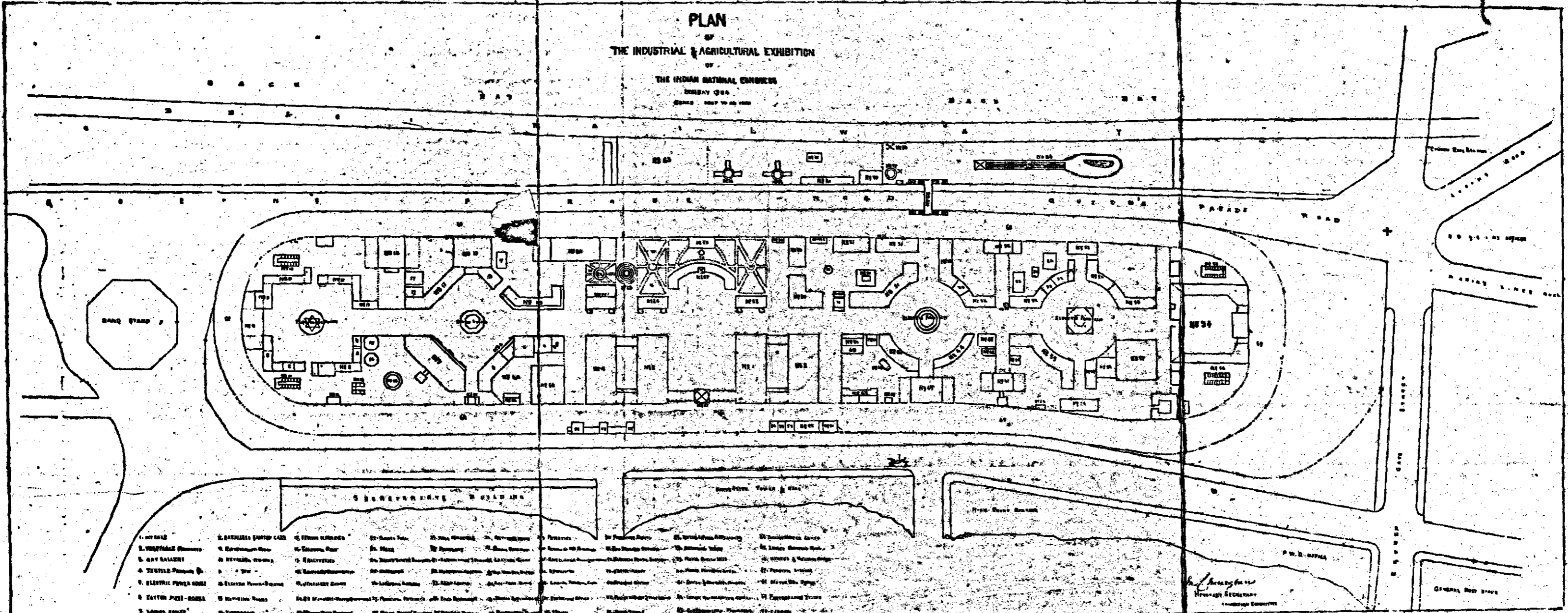


**PLAN**  
**OF**  
**THE INDUSTRIAL & AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION**  
**OF**  
**THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**  
 BOMBAY 1904  
 (1905)



*(Faint, illegible text, likely a legend or key for the plan's symbols and room numbers.)*

- |                              |                               |                                |                              |                               |                                   |                                     |                                |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Metals.                   | 10. Retiring Rooms.           | 19. Jewellery Court.           | 27. Principal Entrance.      | 36. Retiring Rooms.           | 45. Police Station & Post Office. | 58. Electric Court.                 | 62. Sugar & Molasses Factory.  |
| 2. Vegetable Products.       | 11. Retiring Rooms.           | 20. Refreshment-Booth (Mahal). | 28. Native States' Exhibits. | 37. Canvas Bangalow.          | 46. Refreshment Booth (Mahal).    | 54. Cloak Room.                     | 63. Experimental Ploughing.    |
| 3. Art Gallery.              | 12. Electric Power Station.   | 21. Mysore State Exhibits.     | 29. Hall of Marvels.         | 38. Leather Goods.            | 47. Retiring Rooms.               | 55. Enquiry Office.                 | 64. Water Chute.               |
| 4. Textile Fabrics.          | 13. Retiring Rooms.           | 22. Flower Stall.              | 30. Forestry.                | 39. Vic. Tech. Ind. Exhibits. | 48. Ladies' Retiring Room.        | 56. Over-Bridge.                    | 65. Ladies' Retiring Room.     |
| 5. Electric Power House.     | 14. Embroidery.               | 23. Maze.                      | 31. Agricultural Section.    | 40. Fire Proof Floor.         | 49. Exhibition Office.            | 57. Water Lifting Appliances.       | 66. Stores & Receiving Office. |
| 6. Cotton Piece-Goods.       | 15. Singer's Sewing Machines. | 24. Native States' Exhibits.   | 32. Machinery Section.       | 41. Hindoo Refreshments.      | 50. The Sphinx.                   | 58. Artesian Well.                  | 67. Pumping Station.           |
| 7. Ladies' Court.            | 16. Celestial Ride.           | 25. Shamiana.                  | 33. Hand Looms.              | 42. Basel Mission Building.   | 51. Furniture Courts.             | 59. Model Cattle Shed.              | 68. Motor Car Track.           |
| 8. Carriages and Motor Cars. | 17. Healtheries.              | 26. Laughing Gallery.          | 34. Cafe Chantant.           | 43. Potteries.                | 52. Fire Brigade Station.         | 60. Model Buffalo Shed.             | 69. Photographic Studio.       |
| 9. Refreshment-Booth.        | 18. Hindoo Refreshments.      |                                | 35. Retiring Rooms.          | 44. School of Art Pavilion.   |                                   | 61. Indian Water Lifting apparatus. | 70. Garden.                    |

Scale 200 feet to an inch.

REPORT

38

OF

THE TWENTIETH

THE  
SERVANTS OF INDIA  
SOCIETY.  
POONA.

Indian National Congress

HELD AT

**BOMBAY,**

*On the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1904.*

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Bombay :

PRINTED AT THE CROWN PRINTING WORKS,  
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1905.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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When, at the Madras Congress of 1903, the Hon'ble Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta, K.C.I.E., invited the Congress of 1904 to hold its Session in the City of Bombay, almost every one was taken by surprise. A well-understood rotation has by this time been established, in accordance with which this great national gathering holds its sittings in different Provinces from year to year. The Presidency of Bombay had discharged this responsibility so recently as in 1902 at Ahmedabad, and in the ordinary course of things it would not have been called upon to accept the duty again till 1908. The Central Provinces and Berar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab and Bengal should have undertaken the work of holding the Congress within their limits before the turn of Bombay could come again. But when it was found that the other Provinces were for one reason or another hesitating to invite the Congress of 1904, Sir P. M. Mehta boldly stepped forward to relieve them of their embarrassment and with a sublime confidence in his city and his Presidency offered to arrange for the holding of the great gathering in the Christmas of 1904 at Bombay. The results have shown that his confidence was by no means misplaced. The Presidency of Bombay generally and the Bombay City in particular responded to his call with a readiness and an enthusiasm which have well illustrated how deep is their faith in his wisdom, his patriotism and his leadership. The country has held many most successful Congress sessions during the last twenty years; but among these those held in Bombay City have always stood out so prominently as to constitute on each occasion something like a land-mark in the history of constitutional agitation in India. The first Congress that was held in Bombay—that of 1885—was also the first Congress ever held in this country, and it was then recognised on all hands that it marked a great step forward in the path of national progress. Sir William Wedderburn was then an official under the Bombay Government, but his official position did not prevent him from attending the Congress as a friend and showing his sympathy with the movement in an

unmistakable manner. The next Bombay Congress was that of 1889, at which again Sir William Wedderburn was present—this time freed from official trammels and chosen by the unanimous and enthusiastic suffrages of the delegates to preside over the deliberations of that body. The unique feature of the Congress of 1889 was that it was attended by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, one of the truest friends of India, a great champion of freedom, whether of thought or of action, who braved persecution for conscience's sake, a commanding figure in the field of politics in the closing years of his life. The pathetic circumstances connected with Mr. Bradlaugh's presence in Bombay in 1889—his great illness, his recovery, when all hope had for a time been abandoned, and his sudden resolve to visit India to be present at the great gathering—all these had combined to attract to the Bombay Congress of 1889 not only every man of note in India, but large numbers even of those who were not always conspicuous for their interest in politics, with the result that that Congress still holds the record in regard to the attendance of delegates. The Congress of 1904 was in every way worthy of the great city in which it was held and in some respects reached even a higher level than any of its predecessors. On this occasion, too, Sir William Wedderburn was present at the Congress—this time as the recognized head of the Congress party in England, one who had stood by the cause through good report and through evil report for more than fifteen years. The feeling of the country towards him was happily expressed by Sir P. M. Mehta in his speech, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, when he spoke of Sir William “as one than whom India had never a warmer, truer, more devoted, more self-sacrificing, more faithful and more constant friend. A noble type of the high-minded and high-souled Englishman at his best, it is owing to the fact of the existence and activity of such Englishmen in the ranks of Anglo-Indians and civilians that our hopes and our aspirations escape from despair and our attachment and our loyalty to the British rule are preserved and strengthened.” It is a singular coincidence that Sir William has witnessed all the three Congress gatherings that have so far been held in the city of Bombay and that these have been the only Congress meetings that he has ever attended.

The magnificent success of the last Congress was due to various causes, three or four of which may be referred to in passing here. There was, in the first place, the towering personality of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee. His great powers of organization, his undisputed position as leader and his wonderful tact brought to the work of Congress preparations the great advantage of all operations being directed and co-ordinated by one mind—and that a most vigorous mind. All the different Secretaries were proud to work under such a chief, and from start to finish everything went off without a hitch. Then the cordial and willing co-operation of all classes of the community in Bombay was a factor of great importance in ensuring the success of the Congress. Hindoos, Parsees and Mahomedans—all threw themselves, heart and soul, into the work of the Congress and the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held under its auspices, and the list of subscriptions received by the Reception Committee shows how broad was the basis of popular support on which the Congress and the Exhibition rested. Even the attitude of the officials towards the Congress was not unfriendly and Sir Pherozeshah made the following acknowledgment on this point in his opening speech. “We have,” he said, “received kindly and generous assistance, from officials and non-officials alike, in a spirit of broad-minded liberality, justifying Sir William Hunter’s observation that the competition of races, as keen as in any other Provinces, is here tempered by common interests, in which forbearance and a certain reciprocal respect impart a moderation to Bombay public opinion and to the Bombay Press in political crisis.” The choice of Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., to preside over the deliberations of the Congress had been received with the utmost enthusiasm throughout the country, and contributed very materially to the great success of the national gathering. Sir Pherozeshah only voiced the general feeling, when he spoke of Sir Henry as an Anglo-Indian and Civilian, “who has not yesterday or today but throughout a career uniformly and consistently realized that he best served the interests of his own country and the great Service to which he belonged by strictly and faithfully adhering to a policy of true righteousness and sympathy.” While in service, Sir Henry Cotton’s name had been in Bengal what Sir William

Wedderburn's had been in Bombay—"a household word, cherished with tender respect and affection." And on his retirement he threw himself, even as Sir William had done before him, wholeheartedly into the service of the great cause which the National Congress represents in India and in England. The presence of Sir Henry Cotton in the Presidential chair, with Sir William Wedderburn on the platform to support him, invested the Congress of 1904 with a character almost similar to that of 1889. No wonder, then, that delegates and visitors thronged, as on the former occasion, from far and near, to greet and honour these high-souled English friends, and reassert, under their guidance, their firm resolve to carry to a successful issue the great work, which the Congress represents.

Behind all these causes, there lay another—an earnest determination on the part of the delegates to enter an emphatic protest at the only representative gathering that the country possesses against the repressive and reactionary policy of Lord Curzon's Government, of which the year 1904 furnished the amplest proofs. His Lordship's great intellectual gifts, his fascinating eloquence and his enormous industry had at the commencement of his *regime* made a deep impression on the public mind of India. The unbending attitude that he adopted in favour of justice in cases of conflict between Europeans and Indians, his vigilant exercise of supervision over the work of Local Governments and Administrations and his repeated and emphatic professions of sympathy for the people and respect for public opinion had for a time captured the popular imagination, and enthusiasts were not wanting, who predicted that India would find in him another Ripon—Ripon the righteous, who bore so much at the hands of his countrymen in his noble endeavour to further the true interests of the people of this country. It was not long, however, before the glamour which Lord Curzon's earlier acts and speeches had thrown over the public mind began to wear off, and a conviction began steadily to grow that his Lordship's sympathy with the people of India was of a very limited character, and that his Conservative training and Imperialistic instincts—Imperialistic in the narrower and based sense of the term—made him much more an opponent than a friend of

the aspirations of the educated classes of this country. The feeling of dissatisfaction, which grew out of this conviction, was turned into one of deep resentment in the early part of last year, when a series of repressive measures—both legislative and administrative—were forced by him on the country in the teeth of the fiercest opposition from the public. The Official Secrets' Act, which restricts the liberty of the Press, and was condemned in unqualified terms by Europeans and Indians alike; the Universities' Act, which makes the Universities mere departments of State and places their administration practically in the hands of European officials, and which evoked most indignant protests from all parts of the country—protests that were altogether unheeded; the abolition of the competitive test for the Provincial Service, which makes admission into the ranks of that Service a mere matter of official patronage—these were the principal measures of Lord Curzon's Government in the early part of last year; and for months they threw the whole country into a violent agitation, such as had rarely been witnessed before. In addition to these, the public mind of Bengal was greatly exercised over certain proposals, put forward by the Government of India, for the partition of that Province, and matters were not at all improved by certain speeches that Lord Curzon made on the subject in East Bengal during a tour, specially arranged to convert the people to his views. And long before the Congress of last year met, it had come to be very generally recognised that whatever may be said in favour of Lord Curzon's administration, the educated classes of the country, at any rate, had in him no friend and that their aspirations would receive at his hands not merely cold neglect but actual repression. It was a sad dis-illusionment, but public opinion had to be expressed in clear and definite terms, and the situation made the Congress of 1904 one of unusual importance.

Among other factors that made the last session a memorable one was the general level of speaking, which, it was freely recognised on all hands, was this time exceptionally high. For an idea of the speeches delivered, the reader is referred to the detailed proceedings, which follow. We propose here to refer—and that briefly—to only two of them, as they stand apart from the rest in point of weightiness and importance—the Presidential

speech and the opening speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee. A careful perusal of the brilliant speech of Sir P. M. Mehta and of the statesmanlike address of Sir Henry Cotton—inspired by the truest insight and sympathy and full of wise counsel—will dissipate many of the misconceptions, which have of late been gathering round the work of the Congress, and will deepen the faith in its future of those, who often fail to realize that progress, to be real and enduring, can never be a series of easy successes, and that opposition must be encountered and defeats constantly accepted, before a great task, such as that in which we are engaged, is successfully accomplished. Of late, there has been a steadily increasing outcry in some parts of the country against the expenditure which the annual sessions of the Congress involve. The complaint is largely due to a misconception of the true function of the Congress. Sir P. M. Mehta's reply on the point is so conclusive that we need make no apology for reproducing the whole of it here :—

But when I complacently congratulate ourselves on securing the best and healthiest sites for this year's Congress, I approach the question of this Pavilion and of the Encampment for your residence with some amount of nervousness. We have been told by some candid friends, or, if they will pardon me for saying so, by some critics who profess to be our friends only to be able to criticize us the more effectively, that we are only spasmodically wasting our energies, that this Congress gathering is only a show and a 'saturnalia of uncouth oratory,' and that we are wantonly and extravagantly throwing away on an evanescent *tamishá*, monies which could be devoted to more solid and useful purposes. Now this criticism strikes me, gentlemen, as very much like the criticism applied by Revenue Officers to the improverished ryot, when they try to explain away agrarian indebtedness by the extravagance of his expenditure on festive and mourning occasions. (Hear, hear.) As a matter of fact, the extravagance of the ordinary ryot on such occasions consists only in a few brass ornaments, a few sweetmeats and an unlimited amount of tom-tom. So is it with us. Our Pavilion is not a Gothic temple with marble pillars and tessellated floors; it is a structure of unhewn posts and canvas, decorated with strips of cheap muslin of Congress colors to look gay. We have not housed you in palatial buildings; the canvas camp in which you are lodged has all, and more than all, the severity of military exigencies in a far campaign. To the amounts thus spent, our kind friends insist upon adding the travelling charges, as if all the Delegates would never have during Christmas stirred out of their houses to enjoy the Christmas holidays, even if they were not attending the Congress. But even taking the whole total thus added up, I venture, gentlemen, to say boldly that all this and much more would be well spent for fulfilling the purpose for which the Congress has been organized, and for achieving the aim and end for

which the Congress is constituted. To those who decry the monies spent upon it as monies wasted on a show and a *tamishi*, I would say that they are no more men of real insight and true imagination than those whom one of the greatest of English poets—Wordsworth—has described with such infinite pity for their incapacity to enter into the true inwardness of things :—

A primrose by the river brim,  
A yellow primrose is to him,  
And it is nothing more.

But if you realize it clearly and fully, there is no purpose more important, no mission more sacred, than the one that the Congress fulfils in the three short days, to which it confines its session. (Applause.) It would be absurd to say that the Congress meets to deliberate and discuss and decide all the important subjects with which it deals. That task must be, and is, largely performed in the course of the year by such institutions as we may possess for forming Indian public opinion, in the common intercourse of social life, in local bodies more or less active, in the Native Press which is undoubtedly daily growing more and more capable and potent. At the end of the year, we all meet together, from different parts of the country, representatives of the people, not selected, it is true, by any authoritative or scientific process, but still representatives in all the various ways in which virtual representation works itself out in the early stages of its progressive development, representatives who are of the people and in immediate touch and contact with them, representatives realizing in themselves the wants, the wishes, the sentiments, the aspirations of the people, representatives whose education has qualified them to ponder over grave questions of policy and principle in their application to the administration and Government of this country in all their complex relations of a foreign rule, representatives into whom education has instilled an earnest, devoted, and enlightened loyalty to the British Crown and a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the British Empire, in which, they are firmly persuaded, lie implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperity and the good government of this country, I say, we Delegates, representatives of the people, meet together at the end of the year to give voice to the public opinion of the country taking shape and formulating throughout the year, to present our Petition of Rights, our Grand Remonstrance, our appeal and our prayer for a firm and unflinching grasp of a policy of wisdom and righteousness, for the reversal of retrograde measures inconsistent with such a policy, and for the adoption of means steadily ensuring the gradual development of free political progress,

“Broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent.”

Such an appeal and such a prayer can be most effectively offered only at a great gathering like this by the unanimous voice of Delegates assembling from all parts of the country. (Cheers.) If, gentlemen, we did nothing more than make this solemn petition and this earnest prayer, we shall not have spent our monies in vain—we shall not have laboured for nought. (Cheers.)

The following confession of faith “of a devout and irreclaimable Congressman like myself” is intended to be something more than a statement of the faith that is in the speaker—it is the true

Congressman's creed, preached to those who expect impossible things from the Congress at the present stage of the country's progress or who easily give themselves up to despair, because the difficulties in the path are found to be greater than were anticipated:—

I am an inveterate. I am a robust optimist, like my late friend, Mahadeva Govind Ranade. (Applause.) I believe in divine guidance through human agency. It may be the fatalism of the East, but it is an active, not a passive fatalism, a fatalism which recognizes that the human wheels of the machinery must actively work to fulfil their appointed task. My humility saves me from the despair that seizes more impatient souls like those who have recently preached a gospel of despondency—I always seek hope and consolation in the words of the poet:

“I have not made the world, and He that has made it will guide.”

I derive patience from the same poet's teaching,

“My faith is large in time, and that which shapes it to some perfect end.”

My steadfast loyalty is founded upon this rock of hope and patience. (Hear, hear.) Seeking the will of Providence, like Oliver Cromwell, in dispensations rather than revelations, seeing God's will like him in fulfilments of events, I accept British rule, as Ranade did, as a dispensation so wonderful,—a little island, set at one end of the world, establishing itself in a far continent, as different as different could be,—that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will. But, as I have often said, when, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, this country was assigned to the care of England, the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old: “Behold, I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God; a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other gods whom ye do not know.” The possession of India would be a blessing to England, if administered in the spirit of righteousness; a curse, if in the seductive spirit of worldliness. We cordially confess that in the main England has chosen wisely and well. The great and far-seeing statesmen, who presided at the consolidation of British rule in India, proclaimed that the declared policy of the Crown in India should be one of righteousness, and they firmly and unequivocally announced it by the voice of the great and good Queen, who then wore the Crown. But the acceptance and announcement of a policy of righteousness is one thing, its application another. The adhesion to such a policy is not determined in a day; it is not established without a long struggle between the forces of righteousness and those of worldliness, like unto the struggle between Hormazd and Ahriman. Even the chosen people of the Hebrew God continually relapsed, in spite of solemn covenants, into the worship of the gods of idolatry.

The following quotation from Dickens hits off most effectively the situation so far as the pretensions of bureaucratic or personal rule are concerned. Speaking of the advice given last year by the



Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces that India's salvation was not to be found in political agitation, Sir P. M. Mehta said:—

I wish to speak with all respect of these disinterested advisers; but I cannot help comparing them to that delightful "Poor man's friend" Sir Joseph Bowley, so admirably depicted by Dickens:—"Your only business, my good fellow, is with me. You needn't trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you; I know what is good for you; I am your perpetual parent. Such is the dispensation of an all-wise Providence. \* \* \* What man can do I do; I do my duty as the Poor Man's Friend and Father; and I endeavour to educate his mind, by inculcating on all occasions the one great lesson, which that class requires, that is, entire Dependence on Myself. They have no business whatever with themselves." (Loud laughter.)

We will give one more extract from Sir P. M. Mehta's speech and that is the passage in which he enumerates the results which the Congress has so far achieved:—

I thus come back to relate the record of the achievements of the Congress. I can do so briefly, as it has been excellently summarised in the last number of "India," a paper, whose valuable services to our cause have not, I am afraid, been so fully appreciated as they have deserved, showing how imperfect are we ourselves,—a good thing to remember, especially when we are engaged in criticizing others. Our earliest efforts were directed towards securing a platform from which we could authoritatively expound our views, and they bore fruit in 1892 in the passing of the Indian Councils Act for enlarging and expanding the Councils, and substantially and practically introducing the principle of election in the appointment of their members. The voice of the Congress was potent in obtaining the Commission for enquiring into Indian Expenditure. Our demand for Simultaneous Examinations for the Indian Civil Service was so far successful that Mr. Paul's motion in favour of it was accepted by the House of Commons. The strenuous opposition to reduce the motion into practice, offered by the Indian Government, has hitherto prevailed. We had however obtained the Public Service Commission, whose recommendations, though not going far enough as we desired, and further throttled by the Government of India, still laid down principles, from which, alas, it is now attempted to retreat by autocratic action without any new public enquiry or deliberation. We have also urgently pressed upon the attention of Government, perhaps the most far-reaching and anxious problem of Indian administration, the economic problem of the poverty of the people, and its concomitant, agrarian indebtedness; and though Government fight shy of the only true remedies, it is still a hopeful sign to see them labouring to discover less unpalatable solutions of the problem. Following upon the half-hearted trial of Agricultural Banks long suggested by us, we may still induce them to grant the enquiry so influentially recommended by the Indian Famine Union. Very early in our history, we proved so conclusively the essential desirability in the interests of sound and just administration of the separation of judicial and executive functions that a statesman

like Lord Dufferin felt constrained to admit it to be a counsel of perfection, and we have so far succeeded that now it is only on the score of expense that the change is ostensibly shelved, the real reason being the strong disinclination of District Officers to part with power once enjoyed, as if Revenue Officers did not possess power enough and to spare, with stringent Land Revenue Codes and the jealous exclusion of the jurisdiction of Civil Courts in revenue matters. One of the earliest subjects, which engaged the attention of the Congress, was the urgent need of a thorough reform and reorganization of the Police Force. The forecast of the Report of the Police Commission published in England has ultimately borne out the national view of the character of the force against the official view which continued to insist that the aspersions, to which the police was popularly subject, were largely unjust and undeserved.

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We were the first, in spite of spurious claims to the honor, to draw attention, in view of the poverty of the agricultural masses, to the need of technical and industrial education, and forced it in many practical ways on the attention of the people as well as Government. In this connexion, I trust that the scheme of an Institute of Research may not be allowed to fail on account of the death of Mr. Tata, a death the whole country deploras, but may soon become an accomplished fact, a magnificent monument of the patriotism and munificence of its author. (Applause.) We have also pressed upon Government the great cause of Temperance. We advocated from the first reduction in the oppressive burden of the Salt tax, and the raising of the assessable minimum of the Income-tax, both which reforms have been recently carried out. I think I need not proceed further with my enumeration. It is an honorable record. (Applause.) It is a record, which leaves no room for disappointment or despair. But further, as is again well pointed out in "India," what is particularly apt to be over-looked is that "we are by no means sure but the greatest work of all is its negative work, where the results do not appear in any particular reform or political change." And I may well repeat here, to cheer our hearts and brace our energies, the beautiful lines quoted by Mr. Home in his letter to us published in "India,"

" For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seemed here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

The Presidential address of Sir Henry Cotton was in every way worthy of his position as a distinguished administrator, and a tried and trusted friend of the Indian people. It was remarkable for its courageous and constructive statesmanship, its deep sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians and its earnest and dignified eloquence; and it will take rank with some of the most notable utterances by Anglo-Indian statesmen on the great problem of the Government of India. For an adequate idea of the

insight, courage and hopefulness with which Sir Henry spoke, the reader must peruse the address in its entirety, but a few extracts may be presented here, embodying Sir Henry's views on questions of permanent interest. Almost at the outset, Sir Henry described the character of the Congress in the following words :—

This is the Twentieth Annual Session of the Indian National Congress, an organisation avowedly national in its name and scope. We meet for the furtherance and discussion of national interests. I see before me a vast number of delegates—the number is deliberately limited for convenience sake—representatives of every community, of every rank and profession, as well as religion,—met together as the political leaders of all parts of India. Here you are able to act in concert and to declare in no uncertain accents the common public opinion of the multitudes of whom you are the mouthpiece. You occupy a vantage ground of no mean eminence. Here are the voice and brain of the country. Here, before me, are gathered the representative citizens of a great nation. Yours is a position which no failure in your projects and no neglect of your advice can nullify. You are assembled together—highly trained Zoroastrians, wealthy and energetic natives of Cutch and Guzerat, citizens of this splendid city who mould its destinies alike in commerce and in intellectual pursuits; brilliant and patriotic Mahrattas, exulting in the glory of your past and your ancestors; Brahmins from Madras, with your keen and subtle intelligence; Babus from Bengal, strenuous and able, who rule and control public opinion from Peshawar to Chittagong; representatives from the Punjab and the United and Central Provinces; Hindus, who are exercising an almost indescribable influence by virtue of the living Hinduism which lies at the heart of your national existence; and followers of Islam, comparatively less in numbers, but animated by the zeal and vigour and austerity, which have always characterised the religious history of your race. (Applause.) We are met here in this great representative assembly to lay before the public and the Government a practical programme of policy which covers, I believe, most of the important political and economic problems of the Indian Empire. We do not pretend to prepare any such policy within these walls. The work of educating public opinion is carried on throughout the year, and year by year, by means of the Press and the proceedings of local political bodies and associations. The work is fostered by the pronouncements and speeches of representative Indians who are afforded the opportunity, rare and seldom though it be, of uttering their country's voice in the Council Chambers of the State. In these ways public opinion is formed, a national policy is framed, and in due course it is crystallised into a definite shape. It is our function at the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress to give united and authoritative expression to views on which there is already a consensus of opinion in the country. (Applause.) We are met to-day for such a purpose, and for this duty no organisation is more qualified and none could better be fitted than our own.

Speaking of the growth of a National Spirit in India, the President observed :—

What is the great political problem that lies before you? What is the real meaning of the movement which has brought you together to-day and animates your

thoughts and action?—It is the consciousness that your organisation is a national one and that you are working together in the formation of a national movement with common sentiments of interest and patriotism. The different races, the numberless castes, classes, and creeds of India are welded together in your ranks. This is primarily the result of education, the inestimable boon which, in accordance with a noble and liberal policy, England has extended to India. It is education, and education on English methods and on the lines of Western civilisation, that has served to unite the varying forces among the Indian populations. The English language is the channel through which you are now able to meet on a common platform, and to give expression to your common interests and aspirations. At the same time the railways, the steam-ships, the post office, and the telegraph have played their part in closing the gap that used to keep the different provinces of India asunder. I rejoice to see that this great movement is fully recognised by your countrymen. It advances by leaps and bounds. The unmistakable yearning for nationality finds its utterance through a newspaper Press, which has now become a potent factor in your politics. (Loud applause.) I have watched the growth of this Press, rising, in little more than one generation, from struggling, obscure, and fitful efforts, into an organ of great power, criticising the measures of Government with remarkable independence and vigour, and continually checking the abuses of executive authority. I am not blind to its imperfections, but it is impossible not to admire the ability and patriotism with which it is conducted. The unanimity of this Press is as marked as the increase of its influence. (Applause.) The whole of its influence is in the direction of nationalisation. A single note is struck. In every large town in India newspapers are now published, identical in their spirit and in their common object, all aiming and converging at the formation of a single political ideal. (Applause.)

The growth of a national spirit is the touchstone of your organisation. This assemblage of delegates to an Indian National Congress is the decisive evidence of a national movement. The growth of an Indian nation is the great political revolution that is working before our eyes. There is no doubt of its meaning, its character, or its destination. It involves the introduction of no anarchical element into India's future : there is no sign of any rupture with the past. We know, indeed, that the present form of British administration cannot be permanent. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, (applause) whose memory is still revered in this Presidency, where he ruled as Governor for eight years, wrote as long ago as 1850 :—

“ I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation, produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive, also, that the progress of education among the Natives renders such a scheme impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection.” (Applause.)

Every thinking man must know that these words are true. But we know also that the connection between India and England will not be snapped. The English language, while it is the means of enabling you to attain unity, binds you also to Great

Britain. The future of India is linked with that of England, and it is to England that India must always look for guidance, assistance, and protection in her need.

To those who imagine that the hands of the clock of popular progress can be permanently put back by a policy of reaction, Sir Henry addressed the following warning :—

It is not within the power of any man to obstruct the tide of progress, otherwise than for a time, by a policy of reaction. (Hear, hear.) The period of Lord Ripon, (loud cheers) and of his Finance Minister, (continued cheers) who is now Lord Cromer, has been well described as the Golden Age of Indian reformers, when the aspirations of the people were encouraged, education and local self-government were fostered, and the foundations of Indian nationality were firmly laid. (Applause.) The natural trend of official opinion has been to assert itself in a reactionary outburst against this development, disparaging the vantage ground acquired in the past. (Shame.) We are told that the salvation of India is not to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, that there are many other fields of usefulness and power which lie around the citadel of politics, and that when these fields are occupied, the entrance to real political life will be easy, natural, and safe. We read in the columns of the *Times* : "We must wearily retrace our steps and devote our energies to educating the Indians in character and common sense. Then, and not till then, can we put them out into the polytechnic of local self-government." We must wait, forsooth, for a working reality "until generations of really educated Indians have come and gone." (Ironical laughter.) We are told that the weakness and limitations of the newly-educated classes are now more clearly perceived, and that the complexities of the problems of Oriental politics are more distinctly realised. These are the common places of reaction. They are the arguments of Mr. Noodle in his fatuous oration by Sydney Smith. (Loud laughter.) But it is not by indulgence in such vague generalities that the current of advance can be stemmed. (A Voice—"No, never.") Of what avail is it to disparage Burke and Macaulay and Bright, Ripon, Cromer, and Elphinstone ? You cannot withstand the flowing tide. Temporary spasms of reaction are inevitable. They pass away like footprints on the sand, and we need not trouble ourselves too much with vexatious aberrations from the path of progress. They will be quickly forgotten. I have seen signs among you of depression and have noticed a tendency to submit with resignation to the policy of a *regime* which affords no encouragement to your aspirations. I am not surprised at these symptoms, but assuredly you have little cause for giving way to a sense of despondency. It is not reserved to any human agency to set back the dial of time. The result of reaction is always to galvanise into fresh life. Be vigilant, therefore ; be hopeful ; be of good cheer and of a gladsome countenance. Relax not your efforts, for the waves of progress are irresistibly dashing against the breakwater of prejudice, and even now the day is dawning, which Macaulay declared would be the proudest day of England's history. (Loud applause.)

One of the most interesting and inspiring passages in the address is where the President sketches in brief but firm outline the ideal of India's future:—

Let us accustom ourselves to the conception which the realisation of a national spirit in India involves. The present form of British administration cannot survive the fulfilment of those national tendencies which the British Government itself has brought into existence. But India is bound to England as England is to India. England has incurred liabilities not lightly to be set aside, and she should no more break from her past than should India break from the traditions of her history. It was lately declared by a high authority that he could not conceive of a time as remotely possible in which it would be either practicable or desirable that Great Britain should take her hand from the Indian plough. But such is not my conception of India's future. An abrupt retreat would, indeed, be advocated by no one, and the process of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means. Many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But it is a policy which we should always keep before our eyes. Indian patriots look back on their past with a just sense of pride, and they know that India will again take her own rank among the nations of the East. They are striving for the attainment of this ideal, which, however it may be delayed or marred in execution, is sure in the event. (Loud applause.)

Autonomy is the keynote of England's true relations with her great Colonies. It is the keynote also of India's destiny. It is more than this; it is the destiny of the world. (Hear, hear.) The tendency of Empire in the civilised world is in the direction of compact autonomous States, which are federated together and attached by common motives and self-interest to a central power. You have already local legislatures, in which a certain measure of representation has been granted to the Indian people. A small concession has been made in this direction, but it is wholly inadequate to meet growing demands. In the cautious and gradual development of representation, in the increase of your power and influence in India itself involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, we shall find the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal for Indian aspirations. It was the dream of John Bright, and he indulged in no mere mystic prophecy when he foresaw that India would fulfil her ultimate destinies by a process of evolution, out of which she would emerge, not through force or violence as an independent State, or torn from the Mother Country, or abandoned to England's enemies, but as a federated portion of the dominion of the great British Empire. The ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate States, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing Colonies, each with its own local autonomy, cemented together under the aegis of Great Britain. That is a forecast of a future, dim and distant though it be, the gradual realisation of which it is the privilege of Government to regulate, and the aim and hope and aspiration of the Indian people to attain.

This is our ideal of India's future. The process of reconstruction should be always before our eyes. Changes may, and should, be gradual, but they must come, and we should prepare ourselves for their realisation. Statesmanship consists in foreseeing, and we are all of us the better for the exercise of forethought. Familiarise yourselves, therefore, with a conception of India's future, which gathers as it grows, and insensibly attracts into the political evolution all other great problems of economic and social reform, which are awaiting solution. (Applause.)

The present position of the Indian Civil Service and the great need of placing it on a new and reconstructed basis drew from Sir Henry the following courageous pronouncement, which derives additional weight from the fact that it comes from a most distinguished member of the Service itself:—

It is surprising how little change there has been in the form of administration in India during the past century. The character of the Civil Service has been theoretically unchanged. It is a fine old Service, of which I, of all men, have reason to speak with respect. It has enrolled within its ranks men of whom the mother country may well be proud. It is, however, a form of administration both bureaucratic and autocratic, and an organisation suited only to a government by foreigners. It has been perceptibly weakening from its inherent inapplicability to an environment, where changes are becoming rapid. It must pass away, after a prolonged period of magnificent work, to be replaced by a more popular system, which shall perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects. The Government should now find expression in a form of administration more representative and less concentrated in individuals. The principles of administration, for which we are indebted to Lord Ripon have paved the way for this reform, and centralisation is already giving way to local self-government. (Applause.) In the natural course of things, administrative officers must be chosen more and more from the permanent residents of the locality. The injurious custom of constant transfers and changes will then cease. The interests of efficiency and economy will alike be served by the appointment of Indians on the spot to perform functions for which we now import foreigners from Europe and Indians brought from every other part of the province than that in which they are employed. (Hear, hear.) In the judicial branch of the Service, reorganisation is immediately required. The members of the Civil Service, when very young and very ignorant of the language, are vested with magisterial powers beyond comparison greater than those possessed by corresponding functionaries under any civilised Government, and it would be strange indeed if they were not led into occasional errors and sometimes into abuse of power. It is the system that is to blame. There is no longer any reason why, over the greater part of India, important judicial functions should be discharged by persons of immature years, and it is a crying reform in

regard to the administration of justice (in all but backward tracts where the patriarchal system must still prevail) that only those persons should be vested with judicial powers whose age, training, and experience afford a guarantee for the proper exercise of authority. Patience and discrimination, respect for the forms of law, rigid imperviousness to rumour and to outside report—these are some of the qualifications which are the essential attributes of the judicial office. There is no stage in the career of a Civilian which affords him the opportunity for their acquisition. The whole training of an Indian civilian unfits him for judicial work. The remedy lies in the complete separation of the judicial from the executive service; judicial appointments should be reserved, as they are in other countries, for members of the legal profession who are trained to undertake the duties attaching to them. In no other way would the separation be really complete, and by no other process of selection is it possible to secure the proper discharge of judicial functions. (Applause.)

The President brought his masterly address to a close with the following words:—

We have good grounds for hope. The foundations of the future have been laid, and a superstructure is arising upon them. Skill, care, and forethought are needed: enthusiasm, tempered by prudence in the construction of the edifice, liberality and largeness of conception in the design. You are the nucleus of a movement, the power of which grows every day, and already supplies the most potent impulse in inspiring, instructing, and controlling the varied forces upon which the future of India depends. It has been the labour of my life to endeavour to ameliorate the relations between rulers and the ruled, to soften asperities, and to evoke confidence and respect through sympathy. (Cheers.) My position among you to-day is an evidence that I have not altogether failed. I have carried on the golden lamp to those who shall come after me. I have never despaired of the present or doubted of the success which is destined eventually to crown your efforts. But it is upon yourselves that you must rely for the initiation and development of schemes which depend, in their systematic application and fulfilment upon the local source from which they emanate. You are not without the noblest stimulus to co-operate with heart and soul in the great work that lies before you. The memory of the dead is with us at this hour. May the memories of Ram Mohun Roy and Dayanund, the energising labours of Kisto Das Pal, of Telang and Ranade, whose names we have inscribed with reverential love on the roll of Indian patriots, infuse into your hearts the zeal and strength to devote your own lives to the service of your country. Strive to show yourselves constantly worthy of your cause. (Loud applause). You have incurred grave responsibilities: do not shrink from the honest endeavour to discharge them worthily.

We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;  
 In feelings, not in figures on a dial;  
 We should count life by heart-throbs. He most lives  
 Who thinks most, feels the noblest acts the best."



Labour each in your own sphere, as you are bound to do, to hand on to your successors the large endowment you have received, augmented and improved by your own exertions. Be tolerant towards all. And especially take to heart the need of brotherly feeling towards one another and of a spirit of veneration and gratitude to your leaders in this national movement. Remember that moral improvement is the only source of real unity, and as such of dignity as well as happiness. (Vociferous and prolonged cheers.)

The Congress passed twenty-two resolutions in all, of which thirteen had reference to important questions of administrative reform and the general policy of the Government of India in matters intimately bound up with the permanent well-being of the people. The place of honour among these was given to a resolution on the employment of Indians in the Public Service, both because such employment marks the degree in which the Indians are associated with the Government of their own country and also because the question had assumed a special importance owing to a pronouncement on the subject during the year by Lord Curzon personally and also by the Government of India, which had filled the public mind with the greatest dissatisfaction. Both the Sovereign and the Parliament of Great Britain have pledged their solemn word to the people of India by means of Proclamations and Statutes that the public service of the country shall be equally open to all, who are qualified for it, and that no class shall be debarred from any office on the ground of race or creed. The binding character of this noble pledge has, however, been practically repudiated by the present Viceroy and his Government, who have openly declared that if British Rule is to be maintained in the country, the highest offices must always be held by those who, by heredity, are qualified to maintain its British character, *viz.*, by Englishmen. Such a declaration of policy means that Indians are to be permanently shut out from the highest offices in the Public Service as long as British Rule exists in the country—a declaration against which every Indian, who has frankly accepted British Rule on the basis of eventual equality between the two races, must feel bound to protest. This protest was embodied in the first part of the Congress Resolution on the subject. The resolution also urged the reconstitution of the Indian Civil Service on the lines suggested by the President in his address and the holding of the Competitive Examination for entrance into it

simultaneously in England and India till such reconstitution is effected. The last part of the first resolution was devoted to a protest against the abolition of the competitive test for the Provincial Service, which will now result in the recruitment to the higher offices, at present open to Indians, depending not on merit but on official patronage. The second resolution dealt with the all-important subject of Education. The Congress thanked the Government of India for the increased outlay on primary education, promised in a recent resolution, and for the institution of ten technical scholarships for study in foreign countries; at the same time, it pointed out that what has been so far done in these matters is as nothing compared with what requires to be done. With four villages out of five without a school, and at least three children out of four growing up in ignorance and darkness, the task of spreading primary education among the masses can only be said to have merely begun, and a vastly greater outlay than at present will be needed, if it is to be successfully taken in hand. Again, there is at present practically no provision for the spread of technical education in the country, while the manning and equipment of Government High Schools and Colleges leaves much room for improvement. These and other matters, such as the necessity of making due provision for imparting instruction in manual training and scientific agriculture, received earnest consideration at the hands of the Congress. The resolution also contained a protest against the University legislation of last year, as calculated to officialize the governing Bodies of Indian Universities and to restrict the scope of higher education generally. Next came two resolutions on the economic situation of the country and the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry of the land. On both questions, which have been exhaustively discussed at the national gathering year after year, the Congress repeated its conclusions, as also its suggestions of previous years. The deplorable poverty of people was declared to be mainly due to the drain of wealth that has gone on for years, to the decay of indigenous arts and industries, to over-assessment of land and to the excessively costly character of the administration. Greater spread of education in all its branches, a permanent settlement of the state demand on land, as in Bengal, or failing that, the imposition of judicial restrictions

on over-assessment, and a much wider employment of Indians than at present in the higher branches of the Public Service were urged as the principal measures, which it was the duty of the Government to adopt to remedy the existing state of things. As regards the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry, the Congress endorsed the suggestion put forward by the Famine Union in London urging a careful inquiry by Government into the condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India.

The grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa were narrated by men who spoke from personal experience, and strong indignation was expressed that subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor should be subjected to harassing and humiliating restrictions—and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship—in His Majesty's Colonies. In particular was this indignation directed against the manner in which the British Government of the two conquered Boer Republics was trying to enforce, in an aggravated form, the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Governments; and the Congress urged that "in view of the fact that one of the declared causes of the recent Boer war was the treatment meted out to the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Government of that Republic, in view also of the admitted loyalty of Indian settlers in South Africa and the great help rendered by them during the war," the British Parliament should insist on a just and equal treatment being secured to Indian settlers in the new Crown Colonies. In making this emphatic protest, the Congress did not omit to tender its sincere thanks to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for the firm line taken by them in the discussions on the subject; it also expressed satisfaction at some concessions, which have recently been made by the Government of the Australian Commonwealth to Indians, anxious to visit the Australian Colonies. Three resolutions were adopted about matters relating to or bearing on Finance. Of these, the first protested against the injustice of charging the cost of the India Office in London to the revenues of India, when the Colonies were differently treated, and urged that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the English Estimates. The resolution is seemingly a small one, but it embodies an important principle, and moreover its effect will be to enable friends of India

to raise a discussion on Indian questions, when the Secretary of State's salary comes to be voted upon. The principal financial resolution, adopted by the Congress, was one on the large surpluses, which the accounts of the Government of India have been showing year after year for the past seven years. It is a comprehensive resolution, pointing out how the surpluses have really arisen, how they ought to be utilized and what forms of relief to the taxpayers should be adopted. In the opinion of the Congress, the surpluses are due mainly to the artificial appreciation of the rupee in terms of gold and the consequent saving of between three and four millions sterling a year on the Home remittances of the Government of India. The Congress, therefore, urged that they ought in the first instance to be utilized for giving financial relief to the classes that have been hit the hardest by the currency legislation of the Government—*viz.*, the agriculturalists. Three specific forms of relief were proposed—(1) a further reduction in the salt duty—this has since been adopted by Government, who in March last, reduced the duty from Rs. 2 to Re.1 8as. a maund; (2) a reduction in the land revenue demand of the State in those Provinces, where there has been a series of calamitous seasons; and (3) the abolition of the excise duties on cotton goods, which are maintained, not for revenue purposes, but at the bidding of Lancashire, in spite of the fact that they involve an unnecessary hardship to the poorer classes of the people, who alone consume the coarse fabrics turned out by Indian Mills. And the Congress urged that till these forms of relief were adopted, the surpluses should be devoted to the promotion of scientific, agricultural and industrial education, to providing increased facilities of medical relief and to assisting with grant-in-aid Local and Municipal Boards. Of these, the last suggestion has been partly accepted by Government, who have made this year a substantial grant-in-aid of Local Boards. The needs of agricultural education have also received recognition at the hands of Government, who, in addition to providing a considerable sum for the purpose this year, have promised steadily increasing outlay on it in future years. Another resolution bearing on finance was about the growth of military expenditure. The Congress protested against the heavy and continuous increase that has in recent years taken place in

military expenditure, declared that the present military expenditure was beyond the capacity of the country to bear, urged that the cost of the proposed Army Reorganization scheme ought not to be thrown on the Indian Exchequer, and insisted that as the strength of the Army maintained in India was determined by Imperial considerations and was admittedly in excess of purely Indian needs, the Parliament should consider the justice and policy of making a substantial contribution towards Army charges in India.

Closely connected with the growth of military expenditure is the subject of the Forward Policy of the Government of India. The unprovoked invasion of Tibet last year, the despatch of a political mission to Afghanistan and of a commercial one to Persia—these and other measures have filled the public mind with a most uneasy suspicion that the difficulties of Russia were being availed of to extend the sphere of England's influence in Central Asia, thereby involving India in foreign entanglements, which could not fail to impose an intolerable burden on her revenues. The protection to these revenues, contemplated by the Act of 1858 in providing that they shall not be spent outside the Statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression, has been found to fail in practice time after time—the latest instance being the invasion of Tibet, which was in the beginning described as a 'Political Mission' to take it out of the operation of the Act. The Congress strongly protested against such evasion of plain Statutory requirements, which unjustifiably deprived Indian revenues of the protection constitutionally secured to them, expressed its profound regret that the House of Commons should have refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of the Tibetan Expedition, when it was in furtherance of Imperial interests and to carry out an Imperial policy that the expedition had been undertaken, and raised its voice against saddling India with indefinite and intolerable responsibilities as a result of the 'Forward Policy' which was now in the ascendant.

The question of Representation formed the subject of an important resolution. The Congress asked for an enlargement of both the Provincial and Supreme Legislative Councils, increas-

ing the number of non-official members therein and giving them the power to divide the Councils in all financial matters—the power of veto being left to the Head of the Government concerned. This a reform for which the country is thoroughly ripe. It is now more than twelve years since the Legislative Councils in India were placed on their present basis and the worst opponents of Indian aspirations must admit that these reformed councils have proved a great success. The time has therefore come for a further advance in the direction suggested by the Congress and it is to be earnestly hoped that the measure of reform urged will not be long delayed. The Congress also asked for the bestowal on each Province or Presidency in India of the franchise to return at least two members to the House of Commons in England. The presence of a dozen Indian members in a House consisting of 670 members may not always prove numerically effective; but its moral effect is bound to be great. The House will have in them a ready means to acquire at first hand a knowledge of the Indian view of any question, and when they are unanimous, they will represent a force, which it will be difficult for Parliament altogether to ignore. The resolution on Representation also urged the appointment of Indians—to be nominated by the elected members of the Legislative Councils—as members of the India Council in London and of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and of the Governments of Madras and Bombay. These Councils enjoy a virtual monopoly of all real power in the administration of India, and unless Indians secure an entrance within their jealously guarded precincts, they can never hope to exercise any appreciable share in the Government of their own country. Police Reform and the separation of Judicial and Executive functions are among those questions, which are intimately bound up with the efficiency of the administration, and as such, the Congress has always attached great importance to them. Both questions have made considerable progress since the Congress first took them up. The separation of Judicial and Executive functions is included among the subjects with which Lord Curzon has promised to deal before leaving the shores of India. The desirability of this reform has indeed never been denied by any one—one Viceroy—Lord Dufferin—going so far as to declare it to be a counsel of perfection, which could not

be reduced to practice only for want of funds. The plea of want of funds can no more be urged in view of the large and recurring surpluses of recent years, and, however reluctant the Government may be to carry out the proposed reform, there is every indication that the question cannot be put off much longer. As regards Police Reform, the persistent complaints of the Congress about the general inefficiency and corruption of the Police Force of the country led the Government of India more than three years ago to appoint a Commission of inquiry, whose Report, with the orders of the Government thereon, has been recently published. The Report virtually admits the correctness of most of the contentions of the Congress and constitutes a complete vindication of the agitation strenuously maintained by that body all these years on the subject. When the last Congress met, the Report of the Commission had not been published, and the Congress, therefore, confined itself to an expression of regret that the publication of the Report had been delayed for more than two years. Of late the Government of India have been departing from their old and established practice to publish a Commission's Report before issuing orders thereon. This departure makes it impossible for the public to submit to Government their views on the recommendations of the Commission at a stage when such representation would be useful. The Congress was afraid that the delay in publishing the Police Commission's Report indicated that the old practice was going to be departed from in this instance also,—a fear which subsequent events have proved to be well-founded. The resolution of the Congress contains a strong protest against this new departure. The last administrative matter on which the Congress made a pronouncement was the proposed Partition of Bengal. The proposals of the Government of India in this matter have roused the utmost indignation and alarm throughout Bengal. They are regarded by the people of that Province as involving a disruption of ties—lingual, social, and political, which cannot fail to do serious injury to the future of the Bengali race. The President, who spoke on this subject with the weight attaching to the position of one, who had held the offices of Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government and, later, of Chief Commissioner of Assam, had condemned the proposals of the Government

of India in unequivocal terms, and the Congress had no hesitation or difficulty in extending its support to the people of Bengal in the matter and in joining in their protest against the proposed dismemberment.

Among the remaining resolutions, passed by the last Congress, the one to send a deputation of representative Indians to England in the course of the present year calls for special notice. The Congress resolved at the instance of Sir William Wedderburn that, in view of the near approach of a General Election and the necessity and importance of urging Indian questions on the attention of British electors, of Parliamentary candidates and of the leaders of the two great political parties, a deputation of men elected by the different provinces should proceed to England this year. Sir William's great knowledge of the needs of Indian agitation in England and the love and reverence in which he is held by the people of this country secured to his proposition the unanimous and enthusiastic support of the assembled delegates, and already steps have been taken in the different Provinces to give effect to the resolution by the election of delegates for the purpose. It has been arranged that Bengal will be represented in the deputation by Mr. Surrendra Nath Banerjee, Madras by the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnan Nair, Bombay by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Mohamad Ali Jinnah, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh by Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar and the Punjab by Lala Lajpat Rai. This is not the first time that an Indian deputation goes to England to plead before British electors the cause of this country—similar deputations having gone on two previous occasions, once in 1885 and again in 1890. The special feature of this year's deputation, however, is that even comparatively backward Provinces, like the Punjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, are taking part in the delegation, thereby illustrating the extent to which the need of a joint effort by the different Provinces is recognized all over India.

The twenty sessions of the Indian National Congress, which have so far been held, have done important work for India in nation-building. The twenty-first Congress is to meet at Benares



—the holy city of the Hindoos, whither for centuries and centuries, vast crowd of devout pilgrims have bent their steps in search of salvation for their souls. Thither now thousands will repair next December animated by a great purpose and urged by a new faith, and the banks of the Ganges will resound with a new message, not less inspiring than those which in the past have brought strength and solace to a whole race.

Lastly, this Introduction would be incomplete were it to omit making prominent mention of the Exhibition held in connexion with the Twentieth Indian National Congress. It was the fourth of its kind but a most unique one, having regard to its magnitude and the many new features which pre-eminently distinguished it from three of its predecessors, apart from the infinite variety of indigenous products collected from all parts of the country. It was recognised on all hands that the Exhibition was more Indian in character than Provincial, and that nothing of the kind was ever before witnessed in India. The plan of laying it was excellently conceived by Khan Bahdur Muncherji C. Murzban, C. I. E., whose great talents as an engineer and an experienced organiser are so well known. It was admirably carried out with the assistance of his collaborateurs, division of labour being the leading principle adopted in the practical execution of the work in all its minutest details. On the other hand the Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thakarsi, as the Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, was its life and soul in the business and financial part of the Exhibition. Both devoted all their time, energy, and enthusiasm in achieving a complete success; while the activity of the Deputy Chairman and the other Secretaries was not to be less admired. But what was even more gratifying in this work of co-operation was the laudable part undertaken by the ladies. They were not a bit behind the sterner sex in their enthusiasm to show what the woman-kind of India could achieve by way of domestic industries. Under the capable leadership of Miss Serenbai M. Cursetji they undertook most heartily their fair share of the work, forming a special Committee for the purpose, representative of the different communities in the city. As a result of their combined efforts the Exhibition proved

to be a marvel of success beyond the most sanguine expectation of the promoters and elicited the highest encomium for its almost perfect organisation not only from the most exalted dignitary of the Presidency but from all who had the opportunity to watch it from inception to completion on that excellent site known as the Oval which the liberality of the Government of Lord Lamington had so kindly made available. Altogether the Bombay Exhibition has taught an example in self-help and organisation which is certain to have its most beneficent effect on future organisers of the show elsewhere. They may not surpass it but at any rate they could show how far success could be achieved by well conceived plans and hearty co-operation.

# Resolutions

PASSED AT THE

TWENTIETH

## Indian National Congress,

### Held at Bombay,

*On the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1904.*

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#### **I.—Employment of Indians in the Public Service.**

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

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

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

## II.—Education.

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

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

(b) to make due provision for imparting instruction in manual training and in scientific agriculture,

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

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

### III.—Economic Situation.

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

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

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

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

### IV.—Indebtedness of the Peasantry.

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

### V.—Indian Emigrants to English Colonies.

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

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

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

#### VI.—Deaths of Mr. J. N. Tata and Mr. W. Digby.

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

#### VII.—Secretary of State's Salary.

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

#### VIII.—Surpluses.

(a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the large and recurring surpluses of the last six years—amounting in all to about twenty millions sterling—so far from being the result of any increased prosperity of the people, are only an indication of the fact that the level of taxation in the country is maintained much higher than is

necessary, inasmuch as these surpluses have been rendered possible mainly, if not exclusively, by the artificial appreciation of the rupee and the consequent saving of between three and four millions a year on the Home remittances of the Government of India.

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

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

#### IX.—Representation.

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

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

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

(c) The appointment of Indian representatives (who shall be nominated by the elected members of the Legislative Councils) as

Members of the India Council in London and of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Governments of Bombay and Madras.

#### **X.—Tibetan Affairs and Forward Policy.**

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

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

#### **XI.—Police Reform. :**

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

In view of the great urgency of a thorough reform of the Police force of the country, in view further of the large public interests involved in a satisfactory solution of the question and the obvious necessity in consequence of giving the public ample



opportunity to express its views before the authorities proceed to formulate a scheme of reform, in view, finally, of the fact that all public criticism expressed after the subject has been considered by both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India is bound to be virtually ineffective, this Congress earnestly urges the publication of the Commission's Report without any further delay.

**Resolution XII.—Military Expenditure.**

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

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

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

**Resolution XIII.—Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.**

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

**Resolution XIV.—The Partition of Bengal.**

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

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

**Resolution XV.—Delegation to England.**

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

**Resolution XVI.—Election of Members to the British Parliament.**

That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidatures of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that in the interests of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally

serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which, though a part of the British Empire, has no direct representative in the British Parliament.

**Resolution XVII.—Thanks to the British Committee.**

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

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

**Resolution XVIII.—Appointment of General Secretary and Joint General Secretaries.**

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

**Resolution XIX.—Constitution of the Congress.**

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

**BOMBAY.**

Sir P. M. Mehta.  
Mr. D. E. Wacha.  
The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtoola.

**MADRAS.**

Mr. C. Shankar Nair.  
Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer.  
Mr. M. Vir Raghava Chari.  
Nawab Syed Mahomed.

**BENGAL.**

Babu Surrendra Nath Bannerjee.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Ambica Charan Muzumdar.  
Babu Baikunth Nath Sen.  
Mr. Abdul Kassim.

PUNJAB.

Lala Lajpat Rai.  
Mr. Dharmadas.  
Lala Harkishanlal.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.  
The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.  
Mr. S. Sinha.

BERAR AND CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Mr. R. M. Mudholkar.  
Mr. M. V. Joshi.  
Mr. M. K. Padhye.

**Resolution XX.—The next Session of the Congress.**

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

**Resolution XXI.—Thanks to the Reception Committee and those who have in various ways assisted it.**

By the President.

**Resolution XXII.—Thanks to the President.**

**President's Reply** in closing the proceedings.

# Report of the Proceedings

OF THE

**TWENTIETH**

**Indian National Congress,**

HELD IN

**BOMBAY,**

ON

*the 26th, 27th & 28th December 1904.*

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*First Day's Proceedings.*

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**1st Day, Monday, 26th December 1904.**

The Twentieth session of the Indian National Congress was opened at 1 p. m., on Monday, the 26th December 1904, in the spacious pavilion erected by the Reception Committee on what is known as the Crescent Site.

The Honourable Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, K.C. I. E., Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings by first requesting the choir of ladies, under the kind direction of Mr. and Mrs. Ramaubhai Mahiputram Rupram to sing the Congress Anthem specially composed for the occasion.

# THE National Congress Anthem.

(English Translation.)

( I )

Ye sons of noble India !  
With heart and soul unite,  
And sing aloud her praises,  
Extol her boundless might.

There is no land like India,  
No mount like hers so high—  
For none but great Himadri  
Can touch the lofty sky.

O Holy land of Ganga !  
Thy fields are ever green,  
With priceless jewels resplendent,  
Thou rul'st the world O Queen !

CHORUS. { *We hail thee dear old India !  
We hail thee, Fatherland !  
And singing forth thy praises,  
We all united stand.*

O Land of mighty heroes !  
O mother of mighty men !  
The Darksome night that clouds thee  
Shall turn to light again ;

For this o'r world is fleeting,  
No darkness long can stay ;  
Look up ! the shining ' Surya '   
Proclaims the dawn of day.  
CHORUS.

O land of righteous Rama !  
Karnatak ! Coorgh ! Sindh !  
O Land of five great rivers !  
O Malva ! heart of Hind !

O Land of Central India !  
Bengal and Burmah fair !  
O glorious Land of Goojars !  
With whom shall I compare ?

Madras ! Ma (hu) rashtra ! Sorath !  
And Rajputana great !  
Ye all have done your duty,  
In lifting national weight.  
CHORUS.

Ye Hindu ! Jain and Moslem !  
Ye Parsi ! Jew ! Buddhist !  
Ye Christian ! Sikh ! and Brahmo !  
Ye children of the East !

Stretch forth your arms in friendship,  
And greet your countrymen,  
For 'tis the blood of India  
That runs through every vein.  
CHORUS.

But lo ! our dear old India  
How sunken is her state !  
Her children die by thousands—  
O what a horrible fate !

Be up ! ye sons of India !  
And pray for help to God ;  
Perform your yearly Yatra  
To National Synod.

And purified by Congress,  
Keep up your spirits high,  
And save our dear old India,  
And raise a joyous cry !  
CHORUS.

Arise ! ye sons of India !  
' Be just and fear naught,'  
Stand up and serve your country  
And glorious is your lot—

For so proclaim ' Shastras '   
' Where Duty is the goal,  
There victory must follow  
To crown the glorious soul,'

But if we are divided,  
There surely lies our fall ;  
In Union lies our safety,  
As known to each and all.

Then up ! United India !  
And make your country bright,  
In doing one's own Duty  
There sha'n't be fear or fright.  
CHORUS.

## ( II )

The Noble aim this  
Of Congress, good folks;  
With joy to celebrate  
This auspicious day.

In unison do work  
For country's good ;  
Show one and all  
Your devotion to Hind.

Disunion and discord  
Have the ruin of India caused;  
To restore her then  
To her ancient prosperity.

And develop her  
With Britain's help ;  
Co-operate with your wealth  
Industry and enterprise.

That King Edward's glory  
May shine throughout the world.

## ( III )

CHORUS. { *Onward Congress soldiers !  
Leaders of the Land,  
Cheer the heart of India,  
And united stand.*

Hume, the Congress-father,  
Cotton in the Chair,  
Wedderburn and Tyabjee,  
Shine like stars so fair !

Dādābbāi and Mehtā,  
Bomesh Chandra great,  
Sail the ship of Congress,  
Through a stormy strait.

CHORUS.

Rānūde and Wāchhū,  
Bannerjee and Iyer,  
Drive the car of Congress,  
'midst a muddy mire.

Telang, Gokhale, Rāmpāl,  
Madan-Mohan, Ghose,  
Through the ranks of soldiers,  
See Ayodhyā, Bose.

CHORUS.

Stalwart sons of India !  
Brave as brave can be,  
Serve your dearest country,  
Bend not servile knee.

Pray to God that India,  
Rich with sons so bold,  
May in nearest future,  
Roll in wealth untold.

CHORUS.

Blessed the hour that passes,  
Blessed is the day,  
For the heart of India  
Leaps with joy to-day.

May the sons of India,  
Loyal to the core,  
Sing the Congress Anthem,  
Thriving evermore.

CHORUS.

## भारतभूमिनुं जयकीर्तन.

( १ ) .

( राग भमाच्य. )

भणी सर्व भारतसंतान, ऐकतानमनप्राणु,  
 (२) गाओ भारतनां यशोगान;  
 भारतभूमि गुन्य नदिं क्रांठ स्थान,  
 (२) नदिं अद्रि डिमाद्रि समान;  
 इलवती वसुमती, त्रानस्वती पुण्यवती,  
 (२) शतभंड रत्ननुं निधान;

CHORUS. { याओ भारतनो जय  
 जय भारतनो जय  
 गाओ भारतनो जय  
 शुं जय? शुं जय?  
 गाओ भारतनो जय. १

वीरयोनि आ भूमि वीरनी जननी,  
 (२) व्यापी रही अज्ञानरजनी,  
 सुगंभीर ओ निभिर, कदि नदिरहे बिर,  
 (२) देआ देशे दीप्त दिनभण्डि.

CHORUS. २

रामभूमि, कर्णाटक, कुर्ग, मध्यप्रान्त,  
 (२) मालव, सिन्ध, पंचनदीधाम;  
 अंग, मद्र, गुजरात्, मद्राशात्, सौराष्ट्र,  
 (२) अक्षदेश, ने राजपुत्रस्थान.

CHORUS. ३

हिन्दु, जैन, सिख, बौध्, ख्रिस्त, मुसलमान,  
 (२) पारसीक, याहुदी, ने आक्ष;  
 भारतना सङु पुन, यध परस्पर मित्र,  
 (२) धारी बित्त गणुना समान.

CHORUS. ४

हिन्दभूमि दुःख दूणी, दारिद्र्यविस्तार,  
 (२) संपतीर्थः करी वारंवार;  
 उडी उडी रे उत्साहे, भागी भागी प्रभु साहे,  
 (२) धरी हस्त करो रे उद्धार.

CHORUS. ५

डेम उरो बीडा करो सादस आश्रय,  
 (२) "यतो धर्मस्त्वतो जयः"  
 छिन्नभिन्न हीनअल अकथयी पामशुं अल;  
 (२) मातामुप उज्जवल कयेंथी शुं जय?

CHORUS. ६

\* डोन्नेस.

( २ )

पिहाग-गीत.

शुभ नेम डोन्नेसनी शुभ जन,  
 सङु हरे प्रगट करो शुभ आ दन;  
 अङु सम्प सञ्च राजभक्ती डान,  
 अताओ सङ्ग हिन्द प्रेम सङ्गन—शुभ.  
 रसवीन डस-हिन्द यंत्रहीणु यध,  
 देश हरी आयादण करवा,  
 श्रीरीश भददथी हिन्द फीलववा,  
 आ धाम, धाम, धाम, जेडे अष्ट प्रधारे  
 जेथी अङु यलडे, वणी मलडे, पलडे,  
 ओऽवडं राजन.—शुभ.



રાગ કટયાણુ, પદ તાલ દાદરો (અગ્રેણ તર્જ.)

સુવીર કોન્ગ્રેસના, ડેલીગેટો સહુ દેશના,  
કરો દીલ હીન્દવાસીના, ઉલ્હાસપુર ખુશાલીના. સુવીર૦  
કોન્ગ્રેસનો પીતા છે હુમ, સભાના પ્રેસીડન્ટ કોટન,  
બદ્રુદીન, વેડરબર્ન, બન્યા રહો સદા સોહન. સુવીર૦  
રોમેશ, મેહતા, વાલભાઈ, અન્નેધ્યા રામ મદનમોહન,  
રાનાડે, વાચ્છા, ગોખલે, આયર, બેનરજી, લાલમોહન. સુવીર૦  
પરના દુઃખ બંજનો, સુવીર બાહાદુરો જનો,  
સ્વદેશ સેવના કરો, હીરમતે પગ સદા ધરો. સુવીર૦  
સ્વદેશી અભિમાનીઓ, તાકીદે જન્મ પામીઓ,  
હીંદ આબાદી યાદઓ, પ્રભુ પાસે એ ગાહઓ. સુવીર૦  
ધન્ય ધરીપલ ધન્ય સુદીન, આજે ઉમંગ છે હીંદને મન,  
રાજ, દેશ બક્ષિતથી તન, ખીલ્યા રહો સદા સુમન. સુવીર૦

**Address of Sir P. M. Mehta, K.C.I.E., Chairman,  
Reception Committee.**

The anthem having been sung and the choir of ladies having resumed their seats midst the enthusiastic cheers of the Delegates and the audience assembled, Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta, welcomed the Delegates in the following address :—

“ BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I count it a piece of singular good fortune that I should stand before you here to-day to tender to you, my brother Delegates of the Twentieth Indian National Congress, the same cordial, sincere and earnest welcome, on behalf of the Reception Committee, which it was my pride and privilege to tender to you on this very Congress platform exactly this day fifteen years ago. It is a piece of still greater good fortune for which both you and I cannot but be equally thankful, that I am supported on this occasion as on the last by the presence amongst us of one than whom India had never a warmer, truer, more devoted, more self-sacrificing, more faithful and more constant friend—you see him on my right, Sir William Wedderburn—(loud cheering) whose name is now a household word amongst us, cherished with tender respect and affection. A noble type of the high-minded and high-souled Englishman at his best, it is owing to the fact of the existence and activity of such Englishmen in the ranks of Anglo-Indians and Civilians that our hopes and our aspirations escape from despair, and our attachment and our loyalty

Cordial, Sincere  
and Earnest  
Welcome to the  
Delegates.

**First Day.**  
 Cordial, Sincere  
 and Earnest  
 Welcome to the  
 Delegates.

to British rule are preserved and strengthened. It never rains but it pours, says the proverb, which in its ignorance of the scheme of Providence attributes to it partiality and favouritism, and I am tempted to boast of another piece of good fortune at finding that my Chairmanship is, on this occasion, as on the last, destined to be illustrated by the presidency of another such Englishman as I have described, Anglo-Indian and Civilian, who has, not yesterday or to-day, but throughout a career rising from the lowest to almost the highest step of the Civilian ladder, uniformly and consistently realized that he best served the interests of his own country and the great Service to which he belonged, by strictly and faithfully adhering to a policy of true righteousness and sympathy (Applause). But that is another story which will be presently unfolded at due length, after I have tried, if not tired, your patience for some time longer (Cries of "No") I cannot however pass on without congratulating ourselves on the presence of a gentleman, one of the oldest and most respected Members of Parliament, who has for years, quietly and unostentatiously, but none the less nobly and earnestly, raised his voice in the interests of this country. I refer to Mr. Samuel Smith. But in the midst of these manifold congratulations, my vanity is checked by the reflection that after all, however man may propose, it is God who disposes. We looked forward at one time with enthusiastic anticipations to gaze on the kindly, radiant, and loving countenances of three, perhaps the oldest, patriarchs of the Congress. But the call of duty, which never calls him in vain, has deprived us of the presence of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (prolonged cheers), and imperative considerations of health have deprived us of the opportunity of seeing once again the beloved and revered Founder of this body, Mr. Hume, (continued cheers) and if I may so, his eldest son, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (cheers). But absent as they are, we will tell them that their names and deeds are and will for ever be cherished in our hearts with love, veneration and gratitude (cheers).

Official kindness  
 and assistance.

And now, Gentlemen, I trust that you will not think that I unduly indulge in the inveterate habit of the people of this "Kingdom of Bombay" to consider ourselves superior to all the rest of the country (laughter) when, in view of the active and passive opposition offered in past years in other parts to the measures for

accommodating the Congress, I congratulate myself on the fact that the account given by Sir William Hunter in his book on 'Lord Reay's Administration,' as to the character of the relations between Europeans and Indians in this Presidency, has been amply borne out by the way in which we have been helped in securing the best sites available in Bombay for our manifold purposes. We have received kindly and generous assistance, from officials and non-officials alike, in a spirit of broad-minded liberality, justifying Sir William Hunter's observation, that "the competition of races, although as keen as in any other Provinces, is here tempered by common interests, mutual forbearance, and a certain reciprocal respect which impart a moderation to Bombay public opinion and to the Bombay Press in political crises." The *Pioneer* said the other day that we shall presently denounce the Government that so kindly lent us the Oval as wicked. Let me assure it that we in Bombay, however, use no violent language; and when we have to criticize Government, for even the *Pioneer* will not insist that it is beyond criticism, we will only call it erring and misguided.

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Official kindness  
and assistance.

But when I complacently congratulate ourselves on securing the best and healthiest sites for this year's Congress, I approach the question of this Pavilion and of the Encampment for your residence with some amount of nervousness. We have been told by some candid friends, or, if they will pardon me for saying so, by some critics who profess to be our friends only to be able to criticize us the more effectively, that we are only spasmodically wasting our energies, that this Congress gathering is only a show and a 'saturnalia of uncouth oratory,' and that we are wantonly and extravagantly throwing away on an evanescent *tamáshá*, monies which could be devoted to more solid and useful purposes. Now this criticism strikes me, Gentlemen, as very much like the criticism applied by Revenue Officers to the improverished ryot, when they try to explain away agrarian indebtedness by the extravagance of his expenditure on festive and mourning occasions. (Hear, hear.) As a matter of fact, the extravagance of the ordinary ryot on such occasions consists only in a few brass ornaments, a few sweetmeats and an unlimited amount of tom-tom. So is it with us. Our Pavilion is not a Gothic temple with marble pillars and tessellated floors; it is

Candid Friends  
and their  
Criticism.

**First Day.** a structure of unhewn posts and canvas, decorated with strips of cheap muslin of Congress colors to look gay. We have not housed you in palatial buildings; the canvas camp in which you are lodged has all, and more than all, the severity of military exigencies in a far campaign. To the amounts thus spent, our kind friends insist upon adding the travelling charges, as if all the Delegates would never have during Christmas stirred out of their houses to enjoy the Christmas holidays, even if they were not attending the Congress. But even taking the whole total thus added up, I venture, Gentlemen, to say boldly that all this and much more would be well spent for fulfilling the purpose for which the Congress has been organized, and for achieving the aim and end for which the Congress is constituted. To those who decry the monies spent upon it as monies wasted on a show and a *tamáshá*, I would say that they are no more men of real insight and true imagination than those whom one of the greatest of English poets—Wordsworth—has described with such infinite pity for their incapacity to enter into the true inwardness of things :—

A primrose by the river brim,  
A yellow primrose is to him,  
And it is nothing more.

**Sacred Mission  
of the Congress.**

But if you realize it clearly and fully, there is no purpose more important, no mission more sacred, than the one that the Congress fulfils in the three short days to which it confines its session (Applause). It would be absurd to say that the Congress meets to deliberate and discuss and decide all the important subjects with which it deals. That task must be, and is, largely performed in the course of the year by such institutions as we may possess for forming Indian public opinion, in the common intercourse of social life, in local bodies more or less active, in the Native Press which is undoubtedly daily growing more and more capable and potent. At the end of the year, we all meet together, from different parts of the country, representatives of the people, not selected, it is true, by any authoritative or scientific process, but still representatives in all the various ways in which virtual representation works itself out in the early stages of its progressive development, representatives who are of the people and in immediate touch and contact with them, representatives realizing in themselves the

wants, the wishes, the sentiments, the aspirations of the people, representatives whose education has qualified them to ponder over grave questions of policy and principle in their application to the administration and Government of this country in all their complex relations of a foreign rule, representatives into whom education has instilled an earnest, devoted, and enlightened loyalty to the British Crown and a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the British Empire in which, they are firmly persuaded lie implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperity and the good government of this country, I say, we Delegates, representatives of the people, meet together at the end of the year to give voice to the public opinion of the country taking shape and formulating throughout the year, to present our Petition of Rights, our Grand Remonstrance, our appeal and our prayer for a firm and unfaltering grasp of a policy of wisdom and righteousness, for the reversal of retrograde measures inconsistent with such a policy, and for the adoption of means steadily ensuring the gradual development of free political progress,

“Broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent.”

Such an appeal and such a prayer can be most effectively offered at a great gathering like this by the unanimous voice of Delegates assembling from all parts of the country. (Cheers.) If, gentlemen, we did nothing more than make this solemn petition and this earnest prayer, we shall not have spent our monies in vain we shall not have laboured for nought. (Cheers.)

But we are told that we have done this for long and we have done this in vain. I absolutely dispute both these propositions Has this Congress really grown old and grey, and has it really effected nothing? I reply that the Congress has not yet attained its majority; I reply that the surest testimony to the value of its achievements direct and indirect, and the force of its influence, is to be found in the very policy of reaction and retrogression which it has from time to time provoked, the tide following each successive ebb of which policy takes us, you may be sure, further and further on the path of progress and emancipation. (Cheers.) To estimate this position rightly, let me lay before you the confession of faith of a devout and irreclaimable Congressman like myself. I am an

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inveterate, I am a robust optimist, like my late friend Mahadeva Govind Ranade. (Applause.) I believe in divine guidance through human agency. It may be the fatalism of the East, but it is an active, not a passive fatalism, a fatalism which recognizes that the human wheels of the machinery must actively work to fulfil their appointed task. My humility saves me from the despair that seizes more impatient souls like those who have recently preached a gospel of despondency—I always seek hope and consolation in the words of the poet:

“ I have not made the world, and He that has made it will guide.”

I derive patience from the same poet's teaching,

“ My faith is large in time, and that which shapes it to some perfect end.”

