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V. ADOPTED

That the Constitu
 amende by the Sub
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Resolutions

Adopted by

The XXVIth Indian National Congress

(December 27 and 28, 1911).

I. WELCOME TO THEIR MAJESTIES

That this Congress in humble duty respectfully tenders its most loyal homage to the Throne and Person of their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, and feels confident that their visit to India will be productive of lasting benefit to the people of this country.

II. THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

That this Congress respectfully begs leave to tender to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor an humble expression of its profound gratitude for his gracious announcement modifying the Partition of Bengal. The Congress also places on record its sense of gratitude to the Government of India for recommending the modification, and to the Secretary of State for sanctioning it. In the opinion of this Congress, this administrative measure will have a far-reaching effect in helping forward the policy of conciliation with which the honoured names of Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe will for ever be associated in the public mind.

III. THE PROVINCE OF BEHAR AND TERRITORIAL RE-DISTRIBUTION

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Behar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and prays that in re-adjusting the Provincial boundaries the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengalee-speaking districts under one and the same administration.

IV. REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

That this Congress respectfully repeats its protest against the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act, and prays that, in view of the loyal enthusiasm evoked by the Royal visit and the official pronouncements about an improvement in the general situation, these measures, as well as the Regulations authorising deportations without trial, may now be removed from the Indian Statute-Book.

V. ADOPTION OF THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

That the Constitution and Rules of the Indian National Congress as amended by the Sub-Committee appointed at the last session of the Congress be adopted.

VI. THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

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

VII. SANITATION

That this Congress, while thanking the Government for having initiated a system of scientific enquiry into the circumstances affecting the origin and progress of plague, malaria and other diseases, urges the necessity of immediately taking in hand such practical measures as the opening of congested areas, the reclamation of silted rivers, the clearing of jungles, the draining of water-logged areas, and better provision for the supply of pure drinking water throughout the country.

VIII. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

That this Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government Scheme of Lord Ripon has not had a fair trial, and the Congress expresses the earnest hope that the Government may be pleased to take early steps to extend the application of the principle of election in the constitution of all local bodies and to confer upon them the right of electing non-official chairmen and further that they may be provided with adequate financial aid by the State.

IX. PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

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

X. ABOLITION OF EXCISE DUTIES

That this Congress is of opinion that the countervailing excise duties on Indian cottons are handicapping the growth and expansion of the Indian manufacturing industry and earnestly prays to the Government of India that they may be abolished at an early date.

XI. LAND SETTLEMENTS

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

XII. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

That this Congress accords its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and expresses its earnest

hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this Bill in the Council.

XIII. COUNCILS REFORM REGULATIONS

While recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Council for the Mahomedan and other communities where they are in a minority, this Congress disapproves of the Regulations promulgated in 1909 to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the Regulations framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909 before another election comes on, so as to remove anomalous distinctions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise and the qualification of candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils. This Congress also urges a modification of the Resolutions, where necessary, relating to the composition of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils so as to render them effective for practical purposes.

XIV. SEPARATE ELECTORATES FOR LOCAL BODIES

That this Congress strongly deprecates the extension of the principle of separate communal electorates to municipalities, district boards or other local bodies.

XV. SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

(a) That this Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by the Government sometime ago that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have yet been taken in that direction, and, concurring with previous Congresses, it urges that any scheme of separation to be really effective must place all judiciary completely under the control of the highest civil courts in every province in respect of pay, promotion and transfer.

(b) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession.

XVI. FURTHER AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

That the All-India Congress Committee be asked to consider and report to the next Congress what further modifications may be made in the Constitution and Rules with a view to promote the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article 1 of the constitution, keeping that article intact.

XVII. POLICE REFORMS

That this Congress desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that the reforms in the police system which have been effected under the recommendations of Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission have not produced the results which had been anticipated, as is evident from the judicial findings of the highest courts in some recent cases, and they have not improved the efficiency or the quality of the police force, including the village police. This Congress is of opinion that the pay and prospects of the Indian officers are not sufficient

to attract the best men to the service, and it strongly protests against the practical exclusion of Indians of a better class from the higher offices of trust and responsibility and records its conviction that no real improvement in the methods of police investigation can be effected unless confessions are made inadmissible except when made at a trial.

XVIII. EDUCATION

That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government by organising for themselves an independent system of literary, scientific, technical, and industrial education, suited to the conditions of the different provinces of India.

This Congress is further of opinion that the Government should take early steps :—

(a) to assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education (special encouragement being given, where necessary, to educate all backward classes) ;

(b) to make adequate provisions for imparting industrial and technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements ; and

(c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of education in this country.

XIX. SIMULTANEOUS CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION

That this Congress records its emphatic opinion that the present differentiation of the Civil Service into (1) the Imperial Service recruited in England, mainly from Europeans, and (2) the Provincial Services recruited in India, mainly from Indians, is opposed to the declarations made in the statutes of 1833 & 1870 and the Queen's Proclamations of 1858, and that such differentiation should be abolished as early as possible and that Indians should be afforded equal opportunities with Europeans for appointment to posts now reserved for the Imperial Service by the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India under conditions calculated to secure the best men for the posts.

XX. COUNCIL AND GOVERNOR FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES.

That this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the justice of creating an Executive Council in the the United Provinces at as early a date as may be practicable and it further expresses an earnest hope that those Provinces will soon be placed under a Governor as Madras, Bombay and Bengal.

XXI. RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

That, in view of the gratifying improvement in the general situation of the country, this Congress respectfully submits that the advent to India of their Imperial Majesties may be signalized by the release of those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences ; such an act will be appreciated throughout India and will deepen the feelings of profound gratitude and loyalty which the Royal visit has evoked.

XXII. COUNCIL FOR THE PUNJAB

That this Congress express its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to appoint an Executive Council for the Punjab.

XXIII. COUNCIL FOR & STATUS OF THE C. P. AND BERAR

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar and for according to Berar, which is now held by the British Government on a permanent tenure, the status and privileges which are accorded to provinces included in British India.

XXIV. INDIANS IN THE ARMY

That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the injustice of keeping the higher ranks in the Army closed against the people of this country should remain no longer unredressed, and this Congress expresses its earnest hope that the general expectation in the country that, before His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor leaves the shores of India a more liberal policy under which commissions in the army will be granted to selected Indians will be announced, will not be disappointed.

XXV. HIGH COURTS

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

XXVI. INDIANS IN THE MEDICAL SERVICE

(a) That this Congress, while thanking the Secretary of State for his despatch regarding the employment of Indians in the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service, regrets that no action has as yet been taken in the matter.

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

XXVII. LAW MEMBERSHIP

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

XXVIII. REDUCTION OF CABLE RATES

That in the opinion of this Congress, and in the interests of the newspaper press and of trade and commerce, it is extremely desirable that the

rate of cable messages between England and India should be further reduced so as to bring it into line with the rate which, under recent arrangement, has been announced to come into force between England and Canada and Australia from the ensuing year.

XXIX. INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

(a) That this Congress, anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the provincial settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Indian community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic legislation of the Province regarding registration and immigration, and expresses its high admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Mahomedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interests of their countrymen during their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against overwhelming odds.

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

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

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

XXX. GENERAL SECRETARIES

That Messrs. D. E. Wacha and D. A. Khare be appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

XXXI. THANKS FOR SERVICES

That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, and other members of the British Committee its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services, and it takes

this opportunity to make an earnest appeal to the Indian public to place adequate funds at the disposal of the Committee to enable it to carry on its work with vigour.

XXXII. ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

That the following gentlemen do form the All-India Congress Committee for the next year :—

BOMBAY

EX-OFFICIO.—

1. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.
2. Hon. Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta.
3. Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale.
4. Mr. D. E. Wacha.
5. „ Daji Abaji Khare.

ELECTED.

1. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.
2. Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh.
3. Hon. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad.
4. Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
5. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai.
6. Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas.
7. Rao Bahadur Khandebhai Gulabbhai Desai.
8. Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji.
9. „ Hormusji A. Wadya.
10. „ Narayan Madhav Samarth.
11. „ Mathra Das Ramchand Javahari.
12. „ Hari Sitaram Dixit.
13. „ Narayan Vishnu Gokhale.
14. „ Damodar Ganesh Padhye.

UNITED PROVINCES

EX-OFFICIO.

The Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad).
Pandit Bishen Narain Dar (Lucknow).

ELECTED.

1. The Hon'ble Pt. Moti Lall Nehru (Allahabad).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha (Allahabad).
3. The Hon. Babu Ganga Prasad Varma (Lucknow).
4. Dr. Satis Chandra Banerji (Allahabad).
5. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad).
6. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad).
7. Pandit GoKaran Nath Misra (Lucknow).
8. Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan (Lucknow).
9. Babu Ram Chandra (Lucknow).
10. Dr. Hari Dutt Pant (Lucknow).
11. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (Lucknow).

12. Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow).
13. Babu Iswar Saran (Allahabad).
14. Babu Preonath Banerjee (Bareilly).
15. Babu Durga Charan Banerjee (Allahabad).

BEHAR

1. Mr. S. Hasan Imam (Bankipore).
2. Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque (Bankipore).
3. Hon. Mr. Braj Keshore Prasad.
4. Hon. Mr. Deep Narayen Sing (Bhagalpore).
5. Mr. Parmeshwar Lall (Gaya).

BENGAL

EX-OFFICIO.

Babu Surendranath Banerjee.
Dr. Rash Behary Ghose.

ELECTED.

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

BERAR

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.
Mr. M. V. Joshi.
Rao Bahadur Dewrao Vinayak.
Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle.
Mr. R. V. Mahajani.

MADRAS

1. The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur.
2. The Hon. Mr. Subba Rao.

3. " " " T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.
4. Hon. Dewan Bahadur, L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.
5. Mr. G. A. Natesan.
6. " V. V. Jogiah Pantulu.
7. " C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
8. " A. S. Krishna Rao.
9. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.
10. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
11. Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanuja Chariar.
12. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
13. Mr. K. K. Guruswami Aiyar.
14. " S. V. Narasimha Rao.
15. " A. P. Patro.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. The Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis.
2. Dr. H. S. Gour.
3. Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Kolhatkar.
4. " " Bapurao Dada.
5. " " V. R. Pandit.
6. Mr. V. R. Dixit.
7. " M. K. Padhye.

PUNJAB.

1. Hon. Lala Harkishenlal.
2. Mr. L. Dhanpat Rai.
3. " L. Sangham Lal.
4. " L. Dharm Das Suri.
5. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhuri.
6. Mr. S. S. Bhatia.
7. " L. Ganpat Rai.
8. " L. Dunichand.
9. " N. Gupta.
10. Raizada Bhagat Ram.
11. Mr. L. Lajpat Rai.
12. " L. Hukum Chand.
13. " D. Dharm Chand.

BURMA.

1. Mr. V. G. Biajpurkar.
2. " Samsundaram Mudaliar.

XXXIII. PLACE OF NEXT CONGRESS

That the next Congress be held at Bankipore.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-SIXTH
Indian National Congress,
HELD AT
CALCUTTA,

On the 26th, 27th and 28th of December, 1911.



First Day's Proceedings.

The Twenty-sixth session of the Indian National Congress was opened on Tuesday, the 26th December, 1911. The proceedings commenced with the "Bande Mataram" song, sung in chorus by a number of girls and boys led by Mrs. Sarala Devi. After the song had been sung, the Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, Chairman of the Reception Committee, called upon Babu Bishnupada Chatterjee of Hooghly to offer a prayer for the success of the session. This was done in a few sentences, full of feeling, in which reference was made to the Imperial visit and the annulment of the Partition of Bengal. The Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu then addressed the assembly as follows :—

ADDRESS

OF THE

Chairman of the Reception Committee.

WELCOME TO THE DELEGATES.

Brother delegates, on behalf of Bengal reunited, I offer you a most cordial and hearty welcome. In doing so, I do not perform a merely conventional function, where courtesy covers the barrenness of the heart. To the sanction of religion, of ancient custom and tradition is added the pleasure of being able to fulfil under circumstances of no ordinary character the solemn undertaking that Bengal ventured to give to the rest of India this time last year at Allahabad, while other provinces not so advantageously situated as we are, were displaying in view of the Royal advent a not unnatural hesitation to accept so serious a responsibility. We welcome you as brethren and comrades, as fellow-workers in the same field seeking to dig the trenches wherein we may sow the seeds of the future : we welcome you Moslems, Hindus, Parsees and representatives of other races of India to the tabernacle we have raised for the worship of our Mother, holier to us, as ancient sages say, than heaven itself, where we gather together irrespective of creed and caste to pay our annual homage to our country, and where we rejuvenate our faith in her, where we renew old and form new friendships, and where above all we learn to bear and forbear ; but gentlemen, to us to-day this is not all : it is not alone the solemnity of the occasion, the sanctity of religion, the call of duty which inspire in us the ardent enthusiasm with which we greet you to our city : once more Bengal stands united in the presence of all India. Divided by the decree of State, torn by factions, clouded by sorrow, our fair name besmirched by crimes and outrages which we all deplored, we felt ourselves lost indeed. We had taken a solemn vow on the 16th of October 1905, that come what might, we the people of Bengal would not be divided ; but as days lengthened into months, and months into years and our province remained partitioned, we grew dumb with despair. Was that solemn vow going to stand annulled for our sins ? That was the question on every tongue. Then came the announcement of the Royal visit to

FIRST DAY
 Chairman of Reception Committee's
 Address.

India in celebration of the Coronation of Their Imperial Majesties ; we had not given up our cause though it looked so forlorn, and every heart in Bengal throbbed with the tensest emotion in anticipation of the Royal boons. That tension happily is now ended : it has pleased God, after much suffering and tribulation, to hear our prayers, and through His own chosen instrument on earth. He has proclaimed the fulfilment of our vow. We have passed through the vale of tears, through the valley of the shadow of death, and emerged into the uplands of life. Our heart is full to overflowing and the sense of a grave wrong redressed lends peculiar warmth to our reception,—chastened and sobered by the recollection that this is the last time that we in Bengal shall welcome you to the Metropolis of India.

THE KING-EMPEROR

We shall soon be welcoming to our City the greatest sovereign whom India has ever witnessed—(Cheers) a sovereign whose Indian empire extends beyond those ancient pillars which still testify to the greatness and beneficence of Asoka's mighty rule. For the first time we realise through the visible symbol of sovereignty, our close and intimate association with a world-wide empire, and for the first time is opened to us the vista of a long though strenuous career in the onward march of nations : we feel that we are no longer sheltered under the over-hanging arches of the Himalayas, but are being drawn into a great and expansive stream into which flow the tributaries of powerful nationalities ; for the first time we feel the birth of a new life, the awakening of a new desire, that if we must take our place in the ranks of men, we must be reborn as a nation, forgetting the seclusion and isolation of days that are gone, forgetting the sharp divisions of caste and creed, and always bearing in mind that we are part of a great whole with which we must harmonize ourselves. His Imperial Majesty is coming to us in Bengal with the halo that attaches to the redress of a great and cruel wrong, and we in Bengal will give him a reception which will not suffer in comparison with any other part of His Majesty's wide dominions. For honoured and beloved as the Royal House of England is by His Majesty's loyal subjects in India, whose love and esteem are based not only on a traditional sentiment of reverence, but also on the noble assurances of just and equal treatment given to her Indian peoples by the good Queen Victoria (Loud cheers) more than 50 years ago, reiterated with solemn emphasis by his late Majesty, confirmed by the presence in our midst of His Imperial Majesty, and strikingly illustrated by the boldness with which he faced a question on the solution of which depended the happiness and contentment of a large section of his Indian subjects, (Applause) he is to-day protected not alone by the bayonets of his soldiers and the loyalty of his Indian people but also by the prayers of millions of his humble but devoted subjects in Bengal. To him we accord our homage and welcome not only as our King and Emperor, but as our deliverer. (Applause.)

THE QUEEN-EMPRESS

We also offer our welcome to Her Imperial Majesty (applause) who has disregarded the tender but strong ties of home to come out to our country and add lustre to the occasion and testify her love and sympathy for our people. We assure Their Imperial Majesties that though they may lack here the comforts of home, they will not lack the warmth, the affection, the esteem, the devotion and loyalty with which they are surrounded in their own country. The affectionate sympathy and kindly interest which their Imperial Majesties have shown towards India justify us in entertaining the hope that they will be pleased to regard their Indian Empire just as much as their own country and home as the British Isles ; and when they leave our country, as alas ! they soon will, they will go back, let us hope, carrying pleasant memories of their progress through India, and quickening into stronger life the devotion, the affection and loyalty of their Indian subjects to their person and throne. (Applause.)

LORD CREWE

On your behalf, I also accord our respectful welcome to the Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Crewe, the Secretary of State for India (Applause.) He is the arbiter of our fate and holds in his hands the destiny of more than 300 millions of his Indian fellow-subjects. I had from him the kindest reception in England, and he heard my story about Indian grievances with

grave and gratifying attention. I came back with the impression that the great grievance of Bengal would receive sympathetic consideration, and I felt so strong in my cause, that I entertained no doubt that the grievance would be removed. With a courage which would be rare in any minister of State, and very rare indeed in one who has to guide and control a powerful bureaucracy, justly proud of its great achievements and past traditions, he advised the Crown to meet our demand, for it was just. I can assure him and those in whose hands rests the Government of my country that no oriental people, much less we Indians, would regard an act of justice as a sign of weakness: on the contrary, the annulment of the Partition of Bengal will be looked upon as an act of supreme mercy to His Majesty's Indian subjects in Bengal and worthy of that great and powerful Government over which the noble Marquis presides: it will demonstrate to the people of India that the Government is genuinely desirous of promoting their happiness and contentment and consulting their interests, that it is not a dead vault of hardened and inanimate concrete covering their life and echoing away into emptiness their hopes and aspirations, but a human organization responding with sympathy to the wishes and prayers of the people.

LORD HARDINGE .

And, gentlemen, our hearts go out to that statesman, lonely and serene, who stands like a watch-tower at the citadel of that Government, who saw the wrong and did the right: no, not alone, for round him are the goodwishes, the benedictions and prayers of the people entrusted to his charge. (Applause). Lord Hardinge will leave a name in Indian history comparable alone to Bentinck and Canning. ("Hear, Hear" and applause.)

LOSS OF CAPITAL

Gentlemen, our elation at the removal of our great grievance is somewhat subdued by the sense of a grave, but let us hope not an irreparable, loss. Who among us will fail to regard without the deepest emotion that the association of more than 150 years, the memories of a great past linked with names written in indelible characters on the scroll of fame and interwoven with the history of the rise of British power in the East, of which the foundations were well and truly laid in Bengal with the aid of our ancestors, should be swept away in favour of the glimmering phantoms of departed glory, and that Bengal should cease to hold in her bosom the capital of the Empire. There must be a set-back to the political and economic importance of Calcutta and necessarily of Bengal. I hope it will be only temporary. I am aware that blank despair has spread in many of our humble homes, if not in the palaces of the rich. But who in Bengal to whom if a choice were given would refuse? We shall lose indeed, but let us have faith in ourselves, in our destiny and above all in Him who has heard our prayer and "who stills the raven's clamorous nest and decks the lily fair in flowery pride." (Applause).

And such as Bengal will be, "cabined, cribbed, confined," she will still be our inspiration, our faith and our love, "fairer to us than the evening air, clad in the beauty of a thousand stars."

But ours will not be the only loss: the isolation of the Government of India away from any centre of public opinion, surrounded only by pomp and ceremony, will be a loss to all India. It will not conduce to the strength or popularity of the Government which will come to be regarded as a secret conclave ("Hear, Hear") working in a new sixtine chapel screened by long-stretching partitions of time and space and issuing its edicts through the cold pages of lifeless official publications.

HINDU AND MOSLEM

Before I pass from this subject, may I say with your permission that if the reunion of Bengal has been a great boon, let us prove ourselves worthy of it; we shall have to conciliate a large bulk of Mahomedan opinion in Eastern Bengal which, unhappily under influences to which we need not refer, had been alienated from us, and let me hope we shall so conduct ourselves as to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the entire Bengali-speaking population, Hindu and Mussalman. (Applause).

CONGRESS WORK

FIRST DAY

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address

Brother delegates, I have trespassed, I am afraid, far too much upon your patience in dealing with matters which more or less pertain to my province. I trust you will allow that the exceptional circumstances of the present year were my justification. I shall not however dwell on any subject which may form a topic of discussion and consideration in the Congress : that I am content to leave in the hands of our distinguished President and those who will follow him : but I think as Chairman of the Reception Committee who are partly responsible for the holding of this Congress, I may justly say a few words on the importance of continuing the work of the Congress. It has been said in quarters not altogether unfriendly to us that now that we have got our reformed and expanded Councils, the Congress is no longer necessary. Is that so? If it was so our labours would be at an end. Let us consider the matter with some little care. Is it true that the functions of the Congress may be equally well discharged by the Legislative bodies newly created, or that its ideals have been realised and that the Congress may well disappear in the mists of a receding past? They who maintain this view are not sufficiently cognizant, if I may say so, of the work of the Congress or its ideals.

ITS IDEALS

Our principal work is to educate public opinion, stimulate public life where it exists, and create where there is none; we try to focus into one centre the views of at least all thinking India on matters affecting our common weal, and in doing so we incidentally criticize—I use the word criticize advisedly—Government measures, according to them our support where we think such support is justly due, and recording our protest where we think it is necessary and proper. These are functions which the present Legislative Councils are not yet fitted fully to discharge. But I pass on to a more important consideration. Has the inauguration of these Councils fulfilled the ideals, and satisfied the aspirations of the Indian people, so that the work of the Congress in this direction is superfluous and unnecessary? The first and foremost ideal of the Congress is to gather into one fold the different elements of Indian life—to prepare the ground for the up-building of an Indian nation. Who will say that it has been achieved? The second great ideal is to gain for the people of India a position in the British Empire consistent with self-respect, a position not of subservient dependence but of comradeship with the rest of the Empire. Has this been achieved? Look at our countrymen in South Africa! Do they receive the treatment of equal subjects of the King? And may I not say, look at us in India, do we possess equal opportunities, I shall say nothing else, with the rest of the Empire, of realising in us the life which ought to be ours in the Empire? He will be a bold man who will answer my questions in the affirmative. I frankly and readily admit the new spirit in the Government of our country, the dawning perception, a more generous recognition of India's claims; but much work has yet to be done to overcome the dykes of power and prejudice; we cannot be content to recline in vacuous contemplation on the threshold of the present, taking no thought for the morrow.

THE INDIAN NATION

And what of that other ideal, that of uniting India in one common bond of nationality? Many Anglo-Indian observers, some of them well disposed towards us, have held it to be an unattainable ideal. Parted by the great cleavage of two dominant creeds, broken into a thousand fragments by the dividing lines of sects and castes, where is the centrifugal force that will gather the jarring atoms of Indian life round the common centre of a united nation? Differences of race and religion, differences of birth and status running into minuteness which would puzzle an outsider, differences in geographical position, differences of climate and temperament, differences imposed by nature, alas! differences created by man—all serve to keep us asunder : differences in traditions, differences in ideals, standards, in education, all tend to intensify the division : ancient feuds and ancient hate are hard to soften, and dividing lines of ancient prejudice hard to close. Well may the heart of the reformer, of the Indian nationalist quail before the task. I do

not for a moment minimize the difficulties of the task but, though great, they are not insuperable : they need not be magnified beyond their dimensions, and let us not make of them so many bogeys to frighten us into inaction by their impalpable terror.

FIRST DAY

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

I shall deal with these differences in a brief survey. Let us take first of all religious differences. Not very long ago Christian communities in Europe were torturing and burning each other for religious differences which led to much greater mutual violence and recrimination than Islam and Hinduism ever gave rise to in India, and at one time the ruling dynasty of England lost its throne because of the antagonism of the faith of the monarch to that of the bulk of the people. The bloody scenes which France witnessed on St. Bartholomew's Eve in 1572 have never been known in India. The Hindu and the Mussalman have lived together in peaceful neighbourliness for many centuries and have intermarried in the past. The religious practices which a strictly neutral Government rightly find it difficult to meddle with and which create bad blood between the ignorant classes on both sides are not such as to be incapable of peaceful adjustment. The native states of India where the Government is not hampered by the same considerations as ours furnish an excellent object-lesson as to how the Hindu and the Mussalman can live and work together in harmony and peace.

Hindu reformers in the past had as zealous followers among Mahomedans as among Hindus. Taking the Hindus themselves, an intelligent observer will perceive a uniformity of practice and custom strikingly similar from the Punjab to Bengal, from the Himalayas to Comorin. The religious ideals and practices, the laws founded on religion are the same everywhere with local variations : they follow the same scripture, and are inspired by the same faith.

CASTE

Sects have never acquired in India the acerbity of their Western prototypes. Our Western critics have seen in the connubial exclusiveness of caste a hopeless barrier to the growth of the national idea. No sensible person will defend the system of caste as it obtains in India at the present day ; it is undoubtedly an obstacle in the way of our progress, a source of weakness in our social and political life : but bad as it is, is it fatal to the national aspiration of India ? Let us take other countries. It is true that, in Europe, the same rigid connubial law does not prevail, but it would be safe to say that inter-marriages between different strata of society, sometimes as rigidly divided as castes in India, are not very common and are certainly looked upon with disfavour : yet such social distinctions have not hindered the formation and growth of the national idea. With all its drawbacks the constitution of an Indian caste is absolutely democratic, and within its own fold the lowest is equal to the highest. Again, as between different castes, though divided by the *jus connubium*, they are united by many ties in common, and in Indian village life even an untouchable has a well defined and not altogether unimportant position ; he is called by a name which creates by village custom a bond of relationship in the village circle. In ancient times classification into castes was no bar to the political growth of the people, and Greek and Chinese observers testify to the existence of powerful and well organised states in India : when some great king arose, these various states owed allegiance to a single sovereign, and Asoka's rule extended from beyond the Indus to the Brahmaputra. It may be too much to expect the disappearance of the divisions which caste has imposed on Hindu India, but these divisions have already lost much of their sharpness and the time is not far distant when, under the influence of western ideas, caste will cease to be a barrier in social intercourse.

