlemen. This Resolution resolves itself into two parts. The first defines the work that we expect Government to do in this matter and the second defines the line of action which the educated people at large have to undertake in this connection. The first part of the Resolution is one which was passed by this Congress last year. It has pleased Congress to specifically define the measures and the activities which ought to be undertaken by the educated community at large in order to secure better health and better sanitation in urban and rural areas.

You will agree with me that this question is literally speaking, a question of life and death. Therefore its urgency and its importance cannot be exaggerated. Up till now, there was a deal of indifference not only on the part of the Government but I must say on the part of the educated people at large. I think we cannot hold the masses any way responsible for the great neglect of the laws of health and sanitation, because, you all know, that is mainly due to a vast amount of ignorance prevailing among them, to their poverty and to a very large extent, to the crude notions about the origin and progress of these diseases. Surely it is a matter, I should say, of some satisfaction that of late you find some awakening on the part of the Government and I am glad to say on the part of the people to some extent. You must have heard that recently a conference, a Sanitary Conference met at Madras and different governments were asked to send their-official members. Each one had a programme of

sanitary reform and various questions affecting the needs of sanitation and better hygiene were discussed at that conference. Three or four years ago, the United Provinces Government appointed a committee or conference and the result of it was that a Sanitary Board was appointed, and important schemes of sanitation to be undertaken in the province are referred to that board. This improvement is now being extended to other provinces as well. So I think, so far as the action that has to be taken by Government is concerned, well we have every reason to hope that with growing enlightened public opinion and if the pressure of that public opinion be brought to bear upon the Government—a wider and a more liberal and a speedier programme of work in the direction of sanitation and hygiene will be taken up by Government; but I think in order that the programme of work which will be undertaken by Government should be made really effective and useful, some good work will have to be done by the people themselves and when I say that work will have to be done by the people themselves I particularly mean by the educated people. Now let us see where we stand with regard to the condition of mortality. Those of you who will cast a single glance at the vital statistics will easily find that the rate of mortality in this country during the last ten or twelve years has been steadily on the increase. I will give you a few figures. In the year 1898, our birthrate was per mille 34; and in the year 1907-1908 it rose to 37. And the deathrate in the year 1898 was 26; whereas in the year 1907 it came up to 37. Well, analysing these figures into those that relate to rural areas and also those that relate to urban areas, we find that the rate of mortality per thousand in towns was 33 in 1898 which rose to 41 in 1907, whereas in rural areas, it was 26—that will show you that rural health was much better than urban health—but in the ten years, it rose from 26 to 36 and if you work the percentage, you find that the rate of mortality in rural areas has increased by 14 to 15 per cent, higher. Now, dear brothers, it should certainly be a matter of great concern to us all that the sanitation of our villages should be in such a very bad condition. The people themselves, have not the intelligence. I would not say, the willingness—because my experience is otherwise—but have not the intelligence enough to understand the meaning and the value of the laws of sanitation and health; and it therefore concerns us more particularly the educated people to go among the masses and to explain to them, to instruct and to organise the rural public opinion, if we can, and to impress upon their minds the necessity of obeying the elementary laws of sanitation and hygiene. In this direction, I must say that the local bodies are trying to do something; but their finances are very meagre and we shall have therefore to request Government to give more aid from Imperial as well as from provincial revenues. But let us concern ourselves just now as to what we can do in this matter. I believe if we have the earnestness and if we have the necessary desire to make the sacrifice of time and of a little money, we can organise what we may call Sanitary Associations or village Sanitation Committees. In Bombay, we have got a Sanitary Association which is doing, I believe, very useful work. Recently also a new organisation has been started—what is called the Anti-Tuberculosis League; and because there is that organisation, the medical profession is willing to work in their behalf and liberal and munificent grants have come forth from the richest people in the town of Bombay. But I can go further and tell you that Miss Nightingale's Village Sanitation Committee has been recently formed with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as President and the history of this little committee ought to really tell us what exactly is our duty in this matter. When the late Miss Nightingale, whose name probably is very widely known in this country as one of the greatest lady philanthropists, in her will left certain money for the improvement of the health and sanitation of Indian villages and with that little fund and also with contributions that were also collected, a fund was started, a committee was appointed and now work is actually begun in two districts, in Poona and in Thana; and reports that we receive of the work that is being done by these people are very encouraging. Of course, we will have to undertake a regular programme, we must have a series of lectures; we must have lantern slide lectures; we must have pamphlets, travelling lecturers,—in fact, we will have all the machinery that is used in modern times for carrying on a propaganda in a successful and effective manner. But I believe that requires on the part of us all an intelligent understanding of what is meant by the need of securing better methods and securing better measures for the promotion of hygiene and sanitation. If you therefore think that it is the duty of the educated people to do it, I am sure you will be able to put forth a very large amount of useful work.

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Devadhar.

Mr. G. K.
Devadhar.

At the time of the last Madras Conference, Babu Motilal Ghose impressed upon the Conference the need for giving a larger portion of the share of the Government grant, imperial as well as provincial, for the improvement of sanitation in villages; and from the figures I have just now quoted, you will see that the claim of village sanitation is much greater than the claim of urban sanitation. Urban municipalities are rich enough, there are many rich people in urban localities, but in villages, people are ignorant, are poor—not only that—but they are indifferent and, sometimes opposed to our principles of sanitation and hygiene. It is therefore very necessary that larger grants should be devoted towards the improvement of sanitation in villages, and it was for that purpose that that motion was moved by him and you will be glad to hear that the Governor of Madras emphasised that point in his speech (at this stage the President's going was sounded) and he expressed the hope that at the next time, when the conference will meet, the proposition will get sufficient and sympathetic consideration at the hands of the conference. With these few words, I recommend the proposition to your enthusiastic acceptance (Cheers).

Dr. D. P.
Ranjit
Singh.

DR D. P. RANJIT SINGH (Allahabad) then made a speech in Hindustani in support of the Resolution of which the following is an English translation :—

MR. PRESIDENT, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. Last night when the subjects committee were about to decide that the resolution was to be put from the chair, I was at the verge of being keenly disappointed, but I am grateful to our worthy Chairman who has kindly allowed the resolution to be spoken upon.

My predecessor has very luckily put the resolution before you and I would therefore only make a few observations. Most of my predecessors have confessed that the resolution they were putting up was the most important of all but I most honestly and sincerely confess that no resolution could possibly be of more vital importance to us taken from a national point of view, as upon Sanitation, i.e., Preventive Hygiene, depends the future life of our country.

The resolution has two parts, the first is to thank the Government for what they have done towards the improvement of sanitation and I most thankfully confess that very substantial progress has been made and is being made now.

The other portion of the resolution is to ask the co-operation of the public and local bodies to work with the authorities and to interest themselves in educating the lay public as regards the elementary principles of Hygiene.

Gentlemen, I am sure those of you who do not yet know the facts about infantile mortality would be simply startled to know that the rate of infantile mortality in our unfortunate country is almost 4 times as that prevailing in any other civilised country. I would ask you to pause and think for one moment whether this cruel rate of mortality is not a real danger to our national progress and this, I say, is entirely due to the woeful ignorance that prevails about some of the elementary points of Hygienic-knowledge. I would not be stating an untruth when I say that our ignorance of preventive medicine is so great and comparatively so promiscuous when compared with the other progressive nations that there are probably a greater number of our graduates who are more ignorant of some of the ordinary rules of sanitation than some of the cooly classes and other menials in some of the civilised countries; and this in my humble opinion is the result of there being, not even the A. B. C. of sanitation, taught in the schools except in the medical institutions.

Gentlemen, most of you are Municipal Commissioners and Landholders, etc, and carry influence, and I would appeal to them to discharge their moral obligation to their uneducated brethren by enlightening them on the elementary principles of sanitation and by pretending them not to interrupt but to co-operate with the measure adopted for the prevention of such scourges as have been lately devastating our country with vengeance such as plague and cholera etc.

Gentlemen, If one reads about a few hundred persons having been killed in some battle, he feels a great petty, but I fail to realise why the enormous roll of death that the diseases have been claiming yearly from us, does not excite a real sympathy.

I am afraid I only have 5 minutes which are drawing to a close and would therefore

enjoin you to do your best as regards the second portion of the resolution, taking it upon yourself as a moral duty and with these words and with all the emphasis at my command I commend the resolution to your acceptance and resume my seat.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Public Expenditure.

MR. PRESIDENT :—Now we come to the Resolution about Public Expenditure, which runs thus :—

“That having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that early steps be taken towards effective retrenchment, in all the spending department, of the Imperial and the Provincial Governments and specially the Military Department.”

Gentlemen, the matter is one which has come before the Congress on various occasions and only two years ago, I myself had an occasion to speak on it in the Imperial Council. The question has been, so far as the general lines are concerned, well threshed and therefore the subjects committee have decided that it should be put from my place here, without calling for any formal speeches. I therefore propose this resolution. I would, for the information of such as have not been reading all that happens in these Councils, bring to your notice that, when that resolution was moved the representatives of the Government in the various departments rose and promised to make enquiries in their various departments and to make statements in the following year as to what economies are possible. It was asked that a committee be appointed. Government said “Let us see what, without the help of the Committee, we can do,” and among other departments which also promised to effect economies, was the Military Department. In the following year they made their statements as to what economies had been carried out. They are substantial so far as they go, but they do not, according to our opinion, go far enough. Therefore it is necessary to reaffirm that proposition. I now call upon those in favour of it to raise their hands (cries of “all, all”). The resolution was therefore carried unanimously.

Land Settlement.

THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution is on Land settlement which is in these terms :—
“That a reasonable and definite limitation to the demand of the state on land and the introduction of a permanent settlement directly between the Government and holders of land in ryotwari areas, or a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those provinces where short periodical settlements or revisions prevail, will, in the opinion of this Congress, substantially help in ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the agricultural population.”

Gentlemen, this was a resolution which in 1890 was moved by me in the Congress held at Calcutta. Since that time, the Resolution has been brought, year after year, in one shape or another. You, gentlemen, of Bengal and Behar and the settled parts of Madras where from the end of the 18th Century to the first decade of the 19th Century, there have been permanent settlements, it may be, the importance of this resolution may not be apparent. To those that come from the ryotwari tracts, of Madras, of Bombay, of the Central Provinces and even the Zemindari tracts of the United Province's and the Punjab, (except a small part near Benares), this is a very vital question in which the most important interest of the country, the landed interest is mostly concerned. Gentlemen, I shall not inflict a speech on you. I would only say that, for the masses this is one of the most vital needs. What is asked is a limitation of the state demand and exemption, operation immunity from that most harassing operation, the unsettling operation, of the Revisions of Settlement. The importance of this was admitted so far back as 1883 by the Government of Lord Ripon. Unfortunately, the lines outlined by Lord Ripon were not carried out and ultimately, they were even abandoned. We have to go on reiterating this proposition. Even those who belong to the permanently settled districts, they have to go on pressing because over the greater part of India these harassing operations are undertaken, it may be at the end of thirty years or sometimes at the end of fifteen years. I therefore in the interests of the cultivators and of the classes dependent on land, move this proposition.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Indians in the Army.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon the Hon'ble Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raju to move the Resolution on ‘Indians in the Army.’

Hon'ble Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raju. THE HON'BLE MR. C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU (Vizagapatam said:—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. The resolution I have the honor to move for your acceptance runs thus:—

“This Congress is strongly of opinion that the injustice of keeping the higher ranks in the army closed against the people of this country and of the exclusion of certain races and castes from the lower ranks as well should no longer remain unremedied.” You know that some castes and creeds in the major provinces of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, remain unrepresented in the army on account of certain remarks made by Lord Roberts in his book on “Forty years’ experience in India” regarding certain castes in these provinces. It is likely that the Government are not recruiting sepoy from these to the army. It is not just and reasonable that, on account of the remarks of one, though an eminent soldier, that these castes should be so unjustly treated. We know as a matter of fact, that the long military training gives a very good character as well as good citizenship. It is a matter that has always to be noticed with pleasure that the sepoy who retires from his army is a noteworthy citizen and a very useful citizen as well. When all the provinces equally contribute towards the maintenance of the army, it is unjust that only a few provinces and a few castes and creeds should have the right of being recruited to the army. When this fact about recruiting was brought to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief by the Godavery District Association by means of a memorial, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief sent a reply through the Adjutant-General saying that, as far as the Telugus are concerned, while His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief sympathises with the memorialists and acknowledges the splendid past military services of the Telugus, he regrets that he cannot at present consider the question of alteration in the position of the regiments enlisted from Madras, such as would involve the introduction of the Telugus. The next point for your consideration is whether the Government is justified in closing the higher ranks of the military service to the natives of India. Long ago, Lord Curzon introduced the Imperial Cadet Corps and we were made to believe that Commissions would be issued. But we waited for more than eleven years; and we have not seen even a single instance of a commission being issued to any one in the Native Army. We know that the Eastern nations are awakening in this respect. There is a sort of martial spirit reviving in all the oriental nations; but on account of our peculiar circumstances of being placed under the care and custody of the British nation, we are placed in this wretched condition, and it is necessary that, when we demand that we want improvement in that direction as well, the Government should take into consideration our claims and give us our proper share. We are able to compete with the British, with the European British-born subjects in every other walks of life; and though we are in a position to compete with them favourably even as Judges of the High Court, as members of the Executive Council, yet we are not given this chance to see how we fare. This may be on account of their short-sighted policy or with the spirit and instinct of self-preservation. Whatever may be their motives, we must see that we are being done a great injustice and there is great degeneracy and inefficiency setting in among us on account of the treatment that is given to us. With these few remarks, I commend the proposition to your acceptance. (cheers)