My steadfast loyalty is founded upon this rock of hope and patience. (Hear, hear.) Seeking the will of Providence, like Oliver Cromwell, in dispensations rather than revelations, seeing God's will like him in fulfilment of vents, I accept British rule, as Ranade did, as a dispensation so wonderful,—a little island set at one end of the world establishing itself in a far continent as different as different could be,—that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will. But, as I have often said, when, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence this country was assigned to the care of England, the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old: “ Behold I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God; a curse if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other gods whom ye have not known.” The possession of India would be a blessing to England if administered in the spirit of righteousness; a curse if in the seductive spirit of worldliness. We cordially confess that in the main England has chosen wisely and well. The great and far seeing statesmen who presided at the consolidation of British rule in India proclaimed that the declared policy of the Crown in India should be one of righteousness, and they firmly and unequivocally announced it by the voice of the great and good Queen who then wore the Crown. But the acceptance and announcement of a policy of righteousness is one thing, its application another. The adhesion to such a policy is not determined in a day; it is not established without a long struggle between the

forces of righteousness and those of worldliness, like unto the struggle between Hormazd and Ahriman. Even the chosen people of the Hebrew God continually relapsed, in spite of solemn covenants, into the worship of the gods of idolatry. Therefore it is that, while the oscillations and vicissitudes of the struggle go on, the hope expressed by the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the Bombay Corporation and echoed by Lord Amthill before the Madras Corporation, that "there may be no two parties about England in India" is premature and practically futile. (Hear, hear.) Such a hope is unreasonable and impracticable, while the pledges about equality of the Great Proclamation of 1858 are kept in the letter and broken in the spirit; while the distinctions of race, colour and creed abolished by our Magna Charta are re-introduced under the plausible guise of being distinctions based on the distinctive merits and qualifications inherent in race; while the burdens of Imperial Empire, which should be borne by the Empire including the Colonies, are disproportionately and heavily thrown on Indian finances; while attempt after attempt is made to pass on to the Indian Exchequer military expenditure supposed to be necessitated by the vulnerable position of India, but really designed to meet supposed Imperialistic exigences; while the Indian subjects of His Majesty are allowed to be deprived of their rights of equal citizenship, in the undisguised interests of the white races against the dark, in a way which responsible Ministers of the Crown had gravely declared furnished a just cause of war against the Boers; while the economic relations between the two countries are adjusted more in the interests of the predominant than of the impotent partner; while the development of the industries of the country is neglected or hampered for fear of competition with English industries; while the "consuming love" for India in the breasts of the rulers has more the colour and character of affection towards a foster-child or a step-son than the equal and engrossing love for a natural son; while the results of a really *bonâ fide* and laborious Commission like the Public Service Commission, imperfect as they were, are attempted to be set aside and restricted by autocratic action, while the percentages of the admission of natives into the public service are estimated, not by the only true test of comparison with the

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promises made and rights established after public enquiry and deliberate action, but by the increases and decreases with those of years long previous to such pledges and promises, totally ignoring the recognition of subsequent years of "the just claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service" as stated in the Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Public Service Commission; while the people are being emasculated by the wholesale operation of the Arms Act to the future detriment of the interests of both England and India; while the small modicum of independence possessed by the Indian Universities is ruthlessly annihilated, and the Universities turned substantially into departments of Government, so that the breeding of the discontented B. A., "that distinct political danger," may be stopped or limited, and while—but it is not needful to go on any further. (Loud cheers.) We thus see that the hope of there being no two parties about England in India is not founded in the realities of the situation. It is another form of the same advice that has been also recently showered upon us by Viceroys and Lieutenant Governors, that there should be no political agitation in this country. I wish to speak with all respect for these disinterested advisers; but I cannot help comparing them to that delightful "Poor man's friend" Sir Joseph Bowley, so admirably depicted by Dickens:—"Your only business, my good fellow, is with me. You needn't trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you; I know what is good for you; I am your perpetual parent. Such is the dispensation of an allwise Providence. \* \* \* What man can do I do, I do my duty as the Poor Man's Friend and Father; and I endeavour to educate his mind, by inculcating on all occasions the one great lesson which that class requires, that is, entire Dependence on Myself. They have no business whatever with themselves." (Loud laughter.) This is a free but graphic paraphrase of what has been anxiously dinned into our ears recently from various quarters. I venture to say that to accept this advice would be equally demoralizing to the rulers and the ruled. It ignores all the laws of human progress, it ignores the workings of human nature, it ignores environment and surroundings. We may be as well told to cease to breathe, to think or to feel. Political agitation there-

**The Importance  
of Political  
Agitation.**



will always be. The only question is whether we should suppress and bottle up our feelings and hopes and aspirations and our grievances in the innermost recesses of our own hearts, in the secret conclaves of our own brethren, or deal with them in the free light of open day. (Hear, hear.) The former course would be preferred by the prophets of despair. We, gentlemen, prefer the latter, because we have faith in the ultimate wisdom, beneficence, and righteousness of the English people. Curiously enough, gentlemen, this advice to cease political agitation found an echo, where one would have least expected it, in a corner of Bengal. To our astonishment, we were one day treated to a homily at a Provincial Conference in that Presidency on the thesis that subject races could have no politics! We were exhorted to abandon them in favour of industrial and scientific organizations. I trust, gentlemen, I will not be taken to undervalue the good work done in establishing the Association for the advancement of Industrial Science; it is already doing excellent work in conferring various industrial and technical scholarships of Rs. 100 and more. But I may be allowed to say that when I read the report of the public meeting at which the Association was inaugurated, I could not help wondering whether our European friends who were actively supporting the movement were doing so with the hope of weaning our Bengali brethren from the bad habit to which they are supposed to be specially addicted of excessive political agitation, or whether our Bengali friends were endeavouring to coax their European friends to help them by specious professions of giving up their favourite vice and turning out reformed characters. (Laughter.) I will abstain, however, from attributing motives as we are now perpetually advised to do by those who preach but never practise the virtue. It is needless to seriously controvert the thesis advanced by these Bengali friends, utterly unhistoric and unmanly as it is. If they will pardon me, I will only tell them how I regard them. They seem to me to be the Esaus of Bengal ready to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage. (Laughter.) However fragrant and nourishing that pottage may be represented to be, we will not sell our birth-right for it. But I am sure that there is no difficulty in retaining both the one and the other, the birth-right as well as the pottage. (Cheers.)

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 The Importance  
 of Political  
 Agitation.

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Great Political  
Blunder in  
treating the  
Congress with  
Dislike and  
Resentment.

But, gentlemen, let us go back to the pendulum which we have left to oscillate between righteousness and worldliness for too long a time, and see how far the Congress has worked in propelling it in the right direction. Never had the pendulum oscillated so violently as in Lord Lytton's time. The policy of righteousness was openly scouted. It was declared that having won India by breaking all the Ten Commandments, it was too late to govern it on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The country was thrown into a state of doubt and perplexity, of alarm and uneasiness. From this unfortunate position it was rescued by the advent of Lord Ripon. (Loud cheers.) In him we got back the true old English statesman, wise in his noble generosity and far sighted in his righteousness. Englishmen will never know the true value of Lord Ripon's services to British rule. He added buttresses of enduring strength to the citadel of our loyalty. (Cheers.) It is to him we owe that in the darkest days of gloom and reaction, we always confidently look forward to rays of light and hope. Except perhaps the great measure of local self-Government, and that of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which was intensely unpopular with the Zamindars of Bengal, he conferred no impossible boons or charters on us. He did not tell us, as the present Viceroy did, in his last Budget speech, that "I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought in the field of politics at the present stage of her development and it is not my conception to earn a cheap applause by offering so called boons for which the country is not ready and for which my successors and not I would have to pay the price." Neither was it Lord Ripon's conception of statesmanship, nor did he confer any boons for which the country was not ripe. And still, to use the words of the self-same speech, he heartily and genuinely sympathised with the real and progressive sympathy of true Liberalism, as Mr. Morley recently defined it in America, and not with the narrow prejudice of Conservative fear and mistrust of all progress and liberty, "with the aspirations of the Indians towards greater national unity and with their desire to play a part in the public life of the country." As these twofold sentiments are enunciated in the last Budget speech of Lord Curzon there is confusion, instead of correlation between them. Why is the salvation of India not to be sought, at least partially, on the field of

politics at all times now and hereafter, if official sympathy with Indian aspirations and desire to play a part in the public life of this country is deep and genuine? How can these aspirations and desires be even gradually achieved, unless we are allowed to play at all times a modest and temperate part on the field of politics? (Hear, hear.) And I venture to say that it is unfair and unjust to charge us with desiring to play any but a most modest and temperate part on the field of politics, and to warn us off altogether from it. How easily we are satisfied, when we are assured of sympathetic and righteous treatment by a frank and convinced acceptance of the principles of policy underlying the pledges and promises given to us, is shown by the fact that little as he actually did for us, Lord Ripon's name and fame are reverently and imperishably cherished in the hearts of the millions of this country. (Applause.) The establishment of the Congress was almost synchronous with the departure of Lord Ripon from this country. Ever since then we have been endeavouring to formulate and place before Government measures upon which the country has come almost to an unanimous opinion as needed for the purpose of redressing grievances as well as promoting the legitimate welfare and progress of the people. It is a task which we undertook under a strong sense of duty. If, as the Viceroy eloquently said in his last Budget speech, "the country and its educated classes were making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress," it would have been a grave dereliction of duty if they had not come forward on the field of politics, and, as I now repeat, what I repeated before, if they had not devoted their new culture and their energy to the task, not of supplanting their rulers, but of supplementing the endeavours of the best and most sagacious among them by proposing modifications and developments based on their peculiar, intuitive and native knowledge and information, and suggested in gratitude and loyalty by that enlightenment, and education which we freely admit has been one of the most precious gifts bestowed upon us by British rule. (Cheers.) A wise and prudent statesman would so encourage us in performing this task by kindly sympathy and advice as to compel us, so to say, to perform it with anxious care and moderation. To me it seems a grave political blunder to engender bitterness and excess by treating the Congress with dislike and resentment. (Hear,

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Great Political  
Blunder in  
treating the  
Congress with  
Dislike and  
Resentment.

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Great Political  
Blunder in  
treating the  
Congress with  
Dislike and  
Resentment.

hear.) It is for this reason that I deplore the attitude of our English friends towards the Congress. They have failed to understand the somewhat curious phenomenon, which they have recently observed, of some of our co-workers condemning the Congress for its disappointing inutility, and they have exultingly pointed out that this condemnation has proceeded from what has been considered the extreme wing of the Congress, and they have received these denunciations of us with cheers. But let our rulers try to realize that the men whom they cheer do not possibly desire to abandon altogether the field of politics, but may in time be carried away vainly to imagine that the failure of constitutional methods like those of the Congress was an argument to substitute others not so strictly temperate. However that may be, I repeat now, as before, that we of the Congress have always steadily and firmly conceived our mission to be imposed by duty, sanctified by patriotism and guided by loyalty, unswayed by the resentment of our rulers, or by the despairing counsels of the pessimists among ourselves. Therefore it is that our mission has been blest and our labours have not been in vain. (Cheers.)

The Achievements  
of the  
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I thus come back to relate the record of the achievements of the Congress. I can do so briefly, as it has been excellently summarised in the last number of "India," a paper whose valuable services to our cause, have not, I am afraid, been so fully appreciated as they have deserved, showing how imperfect are we ourselves,—a good thing to remember, especially when we are engaged in criticizing others. Our earliest efforts were directed towards securing a platform from which we could authoritatively expound our views, and they bore fruit in 1892 in the passing of the Indian Councils Act for enlarging and expanding the Councils, and substantially and practically introducing the principle of election in the appointment of their members. The voice of the Congress was potent in obtaining the Commission for enquiring into Indian Expenditure. Our demand for Simultaneous Examinations for the Indian Civil Service was so far successful that Mr. Paul's motion in favour of it was accepted by the House of Commons. The strenuous opposition to reduce the motion into practice offered by the Indian Government has hitherto prevailed. We had however obtained the Public Service Commission whose

recommendations, though not going far enough as we desired, and further throttled by the Government of India, still laid down principles, from which, alas, it is now attempted to retreat by autocratic action without any new public enquiry or deliberation. We have also urgently pressed upon the attention of Government, perhaps the most far-reaching and anxious problem of Indian administration; the economic problem of the poverty of the people and its concomitant agrarian indebtedness; and though Government fight shy of the only true remedies, it is still a hopeful sign to see them labouring to discover less unpalatable solutions of the problem. Following upon the half-hearted trial of Agricultural Banks long suggested by us, we may still induce them to grant the enquiry so influentially recommended by the Indian Famine Union. Very early in our history, we proved so conclusively the essential desirability in the interests of sound and just administration of the separation of judicial and executive functions, that a statesmanlike Lord Dufferin felt constrained to admit it to be a counsel of perfection, and we have so far succeeded that now it is only on the score of expense that the change is ostensibly shelved, the real reason being the strong disinclination of District Officers to part with power once enjoyed, as if Revenue Officers did not possess power enough and to spare, with stringent Land Revenue Codes and the jealous exclusion of the jurisdiction of Civil Courts in revenue matters. One of the earliest subjects which engaged the attention of the Congress was the urgent need of a thorough reform and reorganization of the Police Force. The forecast of the Report of the Police Commission published in England has ultimately borne out the national view of the character of the force against the official view which continued to insist that the aspersions to which the police was popularly subject were largely unjust and undeserved. In this connexion I may be permitted to say one word as to the bureaucratic policy now in vogue with regard to the Reports of and evidence taken by so called Commissions. Formerly, the Reports and evidence were immediately issued to give time for public discussion and criticism before Government proceeded to deal with them. At St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta the other day, Sir Andrew Fraser vindicated the new policy not only with regard to the Report of the Police Commission, but with regard also to

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other important subjects engaging the attention of Government, stating as an axiomatic truth that no statement could be properly made in regard to them till the decision of the Secretary of State for India was received. It seems to benighted non-officials like us that this course is an exaggeration of the demoralized attitude of a secret and irresponsible bureaucracy as Sir C. Dilke once called it. (Hear, hear.) The Secretary of State in this way arrives at a decision under the inspiration of the Government of India without the benefit of open and public discussion. And we know how hopeless it is to expect any modification of the decrees issued by the Secretary of State from subsequent discussion and criticism. Indeed in such cases we are gravely told that it would be sacrilegious to touch with profane hands the tablets sent down from Mount Sinai. (Laughter.) The mischief thus done is so incalculable, that I would fain take the liberty to ask the bureaucrats of our Indian administration to ponder on the observations of one of the ablest and keenest of political thinkers—Mr. Walter Bagehot—"Not only" says he, "does a bureaucracy tend to under-government in point of quality; it tends to over-government in point of quantity. The trained official hates the rude, untrained public. He thinks they are stupid, ignorant, reckless—that they cannot tell their own interest. A bureaucracy is sure to think that its duty is to augment official power, official business, or official members rather than leave free the energies of mankind; it over-does the quantity of Government as well as impairs its quality." These words were spoken of bureaucracy in civilized European countries. They apply with ten-fold force in this country with its Official Secrets' Act, which it is a mistake to suppose is inert while it does not explode in public prosecutions. The Act puts a premium on corruption, on the one hand, and, on the other, it surely and inevitably deteriorates and demoralizes irresponsible officials working in the dark. (Hear, hear.) To resume our narrative of the achievements of the Congress. We were the first, in spite of spurious claims to the honor, to draw attention in view of the poverty of the agricultural masses to the need of technical and industrial education, and forced it in many practical ways on the attention of the people as well as Government. In this connexion, I trust that the scheme of an Institute of Research may not be allowed to fail on account of the death of Mr. Tata, a death the whole country deploras, but

may soon become an accomplished fact, a magnificent monument of the patriotism and munificence of its author. (Applause.) We have also pressed upon Government the great cause of Temperance. We advocated from the first reduction in the oppressive burden of the Salt tax, and the raising of the assessable minimum of the Income-tax, both which reforms have been recently carried out. I think I need not proceed further with my enumeration. It is an honorable record. (Applause.) It is a record which leaves no room for disappointment or despair. But further, as is again well pointed out in "India," what is particularly apt to be over-looked, is that "we are by no means sure but the greatest work of all is its negative work, where the results do not appear in any particular reform or political change." And I may well repeat here, to cheer our hearts and brace our energies, the beautiful lines quoted by Mr. Hume in his letter to us published in "India,"

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seemed here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

Laden with these gains, the Congress comes back to "its own native land." I well remember the day when we launched it anxiously, but hopefully, 19 years ago. When it came back to us in 1889, a babe only five years old, it had already broadened and strengthened wonderfully. It again comes back to us fifteen years after, a handsome lad on the point of attaining his majority. It has not escaped some jealousy and rivalry. Other children whom we are assured were excessively pretty and handsome have been pressed upon us as specially deserving our love and affection. Well, Gentlemen, our hearts are large and our minds are broad, and what we have done is that we have incontinently adopted them all. (Cheers.) One, you will see in this very pandal, a gentle and solemn little lady in a grave gathering assembling immediately after us. Another you will see, robust and vigorous, decorated with jewels and ornaments wrought in this very country, on the Oval yonder. But, Gentlemen, our affections remain unchanged from our eldest-born, and we refuse to deprive him of his rights of primogeniture. (Applause.)

I think, Gentlemen, I have said enough to show that we have met here together from all parts of the country to pursue a noble mission, hallowed to us from a sense of duty, of patriotism, and of

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loyalty, all welded together by the principles of justice and righteousness which, after all is said and done, we gratefully recognize as the dominant principles of English rule in this country. We truly and earnestly respond to the words in which Lord Curzon adjured us the other day on his landing—"I pray, I pray the Native Community in India, to believe in the good faith, in the high honor, and in the upright purpose of my countrymen." Gentlemen, it is because we do sincerely believe in that good faith, in that high honor and that upright purpose, that we meet here in the open light of day to appeal to their noble and righteous impulses, by all lawful and constitutional means, so to discharge the sacred trust reposed in them by Providence, that it may redound to the glory and greatness of both countries. (Cheers.) But I must be pardoned for saying, that when we respond to this prayer, we do not respond to it in the slavish spirit in which the great Earl of Strafford exhorted the people of England to obey the King; "Let them attend upon his will with confidence in his justice, belief in his wisdom, and assurance in his parental affections." We respond to it rather in the spirit of an ideal sketched—I will take an extremely modern instance—by a highly placed Anglo-Indian Civil Servant whom,—though you will be perhaps surprised to hear it—I venture to describe as a Congresswala in disguise, as eloquent and as far-reaching as some of our own elders, say, Surendranath Bannerjee or Lal Mohan Ghose. I refer to Sir William Lee-Warner. At an Address delivered by him at the Elphinstone College Union, Sir William Lee-Warner eloquently depicted the ideal towards which British rule in India was tending :—

"It is no narrow principle of a paternal Government or a rule for the benefit of the ruler which sent forth the Roman with this poet's sailing orders,

'*Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento,*' or which fostered differences as aiding the central authority, *Divide et impera*. Its aim is less to govern than to call forth the progressive capacity and to teach self-government. It desires to lift up the lower ranks of society and the subject to the pedestal of the ruler. 'Humanity, and 'Heaven's light our guide,' are its watch words, and they are embodied in your *Magna Charta*, the Queen's Proclamation, issued by the ruler whose authority had just been defied and restored by



the sword. \* \* There are three supreme ideas of mankind, the family, the nation and humanity. The Hindu and the Greek ruler thought of the first, the Roman Empire of the second ; but the British nation accepts the last and highest as its ruling idea. \* \* I venture to point out to you that from God's nature the British nation has learnt the grand idea of humanity, and that the legislation and administration of India under the Queen bears testimony to Her Majesty's desire to recognize a progressive future as before all those committed to her care. The protection of the weak, equality in the eye of the law, justice, and a common participation in the benefits, and when the time comes, in the task of good government are at least the aims which the British Government sets before it."

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It is in the active spirit of this ideal that we respond, and respond cordially, to Lord Curzon's prayer to believe in the good faith, in the high honor, and in the upright purpose of his countrymen. (Cheers.) May we pray in return that when we ask to be allowed to co-operate in this noble task, that Lord Curzon and his countrymen will believe that we too of the Congress are inspired by duty, patriotism and loyalty. (Hear, hear.)

I again tender to you my warmest welcome—a welcome mixed of gratitude for the past and high hope for the future, with Patience and Perseverance for our motto. Let us take to our hearts the homely but noble words of Longfellow :—

" Let us then be up and doing,  
 With a heart for any fate,  
 Still achieving, still pursuing,  
 Learn to labour and to wait.

Sir Pherozechah then resumed his seat amidst loud and prolonged applause, many of the audience rising, and clapping and waving their hands with unbounded enthusiasm.

#### ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. Surendranath Bannerji (of Calcutta) rose midst loud and prolonged cheers and proposed the election of the President in the following words :—

Sir Pherozechah, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—  
 It is now my agreeable duty to lay before you a proposition which I am confident will meet with your enthusiastic concurrence. On your behalf as well as on my behalf I beg to propose that Sir Henry

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Cotton be elected as President of the Twentieth Indian National Congress. (Loud cheers.) Brother Delegates, there are occasions in the lifetime of man when the performance of public duty imparts an added pleasure by its association with strong personal feelings, when the performance of what may be called a public duty is sublimated into an altogether higher function by the inspiring touch of grateful enthusiasm. (Cheers.) Such an occasion now presents itself to me. I have known Sir Henry Cotton for the last 30 years. I have known him as a close personal friend. I have seen him as a servant of the British Government; I have also seen him in his non-official relations; I have seen the great actor on the public stage; I have seen him in the green room, and I will say that the one dominating principle in his life has been to serve you, the people of India, (loud cheers); to make British rule acceptable to the people by imparting into it an element of personal sympathy and above all to broad base the power of the Sovereign upon the hearts and convictions of the people, by the practical recognition in the government of the country of such principles as are calculated to facilitate the transition, which would sooner or later take place, from a hard, cold, unsympathetic and bureaucratic regime into a regime of kindness, of trust, of confidence, of self-government. These have been the high ideals of Sir Henry Cotton's public life. (Cheers.)

For a servant of Government to have kept these ideals steadily before the mind's eye and never to flinch from them and to prosecute them through good report and evil report in spite of official and social disfavour, to the impediment of the prospects of his own advancement—, this is to my mind a piece of moral heroism which challenges the admiration of all. (Hear, hear.)

Here we have the spectacle of an official of Government soaring high above the normal condition of the official world, transcending into a region dedicated to the saints and martyrs, to the celestials of the earth who have lived and suffered and sacrificed themselves on the altar of their convictions. (Hear, hear.) You will now readily understand the secret of the wonderful influence which Sir Henry exercised over the people of Bengal. He loved and trusted the people and they reciprocated his sentiments with enthusiastic gratitude. (Cheers.) I think, Sir, I am not guilty of the

slightest exaggeration when I say that within the life-time of this generation no member of the Bengal Civil Service comes within a measurable distance of the popularity it was the high privilege of Sir Henry to have enjoyed (cheers), during his official career and which, now that he has retired, is crystalised into enduring affection and wide-spread admiration for the noble qualities of his head and heart.

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Sir, if our voice counted aught in the councils of the Government, long ago we should have claimed Sir Henry Cotton as the ruler of Bengal. (Cheers.) He is better qualified than any to rule Bengal as he represents not only the might and the majesty, but the dignity, justice and beneficence of the British rule. He is the stout and unrelenting champion of the oppressed and the voiceless millions. He spurned the temptations of office and preferment and mindful only of the obligations of duty he held aloft a standard of justice which even according to Lord Curzon is the foundation of the Imperial rule, and which more than anything else has gone to establish, consolidate and extend this vast Imperial fabric. (Hear, hear.) But Sir, that was not to be. Providence had ordained it otherwise, Sir Henry who loved the people too well, had fought for the coolies too faithfully. He was burdened with an inconvenient burden of convictions. He had not learned the chameleon art of trimming his opinions to suit the passing whims of the powers that be. Above all he was fixed and unalterable in his principles and fearless in their expression. These are very serious disqualifications for high office and he lost his chance, but all the same he is enthroned in our heart of hearts and his name is linked in our grateful recollection with the names some of the most illustrious of Anglo-Indian administrators. (Loud applause.) Sir, I must not detain you very long, (cries of 'go on.') You, Sir, have come to the rescue of our situation in the very nick of time, when some of us at any rate are prone to give way to a feeling of despondency. You have asked us to be of good cheer and to take heart. The courses of action are strong everywhere in England as well as in this country. Reaction is but an adjunct to progress and the darkest midnight is often the precursor of the most brilliant dawn. There is not the slightest doubt that the force of reaction will soon have exhausted itself and the force of progress will have triumphantly asserted itself. (Cheers.)

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Sir, the fact that one who recently in the responsible position of Governor of a Province has come to assume the responsibilities of the President of the Congress is a very significant fact. It is an open declaration by him that one who was so recently and so largely trusted by the Crown is of opinion that the Congress movement is not only a legitimate movement, but that it is the duty of Englishmen to sympathise in a practical manner with its great aims and purposes. Sir Henry Cotton's official career has come to a close but even a brighter career has been opened out which is fraught with splendid results. If at the present moment there is a strong body of English opinion condemning the Tibet Expedition and condemning the melancholy meanness of making India pay the expenses of that expedition, (cries of "shame") I have no doubt that the result is largely due to the persistent advocacy of Sir Henry Cotton and a few advocates of India in Parliament. Thanks to the Liberal electors of East Nottingham, by whom Sir Henry Cotton has been nominated a member for Parliament, we are grateful to that Liberal constituency, we hope and pray that he may be returned and that when he is returned he will not only be a member for East Nottingham but also a member for all India. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I do not accept for a moment the epigrammatic trash which Sir Henry Fowler uttered in the House of Commons. He said that every member of that House was a member for India. If that were so the fortune of this country would be very different (hear, hear) and the Budget would not be discussed before empty benches at the end of the sessions. But Sir Henry Cotton's case is a very different one. India has a large place in his affections. Indian concerns will claim a large share of his attention and the member for East Nottingham will be a member for all India. Such are the claims of the distinguished gentleman whose name I have submitted for your election I hope and trust that you will ratify that election with unanimous and enthusiastic acclamation. (Loud applause.)

Mr. C. Sankaran Nair, C. I. E., of Madras, seconded the proposition as follows:—I rise to speak a few words. After what my friend the Hon'ble Surendranath Bannerjee has just said, it will be idle for me to say anything about our President-Elect. His family has been connected for generations with India, (hear, hear,) and I am proud to tell you that we claim

him as a native of our Presidency. We of the Madras Presidency are no whit behind our brethren of Bengal in our appreciation of his high qualities and in our gratitude to him. There is nothing further to be said than that it gives me very great pleasure to second this proposition.

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The Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya in supporting the proposition observed:—I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution. I see you are anxious to hear the President and I will not say much; but there is just one idea which calls for expression. We are indebted for many things to the distinguished service, which is called the Indian Civil Service. We are not indebted to it for anything, more than having given to us a man like Sir William Wedderburn, and now Sir Henry Cotton (cheers.) I am sure, Gentlemen, there are many more in that distinguished service who sympathise with us and if they could speak out their minds many of them would be with us on this platform at this moment. The only wish we have to entertain is that more of them after retirement from service will give to this poor country the benefits of their experience, of their knowledge, their intimate knowledge of the people of this country, and work for the good of this poor country, as well as for the glory of England I heartily commend this proposition to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

The proposition was carried by acclamation midst loud cheers for Sir Henry Cotton.

The Hon'ble Sir P. M. Mehta then garlanded Sir Henry Cotton with a garland of silk and silver thread, specially prepared and sent from Jeypur to be presented to him. A purse containing about Rupees Four Thousand collected by the *Gujarati*, for the Congress, with a handsome and elegantly chased salver made in Gujrat, was presented to the President by the Editor, Mr. Icharam Suryaram Desai, amidst loud cheers and applause.

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Sir Henry Cotton who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, which lasted for nearly two minutes, said :—

DELEGATES TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It was well said by one of my predecessors in this chair that the Presidency of the Indian National Congress was the greatest honour that could be conferred by the people of India on one of their own countrymen. (Hear, hear.) I feel that the honour is even greater when it is bestowed on one who is not of your own race or country. I have good reason to be proud of the position in which you have placed me this afternoon. Although I must always be aware that one of your own body would more worthily and adequately discharge the functions of the office, (no, no,) and am conscious that it must be more appropriate for an Indian to preside at the Indian National Congress than an Englishman, I received your invitation to come here as the highest compliment you could pay me, and accepted it not only with a deep sense of responsibility, but also of gratitude and pride in this notable and public recognition of the humble services I have been able to render to India. (Applause)

### CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS.

This is the Twentieth Annual Session of the Indian National Congress, an organisation avowedly national in its name and scope. We meet for the furtherance and discussion of national interests. I see before me a vast number of delegates—the number is deliberately limited for convenience sake—representatives of every community, of every rank and profession, as well as religion,—met together are the political leaders of all parts of India. Here you are able to act in concert and to declare in no uncertain accents the common public opinion of the multitudes of whom you are the mouthpiece. You occupy a vantage ground of no mean eminence. Here are the voice and brain of the country. Here, before me, are gathered the representative citizens of a great nation. Yours is a position which no failure in your projects and no neglect of your advice can nullify. You are assembled together—highly trained Zoroastrians, wealthy and

energetic natives of Cutch and Guzerat, citizens of this splendid city who mould its destinies alike in commerce and in intellectual pursuits; brilliant and patriotic Mahrattas exulting in the glory of your past and your ancestors; Brahmins from Madras, with your keen and subtle intelligence; Babus from Bengal, strenuous and able; who rule and control public opinion from Peshawar to Chittagong; representatives from the Punjab and the United and Central Provinces; Hindus who are exercising an almost indescribable influence by virtue of the living Hinduism which lies at the heart of your national existence; and followers of Islam, comparatively less in numbers, but animated by the zeal and vigour and austerity which have always characterised the religious history of your race. (Applause.) We are met here in this great representative assembly to lay before the public and the Government a practical programme of policy which covers, I believe, most of the important political and economic problems of the Indian Empire. We do not pretend to prepare any such policy within these walls. The work of educating public opinion is carried on throughout the year, and year by year, by means of the Press and the proceedings of local political bodies and associations. The work is fostered by the pronouncements and speeches of representative Indians who are afforded the opportunity, rare and seldom though it be, of uttering their country's voice in the Council Chambers of the State. In these ways public opinion is formed, a national policy is framed, and in due course it is crystallised into a definite shape. It is our function at the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress to give united and authoritative expression to views on which there is already a consensus of opinion in the country. (Applause.) We are met to-day for such a purpose, and for this duty no organisation is more qualified and none could better be fitted than our own.

#### LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS.

The Indian National Congress has thus its own functions, which I take it upon myself to say, as a watchful eye-witness from its birth, it has discharged with exemplary fidelity, judgment, and moderation. Yours is a distinguished past. If you have not in any considerable measure succeeded in moulding the policy of Government, you have exercised an immense influence in developing the history of your country and the character of your country

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men. You have become a power in the land, and your voice peals like a trumpet-note from one end of India to the other. Your illustrious leaders have earned a niche in the Temple of Fame, and their memory will be cherished by a grateful posterity. Foremost among them I place the venerable figure of your grand old ex-President, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (loud and prolonged applause) who, now in the evening of his life, at the age of four-score years, applies himself with unremitting energy and patriotism to your cause. Among those who are lost to us, pre-eminent is Mahadeo Govind Ranade, (loud applause) the wise in counsel, whose death we do not cease to mourn. Nor will I omit the name of the late Manmohan Ghose, who has set before us a conspicuous example of practical and reconstructive effort. (Cheers.) We have still with us our distinguished Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, (loud applause) Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the first of our Presidents, Mr. Justice Budrudin Tyabji, Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee, and Messrs. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. (Applause.) Why need I mention more names? They are all household words, not only in this Congress camp, but in hall and hamlet, in the palace and in the cottage. Their leadership in India is ably supplemented by the labours of the British Committee of the Congress in England, and it is impossible to speak in terms of too high praise of the self-sacrificing devotion of Mr. Hume, and of Sir William Wedderburn, (loud applause) whom it is a pleasure and honour to welcome to-day in our midst. The name of Mr. Hume will always be associated with the origin and growth, the mingled triumphs and defeats of the Indian National Congress. Sir William Wedderburn's unrivalled familiarity with the details of Indian political work in the United Kingdom and his exceptional knowledge of the Bombay Presidency are of the utmost utility to us at the present time. (Applause.) The late Mr. William Digby was not a member of the British Committee, but he was an Englishman devoted in an extraordinary degree to Indian interests; his whole life, indeed, was given up to the cause of India, and I desire from this place to commemorate his services and to acknowledge the profound loss India has sustained by his death. (Loud applause).



Patience and perseverance, persistence in good repute and evil repute, earnestness and resolution, these are the attributes of the leaders of a national movement. I make bold to say that they are the qualities which your leaders possess. You may well be proud of them. (Cheers.) But the victory cannot be won by leaders only. It is for their followers to give them their loyal and undivided support. You cannot all be leaders. Captains and Generals are few in number; the plan of the campaign is designed by them, but success is assured by the obedience and discipline of the rank and file. I speak in no unfriendly spirit when I warn you of the risks you run by petty internal bickerings and dissension, by unworthy jealousies and ignoble depreciation of the life-long labours of the foremost men of your generation. It is here I lay my finger on the weakness of your organisation. These signs of frailty are natural, inevitable in the nascent growth of your movement. But they are none the less corroding and dangerous symptoms, the existence of which is undoubted, and which it is, at all costs, the duty of all of you who have the glow of patriotism in your hearts firmly to suppress and eradicate.

#### ENGLAND AND INDIA.

It is true that the reforms we advocate depend for the most part on their adoption by public opinion in England. Recall the case of Ireland! Internal agitation in Ireland was the necessary stepping-stone of reform, but by itself it accomplished little: it was only when Irish agitation forced itself upon English Liberal statesmen and was supplemented by a powerful phalanx of opinion in England, that any concessions were allowed to the sister island. And so it is in the case of India. The remedy for both countries is the same. The opportunity of a peaceful solution rests in both cases with the English people, who alone have it in their hands to effect a material modification in the attitude of Government through the pressure of public opinion from the Mother Country. In this lies the value of your British Committee in London. Perhaps you do not always recognise the services which have been rendered to your cause by the untiring exertions of the members of that Committee, who unceasingly place the Indian view of Indian affairs before the British public by means of Parliament, the Press, and the platform. (Loud cheers.) The work of this Committee

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deserves from you more generous support than it has received. It is from this point of view, also, that lies the importance of increasing the representation in Parliament of those who are not only possessed of an adequate knowledge of Indian affairs, but are also imbued with a hearty sympathy for the grievances and aspirations of the Indian people. You owe a deep debt of gratitude to those honourable members who are always willing to press Indian questions upon the House, of whom I would especially mention Messrs. Schwann and Roberts (cheers): Mr. Caine, alas! is lost to us; but I need not tell you that the number of men in the present House of Commons who combine this knowledge and sympathy may be counted on the fingers of one hand. Remember that it is in the House of Commons that the great questions on which the fate of India depends must be ultimately decided. (Hear, here.)

#### MEMBERS FOR INDIA.

We want more Members for India. Yes, indeed! But remember also that the use of that phrase cannot but ring a delusive note. Do not deceive yourselves or expect too much. We want to hear more of India in the House of Commons. We want members of the House who will devote themselves to India as an integral and not the least important part of the British dominions, as a portion of the Empire which is not directly represented, and calls, therefore, for their special attention; but we cannot expect from them that undivided devotion to Indian interests to which we are so accustomed in this country from our own leaders. Sir Henry Fowler once declared that all the members of the House of Commons were members for India, but this is the very apotheosis of cant, (shame) and we have only to be present in the gallery of the House when Indian questions are under discussion to realise that no statement could be further from the truth. India returns no representatives to Parliament; and even the most friendly members for Parliamentary constituencies are not returned to represent India in the House, but their own constituents. They never can be members for India in the strict sense of the expression, for the first claim upon a member of the House of Commons is, and always must be, held upon him by his constituents.

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Remember, also, what are the relations between the Imperial Parliament and the Indian Government. "It is not our business," said Mr. Gladstone on a memorable occasion, "to advise what machinery the Indian Government should use. It is our business to give to those representing Her Majesty's Government in India ample information as to what we believe to be sound principles of government. It is also the duty and function of this House to comment upon any case in which we think the authorities in India have failed to give due effect to those principles, but in the discharge of their high administrative functions, or as to the choice of means, there is no doubt that that should be left in their hands." These words convey a wise warning that the duty of England towards India is to form convictions on the general policy which should guide the Government and to stimulate and strengthen and control the authorities in putting them into practice. (Hear, hear.) They do not imply any abnegation of the responsibilities of Parliament for the good government of India, and there is little echo in them of the pitiful appeal of the Indian bureaucracy to preserve India from Parliamentary interference. But they are a timely reminder to us that the function of Parliament is not to make any attempt to extend its direct rule to India, and that the details of administration must be left to the local authorities, upon whom must rest the personal responsibility of giving effect to the general principles which are laid down for their guidance.

THE OPPORTUNITIES OF A GENERAL ELECTION.

All these are qualifications which it is necessary for us to bear in mind, but the great enduring fact remains that the Parliament of Great Britain and the people of England are the final arbiters of India's destinies. (Applause.) It is not in India itself that the fate of India will ultimately be determined. Those are blind, and worse than blind, who ignore or depreciate the importance of the work that devolves on your English associates and on the delegates whom you may send from India to educate and build up the growth of English public opinion in regard to India. The present is one of those critical periods that recur every few years. No one can say precisely when a General Election will take place. But everyone

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knows that it cannot be much longer delayed, and in all human probability the interval between the twentieth and twenty-first Congress will witness that great upheaval to which we are looking forward in party politics at home, the expulsion of the present Government from office and the formation of another in its place, the appointment of a Liberal Secretary of State for India, and the beginning of a period during which it is reasonable to expect, not only the undoing of many of the mistakes committed during ten dark years of reaction, but also some definite advance in the work of reconstruction. (Loud applause.) We stand at the parting of the ways. We see before us a period of hope of which for so long we have been unable to catch a gleam. But in order that this period may be rendered fruitful much will need to be done, and assuredly one of the first and most important things is that the Indian National Congress should clearly and emphatically put forward its proposals, organise and inspire its forces, and make all necessary preparations for an epoch-marking campaign.

#### THE GROWTH OF A NATIONAL SPIRIT.

What is the great political problem that lies before you? What is the real meaning of the movement which has brought you together to-day and animates your thoughts and action? It is the consciousness that your organisation is a national one, and that you are working together in the formation of a national movement with common sentiments of interest and patriotism. The different races, the numberless castes, classes, and creeds of India are welded together in your ranks. This is primarily the result of education, the inestimable boon which, in accordance with a noble and liberal policy, England has extended to India. It is education, and education on English methods and on the lines of Western civilisation, that has served to unite the varying forces among the Indian populations. The English language is the channel through which you are now able to meet on a common platform, and to give expression to your common interests and aspirations. At the same time the railways, the steamships, the post office, and the telegraph have played their part in closing the gap that used to keep the different provinces of India asunder. I rejoice to see that this great movement is fully recognised by your

countrymen. It advances by leaps and bounds. The unmistakable yearning for nationality finds its utterance through a newspaper Press which has now become a potent factor in your politics. (Loud applause.) I have watched the growth of this Press, rising, in little more than one generation, from struggling, obscure, and fitful efforts, into an organ of great power, criticising the measures of Government with remarkable independence and vigour, and continually checking the abuses of executive authority. I am not blind to its imperfections, but it is impossible not to admire the ability and patriotism with which it is conducted. The unanimity of this Press is as marked as the increase of its influence. (Applause.) The whole of its influence is in the direction of nationalisation. A single note is struck. In every large town in India newspapers are now published, identical in their spirit and in their common object, all aiming and converging at the formation of a single political ideal. (Applause.)

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The growth of a national spirit is the touchstone of your organisation. This assemblage of delegates to an Indian National Congress is the decisive evidence of a national movement. The growth of an Indian nation is the great political revolution that is working before our eyes. There is no doubt of its meaning, its character, or its destination. It involves the introduction of no anarchical element into India's future: there is no sign of any rupture with the past. We know, indeed, that the present form of British administration cannot be permanent. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, (applause) whose memory is still revered in this Presidency, where he ruled as Governor for eight years, wrote as long ago as 1850:—

“I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive, also, that the progress of education among the Natives renders such a scheme impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection.” (Applause.)

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Every thinking man must know that these words are true. But we know also that the connection between India and England will not be snapped. The English language, while it is the means of enabling you to attain unity, binds you also to Great Britain. The future of India is linked with that of England, and it is to England that India must always look for guidance, assistance, and protection in her need.

#### A COMPLEX PROBLEM.

We have to deal with a problem of extraordinary difficulty and complexity. We are face to face with a great upheaval which has revolutionised all departments of thought, inspired the aspirations of diverse communities, and infused the sense of nationality throughout a vast and surging empire. I have just quoted the words of a sagacious and eminent Anglo-Indian, uttered more than fifty years ago. I will supplement them by a quotation from one who is universally recognised as the greatest and most successful of Britain's pro-consuls. More than twenty years have now elapsed since Lord Cromer (cheers) said:—

“No one who watches the signs of the times in India with even moderate care can doubt that we have entered upon a period of change. The spread of education, the increasing influence of a free Press, the substitution of legal for discretionary administration, the progress of railways and telegraphs, the easier communication with Europe, and the more ready influx of European ideas, are beginning to produce a marked effect upon the people. New ideas are springing up. New aspirations are being called forth. The power of public opinion is growing daily. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of Government, and especially of a despotic Government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind. To move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still. The problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, raw and superficial as in many respects it is, so as to direct it into the right course, and to derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of ultimately conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference or stupid repression, a source of serious

political danger. It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man, that, after fifty years of free Press and thirty years of expending education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side, and old indigenous customs, habits and prejudices breaking down, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they have themselves called into being but which they have failed to guide and control." (Loud applause.)

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#### THE FUTILITY OF REACTION.

This quotation is a long one, but it is fraught with wisdom, and it is needless to say that, during the twenty years which have since elapsed, the conditions mentioned by Lord Cromer have developed with increasing rapidity. It is not within the power of any man to obstruct the tide of progress, otherwise than for a time, by a policy of reaction. (Hear, hear.) The period of Lord Ripon, (loud cheers) and of his Finance Minister, (continued cheers) who is now Lord Cromer, has been well described as the Golden Age of Indian reformers, when the aspirations of the people were encouraged, education and local self-government were fostered, and the foundations of Indian nationality were firmly laid. (Applause.) The natural trend of official opinion has been to assert itself in a reactionary outburst against this development, disparaging the vantage ground acquired in the past. (Shame.) We are told that the salvation of India is not to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, that there are many other fields of usefulness and power which lie around the citadel of politics, and that when these fields are occupied the entrance to real political life will be easy, natural, and safe. We read in the columns of the *Times*: "We must wearily retrace our steps and devote our energies to educating the Indians in character and common sense. Then, and not till then, can we put them out into the polytechnic of local self-government." We must wait, forsooth, for a working reality "until gene-

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rations of really educated Indians have come and gone." (Ironical laughter.) We are told that the weakness and limitations of the newly-educated classes are now more clearly perceived, and that the complexities of the problems of Oriental politics are more distinctly realised. These are the commonplaces of reaction. They are the arguments of Mr. Noodle in his fatuous oration by Sydney Smith. (Loud laughter.) But it is not by indulgence in such vague generalities that the current of advance can be stemmed. (A Voice—"No, never.") Of what avail is it to disparage Burke and Macaulay and Bright, Ripon, Cromer, and Elphinstone? You cannot withstand the flowing tide. Temporary spasms of reaction are inevitable. They pass away like footprints on the sand, and we need not trouble ourselves too much with vexatious aberrations from the path of progress. They will be quickly forgotten. I have seen signs among you of depression, and have noticed a tendency to submit with resignation to the policy of a *regime* which affords no encouragement to your aspirations. I am not surprised at these symptoms, but assuredly you have little cause for giving way to a sense of despondency. It is not reserved to any human agency to set back the dial of time. The result of reaction is always to galvanise into fresh life. Be vigilant, therefore, be hopeful; be of good cheer and of a gladsome countenance. Relax not your efforts, for the waves of progress are irresistibly dashing against the breakwater of prejudice, and even now the day is dawning which Macaulay declared would be the proudest day of England's history. (Loud applause.)

#### THE IDEAL OF INDIA'S FUTURE.

Let us accustom ourselves to the conception which the realisation of a national spirit in India involves. The present form of British administration cannot survive the fulfilment of those national tendencies which the British Government itself has brought into existence. But India is bound to England as England is to India. England has incurred liabilities not lightly to be set aside, and she should no more break from her past than should India break from the traditions of her history. It was lately declared by a high authority that he could not conceive of a time as remotely possible in which it would be either practic-



able or desirable that Great Britain should take her hand from the Indian plough. But such is not my conception of India's future. An abrupt retreat would, indeed, be advocated by no one, and the process of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means. Many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But it is a policy which we should always keep before our eyes. Indian patriots look back on their past with a just sense of pride, and they know that India will again take her own rank among the nations of the East. They are striving for the attainment of this ideal which however it may be delayed or marred in execution is sure in the event. (Loud applause.)

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Autonomy is the keynote of England's true relations with her great Colonies. It is the keynote also of India's destiny. It is more than this: it is the destiny of the world. (Hear, hear.) The tendency of Empire in the civilised world is in the direction of compact autonomous States which are federated together and attached by common motives and self-interest to a central power. You have already local legislatures, in which a certain measure of representation has been granted to the Indian people. A small concession has been made in this direction, but it is wholly inadequate to meet growing demands. In the cautious and gradual development of representation, in the increase of your power and influence in India itself, involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, we shall find the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal for Indian aspirations. It was the dream of John Bright, and he indulged in no mere mystic prophecy when he foresaw that India would fulfil her ultimate destinies by a process of evolution, out of which she would emerge, not through force or violence as an independent State, or torn from the Mother Country, or abandoned to England's enemies, but as a federated portion of the dominion of the great British Empire. The ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate States, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing Colonies, each with its own local autonomy, cemented together under the ægis of Great Britain. That is a forecast of a future, dim and distant though it be, the gradual

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This is our ideal of India's future. The process of reconstruction should be always before our eyes. Changes may, and should, be gradual, but they must come, and we should prepare ourselves for their realisation. Statesmanship consists in foreseeing, and we are all of us the better for the exercise of forethought. Familiarise yourselves, therefore, with a conception of India's future, which gathers as it grows, and insensibly attracts into the political evolution all other great problems of economic and social reform which are awaiting solution. (Applause.)

#### THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

What is your economic problem? It is the poverty of your people. No one who considers the economic condition of India can doubt that one of its greatest evils is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people are dependent upon the cultivation of the soil. The establishment of large industries capitalised by Englishmen affords but a poor compensation for the variety of indigenous industries once spread through the country. An India supplying England with its raw products and dependent upon the West for all its more important manufactures, is not a condition of affairs which an Indian patriot can contemplate with equanimity. I may be allowed to appropriate the words which have been uttered by your distinguished Viceroy in another connection. "There is no spectacle which finds less favour in my eyes than that of a cluster of Europeans settling down upon a foreign country and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people." India is the field where British capital is invested, but all the interest that is reaped therefrom passes to the pocket of the investor, and he takes it to England. This is a part of the economic drain which has been sneered at as a "copy-book fallacy" and as "a foolish and dangerous illusion." But how can it be denied that it would be vastly more beneficial to India if the wealth produced in the country were spent in the country? India is poor, and there are those who believe that in consequence of its political conditions it is becoming poorer; but

the ambition of your people is to take their place among other nations in the future federation of the world. Your opposition to the exploitation of your country by foreigners is based upon a conviction that this exploitation is a real obstacle to your progress, and you do not need to be assured by me that the prosperity of your country depends on the diminution of its economic drain and on the conservation of its resources for ultimate development by indigenous agency. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to recognise the growing tendency of Indians to help themselves. The death of Mr. Tata (applause) was an irreparable loss, but there are others, stimulated by his example, who will strive to take his place. The Industrial Exhibitions in connection with the annual meetings of our Congress are a satisfactory evidence of the tendency of which I speak. The difficulties are immense, for the essential difficulty always hinges on the disagreeable truth that there can be no revival of Indian industry without some displacement of British industry. (Hear, hear.) But the first steps have been taken, and a start made by Indian capitalists. The beginnings are small, very small at present, but like the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand they may grow and swell with a full promise of abundance. It rests with you to see that the present impetus does not flag or dissipate itself in idle words.

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#### THE PROBLEM OF WESTERN INFLUENCES ON THE EAST.

Look at Japan! The force which has made Japan what she is is an absorbing patriotism derived from, and dependent on, her national existence. It is based on collective action which independence alone can give. What an inspiration is afforded by the character of these Eastern islanders! What an example have they not set to the East of the power of a patriotic spirit! The conditions in India do not point to any early renaissance such as we have witnessed in Japan. But the changes that are taking place among you are as remarkable in their social, moral, and religious relations as in their political and economic aspects, and your nascent nationalism is the magnet which holds together the solvent influences of Western civilisation let loose on the simple society of the East. Under the immediate effect of these influences, your old organisations are crumbling up, and you have entered upon a long period of transi-

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tion preparatory to the establishment of a new order. The result of English education has been to break the continuity of centuries, and the problem now is to bridge over the period of disorder with the least disturbance. Official interference was unavoidable in the first instance—in no other way could a beginning have been made but the educational movement in India now stands in need of no such stimulus. It is in matters of education more than any other that the people of the country have become ripe for self-government. (Hear, hear.) Systematic education is already falling into the hands of private enterprise. The time has come for the Government to transfer its educational endowments to the custody of those who have been educated through them. The present system of University education should be reconstituted on a representative basis. A policy which proposes to knit together still tighter the bonds of official control is absolutely retrograde. (Hear, hear.) It has been condemned by every section of Indian opinion; and though it may temporarily prevail it will be as evanescent as it is unsound. It is only through the educated members of your own community that it will be possible to guide your countrymen at large so as to ensure that the changes which are being wrought by contact with the West shall be effected without danger and in a healthy manner. It is reserved for you to link the present with the past and to introduce modifications with the regard to the antecedents which always must powerfully affect the environment in which you are placed. The problem of grafting Western ideas on to an Oriental stock is now ready for solution in the only way in which a successful solution is possible, by means of Orientals who, having been thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of Western civilisation, have at the same time not lost sight of the traditions of their past.

#### THE KEYNOTE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.

I will not dwell on the constitutional modifications, the administrative changes, which were foreshadowed by Lord Cromer twenty years ago. You will dilate on many of these in the discussion of the resolutions which it will be my duty to submit for the approval of this Congress. These resolutions will be transmitted by me for the consideration of the Government of India. We can-

not tell what consideration they may there receive. A bureaucratic Government is not likely to under-estimate the value of any administrative reform which it puts forward of its own initiative or the urgency of the call for its introduction. But when the proposed reforms are pressed on them from outside and affect their own constitution, we need have no apprehension of undue haste or injudicious eagerness to accept them. Of this at least we are conscious, that our proposals are worthy of consideration, for they bear the hall mark of Indian public opinion and will be endorsed by the organs of your educated countrymen throughout the length and breadth of India. The keynote of administrative reform is the gradual substitution of Indian for European official agency. (Hear, hear.) This is the one end towards which you are concentrating your efforts, and the concession of this demand is the only means of satisfying the most reasonable of your legitimate aspirations. Lord Ripon justly urged on behalf of his scheme of local self-government that it would be an instrument of political education. (Loud applause.) And it may be as truly said that if we desire to eventually establish an independent Government we can only do so by training the people to a sense of self-help and self-reliance through familiarity with the details, as well as the principles, of executive administration. We pray that our rulers may be endowed with this desire. It is no unworthy aim that we hold out to them for fulfilment. It is a title to glory all their own that they found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of subjection, and have so ruled them as to make them desirous of all the privileges of citizenship. (Cheers.) But however great may be their energy and activity in working through an official agency, it counts as dross if they lack the higher genius of educating the people by making them work for themselves, of evoking their powers by affording them opportunities for their exercise, and of raising them from a condition of mere passive subjection to a capacity for the discharge of higher responsibilities. A nation is the best administered which can manage its own concerns with the least aid from Government; and no system of administration can be progressive or beneficial which crushes out the self-reliance of the people and blights their legitimate aspirations to realise their destiny through their own exertions. (Hear, hear.)

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RECONSTITUTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE AND THE SEPARATION  
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To meet this end the complete reconstitution of the Indian Civil Service is necessary. It is surprising how little change there has been in the form of administration in India during the past century. The character of the Civil Service has been theoretically unchanged. It is a fine old service, of which I, of all men, have reason to speak with respect. It has enrolled within its ranks men of whom the Mother Country may well be proud. It is, however, a form of administration both bureaucratic and autocratic, and an organisation suited only to a government by foreigners. It has been perceptibly weakening from its inherent inapplicability to an environment where changes are becoming rapid. It must pass away, after a prolonged period of magnificent work, to be replaced by a more popular system which shall perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects. The Government should now find expression in a form of administration more representative and less concentrated in individuals. The principles of administration for which we are indebted to Lord Ripon have paved the way for this reform, and centralisation is already giving way to local self-government. (Applause.) In the natural course of things administrative officers must be chosen more and more from the permanent residents of the locality. The injurious custom of constant transfers and changes will then cease. The interests of efficiency and economy will alike be served by the appointment of Indians on the spot to perform functions for which we now import foreigners from Europe and Indians brought from every other part of the province than that in which they are employed. (Hear, hear.) In the judicial branch of the service reorganisation is immediately required. The members of the Civil Service, when very young and very ignorant of the language, are vested with magisterial powers beyond comparison greater than those possessed by corresponding functionaries under any civilised Government, and it would be strange indeed if they were not led into occasional errors and sometimes into abuse of power. It is the system that is to blame. There is no longer any reason why, over the greater part of India, important judicial functions should be discharged by persons of immature years, and it is a crying

reform in regard to the administration of justice (in all but backward tracts where the patriarchal system must still prevail) that only those persons should be vested with judicial powers whose age, training, and experience afford a guarantee for the proper exercise of authority. Patience and discrimination, respect for the forms of law, rigid imperviousness to rumour and to outside report—these are some of the qualifications which are the essential attributes of the judicial office. There is no stage in the career of a civilian which affords him the opportunity for their acquisition. The whole training of an Indian civilian unfits him for judicial work. The remedy lies in the complete separation of the judicial from the executive service, and judicial appointments should be reserved, as they are in other countries, for members of the legal profession who are trained to undertake the duties attaching to them. In no other way would the separation be really complete, and by no other process of selection is it possible to secure the proper discharge of judicial functions. (Applause.)

#### ENLARGEMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

The greatest of the administrative reforms which have been effected in India since Lord Ripon's time is the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on a partially representative basis. (Loud applause.) I congratulate the Indian National Congress on the no inconsiderable share of which it may boast in the accomplishment of this reform. The India Councils Act, which was passed in 1892, has operated to the general satisfaction of the public and to the advantage of Government. But it was not a perfect measure, and it labours under defects which no amount of tactfulness or happy give-and-take on the part of Provincial Governors or elected members can obviate. It is impossible to give adequate representation to a Province containing many millions of inhabitants in a Council of only twenty members. It is necessary, therefore, to enlarge the Councils. It is expedient also to secure their stability and dignity by including in their constitution those noblemen whose position and status in the country entitle them to be recognised as legislators. We ought never to lose sight of the fact that India, in spite of all its changes, is, and always has been, an aristocratic and conservative country, and that any attempt to democratise Indian institutions is calculated to result in failure.

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The adoption of a scheme for enlarged Councils on a really representative basis would not only afford satisfaction to the educated classes of the community, but it would gratify and conciliate the nobility and ensure for them a share in the responsibilities of administration commensurate to their rank.

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It is necessary also to increase the power of these Councils, especially in regard to matters of finance. At present a budget is submitted to them for their information, and they are entitled to criticise it, but they have no power to control or vote against its provisions. Vast sums of money are annually spent on enterprises which exclusively affect your interests, but your representatives possess no check whatever over the outlay, and as there is none in Parliament so it is the more necessary that it should be exercised in India itself. I will take a concrete case: the cost of the Tibetan expedition. When Mr. Brodriek was lately challenged in the House of Commons on this question, he exclaimed that those should pay the piper who called the tune. Was there ever a grosser travesty or more mischievous misuse of this familiar proverb? (Shame, shame.) I think we know who called the tune. It was certainly not the people of India. Is there a single man in this vast representative assembly who would hold himself in the smallest degree responsible for undertaking or recommending that expedition? There is not one. (A Voice "No.") The people of India are, and were, unanimously opposed to it. I speak for you all. There is not one of you who does not unreservedly condemn this act of wanton violence and aggression, and who does not deplore the ruthless slaughter of imperfectly armed monks and simple shepherds, "whose bones lie scattered on the mountains cold," and whose only offence consisted in their resisting invasion and disarmament in their own country. (Hear, hear.) And yet, in spite of universal protest, the whole of this expedition, which was undertaken to increase Britain's trade and establish what is described as Imperial prestige in Central Asia, is imposed upon the overburdened and poverty-stricken people of India. (Shame.) I can recall many instances of financial injustice which have been perpetrated in the



interests of England in her dealings with this country, but none more indefensible and impossible to justify in a properly constituted Council.

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#### THE PROPOSED PARTITION OF BENGAL.

A word, too, I wish to say on a subject which is so justly agitating the minds of my old friends in Bengal; I allude to the proposed partition of that province. We shall recognise that this is a matter of more than local interest when we recall that the sinister aspect of the proposal is to shatter, if it be possible to do so, the unity, and to undermine the feelings of solidarity which are so happily established among the members of a compact and national branch of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) The idea of the severance of the oldest and most populous and wealthy portion of the province and the division of its people into two arbitrary sections has given a profound shock to the Bengali race. I do not think I ever remember popular sentiment to have been more deeply stirred than it has been by this scheme for the separation of one-half of Bengal from the capital of the province and its amalgamation with Assam. It has been suggested that there should be a new Lieutenant-Governorship with all its expensive paraphernalia of a large secretariat and separate departments; a scheme which is not without its attraction to the members of an autocratic bureaucracy who see before them the prospect of additional offices and emoluments. But it is repugnant to the last degree to the inhabitants of the country affected, who are aghast at the idea of their exclusion from a province to which they are attached by all historic material, social and sentimental associations. I admit that it is desirable to relieve the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from some of the responsibilities which rest upon his shoulders. But this end may easily be attained by other means; either by the appointment of an Executive Council, or, preferably I think, by the separation of Behar, which is not peopled by Bengalis, and the constitution of that province, with a population of twenty millions in round numbers, as a separate administration with its own chief Commissioner. It would be easy to devise a scheme which would not receive the unanimous disapproval of the affected population. To press on proposals such as those which have been put forward for the break up of Bengal against the loudly expressed wishes and

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sentiments of the Bengali people can only be described as a most arbitrary and unsympathetic evidence of irresponsible and autocratic statesmanship. (Hear, hear.) I am convinced that a Liberal Secretary of State would never sanction such proposals, and I fervently trust that the Government of India, in the exercise of their own good sense and better feeling, will not shrink from abandoning a project so universally condemned.

#### INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

I will add another protest on the question of Indians in South Africa. We do not forget that Lord Lansdowne, a few weeks after the outbreak of the Boer war, in his dual capacity of Secretary of State for War and ex-Viceroy of India, assured a Sheffield audience that of all the misdeeds of the Boers none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of British Indians; and that he went so far as to paint a lurid picture of the political evils which might have been expected to follow in India itself if England had failed to put an end to such insolent injustice. It was on these grounds that the war was justified to the British public. In this way hope was afforded that at the close of the war the anti-Indian policy of the Boers would be reversed. But has it been reversed? Far from it. Peace having been secured, the British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with British vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with Indian colonists their little finger has been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had chastised with whips, they have chastised with scorpions. Fortunately, your fellow-countrymen were not dismayed; they lost no opportunity of asserting their rights, and their efforts have at last been rewarded by a decision of the Supreme Court which has vindicated their claim to trade in any part of the Transvaal. The response to this has been an official agitation to set aside this decision by legislation, and in a despatch to his Majesty's Government, Lord Milner actually writes: "I think that to attempt to place coloured people on an equality with white in South Africa is wholly impracticable, and that, moreover, it is in principle wrong." What a hopeless attitude is indicated in these words! Before the war Indians were free to enter the country without re-

restriction or payment of registration fee, residence in any part of the Republic was permitted, and freedom to travel was allowed. Under British rule no immigration is permitted other than under severe restrictions (shame) and the payment of an annual registration fee of £3; all Indians, excepting those who pass an educational test in a language other than their own, are compelled to reside in locations, and a vexatious system of photographic passes has been established without warrant in law; inoperative Boer enactments have been brought into force and rendered more stringent by Ordinances or executive orders, and British Indians have been offensively classed in legislation with Hottentots. (Loud Cries of "Shame, shame.") These are the grievances, of which we complain, and I rejoice to think that a resolution protesting against them will be framed by this Congress, which, I venture to hope, will strengthen the hands of the Government of India in withstanding the further perpetration of avoidable wrong.

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#### CONCLUSION.

I am now bringing my remarks to a conclusion. We have good grounds for hope. The foundations of the future have been laid, and a superstructure is arising upon them. Skill, care, and forethought are needed: enthusiasm tempered by prudence in the construction of the edifice, liberality and largeness of conception in the design. You are the nucleus of a movement the power of which grows every day, and already supplies the most potent impulse in inspiring, instructing, and controlling the varied forces upon which the future of India depends. It has been the labour of my life to endeavour to ameliorate the relations between rulers and the ruled, to soften asperities, and to evoke confidence and respect through sympathy. (Cheers.) My position among you to-day is an evidence that I have not altogether failed. I have carried on the golden lamp to those who shall come after me. I have never despaired of the present or doubted of the success which is destined eventually to crown your efforts. But it is upon yourselves that you must rely for the initiation and development of schemes which depend, in their systematic application and fulfilment, upon the local source from which they emanate. You are not without the noblest stimulus to co-operate with heart and soul in the great work that lies before you. The memory of the dead is with us

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at this hour. May the memories of Ram Mohun Roy and Dayanund, the energising labours of Kisto Das Pal, of Telang and Ranade, whose names we have inscribed with reverential love on the roll of Indian patriots, infuse into your hearts the zeal and strength to devote your own lives to the service of your country. Strive to show yourselves constantly worthy of your cause. (Loud applause.) You have incurred grave responsibilities: do not shrink from the honest endeavour to discharge them worthily.

" We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths ;  
In feelings, not in figures on a dial ;  
We should count life by heart-throbs. He most lives  
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

Labour each in your own sphere, as you are bound to do, to hand on to your successors the large endowments you have received, augmented and improved by your own exertions. Be tolerant towards all. And especially take to heart the need of brotherly feeling towards one another and of a spirit of veneration and gratitude to your leaders in this national movement. Remember that moral improvement is the only source of real unity, and as such of dignity as well as happiness. (Vociferous and prolonged cheers.)

Sir Henry Cotton then asked the assembled Delegates to select their representatives for the Subjects' Committee. The following is a list of the names of Delegates who eventually formed that Committee :—

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### MEMBERS OF THE SUBJECTS' COMMITTEE.

**Subjects'  
Committee.**

#### I.—Bombay

The Hon'ble Sir Pheroze Shah M. Mehta, K.C.I.E.  
 „ Mr. Daji Abaji Khure, B.A., LL.B.  
 „ Mr. Hari Sitaram Dikshit, B.A., LL.B.  
 „ Mr. Gokuldass Kahandass Parekh, B.A., LL.B.  
 „ Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B.  
 Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Esq.  
 Sir Bhalechandra Krishna, Kt., L.M.  
 Khan Bahadur Muncherji C. Murzban, C.I.E., M.I.C.E.

Narayen Vishnu Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B.  
 Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B.  
 Kazi Kabirudin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 Amiruddin Tyabji, Esq.  
 Husain B. Tyabji, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 H. A. Wadya, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thackersi.  
 Jahangirji Bomanji Dinshaw Petit, Esq.  
 Bhaishanker Nanabhai, Esq.  
 Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, Esq., M.A., LL.B.  
 Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarkal Desai, M.A., LL.B.  
 Lallubhai Asharam Shah, Esq., M.A., LL.B.  
 Jaffer Rahimtulla, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B.A., C.I.E.  
 Narotam Morarji Gokuldas, Esq.  
 Dharamsi Morarji Gokuldas, Esq.  
 Narayen Mahadev Samarth, Esq., B.A., LL.B.  
 Vijbhukandas Atmaram, Esq.  
 Lallubhai Samaldas, Esq.  
 Damoder Ganesh Padhye, Esq., M.A.  
 Dr. Nanabhoy Naoroji Katruck, L. M. & S.  
 Vishvanath P. Vaidya, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law.  
 Rustum Pherozechah Modi, Esq., M.A.  
 Dr. Kavasji Edulji Dadachanji, L. M. & S.  
 N. A. Wagh, Esq.  
 Dr. Dinanath Balkrishna Naik Dandekar, L. M. & S.  
 Ali Mahomed Bhimji, Esq.  
 N. B. Ranade, Esq., B.A.  
 V. S. Pimpulkar, Esq. (Thana)  
 K. T. Karulkar, Esq.  
 Rao Saheb Mallappa Basappa Varad, (Sholapur) Merchant.  
 Bal Gangadar Tilak, Esq., B.A., LL.B.  
 Narsinh C. Kelkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.  
 Hari Narayen Apte, Esq., B.A. (Poona.)  
 L. R. Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Poona.)  
 N. A. Dravid, Esq., (Poona.)  
 R. P. Karandikar, Esq., (Poona.)  
 Ganesh Ballal Phansalker, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Satara.)

**First Day.**  
**Subjects'**  
**Committee.**

**First Day.****Subjects'  
Committee.**

- Rao Bahadur Vithal Narayan Phatak, M.A., (Satara.)  
 Nilkanth Pandurang Patankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Satara.)  
 Vishwanath Gangadhar Ketkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Nasik.)  
 Vaman Sakharan Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Nasik.)  
 V. R. Natu, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Nasik.)  
 S. A. Chatre, Esq., (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 M. B. Marathe, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 N. T. Datar, Esq., B.A., (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 D. V. Belvi, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 Ranji G. Naik, Esq., (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 Hanmant Govind Sabnis, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Belgaum and  
 Canara.)  
 Dr. C. P. Boyce, L.M. & S. (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 R. G. Khote, Esq., (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 Pundlikrao Narayan Pandit, Esq., (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 Bhinrao Gopalrao Riti, Esq., (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 Vasudev Venkatesh Kallati, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Belgaum and  
 Canara.)  
 Ramchandra B. Karandikar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Belgaum and  
 Canara.)  
 Balvantrao M. Betdur, Esq., (Belgaum and Canara.)  
 Annacharya K. Katti, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Dharwar.)  
 K. A. Dixit, Esq., (Dharwar.)  
 Dr. Wamanrao Baji Kulkarni, (Dharwar.)  
 S. K. Alatekar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Kolhapur.)  
 G. R. Abyankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Sangli.)  
 V. K. Mainker, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Kolhapur.)  
 A. V. Patwardhan, Esq., B.A., (Kolhapur.)  
 G. B. Dewal, Esq., (Kolhapur.)  
 Shivabhai Motibhai Patel, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Ahmedabad.)  
 Jivanlal Varajrai Desai, Esq., B.A., (Ahmedabad.)  
 Dr. Joseph Benjamin Bomalkar, (Ahmedabad.)  
 Ramanabhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Ahmed-  
 abad.)  
 Chunilal Keshavlal Shah, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Ahmedabad.)  
 Ardeshir Kavasji Setna, (Ahmedabad.)  
 Mulchand Asharam Shah, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Ahmedabad.)  
 Dr. Jannadas Premchand, L. M. & S., (Ahmedabad.)  
 Govindrao Apaji Patil, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Ahmedabad.)

Gokuldas D. Talathi, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Ahmedabad.)  
 Uttamlal Keshavlal Trivedi, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Ahmedabad.)  
 Thakurlal Harilal Desai, Esq., (Ahmedabad.)  
 Nathubhai Motichand Shah, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Ahmedabad)  
 Balkrishna B. Joshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Surat.)  
 Harjiwan Bhagwanji Shukla, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Kathiawar.)  
 Bhagwanji Anopchand, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Kathiawar.)  
 Amritlal R. Baxi, Esq., (Kathiawar.)  
 Tahilram Khemchand, Esq., B.A., LL.B., C.I.E., (Karachi.)  
 Harischandra Rai Vishandas, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Karachi.)  
 Hiranand Khemsingh, Esq. (Sindh.)  
 Mathuradas Ramachand, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Sindh.)  
 Lalchand Navalrai, Esq. (Sindh.)  
 Kundandas, Esq. of Sukkur (Sindh.)  
 V. Madanjit, Esq. (South Africa.)  
 B. B. Deshpande, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Ahmadnagar.)  
 G. K. Chitale, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Ahmadnagar.)  
 Nathu Narsey, Esq. (Shahada in Khandesh.)  
 Hardeoram Nanabhai Haridass, Esq. (Surat.)  
 Matubhoy Motilal Desai, Esq. (Surat.)  
 Markand Nandsbanker Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Surat.)  
 Thakuram Kapilram Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Surat.)  
 Manubhoy Nanabhoy, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Surat.)  
 Motilal M. Munshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Surat.)  
 Chunilal M. Ghandhi, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Surat.)  
 Nandavadan K. Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Surat.)  
 Prasanvadan M. Desai, Esq. (Surat.)  
 Dullabhji R. Desai, Esq. (Surat.)

**First Day.**

**Subjects'  
Committee.**

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**Bengal.**

H. E. A. Cotton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 Surendranath Bannerjee, Esq.  
 J. Ghosal, Esq.  
 The Hon'ble Babu Baikunth Nath Sen, (Berhampur.)  
 The Hon'ble Babu Ambica Charan Muzumdar, (Faridpur.)  
 A. Chowdari, Esq. (Berhampur.)  
 The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu.

**First Day.****Subjects'  
Committee.**

Nilratan Sircar, Esq. (Behrampur.)  
 Prithvis Chandra Roy, Esq. (Behrampur.)  
 Ramani Mohun Dass, Esq. (Sylhett.)  
 Radha Shyan Dass, Esq. (Balisore.)  
 Gopunesha Roy, Esq. (Cuttack.)  
 Janokynath Bose, Esq. (Cuttack.)  
 Harrish Chandra Ghose, Esq. (Cuttack.)  
 Jogendra Nath Mukherji, Esq. (Purnea)  
 Jamevi Nath Marlib, Esq. (Midnapur.)  
 Peary Lalal Ghose, Esq. (Midnapur.)  
 Nanda Gopal Bhadni, Esq. (Krishnayam.)  
 Charan Chandra Bose, Esq. (Bhawlpore.)  
 Shri Mohun Thakhar, Esq. (Bhawlpore.)  
 L. N. Bezhanese, Esq. (Assam.)  
 B. C. Borvara, Esq. (Assam.)  
 Bipin Chandra Pal, Esq. (Assam.)  
 Bujasdar K. Ray Chowdry, Esq. (Assam.)  
 Jonarnedranath Charan, Esq. (Assam.)  
 Nagendranath Chowdari, Esq. (Khalsa)  
 Kulader Katra Ghose, Esq. (Dinajpur.)  
 Gopal Chandra Mukerji, Esq. (Dinajpur.)  
 Heramba Charan Moitra, Esq. (Dinajpur.)  
 Krishna K. Moitra, Esq. (Dinajpur.)  
 Levdimotra Ghose, Esq. (Dinajpur.)  
 Durga Parasad Bose, Esq. (Shahabad.)  
 Benoy K. Bose, Esq. (Shahabad.)  
 Rangal Chandra Lahiri, Esq. (Shahabad.)  
 Bhobani Kanta Das, Esq. (Dhubri, (Assam.)  
 Hemchandra Sircar, Esq., M.A. (Dhubri, Assam.)  
 Abdul Kassim, Esq. (Dhubri, Assam.)  
 Budrinath Upadhyay, Esq. (Dhubri, Assam.)  
 Premanati Chatterji, Esq. (Dhubri, Assam.)  
 Hal Sunker Sakal, Esq. (Dhubri, Assam.)  
 Kedamath Das Chittagong, Esq. (Dhubri, Assam.)  
 Haramto Ghose, Esq. (Barisal.)  
 Sir Gobenedi Roy, Esq. (Barisal.)  
 Jadul Gobindar, Esq. (Barisal.)  
 Nishikardi Tangal, Esq. (Barisal.)



Parbati Sanker Roy, Esq. (Barisal.)  
 Hari Nesha Roy Chowdari, Esq. (Cuttuk.)  
 Chandra Karta Beg Bami, Esq. (Cuttuk.)  
 Jogesh A. Ghose, Esq. (Cuttuk.)  
 Rusukh N. Chakrabati, Esq. (Cuttuk.)  
 Bureswar, Esq. (Cuttuk.)  
 M. P. L. Roy, Esq. (Cuttuk.)  
 Harendra Chandra Sinha, Esq. (Sylhett.)  
 Bhagalent Prasad Mahajapatri. (Sylhett.)

First day.

Subjects'  
 Committee.

III.—Madras.

G. Subramani Iyer, Esq., B.A. (Salem.)  
 C. Vijaya Raghava Chariar, Esq., B.A. (Salem.)  
 N. Subarao, Esq., B.A. (Salem.)  
 M. Viragrahava Chariar, Esq., B.A. (Salem.)  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Shivaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L. (Salem.)  
 V. Krishna Swami Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L. (Salem.)  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Deshikachariar, B.A., B.L. (Salem.)  
 V. R. Numbyar, Esq. (Salem.)  
 The Hon'ble Mr. G. Shrinivas Rao, B.A., B.L. (Salem.)  
 K. Peraju, Esq. (Salem.)  
 The Hon'ble Mr. L. A. Govind Raghava Iyer, B.A., B.L.  
 (Salem.)  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L. (Salem.)  
 Rao Bahadur Sheshgir Rao.  
 P. N. Raman Pillay, Esq.  
 V. Masilamani Pillay, Esq.  
 S. Palani Andy Mudeliar, Esq.  
 K. R. V. Krishnarao, Esq.  
 N. V. Desikachariar, Esq.  
 S. E. Parthi Sarathi Nayader, Esq.  
 N. K. Ramswami Iyer, Esq.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Vyankatrao, B.A.  
 G. A. Natesan, Esq.  
 M. Vyankateshwar Rao, Esq.  
 K. B. Ramanath Iyer, Esq.  
 G. Krishnama Chariar, Esq. (Hydrabad.)  
 Narsinva Iyer, Esq. (Salem.)

First Day.

Subjects'  
Committee.

Tulshiram, Esq.  
Shriniwas Shastri, Esq.  
Shriniwas A. Iyer, Esq. (Coimbatore.)  
Vyankatram Iyer, Esq. (Madura.)  
G. V. Rao, Esq.  
Hanamant Rao, Esq.

IV.—United Provinces.

Pandit Motilal Neban, (Allahabad.)  
S. Sinha, Esq. (Allahabad.)  
Ramanath Chatterji, Esq. (Allahabad.)  
Durga Charan Bannerjee, Esq. (Allahabad.)  
C. Y. Chintamaui, Esq. (Allahabad.)  
Baldev Ram Dave, Esq. (Allahabad.)  
The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., LL.B.  
(Allahabad.)  
Bhagwandin Dabe, Esq. (Allahabad.)  
T. B. Sapru, Esq. (Allahabad.)  
Baldeva Das, Esq. (Benares.)  
Jagal Kishore, Esq. (Benares.)  
Pandit Ighal Narin, (Benares.)  
Sakhabir Sinha, Esq. (Muzaffurrabad.)

V.—Oudh.

A. P. Sen, Esq.  
Babu Ramachandra, Esq.  
Gokranpati Musa, Esq.  
Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, Esq. (Lucknow.)  
Babu Gopal Lal Varma, Esq.  
Babu Oudh Behari Varma, Esq.  
Dr. H. D. Pant Varma.

VI.—Allgarh.

S. Fazal Hasan, Esq., B.A.  
Babu Sundarlal, Esq. (Fysabad.)  
P. N. Sapru, Esq. (Fysabad.)  
Khare, Esq. (Cawnpore.)

## VII.—Serar &amp; Central Provinces.

First Day.

Subjects'  
Committee.

- Rao Bahadur Rajasam Sitaram Dixit, (Cawnpore.)  
 Mahadeo K. Padhye, Esq., B.A., B.L. (Cawnpore.)  
 Dr. H. S. Gour, (Cawnpore.)  
 Bijay Chandra Muzumdar, Esq. (Cawnpore.)  
 Hari Waman Kelkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Cawnpore.)  
 V. G. Joshi, Esq. (Cawnpore.)  
 Mohini Mohan Chakravarti, Esq., Barrister-at-law (Cawnpore.)  
 D. N. Chudhari, Esq. (Cawnpore.)  
 W. B. Lakhey, Esq. (Cawnpore.)  
 S. Nayadu, Esq. (Cawnpore.)  
 S. M. Thakur, Esq. (Cawnpore.)  
 Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B. (Berar.)  
 G. S. Khaparde, B.A., LL.B. (Berar.)  
 Rao Saheb V. M. Mahajani, M.A. (Berar.)  
 K. V. Brahma, Esq. (Berar.)

The Congress was then adjourned till Eleven o'clock in the morning of the following day, namely, the 27th December.



Second Day.

Resolution I  
Indians in the  
Public Service.

MR. SURENDRANATH  
BANNERJEE.

## Second Day's Proceedings.

2nd Day, Tuesday, 27th December 1904.

The Congress resumed its sitting day at 11 o'clock, in the morning, the proceedings being opened by the usual Congress Anthem, sung by Parsi, and Gujarathi and Dakshani Hindu ladies.

At the outset of the proceedings the President rose and said :—Gentlemen,—We now proceed to the business of the Congress, and to the consideration of the resolutions which have been laid before you. It is my duty to remind the speakers that the time at the disposal of the Congress is unavoidably very limited, and to recall to them the decision at which we have found it necessary to arrive at previous Congresses, that the duration of a speech by a gentleman proposing a resolution is limited to ten minutes, and to the supporters of a resolution to five minutes. In exceptional cases, of course, I shall be glad to extend this limit (hear, hear,) but I warn you, Gentlemen, that I shall be obliged to be strict in the interpretation of this rule, for, if am not, we shall never get through the heavy list of business before us.

### Resolution I.—Indians and the Public Service.

The President then called upon Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee (Bengal) to move the first resolution, which stood in his name.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE, who rose amidst loud and prolonged applause, said : President, Brother Delegates, and Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the honour to move the following resolution :—

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

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

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

Sir, it seems extraordinary that at this time of day, nearly 150 years after the birth of the British rule in India, and the daily increasing contact between the East and the West, with the light and culture and knowledge pouring in a flood-tide from all sides, with all the great oriental nations vindicating the honour and the capacity of the Asiatic races on the battle-field, (hear, hear) and the still higher regions of peaceful progress—it seems extraordinary that, surrounded by these cheerful prospects, with these happy auguries of progress, we should be under the necessity—the painful necessity—of recording our protest, our national protest be it observed, for we are no longer a microscopical minority, (hear, hear) against a policy which is calculated not only to put us back in the race of life, but is inconsistent with the great traditions of the British rule in the East and with the honour of the English name in this country. (Hear, hear.) But, Sir, we have fallen upon evil times and upon evil tongues, and we are by darkness and danger compassed around. It may be, so strong are the forces of reaction, that our voice may be like that of one crying in the wilderness, none heeding it and none responding to it, but all the same we have an obvious and plain duty to perform. We must cry out and cry loud and persistently (hear, hear) until we make the air resound with our importunate voices, and until we have aroused the conscience of England to a sense of the great responsibility which Englishmen owe to their vast dependency. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the resolution declares that

Second Day.

Resolution I.  
Indians in the  
Public Service.

MR. SURENDRA-  
NATH BANERJEE.

Second Day.

Resolution I.  
Indians in the  
Public Service.

MR. SURENDRA-  
NATH BANERJEE.

the new policy, as laid down by the Resolution of the Government of India of the 24th May, 1904, is inconsistent with the Proclamation and the Charter Act. Hitherto the provisions of the Charter Act and of the Proclamation—the pledges and promises contained in them, and made by the Sovereign and Parliament of Great Britain,—had only been eluded; they are now directly challenged and openly repudiated. (Shame.) There is no such thing as standing still in this world of God's Providence. Movement is the universal law, and the Government of India obeys that law. Lord Curzon tells us that the Government of India does not stand still for a day. We quite accept that statement. The Government moves and moves, but, to our misfortune, it is always moving in the wrong direction. (Laughter.) It moves backward. (Renewed laughter.) What Lord Curzon calls progress we call retrogression. (Hear, hear.) Never was there a more striking illustration of this backward movement than what is afforded by the principles and policies laid down in the Resolution of the Government of India of the 24th May, 1904. What is the fundamental feature of that Resolution? Mark the day of the issue of that Resolution. It was the 24th of May, 1904. By a bitter irony of fate, the day which used to be the day of universal rejoicings throughout the length and breadth of this country and is now a day of pious memory of the birthday of our late Queen, (hear, hear) was selected to be a day for the reversal of her beneficent policy and the cancellation of her gracious Charter. (Cries of "shame.") I will not dwell further upon this coincidence than to observe that the fact appears to us, Hindus and Mahomedans (hear, hear), in the light of an act of sacrilege and an act almost amounting to an outrage upon the revered memory of one whom we cherish with the most pious reverence and affection. (Hear, hear.)