LANGUAGE

We have again the misfortune of speaking in many tongues, which our critics multiply into hundreds counting each variation of dialect as a separate language. We must not forget that the languages of upper India and the Western Presidency are derived from the same common source, both vocabulary and grammar being practically the same,

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and the Dravidian languages of the south have made very large indents on Sanskrit to enrich themselves. Difference in language quite as marked and much greater than what prevails in upper India and Bombay have not prevented the cantons of Switzerland, further divided by religious beliefs, from living for centuries as a confederated nation : but the language question does not present the same difficulty now as it did of old. English has become the vehicle of thought between different parts of India and is as readily understood in the South as in the North by the educated classes, who, whatever their numerical strength may be, exercise wide influence in their own provinces, if not outside, through the vernacular press and the platform.

CONCEPTION OF NATIONALITY

The question at the present moment is not an immediate fusion of the Indian peoples into one common mass, professing one religion, speaking one language. Much as that consummation would be desirable, much as it would appeal to writers of political utopias in considering the question of a politically united Indian nationality, it is to-day outside practical politics. For the constitution of India as a nation politically, let us not be overcome by the phantoms which critics interested in maintaining in India the present stage of Government, of justifying at the bar of humanity the position of subordination in which the Indian peoples are held, have raised to blind our view. The true conception of a nation according to modern ideas is well laid down by a thoughtful writer whose authority is undoubted. With your permission, and at the risk of being a little dull, I will quote him. He says : " what is essential to the modern conception of a State, which is also a Nation, is merely that the persons composing it should have generally speaking a consciousness of belonging to one another, of being members of one body, over and above what they derive from the mere fact of being under one government, so that if their government were destroyed by war or revolution, they would still tend to hold firmly together ; when they have this consciousness, we regard them as forming a 'Nation' whatever else they may lack." For the purposes of realising the ideal which Prof. Sidgwick lays down, we are better situated than many other people ; we have not behind us the memories of ancient quarrels, of defeats and successes which the Scotch and English had when they combined : for we have been living now for more than a century under one Government and ancient memories have been forgotten : if race forms a predominant factor in the formation of a nation, we are more closely allied than the Pict, the Gael, the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt. We are certainly better situated than the warring communities which regarded each other as foreigners and enemies and subsequently combined into the great city states of Rome and Athens. The student of history will remember the formation of the Leagues in the later period of the independence of Hellas : and coming down to modern times, we are not so divided, have never been as Italy was prior to 1860, covered by States, Republics and cities opposed to each other with the bitterness of hereditary hate : secular and temporal powers were arrayed against each other in mortal enmity : ruling houses belonged to different races, some Italian, some French, some Spanish and some Austrian, and were in secret league with different foreign Governments. Prince Metternich said of Italy in 1860 that it was merely a geographical expression. In about 10 years' time after that famous utterance Italy became a free and united nation.

IS INDIA A MERE NAME ?

It has been said of India also that it is a mere geographical expression : but our place has neither been in the past nor in the present merely a few letters on the map of the earth. In ancient times our ancestors had carried their civilization far beyond the confines of India from the Caspian to the Pacific and had sometimes formed large states occasionally combining India and the regions beyond the Hindukush under one overlordship.

COMMON GOVERNMENT

These are the difficulties with which I have been dealing for the last few minutes. I do not for a moment minimise their seriousness or importance. I should not be

doing justice to myself or you if I were to ask you to treat them lightly. They are serious problems which must be seriously considered, but we must not over look that we have at the present day on our side many great advantages which other communities who have struggled to form a nation or state had not possessed. We are living under one Government, a Government which has always evinced a strong desire to further the cause of India's progress: education, communication, sanitation have been matters which have always attracted the attention of the Government and are every day receiving greater consideration: it is not merely maintained for the purposes of revenue; it is not maintained for the sole purpose of providing a field where the middle classes of England may earn a living and her merchants a fortune, but is also maintained in the interest of the people, for their general uplifting.

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Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

ROYAL SYMPATHY

And more than that I shall quote the gracious words of His late Majesty from his message to India on the occasion of the jubilee of the great Proclamation showing the spirit of British rule in India:

"The welfare of India", said our late Sovereign, "was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me ever since My visit in 1875 the interest of India, its princes and peoples have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear son, the Prince of Wales, (who is now in our midst as our King) and the Princess of Wales, returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of My Royal House and Line only represent and they do most truly represent the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this kingdom."

Therefore, in the realisation of our great ideal, we have on our side the sympathy of our Government, sympathy not expressed in words, but translated into action. The Legislative Councils, I am no defender of them as they stand, halting, incomplete, inefficient as they are at the present moment, are daily tending to create a sense of joint and corporate responsibility.

"SENSE OF ONENESS"

Take another test. Seely justly observes:—"Nationality is compounded of several elements of which a sense of kindred is only one. The sense of common interest and the habit of forming a single political whole constitute another element." We in Congress meet every year, people from the north and the south, from the east and the west of the vast continent of India, to strengthen the forces which lie behind these elements, so that they may develop and combine. In the past the great religious reformers, whether of the north or the south, of the east or the west, have been the common heritage of India, and to-day social and political reformers of whatever race and creed receive unstinted and unqualified appreciation from every part of India.

NOT A TALKING MACHINE

These indeed are hopeful signs. Then, gentlemen, the Congress has been subjected to a good deal of criticism and I beg leave to refer to one of these criticisms shortly. The Congress has been stigmatised as a talking machine. Do our critics, glibly talking of Indian unrest and of the deeper problems of Indian life, whose currents are as well known to them as those of the shadowy canals in distant planets, think that we meet in the Congress undergoing heavy sacrifices, travelling hundreds of miles, bearing great hardships and sometimes, alas! as experience has shown, succumbing to them, merely to indulge in talk? Of the thousands that meet, how many talk? For the few that you see on the platform, how many hundreds and thousands are sitting on the floor patiently watching, patiently working for the realisation of the great ideal? One of our critics, whose work on India has had the honour of a preface from a distinguished Secretary of State, curiously enough finds fault with us, not only for our talk but for want of it: he finds fault with us because we do not allow talk upon resolutions

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which have been discussed for years in the Congress, in public platforms and in the press, and put them from the chair. If he had only known or realised the inner meaning of those resolutions—how much lay beneath the surface, how much of aspirations unrealised, of wrongs unredressed, he would have been less flippant: they are the dumb monuments of buried hopes, more expressive than any speech. Gentlemen, I shall not waste your time and mine by setting myself to the task of lifting the load of biased criticism which must be allowed to roll down into the depths of oblivion. We need not be ashamed of a two-days' sitting, even if it was mere talk, after the lapse of a year to review the situation of all India. I pass with your leave to the consideration of a subject of much greater importance.

NOT HOSTILE TO BRITISH RULE

Would the development of Indian nationality be hostile to the continuance of British rule? To answer that question properly, let us consider for a moment the basis of that rule in India. There is no question that it is not maintained by the force of British arms but is founded on the willing acceptance of the people. Its history is not a history of foreign conquest dominating an alien and reluctant people. "We should rather say," observes Seely, "that the people elected to put an end to anarchy by submitting to a single Government, even though that Government was in the hands of foreigners." Look again at the enormous advantages that India derives from the British connection: it becomes a world-power from an isolated corner of Asia and enters at once into a potential participation of the powers and privileges of a mighty Empire; after a long period of rapine, misrule and chaos, we have, in India, something like the *immensa Majestas Romanae pacis* established among a vast population. With the growth of an Indian nation, with the grant of greater autonomy and self-government, the disabilities of our position would diminish and disappear: the presence of our sovereign in our midst serves to obliterate the differences that divide a dependency from the ruling country, and once this feeling of dependence is gone, and India is able to join the federation that constitutes the British Empire on terms of equality, bearing equal burdens and enjoying equal rights, there is no reason why she should desire to drift away from a connexion so conducive to her interest. I have no fear, gentlemen, that the India of the future will be less loyal than the India of the present; on the contrary, I have every faith, not only as cherishing a pious wish, but as a student of history and humble observer of world politics, that she will be bound more closely to England by ties which will be glorious to England and honourable to both: (applause) nothing would be a truer cement in the bonds of the Empire than leaving to each part freedom to grow to the fulness of its destiny. The prime minister of one of the greatest colonies of England truly observed on the occasion of the last Colonial Conference in England "that in Australia they had found that the more they were allowed to manage their own affairs in every department of Government and of life, the more attached did the people of that country become to the people of the Mother country and to the British Crown."

CONCLUSION

This then is the work which the Congress has to achieve, the end for which the Congress must work: there is no other institution in India which will help us to attain this end, to realise this ideal of an Indian nationality. Some of the greatest names in India are associated with it. Ranade, Telang, Madhava Rao, Mudeliyar, Tyabjee, Ayodhyanath, Bonnerjee, Lalmohan Ghose, Romes Dutt, Anandamohan, Shishirkumar, and many others whom I could name, have gone from us, but they would furnish a muster roll of illustrious workers (applause) of whom any country or nation would be proud. Long separation has not dulled our love or diminished our reverence for the great founder of the Congress, who would be with us to-day if health permitted and age allowed. To us now and for remote generations the name of A. O. Hume (applause) will serve as a beacon light to cheer and guide our course. All India rejoices that it has pleased Providence to yet spare us one whose voice is even now heard proclaiming peace and good—will in times of trouble and danger at an age when people

would seek repose, Dadabhai Naoroji (applause) did not hesitate to come out to this country at the call of duty to preside over the Congress so that his words might heal the wound the country had received. I shall not refer to men who are still with us and able to help us and work with us. Many of them I see around me, I am sure you will not mind my referring on this occasion particularly to Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea. With a touching devotion to the cause of the Congress, he has come here to inspire us by his presence to-day, putting away his great and recent sorrow. I offer to him, my life-long friend, the sympathy of his colleagues and co-workers of the Reception Committee, and if I may say so, without presumption, brother delegates, of the Congress itself. If sorrow shared is sorrow soothed, it must be a source of consolation to him, that all India mourns his loss. If he has lost a wife, we in Bengal have lost a mother. Though I do not refer to other prominent workers in the cause of the Congress, their names, whether Indian or Anglo-Indian, are household words in the India of to-day. Work begun with such a noble purpose and under such illustrious auspices must not be left undone. The great temples of the world have taken centuries to build, and shall we desert an unfinished fane, leaving it to the spreading growth of oblivious memories? There has, at times no doubt, crept into it the noisome weed of discord, but we must stamp it out: and in this I do not despair. The blinding storm of passion and doubt has passed away, and we shall now be able to present a united front. In attaining our great ideal we must not forget that India has lived for many centuries a captive in the bastille of the mind whose walls more solid than those which faced the revolutionaries of France baffle us even to-day, but they must go down; communities must not entrench themselves behind the unsightly and scattered fortifications of caste and creed but must come out into the open and mingle in a common life: our progress may be slow but our steps must always point forward. In the presence of our Sovereign in our midst we realize the unity of the Empire; must we not also realize unity amongst ourselves? Must that enthusiasm with which we are greeting our King to-day and for which no parallel exists in the annals of India—unless we travel backwards over the fading foot-prints of departed time through the dim vista of a legendary past when Rama Chandra made his triumphal entry into Ayodhya, the ancient capital of the Solar race—pass away like the receding wave of the tide leaving no mark behind, or should it not rather be an abiding inspiration uniting us into one fold and one life? I hope it may. I am sure it will. Brother delegates, use a great occasion greatly and justify to ourselves and to the world the auspicious visit of the King. To the Hindus, I would appeal to their traditions of the past: their ancestors had shown a degree of toleration in matters of belief which the nations of the West have yet to realize; they had shown in their relations with the Greeks an amount of social freedom which we should do well to study. To the Moslems, I make a more certain appeal; the keynote of their great faith is unity; their great Prophet preached, in notes whose echoes cannot die until humanity itself is gathered into dust, the dignity of manhood—the equality of man. I almost seem to hear the inaudible and noiseless steps of time marching over the debris of jarring creeds and mouldering memories of war and feud on to the goal of our hopes and aspirations—a united Indian Nation. I see the shooting gleams of the rising sun and I feel that the soul of India, silent so long, will yet burst into music like the fabled Theban statue charming the world with its solemn and sacred symphony. I welcome you once again, brother delegates, to the Congress and adjure you to proceed to your task strong in the faith of a great and glorious future for our country. (Loud and continued applause.)

FIRST DAY.

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

FIRST DAYElection of
President.**ELECTION OF PRESIDENT**

In proposing the confirmation of the election of MR. BISHAN NARAYAN DAR as President of the 26th Indian National Congress, MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA who, on rising, was lustily cheered, said :—

Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, It now devolves upon me—the performance of that duty has been rendered doubly difficult in my case by the touching and affectionate reference made to me and mine by my honoured friend the Chairman of the Reception Committee—It has devolved upon me to lay before you a proposition which, I am sure, will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic concurrence. I beg to move that the election of Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar as President of this Congress be confirmed. Ladies and gentlemen, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar may not perhaps be so well known in Bengal. That is our misfortune and not his fault. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar is an eminent writer and thinker on India's political questions. Early in life, while yet unknown to fame, he contributed certain articles on Indian questions to the *Contemporary Review*, articles which were appreciated by that Review which, be it noted, is an extremist Conservative journal. He has written numerous pamphlets upon the Indian political situation, pamphlets which have now been collected and published in three volumes. I should like to know how many of us, the most distinguished, the most prominent of us, can claim distinction akin to this. He has not only been a man of thought but also a prominent man of action. His name is pre-eminently associated with the public life of the United Provinces, and from the earliest days of the Congress movement he has been an earnest, staunch and devoted worker of the Congress cause distinguished by his courageous independence and the moderation and sobriety of his views. The *Pioneer*, in referring to him, the other day, said that he was a staunch and irreconcilable Congressman. Brother delegates, I am unable to understand what is meant by "staunch and irreconcilable Congressman" excepting perhaps that Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar's devotion to the Congress cause was so strong and steadfast that there was not the least chance on the part of the *Pioneer* to bring him back to the ranks of the re-actionary politicians, and therefore he has been dubbed a "staunch and irreconcilable Congressman." However, Pandit Bishan Narayan is man of action, of courageous independence, sober and moderate in his views and in the utterance of these views—we need the guidance of such a man in the days in which we find ourselves. A new era has dawned upon this country. A new era has dawned upon the advent of His Majesty and the modification of the Partition. It is an era of peace, of conciliation and good will. At such a time we need the guidance and leadership: of a man like Bishan Narayan Dar, and, therefore, with all confidence we acclaim him to the honoured seat, which I hope you will all vote for immediately, and declare that he be duly confirmed President of the Congress.

RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR of Berar in seconding the motion said :—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is with feelings of the utmost pleasure and gratification that I wish to associate myself with this proposition which, though it is of a formal character, is of very great importance, as it sanctions the doings of the Committee of the Congress. Gentlemen, I have the honour of knowing Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar from almost the earliest years of the Congress, and as our honoured friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea has said he has been one of the staunchest adherents of the Congress cause. He brought to his work an amount of industry and devotion to the Congress cause and the cause of the country, a habit of study and high culture, and I would say unsurpassed eloquence, the eloquence of facts, which it is very rare to meet with. So far back as 1888 the way he presented his case had attracted universal attention of the Congress, and for several years afterwards, Pandit Dar's articles held the whole of his audience enchanted, and if in later years his name has not been heard of, it is only due to misfortune which all of us are sorry for. He was for years stricken down with serious ailment rendering him utterly unable to take that part in political life for which he is so well fitted. In having him as President of the Congress at such a time as this we shall be doubly happy and doubly fortunate. I have very great pleasure in seconding the proposition which has been moved by my friend, Babu Surendranath Banerjea.

THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE, who supported the resolution, said :—

Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to support this resolution. As many of you are aware Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar's connection with the Congress began about a quarter of a century ago and almost from the first he came to occupy a leading place among the Congress workers in the country. During the last few years unfortunately illness had compelled him to live in comparative retirement. But even in that retirement, especially during those days of storm and stress from which we have recently passed, he has been a source of great strength to the cause of constitutional progress in the United Provinces. We all recognize in Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar one of the best public men, a vigorous thinker and a brilliant writer, a man of deep conviction, sound judgment and sturdy independence. I think we have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the fact that we have succeeded in inducing him to emerge once again from his retirement. I have no doubt that under his wise guidance the present Session of the Congress will be a most successful one.

THE HON'BLE NAWAB SYED MAHOMED also supported the resolution and said :—It is to me a pleasing task to support the motion now before you. I fully concur with everything that has fallen from the previous speakers. I therefore do not think I should say anything more.

PANDIT RAM BHUJ DUTT CHOWDHURY, who also supported the resolution, said :—Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition so ably put before you, well seconded and admirably supported.

The election of the President was duly carried, and Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar then took the chair.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Rising amidst loud applause, the President said :

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you most sincerely for the signal honour you have conferred upon me by electing me as your President. The presidency of the National Congress, it has been rightly observed, is the highest honour which it is within your power to bestow upon any of your countrymen. In my case it is also unprecedented, because your generosity has conferred it upon one who is not a prominent figure in the public life of the country and is not known to fame, who has by a chronic illness been disabled from taking any active part in the great work in which you are engaged and has been living in the solitude of the Himalayan hills for the last six years—watching, no doubt, with deep interest, your noble and patriotic struggle. but unfit to take part in the fray. To me, therefore, the high office which by your generous suffrage I have been called upon to fill is not only a matter of the highest personal gratification, but it is more, for I take it as an honour conferred upon the province to which I belong. I believe I am expressing the unanimous sentiment of this assembly when I say how happy would we all have been to-day to have Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as our President, had not a most cruel bereavement prevented him from fulfilling the engagement he had so kindly made with you. The untimely death of Mrs. Macdonald, an irreparable loss to him, has saddened us all, for we know how, like her distinguished husband, she was deeply interested in everything that concerned the welfare of India, and her chapters on the position of Indian women in her husband's remarkable book on "The Awakening of India" give some indication of her keen womanly insight into the life of her Indian sisters and her touching sympathy with their lot. I beg to offer Mr. Macdonald, on your behalf and on mine, our deepest and sincerest sympathies in the sad and cruel bereavement that has made his hearth desolate. Gentlemen, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is one of that band of noble-minded and philanthropic Englishmen whose liberal sympathies and humanitarian sentiments are not bounded by race or clime, who love justice and hate wrong as much in India as in their own country, and to whose silent and unobtrusive but active and sleepless moral influence, we Indians owe many blessings which are never recorded in Government documents. Mr. Macdonald's interest in Indian questions has always been

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keen, intelligent and sympathetic, as even his Anglo-Indian detractors admit; and to such prejudiced presentation of the Indian case as is supplied by Mr. Chirol's book on "Indian Unrest," there is no better antidote, in my opinion, than "The Awakening of India." He is one of the leaders of British democracy, which in the last resort is the arbiter of our destinies, and it is a source of inward strength and hope to us all that he and several of his able colleagues are so sympathetically and generously disposed towards India and are always so prompt in pleading on our behalf before their nation and their Parliament. Freaks of fortune are proverbial; and I assure you that nobody was more astonished than myself that in the unavoidable absence of such an able, experienced and influential English politician, I should have been called upon to preside over the deliberations of this great national assembly. The honour, as I have already said, is great, but the duty which it imposes upon me is equally great. If I had relied upon my own ability and experience, I should never have dared to accept it; but trusting to the help and guidance of the merciful Providence and to your prayer for the success of the great work in which we all are engaged, I have come forward to obey your call.

INDIA'S LOSSES

Before I proceed any further, it is my sad duty to express our sincere grief for the heavy loss we have sustained this year by the disappearance from the stage of our public life of some of the best and most illustrious figures of our day. The sudden and premature death of the late Nizam of Hyderabad is justly mourned throughout the whole country, because he was one of those two or three Indian Princes whose names are heard in every Indian household and whose just and enlightened methods compare favourably, in some respects, even with those of the British Government. The late Nizam was a prince who knew no race or religious distinction in the work of government; his justice was equal as between Hindus and Mahomedans, his bounty was impartial to all. His remarkable letter to Lord Minto on the subject of 'sedition' contains principles of wise and generous statesmanship, not unworthy even of the best English statesmen who have ever ruled the Indian Empire.

By the death of Sir Charles Dilke, England has lost a staunch and sagacious liberal statesman of world-wide human sympathies, and India a wise, generous and true-hearted friend. We of the Congress can never forget his invaluable services to the cause of Indian economy and of equal justice for India. He was a tower of strength to us in Parliament, and would have come out to attend the Allahabad Congress last year, if he had not been prevented by the Parliamentary situation of the time. We mourn his loss, but his memory will always remain enshrined in our hearts.

From the field of Indian journalism and public life have passed away two most honoured and prominent figures—Babu Norendro Nath Sen and Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh. Norendro Nath Sen was a remarkable personality in every way; and whether we approved or disapproved of his views upon any public question, we always felt that we were in the presence of a man transparently honest, scrupulously just to the views of others, liberal to the core, but hating gush and exaggeration—a man of immovable convictions and unquenchable faith in the future of his country.

Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh is another great name in the same field. His activities perhaps were not so varied as those of Mr. Sen, and not quite so widely known in the remoter parts of India, but within the sphere to which he confined his energies, he wielded a potent influence, and the charm of his passionate religious faith was felt by a whole generation of the people of Bengal. The passing away of these two memorable figures from the arena of our public life is a national loss, but they have left behind them noble memories to inspire the hearts and guide the steps of the younger generation.

LORD HARDINGE AND THE CONGRESS

And now, gentlemen, it is my most pleasant duty to refer to a happy incident in the life of the Congress, namely, the gracious reception by our Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, of the Congress deputation headed by Sir William Wedderburn in the beginning of last January. That act of kindness and grace was universally appreciated and applauded at the time and will always be gratefully remembered by the people.

THE ROYAL VISIT AND THE DURBAR

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Gentlemen, my first duty as well as my proudest privilege as your President to-day is to tender on behalf of this great assembly and all those whom it represents, a most loyal and heart-felt homage and welcome to their most gracious Majesties King-Emperor George V and Queen-Empress Mary, on their coming visit to this great city—the first city of their Eastern Empire. The visit of a British Sovereign to his great Eastern Dominion is a unique event in our history, and has sent a thrill of joy and gratitude through the length and breadth of this ancient land, but the memory of the acts of splendid beneficence that have marked that visit will never pass away from the hearts of the Indian people. The great Coronation Darbar held at Delhi was a spectacle of unprecedented magnificence; but the beneficence of the Sovereign was even greater; for the boons he has conferred upon the whole country are worthy of one who wears the Crown of Victoria the Good, whose great Proclamation of 1858 is the charter of our liberties, and Edward the Peace-maker, whose royal messages of 1903 and 1908 are our most precious national possessions—one who as Prince of Wales on a memorable occasion struck the golden note of Sympathy in England's dealings with India, and who as their King-Emperor addressing the loyal Princes and faithful people of India at Delhi assured them of his affection for them and said, "I rejoice to have this opportunity of renewing in my own person those assurances which have been given you by my revered predecessors of the maintenance of your rights and privileges and of my earnest concern for your welfare, peace and contentment. May the Divine favour of Providence watch over my people and assist me in my utmost endeavour to promote their happiness and prosperity." Gentlemen, these precious words have been immediately followed by unprecedented measures of beneficence and genuine regard for the welfare of the Indian people, which have touched their imagination and forged fresh bonds of affection between India and England, which no calamity can sever and no misfortune can dissolve.

ANNULMENT OF THE PARTITION

The Royal boons not only are a proof of British justice and benevolence; they show that the old order is changing, giving place to something new and better, that the Supreme Government is determined to rule us according to its best and noblest traditions, and that if we appeal to it in a just cause and convince it by our persistent and patriotic endeavours that we are earnest and sincere, it will never fail to respond to our appeal. The greatest wound in the heart of India was the partition of Bengal—a most unwise and unfortunate measure of a reactionary Viceroy—a measure which more than anything else contributed to the general unrest of recent years, which inflicted a grievous wrong upon the Bengali race and helped to implant those feelings of racial and religious antagonisms between Hindus and Mahomedans which we all deplore and which have given rise to some most unfortunate troubles in the administration of the country. The leaders of Bengal from the very beginning had warned the Government against the evils that were sure to follow in the track of that ill-starred measure, but for years these warnings were addressed to deaf ears. Still they did not lose faith in the just instincts of their rulers, and their faith has at last been justified. Lord Hardinge's Government, whose dispatch to the Secretary of State dated the 25th August, 1911, is a document that will live in our history, realised the justice of the anti-partition agitation and expressed his views in some remarkable passages of that most remarkable dispatch. "Various circumstances," says the dispatch, "have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding"; "that the resentment among the Bengalis in both provinces of Bengal.....is as strong as ever"; that though the opposition to the partition was at first based mainly on sentimental grounds, yet since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils on a representative basis the grievance of the Bengalis "has become much more real and tangible and is likely to increase instead of to diminish." "Every one with any true desire for the peace and prosperity of this country must wish to find some manner of appeasement if it is in any way possible to do so." Among the many evils of the partition Lord Hardinge's Government point

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out, one is that it is, in part at any rate, responsible for the growing estrangement which has now unfortunately assumed a very serious character in many parts of the country between Hindus and Mahomedans." Recognising these serious evils Lord Hardinge's Government recommended to the Secretary of State the annulment of the Bengal partition, and so it has come to pass that our most gracious Sovereign on the advice of the two distinguished and generous-hearted statesmen who are at the head of the Indian administration, has reversed that measure and, in place of that, given the Bengalis a United Presidency under a Governor in Council, a boon for which not only Bengal but the whole of India is most deeply grateful, to His Majesty; for the cause of Bengal is the cause of all India, and its triumph marks the triumph of the claims of justice over those of prestige and will go far to strengthen our faith in the efficacy of constitutional agitation, carried on in a loyal and law-abiding spirit, under British rule. Bengal waged a brave struggle against a great army, and it has won a great victory. The victory is due to the justice and righteousness of our rulers, but it is also due to the heroic courage and self-sacrifice of those selfless and patriotic leaders who through all the storm that raged round them and the clouds of sorrow and suffering that darkened their path,

"Saw the distant gates of Eden gleam
And did not dream it was a dream,"

but retained their undying faith in their cause and an immovable trust in British justice, have at last succeeded in the most momentous constitutional struggle of modern India, and have thereby set an inspiring example to the whole nation.