Mr. Prakasa Rao. MR. PRAKASA RAO (Coconada), in seconding the resolution, said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, According to the present existing orders the only races that have been excluded from enlistment in the army are the Bengalees, next to whom come the races of Madras, comprising the Telugus, Tamils, Canarese and the heroic Mahrattas. All these people were not enlisted since Lord Roberts became the Commander-in-Chief. He planned out the Scheme, greatly besmirching their fame and tarnishing their cherished reputation. (Cries of ‘Shame’). He carried out the long-cherished programme of his, the moment he became Commander-in-Chief. I won’t trouble you with authorities in the justification or verification of my statement, but would merely refer you to read the Chapter in his book, in his autobiographical sketch, called “Forty Years’ Experience in India.” Gentlemen, especially the Madrasses were condemned in that unhappy war with Burma where they beat a retreat, according to the military officers, on some occasion and ever since that, the Telugus and the Madrasses have been considered unfit to serve in the army. Our traditions and our past history entitle us and the Mahrattas to once more seek the portals of the army. This proposition is urged before you because recently the question was opened before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and

he is said to have shown some sympathy for the four races which have been unjustly thrown out and unjustly condemned as unfit to hold appointments in the army. What is the state of things now? The Government is obliged to seek for soldiers among the Pathans on the other side of India, the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, and the Punjabee Mahomadans. In the province from which I come, it is an anomaly to find what is called the Madras regiment and the Carnatic regiment composed of four Companies—two Companies of Mahomadan and two Companies of Pariahs and Christians because, for military purposes, Pariahs and Christians go together, because according to Government, the army must consist of Christians and the moment the Pariahs are converted into Christians, they then join the ranks of the army. The anomaly of the thing is that a Pariah by himself is not fit to be a soldier, but the moment he becomes a Christian the martial instinct flows into him and he becomes fit to be a soldier. I am not saying this on my own authority. In May last, a recruiter came from Bangalore to our town in order to recruit Mohammadans and Christians. I asked him "which Christians do you prefer?" He said 'Pariah Christians'. I said that there are stalwart Pariahs, why do not you enlist them? He said, 'I have no right to recruit them'. We do not know how a change of faith can bring martial spirit and how Mussalmans, disarmed as we are, can, from the moment they are enlisted in the army, become warlike. I do not grudge the privilege given to them. Just look at the composition of the Madras army. You may as well imagine a Gordon Highland army composed of two companies of Polish people, two companies of Swiss and two companies of Turks and still call it the Gordon Highland army—the Scotch Highland army. The Madras army is composed like that. With all this, what is the state of things? We have the authority of Sir Sidney Low, whose book has been recommended by Lord Morley and Lord Curzon as the best authority. He says that the Rajputs no longer wish to enter the portals of the army. The sikhs have been taking to other professions and become cooly recruits and mill hands, rather than join the army and that the Government is compelled to fall back upon Pathans and Gurkhas. How long is this state of things to go on? We cannot say. It is said that the Bengalee is getting fat on-occount of his rice-eating, the Telugu is cowardly and the Tamil is weak for his *Rasam*, the Mahratta is crafty. Now, gentlemen, adjectives are not wanting. Any number of adjectives and invectives may be coined to mark down races. But that races which have a glorious past and traditions which any nation should be proud of, should be so excluded and marked down as unfit to bear arms in the king's service is wrong. Gentlemen, we must all move, now that there is another Commander-in-Chief who is said to be kindly disposed to reconsider this question,—you all honorables who muster strong in the Councils, you must feel both individually and collectively, feel in your hearts that so many millions are excluded from serving their king in the army along with the other races of India. Gentlemen, I am a Brahmin, born, from start to finish, an accountant. You may be surprised how an accountant could move this resolution. But that is a different thing. I may tell you that old Congresswallas will remember the speech of Mr. S. P. Sankaran at Bombay. He was one of our school-mates. He entered the army and within two years he became a private and then sergeant quarter master. He had power to drill a company and superintend both at close and extended orders, the parade practice. Well that certificate was not given to him by cringing or dissembling before any local officers; but a Military Board which came from Madras certified that. Most of us know that the very first regiment in the British Army was known as the 'first Brahmins' and they were given commissions. What did Manu say? He says that commissions in the army should be given to Brahmins; judgeships also should be given to them. If that were true, and if all of you have faith in the sayings of Manu, everybody from the Pariah to the Brahmin, everybody should appeal to His Majesty the King to give us once more the opportunities to distinguish ourselves in the army, just as we have practically proved our capacity in all other branches. With these few remarks, gentlemen, I second the proposition (Cheers).

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

High Court.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution on High Courts in India will, according to the decision of the Subjects Committee, be moved from the chair. It is to this effect:—
 "This Congress is strongly of opinion that the High Courts in India should have the same direct relation with the Government of India alone as the High Court at Fort William in Bengal has at the present time."

Gentlemen, this proposition was brought before the Congress last year and its importance explained. I shall, without any comment, put it to the vote. Those of you who are in favour of it will raise their hands (Cries of 'all' 'all'). The Resolution was therefore carried unanimously.

Appreciation of Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Services.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now call upon Dr. Sapru to move the resolution on the Appreciation of Mr. G. K. Gokhale's services.

Dr. Tej
Bahadur
Sapru.

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU (Allahabad) then rose and said :—Sir, the resolution which I have been asked to place before you for your acceptance runs thus:—“This Congress puts on record its high appreciation of the valuable work done by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, C. I. E., in his visit to South Africa undertaken at the invitation of our countrymen in that Colony.” Gentlemen, I consider it a great privilege that I should be called upon to move a resolution asking you to show your gratitude to one of our countrymen, whose name is a household word in India. Gentlemen, if ever there was an Indian who may be claimed by the Mohammadans as their own, and who may be claimed by the Hindus equally as their own, if ever there was an Indian who made absolutely no difference between the one community and the other, who has always enjoyed the confidence of the entire Indian community and commanded the respect of the Government, that man surely is Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (cheers). Gentlemen, the services rendered by Mr. Gokhale already in the Council and in the public life of this country were so distinguished and so eminent that would have been a graceful act at any moment and at any time to express publicly our gratitude to him; but the service which he has rendered very recently is such that I should think it eclipses all the previous services which have been rendered by him. It is no ordinary task for an Indian to undertake a journey at so much self-sacrifice and so much inconvenience across the seas when he must know that he has to take his chance as to whether he will be well received or whether he will be hooted down in a country which is not particularly noted for its friendliness to Indians. Mr. Gokhale took that risk and we are grateful not only for Mr. Gokhale that he took that risk, but I think we owe a debt of gratitude to the South African Government also for the manner in which they received one of our most distinguished leaders (cheers).

Gentlemen, this probably is the first occasion on which an Indian felt himself called upon to take part in a matter which is not merely local or Indian, but which has assumed the proportion of an Imperial Question; and we think that if that service had to be rendered by any Indian, no better Indian could have been selected by our countrymen in South Africa than Mr. Gokhale himself. Gentlemen, Mr. Gokhale may not have succeeded as some of us might have wished him to do in South Africa, but for my part, and I believe that is the conviction of a very large number of the delegates and of our countrymen in this country, that he has succeeded as much as it was possible for any human being to do under the circumstances and having regard to the prejudices which exist upon this question. But I would ask you to approach this whole question not so much from the point of view of immediate gain, as from the point of view of the moral effect of it. I think the very fact that a man like Mr. Gokhale should have gone from our country to South Africa to render service to our distressed countrymen, this ought to add to our national pride and self-respect. The way in which he was received, the way in which he carried on his campaign there under the guidance and with the help and loyal support of Mr. Gandhi, the way in which he handled those delicate questions there shows that Mr. Gokhale is a born leader of men and a born statesman. (Cheers). Now, Gentlemen, imagine to yourselves what an amount of strength we gained from this visit of Mr. Gokhale. Here is South Africa where our countrymen the highest of them and Mr. Gandhi is one of them—have been treated much worse than Pariahs would be treated by ourselves in some parts of this country. On the other hand you have picture of one our own countrymen going to South Africa, being received almost right royally by these men, being given a hearing and being given a chance of placing the whole case before the South African Government. I say that distinctly adds to our self-respect and ought to make us proud of our distinguished countryman. I do not think I need dilate upon this Resolution much further. We all feel in our heart of hearts that Mr. Gokhale has

rendered signal service. We would be wanting in gratitude if we were to suppress our thoughts on this occasion and it gives me the greatest pleasure to find that this Congress, consisting as it does of the best minds of Mr. Gokhale's countrymen, is prepared to place on record its sense of the high appreciation of the services which he has rendered recently in this connection. Gentlemen, I hope you will carry this resolution with acclamation and call for three cheers for Mr. Gokhale (Cheers).

MR. KRISHNA SAHAY (Bankipore) in seconding the resolution said:—Brother-delegates, I have been called upon to second a resolution which, in my opinion does not require seconding, in order to commend it to your acceptance, for I take it that the sense of high and unqualified approval of the appreciation of and deep gratitude for the services which Mr. Gokhale has rendered to our poor countrymen in South Africa is uppermost in the minds of every one of you present here. Among the many services to his—countrymen and these services are countless—which Mr. Gokhale has rendered his services to his brethren in South Africa stand foremost and will for ever live in the grateful recollection of his countrymen. To me the spectacle of a solitary Indian, frail in health, crossing the seas in order to defend his countrymen in South Africa, is one which cannot be adequately described in words. This selfless and self-imposed task which Mr. Gokhale has performed, surround his name with a halo of glory, all his own which no man can dispel. The Congress, in recording a vote of thanks for his services, is doing only a bare act of justice to him and I may add, a bare act of justice to itself. I shall therefore without any further remarks from me or from any other speaker call upon you to carry this resolution with acclamation (Loud cheers).

Mr. Krishna
Sahay.

The resolution was then carried unanimously amidst loud and continued cheering, the audience rising to their feet.

Three cheers for Mr. Gokhale were then called for and heartily given.

Constitution.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution on the constitution is a formal resolution and will be put from the chair, as determined by the subjects committee last night. That resolution runs thus:—

The
President.

“The constitution and Rules of the Indian National Congress organisation as amended by the All-India Congress Committee be adopted:”

Brother-delegates, All the delegates in the subjects committee are aware that only one important addition of a substantial character was made to our constitution and to the subsidiary rules, and that is in regard to the provision for the election of delegates. There has been a complaint during the last two or three years that in trying to protect ourselves, to protect the Congress from occurrences which very nearly brought us to a grave disaster in 1907, it was necessary to impose certain restrictions. In imposing these restrictions it was laid down that only certain bodies and certain associations should have the right to elect delegates. Since last year, however, there has been a suggestion that the door should be opened and that public meetings convened under sufficient guarantees of their being faithful acceptors of the creed of the Congress, should be allowed to elect delegates. The suggestion is made by the subjects Committee and by the All India congress committee, that meetings called by the congress committees and by the association recognised by the congress committees may elect delegates to the congress. This is the one important substantial addition to your constitution. The only other things that have been done are verbal changes and the excision of the transitory rules. The Transitory provisions are no longer required. They were required only in 1908 and now they are no longer required. Another important change made was that the delegation fee has been reduced from twenty rupees to ten rupees as before. Then there is a rider to the second part a subsidiary part added to it and that is this—that half of this delegation fee shall be sent to the British congress committee for its expense, provided that a minimum amount of 3000 Rs. is always so sent. These are the only important addition and alteration. Our rules contemplate the appointment of a paid assistant secretary. There are signs,—I cannot say anything more on that—there are signs of that suggestion being put into practice. In all likelihood, a paid assistant-secretary would be appointed on a suitable salary. I propose from my place here that this resolution on the constitution be adopted. (cries of yes.) The resolution was then carried unanimously.

The British Committee.

The President :—I now call upon the Hon'ble Madan Mohan Malaviya to move the next resolution.

Pandit Madhan Mohan Malaviya, who on rising, was received with cheers and cries of Vande Mataran, said :—Brother delegates, the resolution that I have to place before you runs as follows :—

“This congress record its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee and resolves that the organisation of the British committee and *India* should be maintained.”

It goes on further to say “that this congress authorises the president to wire to Sir William Wedderburn that the following gentlemen guarantee that they will pay to the General secretary the sums put against their names before March yearly for three years to be remitted to England for the expense of the British committee of the Indian National congress : and that in addition to these sums, every Reception committee will remit half the delegation fee subject to a minimum of Rs. 3,000 for the same purpose.”

Then follow the names responsible for seeing them collected. The guarantees are not on behalf of the individuals, but on behalf of the provinces. They stand personally responsible for seeing them collected.

	Rs.
Bengal : Baboos Surendra Nath Banerjea, Baikuntha Nath Sen, and Ambica Charan Mazumdar	2,000
(Mr Mullick pays in addition for a year)	1,000
Bombay : Messrs. Wacha and Khare	3,000
Madras : The Hon'ble Subba Rao	3,000
Mr. C. P. Ramaswamiy Iyer	500
United Provinces : The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya	3,000
Behar : Mr. M. Haque	1,500
Punjab : Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri, Lal Hara Kishen Lal, and Lala Lajput Rai, 500 each	1,500
Berar : The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar	1,000