Well, Sir, what are the principal features of the new Resolution? They are two. In the first place, there is the Imperial Civil Service which old-fashioned people like myself prefer to call the Covenanted Civil Service. But in these days every thing is Imperial. (Laughter.) We have an Imperial party, Imperialistic Liberals, (laughter), Imperialistic Service, (laughter continued), and we have also the Imperial Anglo-Indians.

(Renewed laughter.) Well, Sir, in the first place, the Imperial Civil Service is to form the *corps d'elite*, which, under the new policy, is to be practically the monopoly of Europeans. In the second place, the appointments outside the ranks of the Imperial Civil Service may be filled up by people of the country subject, however, to very important modifications, viz., that the higher appointments, in what are called the Minor Departments, are to form practically the monopoly also of the Europeans and Eurasians, because, forsooth, they are alleged to possess a requisite degree of knowledge, resourcefulness and capacity for initiative which, it is alleged, constitute the heritage of the European races. (Laughter.) Sir, into the merits of this new policy I do not profess to enter at present. I am more concerned just now with pointing out that it is in striking contrast with the Proclamation and the Charter Act. (Shame.) Under the new policy, race is the test of qualification. Under the old policy, merit was the test of qualification. (Hear, hear.) Race is now the connotation of qualities which formerly used to be associated with a high standard of education, duly tested. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the Proclamation and the Charter Act were levelled against the assumption of racial superiority. The Charter Act removed all the racial disabilities in declaring the eligibility of Indians to the offices in the State. The Proclamation carried this beneficent policy a stage further. Not content with a mere passive boon, the Proclamation conferred a positive privilege. (Hear, hear.) The Charter Act had removed the badge of our racial inferiority. (Cheers.) The Proclamation declared and affirmed that merit was the test of qualification, irrespective of all racial considerations whatsoever. (Hear, hear.) The Proclamation thus affirmed and established the beneficent intention of the framers of the Charter Act, which could not be expressed within the cast-iron formulæ of a legislative enactment. (Hear, hear.) Clause 87 of the Charter Act enacts that "no natives nor any natural-born subjects shall, by reason of religion, birth, descent, or colour or any of them, be disqualified from holding any place under the said Company." What the Charter Act did was this: it removed the racial disabilities of the old statute of George III. (Cheers.) It was the intention of the framers of the Charter Act that such

Second Day.

Resolution E.  
Indians in the  
Public Service.

MR. SURENDRA-  
NATH BANNERJEE.

**Second Day.**

**Resolution I.  
Indians in the  
Public Service.**

**MR. SURENDRA-  
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a boon should be conferred. Lord Lansdowne said from his place in the House of Lords, while commenting on the Charter Act, that their Lordships would be remiss in the discharge of their duties to the people of Hindustan, if they did not provide them with the amplest opportunities to develop their intellectual and moral faculties. (Hear, hear.) The Court of Directors, in forwarding this despatch to their servants in India, declare their policy in emphatic terms. Statesmen like Lord Lansdowne recognise the situation, boldly declaring that "it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to the offices in our service, the duties of which they are qualified by their education, their ability and their integrity, duly to discharge." The Proclamation distinctly repeats the forward movement in that beneficent policy which has found expression in the Charter Act, and which, I venture to hope, Sir, has done more than anything else to secure the gratitude and loyal attachment of the people of India to the British rule. (Cheers.) The Proclamation was issued on the 1st of November, 1858, which is a red-letter day in our history. I hope and trust that it may be a day of universal rejoicing and solemn celebration, if only we protest against that reactionary policy which seeks to tear up the Proclamation and scatter to the winds its beneficent provisions. (Hear, hear.) The Proclamation was not an instrument of impulsive generosity. It was a solemn and deliberate act of the State, which received the assent of a long line of illustrious Viceroy's. (Hear, hear.) It was recalled at the Delhi Assemblage and ratified by our Sovereign, the King-Emperor, while he assumed the administration of this great Empire, (hear, hear), and if it has been challenged by a high authority, it has been upheld by a higher authority. (Hear, hear.) In the memorable words of Lord Ripon, the Proclamation is not a treaty and not a diplomatic instrument. It is obligatory upon those to whom it is addressed. But, Sir, it is now proposed to repudiate the Proclamation, not, I think, in so many words, but it is attempted to adopt a policy which is counter to the spirit of its beneficent intentions. Sir, I venture to say that there has been always a sinister and malignant influence in operation in the high Councils of Government to interfere with the redemption



of this gracious policy. I know that it is a very serious charge to bring against the Government of India, but, Sir, here we are in the Temple of Truth and Honesty. (Hear, hear.) I am prepared to prove the charge to the hilt. Lord Lytton, speaking from his place as the Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, not only said that the promises and pledges of the Queen made to the people of this country remained inadequately redeemed, but went much further than that and in a secret document—it is no longer a secret—(laughter)—said: “We have broken to the heart the words of promise which we had uttered to the ear.” The Duke of Argyll, from his place in the House of Lords, said in 1869: “I must say that we have not fulfilled the duty of the promises and engagements which we have made.” But now, for the first time, there is an open and avowed attempt made to repudiate the Proclamation by the substitution of the new policy. Lord Curzon has told us that the Proclamation is the golden rule of his conduct. Sir, I confess, that I find myself in a bewildering maze of difficulties. I try to reconcile his speech—I ask what becomes of this golden rule of his conduct in the light of the new policy to which I have just adverted? What is the justification for the new policy? Has the old policy been tried and found wanting? So far from this being the case, it is admitted on all hands that the great experiment inaugurated by the Proclamation, which has now been tried for a period of fifty years, has been attended with a marvellous measure of success. (Hear, hear.) Lord Curzon has appended certain figures to this Resolution of May last, showing that there has been a steady expansion of the policy with regard to the employment of our countrymen in the Public Service. Sir, if the figures justify that inference, what is the irresistible conclusion to which you are driven, except that day by day you are getting more and more qualified for the high appointments under the British rule? If so, where is the justification for the reversal of this ancient policy? I venture to say that Lord Curzon stands condemned out of his own mouth. (Hear, hear.)

But, Gentlemen, we have another ground—and a stronger ground—of complaint, and I am sure it is one you will endorse with cordiality and enthusiasm. Why are we precluded from high offices, and why has this ban and ostracism been placed upon

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the whole community in respect of the high offices under the British rule? Is it because we are the representatives of an inferior race? Lord Curzon from his place in the Imperial Council, (I am quoting the substance of what he said,) declared that by our environments, our heritage and our up-bringing we are unequal to the responsibilities of a high office under the British rule. I venture to say, Sir, that never was a deeper affront offered to the people of India by the representative of the Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) It is bad enough to repudiate the Proclamation, but it is adding insult to injury to cast a slur upon the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) In your name and on your behalf, Gentlemen, I desire to record my most emphatic protest against this assumption of our racial inferiority. (Cheers.) Are Asiatics inferior to Europeans? Let Japan answer. (Hear, hear.) Are Indians inferior to Europeans? Let Lord George Hamilton answer, (loud cheers), and Lord George Hamilton is not a friend of the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, are we the representatives of an inferior race, we, who are the descendants of those who, in the modern world, while all Europe was steeped in superstition and ignorance, held aloft the torch of civilization? Are we the representatives of an inferior race, from whose shores, foresooth, went forth those missionaries who have converted two-thirds of the human race into moral superiority? (Hear, hear.) Sir, this charge of inferiority will not stand examination for a moment. We may possibly have fallen from the high ideals of the past, but even in modern times, our representatives have been fully equal to the responsibilities of the Imperial rule. (Hear, hear.) Has the instinct of statesmanship and capacity for command disappeared in the midst of the environments of the present situation? (A voice: "No, no.") If that was so, it would imply the greatest reflection upon the British rule. (Hear, hear.) But happily we are spared that reflection, and men like Sir. T. Madhowrao, Sir Dinkerrao, Sir Salar Jung, Todar Mull, Abu Fazel and others, (hear, hear) have illustrated the annals of the modern Indian statesmanship. (Hear, hear.) The truth is that it is not that we are wanting in character or capacity, but there is a deep-rooted suspicion in the minds of our rulers, that if the policy of the Proclamation were to be prosecuted and carried forward, later

on a measure of political power would go into the hands of the Indians, which might imperil the interests of the Empire! (Cries of "shame.") Of course, it is a great shame. (Cheers of approval.) This great and mischievous policy of distrust and suspicion has engendered the modern spirit of Imperialism, which bodes no good either to India or to England. (Hear, hear.) Sir, if I have not already tired your patience. (Cries of "No, no, go on.") I should like to refer to a number of figures which I have got here. I think my friend the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, is looking at me through his spectacles. (Laughter.) Perhaps he means to make use of these figures later on in the Viceregal Council. (Renewed laughter.) It is not my privilege to be there (roars of laughter), but I am addressing a higher constituency, (vociferous cheers) a constituency of the representatives of my country. (Loud applause.) I venture to make use of these figures with a view to refute the claim which has been urged by Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.) On the strength of these figures Lord Curzon explains that the British Government has treated the Indians with unexampled liberality in the matter of employment of the people of this country in the Public Service. On the strength of these figures he says: "Is it possible to conceive that our administration has been too generous to the European and too grudging to the native element?" He has thrown down the gauntlet, which I take up on your behalf, and I will be able to point out from the examination of these figures that they entirely refute his proposition and support our contention that the British rule has been too exclusive in the matter of employment of our countrymen in the higher branches of the Public Service. (Hear, hear.) These figures embrace a period of 36 years, from 1867 to 1903. According to the statement of the Government of India, in 1867 there were 13,431 appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 75 a month and upwards. The Hindus and Mahomedans occupied 72 % of these appointments, while the Europeans and Eurasians filled 28%. In 1897 the total number of appointments came to 25,370, that is, nearly double of what had been in 1867, and our percentage was 16 (cries of "shame"), while the percentage of Europeans and Eurasians was 44! Mark, in 1867 our percentage was 72 and in 1897 it was 16! (Cries of "shame.") That is to say, while the number of appoint-

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ments had nearly doubled itself, our percentage had nearly gone down by one-half ! ! ! (Loud cries of "shame.") This is the illustration of the "unexampled liberality" of the British Government ! ! (Loud cries of "shame.") Our percentage ought to have been in 1897, if the percentage of 1867 had been kept up, 92 instead of 56. But let us proceed. Let us come down to the year 1903, when we find the total number of appointments to be 28,278, that is to say, nearly 3,000 more appointments than were in 1897, and what have we for our percentage, for that is the crucial point ? Our percentage was 56, that is to say, while in 1903 the number of appointments had increased by 3,000, our percentage remained the same, (shame) that is to say, as regards the entire number of appointments, our percentage had gone down ! (Cries of "shame.") We are, therefore, driven to the irresistible conclusion that, as the number of appointments increased from 1867 to 1897 and from 1897 to 1903, our percentage went down step by step as an illustration of the "unexampled liberality" of the British Government ! (Ironical laughter.) I have not done yet. (Renewed laughter.) The higher you mount, the lower becomes the percentage ! Our percentage as regards the total number of appointments of Rs. 75 and upwards in 1903 was 56. Now take the appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 1,000 and upwards. The percentage in 1893 was 14 out of the total number, while the percentage was 17 out of the total number of appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 500 and upwards ! I have just now said that the higher you mount, the percentage becomes lower and lower. The point is that only 14 or 17 per cent of the higher appointments fall to our lot, (shame), although the country is ours, (hear, hear), the money is ours, (hear, hear) and the bulk of the population is ours. (Hear, hear.) Sir, this, of course, touches only the fringe of the whole question. (Hear, hear.) There are whole departments of the higher offices from which our countrymen are entirely excluded. (Shame) I should like to know how many Indians occupy responsible positions in the Political Department ? (A voice : "Not one.") I should like to know how many Indians there are who are occupying Commissioned ranks in the Army ? (A voice : "Of course, none.") The native has, in these days, to be content with only a "Subedarship" or a

“Resaldarship” (cries of “shame,”) and is subordinate to the youngest European Subaltern, who possibly was not born when the veteran won his spurs. (Loud applause.) Lord Curzon challenged comparison between the British Government and other Governments in respect of the matter of employment of their subjects in the higher offices of the State by searching through History from the time of the Romans. He said: “You will not find such examples.” Well, Sir, I fear Lord Curzon has been indulging in a little romance. (Hear, hear and laughter.) The Government of India is omnipotent and can do a great many things, but it cannot convert facts into fictions. (Hear, hear.) Lord Curzon appeals to History and to some unearthed traditions, and he appeals to them with unhesitating confidence; but let History be our judge and our arbiter in this controversy. Gibbon in his “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire” says that the grandsons of those who fought against Caesar became captains of the Roman legions—(Hear, hear)—and Governors of the Roman Provinces. (Hear, hear.) Markham in his “History of British India” says that the grandsons of those who fought against Baber at Paniput became Commanders, Governors and confidential advisers of their Sovereign. (Cheers.) Raja Maimansingh, who carried the Mogul standard from the Punjab on the East to Cabul on the West, became a Hindu Governor of a Mahomedan province in the heart of a fanatical Mahomedan population! (Hear, hear.) Where is the parallel of such a process in the British Indian History? Where is the Indian Governor of a British province? (Hear, hear.) Where is the Indian Commander of a British Division? Where is the Indian adviser of a British Viceroy and a member of his Executive Council? We have had Honorary Captains and Colonels at any rate—(Laughter)—Honorary Councillors and Captains, but they were Councillors and Captains who never counselled nor commanded. (Hear, hear and laughter.) It was an awkward diplomatic fiction in which Lord Curzon has deluded himself in indulging, in saying things which might look well in the mediæval times. (Hear, hear and laughter.) Look at the neighbouring nation which is more Asiatic than European and which is not known for the liberality of its administration. Rudyard Kipling was right when he said that Russia appears more to be the

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There can be no comparison between the Russian and British rules. In spite of culture, freedom and higher ideals of the British Government, I am bound to say in justice to the Russian Government, that that Government, in the matter of trusting its Asiatic subjects and associating them with the Government of the country, is distinctly more liberal than the British Government. (Hear, hear.) You may be surprised at that statement, and if it rested upon my own authority I would not make it. (Laughter.) But it is what Sir Henry Lawrence said—the hero of Lucknow who died doing his duty in the siege of Lucknow in 1857. “If Asiatics and Europeans can obtain honourable positions in the armies of Russia and France, surely Indians, after a tried service of a century under England’s banner, are entitled to the same boon, nay justice.” That state of things remains unaltered. Well, Sir, if we compare the administration of the Philippine Isles with the administration of India by the British Government, what becomes of Lord Curzon’s boast? The Philippine Isles came under the American rule only the other day, and yet they have now obtained constitutional government! There are a House of Commons and a House of Peers. The House of Commons is entirely elected, while as regards the House of Peers, three-eighths of it consists of the natives of the country!! (Hear, hear.) You have in one of your resolutions a prayer to the effect that the natives of India may be appointed members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. The American Government have already solved the question! In the very first Council of the Philippine Islands there were three Philippine members of the Executive Council! (Hear, hear.) Is it necessary to prolong this controversy any longer? We should rejoice if we could possibly re-echo the sentiments of Lord Curzon, but great as our loyalty is to the Throne, our allegiance to Truth is much greater, (hear, hear), and we are anxious, above all things, that there should be no delusion in the minds of the British Government as regards the administration of this country, and that we should not be led away by specious plausibilities of brilliant rhetoric. (Hear, hear.) Sir, this is a very old question. It is associated with the illustrious names and with the high endeavours of some

of our greatest men. (Hear, hear.) Eleven years ago it seemed as if we were within a measurable distance of victory, for, then the House of Commons, under the leadership of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (hear, hear), formed the principle of Simultaneous Examinations in regard to the Indian Civil Service. But we were doomed to a bitter disappointment. The then Secretary of State with the Imperialistic Liberals, which, I think, is only another name for a Tory in disguise (laughter) negatived this resolution by fortifying himself with a body of local bureaucratic opinion, although in the archives of his office at that time there was a resolution of the Committee of his own Council, dated as far back as 1861, which declared that unless the Simultaneous Examinations were granted, the Queen's Proclamation must remain unredeemed. Sir, at the present moment, the hopes and visions of 1833 have been dispelled: We are passing through a terrible and acute crisis, one of the very worst in our annals. For, if Lord Curzon would not give us more, why should he take away that which we have? (Hear, hear.) True statesmanship places reliance upon the loyal attachment of the people to the British Crown. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, we hear a great deal in these days about efficient administration. I yield to none in my appreciation of efficient administration. (Cheers.) But it has never occurred to the faddists, who speak of efficient administration, that the efficient administration cannot exist without the willing co-operation of the people concerned. (Hear, hear.) The Russian Government have made this discovery after a long and bitter humiliation, and the Czar has called into being a policy which, it is to be hoped, will liberalize the Russian institutions. (Hear, hear.) Sir, in this matter, we take our stand upon the Proclamation which is our watch-word and our battle-cry. (Cheers.) The gracious words of the Proclamation are inscribed on our banner (hear, hear) which we hold aloft. (Cheers.) It is the symbol of our unity. (Cheers.) It is the bond of our solemn league. (Cheers.) We desire to tell our rulers in all humility and with the utmost emphasis that we will not allow them to repudiate the Proclamation and to discard the gracious message which is given to us from the footsteps of the Throne and which is sanctified by the memory

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We are resolved to use all the constitutional means at our disposal to safeguard the Proclamation. (Hear, hear.) We fully realize the gravity of the task which we have imposed upon ourselves. (Hear, hear.) We recognise the political situation and the political prospects, and we recognise the fact that the forces of re-action are now in the ascendant. But what is more, we are confident of success (hear, hear), and in this hopeful anticipation, Sir, we have been greatly encouraged by the proceedings of that Banquet which was given in your honour—(Hear, hear)—and in honour of our friend, Sir William Wedderburn. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the fact of there being so many Englishmen and leaders of public opinion upon a common platform linked by the hand of sympathy towards the Indian people was an achievement memorable of its kind and augurs well for the success of our cause. (Hear, hear.) It augurs well for the success of the cause such as ours which is so moderate, so just and so patriotic in its aims and aspirations. (Hear, hear.) The outlook may be gloomy and the clouds may frown upon us, but I venture to think that there will dawn a bright era—(Hear, hear)—when the provisions of the Queen's Proclamation will stand redeemed and upheld—(Cheers)—and when the policy of trust and confidence will supersede the policy of mistrust and suspicion (hear, hear), a policy in which Englishmen and Indians will combine together for the glory of England's great dependency in the East. (Hear, hear.) I venture to look forward to the advent of that day. (Cheers.) You and I may not witness that day. Our eyes are now growing dim with age, we may not witness that day, but let us each try in his own way according to his opportunities, according to his lights and according to the measure of his capacity to bring about this glorious consummation. (Hear, hear.) Let us be animated by great hope and great faith, and we shall be able to overcome all obstacles and to surmount all reactions (hear, hear), and great as our cause is, God willing, it will triumph in the end. (Loud and ringing cheers.)



MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (Madras) then rose amidst cheers and seconded the resolution on the subject with the following observations:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to second this resolution, and I do so with great pleasure. After the eloquent speech that Babu Surendranath Bannerjee has made, there does not remain much for me to add. But one thing I take this opportunity to bring out in the course of my remarks. This long-standing question has now reached a crisis which calls for the most active vigilance on our part to assert and establish our rights. This question has passed through many stages. Our liberties were conferred on us for the first time by the legislation of 1833, and then came the great Proclamation of 1858. Then we had efforts made by the India Office to give effect to the terms of the Proclamation in 1861. The next stage was the appointment of the Public Service Commission. I may pass over the Statutory Civil Service system. Then we had the Resolution of the House of Commons in 1893, sanctioning the establishment of Simultaneous Examinations. Now, through all these stages the question has passed, but, although nearly 60 years have elapsed, we are as much in the same position as we were in 1833. In fact, I may say, we are much worse; because; Ladies and Gentlemen, in those days—at the time when the security of the British rule was somewhat shaken and about the loyalty of the Indian people our rulers were not assured—it was the habit of the British statesmen to give us assurance of liberties and privileges. But now when, after the fashion of Europeans, our rulers see that the British rule is thoroughly secure and that the Indian people are more than ever bound by loyalty to the Sovereignty of Great Britain, they wish to go backward and, if possible, withdraw all the pledges and promises that have been repeatedly given to us. (Shame.) The efforts of some of our Viceroy and Secretaries of State hitherto had been to break those promises and pledges by dilatoriness and, as Lord Lytton put it, by “subterfuges,” but it was reserved for Lord Curzon to say openly that the principles and policies that guide the British rule in India are not those that are laid down in the Proclamation, but are entirely different ones, which, in fact, negative those principles and policies.

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Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee has referred to those principles in his eloquent speech. If you analyse those principles they amount to this, that our political status in this country is entirely changed by our rulers, who can enforce those principles in a manner which will clear the whole service of the natives of the country, (shame) at all events the higher branches of the service. In fact, it has been happening so. If you analyse the figures given in the Government of India's Resolution of May last, you will see that our position in these six years has grown much worse than it was before. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, I think, from the analysis of these figures although there is an apparent increase in the percentage, the real fact is that, so far as the appointments go, which are only of importance to us, we have gone much backwards. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have got figures showing you how in each department our position is much worse than it was in the year 1867—chosen by Lord Curzon himself—but the time at my disposal does not permit me to place before you those figures, but I hope that they might appear in the Report of the Congress. Therein you will find about 20 Tables I have made, in which I show that in each department, while the Europeans started with an advantage over us in 1867, in the course of these 36 years, out of the 100 appointments newly made the great majority was given to Europeans and a very small minority was given to Indians. (Shame) Ladies and Gentlemen, there is one point in this Resolution, before you, on which Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, I don't think, has dwelt, *viz.*, the reorganization of the Civil Service. It is not clear what is meant by the Civil Service being reorganised and decentralised. The only meaning that I can put upon it is that the District Officers should be given less responsible and less absolute powers. A certain class of officers, namely, a number of judicial officers, must be separated from it and more Indians should be introduced into that service. If these District Officers are asked to share some of their administrative powers with other bodies, by associating them with non-official members in each district or in each group of Districts, then it is possible that these members of the Civil Service might exercise less autocratic powers and the whole service might be robbed of its

bureaucratic powers. Ladies and Gentlemen, only one thing remains for me to say. Time has come when we must freely speak out. Our agitation must not be half hearted. (Hear, hear.) We had been sleeping, and we have just risen from our slumber. We are too slow and too hesitating. We must show to the world that we Indians are fully conscious of the liberties and privileges conferred upon us by the British rule. These liberties and privileges have been conferred upon us by the statutes of Parliament and guaranteed to us by the constitution of Britain and the honourable traditions of the British nation. (Hear, hear.) We must not only be conscious of our liberties and our privileges, but we must hold them in such a way that not only the English nation but, the whole world will say that India should be free. Gentlemen, we must cry aloud and spare no pains. (Hear, hear and loud cheers.)

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**THE HON. MR. KRISHNAN NAIR** (Calicut, Madras) in supporting the above resolution said thus:—

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When the administration of India was in the hands of the East India Company, their Charter came on for renewal once in a period of 20 years. Those occasions, when the Charter came on for renewal, gave opportunity to the friends and well-wishers of India to point out the abuses that were creeping into the administration and to have them rectified. One of these occasions was the year 1833, in which the clause relating to the employment of Indians in the higher branches of public service in the administration of the Company, of which we have heard so much this morning, was inserted. That period, Gentlemen, was the period when catholic, liberal and progressive ideas received acceptance in every part of the globe. That was the period when men like Sir William Wilberforce were trying to have the emancipation of slaves effected by the British Government. (Hear, hear.) It was in furtherance of those liberal ideas that the provision already referred to was inserted in the Charter Act of 1833. But though this provision, which was extremely beneficial to the people of this country, was inserted in that Act, it remained a dead-letter for a very long time to come. Nobody ever heard of it till the year 1853, when the Charter once more came on for renewal. On that occasion John Bright, whose memory the people of this country

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even to-day cherish with feelings of affection, gratitude and reverence, and other friends of India tried to have the Simultaneous Examinations for Civil Service established in India and England. Their efforts, however, failed and for about five or six years more we heard nothing about this provision. We heard nothing of it till the year 1858 when a momentous event occurred in the administration of this country. I need hardly say that I refer to the transfer of the government of this country from the hands of the East India Company direct to the Crown, when Her Majesty of happy memory--(Hear, hear)--issued forth the Proclamation which we have been accustomed to regard as our "Magna Charta." That Proclamation was not one which was extorted from an unwilling sovereign at the point of the sword--(Laughter)--but it was a voluntary and spontaneous gift of our Gracious Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, the words in that Proclamation, which have been so eloquently referred to by the mover of this proposition, were not words which were inserted, as a matter of course, in a State Despatch. When Lord Derby made the original draft of the Proclamation and took it to Her Majesty for her signature, she read it and rejected it saying that it did not sufficiently convey her intention and wishes, and she warned him to remember that the Proclamation must contain words which were fit to express the wishes of a woman speaking to a nation--(Hear, hear)--at the time of taking the direct administration of a vast Empire on a momentous event. (Cheers.) This fact shows that the words that find place in the Proclamation are not mere words which are usually inserted in a State document. (Hear, hear.) I need not refer to the detailed history by way of a historical examination of events that subsequently passed. In 1860--two years after this Proclamation was issued--a Committee was appointed to enquire and report as to how it was being worked. That Committee reported that effect was not given to the words inserted in the Proclamation, and they made a further recommendation that a portion of the appointments, it should be declared, should be competed for in India, and that the Simultaneous Examinations for Civil Service must be established in India and England. This report was made in 1860, and then nobody hears anything of it till the year 1867.

when the attention of the authorities to this subject was again called by the East India Association, which sent a memorial on this subject to the Government and also a deputation to the then Secretary of State, Sir Stafford Northcote, who was very sympathetic in his attitude towards the deputation and promised that he would try and look into the inherent rights of the natives referred to in the Proclamation. This was in 1867, and again we hear nothing of it. But despatches and correspondence were carried on between the Home Government and the Government of India. The Home Government sent reminders to the Government of India—one in 1872 and another in 1874—asking the latter Government to frame resolutions with a view to carrying out the provisions of the Proclamation into effect. Nothing took place again except correspondence, and in 1878, Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, wrote that Despatch which he considered was confidential and which he hoped would ever remain confidential. In that Despatch he remarked that the promises made by the House of Commons and by the mighty British nation—promises made by the Home Government to the Indian people—were all transparent subterfuges and that the Home Government was “breaking to the heart the words of promise which they had uttered to the ear.” (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, that Despatch has now become a public document.

Ladies and Gentleman, time passed on, and in 1893 we find the House of Commons pass a Resolution under which the Civil Service Examinations was to be held simultaneously in India and England. Now, Gentlemen, you thus see that the promises the mighty sovereign of the British Nation was making from time to time were always being systematically broken by the servants of that sovereign. (Shame) But the climax only reached in the beginning of 1904 when Lord Curzon, in his speech from his place in the Viceregal Council Chamber and subsequently in a formal Resolution which he published in May 1904, publicly proclaimed that certain principles, which have been already referred to by the mover of this proposition, are hereafter to guide the Government of India in their choice of servants and in their employment of Indians in the higher branches of the public service. He went on to add that though he had called for statistics from the Russian Government,

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from the French Government and from the Egyptian Government, he was unfortunate enough not to obtain them, and, therefore, he called to aid his own experience, which he had gained as a traveller and stated that the treatment which the British Government has been giving to the Indians is one of unexampled liberality. (Laughter and cries of 'Shame.') Gentlemen, we have seen what that unexampled liberality has been. The subject is of vital importance, but I have no desire in this place to refer to all its aspects. However, before I conclude, I may refer to one aspect of it. It has an extremely important connection with the poverty problem in India, but that is a wide subject. You know that a very large proportion—about 20 million pounds sterling—of the revenue that is annually raised in this country is sent to England for Home charges, a considerable and very important portion of which consists of pay which is paid to the European officers and of pensions and furlough allowances. The amount is sent from the poorest country in the world to the richest country in the world. (Shame) With these remarks, Gentlemen, I support this proposition, and say that it may be submitted to the Government of India and sent on to the House of Commons and the British Nation, who may be pleased to carry out the substance embodied in this resolution. (Cheers.)

**MR. G. ABDUL  
KASSIM.**

MR. G. ABDUL KASSIM (Burdwan, Bengal) in supporting the above Resolution said as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, for many a year past have I spoken upon this resolution from the Congress platform. To-day I rise again to support it with all the emphasis I can command. Gentlemen, the principles enunciated in this resolution have been received with applause by my countrymen all over the Empire. This is one of the oldest items of our programme, and if we are obliged to repeat it from year to year, it is simply because the Government of India is deaf to our representations on the subject which has justice, equity and righteousness at its back. (Hear, hear.) Thanks to the activity backward of His Excellency the Viceroy, we have been now obliged to add an extra clause to this resolution of ours. (Laughter.) Sir, in

These days, when the Government of India wants to introduce a retrograde measure and to retrograde policy, which they cannot defend, they fall back upon my poor community. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) They say that they "have been obliged to do this in the interests of the Mahomedans of the country"! (Renewed laughter.) Gentlemen, may I be permitted to ask them this question: "Have the Mahomedans been consulted on these points or were they allowed to speak out their minds"? (Hear, hear, and cries of shame.) The first time that Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had to meet the Mahomedan Association at Burdwan, immediately after the Resolution of May last was issued, I had the honour and privilege of presenting an address to his Honour on behalf of my co-religionists of the District of Burdwan, which is the head-quarter of conservative Mahomedans. (Laughter.) In that address we said that the introduction of Competitive Examination was the only and proper solution of the problem. (Hear, hear.) We told His Honour that other communities having had a start over us, we are now naturally exercising small power and little influence, and that the only means by which a community such as ours should enter into the public service is by the Competitive Examination. (Hear, hear.) Sir Andrew Fraser told us to our face that we knew not where our interests lay and that, after consulting the District Officers, he would come to the conclusion to see what was necessary for us. (Laughter.) You, Sir, know very well the nature and character of the people whom Government consult when they have to consider the Mahomedan questions. (Laughter.) Sir, that is not only our opinion, but that is the testimony of older Mahomedans on this point. The Public Service Commission examined 16 Mahomedans from Bengal; of these 10 were in favour of the Competitive and Simultaneous Examinations, 2 were indecisive and 4 against them. The 10 who were in favour, included the most prominent Mahomedan gentlemen of Bengal. (Hear, hear.) I may be permitted to say that in 1885 Sir Syed Ahmed presided at a public meeting held at Aligarh at which a resolution for holding Simultaneous and Competitive Examinations, was adopted. (Hear, hear.) In the face of this evidence it would be absurd

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for any responsible man to say that the Mahomedans object to the introduction of the Competitive Examination. (Hear, hear.) With these remarks, Gentlemen, I commend this Resolution to you. (Cheers).

MR. HUSSAIN BADRUDIN TYABJI, (Bombay) then supported the Resolution in the following words :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel I cannot but raise my voice in support of this Resolution, not merely because it expresses the reiterated opinion of this great and growing body, representing the unanimous opinion of the leaders of the people, but also because I think there should not be a dissentient opinion, so far as the natives of this country are concerned, whether they be Hindus or Mahomedans.

Gentlemen, what we want is that the Government should not only entrust the natives of the country higher and higher offices and more extensive employment in its service, but should allow them to enter all the services, by free competition, excepting, of course, such of which we do not speak here at all, namely, those few offices of great responsibility and trust, which from the very nature of the circumstances we at present neither demand nor expect.

But, then, let political reasons not be made a cloak for patronage of Europeans.

Gentlemen, for years past the cry in India has been that the Government exercises its patronage largely, almost exclusively, in favour of the Europeans and Eurasians and that at the expense of the children of the soil. But the Government in a Resolution of the 4th of June refutes the charge and says that it is false and unjust.

They say that the Government has not given undue preference to the Europeans and Eurasians, and they say their policy has been progressive. And they adduced certain figures showing the number of appointments in the hands of both Europeans and Eurasians and the Natives.

These show that there are at present 92 Indians, and 1,278 Europeans on posts of Rs. 1,000 and over in the whole of India, Burma, Assam and Berar. That is, the Natives hold



6 $\frac{2}{3}$  % of the appointments. (Total 1,370 appointments.) In the Bombay Presidency there are 23 Indians and 146 Europeans, out of a total number of 169.

And the appointments on lower pay are also very largely filled by Europeans. These are the figures:—

(Hundred) 1—2 = 64 per cent natives. Increase from 67—03 being:

|     |          |     |     |                     |
|-----|----------|-----|-----|---------------------|
| do. | 2—3 = 60 | do. | do. | 51—60 = 9 per cent. |
| do. | 3—4 = 43 | do. | do. | 23—43 = 20 do.      |
| do. | 4—5 = 40 | do. | do. | 21—40 = 19 do.      |
| do. | 5—6 = 25 | do. | do. | 9—25 = 14 do.       |
| do. | 6—7 = 27 | do. | do. | 15—27 = 12 do.      |
| do. | 7—8 = 13 | do. | do. | 5—13 = 8 do.        |

I think, therefore, Gentlemen, there is much room for improvement. They need not fear they have arrived at perfection and they can make no progress.

I am sure the Government will not say, and would not like to say, that after a rule of nearly 150 years—a rule of which they are so proud, and for which we are so grateful,—out of a population of 300 millions, they cannot get 1,300 men from among their native subjects of integrity, honour, power of organization, and ability,—imbued with the knowledge of the principles of Government, and possessing the habits of mind and vigour of character, for the purpose of entrusting them with the ordinary executive and administrative posts of Rs. 1,000 and even less, per month. That would mean there is not to be found a fit person out of every 230,000 men—and that in a country which in history is distinguished for its civilization and empire for hundreds of centuries past. (Hear, hear).

And therefore, Gentlemen, it seems right to conclude that if the Government had the will, it could very greatly give effect to the desire of more largely giving employment to the Natives of the country.

Gentlemen, it is sometimes alleged that the Native official is incapable of controlling his department and lacks in administrative ability, and is unfavourably compared to the European. But when we consider that a young European official is always expected to rise in his department,—that an Indian officer is not so expected that a European officer can command the sympathy and support

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of the whole department composed of his own race,—and that the Indian cannot—it is clear that the charge against the Indian must disappear when the Indian begins to be held in greater respect by the Government, and to be entrusted with more and higher offices.

But, Gentlemen, there is another complaint against the Government,—that it is retrogressive. The tables annexed to the Government Resolution show certainly that there are more appointments now in the hands of the Natives than there were in 1867. Upon this the Indian Government say there is no ground of complaint. But this does not prove that the allegation is unfounded. For, the policy of Lord Ripon, Lord Reay and other liberal Viceroys and Governors is now bearing fruit, and the increase of Native officers is due to them. And 10 years hence the tables may show a decrease, for that policy may no longer be continued. So the increase of figures does not show that the complaint of retrogression is unfounded.

But there are several cases of retrogression which cannot be concealed.

Look at the Statutory Civil Service, established with the avowed intention that 16 per cent. of the Indian Civil Service appointments, whatever the number of those appointments may be, should be assigned to the Natives of the country. The appointments were by selection and the Indians complained that selections were not satisfactorily made, that the Service would come into discredit, and they themselves would be discredited, and desired a change. They were more ambitious, and the result was the Provincial Service, with a number of offices fixed for the Natives, so inferior in kind to the Statutory, that in spite of the greatest temptations, not one of the Statutory Service came over into the Provincial—and the number of offices has remained the same whereas the number of Civil Service posts been has considerably augmented.

A second instance of retrogression is Cooper's Hill College, where originally Natives of this country were freely allowed; then they were restricted to two only, and that, too, by way of grace and not privilege; and finally, it has been abolished without any provision yet for the Natives of the country, though the College was established entirely at the cost of India. (Shame.)

A third instance of retrogression is that whereas formerly two men from each of the Indian Science Colleges were taken into the public service on the same pay as Cooper's Hill men, now their pay is reduced to two-thirds, and the promise that instead they would take deserving Native subordinates has been absurdly fulfilled by filling those posts by Eurasians and not Indians.

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A fourth instance is that the Railway and Customs authorities have been directed to employ Europeans and Eurasians in the future in greatly increasing number.

And lastly, whereas the knowledge of arts and sciences has progressed by leaps and bounds, the honours and emoluments and offices in the hands of Indians have remained almost stationary.

Therefore, Gentlemen, it seems to me fair that we should press the Government to confer upon the Natives of the country a larger number of offices, and to allow them to enter the services by free and equal competition. It seems to me fair to ask the Government, which has been liberal enough to grant us a liberal education, and to sow the aspirations which arise from such education, now to satisfy them. It seems to me that our prayers and petitions are moderate and just; they do not make any impossible or impracticable claims; they do not ask anything which it would be unfair to ask; they proceed from loyal subjects; and indeed how can we be otherwise,—we who are far more interested in the stability of the British Government, than the Europeans who make their profits and gain their honours and retire to their country. (Hear, hear.) They are appeals to our rulers, in whose justice and wisdom we have trust,—in their character as judges and umpires doing justice between the conflicting claims of their own race, the Europeans, and the Natives of the country. Our petition is based upon the hope that, if granted, it will not only tend to remove the great irritation and discontent which has arisen, between the Europeans and the Natives, but make the Natives of the country happier and more contented. Indeed, the Empire will rest on a far more solid and substantial basis. And lastly, so that it is based upon the confidence and conscience of the British rulers will eventually be awakened and they will carry into effect the

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numerous pledges which have hitherto been neglected, though sealed in the most solemn and emphatic form. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously with acclamation.

### Resolution II—Education.

**MR. D. G.  
PADHYE.**

MR. D. G. PADHYE (Bombay) in proposing the Resolution on Education said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution I have the honour and privilege to place before you runs thus:

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

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

(b) to make due provision for imparting instruction in manual training and in scientific agriculture.

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

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

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Resolution speaks for itself. It has in peculiar degree, all the merits, all the varied gratifying characteristics for which this Congress is so well-known. It is imbued with the spirit in which we are always ready to gladly and gratefully tender thanks to Government for such graces as they bestow. It shows a true regard for the poor and it does not content itself merely with destructive criticism. It has something to suggest by way of construction. You will see, Gentlemen, that the Congress looks at this question in a spirit of scientific generalization and takes a comprehensive view thereof. Its view is the same as that which was with such emphasis laid down by the famous.

Educational Despatch of 1854. (Hear, hear.) In that Despatch, it is laid down that the education they desired to extend was that "which had for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, sciences, philosophy and literature of Europe." They commented that the spread of education was confined only to a few and averred that they desired its widest extension, and hoped that it should be such as "may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life." It will thus be seen that the widest possible spread of education amongst an ever-increasing population and its suitability to the conditions of all kinds of people were the watchwords of the policy so laid down. (Cheers.)

It is from the point of view of the statesmen who laid down the policy of the Educational Despatch of 1854 that we of the Congress look at this question. We regard the question of education to be an entire one and that the attempts made to divide and sub-divide it into primary, secondary and higher education for the classes and the masses, for Rajahs and Chiefs and common people, are all absurd and unscientific. So looking at it, we thank Government for their increased grants towards Primary education and repeat once more, with as great emphasis as before, our protest against that measure of extremely retrograde character, I mean the Indian Universities Act, for which we shall have to remember with pain the name of Lord Curzon long indeed. But I have faith in time and I believe the day must inevitably come when the present reaction will give way and the old order of progress and freedom be restored. I shall not attempt a detailed criticism of the Act. You know its full demerits. I will content myself with remarking that we condemn it because it virtually reduces our Universities into mere departments of the State, (Hear, hear) wherein the finger of Government will be felt at each step and felt gallingly, (shame, shame) because it restricts the scope of education, because it narrows the sphere of education with the delusion that the duty of a University is only to produce a few finished products a few brilliant scholars of exceptional attainments. But the greatest sin of the Act, I believe is that it places the control of Education entirely into the hands of the so called "experts" as they are, the professors of our colleges. These experts are not all inspiring individualities like Dr. Wordsworth. (Cheers.)

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Moreover, experts can never with safety be given entire control over any institutions dealing with human society. Medical men alone, for example, will never make good Municipal Councillors. Entering our protest against the University Act the Congress makes certain recommendations. It prays that primary education should be improved and extended and thus shows special regard for the interests not of the upper classes, nor of the lower nor discontented B.A.'s, but of our poor people. Government always say that they are the friends of the poor. Let them show that they are so by making primary education compulsory as well as free. We also pray that our colleges and schools be better equipped and manned. But we lay special stress upon the necessity of establishing a Central Polytechnic Institute, worthy of its name together with feeder institutions from province to province. That is the greatest need of the day. Moreover, we also advocate that manual training be introduced in all schools, so that with the three "Rs." the three "Ds." may be harmoniously united. That is the most advanced educational view of the day and we pray that Government should show progressiveness enough to take it up in right earnest. (Cheers.)

**MR. R. P.  
KARANDIKAR.**

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (Satara), in seconding the resolution, said:—Gentlemen, I propose to confine my remarks to 'b' in this Resolution in particular, thus I may have to say a few words on the general drift of the Resolution as a whole. Just as I was entering this hall a pamphlet was placed into my hands, as I have no doubt it must have been into those of many of you, which on the face of it bears a quotation to the following effect, "Henceforth, education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member." This is not from any statute of the British Indian Government. It is the edict of the magnanimous Mikado of Japan. (Cheers.) On the last page of the same pamphlet you find testimony to the educational policy of Japan, borne by David Murey in the following words: 'Technical instruction suitable to the principal departments of public life and branches of industry is fully provided for, and there is no career on which the most humble born of the Mikado's subjects cannot now hope to enter equipped with a complete training, almost entirely at State expense.' (Cheers.)

Policy perhaps is all the same when the Government of any country has to write it out, the difference lying in its working. You find similar dictates in the Government of India's proceedings of 20th March 1897 No.  $\frac{1}{10-1}$  in the Department of the Revenue and Agriculture which contains eight important Resolutions a few quotations wherefrom will not be out of place.

No means of increasing the efficiency of the Agricultural Department can be really effective unless the people are taught to understand what is ineffective in their present system of agriculture, whether it is capable of improvement and the best means to that end. This can be done first by extending their general education, *i.e.* by teaching them not only to read, write and cipher, but to use their knowledge so that they may in howsoever humble a manner become thinkers, observers, experimenters, etc. Unless the intelligence of the cultivator be developed in such a way as to lead him to devote a better trained intelligence to his own art and to apply thought, observation and experiment to matters which concern his material well being, that progress, if not absolutely impossible, must be so slow as to effect little appreciable change in a generation. It is an axiom that the wealth of the country may be enormously increased by improved methods of cultivation, by the introduction of new products and by the national treatment and development of stock. Education is the mightiest lever that can be applied, however great and beneficial the influence on the intelligence of the people, of railways, roads, canals, good markets and good ports and out-lets for produce may be. These are necessary helpful agriculturists as educators, but they must fail to produce the greatest material progress possible, and to secure that progress when attained, if the people remained ignorant and wedded to bad and often injurious methods.

Para 8th of the same Resolution attends to the remarks of the late Prof. Huxley, that a system of education that does nothing for the faculties of observation, which trains neither the eye nor the hand and is compatible with utter ignorance of the commonest national truths, may be regarded as imperfect. Government observed that the scheme in India must acquire an agricultural colouring because the surrounding objects are themselves agricultural.

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They further reiterated that the policy of making instruction in the rudiments of agriculture part and parcel of the primary system of instruction in the country rather than teaching it as a subject apart from the general educational programme.

Para 23 referred to readers and text-books which from this point of view current in agriculture and such other subjects are quite unsuited for young teachers. They are too abstruse. In England the best text-books on the subject have often been written by men of the highest scientific reputation. In India there is no uniform policy so far as a general uniformity of plan and system is concerned.

As the general proposition stood, (b) had the words "in schools," at its end. This expression was dropped in the Subjects Committee in order to admit of other means of improvement, and not the smallest of them is the establishment of agricultural associations in the several districts. The Government of India in their Resolution No. 5 on the subject of Indian agriculture remark, "It would only be through and by the native community that agricultural improvements could on any important scale be carried into the country. Measures must be taken to secure their co-operation by a proper system of intelligent instructions, etc. Government also looked forward to a time when native gentlemen and landlords under the influence of a well designed system of education will undertake the expansion of experiment and demonstration on their own estates, but Government trust that, in the mean time, the utmost advantage will be taken of the opportunity to set them an example by utilizing estates under Government management for the intelligent trial of agricultural improvement. This policy was advocated by the Famine Commissioners who declared that Managers of such estates should act as an enlightened and prudent land-owner would act in respect of his own property by utilizing the results of science and adopting any well tested and clearly demonstrated improvement in methods of farming.

The establishment of agricultural association requires a little more detail, and though I have got a scheme ready for presentation to the Provincial Conference, time will hardly permit me to refer to it now. Suffice it to say, however, that the attention



of the Madras Government and that of the administration of the Central Provinces has already been successfully drawn to it, and the Bengal Government only recently inaugurated the scheme that was found working well in Central Provinces. In Bombay I am glad to say the Director of Agriculture, Mr. Lawrence, is seriously in favour of such institutions and in a Conference of those interested in agriculture held by him in the first week of September last, he expressed on behalf of the Department that it would be glad to co-operate with any gentlemen who may undertake to establish such associations in any District. I am persuaded to hope that if the hands of the various Directors of Agriculture in the several provinces are substantially strengthened, sympathetic and well meaning Directors like our Director Mr Lawrence can find it possible not to leave the matter solely to the people, but generously offer pecuniary help to aid such private efforts; for indeed as observed by the Recess Committee of the House of Commons on the establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Industries for Ireland where private enterprise is debarred from developing industries by circumstances beyond its strength to remove, the State may intervene to create a condition of things in which private enterprise shall be able to do its work; not that in every case protection is necessary but that removal of obstructions is what is most needed.

That such State help is essentially necessary is illustrated by the condition in which Mr. Arthur Balfour found Ireland in 1895. When speaking at Alnwick he said that he had learned while he was in Ireland that many of the ills of the country arose from its poverty and that this poverty was in part the work of England and Scotland. The whole report, of which I had a mind to quote a few more extracts for reference, is worth perusal by all interested in the subject of the causes of the downfall of industries and the means to improve them, but I will only trespass on your time by quoting this much at least. It quotes:—

“From Queen Elizabeth’s reign until within a few years of the Union the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment released their relentless grip on the trade of Ireland. One by one each of her nascent industries was either strangled in its birth or handed over gagged and bound to the

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jealous custody of the rival interest in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed. What has been the consequence of such a system pursued with relentless pertinacity for over 250 years? This, that debarred from every other trade or industry, the entire nation flung itself back on "the land" with a pitiless impulse as when a river whose current is suddenly impeded rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilized."

How far this remark is applicable to India is better evidenced by the Parliamentary enquiry of 1813 and the present commercial condition.

Howsoever, India must be considered more lucky than Ireland. Her agriculture at least, if not her commerce, has nothing to fear on the ground of competition at the hands of Great Britain. And we can freely approach even Manchester and Lancashire that really rule the Empire, to extend a helping hand and enable the Government of India to spare the surpluses for whatever conduces to real and substantial improvement in agriculture; and I am further persuaded to trust that whether with or without such encouragement from home, a strong-willed and competent Viceroy like Lord Curzon will see his way to apply his refreshed energy to see that the means of subsistence of the Indian people, agriculture and industries allied to it, if not other, may prosper substantially and let India remain a solid possession rather than a bankrupt dependent tenant. (Hear, hear.)

I also hope that when our worthy President approaches His Imperial Majesty's highest representative in India with Resolutions of this Congress, this resolution at least will be found by that august authority capable of being looked to with a promptness the matter demands.

I have great pleasure in supporting this proposition. (Cheers.)

DR. H. S. GOUR.

H. S. GOUR, Esq., LL. D., supported the Resolution. He said:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen,—  
The Resolution I have undertaken to support is so vital to our very existence in the present stage of our national life that I make no apology for being permitted to trespass at some length upon your patience, for I feel certain that you agree with me that the first

Resolution proposed by Mr. Surendranath Bannerji will be nowhere if the subject of the University education is allowed to lapse into a secondary place. Indeed if there is one subject which should at present engross our whole-hearted attention it is the subject of national education, and this is probably the only subject upon which the Government profess to be at one with the people. For Gentlemen, it is not many years ago that Lord Curzon in his Convocation address to the University of Calcutta gave out as his determination that education shall not be the privilege of the few that the portals of knowledge shall be flung open to whoever cares to enter them. I still remember the pleasure with which I read his Lordship's assurance and I for one looked forward to the educational millenium when he subsequently held an Educational Conference at Simla. We had till then little idea of the dark decree that was awaiting us, for I could never realize that the portals of knowledge which Lord Curzon had promised to fling open, would be, within a few months of his utterance, securely sealed with golden locks which would open only to golden keys. (Laughter.) Well, the Simla Conference met and our Viceroy treated them to an oration in which I could discern the signs of the coming gloom. Himself an Oxford graduate, we may pardon Lord Curzon's sympathies for Oxford, but Lord Curzon knows that we unfortunate Indians are not all born with silver spoons in our mouths. (Hear, hear.) Well, Gentlemen, Lord Curzon belongs to Oxford and I can equally boast of my connection with Cambridge. May I say that I have perhaps personal knowledge of the educational capabilities of two or three British Universities but because I belong to them and admire their systems I have not so fallen in love with them as to forget their limitations. In the first place, as you all know, Oxford and Cambridge are places of education for the aristocracy and the higher middle classes. Lord Curzon and his henchman, Mr. Raleigh, want to mould the curriculum of our Indian Universities on these two models. I say the thing is absurd, nay, I say, it is impracticable and has been found to be impracticable even in England. (Hear, hear.) Take for instance the Universities of the British Isles. We have such Universities as those of Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin which students of means alone can enter. But besides these we have a dozen other Uni-

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versities which are semi-residential or non-residential and which are the seminaries of the poor. Indeed with their slow evolution, splendid benefactions, and scholastic attractions, I am not surprised that these Universities offer what is practically a free education to the masses. And in recent years even Oxford and Cambridge have been fain to extend their scope in this direction in the shape of popular classes held in connection with what has come to be known as the University Extension. Thus then the forces of English Universities are at present working in the direction of cheap popular education; and only the other day we heard of a whine from Birmingham calling for a larger national grant and increase in the number of the Universities. But let alone the future. Even at present England—the cultured and civilized England,—has no less than 9 Universities—while Scotland has 4 and Ireland 3 Universities. Surely if England with a population of 40 million souls requires 16 Universities—how many Universities should be necessary for backward India with its 300 million of population, most of which is still steeped in the cimmerian darkness of ignorance,—why at least 120 (Loud cheers). Is Lord Curzon prepared to endow 120 Universities in this country? I am afraid his Lordship may suffer from a nervous shock if the suggestion is even mentioned to him. (Laughter.) And yet what we want is light, more light. What Lord Curzon has bestowed on us is the Universities' Act which may be described to be the epitaph of popular education. Lord Curzon assures us that the Act is enacted in our interest.

Perhaps it was better to dissemble his love.  
 But why did he kick us downstairs? (Loud applause.)

Really, Gentlemen, to place our Universities on the footing of Oxford and Cambridge is, in plain prose, to make education the privilege of the rich and not the birth-right of the poor. We are sometimes told that oriental people should be governed in the oriental way. We know what this means. (Laughter). But if so, we say education was always the free gift of the Oriental Kings and our occidental rulers, who would govern us in the oriental way may well take a page out of their book. (Applause.) Gentlemen, if I may detain you a minute longer (cries of "go on, go on") let us supplicate Lord Curzon to reverse his policy of distrust. Let him

pave smooth for us the way to the Parnassian spring, and if not we, our successors will gratefully remember him. Of all the blessings of British rule we appreciate nothing so much as the gift of Western education and it would be a red letter day in the annals of Hindustan if the policy of renaissance inaugurated sixty years ago is given another impetus on the basis of free and popular education. (Loud applause.)

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI (Allahabad) in support of the Resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In rising to support this proposition I shall briefly invite your attention to a few facts which appear to me to be of paramount importance—and if I may say so, equal sinister significance—in the consideration of the subject of education. And the very first remark I wish to make is this, that when we are told to consider educational questions in the interests of education alone and that political and other considerations are to be totally banished from the discussion of educational questions, I say that that is nothing but unmitigated cant. (Hear, hear.) No, Sir, it is impossible to dissociate extraneous considerations from the discussion of educational questions, for, as Mr. Morley has said, ‘the questions of national education, answer them as we will, touch the moral life and death of nations.’ It is Lord Curzon that has so exhorted us, but frankly, what are his own Government’s educational measures—legislative as well as administrative—if not political in their character? (Hear, hear.) Whether in respect of University reform or of the measures in connection with secondary education—which are not included in the Universities’ Act but are embodied in the Resolution of March last—we see the same tendency exhibited. The policy embodied in these measures is of such a character that I think there need not be much hesitation in saying that in framing it Lord Curzon must have been swayed mainly by political considerations. On other grounds it is difficult to account for the enactment of so extraordinary a piece of legislation as the Indian Universities’ Act in the teeth of the nearly united opposition of the body of educated Indians. Sir, India is a poor country and the maxim that education and knowledge should be for their own sake, cannot strictly apply and ought not to be

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rigidly followed in her case. 'Education in Germany,' says a writer in the *Times*, 'is regarded and treated as the means to an end. The end is the production of good citizens and the promotion of national strength and efficiency.' (Hear, hear.) Similarly our object in endeavouring to spread education in India is to do the utmost in our power to help in the evolution of a more learned, more efficient, and more strenuous Indian nation which in the fullness of time will be fit to enjoy the most complete measure of self-government under British paramountcy. (Hear, hear.) But unfortunately this does not seem to be the aim and endeavour of our official educational reformers. It has been reported, I have reason to believe on good authority, that the Government of India have for sometime past been feeling a section of educated Indians and even of Indian students as an inconvenient thing to be got rid of somehow (laughter), and that they are anxious to suppress them, of course politely. (Renewed laughter.) And to lend colour to our suspicion in the matter, Lord Curzon's Government have proceeded to give effect to their intentions and designs in a very unfortunate manner,—in a manner indeed that I for one should not characterize as quite honest. I will briefly recapitulate the story, and when I have done so I am confident you will endorse what I have said.

His Excellency the Viceroy assured us that he was for taking the public into his confidence, and that in education of all matters concealment was no part of his policy. It was not statesmanship, we were told by Lord Curzon, to despise or to ignore the opinion of the educated classes of India. And yet what is it that was actually done? How was the assurance carried out? The Simla Conference was convened, it was exclusively composed of Europeans and of officials save Dr. Miller of Madras, its deliberations were conducted in secret, and its resolutions and recommendations—though they would seem to have travelled beyond their province and are of a very far-reaching character,—have never been published. (Hear, hear.) You will at once admit, brother-delegates, that they are of a far-reaching character when you know that one momentous result thereof is the abolition of the competitive examinations for the recruitment of the Provincial Civil Service. There is no mistake

about this, for in the very opening sentence of the Government Resolution abolishing the competitive test in the United Provinces it was stated that the step was taken in pursuance of a resolution of this mysterious Simla Conference (hear, hear); while the only intimation that this Government—who professed a policy of publicity—whose head protested it in season and out of season possibly because he was anxious to conceal the fact that that policy was not being pursued—gave to the public of the abolition of the competitive test was in the shape of a sentence somewhere in the course of their Education Resolution of March last. It was as it were stealthily put in there. (Shame.) The Indian Universities Commission was subsequently appointed and it submitted its report in the usual course, but that report was published only sometime after its submission, and even that as a result of the agitation for its publication which was set on foot by you, Sir, (*turning to Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee*), to whom we owe so much in this matter. The public were left to discuss the report, and while they were doing this with almost passionate anxiety and unequalled strenuousness in the fond belief that the recommendations embodied in the report were still under the consideration of the Government of India, who were expected and supposed to carry an open mind on a subject which was as it were *sub judice*, what really happened was that all the while the Government were silently, secretly, already giving effect to one after another of the harmful recommendations. The unsophisticated public of India, who in their simplicity relied on the sincerity of the authoritative assurance made by the head of the Government, were thus simply befooled. (Shame.) Mr. President, I speak, Sir, with a full sense of my responsibility in saying this, for circulars were published in the United Provinces and in Bengal, in Bombay and in Burmah, introducing the new policy by instalments—in one or two cases I think even before the Universities' Commission sent in its report. In further support of my contention I shall place before you another instructive fact. If you will turn to the Education Resolution of March last to which I have referred, you will find in it certain dates given on the top, which on a little scrutiny yield an interesting result. We read for instance, that the Government of India first addressed the local Governments on the subject-matter of the Resolution so

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far back as the *6th of November 1904*—which means a few days after our secretive friends of the Simla Conference concluded their mysterious deliberations. It needs no exceptional political insight to imagine that that letter of the Government of India to the local Governments concerned itself with the suggestions formulated by the Simla Conference, and that it must have asked them partly to carry out and partly to express their opinions on those suggestions, or recommendations, or resolutions as the case might be. Again the Government of India addressed them on the 20th of the same month, and yet again on the 27th of the same month. The promptitude displayed here is not generally the characteristic of our Government. I am sure, brother-delegates, this correspondence would form a most profitable study, but it remains an official secret. What happened shortly after was that the Raleigh Commission hastily perambulated this wide Continent, and prepared a report which they did not mind publicly confessing was the result of their own independent opinions and judgment more than of the body of evidence they affected to collect,—evidence, by the way which was never officially published. (Hear, hear.) It might at least have been expected that as legislation was intended to be undertaken in respect of University education, the reactionary measures, miscalled reforms, affecting it would not be rushed before the Bill was passed and the Senates and Syndicates reconstituted under it. But so far at least as the United Provinces were concerned, the Syndicate—the old Syndicate—had been busy giving effect to the new policy in anticipation, though it might be in homœopathic doses: and new rules, were prepared for the affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges which have not yet been introduced but which when introduced, as we have been led to expect they will be after the new Act, begins to be worked, are sure to destroy one or more of the existing private colleges which are all doing useful work at present. (Shame.)

Now, Gentlemen, what has been the first tangible result of the passing of the Universities Act? The Senates of the different Universities have been reconstituted, and so has been one Syndicate—that of the University of Calcutta. What is the character of these reconstituted bodies? Why, Sir, nothing better than what was apprehended



by the critics of the Act. Under the guise of reconstitution the Senates have been Europeanised and officialised, and in the constitution of the Syndicate they have actually gone one better, or one worse if you please. The Indian and non-official elements have been reduced to a minority, and the European and official elements have been allowed to predominate. The ostensible object of the reconstitution of the governing bodies of the Universities was to make them more efficient. Lord Curzon said in another connection that efficiency of administration was synonymous with the contentment of the governed. That may or may not be. But in this matter of University reform at any rate, efficiency, which has now become as serviceable a word as prestige, is only the mask under which to hide the suppression of the Indian and the non-official element on the Senates and Syndicates. (Hear, hear.) I will presently ask your attention for a minute whether the reconstituted Senates are really more efficient than, or even as efficient as, the bodies they have superseded, but this much is now clear beyond a doubt, that efficiency here meant nothing more than the conversion of the previously partially self-governing bodies into departments of the State. And now, what about the efficiency of the new Senates? In Allahabad, a gentleman of the ability and experience of Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, an educational expert who has done more valuable service to the cause of education in the United Provinces than almost any other Indian gentleman that I know, has been removed from the Senate to make room for a lawyer who lays claim to no qualifications such as he possesses. And yet, what was more persistently dinned into our ears than that lawyers should be made to make room for educational experts? The Central Provinces and Berar are now included in the jurisdiction of the Allahabad University, and yet neither the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur B. K. Bose, one of the makers of the Nagpur Morris College and a supporter of the Universities' Act, nor our friend Mr. Mudholkar, has been nominated a Fellow. (Mr. Mudholkar.—'But I don't want to be a Fellow.' The speaker.—'But we want you.') The University of Madras has not fared better. In fact its reconstitution is so defective that even the *Madras Mail*—which I call the *Times of India* of Madras—has felt itself bound to severely

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criticise it. In the new Senate of the University of Calcutta room has been found for men who do not enjoy even a local reputation for knowledge of or interest in education, while such an intellectual personage as Mr. A. M. Bose has been left out. As I have said, gentlemen, the method of reconstitution of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University is much worse. Under the new Act the Syndicate enjoys much larger powers even than the Senate, and it is not at all a matter for surprise that more care is taken to exclude the unofficial Indian element from it, that its officialisation and Europeanisation is more thorough-going than in the case of the Senate. I may illustrate my position by reference to the reconstituted Syndicate of the Calcutta University. I will not give my own opinion on the character of its composition, but will quote what such a cautious Anglo-Indian paper as the *Statesman*—a paper which has done yeoman's service to our cause in this controversy and which fully deserves its title of the *Statesman* and *Friend of India*—has said on the matter. 'Out of the ten Fellows making up the Syndicate' the *Statesman* writes, 'two only are Indians, and both these were nominated by the Faculty of Law. Two Europeans represent the Faculty of Science, and Father Lafont, the veteran servant of the University and instructor of generations of science students, is not one of them.' (Here the Bengal delegates exclaimed that neither was Dr. J. C. Bose a member of the Syndicate.) No, gentlemen, Dr. Bose has not been thought fit for the distinction, and I may add that Dr. P. C. Ray has not been included even in the Senate. But to proceed with the opinion of the *Statesman*. 'Two Europeans, both members of the Indian Medical Service, represent the Faculty of Medicine; a European was the unopposed nominee of the Faculty of Engineering, while of the three representatives of the Faculty of Arts, two are Ministers of the Christian Church.' Of course, gentlemen, as Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Raleigh, the member in charge of the Universities' Bill recently told us in the *Missionary Magazine*, *The East and the West*, the *Missionary* colleges will lose nothing by virtue of the Universities legislation. It is only the private indigenous colleges that will suffer. 'This last fact' the *Statesman* says, 'is sufficiently noteworthy, not to say anomalous; but the most singular and signi-

ficant fact is that in the University of such a Province as Bengal four out of five faculties should be without a single Indian representative on the governing body (Shame.)—The feeling in regard to the constitution of the Syndicate may legitimately be more like consternation.' The *Statesman* concludes its note by saying: 'The official contention is that the new Act is for the improvement of higher education, and that it is not designed to destroy, or even seriously to curtail, the influence of native opinion in University matters. In reply to this contention the opponents of the Act will point henceforward to the actual constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate.' If in Calcutta, where there is a powerful public opinion of which sometimes even Lieutenant-Governors have to take note—witness the last St. Andrew's Dinner Speech of Sir Andrew Fraser's—the reconstitution of the Senate and the Syndicate has been proceeded with in this manner, you can well imagine what the state of affairs is and will be in the comparatively backward provinces, such as the United Provinces and the Punjab. You, however, brother-delegates from the 'Kingdom of Bombay,' with the Congress Knight for your monarch, have fared much better in the reconstitution of your Senate, 57 out of 100 ordinary Fellows being Indians. But all are not so fortunate, Sir, (turning to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta), as to possess a leader of such commanding influence as you, who often manage to get what you want. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I frankly confess Sir, that with such Senates as we have got now I am not one of those who hope to see the Universities' Act cautiously and liberally worked. There is ample ground for anxiety. Sir Andrew Fraser said in his speech on the Ranchi College scheme that the constitution of private colleges in Bengal was being very severely scrutinised, while the *Pioneer* has since told us that Local Governments are exercising the powers conferred upon them in a way that will speedily affect existing institutions. But we in this Congress submit that the Act ought to be worked in such a manner that not a single college which is now doing useful work in its own way should be destroyed. In this matter we take our stand on the unexceptionable principle enunciated by Lord Northbrook—whose memory we gratefully cherish, for though not gifted with eloquence he was endowed

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with the higher virtues of righteousness, of sincerity, of a strong sense of justice—the principle, namely, that no reforms should be allowed to lead to the destruction of a single existing educational institution. (Hear, hear.) If the policy of securing greater efficiency at any cost—which is the ostensible object of Lord Curzon's educational legislation—is to be impartially carried out, I am not sure that the Presidency College of Calcutta and the Elphinstone College of Bombay, the two model Government colleges in the two most advanced Presidencies, may not have to be forthwith disaffiliated. And if the Government colleges themselves, with all the resources of the State behind their back, could not be efficiently manned and adequately equipped, why the poor private colleges should be compelled to equip themselves at a cost which to them is simply prohibitive under penalty of disaffiliation, why they should be mercilessly pounced upon in this manner, is what I cannot comprehend. (Hear, hear.)

Brother-delegates, we have, however, one ground of hope. So far as human probabilities go, the present Government will soon be sent about their business and a Liberal Government installed in their place. (Hear, hear.) I may at once say that I do not expect that the Liberal Government will shower blessings upon us, but they will not smite us hip and thigh with an iron rod as the Tories have done. They may not confer fresh rights and privileges on us, but they will not put back the hand of progress. (Hear, hear.) They will not deprive us of what rights we already enjoy. We can confidently hope for the return to Parliament of Sir Henry Cotton (loud applause) and other influential Liberals, and they may be trusted to do all they can for us by bringing Indian questions prominently to the notice of Parliament and Government. The Liberal leaders are going to redress the educational grievance of the English Non-conformists created by Mr. Balfour's Acts of 1902 and 1903, and though we have no Dr. Clifford or Mr. Lloyd-George amongst us to fight our educational battles, we yet may reasonably hope that Sir Henry Cotton (cheers), and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers), will succeed in entering Parliament at the next General Election and they will do their utmost to see that we, the educational non-conformists of India if I may say so, shall get our share of

sympathy from the Liberal Government and that the reactionary policy of Lord Curzon's Government will be completely reversed. (Hear, hear.) This is a *sine qua non* of our educational progress. (Loud cheers.)

MR. G. A. NATESAN, (Madras) in further supporting the above resolution said as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the previous speakers in reading and referring to this resolution have rightly entered their emphatic protest against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in regard to high education. (Hear, hear.) I do not intend to tread upon the same ground which they have done. Gentlemen, time there was when the Viceroy and the rulers and the statesmen of this land recognized the task and the duty of spreading higher education to be sacred and solemn. (Hear, hear.) That was the policy that was laid down in the great Despatch of 1854 and that was the policy which guided the noble and generous sentiments of men like Macaulay, Metcalfe, and Bentinck. (Hear, hear.) That was the policy which was adopted by the most benevolent, wise, generous, and sympathetic of all Viceroys—I refer to Lord Ripon. (Loud cheers.) The Hon Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee observed this morning in his most eloquent and fascinating speech that we have fallen not only on evil times but on evil tongues also. The old times are changed and the old manners have gone, and to-day Curzon fills Ripon's place, and in the place of the policy of truth and encouragement we have a policy of distrust and retrogression! (Cries of "shame.") Against that policy this Congress assembled—represented as it is by the best people of this land—(Hear, hear)—protests and protests in the most emphatic language and with all the vehemence it can command. (Hear, hear.) It is said that there are plenty of discontented B. A.'s every year turned out of our Universities. I have before me statistics for the last five years taken from the authoritative Blue Book issued by Parliament which will show that during the last five years our own University (Madras) produced 2,401 graduates; Calcutta produced, 1830; Allahabad 740; Punjab 437 and Bombay 815. The total comes to 6,223; if you divide this figure by five, you get the average of 1,242 graduates

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in the population of over 300 millions! The latest Census Report says that only ten millions of our people are literate. Compared with this figure, the number of graduates which I have just stated is ridiculously small, and yet we are told that the discontented graduates are increasing!! At one time we were told by Government, "We are most anxious that primary education should be encouraged." At another time we are told by Government: "We are anxious that technical education should be promoted" and an attempt is made to stifle higher education and to stifle the western learning that is coming to us in a marked degree. Gentlemen, we are not selfish. (Hear, hear.) While we recognize that as to higher education it is the most important duty of the State to encourage it, we also recognize the duty of the State to spread primary education on a large scale among the masses. We also recognize the imperative duty of the State not only to educate the masses but also to see that provision ought to be made for manual training and for instruction in agricultural and similar other industries. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, we go a step further. We say that all this is useless, if provision is not made for doing something which will relieve the poor classes—something which will make them prosperous and secure in times of famine. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, the last clause of the Resolution, which I am now supporting, refers to the necessity of our having a Polytechnic Institute. (Hear, hear.) This is not the time nor the place to refer to the condition of many institutions we have at present connected with the Indian industries. There was reference made in the most eloquent terms to this subject by a previous speaker showing that the condition of some of the Indian industries is most deplorable. We export all our raw produce out of the country; it comes back into the country from other countries in a different shape and then we buy it. It is often said that the greatest obstacle to our managing these industries ourselves is the want of capital and co-operation. I admit that there is some truth in that remark, but I submit that the absence of facilities in India for students of this country to learn the technical branches of knowledge materially tend to arrest industrial progress. In all India you would not find a single institution maintained by

the State for students to learn dyeing and tanning. There is no institution for students to learn Electrical Engineering—although there is the Roorkee College—and there is not a single school in “mining.” Gentlemen, I cannot conclude without making reference to the Research Institute designed and planned by the late Mr. Tata. (Hear, hear.) Well, it is the duty of every responsible State in every country to have an Institute of this kind, and it is a great pity that when a generous hearted gentlemen in the poverty-stricken country like India comes forward with funds for such an Institute, when a private individual comes with funds for this purpose to the Government of India, that the Government of India should not take advantage of his offer! I am afraid, I shall be telling many things which I would not like to state in public. (Laughter.) But I do venture to protest, in the name of the Congress, against the treatment which has been given to the Research Institute of Mr. Tata. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, it is something that Lord Curzon has at last sent a message of assurance to Mr. Tata’s sons. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, sitting in this Congress while we are pleased at Lord Curzon’s courtesy in sending that message, we shall hold his Lordship in grateful memory if he does something by which Mr. Tata’s Research Institute becomes an accomplished fact. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, to those that cry off these suggestions on account of their expenditure, I would quote the following passage from Prof. Huxley; “Whatever that might cost, depend upon it, the investment would be a good one. I weigh my words when I say that if the nation could purchase a potential Watt, or Davy, or Faraday at the cost of a hundred thousand pounds down, he would be dirt-cheap at the money. It is a mere commonplace and every day piece of knowledge, that what these three men did has produced untold millions of wealth in the narrowest economical sense of the word.” Gentlemen, the whole of this resolution appeals to only one fact—it appeals to the Government of India to consider the task of education as the most sacred and responsible one, and that there ought to be no restriction about it. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, let it be also said most emphatically that the most effective way to spread light on this picturesque land of ours—the only one way—is Education. (Cheers.)

The Resolution was put to the meeting and carried by acclamation.

(The Congress at this stage adjourned for lunch.)

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**Resolution III.—Economic Situation.**

Resolution III.  
Economic  
Situation.

MR. R. N.  
MADHOLKAR.

The Congress resumed its sittings after lunch at 3 p.m. The President called upon Mr. R. N. Madholkar (Amraoti) to move the following resolution on "Economic Situation" :—

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

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

MR. R. N. MADHOLKAR who was received with loud cheers, said :—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I am asked to move is one which deals with a subject of the most vital importance to us. On a proper, careful and dispassionate consideration of this question,—I mean the question of economic situation,—depends the material welfare of the people of this country. There was a time, gentlemen, when it was rank treason to stand on a public platform and to say that the people of India were very poor. It was considered as a serious reflection upon the numerous benefits which England has conferred upon India to suggest even a doubt that there was anything wanting, that there were any defects which have resulted from that administration. Only 32 or 33 years ago, when Mr. Dadabhoj Nowroji (cheers) read his paper on the "Poverty of India," there was a storm of denunciation, of vituperation, both in the Anglo-Indian Press here, and in the Tory Press in England; there was none more violent than our present friend Mr. J. M. Maclean. (Cheers.) Subsequent events and subsequent misfortunes like the great famines of 1877, 1878, 1897,



1898, and 1899 have opened the eyes of the most optimistic, and even those who were ingrained in their rose-coloured views, even those people were forced to confess that things were not as they ought to be. We had only recently the chief Anglo-Indian paper admitting that the immense mass of the people are steeped in poverty. Officers of Government have been obliged to admit that millions of the people of this country passed through life without knowing what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied. British rule in a greater part of India, we may say, was established in the beginning of 18th century; and during the 130 years which have elapsed since 1784 you find that there have been 24 famines; and during the last 40 years preceding the last famine there were as many as 8. During these famines as many as 15 millions of people died, in spite of the efforts of a civilized and, on the whole, humane Government. There is no wonder that if the rains fail there is nothing but disaster. The people of India are not in any way wanting in sobriety, in peaceful character or in thrift. There is no nation which is more industrious, more thrifty, and which is more law-abiding. (Hear, hear.) The country itself is one of the most favoured ones; the climate is suitable for all kinds of production; the soil is rich and fertile. With all these, why should there be so much poverty? Why should there be poverty in this country, which at one time was considered a golden land, the land which attracted Alexander, the land which attracted Mahomed Gazni, the land which was subjected to inroads of barbarians from time to time. Why should poverty, this widespread poverty, have come over this land? The poverty of India is such that if you compare it with England, you will find that whereas the income of the United Kingdom per head is £42, here it is only Rs. 20 according to Dadabhoy Nowroji, Rs. 27 according to Sir David Barbour and Lord Cromer, and Rs. 30 according to Lord Curzon. Let us take the highest figure, Rs. 30. What does Rs. 30 a year mean? Rs. 30 per year means one and half anna a day. Out of this 30 rupees per year, a man has to pay  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rupees of taxation. Then he has barely Rs.  $26\frac{1}{2}$  left on which he has to clothe himself and bring up his family. Gentlemen, there was a time, only about 130 or 140 years ago, when there was nothing but anarchy and misrule in this land; when men like Nadirshah and Ahemad-ali came and

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robbed the people and took away all the wealth which they could. In various parts of the country there was misrule; and you found social disorder everywhere. In spite of such foreign plunder the material condition of the people was on the whole sound; and not only were they able to maintain themselves; not only were they able to produce all the food which they required and to supply all the raw materials for manufacturers which were to supply all their necessaries, all the comforts, all the conveniences of life; but we were able to send to foreign countries a large amount of merchandise. The merchandise of this country was coveted by the French, the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese; and keen competition for Indian products was going on even at that time of misrule. Then, soon afterwards, when British rule obtained its way in Bengal, you find that the whole situation is changed. You find that the East India Company, in order, first of all, to secure large dividends for itself, in order to make more effective the monopoly of trade which it enjoyed, began to interfere with private trade; and the servants of the Company began to do the same. At first they interfered with the traders and merchants who lived within their dominions. We find the British Government is also pursuing an equally selfish and an equally improper policy. You find that while the merchandise of England has to be admitted in India without paying any import duties, many of our cotton and silk goods are entirely prohibited in some instances, and later on, when they were allowed, there were prohibitive duties not only of 10 and 20 % but of 30, 40, 50, 100 and 200 % and 500 % even. It was in this way, by employing the arm of political injustice, they smothered our industrial manufactures and prevented us from obtaining that outlet for our commerce which it used to have before. The result of that political injustice has been that all the trade and all the industries which formerly existed in this country—the cotton trade and the silk trade, brassware, and lace manufactures—all began to decline, and after a time they all died. Even in 1813, you find, we imported, in spite of all the prohibitive and protective tariffs, and we were able to export much more than England could send to us. Within 20 years what do you find? You find the tables are turned. England imports 30 times more while the Indian export trade almost disappears. Following this came the

immense improvement in mechanical appliances. And under this double pressure, the whole industrial organisation of the country became dislocated, and all our industries, or almost all of them, died out and eventually men who had followed various industries were obliged to give them up and become tillers of the land, or mere day-labourers. And the result has been that agriculture has become the one staple of the country. 80% of the population—or according to another calculation 86% of the population—depend entirely on the land. In regard to the land, the policy which the Government has followed is such as cannot at all afford any encouragement to the investment of private capital or to the application of private labour. In the beginning of British rule, the assessments which were imposed were so high as not to leave to the cultivator even the bare wages of the labourer. The whole country began to decline under this process, and at last they were roused by the ruin staring them in the face and some improvements were effected, and in the North-West Provinces, Bombay and Madras a more enlightened and wiser policy was adopted and assessments were made lighter and more fixed. In Bengal, thanks to the wise policy of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, (cheers) the Permanent Settlement had been introduced at the end of the 18th or beginning of 19th century. In other parts of India, after the mistakes which have been referred to had been committed, a wiser and a more enlightened policy was introduced, and under the effects of that, the country began to improve; but that was not sufficient. One thing which was wanting in that system was that there was no opportunity by which you could find and gauge the way in which the assessment would be raised or would remain the same at any succeeding survey. The whole thing was left to the discretion of the assessing and the settlement officer. And this was a thing which was considered as entirely essential to secure that progress without which the country could not prosper at all. In 1858, while the Mutiny was being suppressed, there occurred a great famine in Northern India, and after that famine a Commission was appointed by the Government of Lord Canning. Col. Baird, who was asked to make inquiry and report upon the measures that would have to be taken for the purpose of saving the country and protecting it against the recurrence of famines, made

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a most exhaustive investigation; and he recommended that the one thing which was calculated to protect the country against the recurrence of famines, was the extension of the Permanent Settlement to all those parts of India where it did not exist before. This recommendation of the Commissioner was accepted both by the Lieut.-Governor and his senior member of the Board of Revenue. It went up to the Government of India and the Government of India, consisting of both the Viceroy and Members, approved of it. The Secretary of State and his Council all approved of it. There was only one dissentient voice raised in India, and that was that of the Government of Bombay. Even Madras accepted the principle of Permanent Settlement. (Cheers.)