THE CHANGE OF CAPITAL

The transfer of the political capital of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi is an announcement even more striking and more far-reaching in its effects upon our national fortunes. Delhi is the eternal city of Hindustan and is associated with the most glorious and romantic memories of both the Hindu and Mahomedan times, and the high honour which has been conferred upon it by our King-Emperor will be most deeply appreciated by millions of his subjects. Calcutta will not lose its importance, for that lies in the wealth, culture and public spirit of its people, who will retain their eminent position in future as befits their remarkable qualities, while a new life will spring up in the ancient and historic city of Delhi. And great and noble as are the monuments of her past splendour, yet greater and nobler monuments will arise, not to dim but to add to that splendour, by associating it with the bounty and beneficence of one of the noblest sovereigns that historic India has ever known.

Gentlemen, in mental and moral endowments, the people of Upper India are not inferior to the people of any other Indian province; but the social and political conditions obtaining there have in a great measure tended to obstruct their progress, and some years will elapse before we can expect to see that public life there which we see in our Presidency towns. For some years, undoubtedly, the new capital will not be able to show political activity for which Calcutta is justly famous, and its public opinion cannot perhaps carry anything like the same weight; but when it becomes the seat of the Supreme Government, and new institutions arise there, as in course of time they must, and men from the four quarters of the globe are drawn to it for business or pleasure, and it becomes the theatre of important political actions, a new spirit will arise among its inhabitants, which spreading beyond its limits will carry its contagion to the Punjab on the one side and the United Provinces on the other, and may, as the years roll by, be expected to send a vivifying thrill through the veins of the feudal system of the Indian States. A great future lies before Delhi, and through her influence, before the whole of Upper India; and it is my firm belief that the cause of Indian nationalism, which owes so much to the people of Bengal, will gain, not lose, by the establishment of conditions under which the Hindustanis and the Punjabis will be induced to shake off their sloth and enter with zest and vigour in the larger, wider and more stirring life of the new times.

NEW LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORSHIP AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FIRST DAY

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As a necessary consequence of the momentous changes to which I have just referred, Behar, with Chota Nagpur and Orissa, has been given a Lieutenant-Governor with an Executive Council and a Legislative Council, which is a most wise and most generous concession to the best public opinion of that important and rising province, and has been hailed with gratitude throughout all India. Indeed in that concession the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces detect a happy augury for their own future. Self-government on a wider, more popular and more independent basis is the chief note of the Royal boons; Lord Hardinge's liberal and broad-minded statesmanship is the surest pledge and guarantee that the policy of autonomy will be pursued in every province and that Executive and Legislative Councils will be set up where they do not exist at present. The Central Provinces cannot remain long without a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council, nor the Punjab without an Executive Council. The claim of the United Provinces to have an Executive Council is so strong and has been so persistently urged by the unanimous voice of the people that but for the present Lieutenant-Governor, who apparently favours a more autocratic and less constitutional system of government, it would have been conceded long ago. But it is reasonable to hope that it will be conceded before long under a new and liberal-minded Lieutenant-Governor. My hope is strengthened by the spontaneous concession to Behar of Council-government which, I feel sure, may be taken as a pledge that the older United Provinces for which such Government was promised long years ago, will very soon have an Executive Council. May I not also express the hope that the United Provinces, which now is the first of all the provinces in population while it is second to none in importance, may not have to wait long for a Governor sent out from England?

OTHER DURBAR BOONS

The generous grant to popular education will be deeply appreciated not only by the educated classes but also by the masses, for in her present condition India needs nothing more urgently than that the light of knowledge should penetrate her households, and the King's interest in her intellectual advancement, of which the Durbar boon is only an earnest, is a message of hope to our reformers who are trying so nobly to lay the foundations of mass education in India. The boon conferred upon the Indian army cannot fail to send a thrill of joy and thankfulness through the hearts of one of the most loyal and devoted class of his gracious Majesty's Indian subjects, and we are justified in hoping that before long higher ranks in the military service will be opened to the Indian people. There are other acts of clemency and generosity for which the King's visit will be for ever memorable. The Indian people have seen their Sovereign, and have been enabled to appreciate his boundless generosity, his deep and touching regard for their true welfare, his great justice, and his mercy, which is even greater. Gentlemen, loyalty to their sovereign is innate in the Indian people of all colours and creeds; it is enjoined by their religion and is one of the basic principles of their morality; and it flows naturally, spontaneously, and without measure and stint towards a monarch who is just, merciful, benevolent and magnanimous. Queen Victoria was the first British sovereign who by her own personal influence united India and England by ties of sympathy and affection; King Edward strengthened those ties still further; and now King Emperor George V and his most noble Queen have shown by their visit that India is as dear to them as England, that the two nations are comrades in a common cause, and entitled to equal opportunities in their endeavours to realise a common destiny. May they live long to rule over a happy and prosperous Empire!

BRITISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN INDIA

Gentlemen, we have met today on a most auspicious occasion—the eve of the King's visit to this great city—which is likely to make this sitting of the Congress a most memorable one. While about to review the present political situation, that visit brings most vividly before my mind, as I have no doubt it does before the minds of

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all of you, the countless blessings we enjoy under British rule—specially the last fifty years of our direct connection with the British Crown have been marked by great and lasting benefits to the Indian people.

Peace, order and perfect security of life and property have been secured to us to a degree never known to the old Roman Empire and even now not to be seen anywhere beyond the limits of the British Empire. A genuine and an active interest in the welfare of the masses, as is shown by its famine, plague, sanitation and agrarian measures, is its abiding and noblest feature. Perfect religious and social freedom it has given us unasked; and Railways, Telegraphs, Post Office and a thousand other instruments and appliances are the means by which it has added to our material comfort and social advancement. The educational system which has immortalised the names of Bentinck and Macaulay is perhaps its greatest gift to the people of India. The spread of English education, as it has instructed our minds and inspired us with new hopes and aspirations, has been accompanied by gradual and cautious concessions of political rights—the admission of Indians into the public service, the introduction of local self-government and the reform of the Legislative Councils on a partially representative basis. We have a government whose justice is exemplary and a civil service which in ability, integrity, zeal, and genuine regard, according to its own lights, for those entrusted to its care, has no rival in the world. When I think of the dependencies ruled by other European powers—of Algeria and Tonquin under the French, of parts of Africa under the Germans—of the large negro populations in the United States, as the republican Americans treat and govern them—I thank God that I am a British subject, and feel no hesitation in saying that the government of India by England—faulty as it is in many respects and greatly as it needs to be reformed and renovated from top to bottom—is still the greatest gift of Providence to my race; for England is the only country that knows how to govern those who cannot govern themselves.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE BUREAUCRACY

Having said this much, I will not be misunderstood when I venture to point out that like many human institutions British rule in India has its defects and short-comings—which are neither few nor slight—which it is well for its own sake as well as for ours that it should try to remove, and that it is the equal duty of both Indians and Englishmen to work and strive together for their removal. So far as it rests with Indians to discharge that great duty, it is done by the Congress by its humble but earnest endeavours. For the last 26 years it has been telling the people what they owe to the British Government, and the British Government what it might do to make its rule even more beneficent than it is. But by a strange perversity of fate this organisation—national in its composition and loyal and patriotic in its aims—has been maligned, misrepresented, abused and ridiculed. The European community—official and non-official—boycotted the Congress from the beginning, the Anglo-Indian press made it a target for its scorn and contumely; and it was after it had passed through many ordeals and weathered many storms, that Lord Hardinge's wise statesmanship extended to it that friendly and sympathetic reception which it ought to have received a quarter of a century ago.

A new India has, however, arisen under the impact of Western influences. We have learnt western modes of thought, western conceptions of liberty, western ideals of government; a wholesome discontent with the existing order of things has sprung up and a perfectly just dissatisfaction with many political evils and disabilities which are a relic of the past and are discordant with the needs and aspirations of the present.

The root-cause of most of our misfortunes, which, if not corrected, forebodes serious disasters in the future, is the growth of an unsympathetic and illiberal spirit in the bureaucracy towards the new-born hopes and ideals of the Indian people. While a new India has gradually been rising up, that spirit too has been growing, and so the critical situation has arisen: on the one hand, the educated classes, filled with new knowledge and conscious of new political rights, but hampered by the bars and fetters of a system perhaps good enough for other days but now obsolete; on the other, the bureaucracy with its vested interests, its domineering habits, its old traditions of obsolete and unquestioned authority, suspicious of knowledge and averse to innovation like every close corporation,

cut off from the people by its racial exclusiveness, and wedded to a paternal system of government under which it has so long enjoyed power and pelf but which is discordant with the more liberal ideals of the present day.

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The champions of the bureaucracy stoutly contest this statement and say, as Mr. Chisolm does, that "the contrary is the case, for to him (the Anglo-Indian Civilian) belongs the credit of almost every measure passed during the last 50 years for the benefit of the Indian masses, and passed frequently in the teeth of vehement opposition from the Indian politician," and that he has always been sympathetic in dealing with the larger problems of Indian statesmanship. There is just that half-truth in this statement which so easily deceives the unwary. Undoubtedly Anglo-Indian officials have done great things for the people, undoubtedly some of them have been large-hearted and far-seeing statesmen. But the history of the last 25 or 30 years shows that, leaving out a few noble exceptions, as a body they have not been in sympathy with the new aspirations of educated India, which owes few of its political rights to their initiative and support. In Lord Ripon's time they opposed the Ilbert Bill which was introduced to establish some equality of criminal law as between Indians and Englishmen. They opposed his measure of local self-government, and although it was passed, yet they have succeeded (as Lord Morley acknowledged) in making it more or less ineffectual down to the present day. In Lord Dufferin's time the Congress was started, and their hostility to it has been notorious. Lord Lansdowne accepted the Indian Councils Act of 1892 because it was a too cautious measure, and the bureaucracy was unaffected by it. Lord Elgin proved a weak Viceroy, and the reactionary tendencies of the bureaucracy began to manifest themselves in a variety of ways. Lord Curzon adopted a frankly narrow and autocratic policy, and was heartily supported by the bureaucracy. His educational policy dealt a severe blow to our higher education, and the bureaucracy blessed him. He flouted public opinion, treated the educated classes with marked contempt, proudly declared that he was opposed to all political concession, treated the Queen's Proclamation as "an impossible charter," and he was praised. In order to break up the solidarity of the Bengali race, one of the most active and intelligent section of his Majesty's Indian subjects, he devised the partition scheme, in which he was most loyally supported by the bureaucracy. That fateful measure shook all India and was not a little responsible for so many of our recent misfortunes. But when even Lord Curzon attempted once or twice to deal out even-handed justice between Indians and Englishmen, the Anglo-Indian community—official and non-official—became indignant and he was made to feel his indiscretion. His rule created that situation which Lord Morley and Lord Minto had to face. Did the bureaucracy suggest that policy of reform with which these two statesmen set about to allay the discontent which the preceding administration had created or intensified? No; their advice was, coercion—not conciliation. But Lord Minto realised the real nature of the Indian discontent and in Lord Morley he found even a more thorough-going reformer than himself. The bureaucracy, if not actively hostile, were certainly cool in the matter. The first draft scheme published by the Government of India was their handiwork and was at once condemned by the whole Indian public. Lord Morley transformed it into a more liberal and popular scheme, the bureaucracy mangled and mutilated it. The point, however, is that the policy of reform did not originate with them, on the contrary it was opposed by them. Even the President of that extremely loyal body, the Muslim League, was constrained to say at Nagpur that "there can be little doubt that had Lord Morley relied chiefly on official sources of information, and looked at Indian affairs through official glasses only, we should in all probability have been landed in a terrible mess, if not actual disaster." But when Lords Morley and Minto were, under the pressure of certain circumstances, led to embark upon coercion, the bureaucracy supported them most heartily and cried for more coercion. The Muslim League found every encouragement to act as a counterpoise to the national movement and virtually forced Lord Morley to introduce communal representation on the separatist principle into the Legislative Councils. It was not the bureaucracy who suggested the appointment of Indians to the Governor-General's Executive Council and the India Council. They are still opposed to our admission to

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the higher grades of the public service, and our local Governments have already expressed their disapproval of free and compulsory primary education for India. When on the occurrence of certain abominable crimes, the cry for "martial law and no damned nonsense" arose in India, it was Lord Morley and not the bureaucracy who first called upon the Government "to rally the moderates" to its side; Lord Minto and not the body of the Civil Service who at once realised the legitimate character of Indian unrest and decided to meet it by measures of reform and conciliation. When the Calcutta High Court vindicated British justice in certain important political cases, the officials became restive and the note of alarm was sounded in the Anglo-Indian press. When Lord Hardinge passed the Seditious Meetings Act, against the best opinion of the country, he was heartily applauded by the Anglo-Indians: but when like a wise and far-seeing ruler, he relaxed the policy of coercion and put a stop to wholesale political prosecution, they began to suspect his wisdom and firmness and the *Times* came out with its warnings and admonitions in the cause of law and order. And now that Lord Hardinge's Government have made "a pronouncement of one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of British rule in India", "a bold stroke of statesmanship which would give unprecedented satisfaction and will for ever associate so unique an event as the visit of the reigning Sovereign to his Indian dominions with a new era in the history of India", the Anglo-Indian community are pouring the vitriols of their wrath in the most undignified manner upon the devoted heads of our good Secretary of State and the Viceroy.

I am sorry to have to say all this against a body of Englishmen whose ability, honesty and high sense of duty we all gladly acknowledge, but when exaggerated claims are made on their behalf, with the deliberate intent of disparaging the educated classes, it is necessary that the truth must be spoken out. And the truth is that a general distrust of the educated classes and an utter disregard of their opinions have unfortunately become the characteristic marks of Anglo-India.

The educated classes speak out and criticise Government measures freely and their views are said to be selfish and at variance with the interest and sentiments of the general population. The masses are silent and their silence is supposed to show their contentment with their lot and with everything that the Government does. This is a familiar method of disposing of opponents of an unpopular system. A governor who like Lord Curzon, does not want to make any reforms, says: "I am for the silent masses whom nobody represents except myself; the educated are a selfish lot and do not understand their countrymen." But there is another view which also deserves some consideration. The clamour of the educated classes means that those who are intelligent enough to understand British rule are discontented with many of its acts, while those who are silent—are quite contented, if you will—are the ignorant masses. Surely a civilised Government has no reason to feel proud of this. Seeking refuge in the contentment of ignorance from the attacks of knowledge and intelligence is surely not an enviable position for the British Government to be placed in. To disparage the educated classes is to discredit western civilization and to cast an unmerited suspicion upon the real justification of British rule in India. The policy of distrust of the educated classes and antipathy to the new aspirations is responsible for the recent Press legislation and other coercive measures.

It is true that Lord Minto came at a time when India was seething with unrest, due partly to general causes and partly to the unsympathetic and reactionary policy of Lord Curzon. He sowed the wind and Lord Minto had to reap the whirlwind. The unrest in some parts of Bengal and some other provinces took the form of anarchical crimes and sedition, and it became the duty of the Government to suppress it with a strong hand. So far it had the support of every sensible Indian; but its hands were forced by the panic-stricken Anglo-Indian community, and both Lord Morley and Lord Minto, while busy on the one hand with framing reform measures to allay public discontent, inaugurated on the other hand a policy of coercion. The most loyal of their Indian supporters protested against it, but in vain. Deportations without trials, prosecutions for sedition, ordinances for the suppression of public meetings, prosecutions of schoolboys for their

follies, became the order of the day. In justice to Lords Morley and Minto it must be said that at first they were slow to move, and when Sir Bampfylde Fuller insisted upon establishing a reign of terror in East Bengal, he had to go. But the Anglo-Indian community grew impatient, and the cry for repressive measures became stronger than before. Lord Minto's Government set about suppressing seditious crimes by two methods—first, by passing repressive laws to curtail the liberty of the press and of public meetings; and secondly, by invoking the help and co-operation of Indian Chiefs. The wise advice "to rally the moderates" was forgotten, and the Government, instead of listening to such appeals as were made to them by Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh and Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Council, turned to those who as a class are not noted for liberal political sentiments. The sight of the Government of India turning to Indian Chiefs for help in restoring peace and order in India by gagging the press and suppressing public meetings and deporting men without trial, reminds me of a story about St. Simon, the founder of a school of Socialism, as to how he proffered himself in marriage to Madame de Stael. He said: "Madam, you are the most extraordinary woman in the world—I am the most extraordinary man. Between us, we should, no doubt, make a child more extraordinary still." So probably thought the Government of India when it proposed to Indian Chiefs to unite with it and by this happy union to produce some policy better than the unaided brains of either of the parties could produce. But when the Government of India was eager to devise repressive measures to put down Indian unrest, the late Nizam wrote a letter to Lord Minto, which must have caused deep searchings of the Anglo-Indian heart and which, coming from an Indian prince to an English Viceroy, is certainly one of the most remarkable documents of our time. On the point how the so-called sedition was to be combated the late Nizam said:

"The experience that I have acquired within the last 25 years in ruling my State encourages me to venture upon a few observations which I trust will be accepted in the spirit in which they are offered. I have already said that my subjects are, as a rule, contented, peaceful and law-abiding. For this blessing I have to thank my ancestors. They were singularly free from all religious and social prejudices. Their wisdom and foresight induced them to employ Hindus and Mahomedans, Europeans and Parsis alike, in carrying on the administration and they reposed entire confidence in their officers, whatever religion, race, sect or creed they belonged to It is in a great measure to this policy that I attribute the contentment and well-being of my dominions."

The Government, however, was bent upon a different course at that time and adopted a series of repressive measures. An old Bengal Regulation was unearthed under which a number of persons were deported without trial. A stringent Press Act was passed last year. The late Sir Herbert Risley who was in charge of the measure explained to the Council what he meant by 'sedition' in India. According to him, to say that "the Government is foreign and therefore selfish"; that "it drains the country of its wealth and has impoverished the people"; that "it allows Indians to be ill-treated in British colonies"; that "it levies heavy taxes and spends them on the army", "pays high salaries to Englishmen and employs Indians only in the worst paid posts", is sedition.

His statement is extremely interesting, for I fully believe it represents the views of Europeans in this country; and a good many Anglo-Indian magistrates would be too glad to interpret 'sedition' in the spirit of that statement. Even as it is, the Act affected for the worse a large number of Indian papers, good, bad, and indifferent; and perhaps all live with the sword of Damocles hanging over their heads. The Executive has obtained a direct hold over the press, because it can demand heavy security from any paper, and from this order there is no appeal to a court of law. If this is not discouraging free criticism I do not know what is. It may be that good papers have no fear; but the existence of a bad law is a standing menace to all, for it is the Executive which sets the criterion of journalistic goodness. We can understand why the Anglo-Indian Press and the Anglo-Indian community supported the Press Act. They know that they are quite safe; they may abuse us to their heart's content, remind us of 'the tiger qualities' of the ruling race, call Lord Morley an accomplice of the murderer of Mr. Ashe; but they know that no

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governor will have the temerity to call them to account for their conduct. Let the Anglo-Indian papers be treated under the Press Act as the Indian papers are treated, and it is my firm belief that either their violent writing against Indians will stop or the Act itself will cease to exist. Talk of Indian journalists spreading sedition, why, if I were an enemy of British rule, I would not write a line of my own, but translate articles from our Anglo-Indian papers and spread them broadcast among the people. There is no more potent cause of the strained relations between the rulers and the ruled than the growing sense in the Indian people that they are abused by a section of the Anglo-Indian press and yet the Government would not take any notice of their writings. Will a statesman ever arise who will have the courage to put a stop to this evil?

The Seditious Meetings Act is of a piece with the Press Act. If you gag the press, you cannot let free the platform. It was first passed as a temporary measure when sedition was said to be at its height in this country. In the beginning of this year, the close of which was to witness the King's visit, it was placed permanently upon the Statute-book. Like the Press Act, it was opposed by Indian opinion and by some of the ablest and most experienced members of the Imperial Council. But it was passed; and the only thing that can be said for it is that Lord Hardinge's Government have removed some of its most objectionable features and kept it in abeyance. But the measure is on the Statute-book, and we cannot expect to have always a Lord Hardinge at the helm of the Government. Even in constitutionally governed countries it is the tendency of the executive to encroach upon the province of the judiciary; in a country governed as India is, the executive is always suspicious of every power not held directly from itself and not amenable to its arbitrary control. The weapons have been forged for the suppression of public opinion and are in the arsenal of the Government of India. As soon as we have a Viceroy who is not so wise and liberal-minded as the present Viceroy, and if at the same time we happen to have a Conservative Government in England, rest assured, we shall feel the full effect of those weapons. This point is worthy of the consideration of the English people. For in the last resort it is the British democracy whose servant the Indian Government is and for whose wise or unwise actions it is responsible.

But British democracy cannot properly supervise the work of its agents, if it is not kept well informed of the real facts of the situation. It has channels enough through which it can receive official information, but the people's view of public questions it can have only through the agency of the press and the platform. If these avenues are closed to it, it is deprived of all power to exercise any wise and intelligent control over the Government here. And no greater calamity can befall India than that the check now exercised by British democracy through its Parliament over our affairs, should be slackened or removed. No one recognises this truth more fully than Lord Morley, and yet he is as much responsible for the repressive measures of our day as any one connected with the Government of India. He has in many respects been the greatest Indian Secretary of State, but the stain of the policy of repression will remain upon his otherwise glorious and beneficent administration.

COUNCIL REGULATIONS

But in spite of all these repressive measures there are signs on the horizon to show that our rulers are beginning to be alive to the needs and requirements of the new India, and the following remarkable passage in Lord Hardinge's great dispatch foreshadows some most important changes on popular lines which we may expect to take place in the existing system:—

"Yet the country will have to be satisfied and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the province a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them and possessing power to interfere in case of

misgovernment ; but ordinarily restricting the functions to matters of Imperial concern." It is in the spirit of the above passage that the following criticisms on the Council Regulations are offered. The benefits of the reforms associated with the names of Lords Morley and Minto are, to my mind, quite obvious, and I, for one, can never bring myself to agree with those who minimize their importance or their beneficence. Compare the old and new Councils in point of the proportion of Indian members, the recognition of the elective principle, and their functions ; and the great step forward which has been taken becomes at once apparent. The Reforms are incomplete and in many respects are defective, and can never be considered final ; but they are substantial, and our sincerest gratitude is due to their authors. Our present complaint is against the Regulations framed under the new Councils Act, which are extremely faulty, and in some important respects defeat the object of that Act. Lord Minto's Government made a great mistake in not consulting the public at the time of framing the Regulations. The Act was hailed with joy by the whole Indian people, but the Regulations courted a wide-spread disappointment. Lord Minto declared that the Regulations were tentative and would be amended in the light of experience.

But the Government of India's announcement, made the other day, that no substantial amendment of the Regulations was contemplated has filled the public mind with disappointment. If the announcement was intended to close all discussion of the question of amending the Regulations for the time being, then it is one against which this Congress will be perfectly justified in entering its respectful but most emphatic protest ; for the Regulations are full of such glaring defects as amount to positive injustice to large classes of his Majesty's Indian subjects, defects which are calculated to turn the elective principle into a mockery and the enlarged functions into an illusion, which mar the beneficence of a great concession, and will, if not speedily corrected, prove detrimental to the best interests of the Government itself. But since there is to be a territorial redistribution necessitating a substantial modification of the Regulations, I trust that the occasion will be utilised by the Government to remove at least the more serious of their defects. And in this hope I now invite your attention to a brief examination of some of their most objectionable features.

[First, as to the principle of communal representation. That it is an innovation in the governmental system will, I hope, be readily admitted. But for the purpose of my argument, I assume its expediency under the present state of things and contend only against the method of its application. India is unfortunately split up into many communities, each of which is entitled to its proper share of representation and no sensible man has ever disputed this claim. But to secure representation in the Councils to every important community by a general electorate is one thing, and to secure it by its own communal and exclusive suffrage is quite another. While the former is a unifying agency which enables men of each community to co-operate with those of others in the common interests of the whole country, the latter is a disintegrating agency by which sectional interests come to claim the first regard of every member and those difficulties and troubles arise which we notice in respect of the separate representation of Mahomedans and landlords.]