Gentlemen, I am sure I need not take up much of your time in commending this resolution to your acceptance. Sir William Wedderburn has been rendering a service to India which we cannot sufficiently express our gratitude for. In his old age, at a period of life when very few people will be thinking of worrying themselves about public affairs, he is still carrying on the work of the British Committee for the Indian National Congress in India at the centre of the Empire. In spite of his weak health, he comes every time to attend the meeting of the Congress Committee from Gloucester to London : He is spending religiously the £1000 of his pension every year in matters connected with India. (Cheers) I find it difficult for me to adequately express the gratitude that I am sure we all feel for Sir William Wedderburn, for his deep, abiding and ceaseless solicitude for promoting the well-being of the people. To Mr. Hume we have owed a large debt of gratitude; and to Sir William Wedderburn we owe no less a debt of gratitude. All that we do is what it is possible to you to express in such words as the poor speaker who has been asked to place this resolution before you may be able to command, your heartfelt feeling of admiration, respect, esteem and affection and gratitude for Sir William Wedderburn. But we also feel thankful to other members of the British Committee for the great self-sacrifice with which they are carrying on the work of the Congress in London. But for the labors of the British Committee, the Congress would not have achieved the success which it has achieved and do not let anybody run away with the idea that, because we had achieved some success, therefore we may dispense with them. Your work is only just begun; your successes have no doubt begun to show themselves and you have reason to feel gratified at the achievement, which you have already recorded. My friends, remember among the resolutions laid before you, several deal with important questions and deal with important principles which are not going to be settled without the help of our friends in the British Parliament and without the help of those who are at the helm of affairs. It is not possible for us to reach them when debates take place in the House of Commons. You require members of the British Committee to brief those members of Parliament with

information regarding Indian questions—those who want to speak on Indian matters. When there is a question or there is a resolution on, members want information which they might place before the House on your behalf, for your benefit and also when there are foolish, malacious or ignorant attacks made upon Indians and when Indian questions are misrepresented in the English press, you need the services of some friends in the British Committee who should be able to nip the evil in the bud and to apply the correction whenever incorrect and misleading statements are made. So also is the necessity for maintaining the 'India' paper. 'India' may be interesting to us only mainly, largely because of the full reports of Parliamentary debates which it supplies to us ; but it is of great value to us in that it supplies the one source of information to English members of Parliament who are interested in Indian Questions. Do not think that they will wade through all the papers in the country to pick up information which might help you. But if they find the information compressed in one English paper of very moderate size, they are willing to glance through it and utilise it, and in that way 'India' has been extremely helpful and will continue to be helpful to the cause of Indian progress. It is for these reasons that we ask you to express your deep and sincere obligation to Sir William Wedderburn and to the members of the Committee for the work that they are doing and to express your determination to continue the British Committee and to keep it up in the year. Then, naturally, necessarily comes the question of expense. There has been a disposition in some quarters to cavil at amount of money which is being spent in maintaining the British Committee. Allow me, my brother delegates, to assure you that the sums you are spending are the smallest that could be reasonably spent on a cause so great as the cause of Indian progress. The work is being carried on under the most economic conditions, with the utmost regard for economy. You cannot expect any body of honorary workers to carry on this work at lesser expense. So far as *India* is concerned, it is a matter of regret that it has not paid its way. The reason for it is that you cannot expect among men in England to subscribe to a paper purely devoted to India. But it is to your interest, it is important and essential for your interest, that the paper should be maintained. You find merchants, traders spending large sums of money in advertising their wares ; you find societies and associations spending large sums of money in propagating the views which they believe in and which they want to propagate. Here is the cause of Indian progress along all lines of national reform. You surely cannot grudge the expense that you have to find in keeping up this paper. I am glad to be able to say that a resolution has been arrived at ; certain gentlemen have come forward to guarantee the sums that I have noted with the consent of their fellow-delegates, from the provinces. I hope every member of the Congress will consider it his solemn duty not only to the country's cause but also to the friends who are giving us selflessly all the best in them to the cause of India, to find as much money as they can from his province for the keeping up of the British Committee and 'India.' The sum is small ; about 20,000 Rs. or something like it. This is all that is needed for both the purposes, and a few thousand more is to enable the All-India Congress Committee to appoint a paid Assistant-Secretary who will be able to go about the country to keep up and arouse interest in the Congress. I have heard it said that the Congress is dying, that it is merely in its last moments. I refuse to believe that the Congress is either dying or is in its last moments (cheers). While this country is in existence, while great national interests are to be considered, while there are questions which concern all Indians, Hindus, Mohamedans, Christians, and Parsees alike, so long as we have not attained to that state, to that national constitution, wherein every district will be properly represented and the affairs of the country shall be administered according to the voice of the people as so represented, so long will the need of the Indian National Congress continue to be (Cheers), so long will it be necessary that we should come together, year after year, to discuss common questions, to formulate common grievances, and opinions, and I am sure though the interests in the Congress may seem to have been slackening, I am sure that with the amendments that have been made and accepted by the Congress in the Constitution of the Congress, we may very well and very reasonably expect to see a revival of the interest of the people in the Congress and I hope our friends at Karachi will not have any reason to complain of the attendance at the Congress next year. With these few words, I commend the resolution to your acceptance (Cheers).

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA in seconding the resolution, said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Your president is a despot so long as he is in charge of that chair, within half an

Babu
S. N.
Banerjee.

Babu
S. N.
Banerjea.

hour, his tyranny will cease (Laughter); but the closing moments of the despotism are always the worst (Laughter). He has laid out as a mandate upon me that I should second the resolution. I did my best to wriggle out of it, but it was no use. His command is inexorable and I bow to it. Gentleman, I feel that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Sir William Wedderburn and the British Committee for the arduous and disinterested work they do for India. I have been to England at least on three different occasions on three important missions. I have had the opportunity of watching the work of Sir William Wedderburn and of the British Committee and I will say this that without Sir William Wedderburn, without the British Committee, your work would suffer—work in India and work in England. It is all very well to agitate for our rights and privileges here but the British democracy constitute final arbiters of our fate. Our appeals must be made here and the last word on that appeal has to be pronounced in England by the British democracy. Agitation in India is necessary; agitation in England is also necessary; without agitation in India agitation in England will be fruitless for Englishmen would turn round and say "you talk about these things here in the united Kingdom. What have your countrymen to say about them in India?". Therefore, our agitation in this country has to be supplemented by agitation in England. And if you want to agitate, effectively, in England, it is necessary that we should have an organisation; it is necessary that we should have an earnest worker behind the organisation, and it is further necessary that we should have an organ for the expression and ventilation of our views and grievances.

Sir William Wedderburn is the sole, the animating spirit of the British Committee (cheers). The organ of *India* ventilates your grievances. I know there is some amount of dissatisfaction with *India* and it is no use concealing that dissatisfaction on the congress platform. To many of us it appears to be stale reading. To me it certainly is because, I am in touch with current affairs from day to day. At the same time, it is very valuable as a record of Parliamentary proceedings. Whatever may be your view as to the utility of *India*, there it is as an organ for the education of the British public and of British public men. It is not subscribed very largely in England. It is a pity that it is not subscribed very largely in England, the reason being that so little interest is taken in England about Indian affairs. Whose fault is it that our voice is not heard to the extent that we claim it should be heard in the united kingdom? It is our fault and nobody else's. If we make *India* strong and make it an organ of power, if you strengthen the British committee, make it an organisation of power, if you have good and able men on the British Committee, I am sure that your agitation in England would be much more effective than what it is at the present moment (cheers). Now, what is necessary for such an agitation? The senews of war. I always test the selfsacrifice of an individual by the amount of money he subscribes in any public cause (cheers). When you are able to put your hand into your pocket, wring out money, lay it down as consecrated to the public cause, then and then only will I call you a patriot. Therefore, when you complain of the inadequate measure of success that has attended the efforts of the British Committee and *India*, bear in mind that complaint recoils on you and is only a testimony to the sluggishness, the indifference, the apathy, and the want of patriotism, which are too often conspicuous in our proceedings. The British Committee must be maintained: the paper *India* must be maintained and that being so, it is necessary to guarantee a sum of money. Gentlemen, we are not a self-governing colony, though we hope to be one by and by. Look at the proceedings of the self-governing colonies in this matter. Canada is a self-governing colony. Canada maintains a High Commissioner at a very considerable cost in England. Lord Strachcona is the High Commissioner of Canada. Australia maintains a High Commissioner. Every self-governing colony has an organisation in London, with a High Commissioner for the purpose of representing its wants and grievances and supporting all its interests before the bar of British public opinion. We are much less favorably situated, and that being so, it is all the more our duty to see to it that our organisation is stronger and our paper is more potent than the organisations and the newspaper of those self-governing colonies. And what is the amount of money that has to be subjected? I think, Sir, it is £1,200, about 18,000 Rupees. Is that a very large sum? 18,000 Rs.—is it a large sum for all India to subscribe? in aid of a paper like this? If we have sufficient

capacity, if we have self-sacrifice, we would have subscribed not 18,000 Rs. but five times 18,000 Rs. in aid of a project like this (cheers). I am sure that the necessary arrangements which has been made for the purpose of raising this money will be carried out. There are guarantors. I am one of them. But, after all, you will have to pay. I will aid my hand into my pocket also, but that pocket I am afraid is not a very long pocket and therefore I am not likely to get much out of it. But when you vote 18,000 Rs. bear in mind that you take upon yourselves solemn responsibility, the solemn agreement to raise that money. It is a promise which must be punctually performed, otherwise the organisation goes. *India* goes, your cause collapses in the united kingdom. Is that a contingency which you are anxious to bring about? I am sure not. Therefore, brother delegates, when you go back to your homes, I hope and trust you will reflect on this matter, do what lies in your power to aid the guarantors, pay in what subscriptions you can, influence others to pay in their subscriptions, then, and then only shall we have done our duty towards the British Committee: and the paper *India*. Then and then only shall we have done our duty for the purpose of ventilating our grievances, and supporting our interests before the bar of British public opinion (Loud cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT:—Before I come to the two next resolutions, which are of a formal character I have to bring to your notice that a requisition signed by twenty-five persons was sent to me this morning. It was in regard to (a voice:—That resolution has not yet been put to the vote:). I beg your pardon: I myself forget to follow the correct procedure. Even Presidents are not infallible and even despotic Presidents are not infallible. Now, gentlemen, the resolution on which hinges all the fruition of your work has been moved in a most felicitous speech by my friend Mr. Malaviya and has with his usual eloquence been seconded by Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee. I am sure the appeals of these two gentlemen will find a fitting response from you and the guarantees which your President as your President will be called upon to make and the representatives of other provinces will be called upon to make, would be fully discharged by you. I now call upon you to hold your hands, and vote upon this proposition. The resolution was then carried unanimously.

All-India Congress Committee.

THE PRESIDENT:—I have given that request of theirs my most earnest consideration. I have discussed the legality of it with the gentleman whose name stands at the top and who first gave me an informal intimation of it last night. Not content with my own study of the rules, I also took the opinion of former ex-Presidents who are present here and also of the General Secretaries. I also took the advice and help of your Chairman of the Reception Committee. Under the rules, the matter is left entirely to me, but I do not want to do anything which savours in the least of hastiness or of any disposition to exercise arbitrary authority. I am very sorry that it is not in my power to comply with the request of the requisitionists and allow them to move their proposition. I showed to Mr. Parameshwar Lal the rule which says that it shall not be allowed unless the subject has been discussed in the Subjects Committee. As the subject has not yet been discussed by the Subjects Committee, it is not in my power to allow it to be moved. I now go on to move the next resolution.

Mr.
President.

The next resolution is on "All India Congress Committee for 1913." The gentlemen whose names are given in the list which I hold in my hand and which list has been supplied by the various Provincial Congress Committees which have got the right to select their representatives to the All-India Congress Committee. These gentlemen, I propose, shall be members of the All-India Congress Committee for the following year in accordance with your constitution. Gentlemen, I put this resolution to the vote. The resolution was then carried unanimously. The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha then read out the following names:—

The gentlemen named below do form the All-India Congress Committee 1913.

BENGAL.

EX-OFFICIO.

1. Babu Surendranath Banerjee.
2. Dr. Rash Behary Ghosé.

ELECTED.

1. Hon. Babu Baikunthanath Sen, Berhampore.
2. Mr. Ananda Chandra Ray, Dacca.
3. „ Anath Bandhu Guha, Mymensingh.
4. „ Ambika Charan Majumdar, Faridpore.
6. „ Aswini Kumar Dutt, Barisal.
6. „ Abul Kasim, Burdwan.
7. „ Bishnupada Chatterjee, Hooghly.
8. „ Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri, Rajshahi.
9. „ Jatramohan Sen, Chittagong.
10. „ A. Rasul, Calcutta.
11. „ J. Choudhuri
12. „ J. Ghosal,
13. „ Krishna Kumar Mitra,
14. „ Prithwis Chandra Ray,
15. „ Heramba Chandra Maitra,
16. „ Basanta Kumar Bose,
17. Dr. Nilratan Sarkar,
18. Maulvi Dedar Buksh. „
19. Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu.
20. Babu Satyananda Bose.

BOMBAY.

Ex-Officio.

1. Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji,
2. The Hon. Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, K. C. I. E.,
3. The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E.
4. Mr. D. E. Wacha,
5. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare.

ELECTED.

1. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.
2. The Hon. Mr. Gokaldas Kahandas Parekh.
3. The Hon. Mr. Chimanlai H. Setalvad.
4. The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
5. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal Desai.
6. The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas.
7. Mr. Chunilal M. Ghandhy, B. A.
8. Mr. Abbas S. Tyebji.
9. Mr. Hormusji A. Wadya.
10. Mr. Narayen Mahadev Samarth.
11. Mr. Mathradas Ramchand Javahari.
12. Mr. Hari Sitaram Dixit.
13. Mr. Narayen Vishnu Gokhale.
14. Mr. Damoder Ganesh Padhye.
15. Mr. Govindram Apaji Palit.

MADRAS.

1. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaragava Aiyar, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil,
Mylapore.
2. Hon. Mr. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur, Royapettah.
3. Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A. B.L.
4. Hon. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, B.A. B.L., Rajahmundry.
5. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakar Menon, Editor, *Indian Patriot*, Madras.
6. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Triplicane.
7. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar, Mylapore.
8. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Teynampet.
9. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, *Indian Review* George Town

10. Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mylapore.
11. Mr. V. Masilamony Pillai.
12. Mr. K. R. Guruswamy Aiyar, Tinnevelley.
13. Hon. Mr. A. S. Krishna Row, Nellore.
14. Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu, Berhampore, Ganjam District.
15. Mr. S. V. Narasimha Rao Garu, Kurnool.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Ex-Officio.

1. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Allahabad.
2. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, Almora.

ELECTED.

1. The Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Allahabad.
2. The Hon. Rai Bahadur Ganga Prasad Varma, Lucknow.
3. Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, Allahabad.
4. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Allahabad.
5. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.
6. The Hon. Babu Brijnandan Prasad, Moradabad.
7. Mr. Preo Nath Banerji, Bareilly.
8. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, Lucknow.
9. Hafiz Mohammad Abdul Rahim, Aligarh.
10. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Lucknow.
11. Munshi Iswar Saran, Gorakhpore.
12. Mr. A. P. Sen, Lucknow.
13. Rai Krishnaji, Benares.
14. Pandit Iqbal Narayan Masaldan, Lucknow.
15. Thakur Mahadeo Singh, Fyzabad.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. The Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis.
2. Dr. H. S. Gour.
3. Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Kolhatkar.
4. Rao Bahadur Bishan Nath Dutta Shukal, of Jubbalpur.
5. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit.
6. V. R. Dixit, Esquire.
7. M. K. Padhey, Esquire.

BEHAR AND ORISSA.