In fact, they said, our system means "when a settlement is made it is made permanently and once for all." It was only Bombay which declined to accept Permanent Settlement. It was hoped that this settlement which was promised, as suggested by a high official, accepted by the Lieut.-Governor and the Viceroy and his Council, and the Secretary of State and his Council, would be established throughout the country and the people would be saved from the harassing anxiety and growing burden of ever-recurring settlements. But things were not to be as proposed. Certain doubts occurred to those who did not want that Permanent Settlements should be granted. These pointed out that there would be unnecessary sacrifice of revenue, as there were several parts of the country which would shortly be opened, and that there were several parts of the country where canal irrigation would have to be carried out. There were certain restrictions and limitations imposed even in regard to the Government Revenue. Then came the despatches of 1871 and 1879, which said that where only 80 % of the culturable area was brought under cultivation, or where there was no likelihood of any increase of more than 20% under canal irrigation, within the next 20 years—except in those places, Permanent Settlement should be extended. Things remained in this condition, but the Permanent Settlement, which was promised when the memory of the Sikh War and the Mutiny was fresh in the minds of those who passed through the ordeal, was considered unnecessary when that memory faded. Another reason, it was stated, for granting the Permanent Settlement was that thereby

they would secure the peaceful loyalty of the Indian people. After 10, 15 or 20 years' experience it was found that the Indians were peaceful and loyal. As a reward for their peaceful character, and as a reward for loyalty the promise that was given to them, the solemn assurance which was given to the people, was not only left unredeemed, but later on was cancelled. Though, as I already remarked, the proposals from India were supported by three Secretaries of State, ultimately in 1883, the scheme was cancelled. At that time Lord Ripon was at the head of administration in India. (Cheers.) He suggested a compromise which would have given to us practically the benefits of a Permanent Settlement. What he proposed was that instead of granting Permanent Settlement in money value, we should have Permanent Settlement in kind. He laid down that except, practically speaking, so far as Ryotwari tracts are concerned, except where there has been a rise of prices, there should be no change in the assessment when the existing assessments expire. This proposal, which was at one time approved by three Secretaries of State, was ultimately disallowed in 1889. Persons who were always hankering after securing to Government the unearned increment obtained the ascendancy, and the only beneficent measure which would have benefited the masses of the country, has been denied them. Well, Gentlemen, our situation under this benign Government is this. The industries which existed formerly have disappeared or are eking out a most sickly existence. They are almost in a moribund condition. When we saw how other nations were prospering, we took a lesson from their experience and tried to imitate them. Here, in Bombay, and there, in Calcutta, they established mills for cotton and jute. But those who influenced the British Government to employ their power to crush existing old industries of India smelt danger. They saw what was likely to come; they brought all their influence to bear upon the Secretary of State,—the Secretary of State, whose salary, be it remembered is paid from the Indian revenues. They brought their influence to bear upon him and Lord Salisbury, who was our Secretary of State then, directed that steps should be taken to protect the British manufacturer against the competition of the Indian manufacturer. (Shame.) Gentlemen, for supplying the necessary money, every-

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where it was found expedient to impose customs duties. Such customs duties existed in India. Every commodity which was imported in to India had to pay the same. When the Manchester millowners found that there was a new industry which was rising in India, they brought their pressure to bear upon the Secretary of State for the abolition of import duties. The Government of India, be it said to their credit, opposed these proposals as also did the Members of Council; but the Secretary of State had his way and the import duties were sacrificed. Nor did things stop there. Not only were the funds required for our purposes not allowed to be raised, but we found afterwards that in the name of humanity another fetter was put upon our industries for the sake of protecting the women and children who were employed in the factories of the inhuman millowners. The humane people of Manchester raised an agitation and we have on our Statute Books the Factory Legislation of India. Under such circumstances as these we have to work. Our old industries have been destroyed. There remains only the one industry of land, and that is subjected to treatment which it is impossible to conceive would have been accorded by any native Government. Things, however, did not rest there. As pointed out by Mr. Dutt over and over again, the resources of a country's wealth did not consist in the production of wealth but also in a proper and wise application by the Government of that wealth. And here it is that the financial situation is extremely unsatisfactory. Gentlemen, poor as India is, the amount of taxation which is raised here is more than what is raised in England, considering the means of the two people. Out of the average income of Rs. 30 per head per year in India we have to pay Rs. 3½ taxation; not only that but we have to maintain a most costly service—the costly service itself is recruited from people who do not reside in the country, who send abroad all their savings, and who receive their pensions, in a foreign country. This is the great drawback of the present administration from an economic point of view. Besides moral loss, there is the emasculation of the people; there is a kind of moral deterioration of the people. There is also a material deterioration, namely, that there are 2,338 officers drawing 10,000 rupees a year; but of these only 60 are natives of India; 15 are Eurasians;

while there are 2,313 Europeans. Now these 2,313 Europeans between them take 4 crores and 20 lakhs of rupees yearly; the 60 natives receive 10 lakhs of rupees; and 15 Eurasians receive 2 lakhs. In other words, a greater portion of the money spent on the higher services is all absorbed by foreign agents. (Hear, hear.) You see what an immense harm is being done to this country by the drain which is going on. This is not the only drain. There is another and a much more serious drain which is the drain imposed by the public debt of India. The public debt of India, as you all know, is due, not to anything done for India, but most of it is due, first of all, to paying very large dividends to the old Directors and stock-holders of the East India Company. Then there have been different wars of conquest carried on, the expenditure of which have all been thrown on India. If there is anything done outside, on this side of Suez Canal, the expenditure of that is thrown on India. I am not going into the military or foreign questions. I merely desire to point out that all kinds of unjustifiable charges are saddled on India. The public debt of India now amounts to two hundred and twenty-seven millions pounds sterling. When the Queen ascended the throne the annual drain was three millions of pounds sterling; now seventeen millions pounds are sent on account of home charges alone. Besides that, there are private remittances of officers, remittances of profits made by European companies. You will find the difference between the exports and imports which give twenty-one million pounds sterling. This is the drain under which the country is suffering and the only way in which it can be remedied is by employing indigenous agencies to a much larger extent than it is done now. (Cheers.) The only way in which it can be done is by giving effect to the first proposition moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. Gentlemen, with these words, I commend this proposition to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

The Hon'ble Mr. L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA IYER (Madras) in seconding the resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I beg to second the proposition that has been so ably proposed by Mr. Mudholkar. The fact of Indian poverty is undoubted. Even

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in the most optimistic speeches of the Secretaries of State for India and the Viceroys, they are unable to ignore the fact that India is deeply sunk in proverty. In this resolution, we mention what appear to us to be the causes of that poverty and we also state what the remedies which should be if carried on to, will very largely tend to remove those causes. It appears to me that it is perfectly proper that this resolution has been made the third in the programme of the resolutions of the Congress. We have first drawn attention to the fact that there is not only injustice but also an economic injury in the entertainment of a larger number of Europeans in the Indian Service, when you can get materials, equally good and equally effective but cheaper in the Indian land itself. We have also shown how, if you will only change the character of education given you will make a difference, such as will improve the industries of the land and make the people thrive and develop their resources and our long lost industries will again come into existence.

There is also another important cause of Indian poverty and it is to that attention is mainly directed in this resolution. It is to the fact that, excepting in Bengal and in a few other local areas, we have not got the system of permanent settlement. It is said with, great justice, in my humble view, to that much of the hardship and suffering of the poverty that we see around us is due. We ask that what is granted to Bengal may be granted to us. It was after a full and anxious consideration of all the phases of the question, that in 1862 the Secretary of State for India resolved that wherever we have cultivation and full rents, fair and equitable in character, the permanent settlement could be extended. The stock argument against the Permanent Settlement is that it ignores what is due to the State on account of the unearned increment. It is not because that in 1862, when the Secretary of State for India allowed the permanent settlement to be extended to all parts of the country that may be fitted for it he was unaware or oblivious of the force of this argument. He understands it and recognises it and still says that permanent settlement shall be granted. I would with your permission read only one or two quotations from that despatch. After giving full credit to the argument derived from the theory of the unearned increment, he



says "Her Majesty's Government entertain no doubt of the political advantages which would attend a permanent settlement." He also says that "under the best arrangement operations cannot fail to be harassing, vexatious and perhaps even oppressive to the people affected by it." Then he also says that "as the period of resettlement approaches the agricultural classes, with the view of evading a true estimate of the actual value of their land, contract their cultivations, cease to grow the most profitable crops and allow wells and water courses to fall into decay." So that you will see, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the Secretary of the State has fully appreciated all the arguments in favour of and against the theory of permanent settlement. In his Despatches of 1862, 1865 and 1867 he has stated that wherever more than 80 per cent. of the available land has been taken up for cultivation, and wherever there is no prospect of canal irrigation so as to cause an increase of 20 per cent. in the assets that are available, the permanent settlement might be granted. The conditions imposed by these Despatches are exactly the same as those which the Government in its resolution thinks are the conditions which should be satisfied before you can introduce settlement for 30 years, the system of 30 years settlement prevalent in Bombay, Madras, North-West Provinces and Orissa. The view that obtained in 1862 obtained in 1865 and also in 1867 and is now obtained in Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces and Orissa. There is another aspect. The clause of this resolution which constitutes our prayer says that in the event of the Government finding itself unable to concede this prayer of ours, for whatever reason it may be, certain judicial check should be imposed to prevent over assessment. The Government does not choose to repudiate its pledge that there should be no taxation on improvements made at the ryots' expense. That we find recognised in all the papers in connection with this matter. If that be so, I see no harm whatever in its being declared to the people by means of legislation, because it will then be competent for persons who are affected to appeal to the court, so that the courts might determine whether as a matter of fact in a particular case the increase in taxation was due to ryots' improvement or due to causes other than ryots' improvements. There are one or two other matters not so

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uncontroversial, which may usefully form the subject of legislation. The one is with respect to the pitch of enhancement. The Government of India, in its recent resolution, has drawn attention to the fact that in enhancing the existing taxation with respect to the land, it has not always been that the pitch of enhancement has been such as to be conducive to the interests of the people. If the Government should declare by means of a legislative enactment what shall be the pitch of enhancement, there will be something definite on which the people could go, something tangible to which they could appeal, whenever they differ from those who levy the assessment.

When once it is granted that the success of Government must be tested not merely by the peace that obtains amongst the people, especially when they are law-abiding as Indian people are, but also by their prosperity and general advancement, it cannot be denied that these humble, modest and reasonable requests that we make are such as will meet with the acceptance of Government, when, as is often said, the interests of both the Government and the people are identical. It does not appear to me that these modest requests of ours are unreasonable. A reply might be given, an official one, that they do not find in these arguments anything valid or reasonable. Before we can be satisfied with such a reply, we must see that they are able to satisfy us with their reasoning. We can say with some certain truth that it is not the one side of the controversy that has the monopoly of reason; and if we are able to quote to Government from amongst their own records authorities for our position and are also able to support our arguments by undoubted facts, that appears to be the greater reason this request of ours should be granted. With these few words I commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

**MR. G. K.**  
**PAREKH.**

THE Hon'ble MR. G. K. PAREKH, (Bombay) who rose amidst loud and prolonged cheers, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen— I am asked to support the proposition which has been so ably and eloquently placed before you by the gentlemen who have preceded me. It involves one of the most important questions in connection with Indian Politics. The internal causes which have

led to greater poverty in this country are, firstly, that the masses of the population live upon agriculture; secondly, that they are illiterate and do not know those sciences which would enable them to use their lands for better purposes; and thirdly, they have to pay a very heavy assessment to Government which is likely to be increased from time to time at intervals of 30 years or less. The first two points have already been dealt with and I do not propose to take up your time, in regard to them. In connection with the question of assessment I may point out that the subject of Permanent Settlement has been very ably dealt with, and I do not, therefore, propose to take up much of your time in connection with it, except saying that even if the argument for having Permanent Settlement does not succeed, it is necessary that there should be some definite ground for the enhancement of assessment at the time of revision. The Government of India say: Why should not the State have the advantage of the general prosperity of the country? Even conceding that argument to be good, we have been able to see from experience that there is no definite test whatever of that prosperity. The test that is applied is mostly of an imaginary kind and the enhancement of assessment on that test inflicts considerable oppression on the people. The argument urged for the Permanent Settlement would be a strong ground for laying down that the enhancement of assessment shall be upon a definite basis. We have been given to understand that the Land Revenue resolution has completely closed that question. I regret to say that that resolution has caused considerable dissatisfaction in that part of the country to which I belong. The resolution itself shows that, while in other parts of India the demands of Government vary from 3 to 10 per cent. of the produce, you find in my part of the country the percentage is admittedly 20 per cent—I believe it is far more than 20 per cent. The only reason which the Government could give in justification of this difference in treatment is a bare statement that the produce of Gujerat is much greater than that of other parts. Even assuming that it was true was it not necessary for Government to consider the nature of the holdings, and see whether the holdings in Gujerat were of the same character as the holdings in other places. If you compare the holdings in

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**Mr. R. V.**  
**MAHAJANI.**

MR. R. V. MAHAJANI (Akola), Berar, next addressed the meeting in Marathi.

Mr. K. Natrajan, (Bombay) in supporting the proposition, said :—

I am glad to have the opportunity of speaking to this Resolution dealing with the economic situation of the country. The political question is ultimately the economic question, and it is my firm belief that the permanence or otherwise of a Government is largely a question of economic policy. The Resolution refers to the decay of indigenous industries. Sir Henry Cotton told us yesterday that the revival of industries in India must to some extent displace foreign industries. The conclusion is obvious, that Government, if it wishes to promote industrial development, as it does wish, should not be too solicitous about the fate of foreign industries—it should not, at any rate, levy an excise duty on a home industry for the purpose of countervailing an import duty raised for purely revenue purposes. (Hear, hear.) I, for one, go further, and it is my conviction that sooner or later Indian reformers will have to formulate a direct demand for the protection of infant industries, if the economic situation is to be seriously improved. That, for the present, is not in the resolution. But speaking of the poverty of the people and the need for reducing the taxes that press on the very poor, I may say that the privileged position enjoyed by foreign trade in our fiscal system leads directly to an unfair and extremely unequal distribution of its incidence among the several layers of the population. The present fiscal system violates the ordinary rules of taxation. Bearing the importance of the equal and fair distribution of fiscal burdens in mind, it seems to me that

a ten per cent. duty on our imports will be amply justified on grounds of equitable incidence of revenue alone. I do not think that it is good policy in a country, which a single failure of rains plunges from prosperity into bankruptcy to budget for a balance of revenue and expenditure. The best administered Native States don't do it: the Bombay Corporation does not do it. But a fairer distribution of the burden of taxation is urgently called for in the interests of the poor, and I hope that the present Government, which has done something in this direction already, will continue in its policy and put the fiscal system on a sounder basis. (Cheers.)

MR. MANECKJI KAVASJI PATEL in support of the resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—A poet has said “Man is born to walk erect and look upon the Heavens.” But unfortunately in India man is not able to fulfil the object of his birth. The condition of the masses in India is more wretched than we can bear to consider.

The time is coming when even the staunchest supporters and apologists of the Government of India will find it impossible to venture to deny that the ever-increasing drain of wealth from India, which has been going on for more than a century and a half in a variety of ways, has at length brought about frightful impoverishment of the people of this country. Economically the effect of British administration has been most prejudicial to material progress, and we have the curious spectacle of the richest nation of Europe governing for more than a century and a half a country with vast natural resources without advancing its material condition to the standard of even the poorest country in Europe. The reason is not far to seek. For more than a century and a half India has been made to bleed by its British administrators in the most scientific manner. (Shame, shame.)

The costliness and extravagance of the British administration, the large annual remittances in the shape of pensions, etc., to Europe, the introduction into India of cheap machine-made goods in unrestricted competition with the Indian handicrafts, the absence of a protective tariff of any sort, the relegation of the Indian population almost wholly to agriculture in order to give the

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The extravagant cost of the British Government is manifest from this fact alone that all the appointments in the higher branches of the public service are almost exclusively filled up by Europeans. But few of the natives of India could enter the higher grades of the Government services. In active service, a good portion of the pay received by the European employees of Government is remitted to Europe, or is spent upon objects which benefit European industries. Again large remittances have to be made to Europe from the Indian revenue for their pensions. Next, remittances have also to be made to pay for interest on debt which India has been made to contract in England for objects which are but little conducive to her good. The annual drain due to these and other causes is considerable and may be said to be so much capital taken out of India—capital which, under normal conditions, would promote the material development of the country. Sir Henry Cotton in his "New India" justly observes:—"The cost of British officers is too great; their salaries are too high; and the blessings of European civilisation that they introduce are luxuries beyond the means of the people." (Hear, hear.)

The introduction into India of cheap machine-made goods in unrestricted competition with the Indian handicrafts has ruined the indigenous industries. The absence of a protective tariff of any sort contributed to that ruin. Indian railways completed it. The extinction of our industries has ruined our artisan classes. The great majority of the artisan classes who once formed large flourishing communities have been driven to earn their subsistence as agriculturists. Manufacturing industries have consequently obtained an economical importance which they never had before

in India for they represent the means of finding employment and food for the rapidly increasing population. Industrialism is the provider of employment to millions. It is the one reliable safeguard against famines. It is the only salvation of India. India's chief want at present is the manufacture on an extensive scale of cheap articles of daily household use, and hundreds of factories, large and small, should be opened throughout the length and breadth of the country for the manufacture of these articles of daily necessity. In India labour is cheap and raw materials abundant. Not so capital. Given capital and we could manufacture many articles most profitably.

The indigenous industries of all the countries in the world, excepting Great Britain, Ireland and India, have been safeguarded by protective tariffs. In the absence of these recourse must necessarily be had to others. If there is no chance of protective tariffs, the country may have to turn to guaranteed industries and all the machinery of State-financed and State-watched enterprise. Such a system has its disadvantages, but it need not be ineffective. The Government of India should not shirk this important duty. Within the last decade industry has received an impetus in Germany which has spread alarm and consternation even in proud and wealthy England. How the Germans are anxious to find good markets in India is best illustrated by the fact that the German trade with India in the last decade was notable for the sudden increase in imports from Germany. Sugar, woollen goods, salt, hardware and cutlery were the chief imports. Now the question is—could not the natives of India manufacture these things in sufficiently large quantities so as to supply their wants and thus save lakhs of rupees from finding their way into capacious German pockets? What do the Indians owe to the Germans, or for the matter of that to Frenchmen, Italians, Austrians, etc., that they should allow these foreigners with whom they have nothing in common to drain India of its wealth. If England became rich at the expense of India, the Indians would not grudge it because we owe much to Englishmen. We owe them their present education and civilisation, they also owe them peace and justice. But it is exasperating to think that Germany, France, Italy, Austria,

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**Second Day.** Belgium and other countries of Europe, to which India is not indebted for anything, should be allowed to deprive this ancient-land of its wealth and natural resources. This state of affairs is the outcome of the boasted free trade principles of England, which when applied to India mean nothing more or less than that any German, French or Italian adventurer may come and exploit the natural resources of the country and ruin the indigenous industries. How deplorable it is that the same thing could not be done by an Indian. No Indian could, for instance, go to Germany. France, Italy or any other country of Europe, except Great Britain and Ireland, and establish a manufactory to supply local wants without being called upon to pay heavy duties. Is it not ridiculous, that while powerful and wealthy America should think it necessary to impose heavy duties upon all foreign goods entering the country starving India should be so generous as to throw open its doors to foreign goods which have not paid a single pie in the shape of duty. However flattering it may be to the vanity of Englishmen to contemplate, that besides Great Britain and Ireland the only country that favours free trade principles is their great Asiatic Dependency, they ought to give a thought to the increasing poverty of India and the protection which it therefore requires.

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The principal means by which industrial development may be effected in India, under the present conditions, is Technical Education. The education which the Indians have received hitherto has mainly been what may be called literary. The natives of India cannot develop the resources of their country when they do not know what those resources are. Ask an educated Indian where coal and petroleum are to be found in India? Under what conditions can they be worked to profit? How is iron smelted? How can soap be manufactured from indigenous materials? Not one in a thousand will be able to give anything like a satisfactory answer. Technical schools and colleges are indeed very badly needed in this country. I would like to draw attention to some words in a resolution of the Government of India on this subject, published early in July 1888 :—“The second class of considerations which have forced this question of Technical Education into prominence is



concerned with the need of industrial occupation for a population rapidly outgrowing the means of support supplied by a too conservative system of agriculture. It is also concerned with the need for scientific methods to develop the material resources of India and to improve its agriculture, its products and its manufactures so that they may better hold their places in the markets of the world where competition is carried on with an intensity of purpose which has been compared to the conditions of warfare." That was a very important and valuable pronouncement. Sixteen years have passed away since the said resolution of Government was published and little has been done in the matter. Natural Science is the intellectual speciality of modern civilisation. Its acquisition, however, is a matter of heavy expense. Well-equipped scientific laboratories are essential. But the people are too poor to afford them. Then few millionaires in India who could endow scientific research do not do so because they do not appreciate it. With the exception of one Parsee gentleman, the late lamented Mr. Tata, no Indian millionaire has been found to appreciate the value of scientific research in India. The Government also have done next to nothing in the matter of scientific education in India. The fact that the education which the Indians have hitherto received is not of a scientific character explains to a great extent their want of industrial enterprise. The education of the Indians is altogether unfruitful. There is nothing in it which can induce a taste for industrial pursuits in even a few of them.

In conclusion, I would say that England, in spite of her very good intentions concerning India, fails to do justice in her economic relations with this country, as there are very strong and hostile interests ranged in England against any reform in India. The opponents in England, in order to justify their selfish course of action, pretend to assume that India requires nothing else but peace and railways. But in pursuing such a selfish and short-sighted policy they must not forget the fable of the goose and the golden eggs. They must remember that without India, England would come down to the smooth level of Holland. Without India, England would really become a nation of shopkeepers living by sale and barter. With India, she may still hope to pass on into

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Resolution III.  
Economic  
Situation.

MR. MANEKJI  
KAVASJI  
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**Second Day.** the future generations as an Empire full of high aspirations and noble achievements, destined to civic glory and civic splendour. Let England therefore fulfil her great trust and perform her noble mission by doing justice to India in her economic relations with the country. (Cheers.)

**Resolution III.**  
Economic  
Situation.

**MR. MANECKJI**  
**KAVASJI**  
**PATEL.**

#### **Resolution IV.—Indebtedness of the Peasantry.**

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

**MR. H. S.**  
**DIXIT.**

**THE HONOURABLE MR. H. S. DIXIT** (Bombay) in moving the above resolution, said:—

Mr. President, and Fellow-Delegates,—The resolution that I have the honour to place before you is already printed on the Agenda that is before you; and, therefore, I will not take up your time by reading it. As the President just now remarked, it is a connected resolution which follows as a corollary from the last resolution. It is a resolution which practically expresses its concurrence with the resolution that was passed by the Indian Famine Union. You are aware, gentlemen, that during the last famines—particularly the famine of 1899—our friends in England formed what is known as the Indian Famine Union, and they prepared a memorial which they wanted to submit to the Secretary of State through the hands of a deputation. Lord George Hamilton, the then Secretary of State, first consented to receive the deputation; but for reasons best known to himself and his advisers, he subsequently withdrew that consent and declined to receive the deputation. The memorial was, however, received and sent to the Government of India and how it was dealt with is a matter with which I have no doubt you are all familiar. Time is precious and I am ordinarily a man of a few words, and I do not think I will give any opportunity to the President to strike his gong in the course or the few remarks that I intend to make. (Cheers.) The resolution of the Indian Famine Union to which I was just referring is perhaps a little fuller than the resolution placed before us; but in substance the two are practically the same. That resolution runs

thus :—" This Conference " that is the Conference that was held under the auspices of the Indian Famine Union " deploras the continued prevalence of famine throughout vast regions in India, the permanent poverty of great masses of the people, the widespread indebtedness of the agricultural population, and the lack of precise official information regarding the foundation causes of agricultural distress and is of opinion that it is urgently necessary that detailed local inquiry should be made into the economic conditions of typical villages in the famine areas, with a view to ascertaining the facts upon which preventive as well as remedial measures suited to the various provinces may be safely based." You will see, gentlemen, that the resolution starts with the fact that there has been continuous famine and there has been undisputed mortality in consequence. So far as these two things are concerned—the more frequent recurrence of famine and the heavy mortality—are facts about which there is no dispute. The Government and ourselves are at one and we do not join issue in regard to them. So far as the symptoms are concerned, we are agreed. Taking the illustration of a sick man, the Government and ourselves recognise the symptoms existing and the next question that naturally arises is, what is the disease and what is the diagnosis? You must know what the disease is before you can apply the remedy. What we ask the Government to do is to undertake the diagnosis. Of course, we have made our own diagnosis, in fact our diagnosis was made years ago by our Grand Old Man, whose book on the Poverty of India is doubtless familiar to every one of you. (Hear, hear.) Time after time officials and non-officials have confirmed that diagnosis. In fact, so late as 1901 the Macdonnell Famine Commission came practically to the same conclusion. (Hear, hear.) With your permission, I will just give you a quotation from their report. The Commissioners point out, as has been pointed out by many of us also, that the famines were really—or at all events the famines of later time—were not famines of food but famines of money and famines of credit. There was any quantity of food available, not in parts affected, but in other parts. There was no difficulty in finding food but the difficulty was the lack of power of purchasing the food; and it is the lack of the power of purchase that had to be grappled with. Therefore, it was that people

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**Second Day.** died. Referring to that point, the Commissioners say " that there never has been a dearth of food; and that the difficulty arises solely from inability to purchase, owing to the poverty and indebtedness of the struggling cultivator: in good years he has nothing to hope for except to a bare subsistence; in bad years he falls back on public charity?" Here we have the pronouncement of three distinguished gentlemen, one of whom was the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province, practically confirming the same diagnosis that had been made by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and others. (Hear, hear.) Then also we have had the expression of opinion of other gentlemen; and I think the latest that might be referred to is that of Mr. O'Connor, who, speaking of poverty and assessment, suggested that 25 to 30 per cent. of the land revenue ought to be reduced. When I referred to that elsewhere, I was referring to it, speaking particularly of the Deccan; and I was met with the remarks with reference both to Macdonnell's Commission's views and also those expressed by Mr. O'Connor, that the gentlemen concerned did not know anything of the Deccan and, therefore, their views about the Deccan were like their views about Florida or Kamaschatka. If you want to find out what is wrong, you must consult those persons who have been in the habit of finding out defects, who have administered provinces, who have dealt with the Land Revenue systems of the country, though not the particular system that you may be concerned with and who have the capacity to judge. Such persons are not likely to have preconceived notions or strong prejudices and are likely to be much better judges than those who have worked the system of Land Revenue complained against. (Hear, hear.) I am sure you will agree with me that in such matters a considerable amount of reliance ought to be placed upon the opinions of independent persons, so long as you are satisfied that those persons are competent to judge. I, for my part, would prefer the opinions of persons competent to judge to those of persons who have worked the system and who would, therefore, have preconceived notions about it. So what I would urge is that the diagnosis that has been made by us, has been confirmed by Government officials, and persons of standing and approved ability, against whom there is not a word to be said. That being the case, the Government should either accept it or if they are not prepared

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to do so should have their diagnosis. That is what we have been asking. We say to Government that these are the symptoms and if you agree with us as to the symptoms, then the diagnosis according to us is this, but if you don't agree with us as to the diagnosis, then appoint a committee and let that committee go into a few typical villages and after enquiry arrive at a conclusion. (Hear, hear.) That is the system adopted by General Booth and another gentleman (Mr. Rowntree) in England some time ago and we wish that the enquiry may be conducted on the same lines. I stated just a few minutes ago that the petition of the Indian Famine Union was sent to the Government of India and the Government of India disposed of it in a very airy way, if I may say so. The reply of the Government or rather the resolution which they published in answer to this memorial has been very well criticised and very ably dealt with by Sir William Wedderburn in a paper which he sent to *The Speaker* about some time in the end of November 1902. I don't wish to go into the details of that paper and I am sure that such of you as may not have read it will find, on reading it, that the objections taken by the Government of India are very satisfactorily met. What we want is the diagnosis by Government and when the diagnosis is known, the remedy will be clear. (Loud applause).

The HON'BLE MR. V. C. DESIKACHARI (Madras) said :—

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates,—The proposition which I have come forward to second is a simple one hardly requiring the formalities of proposing, seconding and supporting. The request contained therein is a very reasonable one based on the soundest principle of "Audi Alteram Partem." In every matter relating to the administration of a country there are two opinions, viz., the official and non-official opinion. Why should not an open enquiry be started in the shape of a Commission to investigate the whole question hearing the non-official as well as the official? Now, Sir, if you but look into the constitution of the Famine Union you will find it consisting of retired eminent Anglo-Indians who held very high offices in India. They are men who have served the Government loyally and retired on well-earned pensions. This Union presented a memorial to the Secretary of State for India praying : "That the Government will be pleased to cause a detailed enquiry to be made into the economic condition

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of a limited number of selected villages in each of the Provinces which have been affected by famine. It is suggested that in each Province the local administration should select typical villages and appoint suitable persons including officials and non-officials Europeans and Indians, to make a complete enquiry, into their condition, ascertaining the exact financial position of each cultivator with the history and causes of his difficulties."

This memorial was influentially signed by Peers and Commons, by eminent Anglo-Indians who once occupied positions of great trust under the Government of India, and by the clergy of England headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Cheers.)

The proposer of the resolution has told you that for some reasons unknown Lord George Hamilton refused to receive the deputation. But I can tell you the reason as it is no secret. First of all, Lord George promised to fix a date early in the session after the opening of the Parliament. Meanwhile, Sir, that philanthropic friend of India—that great and good man whose premature death we so much mourn—I refer to W. S. Caine—(Hear, hear) he gave notice of an amendment upon the address. This upset Lord George Hamilton. He at once wrote as follows to the Famine Union :—

" I am very sorry for the disappointment, which I am afraid my decision has caused to the members of the Indian Famine Union, but I am sure they will understand that in the circumstances it is necessary for me to reserve what I have to say on behalf of the Indian Government for the debate in the House of Commons."

We know, Sir, what took place in that debate.

Nothing daunted, the Honorary Secretaries of the Famine Union again pressed the question of deputation. But Lord George was not moved. He thought no useful purpose would be served by receiving a deputation. (Ironical cheers.)

Sir, I remember having read somewhere that " man thinks, speaks or writes." But our genius Lord George, speaks and writes off hand and then begins to think. (Laughter.) After refusing the deputation he seems to have sent the memorial to the Government of India. The course of this country has been that as famine followed

famine, so did the unsympathetic Secretaries of State for India succeeded one another. Lord George was succeeded by Sir Henry Fowler, who again was succeeded by Lord George. Mr. Brodrick's qualifications for that high office was that as Secretary of State for War he was an utter failure. (Hear, hear.) He had to vacate that office and his colleagues had to find him a place. What more natural than to shove him in into the comfortable and highly paid berth of the Secretary of State for India. (Shame.)

The fate of the memorial in the hands of the Government of India was almost a foregone conclusion. His Excellency Lord Curzon, who is so clever in speaking and writing, drew up a lengthy reply in the course of which he gave four reasons why the prayer in the memorial should not be granted. I shall refer to them briefly.

First, no necessity for a Commission because there already existed extensive machinery. Now, Sir, this is simply an absurd argument. What was wanted was a mixed tribunal of officials and non-officials to investigate the matter thoroughly.

The second reason given was that the result of such an enquiry could not fail to be misleading, because it is not practicable to generalise from investigations made in typical villages.

No, Sir, apply this reasoning to the system of harassing settlements recurring every 20 or 30 years in Ryotwari tracts. The settlement officer goes to a corner of a field, examines the soil and upon such examination assesses not only that particular field, but many an acre in the vicinity—nay hundreds and hundreds of acres in the village. The same principle which, when it suits our rulers, is held sound becomes unsound when an unofficial body tries to circulate it.

The third reason given is even more specious. It is a verbal criticism of the Viceroy. He thinks that the phrase "Economic Condition" of the people is a general phrase and perhaps too vague. His Excellency thinks it not possible to obtain specific information with any approach to accuracy.

Then comes the fourth reason, that the enquiry would add to the work of the already overworked Indian officials. This is ridiculous. We all know that when an official is put upon any

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**Mr. V. C.**  
**DESIKACHARI.**

special Commission he gets his salary and is also relieved of his ordinary and routine work while being deputed to attend to the special work. Now, Sir, at the very end of this despatch, I am sorry to say, His Excellency the Viceroy refers with a scathing irony, to the Famine Union in unsympathetic terms. It is shameful that such a sentence should have found place in a serious State document. I shall read to you the sentence:—

“ We think therefore that the independent and sympathetic aid that is proffered to us by the Indian Famine Union, and of the value of which we are far from being insensible, might more opportunely find other channels for its application. He might have well added:—“ Convey our best compliments to the members of the Indian Famine Union and tell them to mind their own business, and not interfere with us while we are in office.”

Let us now compare the signatories of this wonderful Despatch with some of the signatories of the memorial. You have on the one hand Lord Curzon, A. P. Palmer, T. Raleigh, A. Arundel Denzil Ibbetson and J. F. Finlay. On the other side there are Lord Ripon, Lord Hobhouse, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir W. C. Petheram, Sir Raymond West, Sir M. M. Bhowanagree, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. S. S. Thorburn and Mr. R. C. Dutt. I can say that man for man every one of the latter is as good as if not better than every one of the former,—except that they are not now drawing large salaries from the Indian Exchequer. (Cheers.)

Again, Sir, are not these days, the days for Commissions? His Excellency Lord Curzon is responsible for ever so many of them.

1. Police Commission.
2. Irrigation Commission.
3. Universities Commission.
4. Railway Commission.

Why then refuse this Commission alone? Is it because the whole of England has asked for it, for the signatories to the memorial are so very representative that I am entitled to say that it was the whole of England that wanted the enquiry. After all, gentlemen, we commit ourselves to nothing by passing this



resolution. I don't ask you to take a leap in the dark. All we want is an enquiry and an investigation by an independent body composed of officials and non-officials. I could here quote the reply which Mr. Thomas Burt, M. P., sent to Mr. Stead, the Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, when he was asked his opinion about Mr. Digby's book.

"Mr. Digby's is, as you say, an appalling book. Mr. Digby I know and I greatly like. I believe he is absolutely trustworthy. Possibly something can be said on the other side, but I feel we have a terrible responsibility for the condition of India. That responsibility, so far as I can see, is very imperfectly realised, if it is recognised at all either by the British Government or by the British people. Yes, if Empire—of which we hear so much—has any meaning at all, we should manifest some interest in these half-starved inarticulate millions." (Hear, hear.)

I am afraid I have taken up more time than I intended.

I shall conclude my remarks by quoting 3 lines from Rudyard Kipling with my humble apologies to him for one interpollation of mine—I substituted the word "poor" for "white."

"Seek another's profit and work another's gain  
 "Take up the *poor* man's burden, the savage wars of peas  
 "Fill full the mouth of familiar and bid the sickness cease."

RAI PARBATI SHANKAR CHAUDHRI, (Dacca) in supporting the resolution, said :—

After what has been said on this resolution I think the best course for me to adopt will be simply to say that I support it and then to sit down. But I have come from a long distance and at some expense, and if I do not say what I intended to say when I started from Calcutta, it will be greatly mortifying to me. Therefore, gentlemen, you will excuse me if I say something on the question. I am not a trained speaker, possessing the power of rhetoric. I will only relate a few simple facts. We want an inquiry as to whether the indebtedness really exists; if so, what should be its remedy.

There is scarcely any contention about the indebtedness more or less of the peasantry of the country. Although there is some contention about the average annual income of the people of

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**Second Day.** the District Provinces of India, according to the estimate made by  
**Resolution IV.** the Viceroy of India, the average income per head is £ 2 or  
 Indebtedness of the Peasantry. Rs. 30 a year.

**MR. RAI PARHATI  
 SHANKAR  
 CHAUDHRI.**

But the late Mr. Digby puts the incomes as follows:—

|                                                         |     |     | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|
| Bengal                                                  | ... | ... | 15  | 3  | 0  |
| though this province is considered the richest in India |     |     |     |    |    |
| Madras                                                  | ... | ... | 14  | 2  | 0  |
| Bombay                                                  | ... | ... | 20  | 1  | 0  |
| N.-W. P.                                                | ... | ... | 18  | 0  | 3  |
| Punjab                                                  | ..  | ... | 12  | 10 | 0  |
| C. Provinces                                            | ... | ... | 16  | 12 | 0  |
| Assam                                                   | ... | ... | 25  | 8  | 9  |

owing to the tea cultivation, the profits of which go to the planters.

Now, gentlemen, in consideration of the above figures the average income per head of the population per year in 1901 is 18 rupees and 12½ annas, *i. e.* Re. 1-9-0 per month per head of the population. With such a small average income, it is impossible for any one to live with comfort and have sufficient food; and the result is unavoidable indebtedness. Gentlemen, several other causes have also been assigned for the indebtedness of the agricultural classes. Let me mention some of them and their remedies. One of these is the over-assessment on land in certain provinces, and the Government of India having recognised the fact, have directed their efforts to reduce the rent where it is possible. If this humane policy is pursued consistently, the agricultural classes will be greatly relieved.

The gradual decay or extinction of the handicrafts and industries of India has also to a greater extent contributed to the indebtedness of the peasantry. But it is a most fortunate circumstance that our countrymen are exerting themselves in this direction. And their efforts have met with some success. Another cause for the indebtedness of the peasantry may be said to be the high rate of interest at which the cultivators are obliged to borrow money from the Sowcars or Mahajans. But, gentlemen, following the recommendation of the Famine Commissions the Government of India have passed the Co-operative Credit Society Act, and are trying to establish Co-operative Credit Societies

throughout the country for the benefit of the agricultural classes. Whether they will be finally beneficial to the tenants their practical working will show. In Mysore State the experiment has been tried for some time, but as yet no encouraging results have been obtained. The efforts of the Indian Government in this direction require to be supplemented by those of the people.

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SHANKAR  
CHAUDHRI.

Gentlemen, apart from what Government is doing to help the tenants, let us try to do as much as possible as it lies within our power by mutual self-help and co-operation. (Hear, hear.)

It is a well-known fact that the indebtedness of the cultivating classes is greatly increased in years when the crops fail. If some simple remedy could be devised that would relieve them at the time of scarcity of food grains, it would be of great help in reducing the indebtedness of the people. The question, therefore, whether the establishment of grain banks would be of some service to the country was agitating my mind in the year 1900. The idea was not a new one, it is perhaps as old as the rise of the agricultural community. I only intended to base it on co-operation and mutual help.

The experiment has greatly succeeded in case of Jayagung Dharma Golah and the other Golahs are showing good results. They are not only laying by every year an increasing stock of grain for the villagers but gradually reducing their indebtedness, as the loan operations of the banks in ordinary seasons are tending materially to diminish the dependence of the tenancy on the money-lenders. (Hear, hear.)

Whether the scheme, already found successful in Bengal, can be introduced into other Provinces of India remains to be seen.

It is highly desirable that the Government should be requested to institute the inquiry and as it is urgently demanded I therefore humbly support the resolution. (Cheers.)

DR. JOSEPH BENJAMIN (Ahmedabad) in support of the resolution, said :—

DR. JOSEPH  
BENJAMIN.

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been placed before you by the Honourable Mr. Dixit; and rightly proposed by him because he represents the local Boards

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BENJAMIN.

of the Central Division of this Presidency, and thus represents the cultivators of that division. It will look strange to you that a non-agriculturist like myself should come to support this resolution. I belong to that community which has a large number of cultivators in the Konkan. I have a right to represent the community. There is another reason why I have a right to come here. As a member of the local and District Boards, I have a right to represent the peasants of Ahmedabad District. There is yet a greater reason why I should come before you. For the last 20 years I have moved among the cultivators; I have had frequent opportunities as a professional man to treat them in the time of famine in Guzerat, which was once the Garden of Western India. There people died at the very first attack of famine. What does it show? It shows that even in Guzerat, which was considered rich, people had no staying power at the time of famine. And even the Government of Bombay had to admit that when famine came upon Guzerat, it came upon them as a surprise. Gentlemen, for the last three or four years, the condition of Guzerat has been very bad indeed. Even in this year in parts of Ahmedabad and Tera Districts, test famine works have been opened. It has been said that the Indian peasant is improvident. I assure you, gentlemen, that there is no more frugal peasant in the world than the Indian peasant. (Hear, hear.) I have seen how miserably they live. They have not even sufficient clothes to put on. At the time of famine, I may say, people had to give up their coats and bed and at one time, even their children were given up, because they were not able to feed them. When we place any resolution before Government, when we place any legitimate demand, our critics say it is not supported by the masses, that it was a high demand, etc., etc. But this resolution is not only supported by us, but by both parties even in England—among whom we count Sir W. Wedderburn who when in Government Service showed how the peasants were steeped in indebtedness. Our Grand Old Man—long may he live, and may his efforts to enter Parliament again be crowned with success, observed the same; May the efforts of our President be likewise successful. With such friends to support us I hope the Government of India will hear our modest prayer and grant inquiry. We do not ask for any franchise. We simply request

that an inquiry might be made. We believe in the sense of British justice, in the sense of British conscience. I appeal to the Government of India in the name of united India assembled to-day. We earnestly believe that the peasantry of India is in an impoverished condition. Why should not the Government undertake the inquiry we ask for? Why should they shirk their responsibility? It will clear all doubt as to whether we are right or they are right, if the inquiry is made. With these words I commend the Resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

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DR. JOSEPH  
BENJAMIN.

#### V.—Indian Emigrants to English Colonies.

The President:—I would now call upon only those speakers to speak, who have personal experience of South Africa. I hope that the gentlemen, who have not been in South Africa, will excuse me if I pass over their names in the Agenda paper.

MR. MADANJIT (South Africa) said:—

MR. MADANJIT.

I have great pleasure in proposing the resolution standing in my name. It runs as follows:—

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

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

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

Session after session this great National Assembly has been passing resolutions on the Indian question in South Africa, and yet nothing has been secured. The ground under the feet of the

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British Indian settlers in South Africa, seems to be slipping away day after day ; and had it not been for the righteousness of the cause and the confidence in the ability and willingness of the British Government to protect the rights of the British Indian in South Africa, we would have long ago given up the struggle. I cannot give you all the details of the situation. The grievances are great and many. The Indian British subject, as he has been, is a despised being, yet the same Indian is indispensable in Natal, and is sought after as labourer and domestic servant in other parts of South Africa, including even the Transvaal. As long as he remains under a white boss well and good. But if he thinks of doing something of his own, either as a small cultivator, or as a tradesman or as a shop-keeper, he at once becomes undesirable.

Before 1859 Natal was on the brink of bankruptcy. There were neither tea nor sugar estates and her hotels and private houses could not find reliable cooks and waiters. The Kaffir could not be induced to work for any length of time. To save the situation she approached the Indian Government, who, to relieve the surplus population of this country, consented to the recruiting of the Indian coolies. You must particularly note that it was to find field for the surplus and growing population of India that the Government of India agreed to the indenture of the Indians. But as soon as it ceases to be that field that emigration ought to cease. Gentlemen, Indian labour is the fulcrum of the prosperity of Natal. (Hear, hear.) " This assured promise of Indian labour " to quote one of the Commissioners of Natal, " resulted in the immediate rise in revenue, which increased fourfold within a few years, mechanics found their wages more than doubled, and progress gave encouragement to every one from the Berg to the sea. But a few years later a well-founded alarm arose that it would be suspended. Simultaneously down went revenue and wages ; immigration was checked, confidence vanished, and retrenchment and reduction of salaries was the main thing thought of, and yet another change some year's later," continues the same Commissioner, " a fresh promise of renewed Indian immigration created its effect, and up again went the revenue, wages, and salaries, and retrenchment was soon spoken of as a thing of the past." This indenture was, in the beginning, for three years; but subsequently its period was extended

to five. The system itself is such that abuses are bound to crop up. The ordeal is hard and trying. But except a few, most of the Indians pull through it, in the hope that when they are free they can work out their salvation in their own way. The majority of free Indians live in the country as cultivators, a small percentage prefer to live in town and work as either waiters, cooks, or labourers, and a few educated ones as clerks. In this way during the last 45 years a large and steady Indian population has grown up in the colony. The presence of these Indians made Natal what she is to-day. They have earned for her the name of the Garden Colony of South Africa. (Hear, hear.) Natal cannot do without Indian labour ; year after year the demand for the Indian coolie has steadily and persistently increased and to-day there are applications with the Protector of Indian Immigrants for 18,000 coolies when that officer, (of whom I will speak later on ) can hardly get 3000 yearly to supplement the labour supply of the colony. Gentlemen, Natal wants Indian coolies for her sugar, tea and other estates, for her farms, her hotels and private houses as also for her mines to slave for 10, 12 and even 15 hours a day, for a period of five years under indenture on a paltry salary of 10 to 15s. a month. The Colony cannot do without Indian labour and yet in the same breadth she declines to have Indian population and she has passed a law whereby at the expiration of their term of indenture Indian coolies must either re-indenture themselves or leave the Colony ; but if they choose to remain they must annually pay a poll-tax of three pounds stg. per head. But Natal is not satisfied with this bleeding of the Indians. The colonists propose to go further. The Natal Government sent two Commissioners to the Government of this country to arrange to get work out of the coolie for 5, 10 or 15 years but when he declines to re-indenture himself or when he can not work he must be sent back to India, that is, his indenture must terminate in India so that no indentured Indian could ever tread on the sacred soil of Natal after he is free. Fortunately for the Indians, Lord Curzon has not yet seen his way to agree to this preposterous proposal and those who choose to live there are allowed to stay though not always to lead a peaceful life.

There is an officer known as the Protector of Indian immigrants. He is supposed to see that justice is done to

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these unfortunate coolies. He is responsible to the Natal Government, but is the servant of the Indian Immigration Board, which is made up of the representatives of the planters. His promotion, or for that matter his post, depends upon their pleasure and it is absurd to suppose that he could conscientiously do his duty even if he would. At best he is a passive being so far as the protection of the coolies is concerned. I do not so much blame him, as I blame his surroundings. His atmosphere is such that he is bound to gradually feel for himself, his superiors and government to whom he is responsible. There are many reasons why this officer should be appointed by and be held responsible to the Indian Government, and you will soon see that much of the mischief that passes unnoticed at present, will either soon disappear or be exposed to the outside world beyond the four corners of the Protector's Office. (Hear, hear.) The system itself is to blame, the less said of it the better. There is, however, one thing to which I would like to refer.

I can cite instances where many respectable and well-to-do people are dragged out of railway carriages and made to pass their night in police cells for daring to go out without their free pass. I also know instances where husbands in search of nurses for their wives were locked up in police stations for being found without a pass but returned home in the morning to find their wives confined, and at times in a precarious condition. (Shame.)

During this year over 100 licenses have been refused renewals in the whole of Natal and the next month it is feared will add to the list. These bodies do not want even to grant transfer of licenses in case business places are removed from one street to another. This has created consternation amongst the Indian Store-keepers and has considerably weakened their credit. If things go on at this rate Indian trade will be ultimately wiped out of existence in that part of the world.

In the Orange River Colony the Indian has a very precarious footing. He can enter and live there only as a domestic servant and that too under the guarantee of a white master, and he cannot change his master without a special pass from the Colonial Secretary. In the days of President Brand of this Republic there



were some Indian Merchants but their shops were forcibly closed and they were compelled to leave the country without compensation. They have not been able to enter the country even after the British annexation. Rhodesia has grievances of its own but there are not many Indians there and most of their grievances are of a general character and I need not enumerate them.

The Transvaal is the real theatre of war. It is there that the situation is most critical. In fact Transvaal Indian policy will be the policy of all the South African States, (hear, hear) and if once the Indian question is settled there, other States will cast themselves in the same mould. Gentlemen, it is therefore this new Colony of gold that we have to pay our greatest attention to. There new legislation is about to be passed and the White Leagues and other Leagues have leagued together to make the existence of Indians in that country an impossibility. Lord Milner and Sir Arthur Lawley are feeding the fire of race-hatred and class prejudice with a very dangerous fuel and unless you, our Anglo-Indian friends and our Indian Government, all combine and come to our help we must give up all hope of success. (Hear, hear.)

I ask you to be up and doing or the position will be such as will degrade the Indian to the position of the naked savages of South Africa and at times worse. Our great country-man, Mr. Gandhi, (cheers) single-handed and unaided, is fighting our battle heroically and manfully against tremendous odds, and it behoves every one of us in this hall to strive himself, and ask three hundred millions of this country to strive to save the situation.

Gentlemen, this question does not alone affect the one hundred and thirty thousand Indians in British South Africa. It is a question of the greatest national importance, and the neglect of this moment will nullify all our charters of liberties, our national existence, and we shall have to accept the position of a savage nation. The mania against colour is spreading slowly but surely. (Hear, hear.) Australia has done its work against colour. Sir Charles Elliot, fortunately now no longer the Governor of Uganda, would make that healthy place a preserve for white races and confine blacks, and especially us Indians, to the malarious district of East Africa. Even the little Island of Fuji which is known only on

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account of the Indian settlers, has disfranchised the India residents. These are British Colonies and if we are to be denied the rights and privileges pledged and secured to us repeatedly by our late Gracious Queen, and also our present Sovereign, His Majesty King Edward the VII of England and Emperor of India, what chance do we stand in lands ruled by alien Governments. The remedy is simple. You will, of course, endorse the resolution I have read to you. But it is not enough, we claim from you a sustained effort. The Europeans in the Transvaal have been agitating in season and out of season against the Indian settlers, though they have practically no reason for such agitation. If the public bodies here did likewise, if meetings were held all over the country and a memorial signed by say 20 or 30 million people of this country, sent to the House of Commons, do you for one moment believe that the British Government would do ought else but protect the British-Indian settlers in the Transvaal? Opinion in India as elsewhere is not divided on this question. It would be strange if it was. All therefore what is needed is to give an effective voice to it. May I hope that the work will be continued outside the Congress Pandal and meetings held all over India? It will strengthen the hands of our Government and the Government of England. Thorough study of the question is necessary. You have week after week the "Indian Opinion" giving you the most accurate news from South Africa. I hope our leaders gain therefrom an accurate idea of our unfortunate position. We in South Africa have undoubtedly to help ourselves. But without help from the mother country we can do very little. We are rejected because we are a part, and we are proud to be a part, of the millions of Hindustan. But we must be accepted when the millions come to the succour of the few who have settled in that sub-continent. Gentlemen, before I sit down I again pray that all of you will make up your minds to move strenuously on behalf of those Indians on the other side of the Indian Ocean. (Applause.)

**MR. N. BAROACHA.**

MR. N. BAROACHA (Calcutta) in seconding the resolution spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Fellow-Countrymen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Coming as I am from South Africa, it is hardly necessary to introduce myself. My peculiar position brought me in close touch with many a European and the experience I gained hereby helped me not a little in studying the South African question in all its different aspects. My object is to lay before you a few of the grievances for your knowledge and consideration. The subject is very large. Its nature and scope demand a far greater occupation of time than I am allowed. It is, therefore, not possible for me to treat it in all its different bearings. I shall only try to be concise and terse. With me brevity is the order of the day. I let you know at the very outset that you must not expect anything like a set speech from me. I shall just express a few of my sentiments in simple language.

The nature of my mission is clear enough. Our countrymen across the seas are very enthusiastic about this grand national movement. You can easily imagine the state of their mind, for they are in a perpetual fear of having imposed on them fresh disabilities almost every year, and that made it imperative on them to send delegates here to represent the difficulties. They did all they could to get their disabilities removed, but so far they failed to obtain the redress. Their representations have been ignored and their remonstrances have been futile. In despair they now turn and look to their countrymen of light and leading. (A Voice—All right.)

That is why I want every one of you to take interest in the South African question. Gentlemen, this is an age of action. Every one must think and act for himself. The question of emigration has been one of the greatest and most important, and looking to the present state of our country you can ill afford to ignore or postpone it indefinitely. It is the present poor state of our country, gentlemen, that impelled so many of our countrymen to leave their homes in search of an honest living abroad. That they are a peaceful, loyal and law-abiding people, there is not a shadow of doubt left in the minds of the colonists. I might go further and say that they are a passive and contented lot. Ambition, hope, love of gain, morbid spirit of discontent and all those passions which agitate the minds of men the most, do not find

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**Second Day.** their way in the bosom of an Indian. (Hear, hear.) I do not know whether these are undesirable qualities.

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**MR. N. BAROA-**  
**CHA.**

There is one point which does not form the scope of my subject; but I was particularly requested on the eve of my departure by our countrymen to communicate it to you. I do not know whether I shall be allowed to do so. It is a sort of message, gentlemen. I feel proud to deliver that message, because it is a message of sympathy for this great national assembly. That they have been watching the proceedings of the Congress year after year with a no inconsiderable amount of interest is a well attested fact. They have great faith in the Congress, for, apart from the political considerations which gave birth to it, it is destined to play a far important part in the destiny of this ancient land. (Cheers.) We are witnessing to-day the completion of the second decade of its existence. The growth of a political institution is always gradual, 20 years are nothing in the history of a political movement of this description. (Hear, hear.) To those of you who come forward with a declaration that no good can come out of the Congress, I say that it has done one great good and it is that it has been successful to a considerable extent in wiping off those caste prejudices and other allied barriers which made it so difficult for different classes of people to come together and exchange their views and discuss the questions which affected them equally. (Applause.)

The commencement of South African politics dates back from 1897. You might naturally ask me whether any improvement has been effected since then in the political condition of our people. It is very difficult to answer in the affirmative. As you may be aware, South Africa is divided into four principal colonies, namely, Natal, Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal. Each one of them has its own tale to tell, as far as Indians are concerned. Things are at a stand still in Natal except that a slight change for the better is perceivable in the attitude of the colonists. They are beginning to find out their mistake. They are beginning to realize that the violent method of agitation they had recourse to, had been carried on on extremely unconstitutional lines and was the outcome of gross ignorance on their part; but still there are a host of grievances I have to complain of.

The so called amended Immigration Act of Natal is extremely inimical to the interests of the Indians. It makes it very difficult for them to enter the colony. It is a highly perfunctory Act. In the hands of unscrupulous people it proves to be an engine of oppression.

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There is another Act called "The Dealers License Act." This is the worst Act I have known. It is surely extremely regrettable that such an Act as that should ever come to appear on the Statute Book of a highly enlightened and civilized Government. I will tell you what it is. By this Act almost unlimited powers have been vested in the hands of the Licensing Officer. If you go to him for a trading license he may grant it if he likes, and he may as well refuse you point blank. He does not state his reasons for the refusal. It depends upon his whims and fancies. Again, mind you, there is no appeal against his decision. Fancy? I ask, is it fair, is it just, is it proper that such a deplorable state of affairs should ever be allowed to exist in a British Colony? (Voices of "No, No.")

In order that more cordial relations might be established between colonists and Indians in Natal I suggest a remedy. At present Natal cannot boast of a sufficient number of Europeans of good breeding and education. It deplorably lacks what we call "Gentlemen" in the highest sense of the word. The situation is incapable of a rapid and lasting improvement, if steps are not taken in time to instil into the minds of the younger generation the elevating sense or what you call the power of discrimination between right and wrong, good and bad, high and low, just and unjust.

I came in contact with good many English gentlemen during my stay there. They were, one and all, amenable to reason. They took men on their merits and not on their colour. They were endowed with a high sense of British justice and great British instinct. (Cheers.) Were it not for the high sense of British justice and great British instinct, I ask, would it have been possible for our valiant Knight, I mean no other than our worthy President, a true Englishman that he is, I say, would it have been possible for Sir Henry Cotton to preside over your deliberations this morning? (Applause.)

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Now, I am coming to the grievances of South Africa in general and of the Transvaal in particular. In Cape Colony the treatment of the Indians is comparatively better. It by no means follows from this that they have no grievances. They have; but the colour bias and trade jealousy are visible in a mild form. That is due, I believe, to a very small number of Indians residing there.

As regards Orange River Colony the situation is simply hopeless, past redemption, beyond reformation. Because no Indian is allowed to enter the country. (Shame.)

The treatment of our brethren in the Transvaal is extremely unsatisfactory. Their disabilities and difficulties are multitudinous. You cannot form an adequate conception of the situation which is growing worse and worse every day. British justice and British freedom are a misnomer in that province. (Hear, hear.)

Before the war broke out, that is, in the late Kruger regime, some of the laws which are enforced at present did exist; but they existed only on the Statute Book as dead letters. Now that the British have stepped in, the enforcement of those laws is carried out with utmost rigour.

There is one bad point in the Colonial character which I wish to bring to your notice. All Indians are treated alike without any regard to their station in life. We have two classes of Indians in South Africa—the indentured and free. The indentured Indians are chiefly drawn from the lower strata of our society. They form the labouring class. They have no articulate voice to ventilate their grievances.

Free Indians are a respectable class of people. They make their living chiefly by trade. They are frugal in their habits. The treatment of this class of people is not differentiated from that of the indentured or low class. In the sight of a Colonist all Indians are *coolies* whether they are high or low, rich or poor, educated or illiterate. That betrays the ignorance of his knowledge of India? I have no objection if a man calls a spade a spade but when an educated and enlightened Indian is called a *coolie*, the matter assumes a very grave form. It verges almost on monstrosity. Does it not? The reason is traceable to trade jealousy which reigns supreme.

Colour prejudice is also partly responsible for the uncomfortable position they are in. All these difficulties and disabilities, and they are legion, are strictly speaking traceable to two principal factors, namely, "trade jealousy" and "colour prejudice." Colour prejudice plays an important part in South Africa. However clever and educated a man may be, should he happen to wear a black skin, he is nowhere. All hotel and restaurant doors are slammed against him.

If he goes to a theatre, all eyes are directed towards him, as though he were an object of great curiosity. Perhaps he imagines that they were so many loving looks full of admiration for the black man. No sooner does he emerge from that momentary happy thought than he finds to his great dismay that all the organs of smell have not been behind-hand in following suit. They are turned up, distorted, and disfigured. Now, that poor man gets non-plussed, for invariably he has no control over his nerves. His mind is distracted and instead of enjoying he curses his fate that he ever went to the theatre.

He wishes to go to a pic-nic party some half a dozen miles away from town. He rightly considers that he has as much right as any other man to enjoy and make the best of life. With that view firmly established in his mind, he goes to the Railway Station, buys a ticket and paces up and down the platform with his hands thrust into his trouser pockets. After a few minutes, the train steams up the platform, and with all the bustle and hurry of a passenger he goes up to a first class carriage and opens the door to enter. The moment the door is opened, a big burly looking man presents himself in front of him and asks in a commanding tone "What do you want." He says something like "I am a passenger or I want to go to such and such a place." Hardly does he finish speaking than he finds himself addressed in extremely discourteous language "Get away you d——d coolie." The poor man gets stupefied for a moment, for he hardly knows what to say. He becomes nervous and makes an effort to say something. The driver blows the whistle, the guard whose duty it is to see that the train is all right, approaches the man, pushes him aside, and off the train starts. As the face is the index of the mind all those feelings of anger and vengeance are portrayed there. What can he do?

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**Second Day.** Nothing. Absolutely nothing. With a sour face he begins to move. He goes out and calls a rickshaw. The rickshaw boy does not pay attention to his shouts, for he knows him to be an Indian. This condition is applicable to Natal also.

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Mr. N. BARGA-  
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He is obliged to walk the distance over. As he walks on the foot-path absorbed in his own thoughts, all of a sudden he gets a push. That makes him wild. Mild submission has no longer held on him. He approaches the man and begins to argue and reason and remonstrate. The more he reasons the more he is insulted. He is still determined not to budge an inch. He sticks to his guns. He offers a bold resistance. And all of a sudden he gets a blow on his nose. He does not like to go to the Court. Why? Because he believes that the very fact of his appearing in the court is detrimental to his business and reputation. Not only that, but he also knows that there are very few chances of getting justice against a white man. (Shame.)

There is another great grievance to which I should like to make a passing allusion. It is the "Indian location." It means that all and sundry have to go and to reside and to trade in a certain place completely isolated from the business centre. The hardships entailed upon such a complete isolation could better be imagined than described. In order to justify an unjustifiable action, the white men call it an "Asiatic Bazar." I do not know whether a more spurious euphemism was ever invented.

The Indians are again not allowed to hold landed property as if they were so many criminals.

As one of his reasons for the justification of the late Boer War Lord Lansdowne stated that the treatment meted out to the Indians by the Boer Government was extremely unsatisfactory, in other words the principles of justice and freedom had been flagrantly violated or something in that strain. Mr. Chamberlain was no less enthusiastic than his honourable colleague. But their high sense of justice and enthusiasm have evaporated like mist!

The services rendered by the Indians to the British Government during the war need no recapitulation. I recall that occasion when the Indian Ambulance Corps went to the front, with feelings



of pleasure and pride. We were glad of having the opportunity of showing our unflinching loyalty and devotion to our Sovereign. But all that is forgotten. And what is our reward? We were in the frying pan before the war but now we are in fire. "A complete annihilation. Is it not? (Shame.)

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Let me declare in clear and unmistakable terms that we do not want any political rights. We do not want any share in the administration of that country, if we show our eligibility I dare say we are entitled to that share; but we do not want it. Because the Colonists cannot easily conceive a form of Government more conducive to the happiness of the greatest number than was found to have been established hundreds of years ago in this ancient land of the Aryans. What we want is equality of treatment and the rights of citizenship. We do not want any class legislation. Let the laws of the country equally affect all men, white, brown, or black. We do not want any restrictive measures to circumscribe the scope of our freedom. Why should the Indians be subjected to special harsh laws while other low-class whites who have not a drop of British blood in their veins, get off scot-free passes my comprehension.

One word more before I resume my seat, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not a pessimist. I have great faith in the Colonists. They are proud of the British-blood in their veins.

The question is whether the position of our countrymen will ever improve in that distant land. The question is, is it possible or is it not? I say it is perfectly possible. I feel assured that the Colonists would do nothing to tarnish the British reputation and impair the British prestige. Then there is no reason for us to despair. We have no grounds for supposing that they should do anything to weaken our faith in the British people. We must cheer up, because our cause is right and most go on agitating and agitating and agitating and protesting and protesting and protesting until all our representations are heeded, our grievances redressed, our disabilities and our rights recognised. (Applause.)

ISA HAJI SUMAR then addressed the meeting in Hindustani.

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DR. MUNJEE.

DR. MUNJEE, spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :—

My business here is only to add my personal evidence to what has been so ably put before you by my predecessors. How I got the opportunity of going to South Africa? Along with three other medical friends of mine I volunteered my services for active field duty in the late Boer War. Mr. Damoderdas Goverhandas Sukadwalla—a very liberal and generous—hearted merchant of Bombay (cheers) paid all our expenses. We were taken on as Civil Surgeons and I was at one time placed in entire medical charge of an English Battery. That's how, gentlemen, I got an opportunity—a rare and unique one—of seeing the condition of life as prevails in Natal South Africa. (Cheers.)

Our name and its meaning there :—

Just after landing in Durban one is immediately confronted with the most insulting epithet “the cooly.” The people, there it seems, have only one meaning for the word Indian in their dictionary. It means a cooly, and nothing more or less than that. It seems it is beyond their powers of comprehension that an Indian cooly as he is called there, can be a High Court Judge or can fill any position of responsibility.

Public conveyance :—

When one goes to the public conveyance stand he finds two classes of Rickshaws—one class neatly and decently kept, labelled for Europeans only. The second class, very shabbily kept, perhaps having every nut and bolt in its unintended place, making a curious medley of discordant notes, to the accompaniment of which an Indian cooly is supposed to march on to his location. This class is marked as “coloured persons only.” An Indian, whatever his rank or position, cannot hire the better class of Rickshaws.

We were told that a cooly is not allowed to travel by the trams, at least I did not see an Indian travelling by them. When I, along with two other friends of mine, got into the tram, the European passengers seated on the bench cleared off immediately gave us an opportunity of congratulating ourselves on being the almost undisputed loads of the whole bench.

Exactly the same thing happened in the first class railway carriage in which we went. They can't understand how and why an Indian cooly—as we are so profusely complimented on there—should require to travel by the first class. In fact they never allow an Indian to take a first or 2nd class ticket. Even the railway station is divided into two departments—one a magnificent building at Darban is marked out in very bold type “For Europeans only,” and the other, far away from this, a thatched hut marked “for coloured persons only.” The third class Indian carriages are attached to the end of the train.

Hotels.—When an Indian traveller who is accustomed to seek for his hospitality in the first class hotels in India quite side by side with the Europeans goes to the hotel there, he is right off told in his face that coolies are not allowed in.

Locations.—Indian settlers are not allowed to live in the principal town which is beautifully kept with clean roads and clean conveniences. But apart, far away from the principal town, is set apart for the Indians who are regarded as immune to all kinds of diseases breeding from unhygienic environments. But all the same they are made to pay the taxes, for which they are not expected to possess sufficient intelligence to demand an adequate return.

Indian camp follower prosecution for theft.—When once I was in Ladysmith, I read in the paper that a camp follower was roughly handled and prosecuted for theft by a white colonial. His argument was as follows:—I am an old settler of 50 years standing of English birth. A white man is not given to telling lies and thieving. While an Indian, a cooly, a blackman, is born and brought up in environment which facilitates telling lies and thriving. He is therefore a thief and he should be well punished. (Shame.)

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

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**DR. MUNJI.**

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Resolution VI.  
Deaths of Mr.  
J. N. Tata and  
Mr. W. Digby.

Message from  
Lord Ripon.

## Third Day's Proceedings.

Wednesday, 28th December 1904.

### MESSAGE FROM LORD RIPON.

#### Resolution VI.—Deaths of Mr. J. N. Tata and Mr. W. Digby.

The Congress resumed its sitting at eleven o'clock.

The President moved the following resolution :—

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

Gentlemen,—It devolves on me to propose the resolution expressing our profound sorrow at the death of Mr. Tata, whose great services to the industrial development of India, as also his enlightenment, philanthropy and patriotism to the country will gratefully be remembered, (cheers), and also to record our deep grief at the death of Mr. William Digby (cheers.) in whom the people of India have lost an earnest and devoted champion of their cause. Mr. Tata was one of the most eminent and benevolent Indians, and he justly takes his place by the side of such a munificent patriot as Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. (Hear, hear.) He also belonged to the Zoroastrian persuasion. There is probably no man of our time in India who did more in his own way to advance the cause of India, for his name is not only a household word for his charities and his good deeds in this country but it is also known in Europe and in other parts of the civilised world. (Hear, hear.) He was always ready to help the poor and the distressed, but his greatest work undoubtedly is his magnificent endowment for Industrial research, to which he devoted a sum of money of no less than £200,000. (Hear, hear.) I am convinced that in this institute founded by him—although it is not yet started,—I am convinced that in this institute we have the germ of one of the most important movements that have ever been established in India. I am glad that the Mysore Government, as well as the Government of India, have shown it the most favourable consideration, and I trust that

there will be no further delay in carrying out the scheme to which our distinguished fellow-countryman was so devoted. Mr. Tata's name will always be associated with the industrial development of India. (Hear, hear.) He may indeed be called the great pioneer of your industrial progress. (Hear, hear.) His name will ever be gratefully remembered by his fellow-countrymen. And, gentlemen, the name of Mr. William Digby is, I conceive, rightly associated with that of Mr. Tata. They worked on very different lines. Mr. Digby was emphatically a journalist. His power found expression in the newspapers and through the public press. His whole life, ever since he reached the age of maturity, was ever devoted to the welfare and advancement of the people of India. (Hear, hear.) I do not think there ever was an Englishman whose whole heart was more rapt up in the interests of India than our departed friend, Mr. Digby. (Applause.) His best known services undoubtedly was on the occasion of the great famine in Madras some 26 years ago. He accomplished a great work on that occasion, stirring the hearts of the British people and inducing them to subscribe vast sums of money for charitable relief. For those services he received the recognition of Government, and a decoration was awarded to him at a very early age. (Cheers.) I doubt whether there is any other recipient of a similar decoration from the Government of India who was appointed to this Order—the Order of the Indian Empire—at the age of only 27 years. (Cheers.) Shortly after the famine, he went to England and never ceased working on India's behalf. Your debt of gratitude to him is great, and it is the most pleasing duty to me—a very old personal friend of his—to be able from this platform to express, on behalf of the people of India, our regret at his death and appreciation of his distinguished services. (Hear, hear.) With these words, gentlemen, I leave the resolution in your hands, (cheers), and I would ask you to accord your approval to it by rising in your seats when I propose it. I move that this resolution be passed by the Congress.

The entire assembly having risen in their seats in solemn silence, the President announced the resolution as passed unanimously.

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Resolution VI.  
Deaths of Mr.  
J. N. Tata and  
Mr. W. Digby.

Message from  
Lord Ripon.

Third Day.

**Resolution XV.—Delegation to England.**

Resolution XV.  
Delegation to  
England.

SIR WILLIAM  
WEDDERBURN.

The President next proposed to deviate a little from the order of the resolutions on the agenda paper in order to call upon Sir William Wedderburn to move his resolution regarding the Delegation to England.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN (LONDON) then stepped forward, and received a most enthusiastic ovation, the whole assembly rising and cheering vociferously for several minutes. When the applause had subsided, Sir William read the Resolution standing in his name which was as follows:—

That, looking to the near approach of a General Election in England, and to the vital importance, at this crisis, of bringing the claims of India before the Electors, before the Parliamentary Candidates, and before the political leaders, it is expedient that the Congress should depute trustworthy and experienced representatives nominated by the different Provinces to be present in England for this purpose, before and during the election; and that a fund of not less than Rs. 80,000 should be raised to meet the necessary expenses of such Deputation.

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, —Fifteen years ago I had the honour to address you from the presidential chair. You gave me a kind welcome then, and your welcome now has been no less kind—(hear, hear),—whether in this pavilion or in the streets of your great and beautiful city. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, it is not in the nature of the Indian people to forget their old friends. (Hear, hear.) I now come before you as a delegate and as a representative of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress,—(hear, hear),—and I bring to you messages from your friends there, (hear, hear), and I also hope to say a few words with regard to the work in England in the Congress cause. The first message I have is from your Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (hear, hear)—a message of hope and encouragement. He asks you to be united and patient and persistent. (Hear, hear.) These are his words, but I say that still more important than this message is the very bright example of what he himself has done. (Hear, hear.) It shows half a century of self-sacrifice and devotion to the public welfare. (Hear, hear.) Then, gentlemen, I bring to you the good wishes of your friends Mr. Allen Hume, (Loud cheers) and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, (Loud cheers), who were the fathers and the founders of the Indian National Congress. (Hear, hear.)

I know that they would gladly have accepted your kind invitation to be present amongst you, had not the weight of years and serious illness made it impossible for them. And then, again, gentlemen, I have a message from the well-beloved Marquis of Ripon. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) This is what he wrote to me when I was leaving England. These are his words :

“I shall follow with great interest the proceedings of the Congress at Bombay, (cheers) and shall hope to hear a full account of its doings on your return. (Hear, hear.) If you have the opportunity, I should like you to say that my interest in India is as keen as ever, (cheers), and that I watch with careful attention all that goes on there. (Hear, hear.) I shall ever feel deeply grateful for the regard so often manifested for me by the people of India.” (Cheers.)

And, gentlemen, with the name of Lord Ripon I should like to couple the name of another wise and steadfast friend, who, alas, is no longer with us, I mean Lord Hobhouse, (Loud cheers), who gave us one of the last of his acts and words in wishing us godspeed on our mission—(Hear, hear)—when we left the shores of England. Gentlemen, I should like to say a few words with regard to the Congress work in England. I believe all of you have read the article that I wrote in the “India” under the heading of “India’s Golden Opportunity,” and I ask you now to grasp that “golden opportunity.” (Hear, hear.) You know that all of us, in India and England alike, have suffered from the reactionary policy of the Government during recent years, but it is certain, as certain as any human forecast can be, that that Government will soon be swept away at the next general election, (hear, hear), and then there will be a Government more favourable to popular aspirations. (Hear, hear.) India has been the chief sufferer from that reactionary Government, so she may be the first to have the benefit of the change if she is up and doing (hear, hear) and urging her claims before the British nation at and before the coming general election. (Hear, hear.) You know that Shakespeare tells us that “there is a tide in the affairs of men,” and there is not the least doubt that the tide of British public opinion has turned, and is running now strongly in the opposite direction. Therefore, now is the

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**Resolution XV.  
Delegation to  
England.**

**SIR WILLIAM  
WEDDERBURN.**

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**SIR WILLIAM**  
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time for you to act, so that this may lead on to fortune. I believe, there are some few of you who are despairing and despondent, a few who say it is no use struggling. You must remember that for twenty years you have been labouring at the oars and working against the tide, and now that the tide has turned, would it not be the height of folly to throw down your oars, (hear, hear) just at the time when you may hope to bring your vessel safe into harbour? I say this is not the time to throw down your oars? (Hear, hear.) I say a thousand times it is now the occasion for great efforts being made to take advantage of such an opportunity as that which presents itself to us and which cannot occur again in the present generation. (Hear, hear.)

Now, gentlemen, to refer again to that article. In that article I reminded you that British public opinion does not directly either make laws or appoint the high officers of State, but indirectly British public opinion does make laws and does appoint men to high offices of State. Public opinion in England influences the electors in regard to the constitution of the House of Commons. The House of Commons supports the Government, and it is the Government that appoints the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy who rules over you. Therefore, if you can influence British public opinion, you may have what you want in the way of laws and with regard to the high officers who exercise this great power among you. I repeat, therefore, now is your opportunity to let the British nation and the British public know what laws you want and what is the sort of Secretary of State you want. (Hear, hear.) I think you may let them know that you don't want a Secretary of State like Sir Henry Fowler, (Groans and Hisses) and that you want a Secretary of State like the noble Marquis of Ripon. (Cheers and hear, hear.) Then, as regards laws that you want, what should be the prayer of your petition before the British nation? Now when an engineer attacks a fortress two points are mainly considered. The first point is the key of the position, and the second point is as to the best point to attack, which is the point of least resistance; and I give you as my opinion that there are two measures which will fulfil both these conditions. What you want, according to my view, is a revival of the old custom of periodical enquiry every twenty



years into the whole administration of India, (hear, hear) such as was always held before the Charter was renewed, and from which dates every great reform which you are at present enjoying. The second important point, which has formed the subject of the last resolution, is the placing of the salary of the Secretary of State on the estimates, so that it may be discussed in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Those two great advantages can be easily gained, because the people of Great Britain understand the meaning of these two points which will enable Parliament to exercise proper control over the Government of India and perform the duty it owes to the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) These two points are the key of the whole position. Then, as regards persons whom you are to send Home, the proposal is that India should send some of her best sons to England on this important occasion to plead her cause and to make her cause known. (Hear, hear.) You already have a nucleus in England. You have some friends on the British Committee who are prepared to co-operate with and help your Grand Old Man in England. (Hear, hear.) India should send her foremost sons to undertake this great and patriotic duty. (Hear, hear.) Of course, a certain amount of money will be required, and that is mentioned in the resolution that you have before you, but I don't say anything about money just now, because my experience of the Indian people is that, if necessary, money will be forthcoming if it is really wanted to carry out an object to the great benefit of the Indian people both in the present and in the future. (Hear, hear.) I beg to move this resolution. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. B. G. TILAK (Poona) who was recieved with loud cheers in seconding the above resolution observed as follows:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It requires very few words from me to commend the resolution which has been moved by Sir William Wedderburn—(hear, hear)—for your acceptance. I think this is one of the most important resolutions on our programme to-day, and for this reason; you know very recently the function of the Congress has been to focus the rays of public opinion annually. We accept that definition; but I do not think that by merely accepting the definition we would do our duty in that behalf (hear,

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**MR. B. G. TILAK.**

**Third Day.** hear) in behalf of focussing the public opinion. That phrase of focussing public opinion is taken, so far as I know, from the Science of Heat and Light, and in the domain of Science, we do not focus the rays of heat and light to burn our own hands. (Hear, hear.) We focus them for a purpose, and we have to see what that purpose is in the present case. We focus the rays of public opinion in India annually and go away; that has been the charge against us. I say that we focus the rays of public opinion for a purpose and not merely to bottle them up, (Hear, hear and laughter), and that purpose is to direct this focus of rays to illumine the hearts of the bureaucracy that rule in India, to throw a flood of search light in their hearts and to make patent to the world the bodies that lurk there. (Hear, hear.) That is one purpose. The second purpose for which we focus public opinion is, as I said, not to burn our hands but, if possible, to remove the indifference and prejudice that you find in the English public as regards India. (Hear, hear.) What follows from the definition of this phrase is that the Congress work which has been carried on from this platform this year must be carried on and that agitation must be created in England, (Hear, hear.) Our principal work, our principal purpose and our principal hope to carry out the programme that we prepare here lies not here—(Hear, hear)—but in England. (Cheers.) As Sir William Wedderburn said in the Subjects Committee, yesterday, we prepare our brief here but that brief has to be carried over to England. (It is there that the judges sit,) (Cheers), and our advocates must plead our case before the English judges and not before the judges in India. (Hear, hear.) The Government of India is impervious to our cries. It can only be pierced from within, (Laughter), and we must try to have sometime or other control over and influence with the machinery which will succeed in piercing through the Government of India and making an opening in it on our side. (Laughter.) That is the work that we have before us. We have tried the experiment that is suggested in this resolution twice before, and this is the third time that we are sending our delegates to England, (Hear, hear), and I trust that this experiment will result in the

establishment of a permanent political mission in England. (Cheers.) That is what our object ought to be. I know that our distinguished leaders whom I need not mention, will go to England on this occasion, (hear, hear) even for a month or two, but then their expedition must be followed by another force. (Laughter.) The object of this second expedition ought to be, if possible, to try and establish a permanent political mission in England. Some half-a-dozen of us can manage to stay in England and work there throughout the whole year—365 days in the year (hear, hear) and I have strong hopes that within a very short time we will succeed in winning over to our side many indifferent Englishmen—(hear, hear)—that now have no notion of the subject and would, perhaps, be very willing to help us in forming India a living member of the British Empire. (Cheers.) Indian Empire is a dead body and a foreign body; if that foreign body is not assimilated with the British Empire, we shall have to perform a surgical operation and take out that foreign body from the living Empire (Hear, hear and laughter.) I hope such a time will not come. We want that body to be assimilated into a political body of the British Empire. We should have the same rights and the same privileges as the other members of the British Empire have. (Hear, hear.) India should not be allowed to remain a dead-weight and a foreign body; it would trouble the body-politic if it is not assimilated with the system. That is our object—the object is to establish a political mission in England. This idea is not quite imaginary and illusive. When I say “political mission,” I do not use the word “mission” in the same sense in which it is used in the term “Tibet Mission.” (Hear, hear and laughter.) You have, gentlemen, the idea of the Christian Mission. (Cheers.) So many of the Christian Missionaries come to India, and what has been their ideal, gentlemen? Their ideal is to convert you to Christianity. (Laughter.) It is a far more impracticable ideal than the ideal which we have at heart, (hear, hear), namely, to educate the English people and to convert them to our view. (Hear, hear.) Although the ideal of the Christian Missionaries is an impracticable one, yet they work honestly and

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**MR. B. G. TILAK.**

**Third Day.** with perseverance, and therefore, if we worked with perseverance  
**Resolution XV.** and zeal in England for, say, half-a-dozen years, I think our  
**Delegation to** cause stands a good chance of being a successful one and will  
**England.** triumph over the difficulties that are in our way. (Hear, hear.)  
**MR. B. G. TILAK.** I think, gentlemen, you will eventually succeed with your per-  
 ———— severance, with your enthusiasm and with the force of your  
 character. With these words, I beg to second this resolution, and  
 hope that you will pass it unanimously. (Cheers.)