I shall take up the Mahomedan case first. This is a delicate question, but those who know me well, I hope, need no special assurance from me how deep and sincere is my regard for the great Mahomedan community ; how much I regret the feelings of estrangement which have sprung up between the two communities in recent years ; for, believing as I do that the ultimate good of India lies in the union of both ; it is the most cherished desire of my heart that this estrangement may be healed and that some basis of compromise and accommodation may be found which may be honourable to both and detrimental to neither. I know what India owes to Mahomedans ; I know what mark they have made in the world's history ; I know how cordial have been our relations with them, how even now outside the dusty atmosphere of politics those relations remain undisturbed. It is therefore not to rake up old disputes, nor to cast any aspersions upon the Mahomedan community, but to state a case which needs to be frankly and honestly

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stated that I venture to place before you a few facts bearing upon the question of Mahomedan representation in the Legislative Councils.

In the first draft scheme of the Government of India the principle of communal representation appeared in its most extreme form. It was denounced by the whole country but approved by an influential section of the Mahomedans who had interpreted a certain passage in Lord Minto's speech to the All-India Mahomedan deputation, in their own way. Lord Morley transformed and liberalized that scheme—accepting the principle of communal representation on the basis of the numerical proportion of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities and of joint electorates for both. The Muslim League agitation arose and demanded a separate electorate and excessive representation, mainly on the ground of 'historical and political importance.' The bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian press in India, and the Tory press and some retired Anglo-Indian officials in England, supported this claim. Lord Morley reluctantly yielded to the opposition in the end and conceded to the Mahomedans both separate and excessive representation. Injustice was done to the Hindus, but they remained quiet. When the regulations were published, they realised for the first time how much they had lost by their silent trust in the authorities here.

They suffered not only injustice but indignity and humiliation at the hands of those who ought to have safeguarded their interests. Some local Governments were openly unsympathetic to the Hindus. In the United Provinces and the Punjab they were treated as the remnants of a disinherited race. Some of the most public-spirited Mahomedans have always sympathised with this grievance of the Hindus. The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque and Mr. Hasan Imam, who, I believe, are as true Mahomedans as any in India and the former of whom is also an important member of the Muslim League, have always stood by us upon this question of the excessive representation of Mahomedans. Lord Macdonnell has always been opposed to it; and one of the very first utterances of the present Viceroy was that special favours to one community meant disability to others. On what ground is it possible to justify this unequal treatment? The Mahomedans, I admit, are in every way qualified for political franchise and for membership, but are the Hindus less qualified? The argument of "political importance" as it is put forward by the Muslim League, is beyond the pale of rational discussion. The only sense in which it can apply to any community in India is that which Mr. Gokhale, who knows if any Indian does, how to expose dialectical sophistries, explained before the Viceroy's Council in the course of the debate which took place on Mr. Malaviya's Resolution on the amendment of the Council Regulations.

That Resolution excited an angry debate and the argument of 'political importance' was paraded, tricked out in the costumes of sham history. Anyhow history is like the child's box of the letters of alphabet, which you may arrange in any way you please and spell any word you please. I, therefore, wish to say nothing further about that argument than this, that the Hindus will never tolerate that argument or admit any kind of superiority of any Indian community over themselves, that they are the King's equal subjects and claim to be treated as such, that they feel that they have been subjected to an unmerited humiliation by their Government, and that they shall never rest contented so long as that humiliation is not removed. Mr. (now Sir Lewis) Jenkins, the Home Member, perpetrated a cynical joke at their expense when to Mr. Malaviya's Resolution he replied that before the Government could undertake to correct the disproportionate representation of Mahomedans, the Hindus must first convert the Mahomedans to their view. It is official pronouncements like this which compromise the strict equity of British rule.

Now it must never be forgotten that the Hindus never said that the Mahomedan representation in the Councils should be strictly according to the numerical strength of the Mahomedan community and consequently they never grudged Lord Morley's concession of representation to the Mahomedans "somewhat in excess of their numerical strength", although they urged that there should be one general electorate for both communities and that the excess should be made up by Government nominations. Subsequently finding themselves face to face with the demand for total separation they agreed to the present

system of Mahomedan representation as the lesser of the two evils, and in the belief that only a few seats would be left open for the separate Mahomedan electorate. But the Regulations secured to the Mahomedans excessive representation by means of their separate electorate, and over and above that, gave them the right to secure as many seats as they could through the joint electorate. This was a great deal more than Lord Morley had ever intended, and for this the Government of India is wholly responsible.

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

Then there are other concessions which have been made to the Mahomedans and refused to the Hindus. They have been given direct representation which has not been given to the Hindus. Their voting qualifications are easier and more liberal than those laid down for the Hindus. I do not object to these concessions to the Mahomedans; I think they are just and wise, but I contend that the Hindus are equally entitled to them. The Regulations concerning this matter need to be amended, for as they are, they are unfair to the Hindus, and indeed to every other community except the Mahomedans.

Some local Governments, it would seem, were not satisfied even with the excessive representation conceded to the Mahomedans under the Regulations, and they added to it by further nominations. The Governments of the Punjab and the United Provinces have been conspicuous for this liberality to the Mahomedans, though the Hindus have suffered.

It is this one-sided policy of the Government on the one hand and the separatist propaganda started by a section of the Mahomedans on the other, which have excited and to some extent even embittered the Hindu mind. In politics the Hindus of modern times have never been sectarian, the greatest political movement in which they have always taken a conspicuous part has been national from the beginning, and they have always been the staunchest opponents of the separatist policy in any shape or form. But the enemies of Indian nationalism have proved too strong after all. Whenever there is an attempt—however feeble it may be—to bring about reconciliation between the two great communities, they do their worst to frustrate it. When, under the advice of Sir William Wedderburn and H. H. the Aga Khan, the representatives of the two communities were about to meet at Allahabad a year ago with the object of reconciling their differences, an Anglo-Indian paper, which is believed to be an organ of the Civil Service, remarked, "Why do these men want to unite the two communities if it is not to unite them against the Government?" This one remark throws a ghastly light upon the political situation in India. And yet in some quarters the Hindus have sometimes been blamed for starting their own organisations, while no objection seems to be felt to the Muslim League. Sectarian political organisations are always objectionable, and nowhere more so than in India, where racial, religious, and social prejudices are apt to enter into their composition, and colour and pervert the real aim for which they are started. But when one community adopts the policy of exclusiveness and separation and is encouraged in its unwise course by those who ought to know better, the other communities whose interests are thus threatened, cannot be blamed if they adopt a similar policy in sheer self-defence. It

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is not easy to preach the virtue of forbearance to those who are smarting under a sense of humiliation and whose every effort for reconciliation is attributed to some dark and sinister design on their part.

I am a nationalist and detest sectarianism in politics, but I think the circumstances of the time furnish ample justification for the starting of Hindu Sabhas at least in some parts of the country.

Still my faith in Indian nationalism is so strong that I look upon the rise of sectarian movements as a passing phase. Whatever partisans on both sides may say, the Hindus and Mahomedans are the two indestructible factors of Indian nationality, the interests of both are identical and the one cannot do without the other. Beyond the questions of their share in Council representation or in the public service, lie questions of far wider and deeper importance, in the right solutions of which both are equally interested but which will never be rightly solved without the mutual efforts of both. I think sensible men are beginning to feel in their heart of hearts that the University schemes of the two communities would not at this moment be confronted by certain difficulties and labouring under certain disadvantages, if the Hindus and Mahomedans were more united than they are, and if the Government felt that it was face to face with the demand of a united people for education upon its own independent and national lines. Thus, while there are some disintegrating forces on the one hand, the intellectual upheaval of recent times has revealed to us, on the other hand, the working of some forces which make for unity; and that man—be he Hindu or Mahomedan, Parsi or European—would be guilty of the gravest disservice to the country, who for the sake of some paltry personal or sectarian advantage would do anything to retard that unifying process, by raising false political issues or by reviving the memories of "old, unhappy, far-off things" over which time has thrown the curtain of oblivion.

The separate representation of the landlords is open to most of the objections raised against separate and excessive Mahomedan representation. The excessive representation of the landed interests in the Councils may be judged by the number of landlords that are there. Now, nobody denies the importance of the landed interest in India, but is its present representation fair to other classes and interests? Most of the landlords belong to the general middle class of the country and form, therefore, a considerable proportion of the electorates which are supposed to elect representatives of that class. The landlords, therefore, have a good chance of being elected by these electorates, and many of them have, as a matter of fact, been thus elected. But in addition to this, they have been given a substantial separate representation. They dominate the District Boards, they are strong in the Municipal Boards, and a large proportion of nominative seats are ordinarily kept open for them. The representatives of the educated classes are nowhere. And yet one of the main objects of Lord Morley's reforms was to make room in the Councils for an adequate proportion of these classes; and it was based upon a very sound principle. You want in the Councils men who are educated and more or less versed in public affairs, who have the intelligence to appreciate the ideals of British civilization and British government, and who alone are fitted by their training to help the Government in moulding our institutions according to the needs of the new times. The landed magnates are at best a conservative force—not in the sense in which that phrase is applicable to the landlord class in England, which is educated, intelligent and conversant with public affairs—but a body of men who are backward in knowledge and wedded to retrospective habits of thought, and whose golden age lies behind the mists of the past. Their preponderance in the Councils can never be helpful to the Government in its work of reform, and especially in respect of agrarian legislation it is a positive drawback. They may be useful to the bureaucracy by way of a counterpoise to the opinions of the advanced classes—and this purpose they not unoften serve when Government has to brush aside some importunate demand of the educated classes—but they in no way represent the views and sentiments of the masses.

Our next complaint against the Regulations is that they have given us an extremely limited franchise, and except in the case of Mahomedans and landlords, the representation of the middle classes has been secured by indirect elections. For the Imperial Coun-

cil, the general population has no vote whatever—Indian members of each Provincial Council, themselves elected by a certain number of delegates from the local boards, including one member for the local university, return two members to the Imperial Council. The process of election of members to the Provincial Council may be broadly stated thus: a limited proportion of the general population elects a certain number of members to the municipal and district boards, to which a certain proportion of nominated members is added. The board composed of both the elected and the nominated members elects two or three delegates (except in Madras where under the new Regulations the members of the boards directly elect the members of the Council). The delegates thus elected by a certain number of municipal and district boards form a constituency to return a member to the Provincial Council. To call this process 'indirect election' is not accurate, because there are so many stages of the filtration of public opinion that you cannot say that the people have any real voice or choice in the election of councillors. The councillors are not responsible to the delegates who serve a temporary purpose and then disappear; the delegates are not responsible to their respective boards, for it matters little to them what these boards think of their actions; the boards are not responsible to the people, for the people elect them for quite different purposes, and the election of members to the Council is certainly not one of them. This is enough to condemn the present system, but there is something more to be said against it, for in some provinces the delegates of municipal and district boards are mixed up and the urban vote which belongs to the more educated classes living in towns is swamped by the vote of the rural population which is admittedly less advanced. Secondly, nearly half the members of the local boards are nominated by Government, and therefore the indirect influence of Government is present in every election. To call a member elected by this tortuous process a representative of the people is a misnomer. What is the extent of the franchise upon which even this peculiar election is based? Some twenty or twenty-five votes in a city of a hundred or two hundred thousand souls. If one of the principal functions of popular institutions is to give political education to the people, what can you say of a system in which not more than one in a thousand can have the slightest interest? As an instrument of popular education the present system is a failure. Not even the educated classes can be much interested, as hardly one per cent. of them is directly affected by it. In India, where the educated minority is very small, it is of the utmost importance that the interest of this minority should be enlisted in public affairs, and this can be achieved only by giving them a direct interest in the choice of their representatives. Therefore I contend that besides the local bodies, all men possessing certain educational and property qualifications should have votes for electing members to the Councils; and that the representation may be genuine and popular, the process of indirect election should be done away with as far as possible, the delegation system should be abolished, the nominated members of local bodies should have no council franchise, and new constituencies should be formed consisting of elected members of local bodies and others who possess certain educational and property qualifications. Even then the electorate will not be very large, and the constituencies will be much less democratic than those which elect directors to banks or railway boards in England.

Another point upon which I should like to make a few observations refers to the position of non-official majorities in provincial Councils. One general objection which applies to all the Councils is that the non-official majority is composed of both elected and nominated members, which, as the Councils are now constituted, means a standing and indeed an overwhelming official majority in every one of them. The Bengal Council is better off in this respect, for there the elected members have a small majority; but this, too, is ineffective as some of the elected members are practically official members. In every other Council the members returned under the present system are in a minority as against the official and nominated members combined. Take for instance the U. P. Council which at present consists of 46 members—20 elected, 6 nominated, and the rest official members. Now, who are these six nominated members? Three are Indian Chiefs who seldom attend council meetings; nor can

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we blame them for this, for really they have little interest in the ordinary legislation of British India, though they may always be depended upon to support the Government. One is a landed magnate who does not know English, one is an Englishman representing the indigo planters' interest, and one a Hindu banker also innocent of English. These six members are as good as the officials in the Council, and by their conduct have thoroughly justified their claims to be considered among the immovable adherents of the official view of public questions. What is true of the U. P. Council is far more true of the Punjab Council, and more or less true of every other Council in India. I say nothing as to the composition of the elected minority itself, although when you consider that one of them is an Englishman, a representative of English trade, and another an Indian member for the local university and consequently elected by a quasi-official body, the representation of independent Indian opinion would appear still more inadequate. Did Lord Morley mean this sort of non-official majority when he granted us the concession? I do not think he did; his intention was to give us a substantial non-official majority.

The authorities instead of giving us a genuine non-official majority have given us an illusory one. And we may judge the tree by its fruits. Nearly every resolution moved by the non-official Indian members in the U. P. Council has been rejected—and rejected by overwhelming majorities, for besides some of the elected members the nominated members were always ready to support the Government. I do not say that the Government should not be supported when it is in the right, nor that all the elected members should always be of one mind; but I think that the largeness of the adverse majorities, if analysed, would show that the resolutions of the Indian members were defeated because the Council is so constituted that they can never command even a bare majority without the acquiescence of the Government. The bureaucracy have good reasons to chuckle over Lord Morley's concession because they have found easy means to reduce it to a nullity in actual practice. Our demand upon this point is very moderate. We say that in every Provincial Council, there should be a clear majority of elected members. This will by no means weaken the Government by leaving it at the mercy of a hostile majority; for this majority—whatever may be its extent—will be a composite majority of Indians and Englishmen, landlords and lawyers, Hindus and Mahomedans, who would on very rare occasions be found to present a united front to the Government, and when they do, it would, as I think and as Lord Morley himself said, be wise for the Government to reconsider its position and think twice before passing a measure confronted by a united and solid opposition of all the elected members.

When such is the case with the Provincial Councils where we have non-official majorities, it is perhaps useless to bewail the fate of Indian members' resolutions in the Imperial Council which possesses an official majority under the statute. Yet the reasons given by Lord Morley for giving non-official majorities to the Provincial Councils seem to me to apply with equal force to a similar arrangement in the Viceroy's Council as well. What is the good of debating a resolution when its defeat is a foregone conclusion? I do not deny that even this ineffectual and artificial debating is an improvement upon the past. The Government is, no doubt, put upon its defence, it has to state publicly its reasons for adopting or opposing any particular measure, and this, in my opinion, assists in some measure the political education of the people. But there is justice in our complaint nevertheless; and I think the Imperial Government would inspire greater confidence in the public, if it showed that its measures were passed after a genuine debate and not by the sheer force of its official votes.

There are many other very important points which require discussion, such as the powers given to Imperial and Provincial Governments to disallow the election of any one without giving any reason whatever, the restrictions placed upon the non-official members in respect of discussing certain matters and of dividing the Council on the Budget, &c. But I must not try your patience too much upon the question of Council Regulations, when I have yet to invite your attention, however briefly and concisely, to two or three other important matters which are now before the Government and in which the whole country is interested.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL BODIES

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I have discussed some of the most salient points with reference to the question of representation in the Legislative Councils. That question with special reference to local bodies has lately been brought to the front by the Government of the United Provinces. The famous "Burn Circular" has been widely discussed in the press, and as you are aware, has deeply excited the whole Hindu community. When the Reform scheme was before the public, Sir John Hewett discussed the question of introducing the principle of communal representation into our local bodies, and declared himself against it. In his letter to the Government of India dated the 16th March 1908, he says that "he agrees with the general consensus of opinion, official and non-official, that there is no necessity for any radical change of principle, and the application to local bodies of any system of class representation appears to him uncalled for and inexpedient." In the United Provinces the Mahomedans form 14 per cent. of the population as against 84 per cent. Hindus. But in 1909, according to Sir John Hewett, "Mahomedan electors formed 23 per cent. of the total number of electors for district boards.....In as many as 29 districts out of 45, the proportion of Mahomedan members was greater than the proportion of Mahomedans to the total population." According to him, of 663 members of district boards, 445 were Hindus and 189 Mahomedans (exclusive of official members), 562 were Hindus and 310 were Mahomedans, and so, while holding that the "Mahomedans were entitled to more than a proportional representation, it could not be said that the present system affected them unfavourably." This was in 1909; in the middle of this year, after the issue of the "Burn Circular," the Local Government obtained fresh statistics on the point which show that at present in district boards there are 116 Hindu and 67 Mahomedan elected members, 10 Hindu and 2 Mahomedan nominated members; and in municipal boards 207 Hindu and 89 Mahomedan elected members, and 36 Hindu and 36 Mahomedan nominated members.

I think these figures conclusively prove that the Mahomedans of the United Provinces have no real grievance in respect of their share in local self-government; that, if anything, they enjoy, it is a disproportionately large representation in local bodies, to which the Hindus have never yet objected, because of the friendly relations existing between the two communities, but which they will now resent and justly resent, if the Mahomedans claim it as a matter of right, and the Government admits that right.

The Burn Circular is based upon the false assumption that the Government having given certain pledges to Mahomedans in respect of their separate and excessive representation in the Councils they are entitled to the same concession in respect of local bodies, and so it proposes that a certain proportion of their members in the boards should be secured to them by their separate electorate on the basis of their proportion in the general population with 50 per cent. added to it, while they should be free to take part in the mixed electorates as it would be helpful in maintaining friendly relations between the two communities. I will only say that this solicitude for promoting our unity is rather a heavy draft upon our credulity.

So this last proposal about the mixed electorates I dismiss without any further comment. But it is necessary to point out that the assumption as regards Lord Morley's so-called pledges to Mahomedans is entirely unfounded, because in so far as he may be said to have given any pledge, it amounts only to this, that the representation of Mahomedans in the Councils should be, to use his own words, "somewhat in excess of their numerical strength," which is a very different thing from adding 50 per cent. to their representation, as has been done in the case of the Legislative Councils. Anyhow there is no pledge as regards Mahomedan representation in local bodies whose functions are quite different from those of the Councils and are governed by a different set of principles. Nobody has stated this point more ably or clearly than Sir John Hewett in his letter to which I have already referred.

If the proposals contained in the Burn Circular be given effect to in any form whatever, the Hindus of the United Provinces, so far as local self-government is

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concerned, will be practically nowhere, and this would be an injustice and a humiliation to which I am sure they will not willingly submit. You are aware how much public excitement there has been upon this matter, how even those classes who take little interest in politics, our taluqdars and *raises*, have come forward to take part in the agitation against the Burn Circular and how strongly that scheme has been condemned by the bulk of the Indian and an influential section of the Anglo-Indian press. The separatist policy of our local Government has begun to bear fruit in the United Provinces, and a large section of the Mahomedans has been encouraged to demand 50 per cent. of representation in local bodies. I know this is not the view of a considerable body of sensible Mahomedans; on the contrary some of their men of light and leading are strongly opposed to the separatist scheme, and whatever may be their views as regards the expediency of the present system of Mahomedan representation in the Councils they are at one with the Hindus in thinking that separatism in local bodies will be disastrous to the best interests of both the communities and will gravely imperil the chance of reconciliation between them.

Although the question of communal representation in local bodies has been raised in the United Provinces, yet in my opinion, it affects all India. If the communal principle is adopted in one province, rest assured that other provinces will have to follow suit, soon or late. The Muslim League represents the views of a considerable body of Mahomedans all over India, and communal representation in local bodies is one of its principal demands. If the Government concedes that demand in one province, how can it resist it in others? But another difficulty is sure to arise. The Hindus, if they fail in arresting the course of the separatist policy, will never submit to joint electorates along with separate Mahomedan electorates. They already demand total separation on the basis of numbers, if there is no chance of retaining the existing system. When both the parties demand complete separation, the Government can have no just ground for resisting it. But if complete separation is once allowed in the case of local bodies, it would become impossible to maintain joint electorates for the Councils for long, and when these disappear and the separatist spirit pervades the whole Indian system from top to bottom, all hopes for building up an Indian nationality must be abandoned for many generations to come. It is because I feel this apprehension that I wish to submit for your consideration one or two points regarding the far-reaching consequences of the separatist policy both in local bodies and in the Legislative Councils.

First, what moral effect is likely to be produced by separatism *plus* class privileges upon our national character? Is it good that our political institutions should be placed before us in the light in which we should see that ignorance and knowledge, poverty and riches, numerical strength and weakness stand on the same level so far as the possession of political rights is concerned? If in every civilised country, knowledge, property and numbers are the measure of political fitness, what would be the effect upon our national character if we are accustomed to think that the reverse is the case here—that Mahomedans because they are Mahomedans deserve favour, that Hindus because they are Hindus deserve its opposite—that right and wrong are not in the nature of things but are the creations of Government? Besides, what sort of citizens does the British Government wish to produce in India—such as shall be self-respecting and justice-loving, taught to love knowledge, truth, courage, independence and equality of civil rights, or, such as shall be unjust, corrupt, destitute of manliness, careless whether their political rights are respected by others or trampled under foot? If the former, then Government must show that it values justice, and respects those who respect themselves. How can Government discharge its high and noble function if we are placed under institutions which are based upon a perversion of all those high principles which we have hitherto been taught to hold sacred and inviolable?

Secondly, there is another moral danger with which the separatist policy is sure to bring us face to face one day. The idea of a united Indian nation may not be very alluring to some people, and a section of the Mahomedans may, for the present, fail to realize its true significance; but the instructed classes do care for that ideal, and they

see that it is menaced by separatism. Here they find themselves in disagreement with their rulers, not only in matters of detail which can be managed by accommodation and compromise, but in a matter of vital principle in respect of which no such management is possible. Now, to help the Government in its measures is the first duty of every loyal citizen; but to preserve the nation itself for which the Government exists and to oppose every measure which threatens its existence now or in future, is an even more important duty. This is an accepted principle in every civilised country and is so here too, among those who understand Western ideals. Is it then desirable that a considerable section of the educated classes should be confronted by a situation in which they find that they cannot support Government policy? They must either approve Government's actions against their nationalist ideal, or serve the nationalist ideal against Government policy. Both alternatives are difficult. If they submit to separatism, and in a country already torn by social and sectarian differences allow those differences to be stereotyped into the permanent features of their political institutions, in view of the expediencies of the day, they sacrifice their most cherished convictions and destroy the nationalist ideal. If they resist it, they weaken the chances of their securing the goodwill of the Government, under which alone the realisation of their nationalist ideal is possible. For it is as clear as day that British rule in India, with all its faults and failings, all the shadows resting upon its career, is yet the symbol, the pledge, the guarantee of peace and progress, knowledge and freedom; to weaken it is to weaken the cause of civilisation. This is the dilemma which confronts the thinking portion of the Indian community, and there is no escape from it as long as, on the one hand, the people are taught, in colleges and schools and by a hundred other means, western ideas of liberty and nationality, western conceptions of state duties and the rights of individual man; while on the other, they have to live under institutions which contradict these ideas. Is it reasonable to expect a people living in the midst of these cross-currents of opposite and irreconcilable forces, to give for any length of time their moral allegiance to one set of principles and their practical allegiance to another?

THE PUBLIC SERVICE QUESTION

I wish to invite your attention for a moment to the question of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, which has been before the Government for nearly a century—a question with which are associated the noblest efforts of some of our most distinguished men, among whom stands pre-eminent, the name of our Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji, to whose sagacious but passionate advocacy for more than half a century we owe a great debt in this as in so many other matters, and who in the evening of a long life spent in the service of his country, yet retains undiminished his interest in the proper solution of that question. Gentlemen, so far as the views and keen intentions of the British Parliament and British Sovereigns are concerned, we have nothing to complain of and everything to be thankful for. In 1833, the British Parliament passed a famous statute to the effect "that no native of India shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under" the British Government; and the Board of Directors pointed out to the Government of India that "the meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India" and that "fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility." This parliamentary pledge was reaffirmed in the noble words of Queen Victoria's Great Proclamation of 1858, which we all know by heart. No effect was given to these pledges for nearly forty years. In 1870, for the first time, only one Indian was admitted to the Civil Service as against 825 Europeans. Those who want to know the history of these pledges up to date, ought to read the able and interesting pamphlet published by the Hon. Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu a few months back. The opinions of some of the most distinguished English statesmen connected with India, are matters of history and have often been quoted. I shall quote a competent foreign observer, who is a friendly critic of the Indian Government and whose book on "The Administrative Problems of India" Lord Morley as well as the Civil Service has praised. M. Chailley says, "About the year 1880, then

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after fifty years, I will not say of good-will, but of attempts which were really honourable, the English had not yet succeeded in intimately connecting the natives with their administrative work. The Charter Acts of 1833 and 1853, the Proclamation of 1858 and the Act of 1870, had all been inefficacious :” and he calls those pledges “flattering words, solemn promises, and blank cheques.” In 1875, Lord Lytton said: “We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them; and we have chosen the least straight-forward course.” And so it has happened that, as pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Subba Rao, “from 1870 to 1886.....there were 11 Indians as against 576 (Europeans); from 1886 to 1910, 68 as against 1,235 Europeans. Thus, from 1853 up to date, there were only 80 Indians as against 2,636 Europeans, about 3 per cent. At the present moment we find 64 Indians as against 1,264 Europeans, a little over 5 per cent. of the total strength of the Civil Service.”