Ex-Officio.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque, Bankipur.

ELECTED.

2. The Hon'ble Maharaj Kumar Gopal Saran Narayan Sinha of Tikari.
3. " " Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bankipore.
4. " " Babu Brijkishore Prasad, Darbhanga.
5. " " Babu Gopikrishna, Hazaribagh.
6. " " Rai Krishna Sahai Bahadur, Bankipore.
7. " " Mr. M. S. Das, C. I. E., Cuttack.
8. Babu Ras Behary Mundal, Bhagalpore.
9. " " Dasrath Lal, Gaya.
10. " " Maheshwar Prasad, Bankipore.
11. Prameshwar Lal, Esqr., Bankipore.
12. S. M. Ismail Esqr., Patna City.
13. Chaudhry Karamat Hussain, Arrah.
14. Babu Sant Prasad, Muzufferpore.
15. Babu Rajendra Prasad, Calcutta.
16. " " Kuarnandan Sahai, Bankipore.

PUNJAB.

1. Lala Lajpat Rai,
2. Lala Harkishun Lal,
3. P. L. Rajpal Esq.
4. Lala Fakirchand,
5. Pt. Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhry,
6. Lala Duni Chand,
7. Lala Dharamdas Suri,
8. Lala Ganpat Rai,
9. Lala Dhanpat Rai,
10. M. Shekh Umar Bakhsh,
11. M. Meharan Ali Chishti,
12. Lala Bhanu Ram,

BERAR.

EX-OFFICIO.

1. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Madholkr.

ELECTED

2. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal.
3. R. V. Mahajain, Esqr., Akola.
4. N. A. Dramo Esq., Amraoti.
5. Rao Saheb Ganes Nagesh, Eluchpore,
6. M. V. Joshi Esqr., Amraoti.
7. G. N. Kane Esqr., Amraoti.

BURMAH.

1. V. N. Shivaya M. A. B. L., Advocate, Chief Court, Rangoon.
2. J. C. Ray, Barrister-at-Law, Rangoon.

General Secretaries.

THE PRESIDENT:—Now, there is another proposition, gentlemen, of a formal nature but this time of some special importance. And that is to reappoint Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. Dhaji Abaji Khare, as General Secretaries for the year 1913.

Gentlemen, both these gentlemen gave us notice that they should not be reappointed because they had had enough work. They said they had their turn; other provinces and other gentlemen should have their turn and they therefore asked to be relieved of the heavy responsibility which they have to undertake. Myself and other friends requested them to reconsider their resolve and it is a matter of sincere pleasure to us that they have consented to withdraw their objection to renomination (cheers). I therefore propose, gentlemen, that "Messrs. D. E. Wacha and Daji Abaji Khare be reappointed General Secretaries for the year 1913." I ask you to carry the proposition with acclamation.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The Next Congress.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now call upon the Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishendas to move the next resolution:—

The Hon'ble MR. HARCHANDRAI VISHINDAS (Karachi):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Let me inform you, gentlemen, that this Congress should have been held at Karachi this year. That was practically settled at the last Delhi Durbar. I went to Calcutta with an invitation in my pocket; and an announcement was made in the Calcutta Newspapers. Some gentlemen from Behar were agreed that we should be allowed to have this Congress at Karachi this year. I am not saying this in any spirit of complaint, mind you, but when we arrived at Calcutta and when the time for inviting the next Congress came the Beharees were very pressing that they should be allowed to hold the Congress here at Bankipore. Well, we thought that it was due from us to allow them the opportunity of celebrating the occasion of their being raised to the dignity of a separate administration. So we gave in. Why do I make mention of it now? We thought that in the best interest

of the Congress, we should never depart from the spirit of give and take. That spirit of give and take has been followed to-day in respect of one of the propositions on which, unhappily, we thought we were going to have a division. While quoting the example of this resolution in connection with the invitation of the Congress to Karachi, I beg to impress upon you that in future also you will find it to be in the best interests of the harmonious working of the Congress to observe that spirit of give and take.

After this preface, Mr. President Brother-Delegates, I have very great pleasure in inviting the Congress to Karachi (hear, hear and cheers) and proposing that you will be pleased to pass the resolution that will be placed before you from the chair that the 28th Session of the Indian National Congress be held at Karachi in December next year. If I am fortunate enough to receive your acceptance of this resolution, I can tell you then that we shall try our level best to make you comfortable. I can't guarantee that you will feel yourselves comfortable, because if I were to do so, it will be bragging and braggadocio. All I can say is that we will do our level best to make you comfortable. At the same time, I shall earnestly pray that each and every one of you present here to-day would make it a point to honour us with your presence, not only singly, but each one of you with a good contingent of friends and relations from all parts of the Province. You will be extremely welcome; you will do us a great deal of honour if you turn up with large contingents (Mr. D. E. Wacha:—"You are the future gate of India"); and as I said already we shall do our level best to make you comfortable. (cheers)

THEN THE HON. MR. G. M. BHURGRI (Karachi) in seconding the resolution, said:— I beg to second the proposition moved by my old friend Mr. Vishundas. I can say that we will feel proud if you will accept an invitation to hold the next Congress at our place—Karachi (cheers.)

Hon'ble
Mr. G. M.
Bhurgri.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, I put from my place here the proposition that the next Congress do meet at Karachi in Christmas week 1913.

The Resolution was then carried unanimously.

Votes of thanks to the President.

THE HON'BLE MR. S. SINHA (Bankipore) then rose, amidst loud acclamation, and said:—Brother-delegates, I now rise to perform on your behalf and on behalf of the province of Behar and Orissa a most agreeable and pleasant task which is to convey on your behalf our gratitude and sense of our deep thankfulness to the President for the work he has done in connection with this Congress (Hear, Hear and Cheers).

Sir, it is customary on occasions like this to pass a vote of thanks to the chair; but I am sure those who realise the difficulties of the task entrusted to the President of the National Congress, due to various causes, due to the rise of a spirit of larger assertion of the delegates to take their proper place in the work of the Congress, due also to the combination of various circumstances in view of the pressing problems facing us,—those who realise these difficulties will see that it is nothing but the barest truth when we say that the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar has discharged his duties in a spirit and in a way which has been admired by all of us here and has rendered his task not only very difficult but also at the same time a pleasing one to himself and to all of us. If I may say, Sir, without impertinence, I desire to say on behalf of the province of Behar that as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Haque said, we have all felt honored by the presence of a veteran leader like Mr. Mudholkar, whose vast and varied services in the cause of national progress and in the cause of the amelioration of our country, were set forth very properly on the day of his election. I need not go over the same ground; but I shall content myself by saying that the speech he delivered from this Congress Pandal, and which I dare say you have all read by this time, I think, is a speech of a masterly character. It may not be right for a junior like myself to speak in terms which savour of impertinence of Rai Bahadur Mudholkar's performance; but I may say leaving the criticism of carping critics, we are agreed that the speech will form one which will convey for a long time to come useful information to all who seek information about Indian problems at the present day (cheers). I believe I am right in saying that no pressing problem of the day has been left untouched in his speech. No one will rise from a

persual of the speech but with his sympathy with Indian aspirations widened and with a better appreciation of the difficulties that face us at the present day. I desire to say also one word sir, about your conduct in the chair. I have said the task of the President is a very difficult one. We have had some instances today in the Congress of the difficulties facing the President, in the way of reconciling the jarring and conflicting elements of public opinion from various quarters. Whatever may be the differences of opinion, whatever the grievances of the particular section of the delegates may be in regard to a particular resolution that they might like to press before the Congress, I think that we all appreciate that Mr. Mudholkar has gone about his business in the right spirit of geniality, urbanity and courtesy which has charmed us all. I do not think, gentlemen. I shall be justified in inflicting upon you any speech at this late hour. I desire to say that we in Behar and Orissa feel honored by his presence, here and that, if the Congress has been a success—it is not for me to say to what extent—it is due entirely to your conduct in the Chair.

With these words, gentlemen, I beg to move this resolution, and as the President cannot put this resolution to the vote I hope you will carry it with acclamation (Cheers).

The resolution was carried amidst loud cheering and cries of Bande Mataram.

Three cheers were then called for, for the President and they were most enthusiastically given.

The President's Concluding Address.

THE PRESIDENT.—In concluding the proceedings of the Congress, he said :—Fellow countrymen and brothers, I am an old man, for over thirty years I have belonged to a profession where I have to stand on my legs every day and speak. There are however, occasions when even those whose business it is to speak in season and out of season, do not find words adequate to give expression to their feelings. The very kind and affectionate tones in which my friend Mr. Sinha has spoken of me today, re-echoing the most loving terms in which Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others spoke the other day, not only touched a deep chord in my heart, but that day and also today, affected me so deeply that I find it difficult to speak in the way in which I would ordinarily do. Gentlemen, I am a humble servant of my country, whose duty it is to devote his whole life and all the powers that are in him to the Service of the motherland and her children (Hear, Hear and Cheers). It has been taught to me from my boyhood, because it was, when I was a boy of ten years old, that my father asked me to read the Bhagavad Gita: it was from then impressed upon me.

कर्मखेवाधिकारस्ते ना फलेषु कदाचन ।

ना कर्मफलहेतुर्भूमा ते संगस्यत्त्वकर्मणि ॥

Gentlemen, it is our duty, it is our Dharma to do Karma or right action, without any thought of reward or merit, yet all the same I am a human being. I do not possess either that high mental calibre which is possessed by the *munis* who are दुःखेषु सुखेषु विमलसुखाः—I do not belong to that class, nor am I callous and ungrateful as some people are found in this world to be. I am very human and I very frankly confess that the very kind demonstration which you made in regard to me and the most affectionate terms in which my friends and fellow-workers have spoken of me have not only given satisfaction but have aroused the utmost feelings of gratitude. Gentlemen, all I wish is that it would be permitted to me to continue to serve you, all my countrymen, for some years more (Hear, Hear and Cheers). And if in this Congress, if in the chair which I occupy, I had been able to do something useful, I had been able to promote the cause of the congress, it was simply due to the indulgence, the co-operation with which you treated all my requests. It was often necessary for me to pull up, stop friends when they were in the midst of a most interesting and instructive speech. I was even obliged to do so in regard to a person who occupied long before I did, the chair which I do, because it was perceived that we had to get through our work within a limited time. I ask their pardon and tender my apology to all those gentlemen (cries of 'No. No'). It was a duty which I had to do, it was an unpleasant duty which at that time I felt incumbent upon me to discharge irrespective of consequence, but I really felt in my heart that I should have been spared that unpleasant position. Then again, in the subjects committee, very often I had to ask friends who were speaking to sit down. I had very often to say 'No, I shall

not put this, and to-day I had to refuse the request of friends from Behar, of countrymen from Behar, who wanted to put forward a proposition. Brethren, it was simply because I felt it my duty to do so,—that there was no other way open to me—that I did so, and it is a matter of no little pride to me that you, with your loyalty to the Congress and with that faithfulness to the country that animates you, have accepted my ruling, whatever may be your personal sentiments in the matter (Hear, Hear).

To all of you, therefore, I tender my most cordial acknowledgments for the help you have given me in discharging this work. Now, gentlemen, from this evening, some of us will leave the place, some will go tomorrow, and some the day after, but before we go away, let us remember that we have greater difficulties to meet than faced the Congress in former days. Twenty-five years ago, when I joined the Congress,—I shall have joined it earlier but for a sickness which almost carried me to the verge of the grave, when I joined the Congress, twenty-five years ago, there was a feeling of deep enthusiasm, of fervent love, of fervid emotion throughout the country in favour of the Congress. We used in those days to hold public meetings and in my province, on occasions, we had as many as 5,000 people attending these meetings. As time went on—it is a matter of great regret to state—as time went on, the enthusiasm in the cause of the Country diminished and it has pained me greatly to see that the number of delegates with the number of members of the Reception Committee included, does not come to 400. (Shame Shame) Gentlemen, let us realise that this is in no small measure due to want of organisation, to want of sustained efforts on the part of the various provincial leaders. It is true a great process of disintegration set in 1906 and 1907 and that process has done incalculable harm to the cause of reform in the country. Well, to all those true sons of India who do not care for any personal feelings, who do not care to guide themselves by any personal considerations, but who have before them nothing but the good of the country, I appeal to them from here that the time has come when they should revise their judgments reconsider the matter, see whether the Congress programme of to-day is not the Congress programme of 1885, 1886 and 1887, and if it is then to lay aside all feelings, and come and work in this Pandal unitedly as before in the cause of the good of the country (Hear Hear.) Then of you, gentlemen of the Provincial Committees, I have to ask one thing. You must find out more money for your organisation and you must carry on your work with greater zeal and perseverance. I shall not say more on this because our organs in the press have often pointed out the defects. I would only appeal to you to remember that unless we go on working as we did before, our demands which are far more difficult than the demands of past times, have not much chance of being granted. Gentlemen, I hope my request will not fall on deaf ears. And now before I resume my seat and declare this session closed, I have both on your behalf and mine to perform a most pleasant and a most agreeable duty. And that is to tender our heartiest, our most cordial acknowledgments to our countrymen here who have done so much to make this Congress a success (cheers), First and foremost to you, Sir, Mr. Haque, I tender our gratitude (At this stage Mr. Vishindhas called for three cheers for Mr. Haque, which were heartily responded to.) To you, Sir, I tender our grateful thanks for the very difficult task which you and your fellow-workers have carried out and along with you, allow me to couple the names of my friends Mr. S Sinha (Mr. Vishindhas called for three cheers for Mr. Sinha which were heartily given) and my Hon'ble friend Mr. Krishna Sahay, his joint Secretary (cheers), for the devoted work they have done in connection with this session of the Congress. Along with them, of course, we have to tender our grateful thanks to the other members of the Reception Committee without whose help the Chairman and the Secretaries, would not have been able to make the satisfactory arrangements which they have been able to make. You, gentlemen from Bombay, from Calcutta, from Madras, you have no occasion to feel the difficulties of holding a large meeting, a large session like that of the Congress, in an out-of-the-way place, in a mofussil town, with your big cities, with your tremendous commerce, with your great resources, you can have anything at the spur of the moment. We in the mofussil—for I had some experience of it in 1896)—we who have to get most of the things which are necessities to the delegates or necessary to their comforts, from outside, we know what amount of foresight and organisation is necessary, to make a Congress in a place like Bankipore the success that it has been. Gentlemen, we have only to go about and see how nicely

laid out are the camps (cheers), how well the comforts of the delegates have been looked after (Cheers). You see how systematically and methodically things were carried out. I have again to mention to you that no small measure of the credit for the carrying out of these most satisfactory arrangements, is due to our friend Babu Kuarnandan Sahay. Gentlemen, but for the manner in which they organised and they made sacrifices it would have been very difficult for you to have had a successful Session of the Congress. Now, we have to tender our grateful thanks, coupled with blessings to these young friends of ours, the volunteers with their leader Captain Paramesvar Lal. (Three cheers for the volunteers were called for and given) He will be captain in earnest one of these days (a voice:—'He shall be colonel very soon') my young friends, without your devotion, without your self-effacing readiness to do every thing for us, to perform even menial services this Congress would not have been a success. That has been the great characteristic of you and of your predecessors in this Congress and there is nothing which inspires me with greater hope than the self-sacrificing labours of my young friends and countrymen. They are our younger brethren and they have treated us with that Hindu spirit of respect for old age and for the elder members of the family. My friends, I have in very many matters what might be called radical ideas, i.e. ideas not quite in consonance with the existing state of things, but to the core I am a Hindu and there is no part of our system of which I am more proud and more tenacious than respect to my elders. It is to me a matter of the utmost pleasure that our volunteers both in Bankipore and in other places have preserved that peculiar characteristic of the Hindus. I have therefore, both pleasure and peculiar satisfaction in tendering my acknowledgments to you.