**MR. S. SINHA.** Mr. S. SINHA (Allahabad) in supporting the above resolu-  
 ———— tion addressed the Congress follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been placed before you for your acceptance by Sir William Wedderburn, (Cheers) and seconded in terms so able by Mr. Tilak. (Cheers.) I do not think, gentlemen, it is necessary for me to inflict upon you a long speech. I am quite sure you all see the force and justice of the subject that has been placed before you. (Hear, hear.) I shall only say that this will not be the first time that we are going to try the experiment. As Mr. Tilak—(Cheers)—has pointed out on two previous occasions we had sent delegates to England and the work achieved by them was indeed very satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) So far back as 1885—before the Congress came into existence—the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose of Calcutta—(loud cheers)—the late Mr. R. Mudliar of Madras—(loud cheers)—and Mr. Justice Chandavarkar of Bombay—(loud and ringing cheers)—went in delegation to England and fought our cause so well, so earnestly and so eloquently that they achieved very great deal indeed in the way of educating public opinion in England. (Hear, hear.) Five years later, when I myself was in England—about the close of 1889—a fresh deputation consisting of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee—(loud cheers)—Mr. Mudholkar—(loud cheers)—and another gentleman went to England, and I can tell you from my own personal knowledge that the work done by these gentlemen—the present leaders of the Congress—was indeed a matter of great moral importance and significance. (Hear, hear.) I should explain very briefly to those of you who have no personal knowledge of England or of the English people, that you can hardly realise the pre-

valent ignorance of the English people as regards the Indian people, their civilization, their manners and customs and their status intellectually, socially and morally. Until or unless the English people care to realise what we really are, and what position we hold in the scale of nations, in arts and in civilization, we need not be surprised, gentlemen, if they do not accord to us the privileges and rights to which we are entitled. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the English people should realise that the people of India are not a sort of the North American Indians, (hear, hear and laughter) but that we are an ancient and a civilised race. (Hear, hear.) I will give you an instance, before I conclude, of how once our friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea exercised great influence upon the English people. A large dinner party was once given at the house of Mr. Schwann. I was there. After the dinner was over the drawing-room was filled with a large number of English ladies and gentlemen. They were anxious to hear the Indian gentleman and they all asked Mr. Surendranath Banerjea to speak. (Hear, hear.) He spoke for a quarter of an hour (hear, hear), and Mr. Samuel Smith tells me that even at this day, though 15 years have elapsed, the people of England say that the natives of India can speak the English language so faultlessly, so purely and so well, (hear, hear), and that their knowledge of the Indian people is greatly due to the speech delivered by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea. (Cheers.) Therefore, gentlemen, I think that on an occasion like this, if you send Mr. Surendranath Banerjea from Bengal, (cheers), Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta (cheers) from Bombay, Mr. Sankaran Nair (cheers) from Madras, Lala Lajpat Rai (cheers) from the Punjab and the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malviya—(cheers)—from the United Provinces, they will promote the cause of this country in England, give the English people the knowledge of our manners and customs, and exercise over them an educative and a moral force and moral influence. (Hear, hear.) I hope you will pass this resolution with acclamation. (Cheers.)

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England.

MR. S. SINHA.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried with acclamation.

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Resolution VII.  
Secretary of State  
Salary.

SIR BHAL-  
CHANDRA  
KRISHNA.

**Resolution VII.—Secretary of State Salary.**

SIR BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA, Kt., Bombay, in moving the next resolution, said as follows:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—  
The resolution which has been entrusted to my care runs thus:—

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

This resolution, Gentlemen, does not require many words from me to commend it your unanimous acceptance. You all are aware that the salary of the Secretary of State for India is charged to India, not only is his salary so charged but even the whole cost of the India Office, *i. e.*, Rs. 33,60,000 is charged to India. The Secretary of State for the Colonies also gets £5,000 or Rs. 75,000, and the cost of the Colonial Office is about £52,000 or Rs. 7,70,000, the salaries of the Ministers of the Colonies are also £5,000. You will see that it is unjust to charge India for the cost of the India Office and the salary of the Secretary of State for India when the Colonies are allowed the privilege of having their expenses defrayed for their office and for their Secretary of State from the British Exchequer. (Hear, hear.) The Colonies, besides, have the advantage of protection from the mother country, and they are allowed to levy protective duties on British manufactures. In case of war also they are allowed expenses, whereas in case of India, which is the "brightest jewel in the British Crown," nothing of that sort is allowed.

On the contrary from the time of the East India Company the whole of the cost including the salary of the Secretary of State for India, and the expenses of the India Office is charged to India. Really speaking, we ought to pray that the whole of the expenses of the India Office and the salary of the Secretary of State should be charged to the British Exchequer—but the resolution which I am now placing before you is very moderate and, it simply asks that the salary of the Secretary of State be charged to the British estimates. (Hear, hear.)

Now, this may appear to be a very small item to the Indian tax-payer; but it involves the question of principle.

There is great injustice done to India. Whereas the Colonies enjoy the privilege of having their expenses charged to the British Exchequer. India is bled through the nose. (Cries of shame.) If we get this point, we shall have gained a very great victory. I will tell you why. You know that from the constitutional point of view, when the question of the discussion of the British Budget comes before Parliament, any member has the right to move that there may be a reduction made in the salaries of Ministers, and the result is a wholesome check on these Ministers. You may remember instances of Ministries being defeated when such motions have been brought before Parliament. If I am not mistaken, the Liberal Ministry of the late Mr. Gladstone was wrecked on this question. I am correct in saying that Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman then held the office of Secretary of State. I believe you remember that some time ago when Lord George Hamilton was the Secretary of State and the Indian Budget was being discussed before an empty House Mr. Herbert Roberts moved an amendment to the proposition then before the House, that the salary of the Secretary of State be charged to the British Estimates. Then Lord George Hamilton coolly asked this question in the House:—"What will be the effect of that?" Mr. Roberts did not answer, but I may reply now; and my answer is that if it had been possible for the salary of the Secretary of State to be transferred to the British Estimates, the result would have been that Lord George Hamilton's career as Secretary of State for India would have come to its natural death long since (hear, hear and laughter), and distinguished Members of Parliament like Sir William Wedderburn (loud applause) whose name is a household word throughout the length and breadth of India and Mr. Samuel Smith, the well-known Chairman of the Indian Temperance Association (hear, hear,) would, from their seats in Parliament, have made it very hot for Lord George Hamilton had he committed any more serious mistakes with reference to India (hear, hear), and it would have been impossible for him to give an unsatisfactory reply to the Famine Union when their distinguished deputation waited on him. (Hear, hear.) If this resolution is passed and if we gain our point, I am perfectly sure there will be

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**Resolution VII.  
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Salary.**

**SIR BHAL-  
CHANDRA  
KRISHNA.**

an opportunity for our Members of Parliament.—I hope our grand old man, Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji—(loud cheers)—and also our illustrious President, Sir Henry Cotton (loud cheers) will be returned to Parliament at the next General Election—there will be ample opportunity for these members for India to raise the discussion on this point and successfully try to have effective check and control over the finances of India. (Hear, hear.) This one item mentioned to you is a very small one and will not relieve the Indian tax-payer considerably; but India will have gained a great principle, the moral effect of which upon the action of the Secretary of State will be immense. (Hear, hear.) It is with that object that I place this proposition before you and hope that it will be carried unanimously. (Cheers.)

**MR. G. SHRINIVAS  
RAO.**

The HON. MR. G. SHRINIVAS RAO (Madura, Madras) in seconding the above resolution, said as follows:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—  
The proposition which I am going to second is a simple one. We suggest that the cost of the establishment be distributed in this manner: the cost of the Indians that do their work in India be met from the Indian revenue, that of the Britons who do work for India in Great Britain be met from the British Exchequer, (hear, hear) and that of the Indians as well as of the Britons who do their work in India be met by both the countries in same proportion, if not equal. If England be a little more indulgent to India, then she will, probably accept to bear the cost of the Britons working whether in India or at Home—in England. In that case their cost will be met by the British Exchequer. If such a thing prevails, probably the Indian tax-payer as well as the British tax-payer will have an opportunity of looking into the accounts and checking them. (Hear, hear.) So far as the Indian tax-payer is concerned, I am not quite sure that the day will ever come for him to look into the accounts—we do not suppose that so long as we live that day will ever come—but what is there to prevent the British tax-payer from looking into those accounts? Sometime ago this question—the subject of the Resolution which has just been read out to you—was placed before the Commission known by the name of the Welby Commission. The gentlemen who formed the Commission were about twelve



or more in number, and they approached the subject in this manner. It is very interesting to you to know that. There were the Colonies on one side and there was India on the other side. So far as the Colonies were concerned, they were not paying one pie out of their own revenue for the cost of the Government, but so far as India was concerned, the whole thing was being paid by her. Never have the Colonies paid even one pie for the Government, and if you go to them and ask them to contribute, they will say "No." (Shame.) A long established practice and tradition have been in their favour, while the long established practice and tradition have been in favour of the Indian tax-payer to this extent that he has to pay the whole cost. (Cries of shame.) Therefore, what tradition and the long established practice was in favour of the one was dead against the other, and consequently nothing is charged to the Colonies, whereas everything is taken from the Indian Exchequer. (Shame.) The members of the Welby Commission had their conscience. (Hear, hear.) There were on it three or four distinguished patriots—(Hear, hear)—one being our own countryman—(Hear, hear)—Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji—(cheers)—and the other two belonged to England. One of them is before you here. (Cheers.) These three gentlemen wrote their dissentient minutes which are well worth one's study any day. (Hear, hear.) These gentlemen said—I told you that they had their conscience—(Hear, hear) they said: "This is not fair" the Commission settled the whole thing and made a number of grants. Out of them they gave the sum of £50,000 in aid of the charges of the India Office. Do you know how they arrived at this figure of £50,000? That was the amount which was being spent by the Colonial Office in England! Well, gentlemen, this grant of £50,000 was recommended by them in 1900 and we are now in 1904 without getting it! (Cries of shame.) We are still paying the whole cost of the India Office. There is no grant yet received from the British Exchequer. It is our fate to pay the whole cost of the India Office. (Loud cries of shame.) The recommendation of the Commissioners has remained a dead letter to-day. (Shame.) It is an irony of fate. If Englishmen cannot govern us in the manner in which justice and equity require, if they give us Commissions and if they will not govern us according to the

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Third Day. advice given to them by those Commissions—the Commissions appointed by them, then let us alone and leave the country. (Laughter.) Will they do it? Certainly not; not a bit of it. (Hear, hear and laughter.) They are lucky. (Renewed laughter.) What India is to them will be known to you in the words of Lord Kimberley which he gave expression to in his speech delivered at the Mansion House in 1893. He said :

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“ There is one point upon which I imagine, whatever may be our party politics in this country, we are all united, that we are resolutely determined to maintain our supremacy over our Indian Empire. That I conceive is a matter about which we have only one opinion, and let me tell you that that supremacy rests upon three distinct bases. One of these bases, and a very important one, is the loyalty and good-will of the native Princes and population over whom we rule. Next, and not less important, is the maintenance of our *European* Civil Service, upon which rests the foundation of our administration in India. Last, not because it is the least, but because I wish to give it the greatest prominence, we rest also upon the magnificent European force which we maintain in that country, and the splendid army of native auxiliaries by which that force is supported. Let us firmly and calmly maintain our position in that country; let us be thoroughly armed as to our frontier defences, and then I believe we may trust to the old vigour of the people of this country, come what may, to support our supremacy in the Great Empire.” Then, gentlemen let us see what is the opinion of our Indian bureaucratic ruler, Lord Curzon; on the 2nd December 1898 he said “ India was the first of our Empire. If this Empire be lost any other part of its dominion we could survive, but if we lost India, the sun of our Empire would be set.” That being the case, gentlemen, would Englishmen leave this country? (Laughter.) No, they would not. What is our attitude towards them? We do not want them to leave the country. (Hear, hear.) We want them to do us a favour. We want them to rule us as well as they can; to remove the defects in their administration and to listen to us. (Hear, hear.) That is what we say to them. We will take it that the Indians are by birth a set of idiots, (Cries of “no, no,” and laughter) that they have no intelligence given

to them by God and that the whole boon that they enjoy is given to them by the British Government! The British Government has given us a free Press in which we can ventilate our views; they have taught us the manner in which we can hold our meetings where we can express our views and say many other things. (Hear, hear.) They have given us enlightenment and it is that that makes us feel what we want. We tell them what we want. We tell them:—"You go in for Commissions, and still you do not give us what we want. That is just the position in which we are; and that is the reason why we come before you and say: 'Give us the £50,000 granted to us by the Welby Commission; do not take away that money from the crushed tax-payers of India.'" (Hear, hear.) We do not say to the British Government. "Abolish the India Office." Probably we shall say so some day later on. (Hear, hear.) We can however say from the report of the Welby Commission that the India Office is an unnecessary burden to us. (Hear, hear.) The first thing that we ask the Government to do is to put the salary of the Secretary of State on the British Estimates, (Hear, hear) and to give us the rule under which we can live happily and peacefully. (Cheers.)

MR. M. K. PADHYE (Nagpur) supported the above resolution with the following speech:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—During the *regime* of Lord Dufferin, in connection with the several demands of the Congress, it was said that "you want power without responsibility." We say the same thing to the Secretary of State or for the matter of that to the India Office Councillors. (Hear, hear.) We say to them: "You want power without responsibility but whom are you responsible to? You are not responsible to the Indian people from whom you draw your pay, (Hear, hear) and you are not responsible to the House of Commons because they do not pay you." (Hear, hear and laughter.) May I ask "what work you do for the money you receive?" (Laughter.) John Bull knows the question well. (Renewed laughter.) John Bull says: "I do not pay the Secretary of State, and why should I have the displeasure or the ungraciousness to ask him to give me an account of his work?" Therefore, we say to John Bull: "You better pay the money to

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RAO.

MR. M. K.  
PADHYE.

**Third Day.** the Secretary of State and ask him to account or not to account.

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**PADHYE.**

(Hear, hear and laughter.) That is your business. If you wish to pay him, pay him tenfold or hundredfold, we do not care." So our first ground on which the present prayer rests is this, that power and responsibility should go together. (Hear, hear.) We say there should be no divorce between power and responsibility. So far as the present arrangements go, there is a complete divorce between the two, although, no doubt, our Indian law allows no divorce. (Hear, hear.) Our second point is that we should not be treated as if we were the adopted children of our Queen Mother. Now we are the adopted children of His Majesty the King Emperor. Our adoption is double. (Laughter.) We were first adopted in 1858 by the late Queen Empress—(Laughter)—and again only the year before last by the Viceroy. (Laughter.) We say: "Do not deny us the rights of the adopted children. According to the Hindu Law the adopted children have got the same rights as the natural born children. (Hear, hear and laughter.) We want those rights from you, your law as regards the adopted children may be different, but so far as India is concerned, we want to be treated on the principle that the adopted children have the same rights as the natural born children. (Hear, hear.) You may say "Yes, in the eye of the law we are all equal." I demur to that. I will be able to quote section by section to show that in the eye of the law we are *not* equal, and that we want practically to be equal. (Hear, hear.) We want nothing more. Let us take an example of John Bull. His children all over the world form a joint family. (Laughter.) The Colonies of Natal and Australia are his children. They all sit together in the morning at the tea-table and milch the Indian cow. They are not all divided but are all unanimous in milking the Indian cow and having the cup of milk raised to their lips to their heart's content. (Laughter.) We say to the British Government, Sirs, we demur to that. You say the Australians and Natalians will come to-morrow and rule over India as any Englishman. By all means grant them the same privileges as those of Englishmen, but at the same time let some of our natives be sent to rule over Australia (Hear, hear) before you send any man here from that country. (Hear, hear.) We

want equality. We are the children of His Majesty the King Emperor (Hear, hear) and we want the same rights as the children of Natal, England and Australia. Without giving those rights why do you make poor India to pay the piper? In the name of justice we ask that we should be treated equally. If you bring an Australian horse and put your foot on the stirrup, it at once dances and kicks you off, (Hear, hear and laughter) but if you bring an Indian camel—I don't know if you would like to call it an Indian ass (Roars of laughters) and saddle it, with work and work as it is habituated to work. You may burden it and saddle it to your heart's content; but in the case of the spirited horse it will kick you. The spiritless camel will bear the burden quietly. (Hear, hear.) That is exactly the situation. The Australian horse demurs, dances and kicks and does not care for its rider. Therefore, it is kept in the stable and fed well, while the Indian camel which wants no food and water is made to traverse the desert without food and water. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, that puts the case in a nutshell. We ask you to be spirited so that you may be enabled to kick the rider, (Hear, hear) but don't kick him unconstitutionally. (Hear, hear.) Tell John Bull "don't treat us as your neighbour's children; don't give the cup of milk of the Indian cow to your neighbour's children. (Hear, hear.) Such as the French, the Germans, or for the matter of that any nation called the European nation—of course not including the Turkomans—because the Mahomedans are not allowed to call themselves Europeans, whether they are black like myself, or whether they are white like the white bear, (Laughter) which is now fighting. Every one of these people is allowed to call themselves the European nation and to exploit this land. (Shame.) We say to John Bull "keep to your children the cup of Indian cow's milk but do not give it to your neighbour's children. (Hear, hear.) That is our only protest." Gentlemen, you will remember that Mr. M. K. Patel has already pointed out to you that Government should levy some sort of prohibitive taxation, so as to prevent the enterprises of their neighbours' children from affecting us. (Hear, hear.) With these few words I beg to support the proposition. (Cheers.) The proposition was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

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**Resolution VIII.—Surpluses.**

Resolution VIII.  
Surpluses.

Mr. G. K.  
GOKHALE, C.I. E.

The HON'BLE MR. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E. (Poona) who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, said :—

Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates, I beg to move the following resolution :—

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

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

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

Gentlemen, for the last six years, a most extraordinary phenomenon has been witnessed in this country. The Account sheet of the Government of India has been showing a succession of very large surpluses, such as were beyond the wildest dreams of the Finance Ministers of previous years. If you take the last six years, you will find that the total of the surpluses comes to about thirty crores of rupees and this in spite of the fact that these six years include two of the most disastrous famines that this country has ever known. (Hear, hear.) If you take the six years immediately preceding, you will find that not only was there no surplus at all but that there was a total deficit of two crores. A deficit of two crores turned into a surplus of thirty crores—this marks the extent to which the financial position has shifted—this indicates the startling change which has come over the finances of the country. And the question naturally arises, who

has wrought this miracle? What has brought about this change?

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Some indeed may exclaim—"Oh, it is the Viceroy" and I dare say there are people innocent enough to accept this explanation as satisfactory. But not all will be so easily satisfied and many of us would certainly like to look into the question a little more closely. Gentlemen, to my mind the real explanation of these surpluses appears to be so simple and it lies so clearly on the surface that I am astonished it should be necessary for any one to point it out year after year, and if only those who are in authority were a little less wanting in candour the facts of the situation would be freely admitted at once, whatever conclusions different people might deduce from those facts. (Hear, hear.) Well, what has been aptly termed the golden era of the Indian administration—the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon—came to a close in 1884. That was a period when frontier troubles were kept in check, taxation was reduced, local self-government, education and such other reforms were taken in hand, the natural aspirations of the educated classes encouraged and everything done to promote the internal progress of the country. Now, Lord Ripon left us in 1884, and from 1885 the military problem began to dominate the situation. Almost simultaneously with this, exchange began to give trouble to the Government of India. And between growing military charges and a falling exchange, the Finance Ministers of the country had for a period of nearly 12 years practically no rest, the greatest difficulty being experienced in making the two ends meet. The Government of India, however, was sternly determined to adhere to the ordinary canon of finance that the year's charges should come out of the year's revenue, and thus a series of measures were adopted to increase taxation and secure relief in other ways, of which the Income-tax, the enhancement of the salt duty and the re-imposition of Import duties, with a countervailing excise on cotton goods were the principal ones. There were, moreover, the automatic periodical enhancements of the Land Revenue demand of the State; and last, but not least, there was the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver, which, though it brought relief to the Finance Ministers of the country and to the European officials, who had to make remittances to England, largely depreciated at

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**Third Day.** one stroke the small savings in silver of millions and millions  
**Resolution VIII.** of our poor people. (Hear, hear.) The result of all these measures  
**Surpluses.** was to push up the level of taxation so high that even in the  
**Mr. G. K.** worst days of the exchange difficulty the Government of India  
**GOKHALE, C. I. E.** was able not merely to maintain a budgetary equilibrium between  
revenue and expenditure but also to provide for a surplus.  
The worst year from the point of view of exchange was 1894-95,  
when the rupee touched the lowest level ever known—namely  
13d. and yet even in that year the Account-sheet of the  
Government of India showed a surplus of 70 lakhs. Shortly  
after that, the closing of the mints began to have effect and the  
exchange value of the rupee began to rise and the rupee finally  
established itself firmly about seven years ago at 1s. 4d. And from  
that time commenced the era of large surpluses. (Hear, hear.)

Now, gentlemen, I will tell you briefly how the surpluses have arisen. The Government of India has to spend every year more than  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of its net revenue in England and this expenditure is known as the Home Charges. To-day the *net* revenue is about 65 crores and the Home Charges stand at 18 millions sterling or about 27 crores. The revenue of the Government of India, however, is raised in silver and the expenditure in England has to be met in gold; therefore the amount in rupees which the Government of India has to remit to meet this expenditure depends upon the state of the exchange value of the rupee. I have already said that the Home Charges to-day stand at about 18 millions sterling, but they have not always stood at that figure. During the last 6 years, they have ranged between 16 and 18 millions. So far the purposes of our calculation, we may take them at an average of 17 millions. Now let me give you a simple sum in arithmetic. If you have to remit 17 million pounds to England, when the rupee stands at 13d., how many rupees are required for the purpose? Well, you may take the calculation from me—the number of rupees required is about 31 crores. Again take another sum. How many rupees are required to remit the same 17 millions sterling at 16d., to the rupee? You will find that this time you require about 25½ crores only. With the rupee at 16d., therefore, the Government of India spends about 5 crores less on its Home remittances than when the



rupee stood at 13d., and as taxation had been pushed up so high as to secure not merely an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure but also a surplus of 70 lakhs when the rupee stood at 13d., it is quite obvious that with this saving of nearly 5 crores of rupees on the Home remittances, the Government of India should show year after year an average surplus of 5 or 6 crores. And this is exactly the present position. A total surplus of 30 crores in 6 years means an average surplus of about 5 crores a year. But the good fortune of the Government of India has not ended here. The opium revenue, which is one of our largest items of income and which is contributed to our exchequer by the foreign consumer—the Chinaman—began to decline about the same time as exchange. At one time this revenue was about 10 crores a year, then it went down to 8, then to 7, and about 7 years ago it reached its lowest level, namely, about 5 crores of rupees. Since then, however, there has been a recovery again, and it has again gone up to about 7 crores. It was this improvement of 2 crores in opium revenue which enabled the Government of India two years ago to reduce the salt duties and raise the taxable minimum of the Income tax and yet retain its surplus of 5 crores a year. This, gentlemen, is briefly the real history of our recent surpluses. Of course there has been some improvement of a normal character under some of the heads of revenue which I have not taken into consideration on this occasion, because it has been absorbed by what may be termed the normal growth of expenditure, which is inevitable in the Government of a country like India. (Hear, hear.)

Now I want to know what there is in either a saving on the Home remittances or an improvement in the opium revenue, contributed by the foreign consumer, which has any the remotest relation to the prosperity or otherwise of the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) And yet we have been told again and again by those who ought to know better that our recent surpluses are a conclusive proof of the increasing prosperity of our people. Of course no one actually says that the surpluses are the direct result of an improvement in the condition of the people—a statement like that would be a downright misapprehension—but what they say is that the surpluses indicate in some way the prosperity of the people. When

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**Third Day.** you press these authorities for a more definite proof of the correctness of their contention, they point to certain increases of revenue under certain heads. Thus our Finance Minister, Sir Edward Law, argued last year that a certain increase of revenue under customs and another under excise were sufficient evidence of the soundness of the official theory. But are they really so? Our venerable friend, Mr. Samuel Smith, whom we are all glad to see on the platform, (Cheers) will tell you that an increase of excise revenue is no indication of the increasing prosperity of the people. It no doubt means increased drunkenness in the land, which means increased misery—a smaller margin for food and clothing for wives and children—but it can not be accepted as indicating an improvement in the condition of the people. As regards the increase under customs, that is partly due to the currency legislation of the Government. For it is well known that a lower exchange operates in favour of the exporter and the home producer, whereas a higher exchange operates in favour of the importer and the foreign producer. But in addition to this, there is another cause constantly working to increase our imports. Railway construction has been going on for years past at a rapid pace, and with every mile of railroad opened, new markets are also thrown open to foreign manufactures, which displace corresponding quantities of home-made articles. This economic revolution, which has been going on for many years past and which is throwing the country more and more upon the single precarious resource of agriculture, is now reaching an acute stage, and is largely responsible for our growing imports. And I venture to think that while we have reason to regard this state of things with anxiety and alarm, we cannot subscribe to the view which looks upon the situation with any great satisfaction. But, gentlemen, because I hold that the figures of revenue under excise and customs do not afford a reliable test of the increasing or diminishing prosperity of the people, I do not mean to say that there are no branches of revenue, which supply a fairly accurate measure for purposes of comparison in the matter. I think that there are two sources of revenue, the proceeds of which may be regarded as fair indications of the material condition of the people—the Income-tax for the upper and middle classes and the salt duty for the lower classes of our community. And the revenue under both

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these heads has been virtually stationary. Indeed the proceeds of the salt duty have not even kept pace with the growth of population during the last decade. So far therefore as the state of the revenue furnishes any indication, it is not in favour of the official theory; but there is another piece of evidence which, if anything, is even more conclusive. Our local bodies—Municipal and Local Boards—raise their revenue by taxation just as the Government of India does, and if the increased prosperity of the people is giving prosperous budgets to the Government of India, it should also do the same in the case of the local bodies. Whereas, as a matter of fact, these bodies, over the greater part of the country, are in a state of chronic destitution and some are even threatened with bankruptcy, pure and simple, unless the Government comes to their assistance. (Hear, hear.) This shows, how idle it is to talk of the surpluses of the Government of India being due to an improvement in the material condition of the people.

One more observation I would like to make in this connection. In a speech, which the Viceroy made the other day at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London, he claimed that, by whatever test it might be judged, the wealth of the country would be found to have increased during the last six years. Now, this is a statement too bold even for the Viceroy of India to make. Since Lord Curzon challenges us to apply any test we like, there is one that I would propose to apply. It was once computed by so competent an authority as the late Mr. Ranade that the annual saving of the people of India cannot exceed, on an average, about 8 crores of rupees. Now when Mr. Ranade's name is mentioned in connection with any proposition, you may take it, that the statement is under rather than above the mark. I will tell you briefly how his calculation was made. He took for the average income of the people of India, the figure arrived at by Lord Cromer and Sir David Barbour, and he took for our average expenditure a scale of living very slightly higher than that of the famine labourer, but not so high as that which the Government provides for the convicts in its own jails. A whole population living on a scale lower than that of convicts in jails—this surely is not a very extravagant scale of expenditure. And

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**Third Day.** on these bases Mr. Ranade came to the conclusion that our annual saving can not be more than 8 crores at the outside. Well ! I will take it at 10 crores for Lord Curzon's sake. This means that, during the last six years, there has been an increase in our wealth of about 60 crores of rupees. But it has been calculated by a competent Famine Commission that the losses of our people in crops and cattle during recent famines have amounted to 300 crores of rupees which means that we are still on the wrong side of the account to the extent of 240 crores ! This does not look as though our total wealth has been increasing in recent years. (Hear, hear.) The truth, gentlemen, is that it is an exceedingly difficult thing to determine whether a people's material condition is going forwards or backwards in such a brief space of time as six years, and all sweeping generalizations, from whatever quarter they may come, must be deprecated.

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So far, gentlemen, I have dealt with the origin of our recent surpluses and the interpretation which those who are in authority have been pleased to put on them. The next question which arises is what is the duty of the Government in view of these surpluses ? I think that duty is clear. It is to reduce taxation and give relief to those classes that have been hit the hardest by the currency legislation which has rendered these surpluses possible. (Hear, hear.) The principal sufferers by the artificial appreciation of the rupee are the agriculturists, who form the vast bulk of our population. Not only have their small savings in silver been largely depreciated, but as prices get adjusted to the new rupee, they will have to part with a larger and larger quantity of their produce to make their fixed cash payments to the Government. On this point, no difference of opinion ought to be possible, and we are entitled to ask that the margin of revenue over expenditure that is now available should be utilized to grant whatever relief is possible to our agriculturists. The resolution which I have read out to you proposes three forms of relief—a further reduction of the salt duty, a reduction in the land revenue demand of the State in those Provinces where there has been a succession of calamitous seasons and the abolition of the excise duty on cotton goods. I think, gentlemen, these are eminently reasonable proposals. The salt duty is in the nature of a poll tax and our poorest

classes must benefit most by its reduction. As regards land revenue, you have no doubt perused with satisfaction a recent paper of Mr. O'Connor, in which he has advocated a general reduction of 33 per cent or so. We do not go as far as Mr. O'Connor—we merely ask that as much reduction as the state of the finances permits be made in the land revenue demand in those Provinces which have suffered during the last decade from a succession of calamitous seasons. (Hear, hear.) The abolition of the excise duties also must benefit the poorer classes of our community, since it is they who consume the coarser fabrics which the Indian mills turn out, and the duty that is levied, though, in the first instance, paid by the producers, must eventually fall on the consumers. Gentlemen, I am aware that in this matter the Government of India is not a free agent and that Lancashire effectually blocks the way. It only shows how a Viceroy who is all-powerful in dealing with the Indian people is absolutely powerless against a single English constituency. But our demand is just and we must continue to press it on the attention of Government, however small may be our chances of success.

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Gentlemen, it may be said that now that the Government of India has this large surplus year after year, it would be a pity to sacrifice it in giving relief to the tax-payers as proposed, and that it would be a much wiser policy to utilize it for objects of national advancement. I am not prepared to say that there is nothing to be said in favour of this view, but I am old fashioned enough to believe that, after all, the best use to which a surplus can be put is to utilize it for reducing taxation and let the money fructify in the pockets of the people. (Hear, hear.) In all countries, a large surplus at the free disposal of the Government is a temptation to that Government to increase expenditure. In India, there are special circumstances which go to emphasize this evil. Of course if the Government will devote the surplus to the objects specified in the resolution, namely, for the promotion of industrial, agricultural and scientific education in the land, for providing increased facilities of medical relief and to assist local and Municipal Boards in undertaking urgently needed measures of sanitary reform and the improvement of communications in the interior—the people might be reconciled to the present level of

Third Day. taxation, which has been maintained after the need for it has  
 Resolution VIII. passed away. But I do not think there is any great chance of  
 Surpluses. this being done, and I fear the surpluses will continue to be  
 employed as at present—namely, either to increase the cash  
 balances at the disposal of the Government, or for Railway con-  
 struction under capital account, thereby avoiding a portion of the  
 Public Works Loan, which is raised every year, or to reduce debt  
 And this will go on, until the expenditure is so increased as to  
 overtake the revenue. I think, therefore, that the safest course  
 for us is to insist on a reduction of taxation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. K.  
 GOKHALE, C.I.E.

Gentlemen, it was more than sixteen years ago that I first imbibed a love for the study of financial questions at the feet of my great master, Mr. Ranade, and since then, I may claim to have been a fairly close student of Indian finance. Never before—and I make the statement after due deliberation—was the financial position of the country so disquieting as now. This plethora of money at the disposal of the Government makes an irresponsible administration still more irresponsible. (Hear, hear.) It enables the Viceroy to dispense in the style of a great oriental ruler, special aids to Local Governments, out of his own abundance, as acts of grace, to send expeditions under the name of Political Missions into the territories of helpless farmers and priests, (shame) to undertake large schemes of Army reorganization and to listen to 'the deceivings of his vast designs' to play a great role in the heart of Central Asia. It enables him to do all these things and yet escape that particular unpopularity, which attaches to all measures of additional taxation, such as he would have had to resort to, had there been no surpluses at his disposal, and which, in a country like India, is the only check—however feeble and indirect—on the extravagance of the Administration. (Hear, hear.) Then these surpluses constitute a direct temptation—as we have recently seen—to the Government in England to come forward with proposals to pass on to the Indian Exchequer charges which ought to be legitimately borne by England. And here again we have seen how a Viceroy, who is all-powerful in dealing with us, is practically powerless to prevent such injustice. Further these surpluses enable our friends over the way to represent that everything in India was as it should be and that all talk of grievances

was manufactured by interested agitators for their own purposes. Finally I object to these surpluses because I think they are morally wrong and indefensible—that the Government has no right to retain them. The Government has all through adhered sternly—aye, relentlessly—to the canon of finance that the year's charges should be met out of the year's revenue, and for this purpose, on every occasion of a deficit that arose, additional taxation was put on so as to secure a surplus even in the worst days. Having done this, what right has the Government to retain taxation at the level to which it was forced up by successive additions, now that the need for such a high level has passed away? Thirty crores of rupees taken from the people in six years beyond what the Government actually required! Gentlemen, just consider what this means. Let me recall to your minds a statement which the Viceroy made last year in the course of the debate on the Universities Bill, which then struck me as harsh, I had almost said ungenerous, and which is still ringing in my ears. I had said in my Minute of Dissent that if our Universities were to be turned into teaching bodies and University chairs instituted for the purpose, the money in the present state of things in India would, for some time to come at any rate, have to be found by the Government. Referring to this observation of mine, Lord Curzon said—I well remember the words—“Exactly. But will the Hon. member tell me, why? There is plenty of money among his own people. Then why does he not look to them, why does he look to the Government for the money which is needed for instituting University chairs?” Gentlemen, the Viceroy spoke as though the money at the disposal of the Government had not been contributed by our people, as though it had been brought here from beyond the seas! But these thirty crores taken beyond the requirements of the Government—that money at any rate is ours! And if only the Government of India will restore it to us or spend it in the directions we suggest, how greatly will the best interests of our people be promoted! Why, with one crore out of that, we could launch into existence that Institute of Research which poor Mr. Tata laboured—and perhaps laboured in vain—to create, and over which I fear he broke his heart! (Hear, hear.) With another crore, we could wipe off those plague loans which are hanging like mill-

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**Third Day.** stones round the necks of so many of our local bodies! With a  
 Resolution VIII. few more crores, we could enable these bodies to take in hand  
 Surpluses. urgently needed measures of sanitary reform, which, in their  
 Mr. G. K. present condition of destitution, it is hopeless ever to expect them  
 GORHALK. C.I.E. to undertake! I think this is an infinitely better way of using the  
 surpluses than the stereotyped "reduction or avoidance of debt"  
 and the increase of cash balances. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you longer. The present policy of maintaining the revenue at a higher level than is necessary and then forcing up expenditure so as to overtake the revenue is absolutely unjust in principle and indefensible in practice. Against this policy, we, in Congress assembled, enter our most earnest and emphatic protest. It may be that our protest will go unheeded. I, for one, do not think that it will. I have a feeling of faith that it will produce its effect, if not now, on a future occasion. And in any case,—whether it is heeded or not—it is better to have protested and borne than not to have protested at all. (Loud cheers.)

DIWAN BAHADUR AMBALAL SAKARLAL DESAI (Ahmedabad) in  
 BAHADUR AMBA- seconding the above resolution said as follows:—  
 LAL SAKARLAL  
 DESAI.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the exhaustive speech of our illustrious representative in the Viceroy's Legislative Council (hear, hear,) I shall be very brief in my remarks. Having regard to the fact that there are very large surpluses in the treasury of the Government of India, you must remember the first principle of finance, which is that the income should always balance the expenditure. (Cheers.) We pray in this resolution that there should be remission of taxation for two reasons. The first is that the Government is supposed to take money from the people for its actual expenditure and not for hoarding. (Cheers.) As soon as the Government finds that it gets more money than it wants, it ought to give it back to the people. (Cheers.) Then, there is another reason, and that is particularly applicable to the condition of the Government of India. Any responsible Government will always see that the money that it takes from the people is spent for their benefit. (Hear, hear.) The Government of India is practically, if not in theory, perfectly irresponsible as far as our people are concerned.



(Hear, hear.) That is an additional reason why money should be given back to the people. (Cheers.) Then, the problem is, "whom the money ought to be given back?" The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has well put it that a vast majority of our countrymen are poor people and yet they contribute very largely to the revenue! I say that for that reason they ought to get their money back. (Hear, hear.) But there is an additional and special reason why they ought to get it back. The Government of India have, during the last five or six years, accumulated something like 30 crores of rupees. Is it not worth while asking how the money has come? Has it rained from Heavens? (A voice "No.") Ostensibly, it has come from taxation, but taxation has remained at its old level, while the surpluses are accumulating! The money has come, Sir, as the Hon. Mr. Gokhale has said, on account of the Currency Legislation. The Currency Legislation is simply this: You may remember having read in history what our old native Governments did when they were in a fix. They put in more copper into the rupee and gained money thereby. That was the old Asiatic mode of making the rupee go a long way. The civilised Governments of the West have another mode. They call a 12 anna piece one rupee! (Shame.) They say that 12 annas shall be taken as a rupee and that these who break the law shall be punished. Gentlemen, before the Currency Legislation, any body who took silver to the mint got an equal weight of it in rupees. But the Government closed the Mint and gave 12 annas worth of silver the token value of one rupee! The present rupee is not the old rupee. It is worth only eleven annas, but the Government said: 'It shall be taken as worth 16 annas'! Now, who pays this surplus of 5 crore that remains in the Government Treasury every year? Gentlemen, it is the ryot that pays it. It is the producers that pay it, the producers of all kinds pay it. It is the peasants and the Tea-Planters and Manufacturers that contribute this surplus. Formerly, you may remember that cotton, which is now sold at 4d. to the pound, used to fetch six annas in Indian Currency to the cultivator. Since the Mints have been closed, the cultivator, instead of getting for his pound of cotton his old price of six annas, got only four annas and loses two annas on every pound! Every cultivator of export produce suffers this loss. It is the Government which obliges him to sell

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DIWAN  
BAHADUR AMBA-  
LAL SAKARLAL  
DESAI.

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 —  
 DIWAN  
 BAHADUR AMBA-  
 LAL SAKARLAL  
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 —

his commodity cheap and suffer the loss of nearly 50% !! We say, therefore, that since the whole loss caused by the Currency Legislation falls on the poor cultivator, it is bare justice that he should get the benefit of the remission of taxation. (Hear, hear.) In that fact lies the justification for our payer that the surplus money should be returned to the cultivator. (Hear, hear.) Again, this cultivator suffers in another way. He has always to pay some debts to the creditors. Formerly, in order to pay his debt he had to sell a small quantity of grain; now, with the appreciated rupee, he has to sell a larger quantity. He gets less for his produce than he used to do before. Again, while his means are reduced, the Government taxation remains at its old level! (Shame.) Further, his silver hoardings have been depreciated. All the silver anklets and the silver rings which his women and children put on have fallen in value. The cultivator has thus suffered in three ways. Then, he has to pay for his salt with the appreciated rupee. Although nominally that duty is reduced to the level of Rs. 2 per Bengal maund, practically the cultivator has to sell the same amount of his produce to get the same quantity of salt as when the duty was Rupees 2-8-0 per maund! So the cultivator has suffered in a variety of ways. By the appreciation of the rupee the cultivator also suffers from the land-tax. By the appreciation of the rupee the capitalists have also suffered. Those who have invested their capital in factories will tell you that in the course of the last few years twenty mills in Bombay have gone into liquidation on account of the fall in exchange with China. Formerly, \$100 would fetch Rs. 220, whereas, with the appreciated rupee, they bring in only Rs. 140. Consequently, the mill-owners and other investors in joint-stock capital have suffered. Therefore, we recommend that the unjust and inequitable Excise Duty be also abolished. (Hear, hear.) These are our main proposals to the Government. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale said that there is not much chance of their being successful. We, therefore, make an alternative prayer to Government to this effect: If you cannot give back to the cultivator the money taken from him by your Currency Laws, give him its equivalent (Hear, hear); make him a return in moral and intellectual benefits; give him education; give him sanitation and give him good roads, so that his

produce may be taken at a cheaper rate to his destination. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, with these remarks I commend this Resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

MR. G. SUBRAMANI IYER (Madras) in supporting the above resolution addressed the meeting as follows :—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—  
 Upon this most difficult question as much light as it is possible, on this occasion, has been thrown by the two previous speakers. I only add a few more words of my own. Sir Antony MacDonell was asked before the Currency Committee whether he did not think that the artificial enhancement of the value of the rupee would operate as an additional burden on the people. He said: "Yes, I think so." But he added: "The people of India don't know that it would operate in that way, and, therefore, it is safe to add this burden." (Laughter.) He deprecated any addition of direct taxation as being dangerous and impolitic. So that, when the subject was enquired into, our official friends, you may presume, told the currency reformers that the artificial enhancement of the value of the rupee would operate as an additional burden upon the people of this country. How it operates is rather difficult to understand. People who did not think upon the subject said that the people of India did not suffer from the Currency Legislation, and that they did not pay anything in addition. But I would bring out before you one of the facts. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale said to you that the annual remittances to England from India amount to 17 million pounds sterling. Those remittances consist of payment of interest on debts borrowed in England by India for the establishment of the Secretary of State, for his salary and for pensions and allowances. Do you believe, gentlemen, that any of these parties now take smaller amounts than they used to take formerly? Now, these 17 or 18 millions have to be paid for by somebody in India, and they are paid, no matter whether they are paid in the shape of the artificially enhanced rupee or in the shape of produce, by her people from their own pockets. (Hear, hear.) It is not to be supposed that the Home Remittances are now remitted in decreased amounts. The same amount is now remitted as before. The only thing is that before the Currency Legislation was passed, people had to send a smaller

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quantity of money to England as an equivalent of the Home Remittances. What has happened actually is this: The ryot has now to sell for Rs. 15 that amount of his produce which he once sold for Rs. 22 although to the Government he pays the same amount of money as before. (Hear, hear.) He pays the same amount to the Government as formerly, but he has to sell more of his produce to procure that amount, because, now that produce realises much less. Government by making this feint of the Currency Legislation has put a higher value on the rupee, making a pound equal to Rs. 15 instead of Rs. 20. So that the difference of Rs. 5 goes into their pockets and they call it a surplus! Practically these surpluses come from the pockets of the people and operate as an additional burden upon them. Well, these surpluses are very dangerous surpluses for the Government to possess. Government have, in the first place, enhanced the value of the rupee and got these surpluses, and then they have added insult to injury, when they said that these surpluses are an indication of the prosperity of the people of India. (Cries of "Shame.") So far from these surpluses being an indication of the prosperity of the people of this country. I have shown that these so-called surpluses are extorted from the pockets of those people. (Shame.) In the natural course of trade, these surpluses ought to have tended to bring down the prices in this country, but the prices have not gone down. If there are these surpluses, the producer in India is entitled to such benefits as are derived from the improved condition of the market. (Hear, hear.) Government have no right to appropriate any portion of these profits. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, these surpluses are a great temptation in the hands of a Viceroy like Lord Curzon. All the expeditions, the proposed Army-reorganization, the location of garrisons in South Africa &c., have become possible only because the Government of India have admitted that they have large surpluses which they most falsely allege are an indication of the prosperity of the people of this country. If the Finance Minister had not admitted these surpluses and if he had not written that these surpluses generally represent the prosperity of the people of this country, perhaps, the Government of India would not have indulged in these proposals of which we have heard so much lately. Was there any Viceroy who had made new appointments for Europeans on higher salaries

than Lord Curzon? No. He has brought out experts and incurred heavy expenditure. He has done all that, because he has got more money in his hands than the current requirements of the country want. (Hear, hear.) These surpluses are unreal, dangerous and not required for the current purposes of the country, and, therefore, we demand that there should be a reduction in taxation. (Hear, hear.) In all countries, gentlemen, where there are surpluses, they diminish taxation, but in this country, the moment there is a surplus, the Government think of enhancing the expenditure, so that there may be a balance between revenue and expenditure! (Shame.) The Finance Minister of our country has recently adopted a peculiar plan, that of under-estimating the income and over-estimating the expenditure. (Cries of "Shame.") So that, at the end of the year, when the balances are struck, there are discrepancies in estimates on both sides. So, having regard to these facts, we have a perfect right to insist upon the surpluses being reduced and taxation also reduced proportionately. (Hear, hear.) The last part of this resolution says that until that reduction is made, more money must be spent upon purposes that are directly conducive to promote the interests of the people. (Hear, hear.) I would prefer that taxation should be reduced and that less surpluses should be left in the hands of the Indian Government than is done at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) Ladies and Gentlemen, I have nothing to say further. This question is of great importance, and I only add what I said yesterday, that the times are critical. You must be sure that no half-hearted measure will succeed. (Hear, hear.) You must demand with a united and emphatic voice and with increased persistency the entire realization of all rights which the British constitution has conferred upon us. (Hear, hear.) And which the British rulers in India have till now withheld from us. (Hear, hear.) There must be thousands of meetings all over the country asking that our grievances should be redressed. (Hear, hear.) We must show the Government what our wants and grievances are we must show that our wants and grievances are deep and many. (Hear, hear.) If those grievances are not soon redressed, the fault will be more our own than of anybody else's. (Cheers.) With these words I heartily commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

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Mr. G. SUBRAMANI IYER.

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MR. ALI  
 MAHOMED  
 BHIMJI.

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJI (Bombay) in further supporting the above resolution said as follows :—

Mr. President, Sister and Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Resolution, now No. 9, has been read to you and has been spoken about by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, and I must congratulate him on his having done full justice to the subject. (Cheers) My point is that it does not require only the knowledge of the subject, but that it requires also the ability to put in language which shall clearly convey our meaning; (Hear, hear) so that one can listen to, understand and appreciate the arguments of the speaker. (Hear, hear.) Such was the language used by our friend Mr. Gokhale (Hear, hear) and I congratulate him on that fact. (Cheers.) Now, since that duty has been fully discharged by him, it would be better for me simply to say "Ditto" and retire, (Laughter) but I won't say that. (Renewed laughter.) I will touch upon one or two points and then retire. (Renewed laughter.) My points are these: you will find that in clause *b* of this resolution we ask Government to give relief to the classes which have suffered most from the currency policy of the Government. I am glad to have to speak about that point a little. I will tell you how these classes are touched by the currency policy. You know that India stands in such a position as to be both an exporter and an importer. As an importer or buyer, she pays money in gold currency. As an exporter she has to get remittances from England and she then depends upon favourable exchange. As importer she must have high exchange so that she may convert pounds into rupees at a less cost. Our position is this, that on account of the forced appreciation of the rupee, the poor cultivator or exporter does not get the intrinsic value of the rupee. The real number of rupees which the exporter ought to get from England for a pound would be 22 or 23, whereas he gets only fifteen! That is our position, and, therefore, in order to relieve that class which has suffered the most by this forced appreciation of the rupee we ask Government to make use of these surpluses for their benefit. (Hear, hear.) I tell you, sir, that if it had not been for our friend, Mr. Gokhale, who is a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, this surplus question would not have been so vigorously expressed as it was

in that assembly. (Hear, hear.) I have got one instance in my hand or rather in my head showing how sometimes surpluses are manufactured. (Laughter.) You will remember that at the time of the Turko-Russian War, Lord Lytton was our Viceroy, and Mr. Disraeli was Prime Minister. In order to get scotfree from the vote of censure which was unanimously passed against the last named, he sent out a mandate here "to cook up the budget," (Laughter) and the budget was "cooked up" showing a surplus where there really was a loss! (Renewed laughter and cries of "shame.") I now go to the other point. In parts *a* and *b* of this resolution, we ask that the surpluses should be made use of for the benefit of the people of this country only. Now they are used for the benefit principally of the people of England. Gentlemen, Lord Curzon, our present Viceroy, once said, according to the report in the "London Times" of the 3rd December 1898, that India was the pivot of our Empire. If we lost any other part of its dominion we could survive, but if we lost India, the sun of our Empire would set. Now, Gentlemen, what is it that the Congress is doing? It is doing every thing to avert the calamity which Lord Curzon is afraid of. (Hear, hear.) What we in the Congress are doing is to let the pivot remain, and make it stronger and more durable. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, Lord George Hamilton is reported in the "London Times" of the 16th June 1899, as having said that "Our Government never would be popular in India." (Laughter.) Why? Because these surpluses are not genuine, because they are merely the result of overtaxation which the people resent. Of course, the Government is unpopular on this account and will remain so till the heavy burden of taxes is removed. (Cheers.) It is our Congress which will make British raj popular (Hear, hear), so that the sun of the Empire may never set. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was put to the vote and passed unanimously amidst loud cheers.

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#### Resolution IX.—Representation.

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

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

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

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

MR. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER (Madras) in moving the above resolution, said :—I have been charged with the resolution relating to the representation of the people of this country in the Councils of the Empire and in the Government of this land. Years ago an English gentleman in the British House of Commons, one of the few friends of India, one who has always endeavoured to uphold the cause of the Indian people in the great Assembly of the English Nation, and one who has honoured us with his presence on the present occasion—I mean Mr. Samuel Smith (cheers)—he said years ago in that great assembly “My belief is that no measure would tend more to give stability to our rule in India than to graft on all our institutions gradually and wisely the system of representative Government.” (Hear, hear.) These are words of prophetic wisdom, and we look forward to the day when these words will be realised in their fullest measure. Gentlemen, the proposition that you have before you is of a manifold character. It divides itself under various heads. I will not detain you by a lengthy dissertation on the various branches of this resolution, but I shall briefly take you through the history of the question in order that you may see what further steps may be taken in the direction of a better representation of the people of this country. The India Councils Act was passed in the year 1861. Additional members were directed to be nominated for the purpose of making laws and regulations. Their number was to consist of between six and twelve for the Imperial Council; between four and eight for the Local Councils of Madras and Bombay. We have seen the working of that Act for a period of 30 years, from 1861 down to the year 1892. That Act remained on the Statute Book without modification, and year after year, since the constitution of this great assembly in 1885, we have seen pictures, caricatures,



and cartoons of the way in which gentlemen who had been then appointed to the Councils performed their duty. I remember very well Rajah Rampal Singh of Allahabad describing in one of the meetings of the Congress that it was a rule with some of the members then appointed to hold up their hands when the Viceroy did and put down their hands when the Viceroy put his down. (Laughter.) That was the state of things which prevailed then. We next come to the year 1892, the year in which these Councils were enlarged. In that year a great and important change was made ; that change received the blessing of no less a person than the late Mr. Gladstone who expressed the hope that the representation in the reformed Councils would be a living and real representation of the people of this land. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, under that Act great changes were made : the number of additional members in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils was increased. What was the maximum of the period preceding became the minimum of the period following ; a new maximum was fixed, that is, 16 members for the Council of the Viceroy and 20 for the Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay. Twelve more years have elapsed since the time this change was made. This was not the only change then introduced. There was power given for interpellation of the authorities by the non-official members with reference to matters of administration and public policy. The power of interpellation, however irritating at times to the constituted authorities, has been the parent of great good in the remedying of numerous evils. There was another power also conferred—a power which might be of great value—the power of discussing the Budget at the meetings of the Imperial and Local Legislative Councils. But, gentlemen, that was a power which was really a fiction and a farce, because I tell you that the speeches in the Legislative Councils on the occasion of the Budget debate on the financial policy of the Government, however convincing, are of no more avail than the speeches made in this hall by speakers like myself. (Hear, hear.) Speeches so remarkable as those of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale have produced no effect upon the policy and the administration of the Government of India. The Budget was previously made, all points were previously settled, and the additional members of Council were there to express their opinions and to read their essays previously prepared (Laughter) ; and the

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only complaint on the part of the constituted authorities was that these essays had not been previously handed to them in order to enable them to make their own refutation. (Laughter.) This state of things has continued for 12 years. There is nobody in this land—an apologist of the official class or a friend of the people—there is nobody that is prepared to say that these powers conferred on the Legislative Councils have not resulted in great good to the people of the country and greater good to the Government of the land. (Hear, hear.) The question arises now whether the time has not come when another step may not be taken, some further advance may not be made in the direction of popularising the institutions of this country. You have it in one of the branches of this resolution that the number of members of the Viceroy's and Local Councils ought to be increased. We all know perfectly well that the number of additional members, who are allowed to be elected is so small that it is impossible to have the representation of the various interests of the people of this land fully and properly effected in the Councils of the realm. You know perfectly well that the number of seats thrown open for election in the respective Provinces is so small that whole districts and Provinces of India that have their own peculiar wants, and manners and customs remain absolutely unrepresented in the Councils of the nation. (Hear, hear.) It is time that some more decisive steps were taken for the purpose of securing a more adequate representation of the classes of people that hitherto remained unrepresented. This resolution does not commit you to any particular number. It does not say that the Government of this country shall take any step in the way of adding a certain number to the Viceroy's Council or to the Local Councils; but it says that some step forward must be taken. I know that it is possible even with the Act as it is to make a better adjustment of the seats that are now provided for election. (Hear, hear.) I know it is possible to add to the seats now open for election in order that some better representation may be effected even under the Legislation under which we live. But any such measure must be extremely inadequate. Therefore, it is time that we go before the Throne and make a prayer that some decisive steps might be taken in order that representation in the sense in which Mr. Gladstone spoke of it—living and real representation—shall be

made in the Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay. (Cheers.)

Now, Gentlemen, we also ask in another branch of this same resolution that the power of dividing the Council on the Budget may also be conferred. That is no very serious step that we ask the Government to take, however inconvenient beauracrats at the head of the affairs of this country may feel it to be, because we know there is a power reserved in the Statute which has been passed for the Government of this country—a power reserved in the heads of the Government, Viceroys and Governors and of Provinces, to veto any measure that is obnoxious to them or does not commend itself to their approval. We say, therefore, that with that safeguard there is no danger in increasing the representation on the Councils, in adding to the number, and in so arranging that those who are honoured with the titles of K. C. S. I., and K. C. I. E., for great and meritorious services, that these people shall not remain in the outer court but shall also be taken into the Councils of the realm, so that their influence, weight and traditions and all the knowledge that they have acquired in the service of the country may be available to the Government of the land. (Cheers.)

Now, gentlemen, I have only disposed of one part of the proposition. There is another part of the proposition in which we ask that the Council of the Secretary of State shall consist, at least, of some Indians who may be elected by the representatives of the people on the Local and Imperial Legislative Councils. We ask that in the Secretary of State's Council which, under the Statute may consist of 15 members, but which at the present moment consists of 10, some of these seats may be given to Indians in order that the advice and co-operation of Indians in the Government of the country may be helpful to the Secretary of State for India. Gentlemen, this is no new idea, but is as old as Disraeli, for in 1857, when there was a scheme for transferring the Government from the East India Company to the Crown, Mr. Disraeli was of opinion that some of the seats on the Council of the Secretary of State for India ought to be filled by persons from this country and the Council should not be altogether at the pleasure of the Secretary of State to fill.

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There is another branch of the proposition to which I wish to pass. We ask also that our representation shall not be confined to the Local Councils, the Imperial Council and the Council of Secretary of State for India; we ask that we shall also have some share in the Executive Government of this country in order that the Viceroy, and the Governors who are now assisted by two Civilians may also be assisted by at least one Indian, and that experience and knowledge of the ways, habits and customs of the people may be available to the Governors and Viceroys in order that they may govern this country with more knowledge, more sympathy and more insight than they are able to command at present. (Cheers.) This is a proposition which we have put forward from time to time and which we have carried in previous Congresses.

We have alluded to the various items of reform mentioned in this resolution. There is a more important item a more ambitious item in the programme. Some of you may stand aghast at the extent of our demand. But this, if understood, is a programme which I am sure will not be looked upon with great dismay. That item in the Resolution that you have before you is the request on our part that two Indian representatives from each Province of the Empire may be allowed to sit in the British House of Commons in order that the six hundred and sixty-five members already there may govern the destinies of this Empire with a better knowledge and a broader appreciation of the wants and feelings of the people of this country. (Cheers.) I know it is a great problem; I know it would require the amendment of many a Statute which governs the Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland. I know it is only a part of a larger problem which, if once solved, would enable the Colonies to become parts of one Federated Empire, and the solution of which is the dream of politicians like Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain. I hope that, when that day comes it will not be considered that India alone of the various members of the Empire should stand out, and while England chooses to take the Colonies to her bosom, India shall be left in the outer Court of the Federated Empire, so that she may not have any place in it to govern the destinies of the Empire. This may not be an item in our programme that we may expect to achieve. It may not be an item that we may expect the Viceroy or the

Government of England to assent to, but it is an item which we must always bear in mind, which we should always appeal to and to which we should invite the attention of the Government, so that they may feel that this is the ideal we place before them for the right and proper Government of the people of this country. Gentlemen I do not propose to detain you any longer, I do not flatter myself nor is there anybody in this hall that is so foolish as to flatter himself that a better representation on the Councils of the realm is the panacea for all evils. I do not suppose there is anybody in this hall who dreams that because Indians are better represented in the Councils of the Nation, therefore 50 millions of people that are said to pass through life with one meal a day, will have their mouths filled; but the Government may mar the progress of a nation as it may make it. (Hear, hear.) I believe the laws and regulations which are made by the authorities to govern a country may as well advance the people as they can mar their progress. I, standing here and you sitting there, appeal to Government for a better system of administration in greater sympathy with the people of this land.

Gentlemen, I ask you to remember that Lord Curzon—Mr. Curzon as he then was—assisted in the birth of the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Is it too much to hope that Lord Curzon wielding as he is, the destinies of the Empire with far more and increased knowledge of the conditions of the people of this country than he possessed then: is it too much, I say, to hope that he may take one further step in the direction of the progress of the people of this country by adding to the system of representation of the people, one further step so that we can say that Mr. Curzon, who as Under-Secretary of State for India, did sympathise and understand the conditions of the people, has, as Lord Curzon the Viceroy of India, a better grasp of the principles and the policy that ought to govern the destinies of this Empire. Lord Curzon has said only within the last few days that the word “duty” is for him spelt in five letters. I do not quite apprehend the signification of that spelling unless those five letters meant India. Whichever way it is spelt, I appeal to you, gentlemen I ask you to say whether it is not far better that the inexhaustible resources of a most capacious intellect were not spent in justifying

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a reactionary policy, were not better employed in scheming and planning and carrying out measures which shall stamp the idea of duty not merely upon his own conscience, but upon the conscience of the people of this country and bear more eloquent testimony to all his work than verbal definitions and eulogiums on duty. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

**MR. PUNDIT  
MADAN MOHAN  
MALAVIYA.**

The HON. PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA who was loudly cheered, (Allahabad) in supporting the above resolution said as follows :—

Mr. Chairman, Brother-Delegates and Sister-Delegates, after the full and able speech which Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer has made in proposing this resolution, it is not necessary for me to say much to commend it to your acceptance. There are three parts of this resolution, Gentlemen, and all these three parts have been very fully and very ably dealt with. (Hear, hear.) As my friend, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer has pointed out, it might seem somewhat surprising to some of us that we desire to have a few representatives of our country present in the great House of Commons. Gentlemen, the desire will not seem to us so unreasonable if you look a bit more closely into the matter. (Cheers.) By an Act of Parliament it is provided that an Indian Budget should come up for debate when the House is full, but we know, as a matter of fact, that year after year the House of Commons is cleared of most of its members when the Indian Budget is brought up for discussion. (Cries of "shame.") Contrary to what we expected from the character of the Englishmen's love of duty and contrary to their sense of duty, they do not find it possible to be present, or I do not know how it comes about that they are not present, in sufficient numbers whenever the Budget concerning the great population of this country comes up for discussion into their great House of Commons. Well, Gentlemen, we will not complain of that; we see that they have got to look after a very wide Empire; that they have got to look after many important concerns of their own country; that they have got to do so many things, and probably they have not got time, and we therefore, offer our humble services—(Hear, hear)—and ask them to "admit us into the fold of that great and glorious Assembly and enable us to speak by our own mouths and in our humble way the grievances

known to us of our fellow-countrymen—(Hear, hear)—who are entrusted to our care. If you grant that request, we shall thank you and we shall help you to better control the administration of this country which will redound to the credit and glory of your administration.” (Hear, hear.) As the matter at present stands, very few members of the House of Commons take any interest in Indian questions. In saying this I do not overlook and underestimate the value of the labours of those friends of India who do work in her behalf in season and out of season—(Hear, hear)—and in Parliament, and out of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) But in the midst of the affairs of the vast and world-wide British Empire it is really very difficult to get a hearing for the population of so poor and distant a country like India. Gentlemen, if our friends in England pay attention to the Indian questions, it is because there is reason on our side and there is justice on our side—(Hear, hear.) Whether the English people will accede to our request or not is left for them to decide. It is our duty to put forward these suggestions and it is their duty to consider whether they will accept them or not. We say: “Extend our Legislative Councils and give us a little more real power in this very country, and we shall try to help the Government with our advice; and with our advice it will become less and less difficult for you to exercise control over the affairs of India from England. (Hear, hear.) As the matter at present stands, you have recognized the principle of introducing more members in the Legislative Councils by election. That principle was recognized after a very careful consideration—(Hear, hear)—and careful examination of the whole subject.” (Cheers.) The late lamented Mr. Bradlaugh brought the subject up for discussion in Parliament and it was discussed in its various aspects by the distinguished members on both sides of the House of Commons. The late Lord Salisbury cautiously granted the principle in small measure. They granted twenty members in the Imperial Council, 16 in another Council, 15 in another Council and so on. It was more or less a modicum of reform, but we did not complain of it: we took it in good light and we felt thankful to Parliament for it. (Hear, hear.) The reform has proved eminently successful, as was pointed out by my friend, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, who referred to the opinions of Governors-General and Governors of different provinces in which they were graciously pleased to acknowledge

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the worth of the work of the members of the different Councils. (Hear, hear.) There has been not one complaint made that the elections have not brought in men who were at any rate equal if not superior to those who were appointed while nomination was the rule. (Hear, hear.) Well, Gentlemen, we now say to the Government : "You have seen that the work of the members of the different Councils has been so good, you have seen the performance of the trial, we have fought in the action and have satisfied you that we are able to do the work entrusted to us, we have proved to be possessed of that marked ability which should be valuable in discharging our work; (Hear, hear) we now ask you to extend the Councils; instead of having 15 members for the population of 44 millions—7 official and 8 non-official—we say let us have a Council where at least one member should represent one million of the population—(Hear, hear)—entrusted to your care. That is not in this resolution, but I mention the fact to show you how our proposal may be worked with reference to the extension of the Councils." Our friends say : "How reasonable is your demand." I need hardly try to convince you about it, you will admit this that the number of our members in the Councils is very small. We, therefore, say this : "Increase that number." We also say : "Give us some real power and take us a little more into your confidence. After all it is not a question of giving us any power, because the power of veto rests with the head of the Government. It is only a question of taking us into your confidence and of reposing a little more trust in us—(Hear, hear)—trust us in the spirit in which our late Gracious Sovereign wished you to treat the people entrusted to your care. (Hear, hear.) If you do that there will be an end of a great deal of discord and a great deal of complaint." (Hear, hear.) Now, what happens at present is this : the Budget comes up for discussion before the Council ; you may discuss it for any number of days ; you cannot ask for the vote ; you cannot divide the Council ; therefore we ask : Why wont you allow us to do that ; in every walk of life. The Government has been pleased to admit the integrity of the Indians and their ability to discharge their duty to the Government of India in a satisfactory manner ; why, then, do you not appoint more of our members in the Council and take them more into your confidence ; why do you not treat them with the same confidence that you



show to the European members—the members of your own country? If you do not let us have the vote, the discussion becomes more or less academic. (Hear, hear.) There may be very effective speeches delivered but there is nothing left in the hands of the non-official members. If the non-official members are allowed to divide the Councils, it will lead to the Council doing better work than they do at present. (Hear, hear.) I do not say that the Councils are merely a farce. There is a great deal that they do; but has not the time come for allowing them a little more power? The question is whether the people of India, who have now been under the British rule for over a century, with all the education given to them and with the acknowledgment of their ability and integrity on the part of the Government, ought not to be taken a little more into the confidence of the Government, and whether the policy of mistrust, which at present exists and which really stands in the way of the recognition of the worth of the people of India by the British Nation, ought not to be changed and whether that feeling of distrust should not give way to one of generous confidence? What do you say when we find in this country gentlemen of the position, ability and distinction of our esteemed friend, Sir Pheroze-shah M. Mehta? (Loud applause.), and my esteemed friend, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale (Loud applause)! It cannot be said that these gentlemen are of less ability whatever than is to be found in persons of other countries where the Legislative Acts exist.” (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, the Government has not given us this power to do wrong not only to ourselves but to itself also. (Cheers.) Because it proclaims to the world that there is absolutely no reason why the Indian gentlemen of ability and distinction—such as I have mentioned, and there are many more such in our country—should not be allowed really to voice the Indian voice in the administration of their own country. I think, Gentlemen, the sooner the Government steps forward to remove this reproach the better for it and for ourselves. (Hear, hear.) Because so long as it is not removed, so long will the reproach remain. Why it is not removed? God only knows the reason; we cannot account for it. We ask the Government to act upon the noble principles which the best Englishmen have from time to time advocated to be adopted in the administration of this country. (Hear, hear.) We ask the English Government only to act upon those principles.

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(Cheers.) We must tire their patience by repeating the words of the gracious Proclamation which has been referred to so many times. The principles laid down in the Proclamation for the administration of this country are the noblest principles and would do honour to any nation in the world. (Hear, hear.) I consider it is inconceivable that there can be a higher ideal held up to any people of which the destinies are entrusted to another nation to be kept. We don't want to ask the Government to bring about any revolutionary change; we only want them to act up to the principles laid down in the Proclamation; we only ask them that the rules that have been laid down and the principles that have been inculcated should be acted up to. (Hear, hear.) We are drunk with the literature of England and our minds have been illumined and enlightened by the ideas of liberty. We have our minds imbued with the ideas of freedom through a body of English literature. (Hear, hear.) We have learnt to love the life of freedom and justice in England: we have found and we have known that England illustrates those principles in dealing with many self-governing Colonies. England is now brought into contact with the people of this country who, though now unfortunately fallen, can boast of a happy and glorious civilization in the past. (Hear, hear.) We find that we have proved that we have benefited by the teachings which England has imparted to us (Hear, hear); we have done our utmost to benefit ourselves by those teachings, and we are able to hold our own, if I may say so without presumption, with our fellow-subjects in England in every walk of life. (Hear, hear.) We find that we have produced excellent and better judges of the High Court," who discharge their duties as honourably as any other judges would do. (Hear, hear.) We find that there are Indian gentlemen entrusted with the executive work in the High Courts—(Hear, hear)—and that they do not betray their trust and discharge their duty as honourably as they would do in any other walk of life. (Hear, hear.) That being so, what do we find? In our own country we are anxious to feel that we are really a part and parcel of the great British Empire which we love because of its love of freedom. In our resolution, if you scan it from first to last, you will find that we pray that the principles which have been laid down should be acted up to, so that the Indians should feel, even as our late

Sovereign wished that they should feel, that they are not living as a foreign nation. (Hear, hear.) We see that by not acting up to those principles, by not recognizing our worth and our work, by treating us as being practically of an inferior race and by allowing the racial distinction to stand in the way of recognizing our worth, the Government are directly working contrary to those principles and are thereby making it a very difficult task for us to realise and to feel what we wish to feel; that situation has accentuated our feelings about the Government when we see what is passing around us. Every self-governing Colony of England enjoys immensely greater privileges than any we wish for at present. In England and in all other countries which have come under the permanent influence of England, the peoples are allowed to take an active part in the administration of their own affairs. We find that the other European nations have benefited by the free institutions of England. The ideas of liberty, of justice and of allowing the people to govern themselves more or less have gone out from England to other countries and have helped to elevate and to make the people of those countries happy. (Hear, hear.) Well, we find in all directions this tremendous wave of civilization going out and powerfully lifting up the people from the condition in which they were found 50 years ago—into a higher and happier existence, politically, socially and intellectually. When we look around and see that all the countries are becoming more or less prosperous and are rising higher and higher in the scale of civilization and in the scale of nations, and when we find that notwithstanding all our ancient civilization and in spite of our acquisition and knowledge, at any rate of the character which is given to us under the British rule, we are deprived of the enjoyment of those rights and privileges, I ask you and I ask every reasonable Englishman and every fellow countrymen of ours, whether it is right that we should be put up in this situation—that we should not be allowed to feel that we are the part and parcel of that very nation, to feel that we are treated as if we are a subject population in a very low scale of existence. Gentlemen, this is a wide question on which hinges the consideration of our whole case. Though the Indians are excluded from employment in the army, there should be no difficulty in granting them greater powers and more privileges under the Indian Act. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, we must England

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to treat us with greater, higher and noble scruples. (Hear, hear.) We want Englishmen, whom God has sent to govern the destinies of this country, to act up to those principles (Hear, hear), and if they do it, I am sure many of those grievances of which we complain will be remedied and will be appreciated by the people who are actuated by their own innate commonsense and their own love of principle. (Hear, hear.) If England wants to be true to herself and if she endeavours to instruct her children to go on with the administration of our country on the principles laid down in the Proclamation—if England would only see that her sons in India are treated by her sons in England according to those principles, all our grievances will be at an end, and the reforms that we are praying for will be soon granted. (Cheers.)

**Mr. JEHANGIR**  
**B. PETIT.**

**Mr. JEHANGIR B. PETIT** (Bombay) in support of the resolution, said:—I rise, to speak on a question which is of great value and paramount importance to every educated native of this country.

Whilst formally supporting this proposition, I believe that in virtue of its important nature, it will not only meet with your cordial and enthusiastic support, but will be accepted by you in a manner that cannot be mistaken.

The desire to have "representation" is the natural and legitimate outcome of liberal education, such as we have been receiving in India. The one great problem, second in importance only to that of her poverty, which strikes all who know anything of the country, is the system of education which latter question rightly speaking, after the necessities of life, is the most urgent social question in any country. Wherever one goes the deepest impression made upon one is that of the utter helplessness of the people and the need of a more general introduction of education. (Hear, hear.) Weak though the system now is and small though the proportion of those who have benefited by it is, there is yet a net-work of schools extending all over the country, beginning with the indigenous village school and graduating upwards to the highest colleges, and the four great Universities of India. There are in the whole of British India 1,41,000 schools of all sorts with the grand total of students of about 3½ millions. The Universities are fed by over 100 colleges all over the country, which educate about 40,000-

students in all. In short, the system of higher education, which has been established under the British Rule during the last 50 years, is turning out year after year a quarter of a lakh of young men as highly educated as English University graduates, many of whom visit England and Scotland acquiring British habits of thought and criticism.

The cultured natives who have passed through the schools and colleges have shown themselves keenly alive to social reforms. We have advocated and obtained wholesome changes in pernicious caste-rules, we have encouraged female education; opposed the extension of the liquor traffic, and generally shown a warm interest in social reforms, which had no existence in native society 50 years ago. In industries and manufactures we have made decided advances; we have established technical schools and art colleges, opened factories and have taken steps to encourage native arts and industries thus rescuing them from decay and extinction. More than one native industry is now competing successfully with English and European manufactures. Our mills have already driven Lancashire out of the Indian Markets for the supply of coarse goods. The banks of the Hoogli at Calcutta are black with the smoke of jute mills, and there is no doubt that by means of Education India is on the high road to recovery by machinery the great hand-made manufactures which Manchester in time past destroyed. We are endeavouring to develop the unlimited hidden resources of India; the late Mr. J. N. Tata's Scheme of exploiting iron and copper mines in Central India at a heavy cost as well as his proposed endowment of a Research Institute for India at a cost of 30 lacs of rupees are designed to deal with the widest range of practical studies which are capable of treatment by scientific methods. (Cheers.)

These products of English education have otherwise already justified their existence in more ways than one. We fill highly responsible and onerous positions with credit and honour. We shine in the learned professions, in public life, in academic distinctions, in research, and the advancement of scientific knowledge. We have created a most intelligent native opinion finding expression in a widely-read Vernacular Press which has now

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become an organ of great power criticising and judging the actions of Government with remarkable independence and vigour, and continually checking the abuses of executive authority. We are proud of the ability and patriotism with which it is conducted, we have now learnt the power of combination and the force of numbers, and last though not least, the whole influence of our education is in the direction of nationalisation, of the formation of a nation, a nation in the real sense of the word, with common sentiments of interest and patriotism. (Hear, hear.) This great National Indian Congress is an illustration of our advance in the direction of the formation of a great nation. (Cheers.)

All this stimulated educational system has produced a fresh social problem of steadily increasing intensity which sooner or later will have to be faced and grappled with. We have now learnt to know what is good for us and what is bad; and have become a tremendous force in Indian Society and there is no wonder that we are already knocking loudly at the official door or some share in the responsible Government of our native land.

How far this demand is to be met is a great social problem which will have to be faced by the Government before very long. For remember, gentlemen, that no Government, however powerful, can long withstand the just and equitable claims of a subject people. We gratefully acknowledge the manifold advantage which the British Rule has conferred upon us. Among other things we are practically thankful to them beyond measure for the English ideas and aspirations which their system of education has produced in us. We appreciate the advantages given to us of municipal self-government. We are already tasting with gratitude incalculable benefits of the right of electing our representatives to the Legislative Councils. But in spite of all these rights we feel that we are much behind the times and enjoy much lesser powers than those for which the system of education aided by English ideas and English aspirations have fitted us. (Hear, hear.)

We believe that the representation of the people in the Councils ought to be extended and it is to be hoped that the success of the present system will induce the Government to extend it, thereby giving larger powers to the people at large.

There is another demand which educated India makes and that is that of representation in the English House of Commons, by "the bestowal of the right on each province or presidency of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the House of Commons." We feel sure that no truly liberal and broad-minded Englishman will deny the justice of this claim. Time was when a scheme of conferring seats in the House of Commons upon a few representatives or delegates from the great centres of population in India, so as to give the natives of India at least a hearing when Indian questions are discussed in Parliament was said to have been beset with obstacles, but we believe that with the growth of education in India our rulers will have at least the candour to admit that the fear exists no longer. Early in the year 1880 we find a Punjab officer of great experience in a letter to the *Times* proclaim to the English the following opinion:—"I altogether dissent from the notion that the people of India are not fit to manage their own affairs in concert with their British Rulers." Lord Mayo speaks also in the clearest possible language:—"Here are large and rich districts, from one end of India to the other, wherein there are men of sufficient ability and intelligences who are willing to assist the rulers. What we want is to recognise the principle that we wish to associate with ourselves, whenever it is possible, the natives of the country." (Cheers.) Mr. M. J. Shaw Stewart, formerly of the Bombay Civil Service in a memorial to the Secretary of State for India, briefly sketched out a proposal for the formation of a representative consultative Council in India on the lines of a local parliament. Like so many others who had a share in the administration he said: "I have come to the conclusion that most of our mistakes in India are due to the fact that we have no power of getting an authoritative and independent record of the opinions of the people on the schemes we undertake." Sir Charles Turner, Chief Justice of Madras, in the eighties when presiding at the anniversary of the Presidency College said, "The policy I advocate is no new policy. In the year in which I first saw the light there were uttered by Macaulay in the House of Commons words which more faithfully now than at any time represent the feeling of the British nation: "The public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown the system; by good government we may expand

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our citizens into a capacity for better government that, having been instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will come I know not. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own.' Since those noble words were uttered by that great man, that poet, historian, and statesman of England, and law-giver in India, Lord Macaulay, whose sentiments find larger admiration in the hearts of Englishmen now than they did when he first uttered them, half a century has not yet been completed. And already his prophecy has in a measure found its fulfilment. There are thousands in this land desirous of the privileges of citizenship, hundreds who are capable of them. To this city there has recently been conceded what is by no means the first instalment of such privileges—local-self-government. Believe me when the common acquiescence of the enlightened among your countrymen conceive the hour has arrived for advancing the demand England will not be slow in conceding to her Indian subjects the full privileges of citizenship, for which so many of her wisest sons have laboured to fit them." (Cheers.)