If this is our position in what is called the Indian Civil Service, let us see how we stand in other departments of the Government. In the higher grades of the Police, our highest limit is 5 per cent.; in the Political department, there is only one Indian. In the course of the budget discussion in the early part of this year, Mr. Gokhale quoted certain figures, the accuracy of which was not questioned by the Government, which have a melancholy interest for the Indian people. In the Salt department in all India, excluding Madras, out of 30 officers on salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 3,000, only 3 are Indians; in the Customs, out of 21 officers with salaries ranging between Rs. 450 and Rs. 2,500 a month, only two are Indians; in the Post Office, out of 41 appointments with salaries between Rs. 500 and Rs. 3,500 a month, only 4 are held by Indians and these are on the lower rungs of the ladder; in the Telegraphs, out of 86 appointments with salaries between Rs. 500 and Rs. 3,000 a month, only 3 are held by Indians; in the Railways, out of 774 appointments with salaries between Rs. 500 and Rs. 3,500, only 10 are held by Indians. The official member for the Railways frankly avowed that Indians were not fit for the superior grades of service in his department. Thus do even high officials sometimes add insult to injury when they find no better defence for their favourite course.

This is not fulfilling the Parliamentary pledges, this is tantalising the Indian people. Lord Curzon realized this state of things, and throwing off the mask with characteristic boldness, gave the Indian people to understand that the Queen's Proclamation might be treated as an equivocal document, and that the bulk of the higher posts must be retained by Englishmen till the end of time. Lord Morley afterwards vigorously repudiated this pettifogging construction of the Royal pledge; but it must be confessed that Lord Curzon expressed the real sentiment of the Anglo-Indian community at large. He expressed the sentiment of the dominant class in its nakedness; but that sentiment sometimes appears in more respectable garbs. For instance, we are told that though Indians are very clever in passing examinations and are intelligent in many things, yet they are deficient in what is called ‘character’; they lack certain mystic governing qualities which are the birth-right of an Englishman; and that though they may do well enough as a superior order of clerks, or even as High Court judges, yet they are not quite fit for high executive and administrative offices. Now this word ‘character’ in the Anglo-Indian vocabulary, covers a multitude of excuses for excluding Indians from the higher grades of the public service of their country, and when they claim any high posts all sorts of possible and impossible conditions are considered necessary for their fitness for those posts. Only the other day Lord Macdonnell objected to the appointment of an Indian to the Governor-General's Executive Council on the ground that there was no such Indian in all India in whom all India could repose perfect confidence. As if it were a self-evident truth that all India felt perfect confidence in every high British official! With reference to the qualifications demanded by some people of an ideal Anglo-Egyptian official, Lord Cromer relates an amusing anecdote in his book on “Modern Egypt” which illustrates my point. A lady once asked Madame de Stael to recommend a tutor for her boy. That tutor was to be a gentleman with perfect manners and a thorough knowledge of the world, a classical scholar and an accomplished linguist; he was to exercise supreme authority over his

pupil, and at the same time he was to show such a degree of tact that his authority was to be unfelt; in fact, he was to possess almost every moral attribute and intellectual faculty; and lastly, he was to place all these qualities in the service of Madame de Stael's friend for a very low salary. Madame de Stael replied, "My dear, I perfectly understand the sort of man you want, but I must tell you that if I find him I would marry him."

Now from what I have just said, it must not be understood that we do not appreciate what the Government has done for us in this respect in recent times. The appointment of two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council and an Indian to every Executive Council here was a great forward step in the right direction, which we owe entirely to Lord Morley's powerful advocacy and influence, backed up by Lord Minto, but which was most strongly opposed by the bureaucracy here and their powerful supporters in England. Lord Morley did indeed give effect to Queen Victoria's Proclamation, so far as it lay in him, and he has thereby done something to raise the character of British rule in this country. But we cannot always have a Lord Morley at the India Office and at the same time a Viceroy like Lord Minto. They did what two great and generous-hearted statesmen could do; but the real evil lies in the system under which Indians can never fairly compete with Englishmen, and which the occasional efforts of exceptional statesmen cannot change, because it is supported by the vested interests of the most powerful body of Englishmen in India. There is only one way in which some change of a permanent character may be effected in the existing system and justice may be done to Indians, and that is to grant us the boon of "simultaneous examinations" for the Indian Civil Service.

This is an old grievance of the Indians. Sixty years ago the justice of this grievance was felt and admitted by the English statesmen of the day. In 1853, Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby) said in Parliament: "He could not refrain from expressing his conviction that, in refusing to carry on examinations in India and in England—a thing that was easily practicable—the Government were, in fact, negating that which they declared to be one of the principal objects of their Bill, and confining the Civil Service, as heretofore, to Englishmen. That result was unjust, and he believed it would be most pernicious." In 1860, the Secretary of State appointed a Committee of five distinguished Anglo-Indians (all members of the India Council) to report as to how effect could be given to the Parliamentary pledges. And they recommended simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service, to be held in India and England. However, nothing further was done, and so nine years later, the Duke of Argyll (then Secretary of State for India) said in Parliament, "If the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is a competitive examination carried on in London, what chance or what possibility is there of natives acquiring that fair share in the administration of their own country which their education and ability would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to possess?" In 1893, the House of Commons adopted a resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations, which the Secretary of State sent to the Government of India for their opinion, laying down the condition "that it is indispensable that an adequate number of the members of the Civil Service shall always be Europeans, and that no scheme would be admissible which does not fulfil that essential condition." The Secretary of State's "essential condition" furnished a sufficient excuse to the Government of India for reporting against the advisability of giving effect at all to the resolution of the House of Commons. And no English or Anglo-Indian statesman has touched that question since. Only the other day in the course of the debate on the Hon. Mr. Subba Rao's Resolution on the Public Service question, Mr. (now Sir Archdale) Earle, speaking for the Government said that the Government of India could give him no encouragement in that respect.

Now, whatever excuse may be devised for the monopoly of the Indian Civil Service by Englishmen, to deny the boon of simultaneous examinations to India is virtually to reduce the Royal and Parliamentary pledges to a dead letter and tell them in so many words that however able and qualified they may be, they must remain content with such crumbs as may fall from the table of the ruling class; that although

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in the Indian States they may rise to the highest positions, yet under the British Government they must abandon that hope; that though to administer the country through Indian agency would be more economical, yet an expensive foreign agency must be maintained in the interest of race ascendancy. But this is an impossible system and must be reformed—the earlier the better for all concerned. The statesmen of other days foresaw the situation which has now arisen and told their countrymen how to meet it. Some sixty years ago that famous Anglo-Indian statesman, Mountstuart Elphinstone, wrote as follows:—"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 of religion, ideas and manners which cut 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." Only the other day, while reviewing Sir H. Cotton's recently published book, Mr. Frederic Harrison remarked: "The stock objection that Indians of requisite energy and sagacity, such as statesmanship demands, cannot be produced among these millions, is shown to be an obsolete prejudice. There is an ample store of able men to take the task of government into their hands if they were trusted. But the old bureaucratic prejudice bars the way." Yes, it is the bureaucratic prejudice which stands in the way of our demand; it is the bureaucracy whose interests are threatened and who have always opposed the introduction of simultaneous examinations because they know that it would seriously affect their monopoly in the higher grades of the Public Service.

The question of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service is not a question of mere loaves and fishes, it is not a question which affects a very limited class of educated Indians only, but one which affects the whole Indian people, because it touches the sentiment of their national self-respect, and is intimately connected with their most legitimate ambitions and aspirations. Foreign rule is generally considered an evil, not only because it is materially disadvantageous to the ruled but because it hurts some of the noblest of human sentiments. It is disliked because the dominant class is allowed privileges which are denied to the subject races. If British rule in India is to be looked upon by the people not as an alien but a national government, differential treatment based upon distinctions of race must be abandoned and equal treatment accorded to all as we were promised by the Sovereign and Parliament. India feels the injustice of the present system—the inequality of treatment in the field of the Public Service. Nothing can convince the Indian that though he may be fit for the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad, he is unfit for a Lieutenant-Governorship or even a Chief Commissionership in British India. It is the bar sinister of race which is responsible for our exclusion from the highest posts in our own country; and it is when viewed in this light that British rule, with all its high ideals and generous professions, compares so unfavourably with Moghal rule in its palmy days. They deceive themselves who think that the Indian demand in respect of the Public Service is the demand of a small section of the educated community in which the people are not interested; for no people, however servile or inert, willingly submit to political disabilities, and no foreign government can ever become really popular which emphasises its foreign character by having a governing caste of its own. In every country it is only a few who can expect to hold the highest offices; but the mere fact that these offices are open to all exercises a stimulating effect upon the national energies and supplies a most powerful impetus to progress. "It is a very shallow view of the springs of political action in a community", says Mill, "which thinks such things unimportant because the number of those in a position actually to profit by the concession might not be very considerable. That limited number would be composed precisely of those who have most moral power over the rest; and men are not so destitute of the sense of collective degradation as not to feel the withholding of an advantage from even one person, because of a circumstance which they all have in common with him, an affront to all." It is absolutely necessary for the good of India that British rule should endure; but then it must base itself upon the genuine regard and affection of the

Indian people, and the only way to win their genuine regard and affection is to make them know and feel that they are the equal subjects of the British Crown and enjoy to the full the rights and privileges of British citizenship. Short-sighted is that statesmanship which ignores this capital fact of the present situation. You may do everything with bayonets except sit upon them, said a great European statesman; and our rulers must know that the old India has passed or is fast passing away and a new India has arisen which has learnt their ideas and is inspired by their ideals, that the tidal wave of the new spirit which is transforming all Asia is passing over this country also, and that the claim of her people to equal treatment in the Public Service can no longer be safely ignored. The age of pledges and professions is past; if Indian sentiment is to be conciliated, the good faith of our rulers must be attested by actual deeds.

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HINDU AND MUSLIM UNIVERSITIES

Among the many important questions that have been prominently before the public and the Government, that of education is perhaps the most important. The growing demand for high education on national lines has found expression in the schemes of the Hindu and Mahomedan universities, and that for mass education in Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. That education is one of the noblest gifts of England to India is generally admitted; but Lord Curzon evidently thought otherwise, and so he passed certain measures which had the effect of narrowing the area of high education and making it more expensive. It came to be said in his time that Indians were over-educated, that education had turned their heads and that they had become so numerous that the Government did not know what to do with them. Lord Curzon's Universities Act excited wide-spread dissatisfaction both among Hindus and Mahomedans, but was strongly supported by the bureaucracy, and it became apparent to the people that the rulers of our day had different educational ideals from those which had inspired Bentinck and Macaulay. Thoughtful men of all communities have always felt the necessity of independent institutions which, while supplementing the efforts of Government to disseminate education, will supply the deficiencies of the present system and adapt it to India's particular conditions and requirements. It is in this view, I believe, that the Hindu and Muslim university schemes have been promulgated, and, *pace* critics of the type of a learned judge of the Madras High Court, I feel sure we all have watched with admiration the noble efforts of the promoters of both the schemes, and while congratulating them on the magnificent response their appeals have evoked from their respective co-religionists, we wish them complete success and trust the Government will not only help them to make the universities accomplished facts but will allow them to be really independent non-official institutions. While at this I cannot pass over Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair's altogether unjust condemnation of the Hindu religion. Mr. Sankaran Nair is an able and independent man, and I believe that in what he said he was actuated by the best of motives. Nevertheless, he has been guilty of a most deplorable error and has brought baseless accusations against the Hindu religion as it has been preached and practised by the choicest spirits of our race from the dim dawn of history down to the present day—a religion which in spite of its many faults and aberrations produced a noble civilization and built up a social fabric that has stood firm and unshaken amid the wrecks of nations and the storms of fate. It is reckless writings like Mr. Nair's which are made use of by our political opponents who attack Hinduism in the columns of the *Times*, with the deliberate object of discrediting our political movement in the eyes of the British public.

THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL

While the universities movement is an indication of our national activity in the sphere of high education, the discussion started by Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill shows that we are becoming alive to the importance of improving the mental condition of the masses. The charge is often brought against the educated class that they are indifferent to the well-being of the general community and care for nothing

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beyond the satisfaction of their own political ambition. Mr. Gokhale's Bill is a sufficient answer to that charge. Mr. Gokhale, with that political prescience and practical sagacity which stand out pre-eminent among his many and varied endowments, has raised a question which will never go to sleep again, and has thereby written his name in the history of his country. In one sense, the question of elementary education for India is an old one. So far back as 1854, the famous Education Dispatch of Sir Charles Wood impressed upon the Government of India the importance of the question and laid upon them the duty of educating the masses. The Education Commission of 1882 again emphasised the importance of mass education. Some halting steps in that direction were taken from time to time by Government. Later on, something was done in Lord Curzon's time and a little more has been accomplished since. Still, how little has been achieved—how much more remains to be done—would appear from certain figures cited by Mr. Gokhale in his speech on the introduction of his Bill in the Imperial Council. In India, according to the census of 1901, less than 6 per cent. of the whole population could read and write, while even in Russia the proportion of literates was 25 per cent. As regards attendance at school, last year in America 21 per cent. of the whole population were receiving elementary education; in Great Britain and Ireland, from 20 to 17 per cent.; in Japan, 11 per cent.; in Russia, between 4 and 5 per cent., while in India the proportion was 1.9 per cent. In most of the European countries elementary education is both compulsory and free; in India it is neither compulsory nor free. As regards the expenditure on elementary education in some of the countries referred to by Mr. Gokhale, it is interesting to observe that while in the United States of America, the expenditure per head of the population is 16s., in England and Wales 10s., in Japan 1s. 2d., and in Russia 7½d., in India it is barely one penny. And the result of this parsimony in education and extravagance in the military and other departments is that for mental backwardness India is a bye-word among the nations of the world. It is to remedy this evil—to wipe away this stain—that Mr. Gokhale has brought in his Bill—a most modest and cautious measure when you consider how limited, tentative and hedged round with a number of safeguards against precipitate action it is, how careful of the prejudices and susceptibilities of the people and how moderate in its demand upon the public purse. The Bill is not a perfect measure, which perhaps no measure is, and may have to undergo several changes before it becomes law; but if we are to have elementary education for the masses, there is no escape from its two fundamental principles, compulsion and education rate. The principle of compulsion is suggested by the practical experience of the whole civilized world; and no argument has yet convinced me that, with proper safeguards it is not equally applicable to India.

As regards the provision for the levy of a special education rate, I for one agree with those who think that the whole liability for elementary education rests upon the shoulders of Government; but when the Government says it cannot afford the cost of such a measure, then the only course left open to us is to draw upon our own limited resources in the shape of a local education rate and ask the Government to contribute a certain proportion from its own exchequer. If we care for mass education—if we feel that we owe a duty to those who cannot help themselves—then we ought not to grudge a small local education rate, which will fall upon us no doubt, but which we should be prepared to bear in the cause of our own people.

But besides those who object to the principle of compulsion and those who object to free elementary education on financial grounds, there are some who object to it on social and political grounds. To those who are opposed to it because they dread the loss of their menial servants, and desire that millions of poor men may remain steeped in ignorance so that a few wealthy magnates may live in luxury, I have nothing to say; but I am surprised that even in some respectable English journals opposition has been offered to Mr. Gokhale's Bill on the ground that education would create political discontent among the masses and thus tend to disturb the even tenor of British rule in India. We are seriously told by these public instructors that the safety of British rule in India lies in the ignorance of its subject people and that their advance in knowledge and intelligence would make them disaffected towards it. On the contrary, we who are not

so intelligent as these English journalists think that the economic and political changes of recent years make it more necessary than ever that the people should be educated, that when the basis of popular institutions has been laid in this country it has become of the utmost importance that the electorates should be intelligent and instructed and that the only way to enable the masses to appreciate British rule is to communicate to them something of that knowledge which is the glory of Western civilization. Upon this point my answer is in the following words of Lord Cromer :—

“ It is on every ground of the highest importance that a sustained effort should be made to place elementary education in Egypt on a sound footing. The schoolmaster is abroad in the land. We may wish him well, but no one who is interested in the future of the country should blind himself to the fact that his successful advance carries with it certain unavoidable disadvantages. The process of manufacturing demagogues has, in fact, not only already begun but may be said to be well advanced. The intellectual phase through which India is now passing stands before the world as a warning that it is unwise, even if it be not dangerous, to create too wide a gap between the state of education of the higher and of the lowest classes in an oriental country governed under the inspiration of a Western democracy. High education cannot and ought not to be checked or discouraged. The policy advocated by Macaulay is sound. Moreover, it is the only policy worthy of a civilized nation. But if it is to be carried out without danger to the State, the ignorance of the masses should be tempered *pari passu* with the intellectual advance of those who are destined to be their leaders. It is neither wise nor just that the people should be left intellectually defenceless in the presence of the hare-brained and empirical projects which the political charlatan, himself but half-educated, will not fail to pour into their credulous ears. In this early part of the twentieth century there is no possible general remedy against the demagogue except that which consists in educating those who are his natural prey, to such an extent that they may, at all events, have some chance of discerning the imposture which but too often lurks beneath his fervid eloquence and political quackery.

In spite of such objections as I have just noticed, the Elementary Education Bill has met with a hearty response from the whole country. The Hindus are enthusiastic about it; and so are the Mahomedans with the exception of some familiar figures on the public stage. The Aga Khan, the recognised leader of the educated Muslim community, sounded the true note in his speech at the Mahomedan Educational Conference at Delhi which shows that he is even a more thorough-going advocate of compulsory and free primary education than any Hindu is. “ It is the duty of Government” he said, “ to supply primary education to the masses which is beyond the means and scope of voluntary efforts in any civilized country.....I am also delighted that an enlightened public opinion has so unmistakably pronounced itself in favour of compulsory universal education. Gentlemen, believe me no country can ever flourish or make its mark as a nation as long as the principle of compulsion is absent. The colossal ignorance of the Indian masses militates against uniting them as a nation; and the ideal of a united nation is an ideal which we must constantly cherish.” And addressing his co-religionists he said, “you stand to gain more by the carrying out of the principles of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale’s Bill than any other section of the people in India, provided care is taken in the adjustment of details.” These are wise words, and I trust the Muslim League will take them to heart. An influential section of the Anglo-Indian press is also on our side upon this question, and the Government of India and His Majesty’s Government are both sympathetic, as is amply demonstrated by the terms in which the Durbar grant of Rs. 50 lakhs for popular education was announced. Opposed to us are the local Governments and the bulk of the Indian Civil Service; but in this respect they are only true to their time-honoured traditions, and if the decision of the Imperial Government depends altogether upon their advice, then we must not expect to get compulsory education for another fifty years. Speaking for myself, I may be allowed to say this, that I attach so much importance to this question that if all the recent reforms were placed on one side and free and compulsory primary education for the masses on the other, and I were asked to make my choice between them, I would not hesitate

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for a moment in choosing the latter, because I look upon it as the one agency which will lift up the whole nation to a higher level of intelligence and fit it to play its proper part in the civilization of the world.

OTHER QUESTIONS

There are some other questions which are important and pressing for solution; but I have taken up so much of your time that I dare not even touch them. For instance, there is the question of the status of Indians in British colonies—specially in South Africa, which is a most painful question when we consider how we have been treated in this matter by the Imperial Government itself, although we have every reason to express our gratitude to the Government of India for its services on our behalf. Again the question of the separation of executive and judicial functions has been before the Government for a quarter of a century, and only two years ago we were told that the Government was devising some means to give effect to that reform. But experience has taught us that it is extremely difficult to induce the official hen to produce eggs, and when it does produce any, it takes precious long time in hatching them. Lastly, there is the question of Police reform, which is most urgently needed, which has lately attracted the attention of the Government, and in respect of which I believe some legislation is in contemplation. The Police, while it affects the daily life of the people, is the weakest spot in the Indian Administration, and yet it is curious that any criticism levelled against it excites the greatest resentment of the official class. We can never be too much thankful to Mr. Mackarness for his just exposure of our Police system, and although his pamphlet was proscribed by the Government—was this because it told the truth?—yet it called forth an amount of searching criticism which has at last opened the eyes of our rulers, and the very veiled and cautious statements of the present Under-Secretary of State show that though for 'reasons of State' he thought it his duty to denounce Mr. Mackarness, yet truth is beginning to prevail against official scoffings, and we trust that reforms on the lines suggested by him and other liberal-minded politicians will be undertaken. It is absolutely necessary that the confession of accused persons should not be recorded by any one excepting the trying magistrate under such conditions as shall absolutely exclude all police influence. At least 50 per cent. of the political prosecutions would never have taken place if the Police had done their duty.

CONCLUSION

Gentlemen, this is a very rapid survey of the present political situation as it strikes me, and I think it clearly shows that while the manifold blessings of British rule are undeniable, there are certain grievances which are equally undeniable and need redress. English education and a closer contact with the West have raised our intelligence and expanded our vision; the example of English liberty and English enterprise has given us new ideals of citizenship and inspired us with new conceptions of national duties. A genuine craving for popular institutions is observable on all sides, and the whole country feels the vivifying touch of the spirit of nationalism, which lies at the bottom of what is called Indian unrest, and which in various forms and disguises pervades strife and inspires endeavour. And so the ideal of self-government within the Empire has come to be cherished by some of the best men of our generation, and with the co-operation of Englishmen they hope to realise it one day. For we must bear this in mind, that the destinies of India and England are now linked together, and that in order to succeed in our political struggles it is indispensable that the sympathies of the English people should be enlisted on our side. But above all, we must instruct and organise our own public opinion, which is often a slow and difficult work. In the pursuit of a high ideal we must not forget the difficulties that beset our path. Long and weary is the journey, said Burke, that lies before those who undertake to mould a people into the unity of a nation. Our agitation in order to be effective must be national not sectarian, persistent not spasmodic, directed by intelligence and wisdom and not impulsive and reckless. Enthusiasm is good, and idealism is good, and even crying for the moon is sometimes

good ; and I for one sympathise with those who are called visionaries and dreamers, for I know that in every active and reforming body there is always an extreme wing that is not without its uses in great human movements. I know that moderation sometimes means indifference and caution timidity, and I hold that India needs bold and enthusiastic characters—not men of pale hopes and middling expectations, but courageous natures, fanatics in the cause of their country—

“ Whose breath is agitation,

And whose life a storm whereon they ride.”

But enthusiasm and idealism cannot achieve impossibilities. Human nature is conservative and national progress is slow of foot. First the blade, then the ear, and after that the corn in the ear—this is the law of nature. Self-government, such as obtains in British colonies, is a noble ideal, and we are perfectly justified in keeping that before our eyes ; but is it attainable to-day or to-morrow or even in the lifetime of the present generation ? Consider where we stand in the scale of civilisation, when we have only 4 women and 18 men per thousand who are literate ; when there are millions of our countrymen whom we look upon as “ untouchables,” when we have about a hundred thousand widows of less than five years, and caste rules still forbid sea-voyage, and Mr. Basu's Special Marriage Bill is condemned as a dangerous innovation ; when many Hindus do not sufficiently realise the fact that there are 65 million Mahomedans whose interests and feelings have to be cared for and the Mahomedans are equally oblivious of the interest and feelings of 240 million Hindus—when this is the condition to which we have been brought by centuries of decay and degradation, to talk of a national government for India to-day is to make ourselves the laughing-stock of the civilised world. Agitate for political rights by all means, but do not forget that the true salvation of India lies in the amelioration of its social and moral conditions.

Gentlemen, pardon me for speaking to you so frankly, but I owe it to you and to myself to tell you what I feel in the innermost depth of my heart upon the general questions which are confronting us to-day. I am no pessimist ; I recognise the difficulties of the high task which our duty to our Motherland has laid upon us, but I am not discouraged or daunted by them. I have faith in the just and righteous instincts of the English people, and I have faith in the high destinies of my own race. We were great people once ; we shall be a great people again. Patience, courage, self-sacrifice are needed on our part ; and wisdom, foresight, sympathy and faith in their own traditions on the part of our rulers ; and I firmly believe that both are beginning to realise their duty and that the day will come—be it soon or late—when this period of suffering and strife shall come to an end, and India on the stepping stones of her dead self, shall rise to higher stages of national existence.

The President then resumed his seat amid great applause, and after the singing of another song the Congress was adjourned till noon the following day.

FIRST DAY

Presidential
Address.

Second Day's Proceedings.

SECOND DAY *The Congress re-assembled on Wednesday the 27th December at noon. The proceedings commenced with a patriotic song composed by Babu Rabindranath Tagore.*

The following letter from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to the President was then read by Mr. Khare:—

3, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS,
LONDON, W. C.,
30th November 1911.

MY DEAR SIR,

I hope you will allow me to join with those who will wish to-day to congratulate you on your appointment, and to send through you to the people of India their good wishes. I regret exceedingly that these thoughts of mine cannot be delivered by myself in person, but we cannot control events and have to content ourselves by finding consolation in bowing to them when they happen. No one knows that better than your people; pray convey to the Congress my regret that I cannot meet it this year and my hopes that in the new political circumstances of India it may remain as useful and influential as it ever has been.

Yours very sincerely,
RAMSAY MACDONALD.

Letters and telegrams were also read from a number of other European and Indian gentlemen expressing their sympathy with the Congress and regret for their unavoidable absence.

Resolution I.
*Welcome to Their
Majesties.*

The President then moved the first resolution which was put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION I.—WELCOME TO THEIR MAJESTIES

"That this Congress in humble duty respectfully tenders its most loyal homage to the Throne and Person of Their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, and feels confident that their visit to India will be productive of lasting benefit to the people of this country."

Three hearty cheers for the King-Emperor and three more for the Queen-Empress were given.