Gentlemen, we have finished the work of this Congress and there now remains nothing for us to do but to dissolve this Congress and before doing so, I give three cheers for their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary. (Three cheers were then very enthusiastically given for Their Majesties).

On the motion of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, three cheers were given for Rao Bahadur Mr. Mudholkar, and then the Congress dissolved.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-seventh Indian National Congress, Bankipore, 1912.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, Religions, Denomination and Caste, if any.	Profession, Calling, Occupation Address <i>in full</i> .	How and when Elected.	REMARKS.
1	Madras	Nellore District Congress Committee, The Madras Provincial Congress Committee and the Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Nandogiri Ramachandra Rau B.A.	Hindu Brahman	Member of the Servants of India Society, Poona City.	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	
2	"	Madras Congress Provincial Committee.	Mr. C. P. Rameshwary Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	At a meeting of the committee held on the 12-12.	
3	"	District Congress Committee, Godavari.	Mr. D. V. Prakasaran, B.A.	Hindu Telgu Brahmin,	Civil Pensioner, Municipal Councillor, Coconada, and Secretary Godavari District Association.	By the District Congress Committee.	
4	"	Do.	Mr. Lakkaraju Subba Rau B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Coconada, and member, Godavari District Association.	Do.	
5	"	Kurnool District Congress Association.	Rao Bahadur S. Vinkatanarasingha Rau B.A. Chairman of the Kurnool Municipality, Taluk and District Board member.	Brahmin.	Pleader Kurnool.	At a meeting of the District Congress Association held on the 12-12-12.	
6	"	Ganjam District Association, Barhampur and Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantalu Guru.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil Berahampur Ganjam District Madras.	At a meeting of the Ganjam Dist Committee held on the 11-12 and of the Provincial Committee held on the 17th Decr. 12	

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7	Madras.	Kurnool District Congress Association.	Mr. G. K. Harkare.	Brahman.	Kariostan Mantri to his Holiness Shav Shankracharj of Hampi month.		
8	"	Mahajan Sabha.	Mr. V. Mangalvedkor.	Mahratta Brahman.	Editor of the "Moderen World" Madras.	By a meeting of Mahajan Sabha Madras.	
9	"	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. G. C. Leogandhaw Madalias.	Vellola Hindu.	Proprietor "Guardian Press."	By a meeting held on the 15-12-12 of Madras	
10	"	Do.	Mr. S. Sowasendaram Pillai B.A., B.L.	Vella Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Coral Merchant Street, George Town Madras.	By a meeting of committee held on 15-12-12.	
11	"	Nellore District Congress Committee.	Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Nellore.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Nellore.	By a meeting of the Congress Committee held on 22-12-12.	
12	"	Vizagapatam Congress Committee.	Mr. Chitalapati Venkata. Surja Narasinha Raja B.A., B.L., President Taluk Board Vizagapatam, Vakil.	Khatrya.	Landholder, Vakil.	By a meeting of the Congress Committee held on the 17-12-12.	
13	"	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohamad Saheb Bahadur.	Mohammadan.	Member, Viceregal Council Humayun Manzil, Rozspathih, Madras.	At a meeting of the committee held on the 15-12-12.	
14	"	Do.	Mr. A. Duraiswami Aiyar B.A. LLB.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	Do.	
15	"	Do.	Hon'ble N. Subbarao Pantulu.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
16	"	Tanjore Congress Committee	T. Sambamurti Rau B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.	

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17	Madras.	Ganjam Congress Committee.	Mr. A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil High Court, Madras.	At a meeting held on 17-12-12.	
18	"	Madras Mahajan Sabha	Mr. V. Srinivasaraghva Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Chittoor.	At a meeting held on 17-12-12.	
19	Do.	Madura Congress Committee.	S. Harihara Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, Madura.	At a meeting held on 18-12-12.	
20	Bombay.		Mr. Dinsha E. Wacha, General Secretary to the I. N. Congress.	Parsee	Marchant, 84, Hornby Road, Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	
21	Do.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., L.L.B., Joint General Secretary, I. N. Congress, member (ex-officio).	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Bombay Benasi Road, Byculla, Bombay.	At the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on 14-12-12.	
22	Do.	Karachi District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Harchand Rai Vishundas, B.A., L.L.B., President Karachi Municipality, Chairman, Karachi District Congress C., Additional member, Legislative Council.	Hindu.	Pleader, Karachi.	Meeting of Karachi District Congress Committee 12-12-1912.	
23	Do.	Karachi District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhargri, Bar-at-Law, additional member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council and of the Bombay Legislative Council; Secretary of Jagirdar's and Zamindar Association, Sindh.	Mahommedan	Bar-at-Law, Hyderabad (Sind)	Repeat.	

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24	Bombay	Ahmedabad	Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth, B.A., LL.B., Secretary, Social Reform Association, Ahmedabad.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Ahmadabad.	Meeting of Guzrat Sabha, Ahmedabad 18-12-12.	
25	Do.	Karachi District Congress Committee.	Mr. Hasharam Vishindas, F. C. P. S., Secretary Karachi District Congress Committee, Honorary Secretary, Sindh Hindu Sabha.	Brahmo Hindu	Pleader, Karachi	At the Meeting of the Karachi District Congress Committee.	
26	Do.	Poona District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Poona.	Maharatta Brahmin.	Member, Legislative Council.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee.	
27a	Do.	Do.	Mr. Gopal Krishna Deodhar, M.A.	Hindu.	Member, Servants of India Society.	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 22nd Dec. 12.	
27b	Do.	Kolaba District Congress Committee.	Mr. Sridhar Ganesh Vaze, B.A.	Do.	Member, Servants of India Society.	Elected by a circular seat round the District.	
28	Do.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Dattaran G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B.	Sarasvat Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Khot's Dart, Girgaon, Bombay.	At the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 14th Dec. 12.	

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29	Berar.	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	Rawsaheb Ganesh Nagesh Sahasrabudhi Pleader, Landholder, Vice-president of the Elichpur Civil Station Municipality.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Elichpur Berar Amraoti District.	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held at Amraoti on the 8th December 1912.	
30	"	Do.	Mr. R. V. Mahajani B.A. L.L.B.	Do.	High Court Pleader, Kola, Berar	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held at Amraoti on the 8th December 1912.	
31	"	Provincial Committee.	Mr. Madhao Bapaji Sant Assistant Secretary Indian Industrial Conference.	Hindu Brahmin	Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference Amraoti.	At the meeting of the Committee.	
32	"	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Ramchandra Amaji Deshpandy.	Brahmin Vaisnas.	Pleader at Amraoti in Berar.	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held at Amraoti on the 8th December 1912.	
33	"	Do.	Mr. Sridhar Venkatesh Ketkar M.A. PH. D.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Author.	Do.	
34	"	Do.	Mr. Madhav Ramchandra Mudholkar.	Brahmin.	...	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held at Amraoti on 8-12-12.	

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35	Berar.	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Madholkar, Advocate Amraoti (Berar).	Brahman.	Advocate Amraoti (Berar)	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held at Amraoti on the 8-12-12.	
36	"	Do.	Mr. Govind Narayan Kane.	Christian.	Pleader.	Do.	
37	Central Province	Bhandara District.	Mr. Vishnu Madhav Jakardar, B. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Secretary District Council Bhandara.	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1912.	
38	Berar	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. N. A. Dravid M. A.	Hindu.	Member, Servant of India Society.	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	
39	"	Provincial Congress Committee.	Lakshman Vithal Kaikani Esq. L. Ag. Member, Servants of India Society, member, District Board Yeotmal.	Brahmin.	Member, Servant of India Society, Yeotmal, Berar	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held on 8-12-12.	
40	"	Do.	Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, B. A., B. L. B. Vice-Chairman, District Board, Yeotmal.	Do.	Legal Practitioner, Yeotamal Berar.	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held at Amraoti on 8-12-12.	
41	"	Do.	Mr. G. B. Kshirsagar.	...	Amraoti.	At a meeting held on 8-12-12	

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42	Berar.	Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Narayan Malbar Bedarkar.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Amraoti.	At a meeting held on 8-12-12.	
43	Punjab.	The Punjab Congress Committee.	Mr. Fakirchand, Pleader.	Hindu Agarwala		By a meeting of the Lahore Congress Committee.	
44	Do.	Do.	Mr. P. L. Rajpal, B. A.	Arya.	Chief Manager, National Insurance and Banking Co., Ltd., Amritsar.	Do.	
45	Do.	Do.	Lala Harkishun Lal.	Hindu.	Bar-at-Law.	...	
46	Do.	Do.	Pandit Rambhaji Dutta Chaudhry, B.A.	Hindu Arya.	Pleader.	...	
47a	United Provinces.	Lucknow District Congress Committee.	Pandit Kailash Nath Chak, Bar-at-Law.	Brahmin.	Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.	Lucknow District Committee 16-12-12.	
47b	Do.	U. P. Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Munshi Ishwar Saran, B. A.	Hindu Kayastha	Vakil of the High Court, Allahabad.	United Provincial Congress Committee.	
48	Agra.	Gorakhpore Congress Committee.	B. Ram Prashad, Zemindar and Pleader.	Do.	Pleader, Gorakhpore	Public meeting 12-12-12.	
49	Do.	Do.	B. Balmukund Sahai, Pleader Gorakhpur.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
50	United Provinces Agra and Oudh.	Meerut District Congress Committee.	Mr. Fearay Lal, Bar-at-Law.	Hindu Agarwala	Bar-at-Law, Meerut.	Do.	
51	Do.	Do.	Mr. M. Das Jaini, B. A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
52	Do.	Lucknow District Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Rai Ganga Prasad Varma Bahadur, Vice-Chairman, Lucknow Municipal Board.	Hindu Khatri.	Editor of the Advocate and the Hindustani, Lucknow.	Lucknow District Congress Committee 16-12-12.	

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53	United Provinces Agra and Oudh.	Lucknow District Congress Committee.	Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M. A. B. L. B., Vakil and Municipal Commissioner, Luck- now.	Sarasvat Brah- min Kankubja	Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Oudh, Lucknow.	D. C. C. 16-12-12.	
54	United Provinces	District Congress Com- mittee, Fyzabad.	B. Mehendra Sen, Varma Vakil and Zemin- dar.	Hindu Khatri.	Vakil, Fyzabad.	D. C. C. 14-12-12.	
55	Do.	Do.	Thakur Mahadeb Singh, B. A., Vakil and Zemindar.	Khatriya.	Do.	Do.	
56	Do.	Do.	Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sukul, Pleader and Zemindar.	Kashmiri Brah- min.	Pleader Fyzabad.	Do.	
57	Do.	United Provinces Congress Committee.	B. Kamala Kanta Verma, B. A., L. L. B.	Hindu Kayestha	Vakil, Ghazipore	United Province Congress Com- mittee 15-12-12.	
58	Do.	Hardoi District Congress Committee.	Mauni Lal Asthana M. A., L. L. B.	Do.	Vakil, Hardoi.	Ordinary meet- ing of the Dis- trict Congress Committee.	
59	Do.	United Provinces Congress Committee.	Babu Parmeshwar Dayal, B. A., L. L. B.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Jonstengunge, Allahabad.	United Provin- ces Congress Committee.	
60	Do.	Provincial Committee, Unit- ed Provinces.	Pandit Hargobind Kant B. A., L. L. B., Vakil, High Court.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Raikhet, Dt. Almora.	Provincial Com- mittee Banki- pur, 25-12-12.	
61	Gorakhpur.	Gorakhpore.	B. Ajodhya Das B. A., Bar-at-Law.	Hindu Vaishya.	Bar-at-Law, Gorakhpur.	Public meeting.	
62	Dist. Congress Committee, Sita- pur.	District Congress Com- mittee, Sitapur.	Mr. Chailbehari Lall, B. A., Vakil and mem- ber District Board, Sitapur.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, Sitapur.	Meeting of the district Con- gress Com- mittee, Sitapur.	
63	Do.	District Congress Com- mittee, Sitapur.	B. Akhay Kumar Bose, B. A., Pleader.	Do.	Pleader, Sitapur.	D. C. C. 17-12- 12.	