To summarize. What we want to make out is this, that it is after all only by taking the wearer into his confidence that the maker of the shoe can ascertain where and how it pinches. What we desire to impress upon our benign Government is not that "Might is right," but that "Right is might;" With this belief firmly rooted in our hearts, and fired by a zeal and ambition to which English education has given birth, we demand most humbly, but most emphatically, a larger share in the privileges and responsibilities of the government of our country. There is no need of giving any importance to the stereotyped remark of those who want to stifle our ambition by saying that the time has not yet arrived, or that it is premature, or that it is impossible for India to have self-rule. (Hear, hear.) These, gentlemen, are points which might have been taken for arguments a hundred years ago, but in the present enlightened generation we content



ourselves by depositing them in an anthropological museum as a decayed and antique fossil of a bygone generation. (Laughter and cheers.) In conclusion, I am sure, I am echoing your sentiments when I say that we have full confidence in the sense of justice and fair play of the British nation. We know that in spite of their faults they are, perhaps, the best and most enlightened people in the world. We cannot contemplate for a minute that the nation which gave freedom to the slaves of the world can ever go behind the spirit of its admirable and magnificent constitution. It will, indeed, be the proudest day for England when by virtue of her fine education system, by her wise laws, by her broad and great constitution, she has bestowed upon the teeming millions of India the inestimable boon of self-government to which all human beings have a birth-right, and which is long overdue. (Applause.)

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**Resolution X.—Tibetan Affairs and Forward Policy.**

MR. H. A. WADYA (Rajkote),—Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposition which stands in my name runs as follows :—

MR. H. A.  
WADYA.

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

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

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel it a privilege to propose this resolution. It is a sign of the times that while we should be striving to acquire some fresh boon of freedom we have really to struggle to maintain the small modicum of constitutional privilege conceded by Parliament nearly 50 years ago.

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Mr. H. A.  
WADYA.

In discussing this aspect of the question it is not necessary to discuss the policy of the Tibet Expedition.

H. E. the Viceroy has asked us to remember his own five years of frontier policy and to raise presumptions in his favour on that account. I am free to admit the fairness of that claim. But unfortunately we cannot be guided only by presumption when there is positive evidence in other directions. (Hear, hear.) We cannot forget that before Lord Curzon the Viceroy and Governor-General there was the Hon'ble Mr. George N. Curzon who wrote certain books of travel and politics, or that there was the Right Hon'ble Mr. Curzon who made certain speeches in Parliament. We cannot forget that soon after the Delhi Darbar there was a voyage to the Persian Gulf and Darbars on the sea-board and addresses and speeches to the Chiefs and Potentates on the Borders. I have no doubt Lord Curzon was perfectly conscientious, was acting from the strongest sense of duty and moved by a whole-hearted devotion to his country's cause. But side by side with the pomp and pageantry which were inevitable under the circumstances we were conscious also of an exhibition of passion and pride of which the powerful fascination had, we could not help believing, made our Viceroy captive and led him beyond the dictates of wisdom and moderation. It seemed to some of us that there was too much of needless boasting as to the past, too much of unnecessary assertion as to the present, too much of provocative assumption as to the future. We would have preferred to see more of robust wisdom, more of calm courage, together with the unflinching determination to hold fast what was in Great Britain's possession and power.

There is nothing in the Blue Book on Tibet, nothing in the declarations of His Majesty's Ministers, nothing in the oratory of the Viceroy to show that any sudden emergency, any fresh provocation, any new departure on Russia's part in Tibet or in Central Asia had aroused the activity of the Government of India in the direction of Tibet.

Gentlemen, we all know by this time that the only defence of the policy of the Mission to Tibet is *Russia* behind Tibet. No one who has paid any attention to this question can any longer be under the illusion that this Mission was peaceful or that it was

for the purposes of peace, for the purposes of trade and commerce or for the purpose of carrying into Tibet the means of civilisation and progress. It is against Russia alone, for anticipating and withstanding the preponderance of Russian influence in Tibet, that the Mission was organised and despatched. (Hear, hear.)

Sir, I have never been of those who regard it as an article of faith that loyalty to the British Raj demands unreasoning jealousy and unjust abuse of Russia's position and policy in Central Asia. I certainly am one with those who bear the deepest conviction that it is not loyalty to the British Government alone but loyalty also to our country's best interests, to her present progress and prosperity, to her future freedom and happiness which demands from us hatred of the principles of Russian rule and an unswerving, unmitigated, unreserved opposition to the smallest attempt on Russia's part to enter the proper frontiers of India. But the position of Russia in Central Asia outside and beyond our borders in the direction of Tibet or Afghanistan or Persia is another and a different matter altogether.

In our criticism of the Frontier Policy of the Government let us be careful to say we impute, and have no right and no reason to impute, unworthy motives. We charge no moral delinquency. All we say is that there is intellectual error, that there is mistaken policy. We have learned repeatedly that mistaken patriotism, however high-minded, however able and energetic and however conscientious may be the men inspired by it, has led to ruinous wars which have brought neither gain nor glory. (Hear, hear).

It is all very well to talk of the wisdom of being guided by the Agents on the spot. Have they never proved blind guides? You need not travel back very far, gentlemen, in order to remember or to remind our rulers of the many sad mistakes into which local Agents,—the men of local knowledge as was presumed but men of local prejudice and local passion, as has been proved, have led Imperial Rulers and Imperial Statesmen. The history of Ireland is replete with such examples even in most recent times. Then take South Africa, then take Russia's disasters in Korea and Manchuria. But perhaps the most appropriate instances are

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the lessons of the forward Policy in the N.-W. of India itself. Take the first Afghan War of 1839-40 and the second Afghan War of 1879-80. We set aside on the latter occasion the policy of great statesmen and great Englishmen—the policy not of John Lawrence alone but of Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook, of Stanley and Russell, of Gladstone and Bright and Cobden—and with what result? Remember the pretexts that were then urged. See the sad and significant resemblance! Are we to repeat the same errors and to court similar disasters? We have been told recently of the sentinel on India's rampart. Of course, Sir, I can understand and admire and trust him if he stands on our ramparts alert and active and wise and vigilant, calm in his courage, confident in his strength, with his face to the foe determined to resist if and when invasion comes. But how can we trust him or admire or follow him when he forsakes our ramparts to leap into our neighbours' limits and surrounds himself with foes both behind him and in front? (Hear, hear.) It stands to reason, gentlemen, does it not, that the strength of a nation in war is measured by the nearness of its base of supply and by easy communications with that base? Was it an error on the part of those who advised that we should remain behind the great ramparts Nature herself has given to us and meet the foe if he should so far advance in the plains of India itself. The further Russia came to attack us the weaker must Russia be and the more easy would be India's defence if Russia ever made the mad attempt to penetrate our proper frontiers. (Hear, hear.) And have they been wise or successful, those who asked you to depart and at whose instance you departed from that policy in "the N.-W"? We spent millions of money and thousands of lives. And with that result? We had to abandon in the end the policy with which we started in the beginning. We could not ask the Ameer Abdul Rehman to accept that which the Ameer Sheer Ali had refused before we sent him to his grave or that which the Ameer Yakool Khan had accepted with results disastrous to his throne and involving a catastrophe to which our rulers had proved themselves wilfully blind. Of course we had spoken of keeping Afghanistan strong and independent and friendly and we are repeating some fond foolish things in regard to Tibet to-day.

These things have been repeated and are being repeated in the North-East to-day. The commencement, gentlemen, has been the same. They complained of the Dalai Lama's leanings towards Russia in 1903 just as they complained of the Ameer Sheer Ali's leanings in Russia's favour in 1878-79. The forces at work have been the same. The arms and objects are the same. (Hear, hear.)

What was the result? The brave peasant of those mountain lands fought for the freedom of their soil from the foot of the foreigner with a valour which the world had not expected. It is not a country of lazy, dirty and superstitious monks alone. There were ragged barbarians, as Lord Lansdowne called them, (and it shows that he had not been in India for nothing) who had all the virile strength and courage of those to whom the eternal snows are no hardship—with a patriotism as pure, with love of independence as tenacious, with contempt for danger and for death as admirable as any recorded in ancient or modern annals. (Cheers.)

Of 1500 Tibetans at Tuna barely one half was computed to have given away. The *Pioneer* itself declared that more blood was shed in the course of the peaceful Mission to Tibet than had been shed by Russia and Japan in two months after they had declared war. The Tibetans declined to scatter and run though retreat was open to them. "They tramped away."

How can we admire such a policy?

And gentleman it is not in the direction of Tibet alone that we have to look to a future fraught with peril to our peace and progress and prosperity.

Lord Curzon has returned and has brought with him a Commercial Mission to Persia and a Political Mission to Afghanistan. I have no desire to disbelieve the protestation of the Government of India that the Commercial Mission has no other end but commerce in view. I should like to believe the protestations. But how can we do it? See what English public opinion is on the point. The *Times*, always considered the most powerful and the best informed voice in the whole English Press said when

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Lord Curzon was leaving England that although the Mission was commercial "it might be attended by consequences of a more or less political character." And we have the significant remark that this region of Persia lies wholly outside the legitimate sphere of Russian ambition. What is the impression created on Russia's mind? The "Russ" looks upon it as one of the successive encroachments of Great Britain in South Eastern Persia and remarks that once that region is finally in British hands Russia will have to content itself with the lands of Turkistan and give up its harsh ardent aspirations and tendencies, viz., its egress to warmer seas. It declares that Russia's interests in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf are far more important than any it has on the coasts of the Pacific, and if Russia gains victory over Japan in the end it will have lost more by British success in Persia than gained by Russia's success over Japan. It expects the authorities to defend Russia's interest in the Near East and the Middle East with greater vigour than ever inasmuch as they were more urgent now than ever. We have, of course, not the same means of knowing the public opinion of Persia. But we must remark two circumstances. The one was the summons to the Persian Ambassador in London to proceed to Teheran, and the other the visit of the Persian Ambassador at Constantinople to the Czar and Czaritsa and his reception by their Majesties on Dec. 9 to whom he had carried an autograph letter and costly presents from the Shah.

What do these movements portend? Neither peace nor security nor progress nor prosperity.

It is idle to discuss if the Ameer invited the Mission or was made to invite it. (Hear, hear.) It is now important to consider the subjects which the Mission is invited to discuss with His Highness at Kabul. Lord Curzon's own Foreign Secretary proceeds at the head of this Mission. The questions which he has been chosen to discuss:

(a) The Ameer's subsidy which he has refused to receive for so many years;

(b) The purchasing arms by the Ameer and their import into Afghanistan through British India.

(c) The rectification of the Perso-Afghan Boundary on the Helmund.

(d) The general relations between the Court of Kabul and the Tribesmen of the N.-W. Frontier.

(e) The subsisting arrangements between India and Afghanistan which have grown more or less out of date and unsuited to the changed circumstances which have come about since the original understanding with Abdul Rahman was concluded.

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It is not India's interests so much as British predominance, not India's security so much as Great Britain's supremacy which the threatened expeditions and entanglements are intended to promote. Then why in Heaven's name should India alone bear the cost that this policy has entailed and must entail?

The Secretary of State who taught us before he came to Anglo-India that in these matters he is capable of great elasticity of conscience pleads that "The Welby Commission has laid down that operations for the protection of the frontier are matters of Indian interest."

Then have our frontiers been invaded? Do the Afghans or Persians or Tibetans threaten them? Was there any cause of hostility or anxiety between the Indian and the Tibetans? Hundreds of Indians may enter Tibet. She knows that their entrance cannot affect the isolation which she looks upon as indispensable to her independence.

Gentlemen, let us speak with no uncertain sound. Our success is certain if we bring home to the mind and conscience of the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom that India pays this war tax and bears this burden, not because she will but because she must. I am content to assume that Lord Curzon is right in his policy, but is it right that he should carry out that policy in disregard of the safeguards which the Parliament has deliberately and avowedly provided for the protection of Indian revenues. (Hear, hear.) What did Mr. Bright say in Parliament?

"There was a general impression arising from past discussion in Parliament that . . . with regard to the wars entered into by the Indian Government there was much of which the people of England had reason to be ashamed.

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“The Governor-General has an army of 300,000 men under his command : he is a long way from home : he is highly connected with the governing classes at home : there are certain reasons that have made war palatable to large classes in India : and he is so powerful that he enters into these great military operations almost uncontrolled by the opinion of the Parliament and people of England.

“The fact is that a Governor-General of India unless he be such a man as is not found more than once in a century is very liable to have his head turned and to form ambitious views which are mainly to be gratified by successful wars and the annexation of Province after Province during the period of his rule. ‘The services’ are always ready to help him in these places.”

I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following from Mr. Gladstone’s speech at Midlothian in 1880. He explained his part in the work of 1858 thus :—

“Now, gentlemen, you are aware that upon no subject whatever were our ancestors more jealous than in regard to the maintenance and the use of military forces. They provided by what may be called fundamental laws—laws at any rate so lustrous that they have occupied a special and exceptional place in our history—they provided that no standing army could be maintained without the consent of Parliament ; not merely that it could not be paid without the consent of Parliament but that it could not be maintained without the consent of Parliament. This doctrine was sufficient and this enactment was sufficient at the time it was made, nearly 200 years ago. We had even then become possessors of dominions in the East Indies but we had not become possessors of an East Indian Empire. Gradually we became possessors of the East Indian Empire ; but that East Indian Empire was under a form of Government peculiar and unexampled in the history of the world. It was governed not primarily nor directly by the Crown, but by a mercantile company. By degrees that mercantile company was brought under the control and not the control only of the negative power, but likewise of impulsion or positive power of the administration. Still while the East India Company subsisted it was a check to some extent upon the power



of the Crown. It was privy to everything that was done; and the strong position of the East India Company in case anything important and in its view mischievous was done, was a great check upon the power of the Crown. Still it was found, and found to our disgrace and our great misfortune in 1839. I think that by the Agency of the Governor-General and under the orders of the Crown was most injurious to the interests of India, ever menacing therefore in their ultimate consequences to your greatness and to the solidity of your Empire—utterly unsound on the principle on which they were founded—might be made without the concurrence of your representative without even the prior knowledge of your representatives. It was without the concurrence of Parliament that the war of 1839-40 in Afghanistan was made. That being so it had become evident that there was in the Empire a very powerful army which could be used for the purposes of war without constitutional control; in fact there was a great gap in our constitutional guarantees which it was requisite to fill. I had the honour of exerting myself in the year 1858 to prevent the repetition of any such mischief and I owe it to the late Lord Derby who was at that time Prime Minister of the country and to the present Lord Derby who was at that time Secretary of State for India to acquaint you that I had their cheerful and ready concurrence . . . and so what was done was this—it was provided that except in cases of invasion or sudden and urgent military necessity—and you never as you are aware can limit the discretion of the Executive Government in cases like these—it can only be limited by the necessities of the case—except in those cases none of which have arisen—it should not be lawful for the Government to employ the forces serving in India beyond the frontiers of that country or to pay them out of his revenues of India without the consent of Parliament." (Hear, hear and cheers).

The fiction of "*Political or Peaceful Mission*" was invented to deprive us of this protection. It became impossible after the slaughter of the Tibetans at Tuna. Then on the 13th April last the Secretary of State laid before the House of Commons the necessary application for the sanction of Parliament to the employment of Indian troops beyond India's Frontier and to the

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revenues of India being employed for the cost of that expedition Parliament gave the sanction by 260 votes against 71. The leaders of the opposition were not only dumb but an ex-Secretary of State talked of *protecting and rescuing the Mission if necessary by all the resources at the command of the Indian Government!* It shows how little they know or care to know!

We can form our opinion and our judgment of the Forward Policy only from the facts placed before us from the lessons we have learnt from past history from the principles which we think ought to be applied in dealing with our weaker neighbours. (Loud applause.)

**MR. LALA MUR-  
LIDHUR.**

**MR. LALA MURLIDHUR (Punjab)**—Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters,—At a meeting held in the Tower of Silence yesterday, it was decided to offer a crown of gold to the Grand Lama of Tibet, by observing perfect silence on the occasion of his accession to the throne of his illustrious ancestors in the Kingdom of Nirvan of Extinction. (Laughter.) Now, Gentlemen, the blood-hounds of the Intelligence department of the Political Mission got scent of it and they, finding me the weakest of the members of that meeting, pounced upon me and removed the seal of secrecy and carried away the golden crown that I had so carefully kept concealed in the chatter-box of my tongue. Now this was not an ordinary case of an ordinary theft, of an ordinary article from an ordinary house belonging to an ordinary person. It was an offence of the most extraordinary nature committed by these blood-hounds in broad day-light. They have been caught red-handed and as it was an extraordinary offence it ought to be tried by an extraordinary tribunal. Who is that tribunal fit to try such an extraordinary case but this extraordinary assembly, unconstitutionally constituted by an unconstitutional monarch? Now, Gentlemen, in order to plead my case well, being dumb and speechless, having lost my tongue, I must borrow it from some other gentleman. Who can that gentleman be who will be obliging enough to lend me a loan of his tongue for at least a few minutes, if he is not generous enough to make a free gift of it to me? (Laughter.) I will ask my friend Surendranath Bannerji, for it for a few minutes in order that I might state my case carefully

before you. Now I can anticipate the defence of the culprits. They will say that this Tribunal has no jurisdiction over their acts; they were acts of State committed by a sovereign whose judgment this tribunal is not competent to call into question. They will say further that this man is not to be believed, that the charge is false and malicious that he is an unbeliever, that he is a worshipper of stocks and stones, in fact he has taken to the worship of Cotton. (Laughter and cheers.) Now, Gentlemen, what they say is, is it an offence on the part of these people to take possession of the worldly gods of the kingdom of Heaven of the Grand Lama of Tibet and his people? It is an act of the highest self-sacrifice on the part of the political mission that they have taken the burden of the worldly cares on their shoulders and that they have relieved him of all the worldly anxieties. And what have they prayed for, for centuries? They prayed for the Nirwan which they have attained. (Laughter and cheers.) It is easier for a row of camels to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. So they say if we have taken the riches you must reap the fruits on earth and when we leave this world and go to another world which has not been known by any individual; as long as we are in this world, let us enjoy the fruits thereof and earn the fruits that are likely to be got in the other world. Do you know the genesis of the war? The whole history can be condensed into this dry grass. (The speaker here pulled out a piece of turf and exhibited it to the audience). The charge against the Tibetans was that the cattle of their shepherds strayed on the borders of Sikkim and began to graze on this dry grass. That was a very grave offence, gentlemen, unheard of in the annals of any country. (Loud laughter.) It was certainly insolent on the part of the goats to dare to trespass on the British Territory and thus offer insolence to the might of the British Viceroy. That was certainly a great offence on the part of the Tibetan goats and they have been rightly punished as they deserve. (Laughter.) What a heroic stand our troops made at Gyants!!! The monks were armed with ordinary weapons and our troops were armed with Sniders and Martinis and other modern weapons of warfare. While their backs were turned to the soldiers, our soldiers dashed at them, struck right and left. (Laughter.) These people would not leave the field. They deserved greater

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punishment. How were they treated? They were hacked to pieces (Shame.) They did not offer resistance. They were massacred like so many sheep. (Shame). That was the fate of the insolent Tibetans who were massed against our soldiers. For this they deserved condign punishment. Now, gentlemen, there is another question which is worthy of your consideration. They say that Russia tried to intrigue with the Dalai Lama of Tibet : in order to counteract the baneful influence of Russia, our Government was in duty bound to have friendly recourse with the Tibetans.

[At this stage the President sounded his gong.]

The speaker continuing :—Well, Gentlemen, the death-knell has been sounded, I have not been able to make my will as yet and as I believe like the Tibetans in reincarnation and transmigration of souls, and as I have been twenty times appearing before you year after year, I hope to appear before you next year again. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

**MR. N. B.  
RANADE.**

**MR. N. B. RANADE (Bombay),**—Gentlemen, from the manner in which you have listened to the arguments on this subject advanced by the two previous speakers, I can say with sufficient correctness that this resolution expresses the united feeling of all the Delegates from the different parts of the country that the forward policy of the Government in undertaking the expedition has been in violation of the promise given in the act of 1858 which provides that India's revenues shall not be spent outside the statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression without the previous sanction of Parliament. Of course, those of you who have been following the history of Russia during the last two years may say with sufficient correctness that there was no fear of an armed expedition from Russia to Tibet. If there had been such a fear from Russia, I believe the Congress would have been the first institution in the world to come to the rescue of the British Government in this matter. I believe the Congressmen would have been the first to put their hands into their pockets to supply the sinews of war to Government and fight out not only one Russia but ten Russias. (Hear, hear.) Now with respect to another point that is mentioned in this resolution, viz. that England should bear a part—our prayer is that the whole expenditure should be borne—with respect to this, I would like to refer you

to the debate which took place in the House of Commons, where—I cannot quote Sir M. M. Bhavnagree as a great friend of the Congress and yet—he spoke on this subject to a very great extent in our favour. He placed facts and figures before the Parliament and he pointed out that more than  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the solid benefits the commercial benefits from Tibet goes to England; his own words are that “ $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of it does not touch India;” of course he has thus made out a case in our favour and he has shown that if not the whole of the cost at least  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the cost should be borne by the English Exchequer. The special reason why we want to attach so much importance to the present resolution is, Lord Curzon is again in India; he may in a way be styled the hero of this ultra-forward policy; he may be called the leading member of that imperial policy which, of course, wants to do every thing to further and to advance the political and commercial interests of England. One argument that is brought forward with respect to placing all the charges, placing the whole burden of the expense on the shoulders of India is, that the trade route of England to Tibet lies through India. Simply because India chances to lie between England on the one side and Tibet on the other, it does not mean that the onward policy has been undertaken in the interests of India (hear, hear)! Of course I think in the same way we have our own fears, other fears in other directions which are mentioned here, in the direction of Afghanistan and of Persia. I think if there was any time opportune in the programme of the Congress to take up this resolution it is just this time, because we fear that within the next two years another expedition may be undertaken by the Viceroy who may be called the hero of the ultra-forward policy. With these remarks I will commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Applause.)

The President put the resolution to the Congress which was carried by acclamation.

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#### Resolution XI.—Police Reform.

MR. VIJAYAKUMAR BOSE:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows:—

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

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

Gentlemen,—We have it on the authority of Sir Bartle Erere that the police in this country even from the time of Lord Bentinck, was corrupt and oppressive. Seventy years have gone by and the

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complaint remains the same as it was at that time. The history and the tradition of the police service is one long history of ill-paid subordinates, ineffectually controlled by incompetent superiors. The resolution of Sir Stuart Bayley on Police Reform maintained that 70 per cent. of the serious crimes in Bengal went unpunished and over 90 per cent. of the offences against property went undetected. Yet in Bengal, from which Province I come, there are 25,000 police officers and men, who cost the Government 53 lacs, that is, Rs. 200 per head. Formerly the D. S. P.'s were recruited from the incapables of Anglo-Indian families. The *Pioneer* characterised the appointments as the refuge of European destitutes and as a happy haven, where Chaucer, was unknown and Conic Sections at a discount. Added to this their ignorance of the language, of the manners and of the customs of the people amongst whom they lived and with whom they came into contact every day rendered the higher officials thoroughly incompetent for the task of safeguarding the lives and properties of the people. But, Gentlemen, in deference to the opinion of the people, a sort of competitive examination was instituted in London, from which natives were excluded, though from the Civil Service we cannot theoretically speaking be excluded. This is another instance where the promises made in 1858 and 1878 were ruthlessly cast to the winds. What is the condition of things with regard to Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors? An army of ill-paid and ignorant men wielding great powers which they generally abuse form the rank and file. It is generally the officers below the ranks of Inspectors that are placed in charge of cases. To them non-cognisable offences are entrusted and if their itching palms are greased not even the highest and the greatest in the land can consider themselves safe. Well, gentlemen, on the other hand, if a complaint is made by a person who is poor, it is put down as false. We have magistrates who think it their duty to show 90 per cent. of convictions in cases sent up by the police. The evil is admitted and the system is condemned not only by the united public opinion of this country but also by our rulers. Only they do not see eye to eye with us in the measures that are required to cleanse the Augean stables. A large number of educated men of the country ought to be introduced in higher ranks to improve the police. The pay and prospects offered to the subordinates ought to be such as to induce men of respect and education to enter the service. Last but not least, the examination in London should be thrown open to all, irrespective of race or creed. We, Gentlemen, have formulated our grievances and sketched out reforms, ever since the birth of the Congress. After years of unwearied and persistent agitation we have brought this question within the range of practical politics. Six years ago, Lord Curzon, from his place in the Imperial Council, said that Police Reform was one of the subjects which he was determined to solve before leaving India; and in 1902 he appointed a Commission to inquire into the administration of the police throughout India. The Commission took evidence of nearly seven hundred witnesses and submitted the report nearly a year and a half ago. We do not know what they have reported. The gist of the report appeared in the *Times* paper which is outside the clutches of the Official Secrets' Act. Inquisitive interpellations in Parliament were fenced off by sophisticated replies. What then is the remedy? Government is not going to publish the report.

Perhaps they will get the sanction of the Secretary of State and introduce and carry out the reforms without consulting and letting the public know what the report is and set at naught public opinion. (Hear, hear.) It was only the other day in this very City of Bombay—or in the “Kingdom of Bombay” as Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta delights to call it,—that Lord Curzon announced that he has come back to carry out the recommendations of the Police Commission. That announcement has filled our minds with some amount of dismay. Perhaps he is going to carry out the recommendations after getting the imprimatur of the Secretary of State without consulting us, who had agitated this question for these 20 years. We are vitally interested in the question. The popularity or unpopularity of Government in India depends not a little on the popularity or unpopularity of the Police. (Hear, hear.) To the great mass of the people the *Daroga* is the emblem of the might and majesty of the British Crown. We therefore pray that before the recommendations of the Police Commission are carried into effect; that the public bodies may be consulted and their opinion may be taken in the matter. You know that the report was sent to England together with a vast amount of information. With these words I have great pleasure in moving the resolution. (Cheers.)

BABU SRIS CHANDRA SARBADHICARI (Bengal) said:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am asked to second the Resolution that runs thus:—“This Congress places on record its deep regret that the Report of the Police Commission has still been withheld by the Government from the public, though it is now two years since the Commission reported, and though portions of it have found their way into the columns of papers beyond the reach of the Official Secrets’ Act.

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

This Resolution appears to be my old friend. I had to support it at the last Calcutta Congress in 1901 and to second it at the last Provincial Conference held at Burdwan in June last. Since I last spoke at the Calcutta Congress in 1901, nothing has happened in the meanwhile to change my attitude and alter my views on the subject. Gentlemen, of all the most important administrative problems connected with the administration of India, the Reform of Police must be allowed the first place by common consent. There does not involve any difference of opinion on the subject among different classes of public opinion, irrespective of creed or color. It may not be unknown to you gentlemen, that

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my speech delivered at the last Calcutta Congress was very uncharitably assailed by the *Pioneer*, though it was gratifying to find that the *Oracle* of Allahabad was sufficiently paid in his own coin by the Great Indian Burke in the columns of the *Bengalee*. Since then you are aware that the Police Commission that was appointed by Lord Curzon with a view to make a searching inquiry into the abuses of the Police and to suggest adequate remedies for its reform under the presidency of our God-fearing and sympathetic ruler of Bengal, Sir Andrew Fraser, have finished their labour and submitted their Report about two years ago. It is much to be regretted that the report of the Police Commission has not yet been published. But some idea of the conclusion arrived at by the Commission can be had from some of its important portions having appeared in the *London Times* which have been quoted by the Indian papers to avoid the clutches of the official Secrets' Act which often hangs like a sword of Damocles over them.

The fearless and scathing manner in which Sir Andrew Fraser whose exemplary devotion to public duties stands unquestioned, has, as it appears from the quoted extracts, exposed the vagaries and pointed out the corruption of the Police, can not fail to demonstrate His Honour's strong sense of impartial justice, exemplary character of liberal instinct for which His Honour has already earned the undying gratitude of the whole country for the invaluable services that he has rendered to the people in this connection. I betray no secret when I say that in course of a conversation that I had with His Honour about Congress work on Sunday last on the eve of my departure for Bombay, His Honour seemed to declare his sympathies for *moderate demands* of the Congress. It speaks volumes in favour of His Honour's liberal sympathies for the reasonable aspirations of the children of the soil. Such is also the views expressed by the Premier Zemindar of Bengal, the Hon'ble Maharaja of Darbhanga, before I started for Bombay, which I am authorized to announce before this great assembly of Indian intellect. Gentlemen, I would be failing in my public duty if I were not to remind you in this connection that this Congress could never have been called into existence, but for the widespread diffusion of English education all over the land, which constitutes one of the essential blessings of British rule in India. It goes without saying that whatever amount of success the Congress could expect to achieve must be due in a great measure to the credit of British Government, which is richly entitled to the grateful acknowledgment of the country for imparting educational training to the people. It would be for the Congress leaders to show by their practical acts that they deserve the confidence and sympathies of our rulers and the landed aristocracy which would strengthen the position of the Congress and extend the sphere of its influence and usefulness.

Mr. V. G. JOSHI.

MR. V. G. JOSHI (Nagpur) said:—Mr. President, the two speakers who preceded me, and who spoke on this resolution, did not perhaps make themselves sufficiently audible to all, and in obedience to your behests, they had to finish their speeches prematurely. I shall attempt in a small compass, to let you know the importance of the question involved in the resolution before you. The resolu-



tion that is before you is in connection with the reform of the police. The Police Commission appointed by Lord Curzon is well known to you. The report of that Commission has not yet been placed before the public. The reform of the police is a question which is of paramount importance, and which concerns you in every day life. You go out into the street from your house; before five minutes are over, the police join you. You allow your child to commit nuisance on the road the police would come in at once. You drive on the wrong side of the road; the police are there again. Thus in every concern of your life the police watch you to set you right. Gentlemen, at the present moment, what do we find sadly lacking in the present administration of the Police Department? There is a great lack of detective ability. We find it in the Central Provinces, though this may not be the case in this Province. In the Central Provinces, this detective ability is rare. I find that within the last 5 or 6 years there occurred in the little town of Sitabaldi, in Nagpur, with a population of 8,000 persons 5 or 6 murders; and all these murders still remain undetected (a voice "shame"). It is a shame to the Police Administration and to every British born subject to whom security of person and property should be vouchsafed. (Hear, hear.) If this cannot be attained and life is allowed to be taken away, the British administration has not secured the proper aim that it is intended to do. I beg to submit that there are several reforms connected with the police which we shall be able to formulate in a scheme if the report of the Commission be placed before us; we shall be able to suggest several reforms acceptable to Government and the people. Unless and until we receive the report, we cannot do so, I may mention one instance of the high-handedness of the police that came within my knowledge in this city. The day before yesterday I chanced to notice a constable setting aside a man in the crowd by means of his rod and pushing him. I think that his duty should be done not by doing injury or giving personal affront to the man, but by a warning. I bring this to your notice as an example of the arrogance and the high-handedness of the police. With these remarks I commend this resolution to you. (Cheers.)

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Resolution XL.  
Police Reform.

MR. V. G. JOSHI.

The resolution on being put to the Congress was carried unanimously.

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Resolution XII.  
Military Expenditure.

MR. N. M.  
SAMARTH.

**Resolution XII.—Military Expenditure.**

The following resolution was next moved :—

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

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

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

MR. N. M. SAMARTH (Bombay), in moving this resolution said :—I have the honour to place before you the next resolution which I will take as read. The resolution deals with military expenditure and this is a grievance about which I have spoken very often from this platform. You will, therefore, excuse me if I do not repeat the arguments that I urged before. I will content myself, however, with describing on this occasion this grievance in a way which will please you. Well, Sir, I call this grievance "India's liver complaint," (laughter,) which prevents India from digesting her food and drawing the necessary nourishment therefrom. As a matter of fact, we are told that we contracted this disease 40 years ago when the Army Amalgamations Scheme of 1859 was passed. Since then we have been suffering from it. As was foretold by those who opposed it, those who could speak with authority, all the evils that it was bound to lead to have followed, with the result that we see the British Ministers serenely disposing of and sacrificing Indian interest to their own exigencies, and the Government of India availing themselves of all the facilities which the scheme places at their disposal for pushing on their trans-frontier policy, whenever they are so minded. The evil is deep rooted; and I do not think half measures will suffice unless the inherent defects of the system are to be remedied. I hope that a bright

future will now dawn on India. Let me hope the Liberal party will come into power and remedy the grievance from which we so long have suffered. (Applause.)

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Resolution XII.  
Military Expenditure.

Mr. G. R.  
ABHYANKAR.

MR. G. R. ABHYANKAR (Sangli) said:—Absolutely no sanction of Parliament is obtained, as is enjoined in the Act of Parliament before an army is sent out of India. Gentlemen, the very fact that our armies were abroad shows that the army in India is far in excess of our requirements. The broad fact that during all this time there was absolutely no occasion for their employment shows that there is no need of increased expenditure at present. Still the Viceroy in his budget speech emphatically declared that at least during his regime there was not the slightest hope of any decrease in the British Army. But we hope that, for the sake of India, he would not increase the strength of the present army, inasmuch as such a procedure will entail a heavy drain. I will confine myself to particular instances of melancholy meanness with which the British Government is acting. The Government, not being satisfied with spending the money of the poor tax-payers of India, is endeavouring to get the Native States to contribute their quota to this luxury. (Shame.) The present tendency to increase the Imperial Service Troops is an instance in point. The present expedition to Tibet is enough to convey to your mind an idea of the present policy which has been harassing the country all along. All Native States of India do maintain an army; but the British Government, by its various treaties and covenants, say that they should not be in an efficient condition, they should not have the advantage of expert training and advice. Their strength is limited and they are not armed with weapons of precision. All the same, these Native States are called upon to contribute in order to maintain troops for the needs of the Empire. This is a grievance which requires to be remedied, and it is also a sign of the present tendency to increase expenditure under military heads. The stronger we deprecate this measure, the better it is. (Cheers.)

The resolution of being put to the Congress was carried unanimously.

Third Day.

Resolution XIII.  
Separation of  
Judicial and  
Executive Functions.

MR. HARISCHAN-  
DRA RAI  
VISHANDAS.

**Resolution XIII.—Separation of Judicial and  
Executive Functions**

MR. HARISCHANDRA RAI VISHANDAS (Sind) moved the following resolution :—

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

In doing so, he said :—The Government cannot be congratulated on having allowed this question to hang fire after the assurances that have been held out to us from time to time. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has told you that Lord Dufferin in discussing the subject characterised it as a “counsel of perfection.” But that counsel of perfection is not being put into execution. What is the reason? The reason is plain. It is an attack upon the citadel of the vested interests of the civilian, a citadel as strong as Port Arthur. Our brethren of Japan are now going to reduce that to subjection, unless the other side capitulate, which I hope they will do. We are also likely reduce it to subjection, unless they soon surrender this reform to us. You remember the part which Lord Curzon took in this business. He called for reports from all kinds of quarters; and after the reports came in there was a lull. Then he painfully complained in one of his speeches that he had been unjustly accused of delaying this reform and other reforms and said that people must remember that he had a great deal to do and he had to take into consideration various reforms from various quarters which he described to be three feet deep. That was long ago. Considerable water has passed under the bridge since then. What has happened recently? When Lord Curzon landed, in reply to the Bombay Corporation, he held out hopes of certain reforms. But this reform was conspicuously absent. That is not an encouraging sign. We ought not to stand this nonsense, we must have, this reform and we shall have it. I think I had better cut short my remarks, because I know full well that this subject has been threshed out at meeting after meeting of the Congress and there will be nothing fresh in what I can say. I am sure you will be unanimous in passing this resolution. (Cheers.)

MR. N. K. RAMASWAMI IYER of North Arcot, (Chittore),  
Madras:—

My only qualification to speak on the subject of the Separation of Judicial and Executive functions is that I was myself a Government servant for ten years before I resigned that service nine years ago and joined this National Political Movement which, even when I was in Government service, I was looking to with the hope of joining immediately I got out of the service. I was also for some months the hybrid officer that this Resolution condemns. (Laughter.) I shall only give now a few out of the many personal experiences of mine both as a Revenue-Magistrate before and as a lawyer and a public man now. I know egotism is a vice, but I think that when one's personal experiences are likely to be of use to the public, it is false modesty and even wrong to keep them to himself. I may state at the outset that my experience has shown me that the combination of the Executive and Judicial functions almost always leads to the subordination of justice to financial or mercenary interests and that such combination and the consequent absence of an exclusive Judicial training demoralizes the officers generally. I shall by a few personal experiences illustrate both these conclusions into which all the evils of the present system may be resolved roughly. Of the many experiences elsewhere published by me, I shall only select a few typical ones on the present occasion. I took up my first Revenue-Magisterial appointment—and I was a magistrate twice—imbued with the highest principles of jurisprudence, learnt from the Bachelor of Laws Course in the University of Madras. But alas! a few days after I sat as Magistrate, I received a circular from the District Magistrate that Subordinate Magistrates should not fail to make a distinction between purely criminal cases and criminal cases under the Revenue Law and that they should not insist on the same rigorous evidence in the latter case, as they are required to expect in purely criminal cases. (Hear, hear.) I did not care for this circular and this attitude of mine was the beginning of my official difficulties which after all fortunately ended in my giving up service and appearing before you from 1896. What precipitated it was this. An Income-Tax petition was forwarded to me by the Divisional Magistrate for enquiry and report. I thought I was

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bound in conscience to apply the rules of evidence to this inquiry and as a result of my careful and lengthy inquiry I wrote that the tax already levied was excessive and that it should be reduced. I was soon after reverted to my permanent appointment of head clerk of the same Divisional Magistrate. The petition was again referred to the permanent magistrate who reported by the next post that his confidential inquiries showed that the assessment might be doubled. This officer was the best of all the European officers that I served under and that I have since met. It was he that recommended me strongly for the Magistrate's appointment even against the wishes of the District Magistrate who had his own protege to provide for. Immediately after my reversion I ask him why I was treated like this. He said it was in my own interests that I came back to the office, for he was certain that I would not do for the Revenue Department and that if I did not go out of it myself I would soon be compelled to go out of it under unpleasant circumstances and with my future prospects marred. I thanked him for it. He recommended me immediately to a District Judge stating that I was too good for the Revenue Department and that he therefore recommended me to him for an appointment in the Judicial service. I accepted an appointment in this service on less than half the pay of the Magistrate's appointment with a view to be in a Department where I might afford to be conscientious in the discharge of my duties. But even this I had to give up after some time, disgusted with official slavery. (Hear, hear.) I am glad I did so far I have been enabled during the last seven years to take my humble part in the political, social and religious movements of our country, than which I always thought that there was no nobler and higher service that one can render. (Cheers.) I shall only give one or two other experiences of mine during service which will out-beat the previous ones mentioned. I was Head Clerk for some time under a native Divisional Magistrate of the statutory Civil Service of a higher grade than the European officer referred to above. As soon as I took up the appointment, he asked me to write judgments for him as I was a Bachelor of Laws. I refused to do it. This led soon to other difficulties which resulted in my reversion from this appointment. The other experiences I had of this officer will be more interesting. A High Court Vakil front

Madras was arguing a criminal appeal before this Magistrate, in the course of which he made some severe remarks, as we lawyers often do, on the procedure of the Magistrate. Immediately the officer sent for the poor Magistrate, abused him outright, and the poor man swooned and fell in the Court. Water was sprinkled on his face, he recovered consciousness and was sent away with the remark "get out, you ass." (Cries of "Shame.") Before the same Magistrate, soon after, this officer personally initiated criminal proceedings against a constable who slept at his post in the Jail on the previous night when the officer went there on one of his nocturnal visits. The Magistrate posted the case to a morning and was ready in court awaiting the officer who had to give evidence before him. The Magistrate was talking to a Police constable who was then in his undress and asking him to fetch some book on Criminal Law. Just then the Divisional Magistrate came. As soon as he came he said "get down, why are you talking to a policeman in undress?" The Magistrate got down at once. The officer then occupied the dais and took a statement from the Magistrate and fined him a rupee, which was confirmed by the District Magistrate. Then the Magistrate went up, examined the officer as a witness, and of course convicted the constable. In the course of the letter reporting the incident to the District Magistrate, the officer wrote that it was a stupid cry made in the Parliament for Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations and that natives are not fit for the Civil Service as the conduct of this Magistrate proved. This took place more than ten years ago and the Magistrate who is a graduate is still nothing but a Sub-Magistrate. The District Magistrate quietly recorded the report without any remark. Coming now to my experience as a public man, soon after I joined the Bar, a District Association was established and the First Conference held with the help of the leaders of the place where I set up my practice, and I also started a District monthly newspaper. In the course of my editorship, the District Magistrate who did not from the very beginning approve of my public acts and against whose inclinations the political work began in the place, came in for a large share of severe criticism. Afterwards I lost my practice before him and

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Mn. N. K.  
RAMASWAMI IYER.

**Third Day.** I was told he would not even allow me to see him. With a view  
**Resolution XIII.** to test this on the occasion of a public meeting in connection with  
**Separation of** the late Queen-Empress, I wrote to him that I wanted to see him  
**Judicial and** with reference to the meeting. He wrote back to say that he would  
**Executive Func-** not see me as long as I was the Editor of the scurrilous newspaper  
**tions.** I was in charge of. (Laughter.) I wrote to him back that if he did not  
**Mr. N. K.** withdraw his words I would publish the whole correspondence in the  
**RAMASWAMI IYER.** press and he was after all forced to apologize. (Cheers) Lastly  
 coming to my experience as a lawyer, a European Divisional Magistrate who was posting cases at inconvenient and inaccessible places said plainly when I represented the difficulties of clients,—“Why don't you Congressmen get the Executive and Judicial functions separated?” (Hear, hear.) When I said we were working hard for it, he replied that it would never be done. On another occasion I was arguing an Income Tax appeal before a European District Magistrate—without even hearing my arguments or caring for the evidence or accounts, he was about to write the order compromising the assessment when I referred to the remarks of Lord Amphilh about Income Tax administration. The officer remarked “We all know it, we can't help it—your client is a rich man. Why does he not pay what is asked of him.” I said, “of course, he would gladly give any annual donation that you may ask on behalf of Government, why all this formality of enquiry.” He said, “you know everything, why waste our time over this matter? I have compromised the tax and steps will be taken to raise your client's assessment next year as he is the richest man of this place.” Such are a few of my various experiences which show beyond all doubt that the combination of the Executive and Judicial functions almost always leads to the subordination of justice to financial or mercenary interests and that such combination and the consequent absence of an exclusive judicial training demoralizes the officers generally. Let us hope that our present Government with its vaunted civilization will remove at once this blot on the administration of justice by entirely separating the Executive and Judicial functions! (Applause.)

**BABU**  
**KALLIPRASANNA**  
**ROY.**

**BABU KALLIPRASANNA ROY (Bengal) said:—**

The resolution which I have been called upon to support is one of the oldest in our programme. All that can be said on the



subject has already been said and objections of every sort have been suitably dealt with times without number. My task therefore is very light. Unlike the majority of our Resolutions this one has, from time to time received official support. Rulers of India have often admitted that the separation of these two functions is essential for good Government. No less an authority than Lord Dufferin designated the separation scheme "a counsel of perfection," and two Secretaries of State for India, Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley, openly admitted the desirability of such a separation. The proposal of separating these two functions has also been shown to be practical. Some of our leaders, among whom I may mention the names of the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose, of the Hon'ble Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt and of our distinguished friend Sir Pherozeshah Mehta formulated detailed schemes pointing out the practicability of separating the Judicial and the Executive functions without much inconvenience or additional expense. But despite all this, like the body of *Jarasandha* of yore, the two functions remain blended together and this is not at all creditable to the enlightened Government that rules over our destinies. Lord Curzon, it is said, has the subject under his consideration but there is no knowing when His Excellency will come to a decision. Opinions have been collected which have not yet seen the light of day. I have had the singular fortune of coming across the views of Sir Francis Maclean, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court. Sir Francis supports our views and I have placed his opinion in the dazzling glare of the sunlight of publicity. But the Government course of procedure is still dragging its slow length along.

In the mean time miscarriages of justice and high-handed proceedings are being heard of everywhere, the case of the Raja of Puri and the Rolt case being two of the latest in my part of the country. But I shall not take up your time by citing instances. I have much pleasure in supporting the proposal just now placed before you. (Cheers.)

The resolution on being put to the Congress was carried unanimously

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Resolution XIII.  
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BABU  
KALLIPRASANNA  
ROY.

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Resolution XIV.  
The Partition of  
Bengal.

MR. AMBIKA-  
CHARAN  
MUZUMDAR.

**Resolution XIV.—The Partition of Bengal.**

The President:—I propose to put to you Resolution 14 regarding the partition of Bengal. I do this mainly for the convenience of Bengal Delegates, many of whom propose to leave by to-night's mail train, so I take it up early in the proceedings of the day. I call upon. The Honourable Mr. Ambikacharan Muzumdar.

The HON'BLE MR. AMBIKACHARAN MUZUMDAR, (Bengal):—

Gentlemen, the proposition which with your kind permission I am now to place before you runs thus:—

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

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

Gentlemen, I thank you for having allowed this question to be brought forward at this Congress and submitted to the judgment of this great National Assembly.

The resolution speaks for itself and I will add no comments of my own for its acceptance. (Applause.)

MR. A.  
CHOWDHARI.

Mr. A. CHOWDHARI (Bengal) in seconding the Resolution said:—Gentlemen, I do not propose to address you to-day in regard to the subject. I have been closely identified with it in my province. I do not desire to take up your time by discussing a matter in regard to which I feel very deeply, and I will not trust myself to speak about it on an occasion like this. Gentlemen, I do not belong to the party which indulges in talk of a character which does not always carry conviction. I do not believe in half truths and it is for that reason, amongst others, that I do not desire to address you on this occasion. What we have asked you to accept is merely a resolution which was passed last year

by the Congress and we have to thank you on behalf of Bengal for having done us the honor of allowing the proposition to be brought before you again for your support and acceptance this year. I will not add anything more. I will merely second the resolution which was moved by the previous speaker. (Cheers.)

BABU BINAY KUMAR RAY (Bengal):—Gentlemen, I am not a public speaker nor have I the least pretensions to that high art. I have simply come to tell you a message. I come from Assam. It is said on behalf of the Government that Bengal is going to be partitioned for the benefit of Assam. But there is an Association of the Assamese people which is known as the Assamese Association with the Rajah of Bowripur as President. At a recent meeting of the Association a resolution was unanimously passed that they did not like this partition: that they did not like that Assam should be amalgamated with Bengal. With these few words I support the resolution. (Cheers.)

The Hon'ble MR. BAIKUNTNATH SEN :—Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My friend the mover of this proposition, has taken a minute, my friend Mr. Chowdhari has taken perhaps a minute and a half in seconding, and I ought to take perhaps five seconds. But I have to add one word and that will occupy me for a minute. Bengal for this question may be considered as divided into two parts, into what we call the East Bengal and West Bengal. The East Bengal will be directly affected by the proposed partition whereas West Bengal will form yet an integral portion of what is known as Bengal. My friends, both Mr. Ambika Charan Muzumdar and Mr. Chowdhari come from East Bengal. I come from West Bengal. I am an inhabitant of a district which forms part of West Bengal. I have interests also in districts which form part of the East Bengal. There is a lurking doubt amongst some of my friends in East Bengal that perhaps Western Bengal does not sympathise with the East Bengal. It is to remove such a suspicion or doubt that I appear before you to give my support. It is not a personal support from me but it is a support from those whom I represent from West Bengal. With these remarks I ask you to accept the proposition. (Cheers.)

Another Bengali gentleman, name not known :—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been so ably moved by previous speakers. I hope you will kindly accept it.

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Resolution XIV.  
The Partition of  
Bengal.

BABU BINAY  
KUMAR RAY.

MR. BAIKUNTNATH SEN.

**Third Day.**  
**Resolution XIV.**  
**The Partition of**  
**Bengal.**

**MR. R. N.**  
**MADHOLKAR.**

**MR. R. N. MADHOLKAR (Amraoti):**—My only excuse for coming before you again is this:—The proposition is one in regard to which very deep feeling has been aroused in the people of Bengal, both of the East and of the West. Neither portion of the province wants the partition with which they are threatened. They feel that it is a movement directed to nullify the advantages which they have enjoyed and the unique position which they hold in the whole of India, viz., that of a whole race, owning one language and descended from a common stock being united under one administration. That advantage they are threatened with being deprived of. They are naturally anxious to prevent the consummation of this terrible calamity. They wish that the members of the National Congress of every race who inhabit this vast continent should express their sympathy with them in the calamity with which they are threatened. I was asked by the Subjects Committee to express our entire sympathy in the calamity with which they are threatened. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously carried.

**Resolution XVI.—Election of Members to the British Parliament.**

**MR. S. SINHA.**

**MR. S. SINHA (Allahabad):**—Mr. President and Brother-Delegates, the resolution that I have the honour to submit to you for your acceptance is a very short one and runs in the following terms:—

That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidatures of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that in the interests of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which, though a part of the British Empire, has not direct representative in the British Parliament.

Gentlemen, I do not think that very many words are necessary from me to commend this to your attention and approval. This to my mind is a resolution supplementary to the one which you passed this morning, in which you asked for the representation of different Provinces and Presidencies in India in the British House of Commons there. That, Gentlemen, we all know will not be granted to us in the near future. Years of perseverance

and years of struggle will have to be gone through before we shall be within the division of victory. In the meantime, I think it is desirable that in the British House of Commons there should be some trustworthy and accredited representatives of the people of India, men who have known us and appreciated us, men who are prepared to do what they can to advance the interest of India. I need hardly say that there are prospects of three such men in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers), Sir Henry Cotton (cheers) and Sir John Jardine (cheers), who are now wooing different constituencies. We ask these constituencies to return them, so that they may be useful to the people of India as well as to their own constituents. These three men are well known to you—the grand old man Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Henry Cotton than whom no one is more fitted to represent our interests in the House of Commons and there is the Bombay Judge, Sir John Jardine, a well known figure in this Province, who has been doing good work for the people of India. We hope that these gentlemen will be returned to the House of Commons. We hope that the Indian delegates who will go next year to represent our cause in England will be able to tell the British public that these three gentlemen are our accredited representatives of India, they are men who have our confidence and who will represent our side of the question as against official side and that behind these three men stand the hopes and the aspirations of the rising generation of India. (Cheers.)

MR. V. P. VAIDYA (Bombay):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to second the resolution, so ably moved by Mr. Sinha. There are two or three admitted facts which suggest themselves to us when we assemble in this Congress. It is admitted that we have our grievances; it is admitted that the British Parliament is the only place where we can go for relief; and it is also admitted that we must have competent advocates to plead our cause in that Parliament. Gentlemen, the three candidates nominated by the three constituencies of England and Scotland are the most proper persons who understand our grievances, who have sympathy for us and who are able advocates. Gentlemen, Sir John Jardine, whom Bombay men know so much was one of the ablest judges of the Bombay High

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Resolution XVI.  
Election of Members to the British Parliament.

MR. S. SINHA.

MR. V. P.  
VAIDYA.

**Third Day.**  
**Resolution XVI.**  
**Election of Mem-**  
**bers to the British**  
**Parliament.**

**MR. V. P.**  
**VAIDYA.**

**Court.** Sir Henry Cotton whose administration of Bengal is so much praised by our Bengal friends is second to none as an administrator. Last of all comes the Grand Old Man of unimpeachable sincerity and unprecedented self-sacrifice, a man of deep knowledge of the finances and economics of this country. These are the proper persons to represent our cause in British Parliament. Sir, when you go back to England you will carry the message of the Congress to Nottingham, that you have our full sympathy; not only that, but they have our thanks for nominating you. You will go there to serve them. (Cheers.) Tell them that we shall not monopolise you, but we may be permitted to claim one out of 24 hours of your sympathy. With these words, I second the proposition. (Cheers.)

The resolution which was put to the Congress was carried unanimously.

#### **Resolution XVII.—Thanks to the British Committee.**

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

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

**MR. D. E.**  
**WACHA.**

**MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay)** who was received with loud cheers, said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution that I am going to propose is a very simple and formal one; and I shall not take many minutes. It requires no words of mine to commend it to your approval. It speaks for itself and, perhaps, I can say this much, that in this great hall, where so many people are assembled with sympathy for the Congress, there must be only a few who are unaware of the solid hard work done from year to year for the last fourteen years by the British Committee. Among the hardest workers there could be no three gentlemen more familiar to you all than Sir William Wedderburn, Dadabhai Naoroji and A. O. Hume. These have been working incessantly. For months past our ears have been deafened with cries of certain exalted personages, who say that they work for fourteen hours a day like coolies in the coal pit. (Laughter.) They are no doubt exalted coolies, but they earn for their labour from ten to twenty thousand rupees per month.

There are, however, some of our own Congress coolies who work far more than they with without a pie of remuneration. More, the exalted and salaried coolies of the State have their picnics for eight months of the year, (loud laughter), on the breezy heights of Simla or other cool sanitarium, whereas the Congress coolies of the British Committee take hardly a month's consecutive rest. They live laborious days to render the people of India lasting good, and that without any thought of peerages and promotions or decorations. (Hear, hear.) This is the difference between the popular and disinterested workers and the other paid official workers. But I need not detain the Congress any longer with my remarks. I will only say one thing. Not only are they working, but they are sacrificing themselves; and no two person have sacrificed themselves and gone out of pocket by many thousands of rupees more than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn. (Cheers.) I think I am giving out no particular secret when I say that Sir William has spent up till now, ten thousand £ or 1½ lakh of rupees out of his own pocket, all for the disinterested work which he is doing for you and for India. (Prolonged cheers.) What, Sir, is our gratitude? We can only express our feelings of undying gratitude for all the disinterested work they are doing. There are Imperial Cæsars and prancing Pro-consuls and Provincial Sataraps who work for 5 years, and whether they work well, badly, or indifferently, they get, when they retire, statues in marble, and monuments in bronze. But these other men have been working unobtrusively for 15 years. They do not require any marble statues or monumental brass. They live in our hearts; we cherish them with gratitude and affection. With these words I move this resolution which, I am sure, will be carried by acclamation. (Cheers.)

The HON'BLE MR. D. N. BOSE:—Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The question has been asked, and asked with some degree of insistence in my province of Bengal, as to the services that have been rendered to us by the British Committee of the Congress. There are some amongst us, fortunately very few in number, who are apt to underestimate the services that these men have ungrudgingly given us for the last 15 years. Gentlemen, I regret that that question has been asked at all. Here are men who are our chosen and trusted leaders,

Third Day.

Resolution XVII.  
Thanks to the  
British Com-  
mittee.

MR. D. E.  
WACHA.

MR. D. N. BOSE

**Third Day.** Whom more than A. O. Hume, do we honour respect and revere?

**Resolution XVII.** (Loud cheers.) Who, more than he, is worthy of our honor, respect  
 Thanks to the  
 British Committee. and reverence? Sir William Wedderburn, (cheers) who has come  
 out at a considerable personal inconvenience to attend this session of  
**MR. D. N. BOSE.** Congress and who has, as Mr. Wacha has just now told you, spent  
 more than any Congressman in India has ever done or will ever  
 do—if these are men to whose leadership you are not prepared to  
 entrust your destinies, you deserve no leaders at all or no leader-  
 ship at all. Our unfortunate fault has been not to place  
 unquestioning faith in our leaders. Having chosen them, having  
 found good men and true, it is our bounden duty to follow them  
 with implicit obedience and unswerving allegiance. (Hear, hear.)  
 If we fail, let failure come; if we win that is the only method by  
 which success may be attained. The reception that you gave to  
 his resolution when it was put before you by Mr. Wacha, gives  
 emphatic assurance to the people of India that these questions  
 which have been raised in some remote corner, find no place in  
 your hearts. We, Sir, are accustomed to look upon Mr. Hume  
 as upon our father and that is no idle epithet to us Indians. We  
 know not of any higher, any nobler, any purer relationship than  
 that of father and son. Every year, while offering oblations to our  
 departed ancestors, we say our father is heaven, our father is God,  
 which is the highest relation. In that position we united India have  
 placed Mr. Hume. (Loud cheers.) We are apt, to my mind, to  
 find fault with men; but do we consider our own faults? Do we  
 consider what we ought to have done and what we have done.  
 I will tell you of an instance from ancient Hindu mythology.  
 You all know of the first poet of the world. To him came the  
 grace of God. How did he find his Salvation? He could not utter  
 the name of God, for his thought and soul had become hardened  
 in sin. To him was given the option of uttering a name which was  
 similar to the name of God. He set himself down in prayerful-  
 ness and in devotion to utter that name. Years rolled on and  
 centuries, and mountains grew where rivers flowed and rivers  
 flowed where mountains grew, earth accumulated upon him and  
 trees. His flesh fell from his bones, and then came to him light  
 and salvation. I ask you Indians assembled here to-day what have  
 you done for your own salvation when you accuse your leaders for  
 not leading your movements to success? (Hear, hear.) What have



you done to deserve success, what efforts have you put forth? What sacrifices have you made that you should question the leadership and judgment of these men who have unselfishly given you their time? (A Voice: "None.") I am glad that it is your answer. In fact we have in that committee two gentlemen among others Mr. H. Reynolds, than whom a more gifted civil servant of the Crown had not probably come to Bengal. (Cheers.) And we have our old friend, our elder brother, our more than elder brother, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, (Loud cheers,) who though far away from us in person, is still with us in spirit and in soul; and he is working for us in England. These are men in whose keeping I will safely without demur, without doubt, without question, place the destinies of my country men. On this resolution, I will not detain you long, but you will permit me to say this that, when I came to this Congress I had taken a vow not to speak. I came here to learn, not to teach, I came here not to speak; but because the President called upon me to give this resolution, I thought I should be wanting in duty to myself, and in duty to the President of the Congress, if I failed to break my vow on this occasion. I have broken this vow, but I will ask you to join with me in undergoing a penance. I ask you, brother-delegates, I ask you volunteers of the Congress, I ask you visitors who have come here. I ask you ladies who are gracing this assembly by your presence, I ask you to do a penance for me and join in that penance. (Cheers.) I ask you in the language of the one who rules us, to bear in mind for ever and always that India means to us duty, that when we go back from this place, we shall carry with us this sense, this feeling that duty must be discharged, that this duty is a solemn duty imposed upon us by necessities and circumstances. We have failed hitherto to properly discharge that duty but the time has come when we must make strenuous efforts to discharge that duty. We have amongst us noblemen whom God has endowed with the riches of the world. We have amongst us successful traders and merchants professional men, lawyers, engineers, journalists and doctors. We have amongst us struggling teachers: we have amongst us ascetic students. We have here ladies who are mothers of children and our sisters. I ask you one and all not to let it be said of us that we meet here only for *Tamashah* and

Third Day  
 Resolution XVII.  
 Thanks to the  
 British Committee.  
 Mr. D. N. Bose.

**Third Day.** disperse; but that the Congress is for us an embodiment an expression of faith that is in us and that we are met here not for the sake of the *Tamashah* but for sake of drawing inspiration and we depart from here with a halo of that inspiration and work with zeal to that end. (Repeated cheers.)

**Resolution XVII.**  
**Thanks to the**  
**British Committee.**

**Mr. D. N. Bose.**

A Maratha cultivator next addressed the Congress in Marathi. After which the resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

#### **Resolution XVIII—Appointment of General Secretary and Joint General Secretaries.**

**The President.**

The President moved the following resolution:—

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

I move this resolution in accordance with the time-honoured custom that this Congress reappoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be General Secretary and Mr. D. E. Wacha and the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale to the Joint General Secretaries of the Congress for the ensuing year. Gentlemen, there is no one to whom the Congress owes more than it does to Mr. A. O. Hume. (Loud cheers.) I am aware, he is its founder and organiser; Nineteen years ago he was in this country devoting himself to the organisation of this Congress meeting. Though now he is old and stricken in years and unable to be with us in heart he is with us in spirit. I also move that our Secretaries to whom we owe so much Mr. Wacha (cheers), Mr. Gokhale (cheers) be reappointed Joint General Secretaries for the ensuing year. Words from me are superfluous to acknowledge the work that they have done for the Congress (hear, hear and cheers) and for India generally. Without further observation, I put this resolution to you. The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Three cheers were called for and enthusiastically accorded to Mr. A. O. Hume.

**Resolution XIX—Constitution of the Congress.**

Third Day.

The President next moved the following resolution:—

Resolution XIX.  
Constitution of the  
Congress.

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

The President.

**BOMBAY.**Sir P. M. Mehta.  
Mr. D. E. Wacha.  
The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.**MADRAS.**Mr. C. Shankar Nair.  
Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer.  
Mr. M. Vira Raghava Chari.**BENGAL.**Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar.  
Mr. S. Sinha.  
The Hon'ble Baikunth Nath Sen.**PUNJAB.**Lala Lajpat Rai.  
Mr. Dharmadas.  
Lala Hartishankal.**UNITED PROVINCES.**Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.  
The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.**BERAR AND CENTRAL PROVINCES.**Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.  
Mr. M. V. Joshi.  
Mr. M. K. Padhye.

The President continued:—With regard to the constitution of the Congress, the subject requires to be discussed, as gentlemen present in the Subjects Committee, may have learnt. The result of the deliberations of some hours yesterday evening was to decide that the question of the constitution of the Congress be referred for report to a Committee—the report to be submitted before the first of July 1905. I trust that the report of these gentlemen will help us much in getting over certain defects which have hitherto been met in regard to this matter. I have added the Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtulla for Bombay, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed for Madras and to Bengal I have added the name of Mr. Abul Kassim, who you remember addressed us so very eloquently yesterday. Gentlemen, I put this resolution to your acceptance. (Applause.) The resolution was carried unanimously.

**Third Day. Resolution XX.—The next Session of the Congress.**

Resolution XX.  
The next Session  
of the Congress.

MR. PUNDIT  
MADAN MOHAN  
MALAVIA.

The HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIA,—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The next resolution relates to the next session of the Congress. I am glad to be able to inform you that we, of the United Provinces, propose to do ourselves the honor to ask you to meet next year at Benares. (Cheers.) I had hoped that my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Madhavlal, the foremost citizen of Benares, would be present to formally invite you ; but I am sorry he has been prevented from coming. He has however, done the next best thing. His representative is here. Mr. Baldevdas will formally invite you to Benares, which I hope and trust you will accept.

MR. BALDEV DAS.

MR. BALDEV DAS :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been commissioned by the Hon'ble Munshi Madhavlal to invite you in the name and on behalf of the educated community of the United Provinces in general and on behalf of the citizens of Benares in particular, to hold the Twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress, at the holy city of Benares ; and I hope you will accept our humble invitation. Though we cannot emulate the generosity of Bombay in giving you anything like the splendid reception that we have received here, we assure you gentlemen, that we shall offer you a most cordial welcome to our holy city. (Cheers.) I hope further that my friends and my most sincere brethren of the United Provinces will come forward to help us as I am sure they will. (Cheers.)

**Resolution XXI.—Thanks to the Reception Committee and those who in various ways assisted it.**

The President.

The President then addressed as follows :—Gentlemen, now the pleasant duty devolves upon me to move a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee and those who have been in various ways assisting it. Well, gentlemen, nothing could have exceeded the grandeur of the Reception which this Committee—and may I not say the inhabitants of this City—accorded to Sir William Wedderburn and myself. We were deeply moved by the warmth of your reception and the genuine kindness with which you welcomed us back to Bombay.

I think no words could express adequately our feelings in respect of such a reception; but gentlemen, I must specially mention the Secretaries of this Committee, who have laboured so hard and indefatigably to make the reception a success; and especially Mr. Murzban, your accomplished and talented Secretary, to whom we are so largely indebted for the success of our sister Industrial Exhibition, as well as for this gigantic pandal, which is I suppose the largest structure of its kind that has ever been erected in India. (Cheers.) Most of all there is the distinguished President of your Reception Committee, Sir Pherozechah Mehta, to whom we are indebted from every point of view, who has spared no trouble, no pains, to make our visit as agreeable and easy as possible. (Three cheers were called for Sir Pherozechah Mehta who was described by a voice from the crowd as "the uncrowned King of India.") He has entertained us at our magnificent residence on the Malabar Hill, he and his son have shown every possible form of kindness that they could to us. It is impossible for me to do justice to him. Lastly, I wish to mention the services of the Volunteer Corps, organised in connection with this great Congress. (Cheers.) You will have seen how efficiently they have done their work. Young men, students from the University, some undergraduates, others young men who had taken their degrees, these have laboured daily and nightly at the detailed arrangements which were necessary to enable this Congress to become the great success which it has been. Our thanks are due to the young men for the way in which they have come forward to help us. Then again there is the Committee of the Industrial Exhibition connected and inseparably linked with our Congress organisation, the sub-committee, indeed, of our Congress, although they worked in connection with the Exhibition as a part of ourselves. It is due to their indefatigable labours that this Exhibition has been so conspicuously successful. (Cheers.) We are proud as members and delegates of this great Congress of the success our friends and our own members have attained in connection with that Industrial Exhibition. May it be the harbinger of many similar equally successful Exhibitions in other parts of India, wherever this Congress might in future meet. With these words I put the resolution for your acceptance.

The resolution was carried unanimously. (Applause.)

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Resolution XXI.  
Thanks to the  
Reception Com-  
mittee and those  
who in  
various ways  
assisted it.

The President.

Third Day.

**Resolution XXII—Thanks to the President.**

Resolution XXII.  
Thanks to the  
President.

THE HON'BLE SIR  
PHEROZESHAH  
M. MEHTA.

The HONOURABLE SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, who was received with vociferous and enthusiastic cheering, said:—Brother-Delegates, I cordially endorse the cheers with which you have greeted me, because I know that these cheers are not for me personally but for the task which I have come forward to perform.

Brethren I am deputed—I rejoice I am deputed—to give expression to the unutterable feelings of gratitude which are filling our hearts with respect to the chairmanship of Sir Henry Cotton. (Cheers.) Brethren, it has been said that the popularity of the Congress has been waning (voices, “No, no”) and that the interest in the Congress is disappearing (voices, “No, no”). Gentlemen, I give you an answer which even goes beyond the No Noes which I have heard. Look at this vast assemblage. I remember the Congress which was held in Bombay in 1889. It has been celebrated all over the country as the most successful and the largest Congress ever held. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, those amongst you who were present at the Congress of 1889, will bear me out when I say that this is a grander, a more magnificent, a greater gathering than that which Bombay witnessed in 1889. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I ask you, again to consider the number of delegates before you, the enthusiasm which they have shown, and the cordiality with which they have responded to the call of duty which has been imposed upon them. Even beyond the circle of delegates I ask you to look at the assemblage of the citizens of Bombay and the visitors from the whole Presidency who have gathered around you. (Cheers.) My friend Mr. Wacha asks me not to forget the ladies. Whoever does forget the ladies? (Laughter.) Gentlemen, this vast assemblage even outside the holy circle of delegates, why, gentlemen, as you must have observed that they joined in your voices and cheered your speakers on the platform. This shows that this Congress is as throbbing, living and vital a body as it ever was. (Cheers.) Sir Henry Cotton, the credit for this great gathering belongs to a very large extent, to you. (Cheers.) It is your presence that has gathered together all these people from all parts of the country, and the citizens of this great city; and it is to you, Sir, that this vast

assembly and this great multitude are largely due. Gentlemen, is it a wonder that people have thronged from all parts of the country to greet Sir Henry Cotton in the chair? Gentlemen, he lost the Lieut.-Governorship of Bengal, because he pleaded the cause of the poor coolies of Assam, (cries of "shame") but Gentlemen, he has gained a larger and a grander Governorship (cheers), a greater Governorship than the Lieut.-Governorship of Bengal; he has secured the Governorship of our hearts and minds. (Cheers.) All the hearts and minds of the people coming from all parts of the country unanimously agree in their honor, esteem and affection for Sir Henry Cotton. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, our English friends are rather hard to please. (Laughter.) When we confined ourselves to Indians and when we had Indians only as our Presidents, why they poured ridicule upon us, as an assemblage of amateur politicians and administrators without any experience, of people who talked about things of which they knew nothing. Well, Gentlemen, we bore the ridicule; we tried to improve. We get an experienced administrator, an administrator who has been one of their own shining lights, to preside at our Congress, to guide us by his advice and his experience. We are then told that these things ought never to be, an experienced English administrator has no business with Congress whatever! (Laughter.) But where are we then to turn? Shall we go back to our amateur politicians and not have any of these trained administrators (a voice:—"Go to *The Times of India*."?) That shows that it is very difficult for a particular portion of our Anglo-Indian friends to swallow a hard nut, which they have to swallow in the person and presence of Sir Henry Cotton. They tried to minimise his importance and they tried to soften it by—what shall I say? By abuse? I will not use that word in Bombay. I do not think that those critics who wrote against the Presidentship of Sir Henry Cotton meant to be abusive. But when there is a lame cause to plead, dignity is often apt to degenerate into abuse. Well, Gentlemen, whatever they may say, whatever may have been the loss of the province of Assam or Bengal, it is a gain to the Congress that we should have secured to-day Sir Henry Cotton. Gentlemen, those of you who have not been on the Subjects Committee cannot appreciate fully the importance of his guidance and advice, and those who were on the

Third Day.

Resolution XXII.  
Thanks to the  
President.

THE HON'BLE SIR  
PHEROZESHAN  
M. MESTA.

**Third Day.** Subjects Committee will tell you how important and valuable that guidance and advice has been. (Cheers.) Therefore it is, Gentlemen, that we, the Delegates assembled in this Congress, pour out our feelings of gratitude through my voice to Sir Henry Cotton for having come all the way from England to preside at our deliberations. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, he left what is going to be his own constituency—Nottingham; he left them for a time to come to us. Let us gratefully acknowledge the great favour which that constituency has done us in allowing Sir Henry Cotton to come amongst us. Let us send our voice a little further and tell them that they will confer a great boon on this country by returning Sir Henry Cotton to Parliament. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I therefore ask you to accept—I will not say a formal conventional vote of thanks but—a sincere vote of thanks proceeding from all our hearts, to Sir Henry Cotton for presiding over this assembly (loud and enthusiastic cheering).

**THE HON'BLE SIR  
PIEROZESHAH  
M. MEHTA.**

**BABU BIPIN  
CHANDRA PAUL.**

**BABU BIPIN CHANDRA PAUL:**—Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I find myself in the position of the man who is really not wanted to do a work which is not needed. (Laughter.) I will not take up your time by making a lengthy speech. But I will say this much only that the feelings of gratitude will go out to you not only from the hearts of the members of the Congress, but from the hearts of that larger crowd which gathered day after day to encourage and inspire us with their presence and sympathy (hear, hear), and of that far larger crowd of our educated countrymen (hear, hear) in every part of India who have been watching our proceedings day after day with keen interest and sympathy. (Hear, hear.) Sir Henry, shall I give out a secret? (Laughter.) I do not know if you yourself are acquainted with it. (Renewed laughter.) When I went to Shillong, when Sir Henry Cotton was the Chief Commissioner of Assam, I heard it whispered in the Secretariat—it is no longer an official secret, Sir (hear, hear and laughter)—that in Assam there was a Babu Chief Commissioner. (Laughter.) He who has been known so long as the beloved of Bengal (hear, hear) and who has been anointed as the beloved of India, (cheers) by the united voice of the educated citizens of this great city. (Hear, hear.) I am glad, Ladies and Gentlemen, to have been



given this opportunity to speak to this particular resolution, and that for one special reason. Because this resolution fits in with my feelings more perhaps than any other resolution that we have passed. It is a resolution to render thanks not for favours expected, which some time may not come; it is not a resolution for rendering thanks for moneys voted about which we do not know whether they will be spent or not; it is a resolution for rendering thanks for the hard work done devotedly and with love during the last 3 days. (Cheers.) I am not ashamed, Ladies and Gentlemen, though I am ashamed in other connections, to go down on bended knees to any authority,—I am not ashamed despite my sturdy and sensitive patriotism, to go down on bended knees before one whom we have anointed as our leader and as the master of this Congress. On bended knees, Sir Henry Cotton, sensitive as my patriotism is, and as I hate to bend my knees whether with petitions or with abuse,—on bended knees, therefore, Sir Henry Cotton, remembering your connection with Assam and remembering your connection with Bengal (we will remember for the rest of our days your last work in connection with the Congress), on bended knees, on behalf of the ladies and gentlemen assembled, I tender to you our heartiest and most cordial thanks. (Loud cheers.)

Midst deafening cheers and waving of handkerchiefs Sir Pherozechah Mehta declared the resolution carried by acclamation.

The President then rose midst prolonged cheers and replied as follows:—Gentlemen, I feel almost overwhelmed with the kindness which you have shown to me. Sir Pherozechah Mehta, I venture to say, laid too much stress upon the effect which my presence has produced upon the Congress. Whatever result I have been able to produce it is entirely because I have been associated throughout with our illustrious friend Sir William Wedderburn. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I do not think that our united influence has not produced some effect for I verily doubt whether any Congress previously held in this country has been more successful than or even as successful as the present one. (Cheers.) I doubt whether ever a President from his seat on the dais has addressed such a vast audience, an intelligent and sympathetic audience, as

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**Resolution XXII.**  
Thanks to the  
President.

**BABU BIPIN  
CHANDRA PAUL.**

Reply of the  
President to the  
Thanksgiving  
Resolution.

**Third Day.**

Reply of the  
President to the  
Thanksgiving  
Resolution.

we have been able to do during the present session. The speeches made have been of remarkable eloquence and practical ability. I have been greatly struck with the practical common sense which has pervaded all our deliberations. (Hear, hear.) That has been a marked feature of this Congress. Your resolutions have, as I said that they would in my inaugural address, dealt with most of the important questions affecting the welfare of the Indian Empire. There is not one of these resolutions which any reasonable and sensible man would not acknowledge as being worthy of careful and deep consideration. They will, I am convinced, appeal to my countrymen in England who only want to have the aspirations and grievances of the people of India brought before them in moderate language that they may endeavour to do their best to meet the one and to redress the other. Gentlemen, in the course of a very few days it will be my duty to address the Viceroy of India and to ask him to allow me on your behalf to present to him the resolutions at which after whole discussion we have arrived. I doubt not that Lord Curzon with that large heartedness, which is one of the most conspicuous features in his character, will be very willing to grant the interview I shall seek. I cannot tell what consideration these resolutions may receive. But I am sanguine enough to hope that they will receive very serious consideration both from the Government of India and the Secretary of State and his Council. They afford plenty of materials for consideration. Through them they will learn what the wishes and the aspirations of the people of India are. Never was there a more completely representative gathering of the people of India than there has been on this occasion. We have representatives from every part of the Indian Continent, all classes are before us, all creeds are in our ranks and we have all been unanimous in voting the resolutions which we have passed. My presidency of this chair has been one of the proudest moments of my life. Indian people have shown me the utmost kindness and have done so much for me throughout my long connection with the country that they have placed me under an obligation which I saw when I left these shores two and a half years ago, it would be impossible for me ever to repay. Coming here is not in any sense an attempt to repay this obligation. It was a duty on me to come here, in compliance

with the wishes received, not a duty only but it is one of the greatest pleasures that I have ever enjoyed in my life. Now that I have come here I feel that the warmth of your reception, the tenderness of your attitude, has only added another link to the chain which has already bound me for ever to the feet of India. (Cheers.) I thank you most heartily, gentlemen, for the honor you have done me and for the magnificent welcome you have given to myself and Sir William Wedderburn who unites with myself in all the remarks I have made in regard to the kindness you have shown us. Before we close, I call upon you to give three loud and lusty cheers for the King-Emperor.

Three cheers were then given for the King-Emperor, and three cheers for Lord Ripon.

The Congress was then dissolved.

THE PRESIDENT :—I have an announcement to make to you before we break up and that is that the Chairman and the Members of the Reception Committee of the Congress have the honor to invite cordially all the delegates to a conversazione to-morrow afternoon between 4 and 7 o'clock in this pavilion.

**Third Day.**

Reply of the  
President to the  
Thanksgiving  
Resolution.

# Appendix A.

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**NAMES OF THE DELEGATES.**

**APPENDIX A.**

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
1	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	The Hon. Sir Pheroze Shah Merwanji Mehta, M. A., K. C. I. E., Member of the Municipal Corporation, Fellow of the Bombay University, President of the Bombay Presidency Association.	Parsi ...	Barrister-at-Law, Nepean Sea Road...	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
2	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, B. A., LL. B., Fellow of the Bombay University.	Hindu ...	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum. ...	Do.
3	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B., Member of Municipal Corporation and Fellow of the Bombay University.	Do. ...	Advocate, Dundersey Road. ...	Do.
4	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thakarsi, J. P.	Do. ...	Merchant, Warden Road ...	Do.
5	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Hari Sitaram Dixit, B.A., LL.B., Member of the Municipal Corporation and Fellow of the Bombay University.	Do. ...	Solicitor, High Court, Bandora.	Do.
6	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL. B., Fellow of the Bombay University.	Do. ...	High Court Pleader, Byculla ...	Do.
7	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dinsha Edalji Wacha, Esq., J. P., Member of the Municipal Corporation, Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association.	Parsi ...	Mill Agent	Do.
8	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sir Bhalechandra Krishna Kt., L.M., Member of the Municipal Corporation, Fellow of the Bombay University.	Hindu ...	Medical Practitioner, Girgaum ...	Do.