Mr. Wacha then announced that the President would telegraph to His Majesty sending him a copy of the resolution. After this a song of welcome to their Imperial Majesties composed for the occasion was sung by the choir.

RESOLUTION II.—THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

Resolution II.
*Partition of
Bengal.*

Babu Surendranath Banerjea then moved the following resolution:—"That this Congress respectfully begs leave to tender to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor an humble expression of its profound gratitude for his gracious announcement modifying the Partition of Bengal. The Congress also places on record its sense of gratitude to the Government of India for recommending the modification and to the Secretary of State for sanctioning it. In the opinion of this Congress this administrative measure will have a far-reaching effect in helping forward the policy of conciliation with which the honoured names of Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe will for ever be associated in the public mind."

In doing so he said:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—For six long years there has gone forth from this Congress platform, uttered by a thousand voices, the deep, solemn, earnest prayer of a united Nation for the modification of the partition. For six long years brother delegates, inspired by a feeling of sympathy for Bengal in the hour of her darkest misfortune, a sympathy which I trust we shall always merit and always receive from you—for six long years animated by this feeling you have placed this partition question in the forefront of your programme. For

six long years the people of Bengal, through good report, and through evil report, through trials and tribulations, through despair and disappointment, carried on the agitation against the partition with unflinching zeal and tenacity of purpose and an undying faith in the justice of their cause and its ultimate triumph,—that ultimate triumph which I hope will not be lost upon those who have at heart the attainment of constitutional liberty by constitutional means.

Brother delegates, our prayer has now been granted. Our protests and entreaties and our agitations have all borne fruit. Our gracious sovereign, His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor (applause) in the abundance of his beneficence, with a statesmanship which is the inalienable heritage of His Imperial House, has righted the wrong and has redressed the grievance. And now there has been evoked, from one end of the province to the other, in the hearts of the people of Bengal an impulse of gratitude which will remain a permanent heritage of our race which will be transmitted from generation to generation, and will constitute for all time to come the most enduring bulwark of the British power in India (applause). When the news of the Royal message modifying the Partition of Bengal was announced, there arose spontaneously on the lips of the representatives of the older generation who had closely identified themselves with the agitation against the partition, the words of the scripture with which Simeon addressed the infant Jesus whom he recognised as the true Messiah, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." That was a sentiment which inspired the hearts of many of us. That was a sentiment which found a place in the heart of my esteemed friend, my companion in arms, my associate in victory, the friend of my prosperity and the friend of my adversity—Faridpur's grand old man, Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar (applause). That was the sentiment which also inspired the leader of the Dacca Bar, my friend Babu Ananda Chandra Roy. That was also the sentiment which inspired the great leader of Mymensingh, Babu Anath Bandhu Guha. When the news was brought to Faridpur, there was a dying man in the last gasp of life—a respected leader of public opinion—when the news was communicated to him, he said in a half sobbing voice, "I die happy now that the partition has been modified." With many of us the modification of the partition had been the dream of our lives. With many of us it was the most cherished aspiration of our souls. With an abundant faith we gazed upon the promised land, but none of us thought it was so near. None of us believed that it would be vouchsafed to us in the present generation to enter the promised land. We have now entered it. Our dreams have been realised, our aspirations have been fulfilled, and the hearts of the teeming millions of our people are now uplifted in prayer to the Throne of the Supreme Giver of all good for the long life and happiness of our Sovereign who has relieved the people of the agony of a long national struggle. But beyond the august personality of our gracious sovereign there are two striking figures, namely, those of the Secretary of State for India and of His Excellency the Viceroy (applause). I think our gratitude, the gratitude of this Congress and of the entire people of India, are due to them for this great boon. I think I speak the sentiment of this great Congress and of the larger public whom we aspire to represent when I say that Lord Hardinge by his policy of wisdom, of justice and of conciliation has won the esteem, the confidence as well as the admiration of all India, and Sir, if I am permitted to anticipate the verdict of history I will say this, that if His Excellency fulfils the promises of the earlier order of his administration he will go down to posterity as one of the most illustrious Indian Viceroys, taking his place in the muster-roll of fame side by side with a Bentinck, a Canning and a Ripon.

The modification of the partition was the noblest and most emphatic vindication of the message of His Late Majesty King Edward VII in His Gracious Proclamation. King Edward the VII, in November 1908, declared that it was the high function of the Ministers of the Crown and of his Indian officials to rectify mistakes committed in the administration. Infallibility is not the privilege of man. Whether spiritual leaders who claim inspiration from on high have a right to this privilege I know not, but it is absolutely out of place in the domain of politics where mistakes

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are constantly committed and constantly rectified. To rectify a mistake is not a sign of administrative or political weakness. On the contrary it is the infallible index of courageous statesmanship, resolved to do what is right and to face the consequences. That the partition of Bengal, in the manner in which it was carried out, and in the form in which it was carried out by Lord Curzon, was a great mistake, a huge blunder, nobody has seriously disputed. Even Lord Morley, who pronounced it to be a settled fact, declared in the same breath that it was not the wisest scheme that could have been conceived. But I will say no more about it : let bygones be bygones.

There is no higher authority upon Indian affairs than Lord Macdonell, the greatest among living Anglo-Indian administrators. He observed upon an occasion with which you are all familiar that it was a colossal mistake, the gravest blunder that had been committed since the days of Plassey. No more striking testimony of the grievousness of this mistake could have been afforded than by the attitude of those who were responsible for the partition. In the House of Lords in 1909, when the matter came up for discussion, the authors of the partition were so ashamed of their share in the matter that they vied with each other in disavowing this child of their administrative genius. Lord Curzon thrust the responsibility upon the shoulders of Lord Amptill who threw it back upon Lord Middleton, who promptly disavowed all serious participation in this dismal transaction. So this ill-fated measure was flung about the floor of the House like an illegitimate child disowned by its parents (laughter).

Having regard to the views of eminent men in England belonging to both sides of the House whom I had an opportunity to interview in 1909, I felt convinced in my mind that the partition was a doomed measure, that it was bound to be modified sooner or later; and the modification has come sooner perhaps than we anticipated. The grievance has been rectified and all considerations of prestige have been flung to the winds. Prestige is a fetish which many of our rulers worship with a profusion of idolatrous devotion which excites the derision of those against whom the charge is sometimes levelled that they are idolatrous Hindus. You will remember the well-known argument urged against the separation of judicial and executive functions, namely, that it would be injurious to, and that it would impair the prestige of, the Magistrate if he were to be deprived of the rights of trying criminal cases. This argument seemed cogent enough to convince many simple-minded people who forget that there were officers of higher status and dignity who possess no sort of criminal jurisdiction, not even the power to hang a cat or a dog, but whose status does not suffer in consequence of this deprivation of magisterial power. The modification of the partition is the first definite pronouncement of the new policy of the Government that considerations of prestige shall not be permitted to stand in the way of the fulfilment of the higher claims of justice. Prestige divorced from justice, prestige which would perpetuate a wrong and which would leave unredressed a great national grievance is not the prestige that will strengthen and consolidate the foundations of Imperial power, it is indeed a source of weakness and embarrassment to the administration. I rejoice that the idol has been broken up and British justice has once again asserted itself with its ancient paramountcy.

In this connection there is one matter to which I cannot help adverting for a moment, namely, the question of the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi, which is a part of the Royal boon. In the admirable presidential address which we listened to with so much interest and attention, the President spoke of the transfer in terms of approval. But, on the other hand, the Chairman of the Reception Committee sounded a different note and spoke of it in terms of disapproval on the ground that it was likely to be prejudicial to the predominance that Bengal has enjoyed. When two such wise men of the East differ in their opinion, we ordinary people feel bound to hold our breath and suspend our judgment. I for one am not prepared to speculate and would not like to prophesy. I would rather prefer to hold my judgment in suspense. It is also stated, and there is a strong body of public opinion in support of the view, that trade will not suffer, for trade follows its own line. But with regard to one allegation

I feel tempted to make an observation. It has been said that with the transfer of the Capital to Delhi, the influence of the Bengali people will decline in the councils of the Government. I do not know that Bengal public opinion counts for much. But whether it counts for much, or whether it counts for little, I venture to think that whatever influence it possesses does not depend upon Calcutta being the seat of the Imperial Government for three months in the year. If Bengal has any influence, it does not rest upon an artificial basis. It rather depends upon the qualities of the race—upon their mental and moral equipment—upon whatever of public life, of the capacity for self-sacrifice, of prolonged and sustained effort, the Bengalees may lay claim to. I trust these qualities will not decline with the transfer of the capital. I trust these qualities will continue to be the heritage of the race for all time to come. I trust that with the spread of education with the growth of culture and with wider association with our countrymen in other parts of India, these qualities may deepen and grow and that Bengal may continue to be a potent factor in the public life of India—a factor, however small and insignificant, but nonetheless a factor in determining the policy of the Imperial Government. However much adventitious circumstances might have helped forward the progress of Bengal in the past—and that such circumstances were a factor in her progress none can dispute—Bengalis have now learnt to stand upon their own legs and have developed a capacity for self-help. For they are penetrated with the conviction that nations by themselves are made.

One word more and I have done. I fear that I have already detained you a little too long (cries of "no, no"). Brother delegates, in the resolution which you have done me the honour to entrust me with, you offer the obeisance of your heart to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor. You further proceed to express your gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State. All that is right and proper. But beyond these illustrious personages there is a third party whose claims stand quite apart. Speaking on behalf of Bengal I think that we ought to have included in that vote of thanks and vote of gratitude you brother delegates from the provinces outside of Bengal. In the hour of our misfortune, in the period of our severest trials and tribulations, you sympathised with us, brother delegates from outside Bengal; you stood by us, you helped us, you co-operated with us, you held aloft the banner which without your assistance would have dropped from our sinking hands. Year after year, you have put forward this resolution in the forefront of your programme. Year after year, the most distinguished delegates, all that is noblest, truest, best, most illustrious in the public life of India have been associated with this resolution. What an encouragement, what a living source of inspiration was it to us to know that in the most momentous struggle in which we had ever been engaged we had behind us the whole of India, the embattled array of the constitutional party resolved to fight for us, to do their best for us. As long as a particle of gratitude remains in the heart of the Bengalee he will never forget the debt. The reminiscence of this noble service will never be blotted out of the tablet of our minds. It will be the most brilliant page in the golden records of Indian nationalism. It will strengthen our mutual good will, our mutual confidence, our mutual esteem. God grant that these feelings may grow and deepen. God grant that as in the case of the partition, so in connection with the larger issues which are opening out to our gaze with the advent of the new era, we may all, Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians, Sikhs and Jains, stand shoulder to shoulder together on the sanctified platform of the Congress, animated by a common purpose and a common resolve to fight the constitutional battles of the country until we have entered the promised land, with the boon of self-government emblazoned on our golden banner, and have formed part and parcel of the self-governing states of a great, free and federated Empire, rejoicing in our indissoluble connection with England and in the enjoyment of the inestimable blessing of new-born freedom.

The Honourable Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (Berar) in seconding the resolution said :—

It is with feelings of considerable hesitation that I rise to second this resolution though my heart is entirely in sympathy with it. My hesitation is due to the fact that

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while the words of winged eloquence from the lips of the most gifted orator in the country are still ringing in your ears, while the memory of this speech so full of deep feeling and pathos is still fresh, it is rather hazardous for me to stand up and inflict another speech upon you, upon the same subject. But, sir, it is in pursuance of a duty which I owe to my countrymen in Bengal in particular and which I owe to the country at large that I stand to support this resolution.

Six and a half years ago came that pronouncement which partitioned Bengal and which aroused throughout the country a profound sorrow mixed with deep resentment. Not only was Bengal moved from one end to the other, but the whole country was stirred in a manner that it had never been stirred before and, I hope, will never be stirred again. Indignation meetings and protest meetings were held all over the country, and there was no one who could say a word in favour of the ill-starred measure, unwisely conceived and mercilessly carried out. It was a measure which was not recommended or supported by any one. Even ministers and the non-official English community did not support it, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce deprecated it, and even officers of the Government holding high positions found fault with it. Yet it was carried out without any regard for the outraged feelings of the people. From the Congress platform year after year there went forth unqualified condemnation of the measure, and resolutions were passed praying the Government for its annulment or modification, a modification of the kind which has now been promised to us. That great wrong has now been remedied, that grievance has been redressed, and it is our duty, we men from other parts of India, not only to congratulate Bengal, but all of us, Bengalis as well as members of the Congress from other parts of India, should join in expressing our fervent gratitude to our gracious Sovereign who took it upon himself to make that memorable announcement, and also to those two great statesmen, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and to the other members of the Government of India to whom this very acceptable change in policy is due. We have to take into consideration the immense difficulties they had to face in carrying out this measure of righteousness. We have seen how a certain section of the European public regard that measure, and the kind of treatment meted out to the illustrious statesman who is now at the head of Indian affairs. The measure which has just now been reversed was considered by several people as the chief act of a Viceroy of extraordinary ability and power; but it seems to me that they forget another great politician like him who is at the head of the government which is responsible for the reversal of that policy. Already signs of coming strife are apparent, and the other day we saw that even the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, the leader of the Conservative Party, has given notice of a motion of censure.

In spite of these attacks, the Government of India and Lord Hardinge have recommended a measure which they must have foreseen would have aroused a storm of opposition, and what is still more important and gratifying to us is that our gracious sovereign the King-Emperor has taken upon himself the responsibility in regard to the measure, a responsibility which ought perhaps to have been left to his officers. He is not taking a small risk, for, in a country governed as England is, the King is required to keep aloof from all politics, and it is only his ministers upon whom the responsibility for a measure should rest. Yet His Majesty at a great risk of personal opprobrium has taken it upon himself to convey this message to us. It is evidently due to his desire that he himself should convey this great message to us, a message of personal good-will and reconciliation with the people of India, and that he should assure them that the whole heart of England beats for the welfare of the people of India.

Our utmost gratitude and our most loyal thanks are due to His Majesty. That he may live long will ever be our constant prayer.

Mr. Ramaswami Iyer (Madras) in supporting the resolution, said:—Many critics not unfriendly to our cause have asserted often times that this question of the partition of Bengal is a local one. In one sense, gentlemen, no question appertaining to India is merely a local one, for every question that concerns a considerable section of the public such as this question, is bound to affect in the long run the welfare of the entire popula-

tion of the country. The partition of Bengal is in no sense a local question. Involved in the question of the partition of Bengal was the question whether the rulers should carry out a measure by consulting the people and under the advice of responsible leaders of public opinion, or whether the government was to be carried on in an arbitrary or secret fashion. It is not so much the partition of Bengal itself that the agitation was raised about, but the method and means employed in carrying it out. If Lord Curzon had put forward a short scheme for removing the so-called overburden of the Bengal administration it would not have been felt so much, but he suddenly evolved in the hottest haste, without any reference to the views of the leaders of public opinion in this country, this scheme of the partition of Bengal which aroused so much indignation. He adopted just those methods and means which were calculated to arouse public sentiment in the highest degree. What he did was to totally disregard and abandon all the views of public men in the previous years. Probably the question of relief being given to the overburdened administration of Bengal was not a new question. This question was referred to from the time of Lord Lansdowne. Many other matters including the separation of Behar and the extension of the Council form of Government to Bengal were also quite long ago occupying the attention of the Government, but Lord Curzon would have none of all that. He adopted an entirely different course, and as a result it was painfully obvious that a very large proportion of the people were incensed, and the method adopted aroused the resentment of the people. He adopted a method which involved the total destruction of the historical traditions and sentiments of Bengal. The result of that policy was painfully obvious; there was a split between the two great sections of the community and the resulting trouble threatened to become very acute. There came into existence feelings which Bengal felt would dishonour and dismember it. It was this that the people of Bengal objected to, and today this resolution of the Congress places on record its profound gratitude to the King-Emperor, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. We may here congratulate ourselves and the country upon the new spirit, in the policy that has been evolved and enunciated. The despatch of Lord Hardinge and the reply of Lord Crewe are documents which will long live in the memory of the Indians. They contain a proper regard for the objections, sentiments and historical traditions of the people. It will be noted that in one passage of his despatch Lord Hardinge says that sentimental objections, even if unreasonable, have to be regarded and great weight is to be given to them. Now gentlemen, a spirit of that kind in the rulers of this country is the most welcome feature of the New Year, and I am sure every province will unite in welcoming it.

Another feature which will also be noticed is that questions however finally settled, questions which are pronounced to be set at rest for ever, can be reopened by agitation conducted in a constitutional manner. We can now say that if we agitate and agitate in the right manner the people need not fear that if a wrong has been perpetrated the Government will not right the wrong. Great has been the wrongs which Bengal has suffered, but greater still was the affront which was offered to the Indian public opinion by the partition, and it is the rise of the new spirit in the Government that we are here to welcome, and this resolution well deserves the support of every one in the country for this reason if not for any other. I therefore have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

Mr. Muralidhar Ray (Dacca) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President, brother delegates and countrymen:—

It is superfluous on my part to express the feelings of great joy at the rectification of an administrative blunder committed six years ago by one of the most masterful pro-consuls that came out to India. The fact of His Majesty the King-Emperor associating himself with the modification of the Partition of Bengal has added to the volume of popular enthusiasm and created deep feelings of loyalty, devotion and gratitude to his person and throne. To all His Majesty's subjects inhabiting his wide dominion of India, it is well known that His Majesty takes a keen interest in their welfare and is

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always anxious to ameliorate their condition by acts of beneficence which befit the Sovereign on whose kingdom the sun never sets. Our hearts are too full now to adequately express our deep gratitude to His Imperial Majesty for the gracious boons conferred upon us, and silence seems to me to be more eloquent in expressing our feelings at the present moment than speeches from thousand platforms.

The whole country, from the valley of the Indus to that of the Irrawadi, and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, is resounding with rejoicings and is tendering its loyal, heartfelt homage to their Imperial Majesties, who in their brief sojourn amongst us have captured the hearts of their loyal subjects, in accordance with the traditions of the Orient, by bringing home to the minds of our people that their sovereign is not only an English King but an Indian Emperor in its truest sense. We Indians look upon the Sovereign as a part of Divinity, and our loyalty and attachment to him is only natural. The millions of Indians who form members of the vast Empire over which His Imperial Majesty holds sway, have therefore ample cause for jubilation at finding their beloved Emperor in their midst and thereby fulfilling their long cherished hopes of "Raj darsan" (the sight of the King) which is considered as an act of great religious merit. The might and justice of his rule have been fully demonstrated to us by His Majesty conferring several boons, which will at all times to come be remembered with gratitude by us, the greatest of which is his gracious act of the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, which as an act of grace has enshrined him in the hearts of the Bengali-speaking population, and which, I am sure, will spread peace and contentment where unrest prevailed, and exterminate the stray weeds of anarchism that had unfortunately grown up of late.

I would be failing in my duty if I forgot to mention that we are extremely grateful to Lord Crewe, our Secretary of State, and to Lord Hardinge our Viceroy who fully grasped the situation and recommended to His Majesty the King-Emperor to readjust our Province. It is no exaggeration to say that the name of Lord Hardinge will go down to posterity as one of the greatest Viceroys who found out the cause of the unrest in India and set at rest the mind of the whole of India by recommending amongst other measures the modification of the Partition of Bengal, and that he will be classed with Bentinck, Canning and Ripon, whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of the country.

There is nothing as unmixed blessing in this world. With the modification of the Partition of Bengal, a new era of administrative reform has been inaugurated in India which has electrified the whole country. The creation of the Governorship of Bengal in the place of two Lieutenant-Governorships is a distinct advance, and we cannot but be grateful for it. With the change in the Government of Bengal and Behar comes the change of the seat of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. There is not the least shadow of doubt that the transfer of Capital is not liked by any class of people of Bengal; but as loyal subjects of His Majesty we cannot but bow to his will. Calcutta has so long enjoyed the privilege of being the Capital of British India, as it was in Bengal that the foundations of the British Empire were laid. If we do not continue to retain that eminence, we trust that Calcutta will have the privilege of having the seat of the Government of India for at least some time in the year. If His Excellency the Viceroy is pleased to accept this humble suggestion of mine, we hope and trust that the modification of the partition of Bengal will not lower the prestige and position of Calcutta but will maintain her in her ancient dignity as Queen of the East.

Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay) in supporting the resolution said :—

I heartily support this resolution as a representative of Bombay. From the time that this unfortunate Partition bill was passed into law some 7 years ago, Bombay has felt the same sympathy for the province of Bengal as all the other provinces of the Empire. If Bengal has mourned and lamented, and if the other provinces have done the same, we of Bombay have not been backward. The only thing, sir, is that Bombay is more or less not so emotional possibly as Bengal is (laughter), but as far as the intensity of feeling of both is concerned, I may tell you that we are as intense and deep in our feelings as Bengal. Now, sir, that great act of injustice has been

repaired, and this resolution is a resolution of rejoicing that this act of injustice has been remedied. And by whom has it been remedied? By our new modern trinity, a trinity not of Indian gods but a trinity of British gods. There is our Gracious King-Emperor as the centre of this great trinity, and there are at his command the Secretary of State on the one hand and the Governor-General on the other. This is the trinity which has brought us peace, which has brought us the contentment which I see all round me, which has brought happiness to every home and hearth in Bengal. Therefore we support this resolution from Bombay. I will only say one word more and that is that this act of conciliation on the part of the Government will now be remembered with gratitude.

Mr. A. C. Mozumdar (Faridpur, Bengal) in supporting the resolution said:—

Friends and countrymen,—

There are moments in the life of a nation, as of an individual, when no words in human language can adequately express the depth of its feelings. Such a moment has come to the life of the Bengalis. The great calamity which overtook Bengal in 1905, and the disastrous consequences which flowed from it during the last five years, affecting not only Bengal but the entire country, the dire unrest which at one time darkened the entire political atmosphere from Rawalpindi to Tuticorin and from Ahmedabad to Assam, and the ravages it has committed, and the many deep and dark stains it has left not only upon the nation but also upon the fair fame of British rule in India—are all now matters of history—painful history, indeed, which we heartily wish were blotted out from the annals of British India.

Gentlemen, on this day of universal rejoicing when every heart in India in general and in Bengal in particular is beating in unison with reverence and devotion to the British Throne and overflowing with revived confidence and gratitude towards British statesmanship, I will not—I dare not—recount the painful records and recall the bitter memories of the past 5 years. Let the dead past bury its dead. Let suspicion and distrust, malice and rancour, rage and repression—those evil spirits that revel in darkness—vanish from the land, and let cavil and calumny be hushed into silence. Groping our way through the darkness of defeat and despair, we have by the grace of God at last emerged into the breaking sunshine of success. Gentlemen, some of us never faltered—no, not even in the darkest days of our trials and tribulations—in our hope, in our conviction and in our faith in the ultimate triumph and vindication of British justice. In that hope we have lived, in that conviction we have worked and in that faith we have patiently suffered and waited. We had read English history in vain if we had failed to grasp the one great lesson it teaches, that though British statesmanship has blundered in many places it has ultimately failed nowhere. British conscience, however, much darkened at times by other considerations, has invariably vindicated itself by rebelling at the end against proved tyranny, injustice and oppression to suffering humanity. The nation of Howard and Wilberforce, of Edmund Burke and Edward Gladstone, of Henry Fawcett and John Bright, of Bentinck, Canning and Ripon, cannot perpetrate a wrong, and if it ever does it will that day cease to be the greatest nation that it is on the surface of the earth.

Gentlemen, on all critical occasions England has spoken to India through the mouth of the common Sovereign; and although on the present occasion that Sovereign has been justly, wisely and generously advised by his ministers and his Viceroy, to whom we are primarily indebted for the redress of our great grievance, what sounder advice, what wiser counsel, what nobler inspiration could His Majesty have sought than the glorious tradition of his own Royal House and the noble words of his own ancestors on the throne? His Majesty's grandmother, Queen Victoria of blessed memory, in sending her ever memorable message of peace to her Indian subjects said:—"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward". Then his august father, King Edward the Peace-maker, in his message to the people of India on another memorable occasion gave the gracious assurance that his servants in India would be always ready to rectify all wrongs and errors

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of administration whenever their attention may be properly directed to them. Last but not least, we recall at this joyous moment His Majesty's own noble utterances at the Guild Hall upon his return from India in 1906. It may be remembered that His Majesty visited India as Prince of Wales in 1905, just on the eve of our desperate plunge into the vortex of that frantic agitation which will remain ever memorable in the annals of British India. He rightly observed, with that keen insight into men and matters which characterises his Royal family, "I cannot help thinking from all I have heard and seen that the task of governing of India will be made easier if we on our part infuse into it a wider element of sympathy." These were no empty words, or mere expression of good will. It now appears that it was for the translation of this noble sentiment into action and for the application of the real remedy upon an absolutely correct diagnosis that the King has, shortly after his accession to the throne, personally appeared on the scene, not for any mere assemblage, not for any gorgeous empty pageant, but for rectifying the grievous blunders of his servants, for infusing a wider element of sympathy into the Indian administration, and to proclaim peace, order and good government through the length and breadth of this vast continent, and herald the dawn of a new epoch. Shortsighted statesmen and nervous councillors who suffered from the bugbear of their prestige, which however they themselves had brought down so low as not to be worth more than six months' purchase, the alarmist crowd of a rank bureaucracy which started at ghostly shadows of sedition and disloyalty at every bend of the streets of our towns and cities, and a hysteric press which recklessly fanned the fire into a flame, may now see if they have eyes to see and hear if they have ears to hear, how a single masterly stroke of true statesmanship, how the kindly touch of genuine sympathy, has completely transformed the country, and as by a magic driven away, like the mist before the rising sun, the portentous clouds which for five years had darkened its political atmosphere. In your name and on your behalf, I invite them one and all to take note of that wild outburst of rapturous enthusiasm and profound devotion and gratitude to the British throne which is surging from one end of the country to the other. Not a city, not a town, not a village, not a hamlet in Bengal or in India that is not today in ecstasy over the royal boon, that is not overflowing with gratitude to the British constitution. What repressive laws, proscriptions, persecutions and deportation have failed to achieve in six years, the kindly touch of the Royal prerogative has accomplished in one minute. I repeat what I have recently said in another place, that if on the 23rd June, 1757, the battle of Plassey paved the way to the conquest of India by the British arms, the Coronation Durbar of George V at Delhi on the 12th December, 1911, has led to the conquest of the hearts of the Indian people by the British throne. If Edward VII saved South Africa, George V has saved India the brightest jewel in the British diadem.