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64	U. P.	District Congress Committee, Shahjehanpore.	B. Kalka Prasad B. A., L. L. B., Vakil	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, Tijhar, District Shahjehanpur.	District Congress Committee 15-12-12.	
65	Oudh Do.	District Congress Committee, Sitapore.	B. Sidh Prasad, B. A., Vakil.	Do.	Vakil, Sitapur.	Do. 17-12-12.	
66	Do.	Gorakhpore.	B. Narsingh Sahai B. A., L. L. B., Vakil.	Do.	Vakil, Gorakhpur.	Do. 12-12-12.	
67	Do.	District Congress Committee, Hardoi.	B. Mata Prasad Saksena.	Do.	Vakil Hardoi.	Do. 19-12-12.	
68	Do.	District Congress Committee, Benares.	B. Babunandanlal, Munshi of the Maharja of Vizianagram.	Do.	Kabir Chaura, Benares City.	D. C. C.	
69	Do.	District Congress Committee.	Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh L. M. S. Medical Practitioner, Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board.	Do.	1, Stanley Road, Allahabad.	U. P. C. C. 15-12-12.	
70	Do.	U. P. Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru.	Hindu Brahmin.	Advocate, Allahabad.	C. C. 15-12-12.	
71	Do.	District Congress Committee, Allahabad.	Dr. Tej Bahadur Supru, M. A., B. L., B. D.	Brahmin.	Do.	P. C. C. 15-12-12.	
72	Do.	Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. L. R. Kacker, Bar-at-Law.	Khatra Hindu.	Advocate, Civil Lines, Barailey.	Do.	
73	Do.	Do.	Mr. Preonath Bannerjee, Member of the Barailey Municipal Board, Advocate, Honorary Magistrate.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Barailey.	Do. 15-12-12.	
74	U. P.	U. P. Congress Committee.	B. Ramdas Krishna, Journalist.	Hindu.	Journalist, Allahabad.	Do. 15-12-12.	
75	Do.	Do.	Mr. Jaya Narain Choudhry.	Hindu Kayestha	Legal Practitioner Barailey.	Do. 15-12-12.	
76	Do.	U. P. Congress Committee,	Rai Braj Narain Gurtu M. A.	Brahmin.	Vakil, 25, George Town, Allahabad.	Congress C. 15-12-12.	
77	Do.	Do.	S. Mushran Esqr. Bar-at-Law.	Do.	Advocate, High Court Allahabad.	U. P. C. C. 15-12-12.	

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78	U. P.	U. P. C. C.	Mr. Jawahir Lal Nehru B. A., Bar-at-Law.	Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court "Anand Bhawan" Allahabad.	U. P. C. C. 15-12-12.	
79	Do.	District Congress Committee.	Munshi Ravinandan Prasad B. A., L. L. B., Vakil, High Court, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, District Board and Zemindar.	Kayastha.	Vakil, Benares.	District Congress Committee 11-12-12.	
80	Do.	Gorakhpore.	B. Saraswati Prasad, Pleader, Gorakhpur.	Do.	Pleader Gorakhpur.	D. C. G. 12-12-12.	
81	Do.	P. C. C.	Babu Siri Ram, Honorary Magistrate, Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board and Member of District Board.	Khatri Arya, Vedic.	Pleader and Zamindar Mirzapur.	P. C. C. 15-12-12.	
82	Do.	Do.	Babu Mahadeb Singh, B. A. L. L. B., Honorary Magistrate, Member, District Board Vakil, Zemindar.	Khatriya.	Pleader Muzafferpore.	Do.	
83	Do.	Do.	Babu Jadunath Sinha.	Do.	Darwa village Mirzapore.	Do.	
84	Do.	Hardoi D. C. C.	Dr. Pairamall Medical Practitioner.	Khatriya	Medical Practitioner, C/o G. Singh Hardoi.	D. C. C. 19-12-12.	
85	Do.	Do.	Sirdar Gurdit Singh, Bar-at-Law.	Sikh,	Bar-at-Law Hardoi.	Do. 19-12-12.	
86	Do.	Aligarh	Mr. Udaya V. Sinha, Bar-at-Law.	Rajput,	Cant. Lines Aligarh.	D, C, C	
87	Do.	P. C. C.	Pundit Hirdaynath Kunzra, Servant, of India Society (Poona).	Kashmiri Brahman,	Agra.	P. C. C. 15-12-12.	
88	Do.	D. C. C.	Pundit Kirath Rajmani Terpathi B.A. B.S.C. L. L. B. Vakil.	Brahmin,	Vakil, Gorakhpore.	D. C. C.	
89	Do.	Do	Lala Lachminarain, Allahabad.	Khatriya,	Banker and Zemindar, Allahabad,	Public meeting 26-12-12.	
90	Do.	Cawnpore Peoples' Association.	Dr. Murari Lal Rai Sahib B. A. M. B. President Cawnpur Kanya Vidayla &c. &c.	Vaishya Hindu,	Medical Practitioner Cawnpore,	Peoples' Association Cawnpur 13-12-12.	

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91	United Provinces.	District Congress Committee, Unao	Pandit Benimadho Dubey,	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Unao (Oudh):	District Congress Committee meeting 23-12-12.	
92	Do.	Do.	Pandit Bishambarnath Bajpai, B. A.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Unao	Do. and United Provinces Congress Committee meeting 15 Dec. 1912.	
93	Do.	Agra D. C. C.	Pandit Govind Sahai Sharma, B. A., Bar-at-Law.	Brahmin.	Advocate, Civil Lines, Agra.	Agra D. C. C. 14-12-12.	
94	Do.	Do.	Babu Narain Prasad Ashthana, M. A., L. L. B., Vice-Chairman, Agra Municipal Board, High Court Vakil, Agra.	Kayastha	Vakil, Civil Courts, Agra.	D. C. C. 14-12-12.	
95	Do.	Cawnpore Peoples' Association.	Pandit Jai Narain Prasad Bajpai, Editor, "Herald of India."	Brahmin.	Editor, "Herald of India," Cawnpur.	Cawnpur Peoples' Association 17-12-12.	
96	Do.	Do.	Pandit Venkateshnarain Tewary, M. A., Member of the Servants of India Society.	Do.	Paltrapore, Cawnpore.	Do. 17-12-12.	
97	Do.	District Congress Committee, Benares.	Babu Mangla Prasad, M. A. B. Sc.	Hindu Agarwala.	Zemindar and Banker.	By a meeting of the District Congress Committee.	
98	Do.	Rai Baraile.	Pandit Behari Lal Nehru, Pleader.	Brahmin.	Pleader.	D. C. C. 12-12-12	
99	Do.	U. P. Congress Committee.	Babu Ganga Prasad Ray.	Hindu.	Do.	At a meeting of the U. P. Congress Committee held on 15-12-12.	

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100	U. P.	Lucknow Congress Committee.	Babu Ramapat Ram, M. A., L. L. B.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow.	At a meeting of the Congress Committee held on 16-12-12.	
101	Do.	Do.	Pandit Ikbal Narayan Masaldan.	Brahmin	Barrister, Lucknow.	Do.	
102	Do.	Benares Congress Committee	Munshi Mahadeo Prasad, M. A., L. L. B.	Kayastha	Vakil, Benares.	At a meeting held on 11-12-12.	
103	Do.	Do.	Rai Krishnaji, Hon. Magistrate.	Kaistha	Zemindar and Banker.	Do.	
104	Do.	Do.	Babu Gauri Shanker Prasad, B. A., L. L. B.	Do.	Vakil, Benares.	Do.	
105	Do.	Do.	Pandit Krishna Ram Mehta, B. A., L. L. B.	Brahmin.	Do.	Do.	
106	Do.	Do.	Rao Vajinath Dass Shahpuri.	Do.	Zamindar and Banker.	Do.	
107	Do.	Do.	Rao Gopal Dass Shahpuri.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
108	Do.	U. P. Congress Committee.	C. Y. Chintamani, Esqr.	Do.	Editor, "The Leader".	At a meeting held on 15-12-12.	
109	Do.	Do.	Mehta Krishna Ram, B. A., L. L. B.	Do.	Vakil, Benares.	Do.	
110	Do.	Do.	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Munshi Gokhul Prasad, M. A., L. L. B.	Vaishya	Vakil, Allahabad.	Do.	
111	Do.	Kheri Congress Committee.	Pandit Suraj Narayan Dikshit.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Kheri-Lakhimpur (Oudh)	At a meeting held on 15-12-12.	

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112	Do.	Unao Congress Committee.	Pandit Bishambher Nath Bajpai, B. A.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Unao (Oudh).	Do.	
113	Bengal	Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Lalit Mohan Das, M. A.	Bengalee Brahmin.	Teaching and Journalism.	In a Committee meeting on the 7-12-12.	Elected also from Indian Association and Calcutta District Association.
114	Do.	Indian Association.	Babu Sasank Jiban Roy, M. A., B. L., Vakil.	Hindu, Bengalee	Vakil, Calcutta High Court.	At a Committee meeting of the Indian Association on the 7th Dec. 1912.	
115	Do.	Faridpur District Association.	B. Mathuranath Maitra, B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Faridpur.	At a meeting of the Faridpur Dt. Association on the 12th Dec. 1912.	
116	Do.	Calcutta Indian Association.	Babu Sachchindra Prasad Basu.	Brahmo.	Editor "Arya Bhasta-o-Banjya" and Landholder.	At a meeting of the Indian Association on the 7th Dec. 1912.	
117	Do.	Dinajpur Association.	Babu Abinash Charan Sen, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Baidya.	Pleader.	At a meeting of the Association on 20-12-12.	
118	Do.	Do	Babu Amulya Deb Pathak, B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Do.	Do.	
119	Do.	Indian Association.	Mf. D. C. Ghosh, Bar-at-Law.	Hindu Bengalee Kayastha.	Bar-at-Law.	At a Committee meeting of the Association on the 7-12-12.	

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120	Bengal.	Indian Association.	Rai Debendra-Charan Ghosh.	Hindu Bengalee Kayasth.	Vakil, late Government Pleader of Alipore.	At a meeting of the Association on the 7-12-12.	Also elected by the District Congress Committee Khulna.
121	Do.	The Senahati Peoples' Association and Khulna District Congress Committee.	Kaviraj Raj Mohan Roy Kavindra.	Baidya, Hindu Bengalee.	Kaviraj.	Elected by the Executive Committee of the Senhati Peoples' Association.	
122	Do.	Indian Association.	The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu.	Hindu Bengalee Kaistha.	Attorey-at-Law.	At a Cominittee meeting held on the 7th Dec. 1912.	
123	Do.	Do.	Babu Promotho Nath Banerji.	Hindu Brahmin, Bengalee.	Professor.	Do.	
124	Do.	Do.	Babu Satyanand Bose, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha	Vakil, High Court.	Do.	
125	Do.	Do.	Dr. Nilratan Sarkar, M. A. M. D.	Bengalee Hindu Brahmin.	Physician.	Do.	
126	Do.	Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	Himendra Nath Mukerjea, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Mahant and Landholder.	At a meeting held on the 7th. Dec.	
127	Do.	Do.	Pramatha Nath Chawdhury Esq.	Hindu Kayestha	Zamindar, Banker, Contractor, Director the Indian Mining and Banking.	Do.	
128	Do.	Do.	Ramani Mohan Das.	Hindu Vaishya.	Merchanta, and Landholder.	Do.	
129	Do.	Faridpur District Association.	Babu Kisto Das Roy, member, Local and District Boards.	Hindu.	Zamindar and Merchant,	At a meeting held on the 12th.	

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130	Bengal.	Faridpur District Association.	Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, M. A. B. L., Chairman, Municipality.	Hindu.	Pleader.	At a meeting on the 12th.	
131	Do.	Rajshahi.	Surendra Mohan Moitra, B. A.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Zamindar.	Do.	
132	Do.	Mymensingh.	Suryya Kumar Some.	Kayastha.	Pleader, Mymensingh.	At a meeting on the 13th.	
133	Do.	The Indian Association.	Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitra.	Brahmin.	Editor, the "Sanjibani."	At a meeting on the 15th.	
134	Do.	Murshidabad.	Rai Baikunta Nath Sen Bahadur.	Baidya.	Vakil and Zamindar.	At a meeting at Brahampur on the 7th.	
135	Do.	Pabna.	Mr. Sitanath Adhikari, M. A., B. L.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Pabna.	At a meeting on the 12th Dec.	
136	Do.	Do.	Babu Kishori Mohan Roy.	Kayastha.	Zamindar, Editor "Suraj."	Do.	
137	Do.	Do.	Mr. Jnanada Gobind Chakraburty, B. L.	Brahmin.	Pleader.	Do.	
138	Do.	District Association 24 Parganas.	Mr. S. N. Mullik, B. L.	Hindu.	Vakil, member of the Bar-Library Association.	At a meeting 21st Dec.	
139	Do.	Indian Association.	Bubu Surendra Nath Mullik, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court.	Meeting on 7th.	
140	Do.	Do.	Babu Heramba Chandra Moitra, M. A.,	Brahmo.	Principal, City College.	Do.	
141	Do.	Do.	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.	Brahmin.	Professor and Journalist.	Do.	
142	Do.	Dacca Peoples' Association.	Babu Girish Chandra Das, B. L.	Bengalee Hindu.	Pleader, O'd Maghulody Street, Dacca.	At a meeting on the 16th Dec.	
143	Do.	Indian Association.	Dr. Deva Prasad Sarbadhikari, M. A., L. L. D., Member, Legislative Council.	Do.	Attorney-at-Law.	Do.	

List of Delegates to the Twenty-seventh Indian National Congress, Bankipore, 1912.

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144	Bengal	Indian Association.	Mr. A. Rasul, M. A., B. C. L.	Bengalee Mahamadan.	Bar-at-Law.	At a committee meeting of the Indian Association held on 7-12-12.	
145	Do.	Do.	Mr. Anulaya Kumar Basu.	Kayastha.	Permanent Assistant, Servants of India Society.	Do.	
146	Do.	Do.	Mr. Prithwis Chandra Roy.	Bengalee Kshatriy.	Journalist.	Do.	
147	Do.	Midnapure Congress Committee.	B. N. Sasmal.	Hindu.	Bar-at-Law, Midnapur.	At a meeting held on 21st Dec. 1912.	
148	Do.	Mymensingh Association.	Manomohan Neogi B. L.	Baidya.	Pleader and Talukdar.	Do.	
149	Behar.	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Syed Hayder Hussain.	Syed Mahamadan.	Member, Servants of India Society.	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	
150	Do.	Do.	Mr. Krishna Prasad Kant B. A.	Hindu Brahman	Do.	Do.	
151	Do.	Do.	The Hon'ble Maharaj Kumar of Tekari.	Do.	Zamindar.	Do.	
152	Do.	Do.	Babu Mahesher Nath Sinha F. T. S. Zamindar, Medical Practitioner.	Beharee Hindu Kayastha.	Medical Practitioner.	Do.	
153	Do.	District Congress Committee, Saran.	Babu Sheonandan Prasad.	Hindu Ahir.	Pleader, Saran.	At a meeting of the Dist. Congress Committee, Saran.	
154	Do.	District Congress Committee Arrah.	Moulvi Syed Mohammad Ismail Mokhtar.	Syed Mahamadan.	Mokhtar, Arrah, Behar.	At a meeting of the Dist. C. C. held at Arrah.	