9	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	H. A. Wadya, Esq. ... ..	Parsi	...	Barrister-at-Law, No. 18, Marine Lines	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
10	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	N. V. Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL. B., Fellow of the Bombay University.	Hindu	...	Plender, High Court, Dadyset Agiary Lane.	Do.
11	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur Vasanji Khimji, J. P.	Do.	...	Merchant	Do.
12	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dawoodbhoy Moosabhoy, Esq. ...	Mahomedan	...	Do.	Do.
13	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Tribhovandass Mangaldas Nathoobhoy, Esq.	Hindu	...	Do.	Do.
14	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jamnadas Lallubhoy, Esq. ..	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
15	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nagindas Jamnadas Shroff, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
16	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	J. D. Nadershaw, Esq., L. C. E. ...	Parsi	...	Civil Engineer	Do.
17	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shavaksha H. Khosukhan, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Editor, "Gujrat Mitra," Surat	Do.
18	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dharamsi Morarji Gokuldas, Esq., J.P.	Hindu	...	Mill Agent	Do.
19	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Thakeraey Goculdas, Esq. ... ..	Do.	...	Merchant	Do.
20	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Nadershaw H. E. Sukhia L. M. & S., Member of the Municipal Corporation.	Parsi	...	Medical Practitioner	Do.
21	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jagmohundas Vandravandas Bhnisett, Esq.	Hindu	...	Merchant	Do.
22	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Salebhai Karimji Barodawala, Esq. ...	Mahomedan	...	Landlord, 811, Abdul Rehman Street.	Do.
23	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Wasudev Balvant Soman, Esq. ...	Hindu	...	Merchant, Parel	Do.
24	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Dinanath B. N. Dandekar, L. M. & S., Member of the Municipal Cor- poration.	Do.	...	Medical Practitioner, Benham Hall Lane, Girgaum.	Do.
25	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Burjorji N. Apakhtiyar, Esq. ...	Parsi	...	Editor, "Hindi Punch," Frere Road, Fort.	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
26	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Fazalbai Karimbhai Ibrahim, Esq. Member of the Municipal Corporation.	Mahomedan ...	Merchant ...	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
27	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mahomed Yusuf, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Shipping Agent ...	Do.
28	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ardesir Burjorjee Master, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	Merchant, Grant Road ...	Do.
29	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lakhmidas Rowji, Esq., B. A. ...	Hindu ...	Technichologist ...	Do.
30	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hoosin B. Tyabji, Esq. ...	Mahomedan ...	Barrister-at-Law, Somerset House, Warden Road.	Do.
31	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kanji Sunderji, Esq....	Hindu ...	Merchant ...	Do.
32	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mathuradas Vasanji Khimji, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
33	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bezoni N. Kapadia, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	Do. ...	Do.
34	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	A. S. Narielwala, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Mill Stores Supplier ...	Do.
35	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Fazulbhoy Jumabhoy Lalji, Esq., Member of the Municipal Corporation.	Mahomedan ...	Merchant, Warden Road ...	Do.
36	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nassurbhoy Abdullabhoy Lalji, Esq.	Do. ...	Merchant, Khoja Mohalla ...	Do.
37	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Karmali Abdulla Allarakhia, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
38	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	K. Natarajan, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Editor, "Indian Social Reformer." ...	Do.
39	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Tukaram Javji, Esq., J. P. ...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
40	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Damodher Gordhudas, Esq., J. P. ...	Do. ...	Cotton and Insurance Broker ...	Do.
41	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Premchand Girdharlal Choksey, Esq.	Do. ...	.....	Do.
42	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rustom K. R. Cama, Esq., B. A., L. L.B., Fellow of the Bombay University	Parsi ...	Solicitor, High Court, Mazagon ...	Do.

48	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Ganpatrao Chintoba Chapeowala, Esq.	Hindu	.....	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
44	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sarafalll Mamuji, Esq., Member of the Municipal Corporation.	Mahomedan	Iron Merchant	Do.
45	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Kavasji Elulji Dadachanji, L. M. & S., Member of the Municipal Corporation.	Parsi	Medical Practitioner, Khetwady	Do.
46	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ichharam Surajram Desai, Esq.	Hindu	Editor, "Gujrati"	Do.
47	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Byramji Cowasji, Esq.	Parsi	.....	Do.
48	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. A. D. Mody, L. M. & S.	Do.	Medical Practitioner, Grant Road	Do.
49	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jehangir Ratanji Dubash, Esq.	Do.	Commissionariat Contractor	Do.
50	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rustam N. Watchinghandhy, Esq.	Do.	Landed Proprietor	Do.
51	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Girdharlal Harilal Mehta, Esq., B.A., J.L. B.	Hindu	Solicitor	Do.
52	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Damodar Sundardas Dharamal, Esq.	Do.	Mill Agent	Do.
53	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shivrao V. Palekar, Esq. B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Plender, High Court	Do.
54	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shapurji Jivaji, Esq.	Parsi	Gentleman	Do.
55	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Fazul Cawasim Dewji, Esq.	Mahomedan	.....	Do.
56	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shapurji Sorabji, Esq.	Parsi	Merchant, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort.	Do.
57	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	K. Subramani Aiyar, Esq. B. A., L. T.	Hindu	Principal, Byramji Jijibhoy Commer- cial School, Bombay.	Do.
58	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Jijibhal Postanji Nicholson	Parsi	Medical Practitioner, Abdul Rehman Street.	Do.
59	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Girdhardas Jethabhai, Esq.	Hindu	Cloth Merchant	Do.
60	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hanaraj Pragji Thakersey, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
61	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sulloman H. Ibrahim, Esq.	Mahomedan	Merchant, Abdul Rehman Street	Do.



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62	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Eknath R. Khote, Esq. ... ..	Hindu ...	Mill Agent ...	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
63	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chaturbhuj Shivji, Esq. ... ..	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
64	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Cursondas Lakhmidas, Esq.... ..	Do. ...	.....	Do.
65	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Parbhuram Vaidya, Esq., B. A.	Do. ...	Barrister-at-Law, Anant Rishi's Oart, Kalbadevi.	Do.
66	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Motilal Kanji Kapadia, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	.....	Do.
67	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	R. F. Malbarwala, Esq. ... ..	Parsi ...	Broker, Marine Lines ...	Do.
68	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lallubhai Samaldas, Esq. ... ..	Hindu ...	Merchant, Girgaum ...	Do.
69	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheth Virchand Dipchand, C. I. E.	Do. ...	Mill Agent, Pedder Road ..	Do.
70	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Tribhovanadas N. Malvi, Esq., B. A. LL. B.	Do. ...	Solicitor, High Court ...	Do.
71	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	D. G. Padhye, Esq., M. A., Fellow, Bombay University, Member, Municipal Corporation.	Do. ...	Principal, Gokuldas Tejpal High School	Do.
72	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mohunlal Parvati Shunker, Esq. ...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
73	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Manekji Karasji Patel, Esq.... ..	Parsi ...	.....	Do.
74	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Madhevji Nursey, Esq. ... ..	Hindu ...	.....	Do.
75	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rev. S. V. Karmarker. ... ..	Christian ...	Minister ...	Do.
76	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jehangir Bamonji Petit, Esq., Member of Municipal Corporation, Bombay.	Parsi ...	Merchant, Warden Road ...	Do.

77	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	N. M. Samarth, Esq., B. A., LL. B. Fellow of Bombay University.	Hindu	...	Vakil, High Court, Girgaum	...	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
78	Do.	.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dady B. Lam, Esq. ... ..	Parsi	...	.....	...	Do.
79	Do.	..	Do.	...	Do.	...	Madanlal Jekisondas Gajjar, Esq.	Hindu	...	.....	...	Do.
80	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Parshotum Vishram Mowjee, Esq.	Do.	...	Merchant	...	Do.
81	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Madhowji Damodar Thakersi, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
82	Do.	...	Do.	..	Do.	...	Govindji Madheji, Esq. ... ..	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
88	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur Ghansham N. Nadkarni B. A., LL. B.	Do.	...	Vakil, High Court, Jambulwady	...	Do.
84	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Khwaja Abdulla, L. M. & S.	Mahomedan	...	Medical Practitioner, Nagdevi Street.	...	Do.
85	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Sahab Kanji Bhagwan ... ..	Hindu	...	Merchant, near Mulji Jetha's Market.	...	Do.
86	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Fardunji Merwanji Banaji, Esq.	Parsi...	...	Secretary, Manekji Petit Spg. & W. Co., Nepean Sea Road	...	Do.
87	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pundlik Ganesh, Esq., L. C. E. ...	Hindu	...	.....	...	Do.
88	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Motilal Mugutlal Moonshee, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do.	...	Pleader, High Court, Kalbadevi	...	Do.
89	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Narotam Morarji Gokuldas, Esq.	Do.	...	Mill Agent, Pedder Road	...	Do.
90	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shopurji D. Saklatwala, Esq. ...	Parsi	...	.....	...	Do.
91	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nasarwanji Merwanji Patell, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Agent, Singer & Co,	...	Do.
92	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kaikhuseru B. Mehta, Esq., B. A. LL. B.	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
98	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nasarwanji B. Jasavala, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Merchant, Warden Road	...	Do.
94	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Lalji Ramji, E-q. ... ..	Hindu...	...	Tobacco Merchant, Cavel	...	Do.

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95	Bombay ..	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Dattaram Ganpat Dalvi, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Hindu ...	Girgaum ...	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.
96	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Krishnaji H. Kelkar, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum Back Road.	
97	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ranchordas Rowji, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market ...	
98	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vithaldas Kersondas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Girgaum Back Road ...	
99	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shet Ramnarayan Amerchand ...	Do. ...	Mill Agent, Poona ...	
100	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vasantrao S. Ravat, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant, French Bridge, Girgaum...	
101	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Trikamlal R. Desai, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Girgaum Back Road	
102	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lallubhai A. Shah, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Fellow of the Bombay University.	Do. ...	Pleader, High Court, 3, Parsi Wada.	
103	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chaturbuj Bhaichandbhai, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Old Hanuman Lane ...	
104	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	V. M. Pakvasa, Esq., B.A., LL. B....	Do. ...	Solicitor, High Court, Bhuleshwar ...	
105	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Damodar Ratansey, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	
106	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Phirojsha Bamanji Petit, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	Do. ...	
107	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mahomedbhai Datubhai Ibrahim, Esq.	Mahomedan ...	.....	
108	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Haji Mahomed Allarakhia Shirji, Esq.	Do. ...	.....	
109	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mrs. Jehangir B. Petit ...	Parsi ...	.....	
110	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mrs. R. Jayakar. ...	Hindu ...	.....	
111	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mrs. N. H. Patuck ...	Parsi ...	.....	
112	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mrs. Daji A. Khare ...	Hindu ...	.....	
113	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Miss Manekbai D. E. Wacha. ...	Parsi ...	.....	

114	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Mrs. Ardeser F. Unvala	...	Parsi	...	.....	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
115	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mrs. Nanu N. Kothare	...	Hindu	...	.....	Do.
116	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Miss Shirin M. Cursetji	...	Parsi	...	.....	Do.
117	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	N. B. Ranade, Esq., B. A.	...	Hindu	...	Professor	Do.
118	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Baldevji Laljibhai Dhru, Esq. B. A., LL. B.	...	Hindu, Nagar Brahman.	...	Pleader, High Court, Grant Road	Do.
119	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	N. B. Gupte, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Thana	Do.
120	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	M. R. Ranade, Esq.	...	Do.	...	.....	Do.
121	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Balvantrao Tripurashanker, Esq.	...	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Surat	Do.
122	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Chandrashanker Bhimanand, Esq.	...	Do.	...	.....	Do.
123	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Karsondas Tribhowandas Mangaldas, Esq.	...	Do.	...	.....	Do.
124	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mulraj Khatao, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Mill Agent	Do.
125	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Janardhan Gopal, Esq., J. P.	...	Do.	...	Solicitor, High Court	Do.
126	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	V. Madanjit, Esq., of South Africa	...	Do.	...	.....	Do.
127	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Purshotum Bhimji, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant	Do.
128	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Saheb Manaji Rajooji	...	Do.	...	Contractor	Do.
129	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Keshavrao Vishwanath Patwardhan, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Ahmednagar.	Do.
130	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. P. J. Swami	...	Do.	...	Medical Practitioner	Do.
131	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	S. R. Bakhle, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	High Court Pleader, Girgaum	Do.
132	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. N. N. Katrak, L. M. & S., Member of Municipal Corporation.	...	Parsi	...	Medical Practitioner, Grant Road	Do.

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133	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	Vishnu K. Bhatwadekar, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Hindu	High Court Pleader, Girgaum	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
134	Do.	Do.	Do.	Karim Nensey, Esq.	Mahomedan	Merchant.	Do.
135	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bandalibhai Hsjibhai, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
136	Do.	Do.	Do.	Narsinbrao Naik, Esq.	Hindu	Pleader, Belgaum	Do.
137	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dattatriya Venkatesh Belve, Esq., B. A. LL. B.	Do.	High Court Pleader, Belgaum	Do.
138	Do.	Do.	Do.	Issa Hajee Soomar, Esq.	Mahomedan	Merchant	Do.
139	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bhimbbhai Dayabhai Desai, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do.
140	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bhanabhai Khusalbai Desai, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
141	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dr. A. P. Cama, L. M. & S.	Parsi	Medical Practitioner, Gowalia Tank Road.	Do.
142	Do.	Do.	Do.	N. N. Saher, Esq., Member of the Municipal Corporation.	Do.	Barrister-at-Law, Middle Colaba	Do.
143	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hari Luxmon Patel, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do.
144	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dahyabhai Motiram Kasabvala, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
145	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vallabhdas Ranchhoddas, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
146	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dr. A. G. Viegas, Member, Municipal Corporation.	Portuguese	Medical Practitioner, Chowpatty	Do.
147	Do.	Do.	Do.	Shapurji Bhicaji Patel, Esq.	Parsi	Tardeo	Do.
148	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dinshaw D. Shroff, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
149	Do.	Do.	Do.	P. K. Oka, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do.

150	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Govind Dnarath, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	.....	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
151	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kasamali Jafferbhai, Esq.	...	Mahomedan	...	.....	Do.
152	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Goolam Hoosain Karimbhoy, Esq.	...	Do.	...	.....	Do.
153	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	L. B. Joglekar, Esq....	...	Hindu	...	.....	Do.
154	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Haji Munshi Sheik Hoosain Sheik Chand, Esq.	...	Mahomedan	...	.....	Do.
155	Do.	..	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mahomed Hoosain Dehdalti, Esq.	...	Do.	...	.....	Do.
156	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Morarji Goculdas Deoji, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Mill-owner	Do.
157	Do.	...	Do.	..	Do.	...	Gangadhar S. Gokhale, Esq., L. C. E.	...	Do.	...	Civil Engineer, Girgaum	Do.
158	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. K. Tarachand, Esq., B. A.	...	Do.	...	Bar.-at-Law, Hornby Row	Do.
159	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Amirudin Tyabji, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association.	...	Mahomedan	...	.....	Do.
160	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Chunilal D. Saraiya, Esq., B. A., J.L. B., Fellow of the Bombay University.	...	Hindu	...	Assistant, Bank of Bombay	Do.
161	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rustomji N. Spencer, Esq.	...	Parsi	...	.....	Do.
162	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	W. A. Chambers, Esq.	...	Englishman	...	Architect and Engineer, Bandora	Do.
163	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dwarkadas Dharamsey, Esq....	...	Hindu	...	Merchant	Do.
164	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	K. R. Cama, Esq., Fellow of the Bombay University.	...	Parsi	...	Mazagon	Do.
165	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kaikhosro M. Minocher Homji, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Editor, <i>Bombay Samachar</i> , Frere Road.	Do.
166	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. F. N. Biani	...	Do.	...	Medical Practitioner, Byculla	Do.

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167	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Matubhai Kasambhai, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Hindu ...	Solicitor, High Court, Bell Lane, Fort.	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
168	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	R. S. Rustomji, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	Editor, <i>Oriental Review</i> , Apollo Bunder.	Do.
169	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. E. Warden, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Hornby Road ...	Do.
170	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	M. K. Makba, Esq. ...	Mahomedan ...	.....	Do.
171	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	H. S. Gour, Esq., Bar-at-Law. ...	Hindu ...	Raipur, C. P. ...	Do.
172	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Motilal Jamnadas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
173	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Husainbhoy Abdullabhoj Lalji, Esq. ...	Mahomedan ...	.....	Do.
174	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Maganlal Thakoredas Mody, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	.....	Do.
175	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Gordhandas Goculdas Tejpal, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
176	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	R. V. Shringarpure, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Civil Engineer ...	Do.
177	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mulji Bhaidas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
178	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Krishnalal M. Javeri, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Kumbhar Tookda.	Do.
179	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pestonji Byrawji Dantra, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	.....	Do.
180	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Damodar Ratonsej, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Merchant ...	Do.
181	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	V. D. Karkhamis, Esq. ...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
182	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Barjor F. Dastur, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	.....	Do.
183	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nathnabhai Lallubhai Vakilna, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Hindu ...	Machinery Agent, Haripur, Surat ...	Do.

184	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	B. B. Joshi, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	...	Hindu	...	Bar-at-Law, Rajkot	...	By Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
185	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vijashankar Gowrishankar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Khandewadi, Girgaum	...	Do.
186	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. L. Gharat, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Ali Baug	...	Do.
187	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	V. R. Natu, Esq. B. A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	Belgaum	...	Do.
188	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mohunlal Punjabhai, Esq., Hon. Secy., Jain Mangrol Sabha.	...	Jain Hindu	...	Partner in the Firm of Messrs. V. Mo- hunlal & Co., 2, Marine St., Fort.	...	Managing Committee of the Mangrol Jain Sabha held on the 9th December 1904.
189	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jivabhai Vadilal Sankarchand, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market	...	Do.
190	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jawarochand Kalianji, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Cloth Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market...	...	Do.
191	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kesowji Makanji Doshi, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Head Salesman, Messrs. J. A. Begbie & Co., Church Gate St.	...	Do.
192	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Makanji Jutha, Esq., B. A.	...	Do.	...	Head Salesman, Messrs. Shivtom Amar & Co., Church Gate St.	...	Do.
193	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hemchand Amerchand, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Cloth Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market...	...	Do.
194	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Bhagwanlal Panalal Poonam- chand, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Jeweller, Malabar Hill	...	Do.
195	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mulji Bhaidas, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Rika Street.	...	Do.
196	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit F. K. Lalun, Esq.	...	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
197	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Balubhai T. Desai, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	...	Hindu	...	High Court Vakil, Fort	...	Meeting of the Century Club held on 14th December, 1904.
198	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Madhvardas Morarji, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant	...	Do.



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199	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Narotam Gordhandas, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Merchant ...	Meeting of the Century Club held on 14th December, 1904.
200	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Javeri Maneklal Ghellabhai, Esq. ...	Jain Svetamber Hindu ...	Jeweller, Mamadevi ...	Meeting of the Jain Club held on December 10, 1904.
201	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Javeri Jesingbhai Tribhovandas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
202	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Javeri Bhaichand Kastoorchand, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
203	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mohunlal Hemchand, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Share & Stock Broker, Tamba Kanta. ...	Do.
204	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Amratlal Kevaldas ...	Do. ...	Cotton Broker, Tamba Kanta ...	Do.
205	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mathuradas Toolsidas, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Merchant, 45 Waudby Road, Fort ...	Meeting held by the Managing Committee of the Bhatia Mitra Mandal on December 7, 1904.
206	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Narbheram Dullabhji Ved, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ...	Bhatia, Hindu ...	Managing Clerk to Mr. M. B. Chothia, Solicitor. ...	Do.
207	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mathuradas Govindji, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
208	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dwarkadas Luxmidas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
209	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mowji Vasanji, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
210	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Damodher Raoji, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
211	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vallabhdas Ranchhoddas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
212	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dharamsi Jethabhai, Esq. B.A., LL. B. ...	Do. ...	Solicitor, High Court ...	Do.

213	Bombay.	...	Bombay.	...	Bombay.	...	Naranji Haribhai, Esq.	...	Hindu Lohana	...	Hony. Secretary, Grain Merchants' Association.	Meeting of the Grain Merchants' Association held on December 11, 1904.
214	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Lalshanker Harprasad, Esq.	...	Hindu Motala Brahmin.	...	Asst.-Secretary, Grain Merchants' Association.	Do.
215	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Champree Dosa, Esq.	...	Hindu Bhatia	...	Merchant, Dariasthan St.	Do.
216	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Lakhamsee Nappoo, Esq. President, Grain Merchants' Association, Member of the Municipal Corporation, President, United Rice Merchants' Association.	...	Visa Oswal Hindu.	.....	.....	Do.
217	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Maganlal Thakorddas Mody, Esq.	...	Do.	.....	.....	Do.
218	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vasanji Madhevji Hariani, Esq.	...	Hindu Cutchi Lohana.	...	Merchant, Dana Bunder	Do.
219	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pragji Dayal Hariani, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
220	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hirji Moolji, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
221	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ramji Govindji, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
222	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mathuradas Gokuldas, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant, Dabda Gali	Do.
223	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Valabhji Ramji, Esq.	...	Lohana Hindu	...	Merchant, Khund Bazar	Do.
224	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Gopalji Ramji Bagoria, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant, Dana Bunder	Do.
225	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	K. Ellaya, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Merchant, Kalbadevi	Do.
226	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	G. L. Narayen, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
227	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. Chanderiah, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
228	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	D. Krishnaji, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.

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229	Bombay. ...	Bombay. ...	Bombay. ...	Oopal Chanderiah, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Merchant, Kalbadevi ...	Meeting of the Grain Merchants' Association held on December 11, 1904.
230	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	H. Ramanna, Esq. ...	Do. ..	Do. ...	Do.
231	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	M. Gangadhariah, Esq. ...	Do. ..	Do. ...	Do.
232	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	L. Rajanna, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
233	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Sahab Derji Odhaoji Chhotani ...	Hindu Kshatriye.	Landlord	Public Meeting Aryan Social Union, November 12, 1904.
234	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, M. A., B. Sc., M. D., J. P., Fellow of the Bombay University.	Hindu ...	Medical Practitioner	Do.
235	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	R. K. Dadachanji, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Do. ..	High Court Pleader	Do.
236	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Damodar Amersey Adhia, Esq. ...	Hindu Kshatriye	District Pleader, Thana	Elected Public Meeting, Aryan Social Union, 12th November, 1904.
237	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shah Ranaseybbhai Deoraj	Hindu Visa Oswal Jain.	Rice Merchant, Bhat Bazar	Meeting of the United Rice Merchants' Association held on December 21, 1904.
238	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Trikamji Lakhamsey Kausara, Esq.	Do. ...	Goldsmith, Ag. Secretary United Rice Merchants' Association.	Do.
239	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Umaseybbhai Gosar, Esq.	Do. ..	Rice Merchant, Bhat Bazar	Do.
240	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Cowassha Byramji Mehta, Esq.	Parsi ...	Rice Merchant, Carnac Bunder	Do.

241	Bombay.	...	Bombay.	...	Bombay.	...	Currimbhoy Lallji Sajan, Esq.	...	M a h o m e d a n Khoja.	Rice Merchant, Bhat Bazar	...	Meeting of the United Rice Merchants' As- sociation held on De- cember 21, 1904.
242	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sarangbhai Versey, Esq.	...	Hindu Vira Oswal Jain.	Do.	...	Do.
243	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Munmohundas Ramji, Esq., J. P., Chairman Bombay Native Piece- Goods Merchants' Association, Mem- ber Municipal Corporation.	...	Hindu	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market	...	General Meeting of the Natives Piece Goods Merchants' Associa- tion held on Decem- ber 18, 1904.
244	Do.	..	Do.	...	Do.	...	Gordhandas Khimji, Esq.	...	Hindu Bhatia	Dealer in Piece Goods.	...	Do.
245	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Raghavji Kanji, Esq.	...	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
246	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Devidas Madhavji Thakersey, Esq.	...	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
247	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jaithabhai Walji, Esq.	...	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
248	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vasanji Naranji, Esq.	...	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
249	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mangaldas Gopalji, Esq.	...	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
250	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kalidas Mulchand, Esq.	...	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
251	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Gordhandas Gokuldas Tejpal, Esq.	...	Do.	Merchant	...	Do.
252	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Javeri Maganlal Maneklal, Esq.	...	Hindu	Jeweller, Mamadevi	...	Meeting of the Javery Mandal held on December 14, 1904.
258	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Javeri Maganbhai Mayachand Mehta.	...	Jain Hindu	Do.	...	Do.
454	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	..	Javeri Maganbhai Naginbhai	...	Do.	Do.	...	Do.

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255	Bombay. ...	Bombay. ...	Bombay. ...	Jethabhai Danji, Esq. ...	Jain Hindu ...	Landlord, Cotton Merchant, Mandvi,	Meeting of the Outchi Dosa Oswal Jain Caste held on December 11, 1904.
256	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Velji Anandji Meishere, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Articled Clerk to Messrs. Captain and Vaidya, Solicitors, Fort.	Do.
257	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jethabhai Anandji, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Managing Clerk to Messrs. Wadia and Ghandhi, Fort.	Do.
258	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jethabhai Nursibhai Kessowji Naik, Esq.	Do. ...	Landlord, Merchant, Mandvi. ...	Do.
259	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	R. V. Shingarpure, Esq. ...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
260	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bandora. ...	Dossabhoj Nusserwanji Kharwalla, Esq.	Parsi. ...	Merchant. ...	Elected at a Meeting held at Bandora on 18th December 1904.
261	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rajaram Tukaram, Esq. ...	Hindu. ...	Do. ...	Do.
262	Do. ...	Do. ...	Thana. ...	Tribhowandas Jannadas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Elected at a Meeting of the Thana Association.
263	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ramkrishna Narayen Thosar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	District Pleader, Thana. ...	Do.
264	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sitaram Balal Joglekar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
265	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Keshew Appa Padhye, Esq. B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Pleader, High Court. ...	Do.
266	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jhan Karim Esq. ...	Khoja. ...	Merchant. ...	Do.
267	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	P. V. Patel, Esq. ...	Hindu. ...	District Pleader. ...	Do.

268	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bassein	...	Lakshman Vithal Samant, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Hindu	...	Vakil, Tata's Building, Bandora.	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Bassein on the 15th December 1904.
269	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hari Laxman Patol Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
270	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dahanu	...	Achyut Narayan Khare, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Do.	...	Pleader, Dahanu	...	At a Special Meeting held at Dahanu on 24th December 1904.
271	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hari Sitaram Paranjpe, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
272	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kalyan	...	P. K. Oka, Esq.	Do.	...	Landholder and Banker	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Kalyan on 4th December 1904.
273	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	M. R. Ranade, Esq.	Do.	...	District Pleader	...	Do.
274	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. N. Thosar, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
275	Do.	...	Do.	...	Umborgam-Peta Thana	...	Keshao Trimbak Karulkar, Esq.	Do.	...	Landlord	...	At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Nargal and other surrounding villages on 28rd December 1904.
276	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vinayak Shivrarn Pimpulkar, Esq., Member, Local Board.	Do.	...	Landholder	...	Do.
277	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vithal Kashidas Sanjavalta, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
278	Do.	...	Kolaba	...	Alibag	...	Ranjji Laxmann Gharat, Esq.	Do.	...	Landlord, Avas Taluka, Alibag	...	At a Public Meeting held on 11th December 1904.
279	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dosaabhoj Shapurji Baria, Esq.	Parsi	...	Landlord, Pizari, Alibag Taluka, Kolaba District.	...	Do.
280	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babaji Gopal, Esq.	Hindu	...	Architect and Civil Engineer	...	Do.

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281	Bombay ...	Deccan ...	Poona ...	Govind Dhondo Dandavate, Esq., Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu ...	Sowkar ...	At a Meeting held by the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha on 18th De- cember 1904.
282	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Editor, "Maharatta." ...	Do.
283	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Editor, "Kesari" ...	Do.
284	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandurang Ramji Bau, Esq., Muni- cipal Member.	Do. ...	Landlord ...	Do.
285	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ramdas Goverdhandas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
286	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kisindas Vishnudas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
287	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kisondas Tikamdas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
288	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sardar Balwant Ramchandra Natu ...	Do. ...	Landlord ...	Do.
289	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kaluran Bhau Mansaram, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Honorary Magistrate and Landlord ...	At a Meeting of the Deccan Standing Congress Committee held on 13th Decem- ber 1904 at Joshi Hall.
290	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ramchandra Gangaram Mhaske, Esq.	Do. ...	Landlord ...	Do.
291	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shet Chimanlal Kisondas ...	Do. ...	Cloth Merchant ...	Do.
292	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Narso Balkrishna Chandrachod, Esq., B. A. LL. B.	Do. ...	District Court Pleader ...	Do.
293	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sardar Balwant Ramchandra Natu, Second Class Sardar, Deccan.	Do. ...	.....	Do.

204	Bombay	... Deccan	... Poona	... Shoth Ram Narayan Amarchand	... Hindu	... Agent, Poona Bank and Poona Cotton and Silk Manufactory.	At a Meeting of the Deccan Standing Congress Committee held on 18th December 1904 at Joshi Hall.
205	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... Rao Sahab Vishnu Anant Patwardhan, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, Deccan Sabha.	Do.	... District Court Pleader	Do.
206	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... Ganesh Raoji Gandhi, Esq.	Do.	... District Pleader, 805, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.	Do.
207	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... The Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B. A., O.I.E., President, Poona Municipality.	Do.	... ..	Do.
208	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... Gajanan Shridhar Mavalankar, Esq.	Do.	... Pleader, Saawad and Baramati	... At a Meeting held on 5th December 1904.
209	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... Mahadeo Rajaram Tarkunde, Esq.	Do.	... Do.	... Do.
800	Do.	... Bij ur	... Bijapur	... Shrinivas Venkatosh Kowzulji, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	... High Court Pleader	... At a Public Meeting held at Bijapur on 4th December 1904.
801	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... Raghoji Nathubhai, Esq.	Do.	... Merchant	... Do.
802	Do.	... Bombay	... Satara	... Vithal Narayan Pathak, Esq.	Do.	... Government Pensioner	... At a Public Meeting held at Satara on December 1904.
808	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... Dattatraya Palwant Parasina, Esq.	Do.	... Author and Journalist	... Do.
804	Do.	... Do.	... Do.	... Ganesh Ballal Phansalkar, Esq.	Do.	... High Court Pleader	... Do.
805	Do.	... Deccan	... Belgaum	... Dr. Cursetji Pestonji Boyce, L. M. & S., Municipal Councillor, Member, District Local Board.	Parsi	.. Medical Practitioner	... At a Public Meeting held on 4th December 1904.



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806	Bombay	Deccan	Belgaum	Sitapa Rerapa Shintre, Esq.	Lingayet	Landholder and Sowkar	At a Public Meeting held on 4th December 1904.
807	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vishnu Raghunath Natu, Esq. B.A., LL. B., M. R. A. S., Fellow, Bombay University.	Hindu	Pleader	Do.
808	Do.	Do.	Do.	Raoji Gangadhar Khote, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
809	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vasudeo Gopal Bhanaj, Esq.	Do.	Sowkar and Landlord	Do.
810	Do.	Do.	Do.	Holibasapa Parapa Sangoli, Esq., Member, Taluka Local Board.	Lingayet	Do.	Do.
811	Do.	Do.	Do.	Balvant Vithal Howlikar, Esq.	Hindu	Pleader, Chikodi	At a General Meeting held at Chikodi on 12th December 1904.
812	Do.	Do.	Do.	Anant Mangesh Bidikar, Esq.	Do.	Pleader, Landholder and Agriculturist, Belgaum.	Do.
813	Do.	Sholapur	Sholapur	Dr. Vasudeo Kashinath Kirloskar, L. M. & S.	Do.	Medical Practitioner	At a Public Meeting held at Sholapur on 4th December 1904 under the auspices of the Peoples' Associations.
814	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bandyappa Anna Kadidi, Esq.	Do.	Merchant	Do.
815	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ramchandra Moreshwar Sane, Esq.	Do.	Pleader, Barsi Town	Do.
816	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mallapa Basappa Warad, Esq.	Do.	Merchant, Mill Agent	Do.
817	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chaubasapa Madaki, Esq.	Do.	Merchant	Do.
818	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vishnu Raghunath Lele, Esq.	Do.	Pleader	Do.

819	Bombay	...	Sholapur	...	Sholapur	...	Sekharam Ramchandra Kirloskar, Esq., B. A.	Hindu	...	Pleader	...	At a Public Meeting held at Sholapur on 4th December 1904 under the auspices of the Peoples' Associations.
820	Do.	...	Deccan	...	Nasik	...	Ganesh Hari Hardikar, Esq., B.A., LL. B., Municipal Councillor	Do.	...	Do.	...	At a Public Meeting held at Nasik on 11th December 1904.
821	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ramchandra Govind Kashikar, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Do.	...	Pleader, Malegaum.	...	Do.
822	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vasudeo Bapuji Akut, Esq., Local Board Member.	Do.	...	Pleader, Sinnar.	...	Do.
823	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dayanath Narayan Jagatap, Esq.	Do.	...	Merchant, Yools.	...	Do.
824	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Waman Chintaman Muko, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader, Pimpalgaon.	...	Do.
825	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dharwar	...	Ramchandra Balayso Karandikar, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader.	...	Elected by the District Standing Congress Committee on 3rd December 1904.
826	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Annacharya K. Kotte, Esq., B.A., LL. B., Chairman, Managing Committee, Municipality.	Do.	...	Pleader and Landlord.	...	Do.
827	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Balwantrao M. Botdur, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
828	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hanumanth Bhimrao Kalyatgiri, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Do.	...	Landlord and Sowkar.	...	Do.
829	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Krishinaji Annaji Dikshit, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader and Landlord.	...	Do.
830	Do.	...	Do.	...	Gadag.	...	Shantaram Narayen Vinekar, Esq., B.A., LL. B., Municipal Councillor.	Do.	...	Pleader.	...	Elected at a Meeting of the Debating Association held in the Native General Library on 8th December 1904.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
331	Bombay.	Deccan.	Hubli.	Sitaramrao Narayen Guttal, Esq.	Hindu	Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	At a Public Meeting held on 4th December 1904.
332	Do.	Do.	Do.	Shankarao Raoji Apte, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
333	Do.	Do.	Do.	Krishnarao Raghavendra Valvekar, Esq.	Do.	Pleader and Vice-President, Municipality.	Do.
334	Do.	Do.	Jamkhindi State S. M. C.	Jivaji Daso Anikhindi, Esq.	Do.	Sowkar	Elected by the Council of the Wachan Watika Association.
335	Do.	Do.	Do.	Shrinivas Daso Anikhindi, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
336	Do.	Do.	Do.	Apaji Damodar Pote, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
337	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sadashiv Dhondo Pendse, Esq.	Do.	Pleader.	Do.
338	Do.	Do.	Do.	Yeshwant Ganesh Vatre, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
339	Do.	Do.	Do.	Anant Vinayak Patwardhan, Esq., B.A.	Do.	Do.	Do.
340	Do.	Ichalkaranji	Kolhapur, S.M.C.	Ramchandra Balaji Anikhindi, Esq.	Do.	Merchant and Landholder	Elected at a Public Meeting held on 11th December 1904.
341	Do.	Do.	Do.	Annaji Balaji Anikhindi, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
342	Do.	Do.	Do.	Venkatesh Balaji Anikhindi, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
343	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sadashiv Khando Altikar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Kolhapur on 17th December 1904.
344	Do.	Do.	Do.	Shripad Yeshwant Abhyankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Do.	At a Public Meeting held at Kolhapur on 18th December 1904.

846	Bombay	...	Ichalkaranji	...	Sangli	...	Gorind Ballal Devall, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Sangli on 18th December 1904.	
846	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Anant Vinayak Patwardhan, Esq., B.A.	Do.	...	Landlord	...	Do.	
847	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ganesh Raghunath Abhyankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.	
848	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vinayak Krishna Manikar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	
849	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vinayak Govind Karmarkar, Esq.	Do.	...	Merchant	...	Do.	
850	Do.	...	Deccan.	...	Ahmednagar	...	Gangadhar Sahadeo Boyde, Esq.	...	Sali Hindoo	...	Banker	...	Elected by Nagar Standing Congress Committee at a Public Meeting held under the auspices of District Association.
851	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ganesh Anant Sapre, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held on 18th December 1904.
852	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hajarimal Kaluram Sarde, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Cloth Merchant	...	Do.
853	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sangamner	...	Kaji Mahomed Shirajudin Saheb Bahadin Saheb.	...	Mahomedan	...	.....	...	Elected in General Public Meeting held on 4th December 1904.
854	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shankar Bappaji Sant Deshpande, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	.....	...	Do.
855	Do.	...	Ratnagiri	...	Ratnagiri	...	Keshav Balkrishna Joshi, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Landlord	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Ratnagiri on 4th December 1904.
856	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Anant Mahadeo Damle, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.	
857	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Laxman Vishnu Parulekar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
858	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vishvanath Bhaskar Phadke, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Landlord	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Name of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
859	Bombay.	Ratnagiri	Chiplun.	Gopal Ballaji Chitale, Esq.	Hindu	Pleader	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Chip-lun on 11th Dec. 1904.
860	Do.	Do.	Rajapur Taluka.	V. D. Karkhanis, Esq.	Do.	Pleader, Taluka Rajapur	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Rajapur Taluka on 16th October 1904.
861	Do.	Do.	Dapoli	Ramchandra Krishna Chonkar, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Dapoli on 28th November 1904.
862	Do.	Do.	Khed	Vazir Mohamed Walad Shaik Ahmad Tambe, Esq.	Mahomedan	Khot	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Khed on 5th Dec. 1904.
863	Do.	Do.	Sangmeshwar...	Waman Balkrishna Joshi, Esq.	Hindu	Pleader	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Sang-meshwar on 29th November 1904.
864	Do.	Bombay	Surat	Jugmohandas Motiram, Esq.	Do.	Merchant, Nagarfalia	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Surat on 2nd Dec. 1904.
865	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chandulal Narbheram Jagirdar, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
866	Do.	Do.	Do.	Burjorji Manekji Modi, Esq.	Parsi	Do.	Do.
867	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nagindas Tribhowandas, Esq.	Hindu	Do.	Do.
868	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mohanlal Parvatishanker, Esq., B.A.	Do.	Khapatia Chakla	Do.
869	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bhaidas Purshotamdas, Esq.	D	Merchant	Do.

870	Bombay.	...	Bombay.	...	Surat	...	Tribhewandas Khandas Engineer, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Hindu	...	Merchant	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Surat on 2nd December 1904.
871	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mangaldas Varajdas Ghaudi, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
872	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dhanjishah Bejanji Manekshahna, Esq.	Parsi	...	Timber Merchant	Do.
873	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Markand Nandshankar Mehta, Esq., B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu	...	Pleader, near Lalji Maharaja Temple.	Do.
874	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Thakotam Kapilram, Esq., B.A., L.L.B., Municipal Councillor.	Do.	...	Pleader	Do.
875	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Noormahomed Rajimhomed, Esq.	Mahomedan	...	Merchant	Do.
876	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nandudanram Karpuram Mehta, Esq., B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu	...	Pleader	Do.
877	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Motabhai Motilal Desai, Esq., Municipal Commissioner.	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
878	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hormnsha Fakirji Bilpodivala, Esq., B.A., L.L.B.	Parsi	...	Do.	Do.
879	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Narayan Malahar Bedarkar, Esq., B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu	...	Do.	Do.
880	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ranchodlal Dhirajlal Mehta, Esq.	Do.	...	Head Master, Union High School	Do.
881	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sewaklal Maneklal Dave, Esq.	Do.	...	Medical Professor in the Service of Baroda State.	Do.
882	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Chunilal Chaganlal Shroff, Esq.	Do.	...	Banker	Do.
883	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nariman Manekji Pahowalla, Esq.	Parsi	...	Merchant	Do.
884	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Uttamram Lallubhai, Esq.	Hindu	...	High Court Pleader	Do.
885	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Prasannadan Motabhai Desai, Esq.	Do.	...	Zemindar	Do.
886	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Parbhudas Ranchodas, Esq.	Do.	...	Merchant	Do.
887	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Krishnalal Nanabhai Unridas, Esq.	Do.	...	Superintendent, Chemico Laboratory, Girgaum, Bombay.	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Cressl.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
388	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Surat ...	Chandrashankar Bhimanand, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Government Pensioner ...	Elected by a Public Meeting held in Surat on 2nd December 1904.
389	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Balwantrao Tripurashunkar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
390	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh. B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court ...	Do.
391	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bhimblai Dayabhai Desai, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
392	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bhanubhai Krishnalal Desai, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
393	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Manubhai Nanabhai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
394	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hardeoram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Bar-at-Law ...	Do.
395	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nathabhai Lallubhai Vakilna, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
396	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dayabhai Tapidas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
397	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Motilal Mugatlal Munshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Pleader, High Court ...	Do.
398	Do. ...	Do. ...	Broach ...	Pranlal Tribhovanandas Chowksi, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Elected at a Public Meeting of the citizens of Broach held on 11th December 1904.
399	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sakarlal Dayabhai Desai, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
400	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ambashankar Uttanram Malji, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do ...	Do.
401	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Krishnalal Mohonlal Jareri, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court ...	Do.
402	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. Sorabji Framji Kapadia L. M. & S.	Parsi ...	Doctor ...	Do.

408	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Jambusar	...	Chotalal Mathuradas Chhatrapati, Esq.	Hindu	...	Pleader	...	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Jambusar held on 11th December 1904.
404	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mulshankar Gaurishankar, Esq.	Do.	...	Money-Lender	...	Do.
405	Do.	..	Do.	...	Olpad	...	Nandavadanram Karpuram Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	High Court Pleader, Bombay	...	Elected by a Public Meeting held at Mamas on 19th December 1904 of the villages of Son Sak, Balkas Ambheta, Ariana, Talad, Vadad, Isampur, Karmala, Anava, Saras, Masma, Sherdi, Kasamji.
406	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Prasadvadmal Motabhai Desai, Esq.	Do.	...	Zemindar	...	Do.
407	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Motabhai Motilal Desai, Esq.	Do.	...	Zemindar and Pleader	...	Do.
408	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Daya Rupa, Esq.	Do.	...	Cultivator	...	Do.
409	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rander	...	Nagindas Maneklal, Esq.	Do.	...	Medical Practitioner	...	Elected by Shri Ran-chhorrai D. Coronation Society on 17th December 1904.
410	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Atmaram Ghellabhai Mehtaji, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
411	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dahyabhai Morardas, Esq.	Do.	...	Landlord	...	Do.
412	Do.	...	Ahmedabad	...	Anand	...	Chimanlal Kirpashankar Dave, Esq.	Do.	...	Jamindari Anand	...	At a meeting of the subscribers towards the 20th Indian National Congress Fund held on 8rd December 1904.



Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
413	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Umroth ...	The Hon. Mr. Goculdas K. Parekh, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu ...	High Court Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting assembled on 4th Dec. 1904 at Umroth.
414	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nadiad ...	Trikamlal Sakalchand, Esq. ...	Do. ...	.....	At a Public Meeting held on 5th December 1904.
415	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chunilal Manoredas, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Mill Proprietor ...	Do.
416	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Gokuldas Dwarkadas Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
417	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Tansukhram Surajram Tripathi, Esq.	Do. ...	State Agent ...	Do.
418	Do. ...	Ahmedabad ...	Gujerat ...	Sheth Jagabhai Dalpatbhai ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting held on 6th Dec. 1904.
419	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Uttamlal Keshavlal Trevedi, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
420	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheth Lalbhai Trikamal Wadilal ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
421	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheth Bhojilal Virchand Deepchand...	Do. ...	Do ...	Do.
422	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheth Sarabhai Virchand Deepchand..	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
423	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheth Hiramal Trikamal ...	Do. ...	Mill Agent ...	Do.
424	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Govindrao Apaji Patel, Esq., B. A., LL. B., Hon. Secy., Gujerat Sabha.	Do. ...	High Court Pleader ...	Do.
425	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Thakorelal Harilal Desai, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
426	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ratilal Keshavlal Sitwala, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
427	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheth Chimanbhai Nagindas ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.

428	Bombay	...	Ahmedabad	...	Gujarat	...	Sheth Ambalal Sarabhai Maganbhai...	Hindu	...	Millowner	...	At a Public Meeting held on 6th Dec. 1904.
429	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sheth Manibhai Jesingbhai	Do.	...	Merchant	...	Do.
430	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Trikamlal Ugarchand, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
431	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas	Do.	...	Mill Agent	...	Do.
432	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Fakirji Pestonji Anklesaria, Esq.	Parsi	...	.....	...	Do.
433	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Punjabhai Sameshwar Bhat, Esq.	Hindu	...	Pleader, Kaira	...	Do.
434	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur Lalshankar Umiashankar.	Do.	...	Government Pensioner	...	Do.
435	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jivanlal Varajrai Desai, Esq., B. A.	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law	...	Do.
436	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jehangirji Dinshaji Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi	...	High Court Pleader	...	Do.
437	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Krishnalal Lallubhai, Esq.	Hindu	...	Pleader	...	Do.
438	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sheth Kalidas Umabhai	Do.	...	Mill Agent	...	Do.
439	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, Esq., B. A., LL. B., Municipal Councillor.	Do.	...	High Court Pleader	...	Do.
440	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sheth Chawanbhai Manibhai	Do.	...	Merchant	...	Do.
441	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sheth Haridas Acharlal	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
442	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Keshavlal Hatilal Setalwad, Esq.	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
443	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Jumnadas Premchand Nanavati, L. M. & S.	Do.	...	Medical Practitioner	...	Do.
444	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Raghunath Narayen Joshi, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
445	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dayabhai Ijatram, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
446	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Panachand Mojlal Desai, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
447	Bombay.	Ahmedabad	Gujerat	Chimanlal Purshotum Broker, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Hindu	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held on 6th Dec. 1904.
448	Do.	Do.	Do.	Jatashanker Liladhar Vaidya, Esq.	Do.	Native Medical Practitioner	Do.
449	Do.	Do.	Do.	Girdharlal Uttamram Parekh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
450	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mulchand Asharam Shah, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Do.	High Court Pleader	Do.
451	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sheth Balabhai Damoderdas	Do.	Mill Agent	Do.
452	Do.	Do.	Do.	Abraham Solomon Erulkar, Esq.	Jew	Bhadra Ahmedabad	Do.
453	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dr. Solomon Abraham Yerulkar, M.B., Municipal Councillor.	Do.	Medical Practitioner	Do.
454	Do.	Do.	Do.	Waman Atmaram, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do.
455	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nathabhai Motichund Shah, Esq.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
456	Do.	Do.	Do.	Purshotamdas Jivraj, Esq.	Do.	Merchant, Null Bazar	Elected in accordance with the resolution of the Public Meeting held on 6th December 1904
457	Do.	Do.	Do.	Javeri Sarabhai Wadilal, Esq.	Do.	Merchant	Do.
458	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chimanlal Harivallab, Esq.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
459	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sheth Dalpatbhai Maganbhai Hathe-sing.	Do.	Merchant	Do.
460	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dalsukhram Hargovan Saheba	Do.	Landowner	Do.
461	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sheth Nathulal Trikamlal	Do.	Agent, Commercial Mill	Do.

462	Bombay	...	Ahmedabad	...	Gujerat	...	Kavaldas Tribhewandas, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Merchant	...	Elected in accordance with the resolution of Public Meeting held on 6th December 1904.
463	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	..	Chunilal K. Shah, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Elected at a Public Meeting of the Citizens of Ahmedabad on 6th December 1904.
464	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nagarsheth Chimanlal Lalbhai, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant	...	Do.
465	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shivabhai Motibhai Patel, Esq., B. A.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
466	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pherozshah Karasji Karanjawalla, Esq.	...	Parai	...	Merchant	...	Do.
467	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B., Ex. Chief Justice of Baroda State.	...	Hindu	...	Government Pensioner	...	Do.
468	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sheth Manibhai Dalpatbhai	...	Do.	...	Merchant	...	Do.
469	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Pitamberdas K. Patel	...	Do.	...	Doctor	...	Do.
470	Do.	...	Do.	...	Virangam	...	Dwarkanadas Jijibhai Parekh, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Banker	...	At a Public Meeting held on 7th December 1904
471	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Gordhandas Mohanlal Parekh, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
472	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Tribhewandas Harivalabdas Parekh, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Landholder	...	Do.
473	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nathubhai Motichand Shah, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	High Court Pleader	...	Do.
474	Do.	...	Do.	...	Godhra	...	Govindlal Keshavlal Sheth.	...	Do.	...	Money-Lender	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held on 18th December 1904.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address	How, where and when elected.
475	Bombay ...	Sind ...	Karachi ...	Gudoomal Ramrakhiamal Bhugtani, Esq.	Hindu ...	.....	Elected at a Public Meeting held on 12th December 1904.
476	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Wadhomal Fatechand Bhagwani, Esq.	Do. ...	Merchant	Do.
477	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kalomal Palomal, Esq. ...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
478	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Meghji Goculdas Broker, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Broker	Do.
479	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lakamal Chelaram, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant	Do.
480	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ohandumal Chelaram, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
481	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Tejanmal Mitharam Bhagtani, Esq.	Do. ...	Landlord	Do.
482	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jaffer Fadoo, Esq. ...	Mahomedan ...	.....	Do.
488	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chogonlal Hurgovandas Jeweller, Esq.	Hindu ...	Jeweller	Do.
484	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nusserwanji R. Mehta, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	Merchant	Do.
485	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Tahilram Khemchand, Esq., B.A., LL.B., C.I.E., President, Karachi Municipality.	Hindu ...	Pleader	Do.
486	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Harchandrai Vishnidas, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
487	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shet Posa Kalliani ...	Do. ...	Contractor	Do.
488	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Parmanand Tejumal Mansukhani, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Pleader	Do.
489	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Roopchand Bilaram Shivdasani, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
490	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Godumal Gamanmal, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Traffic Superintendent, Karachi Tramway.	Do.

491	Bombay.	...	Sind	...	Karachi	...	Wadhanmal Uodharam, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	...	Pleader	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held on 12th December 1904.
492	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Achalsing Maniksing, Esq. ...	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
498	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sukkur, Sind	Upper	Bhojsing Gundinmul Pahalgani, Esq. B.A., B.Sc.	Do.	...	Do.	...	At a Public Meeting held at Sukkur on 16th December 1904.
494	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Viramal Begraj, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Editor "Sindi"	...	Do.
495	Do.	...	Kathiawar	...	Rajkote	...	Bhupatrai Trikamji Vaishnav, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Agency Pleader	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Rajkote on 6th Dec. 1904.
496	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kevalram Mavji Dave, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
497	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Harjiwan Bhagwanji Shukla, Esq. B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
498	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Balkrishna Brijbhukandas Kaji, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
499	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vikaji Fardunji Taraporewala, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi	...	Do.	...	Do.
500	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Laxmanrao Vithal Sothe, Esq. ...	Hindu	...	Money-Lender	...	Do.
501	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Harishankar N. Pandya, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
502	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Purshotam Mavji Parekh, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
508	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Laxmichand Pitamber Adalya, Esq. ...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
504	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Balkrishna Bhagwanji Joshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law	...	Do.
505	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Amritlal Ranchodlal Baxi, Esq. ...	Do.	...	District Pleader	...	Do.
506	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hathibhai Hatishanker Shastri, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
507	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Balwantrao Vajeshankar Chhaya, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
508	Bombay.	Kathiawar	Rajkote	Yenilal Ranchoddas Baxi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Pleader	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Rajkote on 6th Dec. 1904.
509	Do.	Do.	Porebunder	Ibrahim Haji Sullemanji, Esq.	Mahomedan, Suni.	North Bunder Road.	Specially elected.
510	Do.	Hydrabad	Hydrabad, Secunderabad and Bolaram.	Chidra Vasudeo, Esq.	Komti	Contractor, Secunderabad	At a Public Meeting held at the People's Hall, Secunderabad, on 8th December 1904.
511	Do.	Do.	Do.	Cheekoti Veerannah, Esq.	Hindu	Do.	Do.
512	Do.	Do.	Do.	Wasadeo Naik, Esq.	Do.	Vakil, H. H. the Nizam's High Court, Hydrabad	Do.
513	Do.	Do.	Do.	Gunde Rao, Esq.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
514	Do.	Do.	Do.	The Hon. Mr. Gaya Pershad	Do.	Vakil, H. H. the Nizam's High Court	Do.
515	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mulla Abdul Kanyan, Esq.	Mahomedan	.....	Do.
516	Do.	Sind	Hydrabad	Hasomal Kalachand, Esq.	Hindu	Pleader	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Hydrabad Sind on 4th December 1904.
517	Do.	Do.	Do.	Gopaldas Jhamatmal, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
518	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pahlajrai Gaugaram, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
519	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ratanmal Gidumal, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
520	Do.	Do.	Do.	Parsram Hardasmal, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
521	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mukhi Jethanand Pritamdas, Esq.	Do.	Merchant	Do.

522	Central Provinces.	Berar	...	Amraoti Dist.	Keshavrao Waman Bramha, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Maharashtra Brahman.	High Court Pleader	...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 10th Dec. 1904.
528	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Wamanrao Vithal Barve, Esq.	Do.	Merchant	...	Do.
524	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	G. G. Deshmukh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Pleader, High Court	...	Do.
525	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	D. G. Deshmukh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Pleader, Bassein, Berar	...	Do.
526	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Vishnu Govind Mote, Esq.	Do.	.....	...	Do.
527	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Purshotam Keshao Palekar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Amraoti	...	Do.
528	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Moro Vishvanath Joshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	High Court Pleader and Landholder.	...	Do.
529	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Rao Bahadur Rangnath Narsinh Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
580	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Malhar Khandorao Chitnis, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	High Court Pleader	...	Do.
581	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Mahadoo Gangadhar Damle, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Do.	...	Do.
582	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Fellow of the Allahabad University.	Do.	High Court Pleader, Vice-Chairman, City Municipality	...	Do.
588	Do.	Do.	...	Akola	Ramchandra Martand Gupte, Esq.	Hindu.	Pleader	...	At a Public Meeting held on 18th Dec. 1904.
584	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Mahadeo Gangathas Marathe, Esq.	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
585	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Balwantrao Narsinha Mudholkar, Esq.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Retired Deputy Educational Inspector	...	Do.



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536	Central Provinces.	Berar.	Amraoti Dist.	Ramchandra Vishnu Mahajani, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court	At a Public Meeting held on 18th Dec. 1904.
537	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani, Esq., M.A.	Do.	Retired Educational Inspector	Do.
538	Do.	Do.	Do.	Appaji Vyankatesh Pande, Esq.	Do.	Landholder	Do.
539	Do.	Do.	Do.	Jamrao Nandaji Deshmukh, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
540	Do.	Do.	Do.	Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagwat, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	High Court Pleader	Do.
541	Do.	Do.	Malkapur	Madhavarao Vitbal Joshi, Esq.	Do.	Landlord	At a Public Meeting held at Malkapur on 18th December 1904.
542	Do.	Do.	Do.	Belwant Krishnarao Dasarkhadakar, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
543	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vasudeo Balaji Pimplikar, Esq.	Do.	Pleader, High Court	Do.
544	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mas Vishnusayaja (Yamunabai)	Lad.	Banker	Do.
545	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vishnusa Balkrishna Samajee, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
546	Do.	Do.	Do.	Narayan Raghunath Tilak, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant	Do.
547	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ramarao Gopalrao Deshpande, Esq.	Do.	Landlord	Do.
548	Do.	Nagpur	Nagpur	G. M. Badkas, Esq.	Do.	Pleader, High Court	At a Public Meeting.
549	Do.	Do.	Wardha Dist.	Hari Vaman Kelkas, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Do.	Elected at a meeting held at Wardha in the Town Hall on 18th December 1904.

550	Central Province.	Nagpur	...	Wardha Dist....	Ganpatrao Gopal, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Malguar	...	Elected at a meeting held at Wardha in the Town Hall on 18th December 1904.
551	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Tukarrao Kshinath, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do	...	Do.
552	Do.	Do.	...	Nagpur	Govindrao Vishnu Kukde, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Banker and Landlord	...	At a Public Meeting held at the Macdonnel Town Hall on 11th December 1904.
553	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Narayanrao Vyas, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Deputy Manager, Bhoals State	...	Do.
554	Do.	Do.	...	Raipur	Gobind Lall Purohit, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant and Landlord	...	At a meeting held on 4th December 1904.
555	Do.	Berar	...	Buldana Chikhli.	J. Mahadeo Sakharan Bapni, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Vice-Chairman, District Board	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	At a Public Meeting held on 17th Dec. 1904.
556	Do.	Nagpur	...	Hoahangabad...	Shridharao Balwant Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	At a meeting of the Bar Association held on 7th Dec. 1904.
557	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Raoji Govind, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
558	Do.	Do.	...	Bilaspur	Ramrao Rajaram Ghichudkar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	At a meeting of the Bar Association held on 20th December 1904.
559	U. P. of Agra and Oudh.	Oudh	...	Lucknow	Motilal Nehru, Esq., Fellow of the Allahabad University.	...	Kashiri Brahman.	...	Advocate, High Court, N.-W. P.	...	At a Public Meeting held in the Advocate Library on December 1904.
560	Do.	Lucknow	...	Do.	N. P. Son, Esq., Bar-at-Law	...	Brahmin	...	Bar-at-Law	...	Do.
561	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Faizally Hassannalli, Esq.	...	Mahomedan	...	Zomindar	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
562	United Provinces.	Agra	Agra	Narayan Prasad Ashthana, Esq., M.A., LL. B.	Hindu	High Court Vakil	At a meeting of Agra Congress Committee held on 15th December 1904.
563	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Do.	Cawnpore	B. Khare, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Buddhist	Vakil, Cawnpore	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on 16th December 1904.
564	Do.	Benares	Benares	Babu Haridas Gungestate	Hindu	Zemindar and Banker	At a Public Meeting held on 14th Dec. 1904.
565	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Gokulchand Ajarwalla	Do.	Do.	Do.
566	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Siva Prashad Ajarwalla	Do.	Do.	Do.
567	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Mangela Prashad Ajarwalla	Do.	Do.	Do.
568	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Rupraram Singh	Do.	Do.	Do.
569	United Provinces.	Allahabad	Allahabad City.	Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.B.	Do.	Vakil, High Court	At a Public Meeting held at the Anglo Bengales School at Allahabad on 10th Dec. 1904.
570	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pandit Lakshmidand Dand, M. A., LL. B.	Do.	Do.	Do.
571	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Datti Lal	Do.	Do.	Do.
572	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave	Do.	Do.	Do.
573	Do.	Do.	Do.	Durga Charan Bannerji, Esq., B. A.	Do.	Do.	Do.
574	Do.	Do.	Do.	Lalit Mohan Bannerji, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Do.	Do.	Do.

575	United Provinces.	Allahabad	...	Allahabad City.	Dr. Satish Chandra Bannerji, M.A., LL. B.	Hindu	...	Vakil, High Court	...	At a Public Meeting held at the Anglo Bengalee School at Allahabad on 10th Dec. 1904.
576	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Sarat Chandra Chaudhri, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
577	Panjab	Panjab	...	Lahore	L. Dwarkadas, Esq., M. A.	Do.	...	Pleader, Chief Court	...	At a meeting held on 18th Dec. 1904.
578	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Bakshi Tokchand, Esq., M. A.	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
579	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Lajpat Rai, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader, Chief Court	...	Do.
580	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Dharmdas Suri, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Panjab, and Editor, Panjab Law Report	...	Do.
581	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	L. Kidar Nath, Esq.	Do.	...	Contractor	...	Do.
582	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Roshan Lal, Esq.	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law	...	Do.
583	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Ganpat Rai, Esq.	Do.	...	Lawyer	...	Do.
584	Do.	Lahore	...	Do.	Sardar Ram Singh Sahib	Sikh Hindu	...	Contractor, Sargoda	...	Do.
585	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Lajpat Rai Sahini, Esq.	Do.	...	Secretary, Bharat Insurance Co.	...	Do.
586	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Pandit Ram Bhoj Dutta	Hindu	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	...	Do.
587	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Dr. Parma Nand Sargun	Do.	...	Dist. Factory owner	...	Do.
588	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Indarnarayan Brijmohanlal, Esq., R.B. Reis Delhi.	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
589	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Ganpat Rai, Esq., Bar-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner and Zemindar.	Do.	...	Lawyer	...	Do.
590	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Madan Gopal, Esq.	Do.	...	Trader	...	Do.
591	Do.	Do.	...	Amballa	Babu Pauna Lal	Do.	...	Proprietor, Upper India Flour Mill, Amballa.	...	At a Public Meeting held on 12th Dec. 1904.

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592	Panjab	Lahore	Amballa	Babu Hari Nath Mukerji	Hindu	Private Medical Practitioner.	At a Public Meeting held on 12th December 1904.
593	Do.	Do.	Do.	Rai Saheb Munshi Dhar	Do.	Pleader	Do.
594	Do.	Do.	Do.	Lala Ben Pershad, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
595	Do.	Do.	Do.	Lala Kanshi Ram, Esq.	Do.	Banker	Do.
596	Do.	Do.	Do.	L. Bayjnath, Esq.	Do.	Manager, Hindu Cotton Press and The Benarsi Dass Steam Flour Mills.	Do.
597	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ganga Ram, Esq.	Do.	Banker	Do.
598	Do.	Do.	Do.	Duni Chund, Esq., B.A., H.P. L.L.	Do.	Pleader, Amballa City	Do.
599	Do.	Do.	Amritsar	Tarachand H. Khanna, Esq., B.A.	Do.	Jeweller	At a Public Meeting held at Amritsar on 10th December 1904.
600	Do.	Do.	Do.				
601	Do.	Do.	Do.	Behanlal Shikaspami, Esq.	Do.	Banker	Do.
602	Bengal	Calcutta	Calcutta	J. Gosal, Esq.,	Brahmin	Zemindar and Hon. Magistrate, 26th, Bally Gunge, Circular Road.	Elected at a meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association held on 2nd December 1904.
603	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Brojendra Kumar Roy Chowduri.	Hindu	Zemindar Baripur	Do.
604	Do.	Do.	Do.	The Hon. Peer Nolin Behary Sircar, C. I. E.	Do.	Merchant	Do.
605	Do.	Do.	Do.	The Hon. M. Bhupendranath Basu, M.A.	Do.	Attorney-at-Law and Member of the Bengal Legislative Council.	Do.

606	Bengal	...	Calcutta	...	Calcutta	...	A. M. Brocha, Esq.	...	Parsi	...	Oriental Translator, Supreme Court, Natal.	At a Meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on 8th December 1904.
607	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Mr. J. Chaudhari, M.A.	...	Bengali Brahmin.	...	Bar-at-Law, Editor and Proprietor, <i>The Weekly Notes</i> and Member, Bengal Legislative Council.	Do.
608	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Kaliprasanna Kabyabisarad, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Editor, "Hitabadi"	Do.
609	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Nilratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., Fellow of the Calcutta University.	...	Brahmo Bengali Kayastha.	...	Medical Practitioner, 61, Harrison Road	Do.
610	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Prithwis Chandra Roy	...	Hindu.	...	Zemindar, Author, "Tea Planters" ...	Do.
611	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu, M. A., B. L., Fellow of the Calcutta University, Member of Legislative Council of the Lieut Governor of Bengal.	...	Do.	...	Attorney-at-Law & Vakil, High Court, 10, Hasting Street.	Do.
612	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Heramba Chandra Naitra, M. A.	...	Bengali Brahmin.	...	Professor, City College, Calcutta 65, Harison Road.	Do.
618	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	H. E. A. Cotton, Esq.	...	Englishman	...	Bar-at-Law, High Court, Municipal Commissioner, Theatre Road, Calcutta.	Do.
614	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, B. A., Fellow, Calcutta University.	...	Bengali Brahmo	...	Editor and Proprietor, <i>Bengalee</i> , Professor, Ripon College, 70 Colootola Street, Calcutta.	Do.
615	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Prithwis Chunder Roy, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Zemindar	Elected on 18th December 1904.
616	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Niluttan Sircar, M. D., Fellow, Calcutta University.	...	Brahmo	...	Medical Practioner	Do.
617	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	P. C. Mokalanavis, Esq.	...	Do.	...	.....	Do.

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618	Bengal	Calcutta	Calcutta	Pandit Kally Probano Kavyabisarad, Esq.	Hindu	Journalist	Elected on 18th December 1904.
619	Do.	Do.	Do.	Rai Brojendra Kumar Roy Chowdury, Esq.	Do.	Zemindar	Do.
620	Do.	Do.	Do.	S. C. Mukherji, Esq.	Do.	Bar-at-Law, Bar Library	Do.
621	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kidar Nath Das Gupta, Esq.	Do.	Merchant	Do.
622	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hemendra Mohan Bose, Esq.	Hindu Brahmo	Landholder and Merchant	Do.
623	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Ladli Mohan Ghose	Do.	Zemindar	Do.
624	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Gomendra Mohan Ghose	Do.	Do.	Do.
625	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bipin Chander Pal, Esq.	Brahmo	Journalist	Do.
626	Do.	Do.	Do.	Professor Herombo Chander Moitra.	Brahmo	Professor	Do.
627	Do.	Do.	Do.	P. L. Roy, Esq.	Brahmo	Bar-at-Law	Do.
628	Do.	Do.	Do.	A. Kala Mohan Bose, Esq.	Do.	Landholder, Faiy Hall, Dum Dum	Do.
629	Do.	Do.	Do.	Jatindra Mohan Bose, Esq.	Hindu Brahmo	Landholder and Merchant	Do.

680	Bengal	Calcutta	Calcutta	The Hon. Ambica Charan Mazumdar, M. A., B. L.	Bengali Vaidya	Plender and Member, Bengal Legislative Council.	Elected at a Meeting of the Bengal Landholders Association on 17th December 1904.
681	Do.	Do.	Do.	M. A. Chaudhuri, Esq., M. A., (Cal.) B. A., (Oxfor.), Fellow of the Calcutta University.	Brahmin	Zomindar and Bar-at-Law	Do.
682	Do.	Bhagalpur	Purnea	Jogendra Nath Mukherji, Esq., M.A. B. L. Municipal Commissioner.	Bengali Hindu	Zomindar and Vakil	Elected at a Public Meeting held at the Bar Association Hall on 18th December 1904.
683	Do.	Calcutta	Burdwan	Abdul Kassim, Esq., B. A., Hon. Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board, President, Mahomedan Association.	Mahomedan Koroshi.	Ayazur Kasim Burdwan	Public Meeting held at Taylor Memorial Hall on 20th December 1904. Burdwan Mahomedan Association.
684	Do.	Do.	Twenty-four Pargannas.	Pandit Kaliprasann Kuzalbeshad, Esq.	Bengali Brahmin.	Editor, <i>Hitabadi</i> , 28, Balaram Bazar Ghat.	At a Public Meeting held on 16th December 1904 at Salapur.
685	Do.	Do.	Calcutta N d i a District K r i shnager.	Hem Chandra Sarkor, Esq., M. A., Missionary Editor, <i>Indian Messenger</i> .	Brahmo	Missionary, 211, Cornwallis Street	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Krishnagar on 15th December 1904.
686	Do.	Do.	Chittagong	Babu Kodarnath Das Gupta	Bengali	Landholder and Commission Agent	Elected at a Meeting of the Chittagong Association held on 10th December 1904.
687	Assam	Bongal	Ghanti	Bhuban Chandra Bronoh, Esq., B. A.	Hindu Kyantha	Timber Merchant	Elected at a Meeting of Bar Association held on 10th December 1904.



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638	Madras ...	Madras ...	Madras, Black Town.	M. Govindram Nair, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Nair ...	High Court Vakil, Chetty Street, Black Town.	At a Meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha held on 2nd December 1904.
639	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Peroon Surianarayana Chettiar, Esq...	Hindu ...	41, Govindappa Naick Street, Black Town.	Do.
640	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	O. Janakirama Reddiar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil ...	Do.
641	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	G. A. Natesa Iyer, Esq., B. A. ...	Hindu Shiva Brahmen.	Proprietor, Messrs. G. A. Nateson & Co., Esplanade, Madras,	Do.
642	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. Venkata Chariar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil ...	Do.
643	Do. ...	Do. ...	Egmore ...	V. Ryen Mambiar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Do. Egmore ...	Do.
644	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	C. Sankaran Nair, Esq., B. A., B. L., C. I. E.	Hindu, Nair ...	Do. ...	Do.
645	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit D. Gopal Charlu, Esq. ...	Hindu Vaishnav Brahmin.	Black Town ...	Do.
646	Do. ...	Do. ...	Madras ...	D. V. Hanmantha Rao, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
647	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Raju N. Venkata Ranja Rao Bahadur, Esq. ...	Hindu Reddi ...	Do. ...	Do.
648	Do. ...	Do. ...	Madura ...	O. Krishnan Nair, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu ...	High Court Vakil ...	At a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Madras Valapan Sabha held on 19th December 1904.

649	Madras	..	Madura	...	Madura	...	M. R. Ry. M. Venkatarama Iyer Avargal, Esq., B. A., B. L., Member, Municipal Council and Madura Taluka Board.	Hindu	...	High Court Vakil	...	At a Public Meeting held on 14th December 1904, at the Puda Mandapan Madura.
650	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	K. S. B. Nannasani Sami Bhagnavathai, Esq., Municipal Councillor, Director, Sourashtra Sabha.	Sourashtra Brahmin	...	Merchant, South Mamy Street, Madura.	...	In the Public Meeting held on 15th December 1904 at the Sourashtra Sabha, Madura.
651	Do.	...	Bellary	...	Bellary Town	...	The Hon'ble Mr. K. Venkata Rao	Hindu Smartha Brahmin.	...	Landholder, Pleader and a Member of the Legislative Council.	...	At a Public Meeting held on 11th Dec. 1904.
652	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	P. Sria Rao, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do.	...	Landholder and Vakil	...	Do.
653	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sindigi Mari Suddappa, Esq., Honorary Magistrate.	Hindu Lingayat	...	Silk and Cotton Merchant	...	Do.
654	Do.	..	Do.	...	Do.	...	A. Arunga Sahapathy Moodaliar, Esq., Councillor, Bellary Municipality	Hindu Venala	...	Cotton Merchant	...	Do.
655	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	M. T. Swami Nathan Moodaliar, Esq.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
656	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	G. Vinganua Chetty, Esq.	Hindu Vyrya	...	Do.	...	Do.
657	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	T. Soma Sundara Rao, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Hindu Smartha Brahmin	...	Govt. Pensioner	...	Do.
658	Do.	...	Bellary District.	...	Do.	...	J. Pillai Reddy, Esq.	Hindu Kapu	...	Landholder of Johnapuram	...	Do.
659	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	M. Ramakrishna Reddy, Esq.	Do.	...	Landholder at Molagavelly	...	Do.
660	Do.	...	Madras	...	Triplenno	...	A. C. Parthasarathy Naidoo, Esq.	Hindu	...	Proprietor, Andrapakasika	...	At a meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha held on 2nd December 1904.
661	Do.	..	Do.	...	Do.	...	M. Veeraraghava Chariar, Esq., B. A.	Do.	...	Manager, <i>The Hindu</i>	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government,	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
662	Madras ...	Madras ...	Triplicane ...	V. S. Shrinivasa Sastriar, Esq., B. A.,	Hindu Siva Brahmin.	Head Master, Hindu High School ...	At a Meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha held on 2nd December 1904.
663	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. Veeraraghava Chariar, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin, Vaihava.	Asst. Cashier, Bank of Madras ...	At a General Meeting of the Triplicane Library Society held on 10th December 1904.
664	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	K. B. Ramaatha Iyer, Esq., M. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Prof. Pacheappa's College ...	Do.
665	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	M. Veeraraghava Chariar, Esq., B. A.	Do. ...	Proprietor, "Hindu" ...	Do.
666	Do. ...	Kistna ...	Masulipatam ...	Madapat Venkataswararao Santulu Garu, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin...	Retired Diwan of Nuzvid ...	At a Public Meeting held on 9th December 1904 at Masulipatam.
667	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nyapati Seshagiri Rao Pantulu Garu, Esq.	Do. ...	Head Tasildar, South Vallur Estate.	Do.
668	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kalepalli Rajitagiripati Garu, Esq. ...	Hindu Ugsya ...	Merchant ...	Do.
669	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sidambi Hanmunthrao Pantulu, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil ...	Do.
670	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	K. V. Lakshman Rao, Esq., M. A. ...	Do. ...		
671	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sri Rajah Vazanu Venkata Rango Rao Bahadur Zemindar Garu of Munegalu Pargana.	Hindu Reddi ...	Zemindar, Munagala ...	Do.
672	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dasu Madhava Rao Pantulu Garu, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	First Grade Pleader, Brahmin ...	Do.

578	Madras	Malabar	Calicut	V. Raman Nair, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin	High Court Vakil	At a Public Meeting held at Calicut on 6th December 1904.
574	Do.	Do.	Do.	V. Raman Menon, Esq.	Do.	Pleader Parappanangandi	Do.
575	Do.	Do.	Do.	The Hon'ble Mr. M. Krishna Nair, B. A., LL. B., High Court Vakil, Additional Member, Legislative Council.	Do.	High Court Vakil	Do.
576	Do.	Do.	Do.	M. Govindram Nair, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu	Do.	Do.
577	Do.	Do.	Do.	V. V. Krishnan Narayan, Esq.	Do.	Landholder	Do.
578	Do.	Do.	Do.	K. Krishnan Numbiyar, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
579	Do.	Do.	Do.	K. Prubbukaran Thanpan, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
580	Do.	Vizagapatam	Vizagapatam	M. R. Ry., Sri K. R. V. Krishna Rao Bahadur Jar, B. A., District Board Member.	Do.	Zemindar	At a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Godavari District Association held on 20th November 1904.
581	Do.	Do.	Do.	M. R. Ry., Ganta Gubtarayudnjaru, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do.	Vakil, Coconada	Do.
582	Do.	Do.	Do.	M. R. Ry., Peri Narayanamunti Garu, Esq., Member, Taluka & Dist. Board.	Do.	Do.	Do.
588	Do.	Do.	Coimbatore	M. R. Ry., N. Shrinivasa Chariar Avargal, Esq., B. A., B. L., Municipal Councillor, Erode.	Brahmin Vaishnav.	First Grade Pleader, Erode	At a Public Meeting held on 7th December 1904.
584	Do.	Do.	Do.	M. R. Ry., K. V. Shrinivasa Aiyar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Smartha Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore	Do.
585	Do.	Do.	Do.	M. R. Ry., N. V. Desikachariar Avargal, Esq., M. A., B. L.	Brahmin	Do.	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Name of the Delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
686	Madras ...	Madras ...	Coimbatore ...	M. R. Ry., C. V. Venkatraman Aiyengar Avargal, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Brahmin Vaishnav	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore ...	At a Public Meeting held on 7th December 1904.
687	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mylapore ...	S. Shrinivasa Iyer, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu Shiv Brahmin.	Do. Mylapore ...	At a Meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha held on 2nd Dec. 1904.
688	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
689	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	T. V. Gopalswamy Mudaliar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
690	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
691	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	T. R. Venketram Sastriar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
692	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chingleput ...	T. Venkatachari, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader and Municipal Councillor ...	At a Meeting of the Chingleput District Association held on 27th November 1904.
693	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	N. Srinivas Vasathachari, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader Conjevaram ...	Do.
694	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	D. A. Raghava Chariar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Mirasidar and Hon. Conjevaram Magistrate,	Do.
695	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	C. Sreenivasaraghavachari, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
696	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nazvid ...	V. Krishna Rau Pantulu, Esq. ...	Brahmin ...	Asst. Teacher R. R. High School Nazvid, Secretary, Victoria House.	At a Public Meeting held on 8th December 1904.

697	Madras	...	Kistna	...	Nazvid	...	M. Venkatesw Row Pantulu, Esq.,...	Brahmin	...	Retired Diwan	...	At a Public Meeting held on 8th Dec. 1904.
698	Do.	...	Godavari Kistna	...	Ellore	...	M. R. Ry., Raghunath Rao, S. Tagor Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do.	...	Vakil	...	At a Public Meeting held at Ellore on 21st December 1904.
699	Do.	...	Northern Circars.	...	Rajamundry	...	G. Veukata Bangarow Aul, Esq., M. A.	Do.	...	Secretary, Landholder Association, Madras.	...	At a Public Meeting held at Rajamundry on 16th December 1904.
700	Do.	...	Do.	...	Chindardripot	...	P. N. Raman Pillai, Esq.	Do.	...	Editor "Madras Standard"	...	At a meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha held on 2nd December 1904.
701	Do.	...	Do.	...	Purasapakum	...	M. Kuinjumini Nair, Esq., M. A., Bc.	Hindu	...	High Court Vakil	...	Do.
702	Do.	...	Do.	...	Trichinopoly	...	M. K. Lutchmana Chettyar, Esq.	Do.	...	Cloth Merchant	...	At a meeting of the Merchants' Association, Trichinopoly, held on 18th Dec. 1904.
703	Bombay	..	Deccan	...	Kanara	...	Bhimrao Gopal Ritti, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader, Sirsi, North Canara	...	Elected at a Special Meeting held at Sirsi on 26th November 1904.
704	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vasudeo Venkatesh Kokoli, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
705	Madras	...	South Canara	...	West Coast Division.	...	M. R. Ry., N. Subha Rao, Esq.	Do.	...	Pleader and Landholder	...	Elected by the Association Best Law Library and Hamnett Reading Room on 8th Dec. 1904.
706	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Kharsatji N. Wadia, Esq.	Parsi	...	Merchant, Nepan Sea Road	...	By the Councils of the Bombay Presidency Association.

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707	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	Deepchand Maneekhand, Esq.	Hindu	Nepean Sea Road	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
708	Do.	Do.	Do.	D. D. Davar, Esq.	Parsi	Bar-at-Law, Nepean Sea Road.	Do.
709	Do.	Do.	Do.	Morarji Velji, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do.
710	Do.	Do.	Do.	S. C. Dhondy, Esq., Member, Municipal Corporation, Bombay.	Parsi	Byculla	Do.
711	Do.	Do.	Do.	Maneckji Jetha Wardhman, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do.
712	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dr. Jehangir C. Lilanwalla, Member Municipal Corporation.	Parsi	Medical Practitioner.	Do.
713	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dr. N. H. Choksi	Do.	Do.	Do.
714	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, Esq.	Mahomedan	.....	Do.
715	Do.	Do.	Do.	Purshotam Bhimji, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do.
716	Do.	Do.	Do.	V. D. Dharkar, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
717	Do.	Do.	Do.	S. Sinha, Esq.	Do.	Bar-at-law	Do.
718	Do.	Do.	Do.	Narayan Trimbakrao Datar, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
719	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ranchodlal Lakhmichand Mehta, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
720	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ramchandra Ganesh Mundle, Esq.	Do.	.....	Do.
721	Do.	Do.	Bandora, District Thana.	Pandurang V. Patel, Esq.	Do.	Pleader	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Bandora on 18th Dec. 1904.