Gentlemen, while we are profoundly grateful to His Majesty, we cannot be unmindful of our deep debt of gratitude to those statesmen whose wise counsel and sound advice were instrumental in bringing about the present joyous occasion. The despatches of Lord Hardinge and of the Marquis of Crewe have now been made public, and it is no longer necessary to point out how these important documents prepared the ground upon which the monumental boon modifying the partition of Bengal has been based. I am no prophet: but it requires no gift of prophesy to foretell that Lords Crewe and Hardinge will go down to a grateful posterity as the saviours of Bengal and the Bengali nation.

Friends and countrymen of other provinces, my last words are to you. During the last six years you have deeply sympathised with us in our great affliction; you have fought for us and suffered for us. Bengal cannot repay the debt she owes to you. God forbid that any of you should ever be placed on the ordeal through which Bengal has just passed: but should any such calamity ever befall you, rest assured Bengal will not fail solidly to stand by you and fight shoulder to shoulder for the redress of your wrong. With these words I heartily support the proposition which has been put before you by my friend and chief, the hero of the fight. The "settled fact" is dead, long live the settled fact!

Mr. Mahomed Roshan Ali Chowdhry (Faridpur) also supported the resolution in a Bengali speech.

Mr. Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry (Lahore) was another speaker who supported the resolution. He said:—I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution. If one fact is clear it is this, that at last the people's voice must be heard. The whole of India was clamouring over this question. It was a matter of great grief to Bengal, and it is a great pleasure to me to find that His Majesty himself comes to India to remove the wrong that Lord Curzon had done. With these words I beg to support the resolution.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION III.—THE PROVINCE OF BEHAR AND TERRITORIAL RE-DISTRIBUTION

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad) proposed the following Resolution:—

"That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Behar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and prays that in readjusting the provincial boundaries the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

He said:—I do not think many words are necessary to commend this Resolution for your acceptance. His Majesty's visit to this country has brought happiness not only to Bengal but also to Behar. We rejoice in the happiness of Bengal. We of the United Provinces have great reasons to rejoice in the happiness of Behar, because we find that not only has Behar been made into a separate province but it has been given a Governor with an Executive Council. Therein lies the hope of the United Provinces.

The next part of the Resolution prays for something more to be done for Bengal, and we who represent the other provinces of India shall be only too happy to support Bengal in future as we have been supporting her in the past.

Now, gentlemen, the second part of the Resolution says that in readjusting the provincial boundaries of Bengal the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration. I should be very slow in giving my personal opinion upon any matter relating to the readjustment of a province with the geography of which I was not perfectly and personally familiar. At the same time I have been assured, and I take that assurance, that it is the desire of our friends in Bengal that districts such as Manbhoom and Sylhet which consist of a large number of Bengali-speaking people should be placed under the same administration. It seems to me that in principle and on historical grounds such a desire is eminently reasonable, and we hope that now especially when the partition of Bengal, that settled fact of Lord Morley, has been unsettled, such a further concession will not be denied. That is all I have to say. I wish only to repeat our congratulations to our friends in Behar and to say that we expect that they will do for us what lies in their power to support us in our claims for what we require in the United Province s.

Mr. Parameswar Lall (Behar) in seconding the Resolution said:—

A distinguished speaker has spoken before me, and a speaker still more distinguished is coming after me—I mean Mr. A. Chaudhuri. I shall not therefore stand long between him and you. This Resolution speaks for itself. Our friends in Bengal have called upon you to rejoice with them in the modification of the partition, and our friends in Behar have also called upon us to rejoice with them in the creation of a new province with a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council. This is not at all a new proposition in this Congress. The recognition of Behar as a separate unit is a boon which we owe in a measure to you, gentlemen of the Congress. We in Behar have been crying ourselves hoarse over this question for a number of years. I may tell you this in confidence, that we in Behar had begun to despair of our province being at any time recognised as a separate administration, but the Gov-

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ernment has solved the difficulty and the things which we have been asking for, for the last 18 years have now been granted. The difficulty has now been solved by one sentence which has been pronounced by His Majesty; and we, of Behar, now stand before you as a new province full-fledged, better fledged than the older province, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

The second part of the Resolution calls upon you to record the fact that in the re-distribution, when it comes actually to be carried out, so far as Bengal is concerned, the Bengali-speaking tracts should be kept in the main province of Bengal. This is not a principle with which any Beharee will quarrel. We who have suffered by being kept under a Government which did not recognise our claims, accord our full and whole-hearted support to those parts of Bengal and the Bengali-speaking people who have not up to the present moment been joined to the parent Bengal province. That is all I have to say, and I have to thank you from the bottom of my heart for what you have done for us.

Mr. Ananda Chandra Roy (Dacca) in supporting the Resolution said:—

I am sorry that I was not present last night when this Resolution was framed. I was not told till I came here that I would have to support or second this proposition. Of course I am glad that this opportunity has been given to me to rejoice with the Behar gentlemen. I knew from before that Behar wanted a separate administration for themselves and therefore I rejoice with them now that they have got it, and I support this Resolution. But here I think I ought to say a few words as regards the next portion of the Resolution with which I am most concerned, namely, that in re-adjusting the provincial boundaries the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration. In this the Bengalis are more concerned than anyone else; but I think, gentlemen, the other provinces will support us when we ask that the whole of the Bengali-speaking people should be placed under one and the same administration. I will say something about Sylhet. In 1873 and 1874 Sylhet was taken away from Bengal. At that time the Sylhet people made a great complaint and agitated to some extent, and I am sorry that at that time the other districts of Bengal did not help them in the least. I think that the partition of Bengal was made on account of that sin by which Sylhet was allowed to be taken away. I think we have expiated that sin for 7 years and now we ought to be gratified and rejoice that Sylhet is still willing to join with us as are many of the other places such as Purnea and Manbhoom. I very heartily support the Resolution which has been placed before you.

Mr. Anath Bandhu Guha (Mymensingh) who also supported the Resolution said:—

It is a matter of very great gratification to me to be associated with this resolution, for it has given me an opportunity to place before you the sense of disappointment, humiliation, and agony which is now being felt by the people of Sylhet, and the people of Manbhoom. We value the modification of the partition not merely because it has uplifted us from demoralization and from despair, but also because it has opened before us the prospects of a brilliant future, a prospect for which the whole nation is longing. I submit, Sir, that the rights and privileges which are shortly to flow from this modification will also be allowed to be enjoyed by our brethren who have not as yet been placed under the same administration, namely, Bengal. Take the instance of Sylhet. As you have heard from Mr. A. C. Roy, Sylhet was cut off from Bengal in 1874 and joined with Assam, not because Sylhet had anything in common with Assam—its language was different, its customs and manners were different, its land laws were different—but it was cut out off from Bengal because Assam alone could not meet the cost of its administration. I submit, Sir, that this consideration ought not now to prevail. The privileges which you are to enjoy ought to be shared by the Bengali-speaking people all over, and I appeal to you who are working under circumstances under which anyone else would be struck down,—I appeal to you, Sir, to continue your efforts with the same energy so that the claims of Sylhet and Manbhoom should not be overlooked when the redistri-

bution arises. With these words, gentlemen, I beg to accord my hearty support to this Resolution.

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Mr. A. Chaudhuri (Calcutta) in supporting the Resolution said:—

I did not intend to speak to-day, but there has evidently been an omission which remains to be supplied, and that is this: Not a word of tribute has been spoken in respect of Lord Curzon. He is undoubtedly a great man, and in the words of the poet, he left his foot-prints on the sands of time. Unfortunately sand is always treacherous and his foot-prints on the sand have been obliterated. It is unfortunate that he made an attempt to leave his foot-prints. His foot-prints have gone. Perhaps it would have been more useful if he left his finger-prints upon the masterly despatch; then there would have been no question as to the identity of the great author of it. Gentlemen, he has done a great service to us. He made us feel that we as a nation must take our stand against those who want to destroy us as a nation. This is the lesson that he taught us and a word of tribute is necessary for the man who taught us that lesson.

There is another matter to which I must allude. It is this. A full measure of praise has been eloquently given by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee to those who have staunchly supported us. I have nothing to do with that. But we must not in this connection also forget our half-hearted friends. They are in our social economy a necessity. They are useful, and we have to thank them for such help as they have rendered. We have also to thank our whole-hearted enemies, for every word they said to us went home and made us feel that we had to stand on our own legs. Gentlemen, we have succeeded in standing on our own legs. With regard to the Resolution before you I have only a few words to say. I think of our separation from Behar with mixed feelings. I am a great believer in the joint family system. We were all happy with them. I am happy that our brother who has been with us so long is going to set up house on his own account and stand upon his own legs. Everything of this kind has our support. We are sorry to lose our brother from amongst us, but our hands of fellowship will always be extended to them and I hope that Behar will reciprocate the feeling which kept us together. I hope that in future the Bengali in Behar and the Beharee in Bengal will be treated as brothers always.

In this connection I make an appeal to our Mahomedan friends. May I appeal to them for one moment and say to them, let us forget the dark cloud which was thrown over the two communities? We are ready to meet you more than half way if you will only come to us. We made our advances. I will not say that they were rejected, but you did not look towards us and thought fit to keep away. May I not appeal to my Bengali Mahomedan friends that they owe some allegiance to the country of their birth, if not the country of their birth, at least the country of their adoption? Is it possible that they do not wish to benefit their own motherland? We shall always thankfully receive any help which they might give us. We shall do all in our power and try to help them. Let us be friends together again and forget the advice of those who scarcely belong to this province. Let us always be united intellectually to raise the common cause which we have to serve, let us be together. Gentlemen, I have nothing further to say but to commend this Resolution for your acceptance.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION IV.—REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Baikuntha Nath Sen (Berhampur; Bengal) proposed the fourth Resolution which ran as follows:—

"That this Congress respectfully repeats its protest against the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act, and prays that, in view of the loyal enthusiasm evoked by the Royal visit and the official pronouncements about an improvement in the general situation, these measures, as well as the Regulations authorising deportations without trial, may now be removed from the Indian Statute-Book."

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He said :—The two Acts that have been mentioned in the Resolution are first of all the Seditious Meetings Act, which is still in the Statute-Book as “The prevention of Seditious Meetings Act VI of 1907, an Act to make better provision for the prevention of public meetings likely to breed sedition or to cause a disturbance to public tranquility”. It was considered expedient to have this Act. The other Act which is mentioned in the resolution is the Press Act. This is called in the Statute-Book “The Indian Press Act I, of 1910, an Act to provide for the better control of the Press”. It was also considered necessary to have this Act. This resolution asks for the repeal of these two Acts of the India Council and certain Regulations which were enacted in the beginning of the nineteenth century. This Regulation is Bengal Regulation, No. 3, of 1818. Similar Regulations affecting other provinces were also passed at about the same time. This Resolution asks also for the repeal of this Regulation.

It is necessary to mention here the reasons and arguments which would justify this course and which lead us to make such a demand. It is necessary therefore to give the genesis of these Acts and these Regulations as shortly as possible. Taking them chronologically, the first is the Regulation of 1818 which was for the deportation of suspected persons without trial, and this Regulation came into existence at a time when the British Government was not founded on a solid basis. There were feuds and fights, and the Government for its own stability had to remove certain persons who were suspected of doing something to bring down British government. Publicity by way of trial of such persons was most undesirable at that time. A public trial would have given a certain amount of publicity which was not thought desirable, for political reasons, and it was therefore thought expedient to remove such persons without any trial.

Then with regard to these two Acts. We know that these Acts are the creatures of the partition of Bengal and the unrest and misdeeds and crimes, anarchical crimes which we all deplore and condemn.

First came the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907. At that time a certain portion of the Press were in favour of conciliatory measures, another portion of the Press urged the Government to go in for coercive measures for putting down anarchical crimes. The Government, or rather I should say Lord Minto and Lord Morley, while holding that these anarchical crimes were not of a general or universal character but were confined to a few fanatics and lunatics only, held at the same time that the strongest measures were necessary for the purpose of repressing these crimes. At the same time their Lordships held that nothing would deter them from granting the reformed Council or any other concession that they had decided upon granting to the people of India. Therefore they adopted a middle course and this Act was passed. This Act was passed therefore in a half-hearted way. This Act was ushered into existence with a life of three years only, subject, however, to extension if necessary. Then again with regard to its operation also, though it was an Act which extended to the whole of the British empire, its operation was left dependent upon the wish of the local Governments. These Governments were authorised to extend the operation of this Act either to the whole province or any portion of the province. This Act therefore was introduced, as I have said, in a half-hearted way. When the three years were about to expire there was an agitation upon this point. The Legislature then thought that a further extension of life was still necessary, so the Act is still in force.

Now with regard to the Press Act, it was considered necessary by the Government. There were certain papers which of course did not show that amount of discretion in their writings which would enable them to be regarded as not yet beyond control. It was absolutely necessary therefore that the Press should be under better control. Every one recognizes that the freedom of the Press is desirable, but unchecked liberty cannot be countenanced. This Act was passed at a time when it was considered necessary. And the Government cannot altogether be blamed for this; nor can I for once say that the prevention

of Seditious Meetings Act was one which the Government was not justified in considering as being expedient. But now the times have changed, all the circumstances have changed, and the adaptation of the present circumstances must be followed by the government also by a judicial pronouncement solemnly made after due deliberation going to show that circumstances have changed. And in the words of the Resolution there is an improvement in the general situation. The unrest has almost disappeared. I hope the anarchical crimes which were the work of only a few fanatics or lunatics have ceased altogether. Now is the time therefore that the Government should repeal these Resolutions. With regard to the prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, this can be done very easily. A very little amount of inactivity on the part of the Government is all that is required and that will be quite enough. If no longer lease of life is given to this Act it must die a natural death. So the matter is very simple.

With regard to the old Regulations, these are obsolete, fossilised Regulations which were enacted at a time when the British Government did not, as I have already said, stand on such a solid basis. As now the British Government stands on an absolutely adamant basis not only on account of its territorial acquisition but also by reason of the great loyalty which the British Government has secured in the heart of the whole of the subjects of his Majesty. There is no need now for transporting or deporting persons without trial. We deplore the deportation of true patriots like our friends Kristo Kumar Mitra, Aswini Kumar Dutta, Lala Lajpat Rai. Subsequent events have shown that the Government had merely a slight suspicion, without that suspicion being founded upon facts, much less upon any evidence at all. This justifies us in urging the removal from the Statute-Book of the Regulations which were considered expedient about a hundred years ago.

Then with regard to the Seditious Meetings Act, pronouncements have been solemnly made, judicially and officially, which go to show that this Act is now out of date. There is no necessity whatsoever for it. Though the Government was justified at the time when this Act was passed there is no necessity at the present moment for its continuance. This Congress is therefore fully justified in asking for its repeal.

With regard to the Press Act, the Press now thoroughly understands and realises its position. The Press can now be depended upon even without the control provided for under this Act to discharge its duties in such a way that the Government will not be able to find any fault with it. Speeches from the platform and writings in the newspapers are absolutely necessary for the good administration of the country and the Government ought always to hear both the sides of a question. That can only be done by having a free Press and allowing freedom in platform speeches. These two Acts are intended to restrict and control, at the present moment unnecessarily and unjustly, public writings and public speeches.

Now in view of the enthusiasm which has been evoked by the Royal visit, and having regard to the fact that these Acts were passed when there were certain circumstances which no longer exist, the retention of them throws a needless distress upon us educated middle classes. In this connection there is a little anecdote in connection with the King's visit to Arrah which I ought to mention. While coming down from Delhi to Calcutta I stopped for a while at the Arrah station, where I was told that when his Majesty alighted the public were not allowed to come near him, but were kept enclosed within a certain fencing. When his Majesty observed this he showed that he trusted the people fully and directed the removal of the fencing, the result being that the people were allowed to approach him within a distance of two or three cubits. If his Majesty thinks he can safely place full trust upon our people, I do not see why the officials here will not do so also, and why they will not imitate the noble example of his Imperial Majesty. If this be done it will be a joyous day for us all. I have not the slightest doubt that it will give his Imperial Majesty the greatest satisfaction to know that his Government now has the fullest trust in his Indian subjects, and it will add to the dignity and grandeur of the Government. With these remarks I ask you to accept the Resolution.

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Mr. Daji Abaji Khare (Bombay) in seconding the Resolution said :—

The proposer of this Resolution seems to justify the existence of these statutes and resolutions on the Statute Book, at least for the moment or for the time; he seems to suppose that, and I do not think he is singular in that respect, for many of my friends assumed that attitude and conceded for the moment the necessity of these acts and resolutions, and my own point of view was that they did so because they thought that if they conceded for a moment the necessity of it the Government would come round to their view and listen to their prayer that these acts and regulations should cease to exist the moment the necessity had finished. But in this view of the policy of the Government they were taken in more than they succeeded. Their admission of the necessity for the Act was taken, but not so their expectations that it would be for a short time only. A mere denial was given to those who thought that the statutes would cease when the necessity for these acts was gone, that they would be of short duration. This circumstance gives us a good lesson to be followed in the future in the many questions that are sure to arise. It is considered to be what we would call good tactics, what we call shrewdness and reasonableness, that it is always beneficial to try and meet the Government demand for the moment with the view that the Government will be induced further on to come round to your view. If ever there was any answer to that idea, if ever there was any defeat given to such a policy, that defeat this policy has received in connection with these statutes. I would say that these measures were never wanted. I do not consider that there was ever any necessity in India for any such measures, that there was anything which actually called for measures of this description. Though I am not one of the legal Members of Council, I am decidedly of this opinion which was shared by the gentleman who was in charge of the Bill, for he conceded that the ordinary laws of India were quite enough to meet the requirements of every case that arose. No doubt another eminent Legal Member had different views from that, but whatever the difference of opinion may be, I for my own part do really think that the existing laws were quite sufficient to meet any emergency whatever.

Now let us consider what was the effect of these acts. That effect was very well portrayed in one of the speeches delivered in the Supreme Legislative Council. These acts, it must be conceded, practically killed political life in India. There were many meetings held, but for what? They gave instructions for collecting subscriptions, for memorials, for congratulations and for similar things, but there were no meetings to protest against wrongful or illegal acts, there was no agitation against measures which were not liked by the people. There were no speeches against any of these things either delivered from the platforms or any letters published in the public print, because almost everyone was afraid that if he came within these laws or transgressed the laws there was a chance of his being held up not under the ordinary law but under these darkening laws which no doubt were laws but were the most illegal of laws. You may pass anything and call it a law, but all the same they are illegal laws which ought never to have been on the Statute Book. They should not blot the statute Book which is framed under the aegis of the greatest politicians of England.

I therefore say that these statutes were not required, they are not certainly required now and the sooner they are abolished the better for everyone concerned. Of course we say that you passed them because you thought that the times were such that the Government required such measures, but now with the modification of the partition these times have gone by, and we say that whatever occasion there was, whatever case there may have been in favour of these acts, that is all finished and therefore you must take away these statutes.

As regards the deportation Regulations, no doubt they are the old standing regulations of 1813, no doubt it has been said that almost every Government has in its armoury of weapons some regulations of this kind for removing dangerous people

at a moment's notice. I can quite conceive that in exceptional times when there is danger of a revolution in the country, such regulations may properly be used, but I do not concede that there was such a danger; and although a weapon may be good, I do not concede that the arms which wielded these weapons were arms that ought to have been trusted with these weapons. A knife may be very good, but if you entrust it into improper hands it is bad. It would be better to take away the knife from such hands, or to see that the person who holds it is more reasonable. So far as these regulations are concerned, in every case in which there has been deportation the Government were forced to admit that they took steps and deported these people entirely no ground whatever. A common policeman makes a report, that report is forwarded by his superior to a superior officer, and it passes from one to the other until ultimately it is sent up to the Government, and it is taken to be gospel by the Government. In this way the liberty of the most respectable man and the most law-abiding citizen will be threatened without his knowledge, and without the man having any notice of what is going on. Regulations like that which are worked by such machinery require to be removed forthwith. Therefore we pray that these regulations be abolished and that the future history of India should not be allowed to be darkened with such shameful measures. With these few words I have much pleasure in seconding this Resolution.

Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Rao (Madras) in supporting the Resolution said :—

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to say a single word in support of this resolution. It needs no supporting from me after the able manner in which it has been proposed by Mr. Baikuntha Nath Sen and the splendid way in which it has been seconded by Mr. Khare. The genesis of these acts and these regulations have been explained to you, and I may tell you that perhaps there is no province which has escaped the operation of these acts and regulations within the last few years. Perhaps there were reasons for the exercise of these acts and these regulations, but now it is certain, it is admitted on all hands, that there is really no occasion at present for the exercise of any of the powers which are given under these acts and regulations. As a matter of fact we Indians claim to be tried openly with all the evidence against us placed before the Courts, and we shall be happy to be dealt with in any manner that the law provides. In the wisdom of the administration ample provision has been made under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code, and no procedure should be adopted if it is not in the manner therein provided. What we ask is that there should be a trial, and if there is a trial there will be no room for any remark, and things will not depend upon the pleasure of this gentleman or that one. These acts are so broad and the provisions are such that they may be easily made use of without the knowledge of anyone concerned. And secondly what we do say is that if the occasion for the acts and regulations has gone, why should we still stick to them? We therefore only pray to Government that these be abolished, that they may be removed from the Statute Book. We also say that, as a matter of fact, when His Majesty the King Emperor has been crowned as King at Delhi, when the hearts of the people of this country are rejoicing over the boons that have been given to us, why should the administration of the country be put to any disadvantage by the existence of the repressive measures? Can it be said by anyone that the prayer which is put down in this Resolution is one, which is unreasonable and which Government should not find within their power to grant? On the other hand we take it—I for one take it—that the abolition of the C. I. D. itself is called for. Don't give us any Honors' Lists next year. It is only confined to individuals who get honors for acts done here and there. In the year to come we do not want any Honors' List. What we want is the abolition of these acts and regulations to vindicate the national character. We shall be happy if these acts and regulations are removed from the Statute Book; that will be a grand Honors' List for the country. With these few words I heartily support the proposition.

The motion was put and agreed to.

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The Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu then said :—

It has been suggested that an amendment in the Rules and Constitution of the Congress which has been carried by the Sub-Committee should be put to this Congress. It is that amendment which we desire should be put by the President immediately after the re-assembling of the Congress after lunch. The Resolution runs as follows :—

"That the Constitution and Rules of the Indian National Congress, as amended by the Sub-Committee appointed at the last Session of the Congress, be adopted."

If I have the assent of the Members of the Subjects Committee to it then I can ask the President to put it to the meeting as soon as he comes in.

The Congress here Adjourned for Lunch.

On re-assembling, the President announced that the amendment referred to by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu before the adjournment, had been approved by the Subjects Committee, and he would therefore put it from the chair. He then put the following resolution to the meeting :—

RESOLUTION V.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS

"That the Constitution and Rules of the Indian National Congress, * as amended by the Sub-Committee appointed at the last Session of the Congress, be adopted."

The motion was put and unanimously agreed to.

RESOLUTION VI.—THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

The Hon. Mr. M. S. Dass (Cuttack) moved the following resolution :—

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

The resolution which I have been asked to move is a very important one considering the present state of our country. Any one who has observed the industrial condition of India during the last few years must have noticed the industrial awakening throughout the length and breadth of the land. Industrial India had slumbered for nearly a century. Within the last few years we have noticed the pulse beat, the sign of revival of life. It is a general feeling throughout India that India must rise, must be progressive in the industrial world, and make her mark in the industrial world, as at least some parts of India have made their mark in the industrial world. Unfortunately the expression Swadeshi movement has, at least in some parts of India, been associated with ideas which partake more or less of politics. Whether it is due to the indiscretion of some men engaged in politics, or whether it is an unjustifiable inference of unfriendly critics, or whether it is a mere coincidence of facts being put together, it is not now necessary to enquire, for the partition has been annulled. There is no partition, no cleavage. My esteemed and admired friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and my friend Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar have both declared that bygones should be bygones; let spite, envy and ill-feeling, if there existed these things at any time in connection with agitation, not appear again. Partition has gone, and no feeling which is unworthy of the sacred name of patriotism should find existence in the Swadeshi movement. Now this Swadeshi movement, what is it? After all there is no politics in it. Is there any politics if I prefer the milk of my own cow to the milk of the milkman's cow?—or if I prefer vegetables from my own garden to what I find in the municipal market? These matters should not be associated with any politics. The Swadeshi movement is really a term which denotes patriotism in helping your own industries. Patriotism does not associate itself with any feeling that is not sacred. The patriot stands for the good of his country; he invokes God's blessing upon his efforts. Rest assured that a man who associates his patriotic efforts and his patriotic emotions with any unworthy idea is not a true patriot. A patriot will die

* For the amended Constitution and Rules adopted by the Congress, see Appendices A and B.