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155	Behar.	Dist. Congress Committee, Bhagalpur.	Babu Anant Prasad Mondal.	Beharee Hindu Goup.	Zamindar, Madhipurah Sub-division, Bhagalpur.	At a meeting held on 18-11-12.	
156	Do.	Do.	Babu Ras Behari Lal Mandal.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
157	Do.	Do.	Babu Sri Krishna Prasad, B. A., B. L.	Beharee Hindu Ambast Kaystha.	Pleader and Zamindar, Monghyr and Bhagalpur.	Do.	
158	Do.	Do.	Babu Babu Lal Mandal.	Beharee Hindu Goup.	Zamindar.	At a public meeting held at 18-11-12.	
159	Do.	Do. Saran.	Babu Tirbeni Prasad, B. A., B. L.	Beharee Kaystha.	Pleader, Chapra.	At a meeting held on 14-11-12.	
160	Do.	Do.	Babu Bindsri Saran, Pleader.	Do.	Pleader, Chapra.	At a meeting held on 14-11-12.	
161	Do.	Do. Arrah.	Babu Inderdeo Narayan, B.L., Pleader,	Kaystha.	Pleader, Arrah.	At a meeting of the Dist. Congress Committee.	
162	Do.	Do.	Babu Shyam Sunder Prasad, Pleader,	Do.	Do.	Do.	
163	Do.	Do. Gaya.	Babu Surja Prasad Gupta, Mahajan.	Vaisa.	Banker and Zamindar, Gya.	" held on 11-11-12.	
164	Do.	Do. Darbanga.	Babu Hari Bansi Sahay.	Beharee Kaystha.	Pleader, Laheria Sarai, Durbhanga.	At a meeting held on 12-12-22.	
165	Do.	Do.	Babu Lachuman Prasad, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Pleader, M. Commissioner, Misra tola, Darbhanga.	Do.	

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166	Behar.	Dist. Congress Committee Durbhanga.	Pandit Bhuneshwar Misra.	Beharee Brahman.	Pleader, Zamindar Misra tola Durbhanga.	At a meeting on 12-12-12.	
167	Do.	Do. Sasaram.	Thakur Nand Kumar Singh, Pleader.	Hindu Kaystha.	Pleader, Sasseram.	Dist Congress C. Sassaram.	
168	Behar & Orissa.	Dist. Congress Committee Durbhanga.	Babu Singhesher Prasad.	Kaystha.	Pleader and Zamindar, Samsati-pur.	At a meeting held on 17-12-12.	
169	Do.	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	Pandit Bhagwan Bajapi, Zamindar.	Brahman.	Zamindar, Chauk, Gya.	Do.	
170	Do.	Do.	Mr. Syed Mohamad Ismail,	Syed Mahamadan.	Patna	By the Behar P. C. Committee.	
171	Do.	Dt. Congress Committee Durbhanga.	Babu Dharnidhar, M. A., B. L.	Beharee Kaystha.	Pleader, Laharia Sarai Durbhanga.	At a meeting held on 11-12-12.	
172	Do.	Do. Saran	Babu Mahadeo Saran.	Do.	Zamindar, village Hariharpur Chapra.	„ 14-12-12.	
173	Do.	Do. Durbhanga.	The Hon'ble Babu Brij Kishore Prasad, M. A. B. L.	Do.	Vakil, Laheria Sarai.	„ 11-12-12.	
174	Do.	Do. Mozafferpur	Babu Sant Prasad B. L., Vakil.	Khatrya.	„ Mozafferpur.	„ 14-12-12.	
175	Do.	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Ganesh Dutta Singh, Vakil.	Bhumihar Brahman.	High Court Vakil.	„ 23-12-12.	
176	Do.	District Congress Committee Shahabad.	Babu Raghubir Saran, B. L.	Kayastha.	Vakil Arrah.	„ 13-11-12.	
177	Do.	Do Saran.	Babu Mahender Prasad, B. A.	Do	Manager, Bank of Behar.	„ 14-11-82.	
178	Do.	Manbhum District Arrah.	Babu Sarat Chandra Sen.	Hindu Bengali.	Vakil, Purulia.	„ 16-11-12.	
189	Do.	District Congress Committee Monghyr.	Babu Gurujyote Sahai, Pleader.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Monghyr.	„ 16-11-22.	
180	Do.	Do Muzaffarpur	Babu Dwarka Nath, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Vakil, Muzaffarpur.	„ 11-12-12.	

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181	Behar & Orissa.	Dist. Congress Committee Motiharj.	Babu Madho Prasad.	Marwari.	Banker and Zamindar, Motihari.	At a meeting on 12-12-12.	
182	Do.	Do.	Babu Pundeo Prasad Sah.	Kalwar.	Do.	„ 12-12-12.	
183	Do.	Do Mozaffarpur.	Babu Jadu Nath Sinha.	Kshatriya.	Karpardaz of B. Maheswar Pd.	„ 14-12-12.	
183	Do.	Do.	Babu Ganga Bishun.	Khatriya.	Zamindar Mozafferpur.	„ 14-12-12.	
184	Do.	Do Gaya	Babu Gobardhan Missr, B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Gya.	„ 11-12-12.	
185	Do	Do. Mozaffarpur.	Babu Jadunandan Prasad, B. L.	„ Kayastha.	Pleader and Zamindar.	„ 11-12-12.	
186	Do.	Do Mozaffarpur	The Hon'ble B. Dwarka Nath, B. A., L.L. B.	Do.	Pleader, member of the Legislative Council.	„ 14-12-12.	
187	Do.	Do Gaya	Babu Nilkanth Sahai.	Do.	Pleader.	„ 11-12-12.	
188	Do.	Do.	Babu Satnarain Lall, Agent Kaystha Trading Corporation.	Do.	Agent Kystha Trading and Banking Corporation Gya.	„ 11-12-12.	
189	Do.	Do. Motihari	Babu Ramyad Prashad Sah.		Banker and Zamindar.	„ 12-12-19.	
190	Do.	Behar Provincial Committee.	Babu Kalipado Ghosh, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Kaystha.	Vakil, High Court.	„ 23-12-82.	
191	Do.	Do.	The Hon'ble Kirshna Sahay Rai Bahahur.	Beharee Kaystha.	Do,	„ 23-12-12.	
191	Do.	Do.	The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Bar-at Law.	Do.	Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.	By the meeting of the Behar P. C. C. Comte.	
192	Do.	Do.	Mr. Mohamed Yunus Esq.	Mohamadan.	Do,	Do.	
193	Do.	Dist. Cong. Comt. Gya.	The Hon'ble B. Bishun Pd., B. L.	Kayastha.	Pleader, Gya and Member All-India Congress Committee.	At a meeting held on 11-12-12	

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194	Behar & Orissa.	Provincial Cong, Committee	Babu Kuarnandan Sahai.	Kayastha.	Pleader, Bankipore and member All-India Congress Committee.	At a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee.	
195	Do.						
196	Do.	Gaya Congress Committee.	Babu Nankishore Lal M. A., B. L.	Do.	Vakil.	At a meeting of the Gaya Congress Committee held on 18-12-12.	
197	Do.						
198	Do.	Do.	Babu Dasrath Lal.	Do.	Pleader.	Do.	
		Do.	Babu Anupnarayan.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
199	Do.	Do.	Babu Kedarnath, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
200	Do.						
201	Do.	Durbhanga Dist., Congress Committee	Babu Girwardhar, B. A., L. L. B.	Do.	Pleader, Samastipore.	At a meeting held on 11-12-12	
202	Do.	Arrah District, Congress Committee.	Bahu Mangal Charan, B. L.	Do.	Vakil, Arrah.	At a meeting held on 18-11-12	
203	Do.	Purnea District, Congress Committee.	Babu Alakh Narayan.	Do.	Pleader.		
204	Do.	Provincial Cong. Committee	B. Maheshwar Prasad, B. A.	Do.	Editor, "The Beharee."	At a meeting of the Provincial Committee.	
205	Do.						
206	Do.	Burmah, Cong. Committee,	K. T. Malvani Esq.	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader, Rangoon.	At a meeting held in the Dec. 1912.	
207	Do.	Do.	V. Madanjit Esq.	Kayastha.	Editor, "United Burmah" Rangoon.	Do.	

RESOLUTIONS.

I. Death of Mr. A. O. Hume.

- (a). This Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow for the death of Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, C. B., the father and founder of the Indian National Congress, for whose life-long services, rendered at rare self-sacrifice, India feels deep and lasting gratitude, and in whose death the cause of Indian progress and reform has sustained an irreparable loss.
- (b). The President be requested to cable this resolution to Sir William Wedderburn Baronet, Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, with the request that he may convey to Mrs. Ross Scott, Mr. Hume's daughter, the sympathy of the Congress in her great bereavement.

II. Indians in the Colonies.

- (a). This Congress, anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the provisional settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic legislation of the Province regarding registration and immigration and expresses its high admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Mahomadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interest of their countrymen during their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary Civil rights against overwhelming odds.
- (b). Whilst appreciating the endeavours that have been made from time to time to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indians of South Africa and other British Colonies, this Congress urges that in view of the avowed inability of His Majesty's Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude in this matter, the Government of India should take such retaliatory measures as may be calculated to protect India's self-respect and the interest of Indian residents in those parts of the empire, and thus remove a great source of discontent among the people of this country.
- (c). This Congress further protests against the declarations of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies, in the British Empire, to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in those territories against, and denying the right of full British citizenship, to all the Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with grave mischief to the empire and is as unwise as unrighteous.
- (d). Whilst thanking the Government of India for the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for South Africa, this Congress is strongly of opinion that in the highest National interest, the system of indentured labour is undesirable and should be abolished and respectfully urges the Government to prohibit the further recruitment of Indian labour under contract of indenture whether for service, at home or abroad.
- (e). That the President do dispatch the following message to Mr. Gandhi. "The Congress reaffirms last year's resolution, expresses its warmest appreciation of your efforts and assures you and your fellow workers of the country whole hearted support."

III. The Public Services Commission.

- (a). This Congress records its sense of satisfaction at the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Service and while expressing its regret at the inadequacy of the non-official Indian element thereon, trusts the deliberation of the Commission will result in the just recognition of Indian claims to appointments in the various departments of the Public Service.
- (b). This Congress urges the introduction of the reforms outlined below:—
 - (1) The holding of the open competitive examination for the India Civil Service and Public Services now recruited in England simultaneously in India and in England.
 - (2) The recruitment of the Public Services as a rule by means of competitive examinations and not by a system of nomination.
 - (3) The abolition of the division of services into Imperial and Provincial as now constituted, and the equalisation of the conditions of service as between Europeans and Indians.
 - (4) The abrogation of all rules, orders, notifications and circulars which expressly or in effect debar Indians as such from any appointment in any department.
 - (5) The removal of restrictions against the appointment of persons other than members of Indian Civil Service in certain high and miscellaneous offices.
 - (6) The complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions and services. The creation of a distinct judicial services to be recruited from among members of the legal profession, and a proportionate curtailment of the cadre of the Indian Civil Service.
 - (7) The constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service for Civil Medical Service for Civil Medical appointments and the restriction of members of the Indian Medical Service to military posts only, the designation of the Indian Medical Service to be changed to Indian Military Medical Service.

- (8) The closing of all Indian Services to the natives of those British Colonies where Indians are not legible for service.

IV. The Swadeshi Movement.

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of India to labor for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigeneous industries by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice.

V. Local Self-Government.

This Congress expresses its regret that the recommendations of the decentralization commission with regard to the further development of Local Self-Government, have not yet been given effect to and urges that the Government of India may be pleased to take steps without delay to increase the powers and resources of local bodies.

VI. Provincial Autonomy.

This Congress records its satisfaction at the recognition by the Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State for India, dated the 25th August 1911, of the necessity of introducing autonomous form of administration in the different provinces of this country and begs to record its respectful protest against the interpretation sought to be put upon the despatch which is contrary to its letter and spirit.

VII. Legislative Council.

"(a) This Congress records its sense of keen disappointment that at the last revision of the Legislative Council regulations, the anomalies and inequalities, the rectification of which the previous Congress strongly urged upon the Government, have not been removed. And in order to allay the widespread dissatisfaction caused by the defects complained of, and in view of the experience of the last three years this Congress earnestly prays that—

- (1) There should be a non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council;
- (2) There should be a majority of elected members in all Provincial Council;
- (3) The system of voting by delegates be done away with where it still exist;
- (4) The franchise be broadened by simplifying the qualification of electors basing it on education, property or income;
- (5) The Government should not have the power arbitrarily to declare any person ineligible for election on the ground of his antecedents or reputation;
- (6) No person should be held ineligible for election on the ground of dismissal from Government service or of conviction in a criminal court or from whom security for keeping the peace has been taken, unless his conduct has involved moral turpitude;
- (7) No property or residential qualification should be required of a candidate, nor service as member of a local body;
- (8) A person ignorant of English should be held ineligible for membership;
- (9) It should expressly be laid down that officials should not be allowed to influence election in any way;
- (10) Finance Committees of Provincial Councils should be more closely associated with Government in the preparation of the annual financial statements.
- (11) There should be a Finance Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council as in the case of provincial Legislative Councils;
- (12) The right of putting supplementary questions should be extended to all members and not to be restricted to the member putting the original question;
- (13) The strength of the Punjab Council be raised from 26 to 50 and more adequate representation be allowed to Punjab in the Imperial Council.

VIII Executive Council for the United Provinces and the Panjab.

"This Congress again urges that an Executive Council with an Indian member be established in the United Provinces at an early date, and is of opinion that a similar Council should be established in Punjab too.