722	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Bhiwandi District Thana.	Vithal Ranchod Thakar, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Cloth Merchant, Bhiwandi	...	At a Public Meeting held on 5th Dec. 1904 at Bhiwandi.
723	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Baliramgiri Ranchandragiri, Esq.	...	Do. Gosavi.	...	Landlord	...	Do.
724	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Mahadeo Balkrishna Tamhane, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Bhiwandi	...	Do.
725	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Laxman Narayan Kunte, Esq.	...	Brahmin Hindu	...	Landlord and Trader, Bhiwandi	...	Do.
726	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kalyan	Sakharam Ganesh Phadke, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Contractor	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Kalyan on 4th Dec. 1904.
727	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Laxman Vishnu Phadke, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Banker and Sowcar	...	Do.
728	Do.	...	Kathiawar	...	Rajkote	Sheth Liladhar Mulji,	...	Do.	...	Merchants, Bazar Gate, Fort	...	Public Meeting held on 6th December 1904.
729	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Narbheshankar Gholabhai Davo, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
730	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Sheth Dayashankar Doyshankar,	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
731	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Bhagwanji Anupchand Mehta, Esq. B. A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	Legal Practitioner	...	Do.
732	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Damodardas Gordhandas Thakur, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Printer and Publisher	...	Do.
733	Do.	...	Bombay	...	Surat	Dayabhai Narbheram, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Money lender Pagathia Sheri Wadifalia surat.	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Surat on 2nd December 1904.
734	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Ganpatram Anupram Travadi, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pensioner, Wadifalia, Surat	...	Do.
735	Do.	...	Do.	...	Upper S i n d Sukkur.	Kundadas Hassanand, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Sukkur	...	At a Public Meeting held in Sukkur on 16th December 1904.
736	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Girdarlal Mullick, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Asst., Bharat Insurance Co., Sukkur...	...	Do.



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737	Bombay	Bombay	Upper Sind Sukkur.	Gidumal Avatrai, Esq., B. A.	Hindu	Pleader, Sukkur	At a Public Meeting held in Sukkur on 15th Dec. 1904.
738	Do.	Do.	Upper Sind Rohri,	Lukhasing Karamchand, Esq.	Do.	Pleader, Rohri	Do.
739	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hashmatrai Dowlatram, Esq.	Do.	Do.	Do.
740	Bombay	Satara	Satara	Lakshwan Balwant Mutalik, Esq., Inamdar, Member; District Local Board, Councillor, Satara Municipality and Honorary Magistrate.	Brahman	Inamdar, Satara City	Public Meeting held on 16th December 1904.
741	Do.	Do.	Do.	Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Esq.	Do.	High Court Pleader	Do.
742	Bombay	Bijapur	Muddelihal	A. G. Deshpande, Esq.	Do.	Pleader	In a Public Meeting.
743	Do.	Do.	Do.	Krishnarao Ramchandra Kulamadi, Esq.	Do.	Pleader, A. J. Court, Muddelihal	Do.
744	Do.	Do.	Do.	B. G. Nadgavada, Esq.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
745	Do.	Do.	Do.	Padamappa Tavampa Hooli, Esq.	Jain	Agriculturist	Do.
746	Do.	Sind	Karachi	Chatomal Kourmal Kilanan, Esq.	Hindu	Merchant	Public Meeting held at Karachi.
747	Do.	Deccan	Jalgaon, Khandedsh.	Vishnu Janardhan Taie, Esq.	Brahmin	Pleader, Jalgaon	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Jalgaon on 18th December 1904 under the Presidency of Khan Sahab Itbar Khan walad Simat Khan.

748	Bombay	...	Deccan	...	Jalgaon Khan- desh.	Abaji Raghu Mhalas, Esq.	...	Brahmin	...	Pleador, Jalgaon	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Jalgaon on the 18th December 1904, under the Presidency of Khan Sahib Itbar Khan w a l a d Simat Khan.
749	Do.	...	Bronch	...	Anand	Jamietram Narbheram Trivedi, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Vakil	...	Elected at a Meeting of Award Praja Mandal held on 16th Dec. 1904.
750	Do.	...	Deccan	...	Dharwar	Shivappa Mahadevappa Naik, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Landlord and Sowcar	...	Elected by the District Standing Congress Committee, Dharwar, on 15th Dec. 1904.
751	Do.	...	Ichalkeranji	...	Kolhapur	Dr. Vaman Baji Kulkarni,	...	Do.	...	Medical Practitioner	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Kolhapur on 17th December 1904.
752	Do.	...	Kaira, Ahmed- abad.	...	Umreth	Kirpashankar Narotam Bhat, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant	...	By Public Meeting assembled on 4th Dec. 1904.
753	Do.	...	Surat	..	Surat	Antaldas Hargovand Jambusarwalla, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleador	...	At a Public Meeting of Inhabitants of Jambusar held on 11th Dec. 1904.
754	Do.	...	Deccan	...	Ahmednagar	Mohanlal Hiralal, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleador and Banker	...	At a Public Meeting held on 18th December 1904.
755	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Pralhada Sitaram Nagarkar, Esq.	...	Do.	..	Banker and Landlord	...	Do.
756	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Govind Gangaram Dange, Esq., M. A.	Hindu	...	...	Banker and Landlord	...	Do.

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757	Bombay ...	Deccan ...	Ahmednagar ...	Ganesha Krishna Chitale, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Brahmin ...	High Court Pleader, Secretary, Ahmednagar Educational Society.	At a Public Meeting held on 18th December 1904.
758	Hyderabad ...	Hyderabad ..	Hyderabad Secunderabad and Bolaram.	Rajah Govind Pershad, Esq. ...	Kshatriyah ...	Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at the People's Hall, Secunderabad, on 8th December 1904.
759	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Keshav Rao, Esq. ...	Brahmin ...	Vakil H. H. the Nizam's High Court, Hyderabad.	Do.
760	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Giri Rao, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
761	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Waman Naik, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Contractor, Gowliguda	Do.
762	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bezonji Adarji, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	Pleader, Secunderabad	Do.
763	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. Aravamudu Aiyangar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, Hyderabad	Do.
764	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. R. Master, Esq. ...	Parsi ...	Bar-at-law, Secunderabad	Do.
765	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	G. Krishnamachariar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, Hyderabad	Do.
766	Bombay. ..	Deccan ...	Poona ...	Bao Bahadur Baburao, Phalchandra Onkar, Hony. Magistrate.	Hindu, Brahmin...	Inamdar, No. 118, Shanwar Peth, Poona.	Elected at the General Meeting held in the Poona Arbitration Court on 16th December 1904
767	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kashinath Narayan Nanda, Esq. ..	Do. ...	District Court Pleader, Poona	By the Deccan Standing Congress Committee on 13th Dec. 1904.
768	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Laxman Raghunath Gokhale, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.

769	Bombay.	...	Deccan	...	Poona	...	Antaji Narayan Karmarkar, Esq.	...	Hindu Brahmin	...	Landlord and Money-lender	...	By the Deccan Standing Congress Committee on 18th Dec. 1904.
770	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Prabhakar Laxuman Nagpurkar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	District Court Pleader, Sholapur	...	Do.
771	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	H. N. Apte, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Editor, Dnaam Prakash Karamonook.	...	Do.
772	Do.	...	Ahmedabad	...	Gujerat	...	Dolatram Umedram Shah, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	...	Bania	...	Pleader, Shahpur	...	At a Public Meeting held on 6th December 1904.
773	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Krishnalal Narailal Desai, Esq., B. A.	...	Brahmin	...	Khadia, Ahmedabad	...	Do.
774	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	C. M. Desai, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Merchant	...	In accordance with a resolution of the Public Meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held on 6th December 1904.
775	Bombay	...	Deccan	...	Nasik	...	Vaman Sakharan Khare, Esq. B. A., LL. B.	...	Brahmin	...	Pleader	...	At a Public Meeting held at Nasik on 11th December 1904.
776	Do	..	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vishvanath Gangadhar Ketkur, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
777	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vinayak Shripat Gosavi, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
778	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Laxumaurao Ramrao Surenkar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Jahagirdar	...	Do.
779	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vishnu Balwant Ganapule, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	High Court Pleader	...	Do.
780	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	..	Shridhar Gopal Pattekar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Muktyar	...	Do
781	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Govind Hanmant Brahune, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Muktyar Vakil, Igatpuri	...	Do.
782	Do.	...	Do.	...	Belgaum	...	Krishnaji Balaji Jayade, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Saundatti	...	At a Public Meeting at Belgaum on 4th December 1904,

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783	Bombay. ...	Deccan ...	Belgaum ...	Hanmant Govind Sabnis, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Brahmin ...	Landholder and Pleader, Saundatti ...	At a Public Meeting at Belgaum on 4th December 1904.
784	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shankar Rudro Nesargi, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Saundatti ...	Do.
785	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Malhar Narsinha Deshpande, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
786	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	T. V. Athinakar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Agent, Oriental Life Assurance Co., Belgaum.	Do
787	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dhondo Gopal Joshi, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Landholder, Annapur ...	Do.
788	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Annarao Babacharya Devale, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Athni ...	Do.
789	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Annaji Narayen Deshpande, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
790	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Moro Balwant Marathe, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do. ...	Pleader, Belgaum ...	Do.
791	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rango Govind Naik, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Landholder and Pleader ...	Do.
792	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Narayen Trimbakrao Datar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Belgaum ...	Do.
793	Do. ...	Sind Circle ...	Hyderabad Sind	Mewaram Hariram Chainani, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Hyderabad Sind on 4th December 1904.
794	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rughumal Rupchand Mirchandan, Esq.	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
795	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Valiram Dhanamal Chulani, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
796	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jhamatmal Dhanamal Chulam, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.

797	Bombay	...	Sind Circle	...	Hyderabad Sind	Khemchand Udeomal, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader	...	At a Public Meeting held at Hyderabad Sind on 4th December 1904.
798	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Mathuradas Ramchand Javeri, Esq. B. A., LL. B.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
799	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Hiranand Khemsing Advani, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
800	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Himatsingh Khemji, Esq., B. A. LL. B.	...	Do.	...	Zemindar	...	Do.
801	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Mahadeo Venkatesh Lele, Esq., B. A.	...	Brahmin	...	Engineer and Secretary, Municipality, Hyderabad Sind.	...	Do.
802	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Dewan Gopaldas Bhavandas	...	Hindu	...	Photographer	...	Do.
803	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Chatursing Ailwal Kandnani, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
804	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Wadhawal Belaram Advani, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
805	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Bulchand Kundunmal Advani, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
806	Central Provinces.	...	Nagpur	...	Wardha Dist.	Vinayakrao Deshmukh, Esq., Malgunjar.	...	Brahmin	...	Do.	...	Elected at a meeting held at Wardha in the Town Hall on 18th December 1904.
807	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Krishnarao Narayan Deshmukh, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Secy., Agricultural Association.	...	Do.
808	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Baliram Narayan Deshmukh, Esq., B. A., B. L.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Wardha	...	Do.
809	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Shivram Chintaman Deshmukh, Esq., Malgunjar.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
810	Do.	...	Do.	...	Raipur	Narayan Rao Kusrey, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	At a meeting held at Raipur on 4th December 1904.

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811	Central Provinces,	Nagpur	Raipur	Debendanath Chendari, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader.	At a meeting held at Raipur on 4th December 1904.
812	Do.	Do.	Do.	Waman Balixam Lakhe, Esq., B. A....	Brahmin	Do.	Do.
813	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sheth Gopikissen	Marwari Bania	Munim to Raja Gokuldas of Jubbalpore.	Do.
814	Central Provinces Berars.	Pro- and Central Provinces Nagpur.	Nagpur	Ghanashyam Luxman Deoskar, Esq., B. A.	Brahmin	Landlord	At a Public Meeting held at the Macdonnel Town Hall on 11th December 1904.
815	Do.	Do.	Do.	Madhao Krishna Padhye, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu	Editor and Proprietor of <i>Desha Sevak</i> and Pleader.	Do.
816	Do.	Do.	Do.	Yaman Gopal Joshi, Esq., B. A.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
817	Do.	Do.	Do.	Beniram Mookund Ladhi, Esq.	Do.	Landholder	Do.
818	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nagahao Mankar Deshmukh, Esq.	Do.	Landholder and Banker	Do.
819	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vasudeo Yedohas Deshmukh, Esq.	Brahmin	Landlord	Do.
820	Do.	Do.	Do.	R. B. Rajaram Sitaram Deshmukh	Nagar Brahmin	First Class Honorary Magistrate and Contractor, Sitabaldi.	Do.
821	Do.	Do.	Do.	Seth Motilal Agyaram	Hindu Marwari...	Banker and Landlord	Do.
822	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mohini Mopan Chakravati, Esq.	Bengali Brahmin..	Bar-at-Law	Do.
823	Central Provinces.	Nagpur	Do.	Dr. Balkrishna Shivram Moonie, L. M. & S.	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner	Do.

824	Central Provinces,	Berar	...	Amraoti District.	Narayanrao Bind, Esq.	...	Brahmin	...	Landholder and Insurance Agent	...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 10th December 1904.
825	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Raghavendra Sakharam Katgiri, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Amraoti	...	Do.
826	Do.	Do.	...	Wun District...	Laxman Chintaman Bapat, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Elected at a meeting of the District Congress Committee held on Yeotmal on 18th December 1904.
827	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Gopal Narayen Bhat, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Landholder	...	Do.
828	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Jayavant Narayen Sonkar, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Landholder	...	Do.
829	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Krishnaji Laxuman Peshde, Esq., B. A., B. L.	...	Brahmin	...	High Court Pleader	...	Do.
830	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Ramchandra Raghunath Bapat, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Landholder	...	Do.
831	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Bahiram Raghav Sastikar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Landholder, Secy. Yeotmal Municipality.	...	Do.
832	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Vithal Parshotam Puranik, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Jahagirdar and Landholder	...	Do.
833	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	J. N. Rodrigues, Esq.	...	Portuguese	...	Merchant, Yeotmal	...	Do.
834	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Motilal Maneklal, Esq.	...	Hindu Brahmin	...	Landlord	...	Do.
835	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Yeshwantrao Madhavrao Deshmukh, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Jahagirdar	...	Do.
836	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Sadashiv Moreashwar Deva, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
837	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	Balwant Ramchandra Laud, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
838	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	N. A. Dravid, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Merchant and Factory Owner	...	Do.



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839	Central Provinces	Berar	Ellichpur	Ganesh Nagesh Sahasrabudha, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin	Pleader and Vice-Chairman of the Civil Station, Municipality, Ellichpur.	At a meeting of the Pleaders' Association held in the Pleaders' Room, Ellichpur, on 19th December 1904.
840	Do.	West Berar	Akola	Shankarsing Sardarsing, Esq.	Hindu Rajput	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held at Akola on 18th December 1904.
841	Do.	Berar	Buldana P. Chikhli.	Annaji Ramchandra Pimprikar, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Brahmin	Pleader, Buldana	At a Public Meeting held on 17th December 1904.
842	Do.	Do.	Do.	Shrikrishna Chimnaji Deshpande, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Do.	.....	Do.
843	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vishvanath Krishna Gurde, Esq., Vice-Chairman, Buldana Municipality.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
844	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad	Allahabad	The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. A., LL.B., F. A. U.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	At a Public Meeting held at the Anglo-Bengali School, Allahabad on 17th Dec. 1904.
845	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta, Professor of Sanskrit Kayastha Pathshala and Editor, "Hindi Pradip."	Do.	Professor	Do.
846	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pandit Bhagwandin Dube, M. A., LL. B.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	Do.
847	Do.	Do.	Cawnpore	Babu Gopal Chander Bannerji, M. A. S., F. O. S. London, Proprietor, Kaiser Soap Mfg. Co.	Bengali Brahmin.	Merchant	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on 16th December 1904.

848	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad	...	Cawnpore	...	Prof. Devi Prasad Shukla, B. A. General Secretary, Kankulija Pritinidi Sabha.	Hindu Brahmin...	Educationist, Cawnpore	...	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on 16th December 1904.
849	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Ighal Narain Gurtu, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Do.	Zemindar and Vakil, Cawnpore, Brahmin Hindu.	...	Do.
850	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Jai Narayan Prasad Baijan, Journalist, Insurance and General Agent, Dy. Grand Templar, I. O. G. T., General Joint Secretary Kankulija Pritinidi Sabha, General Secretary, Cane India Lecturing League, Vice-President, Cawnpore Temperance Band, &c.	Hindu Brahmin	Trader, Cawnpore	...	Do.
851	Do.	Do.	...	Allahabad	...	Pandit Indarprasad	Cashmiri Brahmin	Pleader, Muzappa Nagar	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Muzappa Nagar on 22nd December 1904.
852	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Anand Swarup	Vaish	Rees and Landholder	...	Do.
853	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	G. Y. Chintamani, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin	Editor of the "Indian People"	...	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on 10th Dec. 1904.
854	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Ramananda Chatterji, M. A.	Brahmin	Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, and Editor, "Prabasi."	...	Do.
855	Do.	Oudh	...	Fyzabad Division.	...	Babu Hari Har Porshad	Kayastha	Pleader and Zemindar	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held on 4th December 1904.
856	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Gopal Lal Inamcha	Aror Baus	Vakil and Zemindar, Fyzabad	...	Do.
857	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Sundar Lal	Do.	Pleader, Fyzabad	...	Do.
858	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Parveshawarnath Sepru	Cashmiri Brahman.	Do.	...	Do.

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859	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Benares	Benares	Swami Somadara, Esq.	Swami	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Benares on 17th Dec. 1904.
860	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Sathschandra Mozamdar	Bengali Brahmin..	Plender	Do.
861	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Jugalkishore	Hindu	Zemindar and Banker	Do.
862	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Kalku Prasad	Do.	Do.	Do.
863	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Nand Kishore Lal	Do.	Do.	Do.
864	Do.	Do.	Do.	Dr. Amar Nath Bannerji, L. M. & S.	Do.	Medical Practitioner	Do.
865	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Shri Moro N. A. Bose, Esq., Professor, Christian College, Lahore.	Hindu	Professor	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on 18th Dec. 1904.
866	Do.	Do.	Do.	Balmokund, Esq., Banker, Huzro District, Attock.	Do.	Banker	Do.
867	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sardar Gulabsingh, Esq., Managing Proprietor, Cotton & Flour Mill, Gujranwala.	Sikh	Trader	Do.
868	Bengal Presidency.	Oudh	Lucknow	Babu Gangaprasad Varma	Hindu	Editor & Proprietor of the "Advocate and the Hindustani" and Member of the Municipal Board, Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held on 8th December at the Advocate Library, Lucknow.
869	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pandit Gokaram Nath Mesra, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil High Court and Member Municipal Board, Lucknow.	Do.
870	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Ramchandra, M. A.	Hindu	Vakil, High Court.	Do.

871	Bengal dency.	Presi-	Oudh	...	Lucknow	...	Babu Aradh Bilari Lal, B. A., L.L. B.	Hindu	...	Vakil, High Court	...	At a Public Meeting held on 8th December at the Advocate Lib- rary Lucknow.
872	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Chhede Lal	Do.	...	Govt. Pensioner and Banker.	...	Do.
873	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Gopal Dass	Do.	...	Banker & Cloth Merchant	...	Do.
874	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Hari Dutt Pantli, L.M. & S.	Hindu Brahmin	...	Medical Practitioner	...	Do.
875	Bengal	...	Calcutta	...	Murshidabad	...	Babu Hemendra Nath Sen, B. L.	Hindu Vaidya	...	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta and Zemindar.	...	At a Meeting of the Murshedabad Associa- tion held at Berham- pore on 10th Dec. 1904.
876	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Nilwani Bhattacharya, B. A.	Hindu Brahmin	...	Zemindar, Berhampore	...	Do.
877	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Ramani Mohan Sen, Secy., Berhampore Municipality.	Hindu Vaidya	...	Do.	...	Do.
878	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Soikenath Sen, B.L., Municipal Commissioner, Vice-President, Mur- shedabad Association, &c.	Do.	...	Vakil, High Court and Zemindar	...	Do.
879	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Nuffer Das Roy, Hon. Magis- trate, Member, Dist. Board and Secy., Murshedabad, Association.	Hindu	...	Zemindar, Berhampore	...	Do.
880	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Bodhi Sattwa Sen, B. A.	Do.	...	Berhampore	...	Do.
881	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Harendra Krishna Roy, B. A., B. L.	Do.	...	Pleader, Berhampore	...	Do.
882	Bengal	...	Rampur Boalia.	...	Rajshahi	...	Dr. Nisinath Sanyal, L. M., & S., Hon'y. Secretary, Rajshahi Dharm- ava.	Do.	...	Medical Practitioner	...	Elected at a meeting of Rampur Boalia Stand- ing Committee held on 11th Dec. 1904.
888	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Jadhav Gobinda Sen	Do.	...	Zemindar	...	Do.

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884	Bengal	Rampur Boalia.	Rajshahi	Babu Nibobinda Roy, B. L., Municipal Commissioner, Rampur Boalia Municipality, Member Rajshahi Association, Member, Local Board, Sardar. Rampur Boalia.	Hindu	Legal Profession Rajshahi J u d g e's Court.	Elected at a meeting of Rampur Boalia Standing Committee held on 11th Dec. 1904.
885	Do.	Calcutta Circle.	Balasore	Radha Shyam Das, Esq., Hon. Magistrate, Member, District and Local Board.	Karan	Zemindar, Bhudrak P. O. District Balasore, Orissa.	At a meeting of the Balasore National Society held on 21st December 1904.
886	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bhagbut Prasad Mahapatra, Esq., Pleader, Member, Dist. and Local Boards.	Do.	Zemindar and Pleader.	Do.
887	Do.	Calcutta	Calcutta	Kumar Manshankar Roy, Esq.	Hindu	Zemindar, 44, European Asylum Lane.	At a meeting held on 18th December 1904.
888	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Kabipati Roy.	Do.	Landholder of Langoopara District, Hoogly.	Do.
889	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaviraj Upendra Nath Sen, Esq.	Do.	Kannay, 70, Kalutola Street.	Do.
890	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Kumar Krishna Dutt, M. A., B. L.	Do.	Solicitor, 10, Hasting Street	Do.
891	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Dakshina Prasad Bose, Landowner, Kbalisi Dacca.	Bengali Hindu	5-2-4, Park Street.	Elected at a meeting of the Bengal Landholder's Association held on 17th December 1904.
892	Do.	Do.	Do.	Rai Parrati Shankar Chandhari, Esq., 44, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.	Hindu	Zemindar	Do.
893	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hara Sankar Roy, B. L., Hony. Magistrate, Teota (Deccan.)	Do.	Zemindar and Vakil, High Court, 44, European Asylum Lane.	Do.

894	Bengal	...	Calcutta	...	Pabna, Rajshahi Division, North Bengal.	Ranajit Chunder Lahiri, Esq., M. A., B. L.	Brahmin	...	Pleader, Judge's Court, Pabna	...	At a Meeting of the Pabna Bar Association held on the 22rd Dec. 1904.
895	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Binay Kumar Ray, Esq., B. A., B.L., Assistant Secretary, Pabna Association.	Kayastha	...	Do	...	Do.
896	Do.	...	Do.	...	Krishnaghur, Nadia.	Nanda Gopal Bahaduri, Esq., Merchant, Landholder, Hony. Secretary, Majdia R. B. H. English School, Member, Sudder Board, Krishnaghur.	Hindu Brahmin	...	Landholder, N. Krishnagaya, Post Office Bengal.	...	At a Public Meeting held at Krishnaghur on 15th Dec 1904.
897	Do.	...	Do.	...	Puri	Babu Harishchandra Ghose, B. L., Vice-Chairman, District Board Puri Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu	...	Pleader, Puri.	...	At a Meeting of the Bar Association held at the Bar Library on 16th December 1904.
898	Do.	...	Do.	...	Murshidabad	Babu Shrishchandra Basusarbadi Ray	Kayastha	...	Zemindar and Editor, "Hindu Patriot"	...	At a meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on 10th December 1904.
899	Do.	...	Do.	...	Midnapur	Pyari Lal Ghose, Esq., M. A., B. L., Member, Dist. Board, Vice-Chairman Sadar Local Board, Joint Secretary, District Congress Committee.	Bengali Brahmin	...	Pleader, Midnapur Town	...	At a Public Meeting held on 15th Dec. 1904 under the Presidency of Mr. K. B. Dutt, Bar-at-Law.
900	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Chaudhury Jaminy Nath Mullick, Esq.	Bengali Hindu Tamil.	...	Zemindar Sib Mazar Town, Midnapur.	...	Do.
901	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mymensingh	Krishnu Kumar Mitra, Esq., B.A., Editor, "Sanjivani."	Bengali Brahmin	...	6, College Square, Calcutta.	...	By the Committee of the Indian Association.
902	Do.	...	Bhagalpore	...	Bhagalpore	Babu Nabeir Chandra Ganguly, B.L.	Do.	...	Pleader, Judge's Court, Bhagalpore	...	Elected at a meeting held at Bhagalpore.
903	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Charn Chandra Basu, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Kayastha.	...	Do.	...	Do.

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904	Fengal ...	Bhagalpore ...	Bhagalpore ...	Babu Badinath Upadhyay ...	Brahmin ...	Zemindar, Bhagalpur ...	Elected at a meeting held at Bhagalpur.
905	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Prannushun Thakur. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
906	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Kishn Mohun Thakur. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
907	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Scimdhun Thakur, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
908	Do. ...	Rangpur ...	Rangpur ...	A. Purba Krishna Mukerji, Esq., M. A. ...	Brahmin ...	No. 3, Head Clerk, Kuch Behar State Nos. 4 & 5, Private Tutor.	At a public meeting of the Rangpur Standing Congress Committee held on 12th Dec. 1904.
909	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Satyendra Mohon Roy ...	Bengali Kayestha.	Zemindar ...	Do.
910	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ganendra Mohon Roy, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
911	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Keshori Mohon Roy ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
912	Do. ...	Behar ...	Shahabad ...	Babu Durga Prasad, Hon. Magistrate, Member, District Board ...	Hindu ...	Zemindar ...	At a meeting held on the 9th Dec. 1904.
913	Do. ...	Calcutta ...	Calcutta ...	Chau Oh. Bannerji, Esq., B. A. ...	Bengali Brahmin.	42, Bendon Road ...	Elected at meeting.
914	Do. ...	Dinajpur ...	Dinajpur ...	Babu Kulada Kant Ghose, B. L. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Dinajpur ...	At a general meeting of the Standing Congress Committee Dinajpur held on 11th December 1904.
915	Do. ...	Calcutta ...	Maabhum ...	Babu Juanendra Nath Ghose, B. A. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader and Landholder. ...	At a Public Meeting of the Residents of Puralia held on 18th December 1904.

916	Bengal	...	Calcutta	...	Calcutta	...	Bijoy Krishna Bose, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu	...	Pleador, 52, Bhowanipur.	...	At a Public Meeting held in Calcutta and also at a Meeting of the Alipore Bar Library 24 Punghanas held on the 22nd December 1904.
917	Do.	...	Do.	...	Khulia	...	Nagendra Nath Sen, Esq., B.L., Pleader and Taluqdar, Asst. Sey., Bar Library, Asst. Sey., Arya Dharma Shaba, Khulia.	Bengali Hindu	...	Pleader, Khulia.	...	Public Meeting held at K h u l i a on 20th Dec. 1904.
918	Do.	...	Do.	...	Calcutta	...	Rai Parvati Shankar Chowdri	Hindu	...	Zemindar of Zeota, Dacca.	...	Elected at a Meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association held on 2nd December 1904.
919	Bengal	...	Bengal	...	Orissa	...	Babu Gopi Mohan Roy	Hindu	...	Government Pensioner.	...	At a Meeting held by the Orissa Association at Cuttack on 9th December 1904.
920	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Janaki Nath Bose, B.L., Junior Govt. Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Cuttack.	Bengali Kayastha Hindu.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
921	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Preetanath Chatterji, Secretary, Bar Library, Member of Bhubaneswar Temple.	Bengali Kayastha Hindu.	...	Vakil, High Court.	...	Do.
922	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Jogesh Chandra Ghose, M. A., B. Sc.	Do.	...	Vakil, High Court and Manager, Durpan Estate.	...	Do.
928	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Romeshankar Roy, Chairman, Cuttack Municipality.	Do.	...	Pleador.	...	Do.
924	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Hurry Mohan Roy Chowdhari.	H i n d u Bengali Brahmin.	...	Mukhtiar	...	Do.



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925	Bengal	Calcutta	Calcutta	Babu Padan Salim	Hindu Teli	Trader and Money-lender	At a Meeting held by the Orissa Association at Cuttack on 9th Dec. 1904.
926	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Duli Chund Sukal	Brahmo	Merchant	Do.
927	Assam	Bengal	Jorbat	Chandr A. Nomal Bezdmal, Esq., Manager of Basshota.	Hindu Brahmin	Jorbat, Assam	Do.
928	Bengal	Barisal	Barisal	Babu Haranath Gosh, B.L., Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu Kayashth.	Pleader	At a meeting of the Committee of the Barisal People's Association held on 18th December 1904.
929	Assam	Calcutta	Assam Dhubri	Babu Bhabani Kanta Das	Do.	Pleader, Dhubri Assam	Elected at a meeting of the Legal Practitioner's Association at Dhubri on 12th December 1904.
980	Bengal	Dacca	Dacca	Babu Rasick Chandra Chakrabarti, B. L.	Hindu	Pleader, Judges Court, Dacca	At a meeting of the Dacca People's Association held on 18th December 1904.
931	Do.	Do.	Do.	Babu Biseswar Sen, B. L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
933	Bengal	Calcutta	Assam	Ramani Mohan Das, Esq., Member of Local Board, Karinganj.	Do.	Merchant and Zemindar, Karinganj. Sylhet.	At a Public Meeting held in Sylhet under the Presidency of Babu Nana Krishna Bannerji.

988	Madras	...	Madras	...	Purasawakum...	V. R. Swaminatha Mudaliar, Esq., B. A.	Hindu	...	Partner to Messrs. J. A. Purasawakam.	At a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Madras Mahajan Sabha held on 19th December 1904.
984	Do.	...	Do.	...	Egmore	The Hon. Mr. V. Desika Chariar, B.A., B. L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Egmore	Do.
985	Do.	...	Do.	...	Triplicane	G. Subramania Iyer, Esq., B. A.	Brahmin	...	Editor, <i>United India</i>	Do.
986	Do.	...	Tinnevely	...	Kallidai Kurchi	Sadhu Ramasubhaiyar, Esq., Public Lecturer.	Do.	...	Tinnevely, District Madras	At the Public Meeting held at Kallidai Kurchi on 7th December 1904.
987	Do.	...	Madras Godavery and Kistna	...	Ellore	M. R. Ry. Somanchi Bhima Sankaram Guru, Landholder, Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Ellore.	Do.	...	Pleader, Kistna District	At a Public Meeting held at Ellore on 21st December 1904.
988	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	M. R. Ry. Motai Gangaraju Gairu	Hindu	...	Zemindar and Merchant	Do.
989	Do.	...	North Arcot District.	...	Chittoor	V. K. Ramaswami Aiyah, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Brahmin	...	High Court Vakil, Chittoor	At a Public Meeting held on 9th December 1904 under the auspices of the North Arcot District Association.
940	Madras	...	Do.	...	Vizagapatnam	M. R. Ry. Mulasu Venkata bala Pantulu Garu, B. A., B. L.	Do.	...	Do. Cocanada	At a Meeting of the Managing Committee of the Godavery District Association held on 20th December 1904.
941	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Rao Bahadur D. Seshagiri Rao Pantulu Garu, B. A., B. L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor.	Do.
942	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	M. R. Ry. Perraju Pantulu Garu, Chairman, Cocanada Municipality.	Do.	...	First Grade Pleader, Cocanada	Do.

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943	Madras ...	Madras ...	Vizagapatam ...	M. R. Ry. Denarakonda Sebrahnugam Jari.	Brahmin ...	Pleader, Cooanada ...	At a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Godaveri District Association held on 20th December 1904.
944	Do. ..	Bellary ...	Bellary ...	Ramanjulu Naidu, Esq., ...	Hindu ...	Merchant, Bellary ...	Elected by Members of S. V. Sabha Coronation Reading Room at a Meeting Brucepet Bellary on 22nd Dec. 1904.
945	Do. ...	Madras ...	Madura ...	L. K. Tulasiram, Esq., B. A., B. L., Municipal Councillor and Manager, Somashittra High School.	Do. ...	Vakil ...	At a Public Meeting held at Pudu Mantapam on 14th December and at Sourastha Sabha, Madura, on 15th December 1904.
946	Do. ...	Vizagapatam ...	Vizagapatam ...	Vepa Purnanjar, Esq., B. A., B. L....	Brahmin ...	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at the premises of the Visag Club on 20th December 1904.
947	Do. ...	Madura ...	Tinnerelly ...	M. R. Ry. S. D. Krishna Iyengaral, B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Vakil, Tuticorin ...	At a Public Meeting held at the Club premises Vemapt on 7th December 1904.
948	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	M. R. Ry. S. Palam Audi Mudaliar, B.A., Dist. Board Member, Municipal Councillor.	Mudaliar ...	Vakil, Palamcottah ...	Do.

949	Madras	...	Madras	...	Salem	...	B. V. Narasimma Iyer, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Brahmin	...	High Court Vakil, Salem	...	At a Meeting of the Salem Congress Committee on 16th December 1904.
950	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	P. Rajulavyya, Esq.	Sowashtra	...	Cloth Merchant, Nannusanu Street, Salem.	...	Do.
951	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	O. Ramaswami Chettiar, Esq.	Vaisya	...	Merchant, Tripatoro, Salem District...	...	Do.
952	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	O. Vijayaragavachariar, Esq., B. A.	Brahmin	...	Pleador, Agraharam, Salem	...	Do.
953	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	S. Ari Chettiar, Esq.	Vaisya	...	Zemindar, Tripatoro, Salem District...	...	Do.
954	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	N. K. Sessa Iyongur, Esq.	Brahmin	...	Pleador, Atwa, Salem District	...	Do.
955	Do.	...	Northern Circle.	...	Rajahmundry	...	N. Subbaraw Pantulu Garu, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry	...	At a Public Meeting held at Rajahmundry on 16th December 1904.
956	Do.	...	Vellore (North Arcot).	...	Vellore	...	N. Krishnamohariar, Esq., B. A., Landlord and Hon. Magistrate.	Do.	...	Landlord, Vellore	...	At a meeting of the Vellore Bar Associa- tion held on 18th December 1904.
957	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	V. C. Seshachariar, Esq., Secretary, North Arcot District Association.	Do.	...	Pleador, Vellore	...	Do.
958	Do.	...	Madras	...	Kurnool	...	M. R. Ry. C. Venkataranga Reddi Garu, B. A., I.L. B.	Hindu	...	Pleador and Landholder, Kurnool	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Kur- nool on 7th December 1904.
959	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	M. R. Ry. S. Venkatannarasimha Row Garu, B. A., Municipal Coun- cillor and District Board Member.	Brahmin	...	Pleador, Kurnool	...	Do.
960	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	M. R. Ry. C. Narasimha Row Garu, B. A., B. L.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.

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961	Madras ...	Madras ...	Kurnool ...	M. R. Ry. S. Sesha Sastri Avargal, B. A., B. L.	Brahmin ...	1st Grade Pleader, Kurnool ...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Kurnool on 7th December 1904.
962	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	M. R. Ry. K. Dakshinamurti Aiyar Avargal, B. A., B. L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
963	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar	Do. ...		
964	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon. Mr. G. Srinivas Row ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	
965	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	L. Venkataragh Aiyar, Esq. ...	Do. ...		
966	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bhiv Swamy ...	Do. ...		
967	<i>Bombay</i> ...	Sind ...	Shikarpur ...	Seth Chimansing Ramsing ...	Hindu ...	Contractor and Merchant, Shikarpur.	
968	Do. ...	Do. ...	Karachi ...	Gandoomal Ramrakhiamul Bhugtani, Esq.	Do. ...	Karachi ...	
969	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Broach ...	Girdharlal H. Desai, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Broach ...	
970	Do. ...	Do. ...	Karachi ...	Jaffer Fudder, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Karachi ...	At a Public Meeting held at Karachi on 12th December 1904.
971	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bombay ...	Inamdar Lallubhai, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Bhooleshwar ...	
972	<i>U.P.</i> ...	Oudh ...	Lucknow ...	Hari Datt Pant, Esq., L. M. & S. ...	Do. ...	Lucknow ...	
973	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Baboo Ramchandra, M. A. ...	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow ...	
974	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Avadh Bihari Lall, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Do. ...	
975	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Gopal Dass ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Lucknow ...	

976	Bombay ...				V. N. Rajwade, Esq.	...	Brahmin	...	Merchant	...		
977	<i>Bengal</i> ...	Do.	...	Kulna	...	Kaviraj Upendra Nath Sen, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	At a Public Meeting held at Kulna on 19th December 1904.
978	Central Provinces.	Do.	...	Ohhindwara	...	H. Wardina, Esq., B. A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	At a Public Meeting held at Ohhindwara on 20th December 1904.
979	<i>Bombay</i>	Do.	...	Do.	...	H. J. Monghir Malam, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Hydrabad Sind	...	
980	Do.	Do.	...	Hydrabad Sind.	...	Dr. Ram Kesher	...	Hindu Khatri	...	Medical Practitioner	...	Elected at Meeting held on 20th Dec. 1904.
981	United Province of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad	...	Aligar District.	...	Dr. Manoharlal	...	Kayasthi	...	Medical Practitioner	...	At a Public Meeting held on 11th Dec. 1904.
982	Do.	Do.	...	Amritsar	...	S. C. Sen, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Professor, Khalsa College	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Amritsar on 20th December 1904.
983	Calcutta	Calcutta	...	Jorhat	...	C. K. Bobarna, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Jorhat	...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Gaya, 26th December 1904.
984	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sardar Gopal Shingh	...	Do.	...	Merchant, Gaya	...	Do.
985	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	S. Khuhual Singh, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
986	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	S. Harman Singh, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Contractor, Gaya	...	Do.
987	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	S. Kaliun Umal, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Plender, Gaya	...	Do.
988	Do.	Do.	...	Do.	...	S. Fazbul Hasian, Esq., B. A.	...	Do.	...	Aligarh	...	
989	Karachi	Karachi	...	Karachi	...	Achalsing M., Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	

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990	Madras ...	Madras ...	Salem ...	B. V. Narasmna Iyer, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	High Court Vakil ...	At a Meeting of the Salem Congress Committee held on 28rd December 1904.
991	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. Han Chittiar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Zemindar ...	Do.
992	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
993	United Province of Agra and Oudh.	Benares ...	Bhind ...	Viyasa Baldevdas, Esq., B. A. ...	Nagar Brahmin, Hindu.	Zemindar and Banker ...	At a Meeting held at Benares on 22nd December 1904.
994	Madras ...	Tanjore District ...	Mannargudi ...	M. R. Ry. S. Kuppabatta, Iyer ...	Do. ...	Mirasdar, Mannargudi ...	Elected at a Meeting held at Tanjore on 21st December 1904.
995	Central Province.	Do. ...	Sambalpur ...	Bijay Chandra Mazumdar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Bengali Brahmin Brahmo.	Pleader, Sambalpur ...	At a meeting held on 19th December 1904.
996	Do. ...	Buldana, District Berar.	Akola ...	Gulam Ahmadkhan valud Mahomed Chowdhari, Esq., Member, Buldana District Board.	Mahomedan ...	Banker and Landholder ...	Elected at a General Meeting held at Akola on 18th December 1904.
997	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sylhet ...	Babu Herendirai Chandra Sinha ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, District Court, Sylhet ...	At a Public Meeting held at District Bar Library, Sylhet on 18th December 1904.
998	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Raman Mohan Das ...	Do. ...	Merchant and Zemindar ...	Do.
999	Do. ...	Akola, Berar ...	Balapur ...	Govindsing Bhowansing Manssibdar, Esq.	Rajput ...	Landholder ...	Elected at the General Meeting held at Akola on 18th Dec. 1904.

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1000	Central vinces.	Pro.	Akola, Berar ...	Ahmednagar ...	Mohanlal Hirralal, Esq.	...	Rajput	...	Pleader	...	Elected at a General Meeting held at Akola on 18th December 1904.
1001	Do.	...	Do. ...	Do. ...	B. B. Deshpande, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
1002	Do.	..	Do. ...	Do. ...	G. G. Dange, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
1003	Do.	...	Do. ...	Ahmednagar ...	P. S. Nagarkar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	...	Do.
1004	Do.	...	Do. ...	Do. ...	G. K. Chitale, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
1005	Do.	..	Do. ...	Do. ...	B. G. Nisal, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
1006	Do.	...	Do. ...	Akola ...	N. K. Phadke, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
1007	Do.	....	Do. ...	Do. ...	L. G. Oka, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
1008	<i>Bagal</i>	...	Calcutta ...	Howrah ...	Babu Gopal Chowdri Mukerji,	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Elected at a meeting of Howrah Pleader's Association held on 12th December 1904.
1009	Agra	...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Trilokinath Bhargar, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Agra	...	
1010	Calcutta	...	Jorhat ...	Jorhat ...	L. N. Bezbaroa, Esq., B. A.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Elected at a Meeting of the Jorhat Sarvanik Sabha on 18th December 1904.



# Appendix B.

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## INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION

OF THE

### Twentieth Indian National Congress.

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The large and unique Exhibition organised by the Exhibition Committee of the Twentieth Indian National Congress was laid out on the spacious ground, popularly known as the Oval which the Government of Bombay had kindly made available. The opening ceremony which was attended in large number by the different communities of the great city, ladies and gentlemen, was held on 10th December 1904. It was presided over by H. E. Lord Lamington, Governor of Bombay, accompanied by Lady Lamington and was universally pronounced to be a brilliant success.

The Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thakarsi, the Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, while inviting His Excellency to declare the Exhibition open, delivered the following address:—

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

As Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, it is my privilege to open the proceedings of this evening with some prefatory remarks. Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure that I echo the sentiments of every one around me when I say that His Excellency Lord Lamington by consenting to patronise and open the Exhibition, has laid us under a deep sense of obligation. (Cheers.) We are also greatly indebted to Her Excellency Lady Lamington, who, with her usual graciousness, has honoured this gathering with her presence and has kindly consented to open the Ladies' Section. (Cheers.) Ever since their Excellencies have been in this Presidency, we are all well aware how ready and willing their Excellencies always are to spare neither time nor trouble, when they feel that their personal sympathy and influence, will conduce to the benefit of the object for which their presence and interest are

desired. (Hear, hear.) In requesting your Excellency to open this Exhibition, I may be allowed to state that this is the fourth of its kind held under the auspices of the Indian National Congress, the first in 1901, in Calcutta, with his Highness the Maharajah of Cooch Behar as President. In 1902 his Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda (cheers) opened one at Ahmedabad with an eloquent and instructive address, and I may say I have just received a telegram from his Highness the Gaekwar in which he regrets that he cannot be present at the opening of the Exhibition, and expresses his sympathy with the movement. His Highness the enlightened Maharajah of Mysore, (cheers) opened the Exhibition in Madras last year: and now we feel ourselves most fortunate in having your Excellency to preside at the opening here to-day and to encourage us in our earnest endeavours to gain for the Bombay Exhibition the credit of being the most useful, interesting and instructive object lesson, which India has up to this time been able to furnish; and it is, with sincere pleasure, that we have to express our high appreciation of the cordial and liberal support and encouragement which this Exhibition has received at the hands of your Excellency's Government and the individual members thereof. (Applause.) The grant of this Oval, the finest site in Bombay, and the only one, on which such an Exhibition as this could conveniently be held, has placed us under a deep obligation. Nor must I omit to mention the invaluable help and patronage we have received from H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore, H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore and many other native Ruling Chiefs of India, including those of Baria, Rajpipla, Bansda, Puddukotah, Cooch-Bihar, Jamnagar, Limbdi, Dharampore, Jamkhandi, Bhowndar, Cutch, Cambay, Junagadh, Miraj, Porebunder, Mudhol, &c. (Cheers.) Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, if this Exhibition surpasses the former ones in much that will prove of great and lasting benefit to the agriculturists and to the workers in our industries, it will be greatly due to the kindness and generous assistance the Committee has received from all sides. It is intended by these Exhibitions to bring before the public eye the manufactures, industries, and arts of India, many of which are but too little known, because of the remoteness and lack of resources of the artisans who produce

them. Among other things they become a means of supplying fresh ideas to craftsmen, of encouragement to many to improve the existing industries, and generally to benefit in one shape or another all classes of the community. In considering the organization of this Exhibition, your Excellency, the Committee fully cognisant of the immense advantages possessed by Bombay, the first city in India, determined to strain every nerve to make it a special means of disseminating useful information, and at the same time to make it worthy in all respects of this city and Presidency. For this purpose they decided not only to collect the best specimens of manufacture, agricultural products and works of Art but, as much as was possible, to have practical demonstrations which would readily appeal even to the less intelligent and the lessons from which might be carried with them to their homes. Realizing the vast importance of agriculture to India, the Committee decided to devote special attention to the cultivators' requirements, and I have very great pleasure in saying that we are in a very large measure indebted for the success of this section to Mr. Lawrence, the Director of Agriculture, and his Assistants. (Cheers.) The Committee further agreed that under the present sanitary knowledge and condition of the country in general it was most desirable that a Health Section should receive much attention. The Bombay Sanitary Association undertook the organisation of this section, and the best thanks of the Committee are due to them, especially to their Honorary Secretary, Dr. Turner, the Municipal Health Officer, for his most valuable advice and assistance. (Cheers.) In determining to make a collection of the different appliances of the various other industries, the hand-loom industry, so ancient and so valuable, claimed the Committee's serious consideration. Besides the professional hereditary weavers, this industry has always been the important means of adding to the earnings of those numerous cultivators, who everywhere in India honourably employ themselves in weaving, when field-work is not necessary or possible. A special court is devoted to this section where many kinds of hand-loom, are shown by experts in actual working. It is hoped that this section will be highly instructive. An entirely new feature in this Exhibition is a section devoted to the work of the ladies. The ladies themselves have made and carried out these arrangements with an energy and business method which is the envy of many

of us and deserves high commendation. (Loud applause.) In this connection I have the pleasure to read a letter from Lady May Wedderburn, (cheers) which is addressed to Lady Jamsetji and written from Meredith, Gloucester, on the 24th November. It runs as follows: "I am sure you will be pleased to know how much interest is being taken here in the movement of the Bombay ladies to promote Indian women's domestic industries in connection with the Bombay Industrial Exhibition. From the enclosed circular you will see that a London Committee has been formed that under the patronage of her Royal Highness the Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, and that steps are being taken to send out some loan exhibits from this country, illustrating Western women's arts and industries. Her Royal Highness the Princess Christian is sending specimens of her own handwork; and her daughters the Princesses Victoria and Louise, are doing the same, including some beautiful enamel work. Her Royal Highness the Princess Henry of Battenberg has also graciously promised a contribution and a fine collection of embroideries will go from the Royal School of Art needlework at South Kensington, of which their Majesties the King and Queen are patrons. (Cheers.) We have many letters sympathising with the movement, and among others the Marchioness of Ripon and the Countess of Aberdeen send their good wishes for your success. (Loud applause.) The time for preparation is very short, so the collection will necessarily be an imperfect one, but I feel sure that your Committee will be gratified to know how cordially their public-spirited action is appreciated in this country. I regret that the articles can only be on view for a few days, as Sir William has promised to bring them back with him, when he returns by the mail of the 7th January." I will not detain your Excellency by dwelling at length upon the various other sections of this Exhibition in all of which excellent specimens are collected. If it should appear to any that the aspirations of the Committee with regard to this exhibition are somewhat lofty, let him consider the glorious productions of this country in the past, the carved wood-work, the designs, the colours and texture of its carpets and shawls admired for many centuries and accepted as patterns for imitation by the skilled artificers of Europe: those wonderful textures sent forth from the looms of Dacca to adorn the noblest

beauties of the Court of the Imperial Cæsars sixteen centuries ago; the elaborate stone carving of Central India, Rajputana, and Gujerat, the embossed silver work of Cutch and Agra; the microscopic painting of Delhi and Lahore; the carvings in sandal-wood and the inland work of Multan, to this hour the marvels of the world; the productions of which India was so justly proud, and on the other hand let him consider the present potentialities of this country, its boundless capabilities of producing raw materials, its rich minerals and the growing enterprise of its people, and I am sure he will be encouraged to hope that our efforts, humble as they may be, will not be scattered upon a sterile soil. The Exhibition Committee has also recognized that we cannot live merely upon the past, and that if a true healthy impetus is to be given to the arts and industries of India, we must place before agriculturists as well as artisans the most up-to-date inventions and scientific appliances of the West and also some of their most finished models of workmanship. It is for this purpose we have found some room for articles of European manufacture. We trust, this will, in no small measure promote the objects for which these Exhibitions are held. Before requesting your Excellency to open the Exhibition, I may be permitted to thank all those who have so kindly and generously assisted the Committee in their endeavours. To Khan Bahadur M. C. Murzban, our Honorary Secretary we owe the excellent design of the structures, the laying out of the grounds, and all architectural arrangements. (Loud applause.) From Messrs. Narotum Morarjee Goculdas, Damodhar Ganesh Padhye and Lalloobhai Samaldas, (loud cheers,) we have had the most arduous work of receiving and arranging the many thousands of exhibits which have poured in within the last ten days. From the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Manmohundas Ramji, and the other Secretaries, Messrs. Amirudin, Patuck, Jafferbhai Kurrimbhoy, Adamji Purbhoy we have also had considerable help. (Cheers.) Nor ought I to omit to thank several other volunteer co-operators with us whose names I will not try to mention for fear of inadvertent omissions. We are also obliged to the P. and O. Steam Navigation Company and the G. I. P. Railway Company of the great assistance they have given to the Exhibition. (Cheers.) Owing to the almost unending demand for space and pouring in of more and

more exhibits even to this very day—and many are still to come—we have not been able quite to complete all our arrangements. We have done all that human effort could do, and we trust that unavoidable incompleteness will be overlooked in a generous spirit. We have, however, decided to close the exhibition to-day at 7-30 P.M. and open it on the 15th instant, when we hope to complete all necessary arrangements. I will now request your Excellency to declare this Exhibition open and to accept this humble memento of the ceremony. (Prolonged cheers.)

The memento consisted of a very artistic piece of silver work showing the outer facade of the Exhibition Tower, mounted upon a square slab of marble. It bore following inscription: "Presented to H.E. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., on the occasion of opening the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition of the Twentieth Indian National Congress, 1904." The whole work was designed and executed by Messrs. Tarachand Parashram and Co.

Lady Dinshaw Petit next rose and said:—Your Excellency Lady Lamington,—Now I have the pleasure to request you graciously to declare the Ladies' Section of the Exhibition open. (Applause.)

#### H. E. THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

H. E. the Governor, who was received with loud and prolonged applause, said:—Mr. Vithaldas Thakoresoy, your Highnesses, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I think there are evident signs around me that the temperature of this shamiana is such—(laughter)—that it would be rather unkind of me to detain you long with the very long and instructive speech I should have liked, otherwise, to deliver to encourage the artistic and industrial pursuits of the people of India. (Cheers.) Besides that my mission here to-day is simply to open and invite attention to those objects that have been collected and gathered together for the benefit of our purview, and I myself am very anxious during the small time at my disposal to see as much as I can. And further than that, I think that after the very succinct account I have just listened to from my hon. friend on my right, it is unnecessary for me either to dilate on the objects of the exhibition, or to say how important it is that people should be stimulated to acquire a love and knowledge of

industrial and artistic pursuits. But there is one particular feature in connection with this exhibition that has pleased me extremely. I have not had yet myself the advantage of going round the various courts, but on good authority I learn that the display even at this early stage of the exhibition is such as betokens great skill in the organisation by means of which these articles and objects have been collected—(hear, hear)—and I am glad to think that a committee of gentlemen of Bombay should have displayed such enterprise originally, and then have shown the powers of organisation necessary to equip so thoroughly their exhibition. (Applause.) I am always pleased to hail any sign of self help or powers such as I have described, of organisation, amongst the people of the country, and I am glad to think that they have been directed in this instance to such, as I trust it may be, a successful issue. To touch slightly on detail, I am very glad to think that attention has been paid to the importance of securing exhibits in connection with a health department, as we know how terribly this Presidency has been afflicted by plague and other diseases. There is nothing I can imagine that could be more fruitful of benefit to the public at large than that they should have an opportunity of seeing by what devices, by what practice of care, they may be able to guard themselves against and diminish the ravages of those illnesses and diseases. There is one other remark I should like to make, which is that I hope that when those great crowds that I imagine will visit this exhibition come here, they will be stimulated with a desire that in some form or other this exhibition shall be stereotyped permanently. I mean that I do think this great city of Bombay should have a museum—(applause)—which should be typical of and should be the means of housing examples of the products of this Western side of India, and also should be a place for the collection together of archaeological and other objects which would excite the interest and be a source of cultivated pleasure for those people who have some leisure hours to spend in this great city. (Applause.) And I think it will necessarily follow. Only yesterday afternoon in company with the Viceroy designate, Lord Curzon, I visited the Victoria Museum close to the Victoria Gardens, and I think you will agree with me that it is not a creditable display for such a great city as Bombay. (Hear, hear.) I have interested myself in

the hope of a museum being started, and I trust that this exhibition will be the means of giving it an impetus. I must give one word of praise, if I may, to the ladies for having their own section, (cheers) which, as we have heard from Mr. Thackersey, promises to be the most interesting, and has had the very great compliment paid to it of being made the recipient of various articles sent out by the members of the Royal Family from England. (Applause.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, one word more, if I say, of advice. I do regret very much that more time has not been taken for the promotion of this exhibition. That was my first remark to Mr. Thackersey when he came to see me at Mahableshwar. From my own experience of the past I know what a task it is to prepare for an exhibition like this. It does require a great amount of labour and time to set it on proper lines. That is the only criticism I have to make. Of course, I feel, that I should like that whatever we do in the city of Bombay, we should have it in a state of perfection. I feel, as Mr. Thackersey has said, that in a few days more this exhibition will be one of the most important exhibitions, and one of the most successful, I trust, that have ever been seen in India. (Hear, hear.) I now thank you for having given me this very interesting memento, and have great pleasure in declaring this Bombay Industrial Exhibition to be opened. (Applause.)

#### H. E. LADY LAMINGTON.

Her Excellency Lady Lamington, who was also warmly received, said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is neither the heat of the shamianah nor the shortness of time that prevents me from making a speech. (Laughter.) It is simply that I am not a public speaker, but, none the less, from my heart I wish every success to the entire exhibition, and of course, specially to the ladies' section. (Applause.) I wish to give the ladies the highest credit for what they have done; and I know what that work is and I wish to give them my personal thanks. I have great pleasure in declaring the Ladies' Section of the Exhibition open. (Applause.)

#### SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA'S SPEECH.

Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, K.C.I.E., in proposing a vote of thanks to their Excellencies, said:—Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I stand in a position that somewhat demands



your compassion. I have been entrusted with the task, the extremely agreeable task, of moving a vote of thanks to their Excellencies Lord and Lady Lamington. (Applause.) But I feel that the Chairman of our committee in entrusting that task to me might have spared me something to say from the speech which he himself made instead of anticipating me so entirely. (Laughter.) Then, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am somewhat discouraged by the words that have fallen from his Excellency. He has given me a very broad hint that in this hot shamianah we must speak as little as ever we can. However, gentlemen, I fortify myself by the reflection that in a gathering of Bombay citizens we cannot part without expressing our sense of obligation to their Excellencies for the kind manner in which they have come here to-day. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, I am not one of those who believe that the promotion and development of the industries and manufactures of India will prove a panacea for all her evils. (Hear, hear.) I am not one of those who think that we should not devote ourselves to anything but that promotion and development, but I do earnestly believe, and I think nobody will deny it, that the promotion and development of the industries and manufactures of this great country will go very far towards the promotion of its welfare and its prosperity. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, I was reading only the other day an address delivered by Sir Guilford Molesworth, who has been elected to the chair of the Institute of Engineers, who said that if India were isolated from the rest of the world there was nothing, no mineral nor raw material, that we could not produce ourselves, not only for the purposes of providing for ourselves, but for sending them out as exports to England, to Europe, and other parts of the world. Ladies and gentlemen, in the past—I hope his Excellency will allow me to say so—both the people and Government have proved rather indifferent to this important work of developing the industries and manufactures of India, but to our great gratification signs are apparent that both the Government and the public are waking up to the necessity of devoting themselves to this important task. And why, we are so grateful here, to-day, for Lord Lamington's presence, is that he is helping and assisting us in this important and beneficent work. (Hear, hear.)

Speaking here one speaks under the terrors of the Official Secrets Act. (Laughter.) I trust his Excellency will not order my prosecution for disclosing any official secret. The Secretariat is closed with doors of brass and triple steel and still we do get glimpses of things going on behind the doors, and, if it is not irrelevant, I would like to say that I can never understand why they should close the doors of brass and triple steel. Because I know that if those doors were open, what was sometimes considered unfair and hard criticisms would be turned into admiration for kindly deeds—I might say for many loving and generous things—done by Government officials within the doors. (Applause.) The Government is sometimes subjected to hard criticisms through ignorance, but they are themselves responsible for it. I trust that I betray no official secret, when I say that with the capacity, the courage and the will to judge for himself, which has always distinguished his Excellency, he has extended the hand of support and countenance to this Exhibition—if I might use a hackneyed phrase altered a little—irrespective of all consideration of caste or creed, race or politics. (Hear, hear.)

In the speech which his Excellency made at the Town Hall recently, he said, the principle on which he based his administration were, administrative honesty and equal justice. (Applause.) Will his Excellency allow me to add, that feeling of kindly and liberal sympathy which is the result of broad-minded culture and warm-hearted impulse, and in coming here to-day, in giving us all the help which his Excellency has done he has shown us that after all the most valuable fruits of administrative honesty and equal justice can only be obtained by extending to the people under his rule kindly and generous sympathy. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, Government have infinitely obliged us by giving the Oval for the Exhibition and in various other ways his Excellency and the members of Government have extended their assistance to us. Will His Excellency allow me to supply an omission which the modesty of Mr. Vithaldas has left unfilled. This exhibition would never have been were it not for the great zeal which Mr. Vithaldas has shown. (Applause.) I need hardly add the name of Khan Bhadur Murzban, for what show in Bombay has ever been run without him? (Laughter and applause.) And

I am giving you these names not quite disinterestedly, for I take credit to myself for impressing Mr. Murzban into this service and for finding Mr. Vithaldas to be Chairman of the Committee. (Hear, hear.) I think Mr. Vithaldas and Mr. Murzban will be found invaluable co-workers in establishing such a museum as his Excellency suggests. (Cheers.)

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have a far more agreeable task before me. Could anything be more graceful and more gracious than the way in which Lady Lamington has come forward to help in the cause of the Ladies' Section of the Exhibition. (Applause.) You remember well how she won all our hearts during the last Bombay season in taking a kindly and sympathetic interest in the welfare of the people. (Applause.) I am sure I am not disclosing an official secret, or to use the Irish way of expressing it, a public secret, when I say their Excellencies in going about and prying into every nook and corner of Bombay they—for Lady Lamington has been included in the term—have been spoken of as that famous Caliph of Bagdad, Haroun-al-Raschid. (Loud applause.) This year Lady Lamington inaugurates her interest by coming here this afternoon to assist us in the object which we have so much at heart. I am sure you will agree most cordially in this vote of thanks which I propose to their Excellencies for their kindly help and sympathy. (Loud applause.)

#### MISS CURSETJEE'S ADDRESS.

The following address was delivered by Miss Seerinbai Maneckjee Cursetjee, of the Ladies' Section:—

To Your Excellencies Lord and Lady Lamington,—We, the members of the Ladies' Committee of the Women's Section of the Congress's Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, feel honoured by your kind visit to our pavilion, and we reckon it as an additional instance of the hearty co-operation shown far and wide from all parts of India. In several of its principal towns, Indian ladies formed themselves into committees and in some places a few kindly inclined English ladies joined these Indian ladies and sent us beautiful collections for our Competition and Loan divisions.

Speaking here one speaks under the terrors of the Official Secrets Act. (Laughter.) I trust his Excellency will not order my prosecution for disclosing any official secret. The Secretariat is closed with doors of brass and triple steel and still we do get glimpses of things going on behind the doors, and, if it is not irrelevant, I would like to say that I can never understand why they should close the doors of brass and triple steel. Because I know that if those doors were open, what was sometimes considered unfair and hard criticisms would be turned into admiration for kindly deeds—I might say for many loving and generous things—done by Government officials within the doors. (Applause.) The Government is sometimes subjected to hard criticisms through ignorance, but they are themselves responsible for it. I trust that I betray no official secret, when I say that with the capacity, the courage and the will to judge for himself, which has always distinguished his Excellency, he has extended the hand of support and countenance to this Exhibition—if I might use a hackneyed phrase altered a little—irrespective of all consideration of caste or creed, race or politics. (Hear, hear.)

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We avail ourselves of this opportunity to thank one and all for their kind and sympathetic co-operation. Considering the very brief period of a month and a half in which we had to organise and work up the section, we admit that the work is not as complete as it would have been, had we had a longer period for working.

Our motive, however, has been to initiate a small beginning for showing the variety of arts and trades for females which exist in various parts of India and to revive old industries and develop new ones for the women of India. We express our cordial thanks to the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas, for the graceful compliment he has paid to our Ladies' Committee.

We must also make special mention of their Highness the Dowager and the present Maharani of Mysore and her Highnesses the Maharani of Baroda for consenting to be Patronesses of this section. We must not omit to mention also the Dewan Sahib Hanmant Row of Madras, who has worked with marked zeal to advance our cause. It gives us pleasure to announce that some fifty Industrial Institutions and Homes have also sent work done by them, and the Mulgamunder Convent in Travancore has sent under the charge of one of their sisters, some six girl lacemakers to actually work at our pavilion, showing the process of their industry. It would be ungrateful of us if we did not especially refer to one of our Secretaries, Miss N. H. Patuck, on whom fell the heaviest work as the contribution-receiving Secretary. Had it not been for her indefatigable energy, we would not have been able to make even the somewhat incomplete display we are making to-day. We must also give our hearty thanks to Mrs. D. J. Tata to whose zealous work we owe the entire beautifying of our pavilion. We also thankfully acknowledge the responsible duties of Honorary Treasurer, Lady Jehangir has been performing. In conclusion we once again repeat our thanks to your Excellency Lady Lamington for having so gracefully opened our pavilion and to both your Excellencies for the honour of this visit. As time did not permit our completing the arrangements in this pavilion, we hope your Excellencies will grant us the additional honour of paying us another visit at your Excellencies' convenience. (Applause.)

**Speech of the Chairman of the Exhibition Committee  
on the closing of the Exhibition and the Award  
of Prize Medals and Certificates.**

The Exhibition was finally closed on 6th February and the subscribers and representatives of the different communities were invited on the following day on the Exhibition ground to witness the closing ceremony of the Exhibition. There was an exceedingly large gathering and Sir James Montearth, K. C. I. E., presided. The Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damoder Thakarsi opened the proceedings by reading the following words :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition of the Indian National Congress, I have the honour to give the following account of the Exhibition up to date. Before doing so I may be permitted, Ladies and Gentlemen, to express the sincere thanks of the Committee to the Honourable Sir James Montearth for kindly consenting to honour us by presiding on this occasion and distributing the awards. (Cheers.) This is not the first occasion when Sir James Montearth has given us proofs of the keen interest and cordial sympathy in the object of this Exhibition. In addition to the valuable help that we have received from Government and to which the success of this Exhibition is so greatly due, Sir James Montearth has taken a special interest in the Agricultural Section which has been the means of disseminating so much useful and practical knowledge. (Hear, hear.) Besides others, over a thousand cultivators have taken the opportunity of visiting the Exhibition during the Agricultural week when special lectures on Agricultural matters and practical demonstrations of several appliances were given. As an example of his deep interest in the welfare of the people I may mention that on two or three occasions, Sir James, at considerable personal trouble, attended the lectures and field demonstrations with a view to judge how far those opportunities were taken advantage of by the Agriculturists and how much they were likely to profit by them, and I am sure that our Chairman and the Officer-in charge of the Agricultural Section will bear me out when I say that our sanguine expectations were more than fully realised, and I believe that great good would be done if such Agricultural expositions were annually

held in the heart of the Agricultural Districts. (Hear, hear.) For this highly satisfactory results our most grateful thanks are due to Government and to the distinguished gentleman who is doing us the honour of presiding on this occasion. (Cheers.) I must not forget to mention that nearly five hundred Agriculturists were brought down to see the Exhibition by Government at their own expense leaving us only so much of the duty of hospitality to the extent of providing quarters for them during their stay in the city.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with very great pleasure, in which I am sure you will join, that I am able to state that the Exhibition has proved a success from the financial point of view.

The total revenue of the Exhibition amounts to about Rs. 2,65,000 as per following details :—

Gate Money	...	...	...	...	Rs. 1,75,000
Revenue from Side-Shows and Amusements	..				34,000
Preliminary fee and rent	...	...	...	..	24,000
Subscription to the Exhibition Funds	...			..	32,000
<hr/>					
Total Rs...					2,65,000
<hr/>					

The expenses are equally large, but the Committee hope that the above amount will fully cover all the outgoings of the Exhibition after taking credit for the proceeds of the old materials.

The popularity of the Exhibition is manifest from the large number of people who visited it throughout. It will be very interesting to know that no less than 5,70,167 persons visited the Exhibition during the 50 days of its duration giving at average of 10,558 persons a day. The Side-Shows and Amusements were equally popular as may be seen from the large revenue received from this. Over half the revenue of the Side-Shows may be attributed to the Water-Chute for which we are indebted to Mr. T. F. Dawson, of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, who planned and erected the Chute and supervised the working of it without remuneration. The Committee are glad to notice that special attention and expenditure devoted to the Agricultural Section have borne good fruit. The Section has proved highly instructive, specially to over a thousand cultivators who visited the Exhibition



during the Agricultural week with free admission. It was very satisfactory to observe that our Agricultural visitors followed with keen interest the lectures and practical demonstrations which had been organised for their benefit. The very greatest credit belongs to Mr. Lawrence, the Director, and his Deputy, Mr. Knight, and Mr. Kelker, for the excellent way in which the Agricultural part of the Exhibition was carried out. (Cheers.) The Committee are also indebted to Mr. Ryan for the excellent and varied collections of forest articles.

We are also glad to find that the Health Section organised by the Bombay Sanitary Association under its skilful and energetic Secretary, Dr. Turner, (cheers,) has been the means of spreading Sanitary knowledge to thousands who visited the Exhibition, and the Committee have no doubt that the lessons derived from the excellent Exhibits pertaining to Sanitation and the interesting and instructive lectures given in this Section will not fail to have a wholesome effect upon the mind of the people. (Hear, hear.)

As might have been expected from the zeal and enthusiasm with which the principal ladies of this Presidency took up the matter, the Women's Section organised by them had proved most interesting. (Loud cheers.) Amongst other things, it has served a most useful purpose in showing in how many different directions it is possible for women to work for their livelihood. (Hear, hear.)

We need hardly say that in all the other Sections of the Exhibition excellent specimens were received and have proved very instructive. From the fact that a very large number of articles have been sold and inquiring for more received, the Committee feel sure that the great object of the Exhibition, namely,—to create markets for the Indian manufacturers and bring to the notice of the purchaser the name and place of the manufacturer has been gained to a considerable extent.

The best thanks of the Committee are due to a large number of ladies and gentlemen who have taken the trouble at great inconvenience and sacrifice to judge the exhibits and decide the awards. (Cheers.) We are also indebted to the various Government Departments, Railway Companies, Steamship Companies, the Bombay Municipality, the Port Trust, the Improvement Trust

and the English and Vernacular presses and many firms and individuals for their prompt and generous support to the Exhibition. (Cheers.)

Nor must we omit to mention the valuable voluntary service rendered by Mr. A. S. Darukhanawalla (cheers) in putting up the whole of the Electric Installation without any remuneration. This huge temporary Electric Installation has been carried out with the most skilful success. Mention must also be made of the markedly able voluntary service of Mr. Chotalal Ishwardas Parekh, who so successfully organised and managed the principal Revenue Department, the Gate money, which amounted to Rs. 2,15,000. (Cheers.)

We also record the services of Mr. Pherozechah B. Shroff; the engineer-in-charge of the Electric and Power Stations, and of Messrs. Jamshedji Pastakia and Hormusji Pastakia, the Supervisors of the erection of structures. (Cheers.) Our thanks are also due to Mr. Motilal and Shah, Mr. Peter Baptist and the other volunteers for their valuable services. (Cheers.)

Now, Mr. Chairman, I beg to lay before you the complete list of the certificates and awards of medals which have been made to Exhibition and I will request you on behalf of this assembly to be good enough to award with your own hands, the gold medals which have been awarded to them.

In doing so, the Committee beg to be allowed to present you as a memento of this occasion over which you have so kindly presided an album of photographic views of different portions of the Exhibition. (Loud cheers.)

SIR JAMES MONTEATH made the following reply:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

You will in the first place allow me to thank the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas for the too complimentary manner in which he has referred to myself. In the absence of H. E. the Governor, where other engagements would not permit of his being present, I was of course proud to accept the honour of presiding on this occasion, but I cannot flatter myself that either on this occasion or on the other occasions referred to by Mr. Vithaldas, I should have been of material practical use. I make this declaration lest you might think

that there is an element of self laudation in what I am going to say. I am nevertheless obliged to him for the kindly spirit which has led him to say what he has just said. I am greatly indebted to the Committee for the beautiful souvenir they have given me of perhaps the most interesting and useful project which has come within my experience in this country. . The proverb that "speech is silver but silence is golden" would in my opinion be true, although not perhaps so neat, if it read "speech is silvern but silent work is golden." (Cheers). \* At any rate the success of this Exhibition proves to demonstration the truth of the latter proposition. I venture to say without fear of contradiction that all who are here and all who have in any way co-operated in bringing about this success are anxious to do and try to do what they can for the good of the country. (Hear, hear.) Some of us are paid for doing it, others much more laudably do it gratuitously. Unfortunately there is much disagreement as to many measures and projects—whether they are for the good of the country at all,—and it results in much vain disputation in the course of which energy which might be usefully employed is distributed in clouds of words. There are even worse consequences than waste of breath and ink when acrimony is aroused and one section will believe of another nothing but what is bad. But when people who are anxious for the public welfare hit on a means towards it about which they can agree, then work takes the place of words with such results as we have witnessed here. There may be dispute whether the extension and improvement of industries rank highest amongst the country's needs; there can be and is no dispute that they are greatly needed for its advance in material prosperity. No one can question the utility of having a larger proportion of the people engage in other pursuits than agriculture, and having fewer to divide the profits of cultivation, and no one can question the utility of showing an agriculturist how he can increase and improve his produce.

As the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas pointed out when the Exhibition was opened, there is within the country material for the production of all that man can desire, and there is practically no limit to the extension of industries if only the needful skill to utilize the material would be considered important. Ignorance in all its forms is the strongest barrier to progress. There may be and indeed

has been, as we here know with, I fear, the usual result, discussion as to the most efficient method of dealing with one or other form of it. But there can be no dispute that the first essential to advance is to let producers witness the best products and the methods of producing them, and to let consumers see where their wants can best be supplied. (Hear, hear.) That, as Mr. Vithaldas has told us, is the primary object of the Exhibition, and it was an object for the accomplishment of which all who are anxious for the public want and who had time to spare from their ordinary duties, could join with a whole heart. The object has been accomplished in a very satisfactory degree. (Cheers.) The wealthier classes have seen here the best specimens of workmanship, and a desire to possess the like will create a demand which cannot fail to extend profitable employment. The industrial classes have seen products of a quality of which they never before dreamed, and they have learned how they can be produced. They have seen implements and heard of methods by which the results of their labour can be enormously increased. (Cheers.) The ladies' section, we are particularly glad to hear, has shown how women can be profitably employed otherwise than in coarse out-door manual labour which we would like, if possible, to see made unnecessary for them. (Cheers.) Even the interchange of ideas as to their several methods and their results between people who have come from all parts of the Presidency cannot have failed to show them the possibility and advantage of much improvement. The Hon. Mr. Vithaldas has told us that well over half a million of people have visited the Exhibition. No doubt a large proportion came mainly to see a grand spectacle and to share in the amusements provided. The success of the water chute, for which I understand he with great public spirit made himself financially responsible, is evidence of that fact. But innocent enjoyment is itself a blessing, and if the Exhibition had done no more than brighten for a little the lives of many, particularly of the toiling masses who visited it in the last week, it would have been well worth doing.

A very large number have, however, gained the practical advantages I have indicated. No doubt these do not form a large proportion of the millions even of this Presidency, and if any one has expected an immediate extensive revolution in the matter of

improved industrial processes, he will be disappointed. But knowledge of a kind which has been gained acts as a leaven which will eventually leaven the whole mass; the leaven will be slow and free doing, for it will be counteracted by the conservatism which is in general in people whose mental horizon goes little beyond the limits of their own villages, but even conservatism of that kind will not stand long against demonstrated self-interest. I verily believe that the good which has been done by this Exhibition will live after it, and will not be interred with its remains. (Hear, hear.) Those who have been instrumental in bringing it about have as their reward the satisfaction of long lasting usefulness. The Hon. Mr. Vithaldas and Khan Bahadur Murzban (cheers) took a part so prominent that it could not be concealed; others have been such silent workers that we did not know exactly what their part was, but we did know that they contributed in effecting a magnificent result. The veil has been lifted a little to-day, and generous and well earned acknowledgment has been made of the services rendered by many, and, amongst others, by officials, both those serving under Government and these serving under local bodies. I need add nothing to what Mr. Vithaldas has said so well about the officers of the Agricultural and Health Departments, and the display of articles made in the School of Art and Sir Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy Institute speaks for itself. But if I may, I should like to call special attention to the effect of Mr. Ryan's highly interesting and instructive arrangement and description of excellent specimens of forest produce, because the Forest Department is one of the best abused Departments of the Government service, and because I think many people must now have been disabused of the idea that it is nothing but a nuisance. It must have been a revelation to them that it makes available such excellent material for both practically useful and ornamental purposes. It is intelligible that the ignorant should feel restrictions with some because like Mr. Boyle Roche they may not see why they should sacrifice anything for posterity since posterity has done nothing for them, but I hope this is another form of ignorance which this Exhibition has done something to dispel. Possibly in more cases present interests are unduly sacrificed to future interests—all departments and officers are liable to err—but I can vouch that taking posterity

into account the guiding motive of the Forest Department is like that of all other Departments the greatest benefit to the greatest number. I am sure, I am voicing the opinion of this vast assembly when I say that all the members of the Committee, and all others who have devoted time and energy to this Exhibition, have well earned our congratulations and the gratitude of the whole community. (Loud cheers.)

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy then proposed a vote of thanks to Sir James Monteath in the following :—

The pleasant duty had been laid upon me to thank Sir James Monteath for the honour he had done us by presiding and for presenting the awards to the successful competitors at the Exhibition. From the report which had been placed before us by the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas you would have perceived that the Exhibition had been a success. Many, no doubt, had contributed to make it so, some as corporate bodies, and others as individuals. Without their joint co-operation and assistance the arduous task before the organizers would have been made still more difficult, and the Committee had rightly acknowledged the extent to which it was indebted to them. But, however, much they might be beholden to the various bodies and individuals there was no denying the fact that without the support and countenance of Government and the help of its officers the Exhibition would scarcely have reached the point of success it had attained. Whence, could a better or more central and beautiful spot, as that on which they stood, have been obtained. With the noble buildings of which Bombay was so justly proud, on one side, and the magnificent Bay, the envy of other cities on the other side, I could say without fear of contradiction, that an ideal place for an Exhibition was put at the Committee's disposal. It was to Government that they were indebted for the Oval site which had contributed so much to beauty and the attractiveness of the Exhibition. Were it not for the fear of tiring those present I could mention other ways by which Government had contributed towards the success of the Exhibition. In thanking Sir James Monteath, therefore we have to remember that he was the Chairman of the assembly, that he was the busiest of busy men who, though the duties

appertaining to his high office make heavy demands on his time, has found leisure to be present that afternoon, and also that it was to the Government of Lord Lamington of which Sir James Monteath was a Member that they were indebted for the aid and assistance given to the Exhibition, recognizing it as a important contributory to the development and well being of the people. (Applause.) We were this afternoon, not to witness as it were the burial of an important undertaking, which on that spot, first saw the light of the day two months ago. I trust they were only assisting in its temporary withdrawal from public gaze; that we should have the satisfaction of seeing it appear from year to year in different cities, and at no distant date, again in Bombay, gathering strength and vigour and yielding results such undertakings have been known to give in civilized countries. (Loud cheers.) Of the good the Exhibition has done to the inhabitants of Bombay there was one which I might be allowed particularly to notice. It had opened our eyes to a reproach under which we have allowed our city to remain too long. I refer to the want of a really good Museum. Cities smaller and much less important than Bombay had in other countries their well-stocked museums, and I am sure, public spirited Bombay had only to stir itself, and a museum doing credit to the second city in the Empire would ere long be an accomplished fact. (Applause.)

The Hon. Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta, in seconding the vote of thanks, referred to the presence of Sir James Monteath at the meeting of the Agricultural Conference and hoped the success of the latter gatherings would result in Government organising similar conferences in all important centres in the Presidency. He also intimated that at some future date presentations would be made to the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas, the Chairman and to Khan Bahadur M. C. Murzban, the architect of the Exhibition.

Sir James Monteath having briefly replied, the proceedings terminated.