IX. Legislative Councils for the Central Provinces and Assam.

XI. "This Congress thanks the Government for the establishment of Legislative Councils in the Central Provinces and Assam and is of opinion that the former administration should be raised to the status of a Lieutenant-Governor's charge."

X. Law Membership.

"That in view of the fact that Section III of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to members of the English Bar only; thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection can be made, this Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils and Attorneys-at-Law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office."

XI. Education.

(a) "While expressing its satisfaction and thankfulness that Government have announced a more active educational policy, this Congress regrets the defeat of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale Elementary Education Bill and affirms its conviction that the introduction of a measure of free and compulsory education is essential to secure a rapid extension of elementary education.

- (b) This Congress cordially approves of the movement for the establishment of teaching and residential Universities in India."

XII. Separate Electorate for Local Board.

"This Congress strongly deprecates the extension of the principle of separate communal electorates to Municipalities District Boards or other local bodies.

XIII. Sanitation.

- (a) This Congress, while thanking the Government for having initiated a system of scientific enquiry into the origin and progress of plague, malaria and of the diseases, urges the necessity of immediately taking in hand such practical measures as the necessity of congested areas, the reclamation of silted rivers, the clearing of jungles, the draining of water logged areas, and better provision for the supply of pure drinking water throughout the country.
- (b) And this Congress exhorts Local Bodies and Public Associations to systematically educate public opinion in matters relating to sanitation and hygiene and facilitate the working of those measures that are inaugurated with a view to check the spread of disease and the increase of mortality and to secure better health and sanitation of urban and rural areas."

XIV. Public Expenditure.

"That having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, the Congress urges that early steps be taken towards effective retrenchment, in all the spending department, of the Imperial and the Provincial Governments and specially the Military Department."

XV. Land Settlement.

"That a reasonable and definite limitation to the demand of the state on land and the introduction of a permanent settlement directly between the Government and holders of land in ryotwari areas, or a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those provinces where short periodical settlements or revisions prevail, will in the opinion of this Congress, substantially help in ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the agricultural population."

XVI. Indians in the Army.

"This Congress is strongly of opinion that the injustice of keeping the higher ranks in the army closed against the people of India and the exclusion of certain races and castes from the lower ranks as well should be abolished.

XVII. High Courts.

"This Congress is strongly of opinion that the High Courts in India should have the same direct relation with the Government of India alone as the High Court at Fort William in Bengal has at the present time."

XVIII. Constitution.

"The constitution and Rules of the Indian National Congress organisation as amended by the All-India Congress Committee be adopted :"

XIX. Appreciation of Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Services.

"This Congress puts on record its high appreciation of the valuable work done by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, C. I. E., in his visit to South Africa undertaken at the invitation of our countrymen in that Colony.

XX. The British Committee.

"This Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee and resolves that the organisation of the British Committee and India should be maintained."

Twenty Seventh.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Patna 1912

OPENING MUSIC BY RAGHUBIR NARAYAN

26th December.

ईश्वर वन्दना ।

“ कृप्य ” ।

नमो नमो जगदीश ईश भुवनेश्वर दाता । नमो नमो मम प्राणनाथ जग के पितृमाता ॥
जाकर बल लवलेश पाइ चर अचर, बढत हैं । हिन्दु इसाई सुसल्लान सब विरद पढत हैं ॥

नमो नमो करुणायतन, चमासदन अशरण शरण ।

“रघुवीर” भनै नित जयति जय, जै परेश मङ्गल करन ॥

॥ बधाई ॥

धुन—खेमटा ।

भारत भूषण बधैया लिजे ॥ टेक ॥

मेरे गृह आये कृपा दर्शाये * स्वागत स्वीकृत कोजै ॥ १ ॥

पाटलिपुत्र बिहार सुहावन * पग देइ पावन कीजै ॥ २ ॥

बुद्ध अशोक चाणक्य की भूमी * गेद कुसुम रंग कीजै ॥ ३ ॥

जह विद्यापति की कविता सुनि * लोह पषान पसीजै ॥ ४ ॥

शेरसूर गोविन्द * जहां हुये * कहूं लागि नाम धरीजै ॥ ५ ॥

पुत्र यहां के धुरंधर नामी * पुत्रि सरस रंग भौजै ॥ ६ ॥

निजशुभ देश के सुख संचारन * पर पालक होई कोजं ॥ ७ ॥

धर्म धुरंधर अशरण रचक * दुखियन को सुख दीजै ॥ ८ ॥

हिन्दु सुल्लान् पारसी इसाई * प्रेम सुधा रस पीजै ॥ ९ ॥

जन “रघुवीर” सुनावत मङ्गल * सब मिलि आशिष दीजै ॥ १० ॥

धुन—धियेटर ।

छाम छूम दुतिकारी न्यारि तेरी ।

ऐ जननी एकरंग गुलरंग नित धारी बलिहारी तेरी ॥ टेक ॥

देखले पेखले रोम ग्रीस की हालत जननि । सब हैं अदले बदले बरक-
त्तार की रीति न्यारो । तुंहरी भूमि २ नाच के अवलों ठाढ़ो ॥ १ ॥

राज राजेश्वर तोपै परम दयालु जननी । जुट के करले बदले वर
संसार में हो जा भारी । ताकुरी बलकल ज्ञान को सानेवारो ॥ २ ॥

जन “रघुवीर भने तेरी बलिहारो जननी । तेरे लड़के फड़के जय जय-
कार दे बंदे भारी । जागुरी युग युग जाग के जीनेवारो ॥ ३ ॥

॥ सदा जै हो विहार ॥

धुन—भड़कताली ।

सदा जयहो विहार तेरि महिमा है धन्य । शील विद्या बुद्धि गुण सबसे समपन्न ।

सदा जय जय हो ॥ टेक ॥

पावन पुनीत मातु तेरो गुण गान । मोह भरन दोष हरण आनन्द के खान ॥ १ ॥

तेरे शुभ गोद बीच लिन्हो अवतार । पुत्र मिथोलेश औ सौरध्वज सर्कार ॥ २ ॥

गौतम का न्याय खिला चणक्य का ज्ञान । बुद्धदेव प्राप्त किये सच्चा । निर्वान ॥ ३ ॥
 सुनकर के मुग्ध हुआ विषयी कालकाल । विद्यापति ठाकुर का अद्भुत करताला ॥ ४ ॥
 शेर सूर वीर बंक दुर्गम रोहतास । विद्युत् सा चमक किये उज्वल आकाश ॥ ५ ॥
 गुरुवर गोविन्द धीर बोर प्रबल धन्य । शूरन के मध्य गुरुवाह अगारगण्य ॥ ६ ॥
 तेरे सम्राट जौज पञ्चम भूपाल । प्रेम साहत तेरे सर दे गये जयमाल ॥ ७ ॥
 कवियों की वाज उठी वासुदेवी सितार । विला मृदंग बजे तेरे द्वार ॥ ८ ॥
 पूरब में तूही थी बसुधा की रानि । अब भी तू गजगौ मेरी महारानि ॥ ९ ॥
 तेरे सुत सुसत्मान हिन्दू कस्तान । शिक्त हो दुनिया की सिखावेंगे ज्ञान ॥ १० ॥
 तेरे प्रतिपालक हों हनुमत सुखकन्द । नेह समिल सींचे श्रीसीता रघुचन्द ॥ ११ ॥
 तेरो यश भनत सदा सरयू के तीर । पायक रघुनायक के गायक "रघुवार" ॥ १२ ॥

श्री भारत भवानी ।

धुन = पूर्वी ।

जयति जय २ पुण्य धाम धर्म की अमल भूमि । जयांत जय श्री भारत भवानी मेरी जननी ॥ १ ॥
 कोऊ जिवे धनाहत कोऊ जिवे जनाहत । मेरो प्राण तूही महारानी मेरी जननी ॥ २ ॥
 तीन ओर सिन्धु तेरे नाम बल गरजत । घूम घूम करे निगरानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३ ॥
 उत्तर हिमाल-गिर अरि राह केके बीर । राखे तीख तरख जवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४ ॥
 ललकि ललाक मन जावे हिम गिरपर । मेरो प्राण तूही महारानी मेरी जननी ॥ ५ ॥
 अपर प्रदेश देश सुन्दर कहावें वेश । बसुधा बगन तू भवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ६ ॥
 मधुप गुंजारे राम फूलन पै नाच नाच । भिंगुर भनक सुख दानी मेरी जननी ॥ ७ ॥
 ऊंचे पर्वत चढ़ि नाचे बन मोर कहूं । भरना भरत वे ठकानी मेरी जननी ॥ ८ ॥
 सुनसान सघन अगम बन गिरवर । आनन्द की उड़त निशानी मेरी जननी ॥ ९ ॥
 गेंडु धान जामे राम सरसों बिपन फूले । सुख भूले मडई पलानी मेरी जननी ॥ १० ॥
 गावे भंगराज मैना सामा तूत बोले नित । पापहा बिरह से दिवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ११ ॥
 बेल अलवेल गेद केतकी गुलाव फूल । कामनी की अजब जवानी मेरी जननी ॥ १२ ॥
 पीपल अनार बेल केला श्री कदम्ब अम्ब । इसना बगन ठकुरानी मेरी जननी ॥ १३ ॥
 अगर गगन बहे पवन सुगन्ध मन्द । हिय साले कोकिल की बानी मेरी जननी ॥ १४ ॥
 ललकि २ मनु जावे बन उपवन । मेरो प्राण तूहि महारानी मेरी जननी ॥ १५ ॥
 तेरे गोट बीच नाचे योगिनी यमुन गङ्ग । सोनभद्र गावे मिठी बानी मेरी जननी ॥ १६ ॥
 कृष्ण रावो ब्रह्मपुत्र मङ्गल सुनावें नित । सरयू की अजब कहानी मेरी जननी ॥ १७ ॥
 तरल तरंग लहराय टोना जादू मारे । टोना बस मात बडरानी मेरी जननी ॥ १८ ॥
 ललकि ललाक मन धावे नद नौर तौर । मेरो प्राण गंग महारानी मेरी जननी ॥ १९ ॥
 जयति जय जय पुण्य धाम धर्म की अमल भूमि । जयांत जय श्री भारत भवानी मेरी जननी ॥ २० ॥
 आगरा प्रयाग बखे काशी पाटलपुर वेश । दिखो तेरी शुभ रजधानी मेरी जननी ॥ २१ ॥
 तेरे पुत्र शूरवीर केशरी श्री कौशलेन्द्र । तेरी कन्या सीता महारानी मेरी जननी ॥ २२ ॥
 जिन की सुकीरती सरलता सुभाव शील । मेरे बाप दादा की कहानी मेरी जननी ॥ २३ ॥
 तेरे उपदेशक भये व्यास शनकादि मुनि । नारद बशिष्ठ से विज्ञानी मेरी जननी ॥ २४ ॥
 तेरे सुत धर्म चारो शंकर श्री रामानुज । रामानन्द गीरा प्रेम दानी मेरी जननी ॥ २५ ॥
 कवि बाष्पीक कालिदास जय देव, विद्या । तुलसी की मधुरी कहानी मेरी जननी ॥ २६ ॥
 तुलसी परम साधु कवि जाकी बाणी पर । मेरी जान निघट बिकानी मेरी जननी ॥ २७ ॥
 तेरे पुत्र विजई अडोल हनुमान जाकी । धौला गिर अब लो निशानी मेरी जननी ॥ २८ ॥

विक्रम अशोक भीम बांकुरा प्रताप शिव । पृथु जाकी दिल्ली रजधानी मेरी जननी ॥ २८ ॥
ललकि ललकि जौह गावे तेरो शुभ यश । जयति जय श्री भारत भवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३० ॥
तेरे पुत्र वेद भाषे नम होके हांके रथ । तेरी अब शक्ति क्यो थिरानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३१ ॥
जागु जागु युग युग तूहि एक जीवित है । घोरन पै आई है बिरानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३२ ॥
जग में सबल गाजे नयनन निहारो देख । अबल को राखे शंभु रानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३३ ॥
अबल कहाती पर सब की सिखाती ज्ञान । जयति जय श्री भारत भवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३४ ॥
अबल समुझि हरि सबल के संग दिये । राज इंगलिसिया सुनामी मेरी जननी ॥ ३५ ॥
श्रीघ्राहि सिरागो निशि उज्ज्वल दिनेश आवे । काहे तु व्यथित अलसानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३६ ॥
दुःख में बचावे राम सारङ्ग धनुषधारी । मङ्गल दिखावे सीता रानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३७ ॥
सुख में या दुःख में धरम तू न छोड़ि माता । पूरब की एकही निशानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३८ ॥
तेरे आगे मेरी माता उगि के विलाई ठाढ़े । कोटिन की चुलुमी जवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ३९ ॥
आदि के तरुन तेज वाले देश कहां आज । दुनियां में रहै है कहानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४० ॥
हब तु भई है पर तेरे तन आभा लखि । नई आली भई है दिवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४१ ॥
तेरे भाग्यशाली नृप जौज राज राजेश्वर । आयि थे सहित महारानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४२ ॥
परम कृपालु दोउ तेरे प्रेम मुग्ध होके । बंठे आके दिल्ली रजधानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४३ ॥
नृप प्रेम पाके अब जागु जागु माता मेरी । आगे तेरे नई जिन्दगानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४४ ॥
धार माथे मोर चम्य कुसुम के सली वेश । सार अङ्ग भलका जवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४५ ॥
हिम दुतिकारी भाल धारी बनमाल लाल । बसन संवार रङ्ग धानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४६ ॥
जागु रघु कौरति अनुप अविचल जग । दुनियां में रहेगी निशानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४७ ॥
देश श्री विदेश के भविष्य वर्तमान कवि । भनेगे "जय भारत भवानी" मेरी जननी ॥ ४८ ॥
कोउ जीवै अनहित कोउ जीवै धन हित । मेरो प्राण तू ही महारानी मेरी जननी ॥ ४९ ॥
जन "रघुबोर" बार बार तोहि प्रणवत । सुघर सनातन की रानी मेरी जननी ॥ ५० ॥
जयति जय जय पुण्य धाम धर्म की अमल भूमि । जयति जय श्री भारत भवानी मेरी जननी ॥ ५१ ॥