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for the good of his country ; he will not commit murder. He stands on his right ; he may be tempted sometimes in the defence of his rights to inflict a wound upon a person who wants to oust him from a place where he wants to stand, but he will not bear any ill-feeling ; he will not bear any grudge towards others. We admire the patriots of our country, and we admire the patriots of other countries ; and very often we have learnt lessons of patriotism from the great patriots of England and other parts of Europe. India has a glorious history if we look into the industrial history of India in ancient times. Unfortunately for India, in her early days of British contact, the administration was placed in the hands of a Trading Company which naturally attached greater importance to commercial interests ; and is it any wonder that the industries of the country suffered, that the industries of the country died ? However, it is not necessary now to enquire into the question as to whom this should be ascribed to. It is sufficient for us to know that these industries have died. We stand to-day on the graves of these grand industries of India as we do on the graves of Emperors of India. Our attempt is not a movement towards the development of the industries of India it is an attempt to regenerate industrial India.

Looking at the papers of this morning I find a leading article in one of the dailies, the best, the most sensible daily that issues from the pen of Englishmen. I mean the "Statesman" (hisses). In speaking of the Congress yesterday, that paper said that the "attendance was fair, but it was impossible to avoid the feeling that the Congress is already ceasing to play that part in Indian public life which it used to play a few years ago. As has been pointed out in our columns, the creation of the Legislative Councils must necessarily to a large extent provide a new outlet for the various energies which previously were devoted to the Congress movement. The more moderate men and more practical men naturally prefer to devote themselves to the work of the Legislative Councils, where what they see is immediate effect, rather than to the work of the Congress which must necessarily be relatively ineffective." I have some experience of the work done in the Legislative Councils. I have been in that Council for 12 years, and this is perhaps the fourth time I am serving there. And I have also taken an interest in the industrial development, or rather in the revival of dying industries, in certain parts of this country. I have been practically interested in the industrial movement for the last 20 years. My interests in the industries of India has nothing of politics associated with it ; so the Swadeshi movement need not mean a political movement. and I mean to say that if the Congress has in its hand work of this nature, work of a nature which is implied in the words of the Resolution which I have in my hand, are we to suppose that there is no practical work to be done by this Congress ? This is a monumental task before the Congress. The work of the Legislative Councils is to discuss a certain Legislative measure and pass it, and so far as that legislative measure goes the Council becomes *functus officio*. Any one who is interesting himself in the industrial development of the country will never become *functus officio*. It is always going on. It is a ceaseless work, and there is no end to the work ; and it is really practical work. What is this work before you ? The Resolution says that the Congress asks you, brother delegates, to lend your cordial support to the movement, and it calls upon the people of India to labour for the success of the movement. I could not possibly conceive an assembly of which it can be better said that it was a representative assembly of the whole of India, and I could not have had a better opportunity of appealing to my country and calling upon the people of India on behalf of this august assembly, to labour for the success of the movement. The hands of the artizan of India, whose work is admired in Europe even now in the present day, are now incapable, though here and there you can find some solitary examples in different parts of India where their skill is still a living thing, but in the main that hand is pulseless, atrophied. The industry of India, that picture of my imagination, lies motionless, seemingly dead, and it is your duty to revive her, to restore life into her. You may have seen signs of consciousness, sparks of

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intelligence in her eyes and her face, but the hands are pulseless and atrophied, and you have to restore vitality and life to the pulseless hand, so that industrial India may rise again. Unfortunately for the cause of the industries of this country, there is a false impression in the minds of my educated friends that the labour of an artizan's occupation is unworthy of a respectable man. Let me tell you that I have always admired and I have always gloried in the dignity of labour. I work as a goldsmith, I work as a carpenter, I work as a tanner. I work with my own hands as a shoemaker. I am the personal supervisor of my factories and I personally attend to all the things that are to be done. I cannot understand why this hand should not work to earn the bread that it puts in my mouth? I do not understand why an educated man should not undertake any such occupation. Now there is important work before you, before the whole of India. You have to restore vitality to the pulseless hand of the Indian artizan; the artizan is the backbone of a nation. When I was travelling in Europe more than 15 years ago, for the purpose of studying the development of industries in those countries, I was forcibly impressed with the fact that the only form of patriotism that can give practical relief to India was the development of her industries. That noble work you have before you, it is a very important work, but at the same time it is a very serious work. And I earnestly beseech you, in the interests of your country, in the interests of future generations, to rise to the occasion and use your utmost endeavours to restore life to the dying arts of India. You, I, all of us, are responsible for the various industries that have found a place here, and I sincerely hope that we shall all realize our duties in connection with this and do our best to develop the industries of India. With these few words I have great pleasure in moving this Resolution.

Mr. S. K. Nair (Madras) in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that has just been moved by our distinguished citizen of Cuttack regarding the question of the Swadeshi movement is one which I have been asked to second. In this connection I am extremely happy to point out to you the fact that while all other resolutions have been as it were a matter of appealing to the Government, this resolution is an appeal to you citizens of the empire. It is not by appealing to the Government that we are going to have a revival of our industries; but it is by appealing to ourselves that we can bring about the economic regeneration of our mother land. If there is one man more than another in all India whose patriotic fervour is infinite, if there is one man more than another whose patriotism is unbounded, if there is one man more than another whose economic knowledge is beyond question in all India, that man is His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. In 1906, on the Congress platform, under the auspices of the Industrial Conference he delivered an inaugural address which was of a soul-stirring and epoch-making character. Upon that occasion His Highness said, "Fail to pass through this ordeal, and you will entirely fail, as it is our last ordeal, it is our last chance". I do not think it will be possible for any one who has to put the question to you to put it in more emphatic terms than His Highness did upon that occasion. Since then how do we stand? We have heard a great deal about the partition and its annulment, and about the movement that sprang from it, upon which rests the future welfare and prosperity of this vast empire. I may, with your permission, give you a few statistics which will convince you of the deplorable condition in which Indian industries stand. In 1907 we imported cotton to the extent of 44 crores; wool to the extent of 2.75 crores; gold 20.75 crores metal 14 crores; sugar 11 crores; kerosine oil 2.50 crores; rails 2.50; matches 2.40; wine 2 crores; oil 2 crores; haberdashery .87 crores; glass 1.50 crores; cigarettes, those pernicious cigarettes which so insidiously creep into the hands of school boys—0.61 crores.

After giving some more figures, Mr. Nair proceeding said:—I do not think that the late Mr. Justice Ranade resorted to any exaggeration when he said that industrially speaking

were standing on the brink of a precipice and that it required but a slight touch to send us down into an unfathomable abyss. Then, sir, how are we to rectify the evil? I ask you, ask every one of our delegates, to say that this is a very important resolution, a resolution which we, one and all of us, will have to take upon ourselves, and we will each one of us have to work might and main to save the industries of the land. We can only hope to give effect to this resolution by fervent devotion to our motherland. Brother delegates, it is a very great work which brings to our minds associations of a very important character. So let us all work together to drag on the car of progress. Let us not be satisfied till we succeed in making India stand on the highest pinnacle of glory.

Mr. Sasanka Jiban Ray (Bengal) in supporting the resolution said:—The subject matter of the resolution which I have been called upon to support has been agitating our minds for the last six years. Gentlemen, I have nothing new to add to what has already been uttered by the previous speakers. But gentlemen, the truth must be told. However, hideous reiteration may be, the whole thing must be repeated from year to year until the causes of the present state of things are wiped out of existence. Whatever the cause of the gradually increasing poverty of the Indian people under British rule may be, the loss of her industries is certainly one of the greatest and most potent of causes. I may be allowed to say that the industrial policy of the British Government during the early days of the 19th century is entirely responsible for the utter ruin of the Indian manufacturers.

I will just quote to you a few words from what Mr. Wilson the historian writes:—“The cotton and silk goods of India up to the period 1813 A.D. could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufactures. Had India been independent she should have retaliated. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.”

This confirms once more the fact that the industrial policy decided upon by the Government in the early days of the 19th century was clearly responsible for the economic miseries of the Indian people. The policy of India has all along been to make the Indians produce corn for the consumption of the Indian people and cheap cotton for the merchants of Lancashire. That policy must be changed. India should not any longer be a country for producing goods for the benefit of other nations. We cannot expect to have everything we desire in this direction until when we have attained self-government. Without proper fiscal legislation it is impossible to arrive at that result. Until we attain that position in matters of finance and have practical power in the administration of the country, we must cut down the barrier in the way of production by means of the Swadeshi movement. We must help indigenous industries and develop them. The policy of the Government is one of the greatest drawbacks, but under the wise dispensation of Providence we have the Swadeshi movement. This movement has two sides. First, we must encourage our home industries, and secondly, we must give preference to every home-made article over foreign commodities. In going in for Swadeshi we must all abstain from the use of foreign articles. Call it boycott, or if you are afraid of this term, call it by any other name, but the thing is there. Gentlemen, I ask you one and all to stick to the Swadeshi vow which you have already taken more than once. With these few words I have pleasure in supporting this resolution.

Mr. Dwarkanath (Mozufferpore) also supported the resolution in a humorous speech delivered in Hindustani.

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The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

Babu Surendranath Banerjea, who at this stage took the chair, announced that the resolution on Elementary Education would stand over and be taken up the next day as the President had one or two suggestions to make in regard to the exact wording of the resolution. The Congress would therefore pass on to the next resolution, and he called upon Dr. Sarat K. Mullick to move it.

RESOLUTION VII.—SANITATION

Resolution VII.
Sanitation.

Dr. Sarat K. Mullick (Bengal) moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress, while thanking the Government for having initiated a system of scientific enquiry into the circumstances affecting the origin and progress of plague, malaria and other diseases, urges the necessity of immediately taking in hand such practical measures as the opening of congested areas, the reclamation of silted rivers, the clearing of jungles, the draining of water-logged areas, and better provision for the supply of pure drinking water throughout the country."

In doing so he said.—

Mr. President, I feel that in undertaking to move this resolution, I have accepted a task which in magnitude and urgency cannot be beaten by any other matter that may come before you. The question of sanitation has been long neglected,—neglected as much on account of our own shortcomings as on that of the Government. Our contentions today are not the morality of the copy books. The science of hygiene no longer partakes of the nature of explorations in the tangled jungle of new surmises and theories. We live in reality, and in greater reality we have suffered. Plague and malaria have marched in relentless array, and we stand aghast at the enormity of our transgression of the laws of hygiene. What is to be done is the question of questions. In the first place water is the sovereign solvent of most of the ills that flesh is heir to, and therefore it is necessary that the water-supply should be pure. In each village a separate tank for drinking water should be set aside by tank allotment by the District Boards. At present the rule is that the owner pays $\frac{1}{3}$ and the District Board $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cost. It has not worked well because the owner thinks that thereby the District Board gets too strong a hold on his property. I remember going to Perojpur in Barisal where I saw how acute this water difficulty was. It led in some cases to actual fights, and fresh water was sold at so much a pot. The whole Districts of Jessore, Khulna and Barisal are water-logged with salt water, and a proper drainage canal would set matters right. The Bhariar and Kathak Rivers are not dredged properly and hence the pestilential swamps of these districts. We find that this process might be carried out in other places where dredging might remove the pools and ponds of malaria, cholera and other pestilential diseases. The theory that Railway embankments are largely responsible for these diseases has been laughed at. But in actual practice we see that unless open and running canals are placed side by side, malaria breaks out in great epidemics and becomes endemic. Many a fair Auburn has changed its character from being the sweetest village in the plains to that of veritable death-traps. We want a series of reforms. We want in the very first place, our distinguished friend Mr. Gokhale's Free and Compulsory Education Bill to be given effect. Ignorance is the prolific mother of disease. Then, education is our first line of defence. By this only can we carry a holy Jihad against the infidel bacilli and insidious micro-organism. We want travelling lecturers to go into the remote interior with magic lanterns to explain in a concise and graphic manner the process and progress of preventible diseases. We must have local certificated sanitary officers who in conjunction with the village Panchayat will be always on the *qui vive* with regard to local hygienic conditions, we want that the Road and Public Works Cess shall be spent purely for sanitation and not be frittered on subsidising steamers and in some cases, as I am informed, in supporting the police. We want that specialists from foreign countries shall be placed merely at the head-quarters where research investiga-

ons are being carried out and that in those works where contact with the people is necessary we shall get men with local knowledge. We know what mischief was done in the early days of the plague outbreak when doctors were imported by the score from England and men without local experience were employed. We trust we shall always get people who know the prejudices of the people, for that knowledge is the most valuable asset of the Government. We must work through the agency of Kavirajes for they are to be found in every nook and corner, they are very influential with the orthodox people, their method of treatment is cheap, and they know the treatment of chronic diseases exceedingly well. The National Medical College of India is doing yeoman's service in this respect by teaching these men the modern sciences as well. It is well-known that nine-tenth of the population still believe in modern Kavirajee treatment. But what good can any treatment do if the most recent appliances and discoveries are not placed at the disposal of the public dispensaries,—for instance in cholera the saline treatment, in tuberculosis or consumption the tuberculin treatment,—and such treatment should be available in every Mofussil town and hamlet. We want at head-quarters a well established Public Health Laboratory and well-equipped staff to investigate the various problems as they are. We want a special Sanitation member in each Provincial Council. Last, not least, we want an adequate grant from the Government. I believe a sum of 5 lakhs has been given. This is merely a drop in the ocean. We want a recurrent grant from the Local and Imperial revenues. We can do without a new and gorgeous capital at Delhi, but we cannot do without expenditure on our public health department. The Budget for the new capital at Delhi will be like Aaron's rod which swallowed up all the serpents, it will swallow up the little financial crumbs we might have got for sanitation. But let us be strong in the all-conquering might of right and bring our grievances to the ear of our rulers and we shall certainly triumph, and that triumph will bring in its train peace, productiveness and prosperity.

Dr. J. N. Ghose (Bengal) in seconding the resolution said:—

I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been proposed by Dr. Mullick. He has made my task easier as he has already dwelt upon almost all the important points of the resolution. The two chief works of the present day are sanitation and education. You may say whatever you may, but without these we cannot progress. If there is an epidemic of cholera among us or an outbreak of plague, what can we do? How many of us ever think of the many millions who are silently dying of malaria among us? By better sanitation, by better drainage, we can improve in this direction. Take, again, another instance; consumption, which is called the white plague, is found in our country, and its ravages are so fearful that black plague is nothing to it. Take statistics. Last year there were about 1,100 applicants for admission to the Dhurum-pore sanitarium. Now all this means that we cannot do anything without the aid of Government. The people cannot do anything singlehanded. In matters of education or sanitation we need the help of the Government.

Kaviraj Jatindra Nath Sen (Bengal) also supported the resolution.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VIII.—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Mr. A. P. Patro (Madras) moved the next resolution which runs as follows:—

“That this Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government Scheme of Lord Ripon has not had a fair trial, and the Congress expresses the earnest hope that the Government may be pleased to take early steps to extend the application of the principle of election in the constitution of all local bodies and to confer upon them the right of electing non-official chairmen, and further that they may be provided with adequate financial aid by the State.”

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ment.*

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ment.

In moving the resolution he said :—The foundation for Local Self-Government was, as you know, laid first by that illustrious Viceroy Lord Ripon in 1882. The Resolution of 1882 laid down that there should be no official preponderance in the local bodies, and that the people should recognise and be shown that actual power is given to them, and that they should also recognise that actual responsibility is given to them. Now, what is the present condition of the local bodies? Two years later, various provincial Acts were passed in Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces and elsewhere. In all these provincial Acts you find that the Presidents of the Sub-Committees or Taluk Boards and District Boards should be elected. But there is a provision in these acts that as far as possible encouragement should be given for their nomination. Taking advantage of the saving clause we find that in all provinces the District Board presidents are not elected but nominated by Government and he is the Collector of the district. Similarly in Taluk Boards, the presidents are nominated and the president almost invariably happens to be the District Officer. In the Union Panchayat in Madras all the members of the Union Committee are nominated and the president is also nominated. The act lays down that a certain proportion of the members of the Taluk and District Boards should be nominated and a certain proportion elected, and that in no case should the official members exceed 25 per cent. You will find in practice that the official members are nearly 50 per cent in excess of the elected members in Madras, and in other provinces the official members predominate still more. The policy of Taluk Boards and District Boards is very much controlled by the Government. The Government lays down certain rules and we are bound to carry out these rules. The Districts and Taluk Boards find that they cannot get over these orders that come from the Government. If we have constant interference and constant check from the Government, if we have influence exercised again by the officials in the Taluk Boards, it is impossible to expect that these Boards will be of any use for public education. This view of Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882 was emphatically supported by Lord Morley. In Madras the Member in charge of the local board of education is an illustrious pleader who has been evincing liberal sympathy. We have had some experiments in regard to elections, but these experiments have not been all that could be desired. Where the legislature lays down that all presidents should be elected, why should the people be deprived of this right. This outside control exercised by the Government is very large. It was suggested by Mr. R. C. Dutt that there should be a local Government Board consisting of non-officials who would guide the policy and advise the Taluk Boards and Municipalities. It may be said that in every province there is a Secretary and a Member in charge of the municipality and local board. Now, in regard to the Secretary of the local boards and municipalities, the work of these people is not confined to advising and controlling these boards; they have other works to do, and therefore the result is not the same as if that was their only business. In order that the public voice may prevail there should be direct connection between the many district boards and the Government. The hands of the Government are so strengthened that the people are knocked out at every step. In the District Boards with the magistrate's influence the official majority carries the day. In many municipalities and Taluk boards, it is the Collector and the Sub-Divisional Officer who preside at the meetings, and at these meetings the public voice and public considerations cannot prevail. If you want to bring forward any measure in regard to sanitation or education, that does not receive any support from the official majority. Before you bring forward any such measure you have first of all to feel the official pulse and then to produce the measure; until then you have no chance of carrying any such measure.

These remarks also include the development of the Union Panchayets system. I have told you about the large percentage of members who are nominated: they should be elected; unless this is done there is no chance of improvement of any kind in the mofussil. In order that the village Panchayet may be able to carry on his work

e must be educated. In Madras you will find that there are 2,000 villages with a population ranging from 500 to 200 without any school whatever. Unless you develop the Panchayet system, unless you improve the Panchayet system, unless you introduce mass education, there is no hope whatever of carrying out this resolution. In order that the improvement may be carried out, you want funds, and therefore the second part of the resolution deals with the demand for funds. Without funds it is impossible that you can go in for education or school boards. You cannot carry on anything without levying rates, and therefore if the funds of the Taluk and district boards are not in a position to carry on the work, Government must subsidize them. You must bear in mind that good municipal administration is very essential; there is no better thing that can be had. You know that the Madras Corporation is under the control of the Government. The budget of the Madras Corporation must be sanctioned by the Government. Anything which the Madras Corporation wants to introduce must receive Government sanction first. The Madras Corporation is not able to initiate any measure at all. In Calcutta also there is an official President. The President of the Madras Corporation, as also the President of the Calcutta Corporation, should be non-officials as in Bombay. There may be an official Chairman to carry on the executive work, but the President should be a non-official. With these words I commend the Resolution to you.

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ment.*

Mr. N. A. Dravid (Berar) in seconding resolution said:—

In this proposition we demand two things. First is the extension of the application of the principle of election, and the second is official aid. With regard to the extension of the elective principle I only say this, that I come from Berar in the Central Provinces where there are at present 1215 elected members and the number of nominated members is 450. The Upper Provinces also show the same proportion of elected members and nominated members. Surely the other provinces are not behindhand in public spirit or in education? If the elective element is provided in the Central Provinces and Berar, there is absolutely no reason why Bengal and Madras, which are more advanced in education and public spirit, should not obtain a preponderance of the elective element in their local Boards.

Now we come to the other part of the proposition, and this is the most important part. It is a matter for regret that while by right we can elect two-thirds of the members on the local bodies, the official reports show, and on enquiry we find that it is true, that only 6 per cent of the number of voters poll at these elections. It is no good clamouring for a larger number of elected members on these bodies. One of the subjects we have taken up is the development of these local bodies. In one of the Taluk boards, out of 1200 voters, not more than 150 could read and write. Where there is such a horrible amount of illiteracy, you can easily understand why it is that there is so little interest taken in these matters. A mere numerical majority in these local bodies will not suffice. There is the question of elementary education which must be taken up first. It is then that our local bodies will be able to show effective work. Mr. Craddock in reviewing our local bodies and looking at the interest shown by members in the bodies says:—"It is not surprising that there is so little interest shown, the wonder is that so much interest is taken!" If we are in a state of comparative inefficiency it is due to the system of provincial finance. Something has to be done with regard to the local finances before any improvement can be expected. Something will have to be done by the people in the Imperial Council. You may arrange these matters in any way you choose but you will not be able to do any good work unless you have large finances. Where is this money to come from? If you tack on additional taxation for the extension of Self-Government, this extension will be unpopular. They have said this with regard to the Panchayet, and the same thing applies to a similar extension of Self-Government on other bodies. What we want is that they should increase the elective element in these bodies and give them official aid. Where that money comes from is merely

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Resolution VIII.
*Local Self-Govern-
ment.*

a matter of detail. After all the money comes from the people, whether it comes from Imperial coffers, or the provincial treasuries, or from local boards. If you say that providing funds for education is not outside the duties of these local bodies, it is then that local Self-Government will serve the purpose for which it was intended. We have to congratulate ourselves upon one fact. I have given you the opinion of Mr. Craddock himself who says it is a wonder that rural bodies should have taken as much interest as they have done. He is to be our next Home Member, and we hope much from his administration when we feel sure that this question of local Self-Government will receive very much greater attention than before and further help is likely to be given to the district and local boards.

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

RESOLUTION IX.—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Resolution IX.
Public Expenditure.

Mr. D. E. Wacha then proposed the next resolution. He said,—The resolution I have been asked to move is broad enough and covers expenditure in all public departments. It runs as follows:—

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

This military expenditure is the octopus of Indian finance. It swallows up a large portion of your revenue, as you know, 30 crores of it. The Congress has now lasted for 26 years, and I think it will last for another 126 years. If any one problem of the Indian administration more than another has always engaged the attention of this Congress, it is this question of public expenditure which affects you all,—rich and poor, prince and peasant, Raja and ryot, middleman and merchant, Members of Council and every one else. Therefore it is a question in which every unit of the population ought to be interested.

Now, Sir, I may say that from the first establishment of the Congress I have spoken upon this subject. I am a sort of “wandering minstrel” with regard to this matter. And I have placed my views before you on the platform of this Congress, on the platform elsewhere, and in the press, in a variety of forms, here and elsewhere. There is very little left for me to speak to you about it; but the subject is a very interesting one and I may be tempted to take up a considerable portion of your time, but I am always afraid of the President's gong which of course must be obeyed. However, the subject is vast enough, and if I were to speak upon each head of our expenditure, it would possibly take me something like 72 hours, but I am not going to address you for more than 7 minutes. I assume that most of you Indian gentlemen, old and young, are conversant with the ordinary public expenditure of the country. You read the Budget and you see what is the revenue and what is the expenditure. You know also the particulars of each head. I will not therefore detain you upon that subject at all, neither am I going to distress you just now with figures which are only meant for dry-as-dust persons like myself. I will give you only a few facts in connection with our public expenditure in the form of what the doctors would call “tabloids,” and I will give you only homeopathic doses, and that should satisfy you.

I will begin with Civil expenditure. You know very well that we are a progressive country, and every now and then as we progress we want more expenditure upon certain important and deserving objects. At the present moment, we are all engaged on the question of education—education of the masses. We are working for education, education, education. We are also crying out for sanitation and other things. We are all crying ourselves hoarse. Our energetic friend, Mr. Gokhale, has been shouting throughout the whole of India upon the question of education; he has been holding two

branches in his hands. In one hand he has taken education which India requires at the present moment, and in the other he has taken up sanitation. The Government says, "you are fine fellows! In one breath, you cry out for retrenchment and for economy, in the next breath you ask for education and sanitation." You know that education is a very serious problem. There is Technical education, Higher education, and Elementary education. If the Government spends the whole of its 110 crores, yet the people will not be satisfied. This is a problem that faces you, this is a problem that faces the Government. And you must also understand the difficulties of the Government who have an unelastic source of revenue. I will say this much, that of late the Government of India has awakened its economic conscience: it finds itself in the wrong box. For the last 10 years it was a spendthrift, that is to say, it spent more than its revenue. The expenditure have grown within the last 10 years by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent more than the revenue. This is a frightful state of things. If you are a businessman and your income is only growing at the rate of one percent and you are spending three, the inevitable result will be that your house will be in bankruptcy. This is exactly the state of things in which the Government finds itself. I do not mean to say that the Government will have to wind up, because whenever there is a deficit the remedy is to get a loan. But this is the position that the Government found themselves in. Their expenditure was outstripping the revenue. Then the Government decided that there should be a committee to decide upon retrenchment and economy. At the present moment Mr. Meston and the other members of the Committee are investigating the Civil as well as the Military expenditure of the country. I hope that this committee will not go the way of all other committees on retrenchment and economy, and that the mountain may not labour and bring forth a ridiculous mouse. I hope this will not be the case, for I have great faith in Mr. Meston and the other members of the committee. Now that the Government is confronted with the extinction of the Opium Revenue in two years, they will seriously think of trying to restrict Civil expenditure as far as possible. I will say this, so far as Civil expenditure is concerned, there is in it one redeeming feature. Whether we want more for education, or sanitation, or for other requirements, the public gains some benefit. When you spend a rupee, if you don't get the benefit of a rupee, you get 12 annas or 8 annas. But this is not the case with your Military expenditure which, as I have said, is the octopus of Indian finance. However, I say as regards Civil expenditure that I hope that the retrenchment will not be of such a character that they will starve us in the departments where we want more money to be spent.

We all want Police reform. The police for the last few years has no doubt become odious. If there are any policemen present here, they will take note of what I am saying and see that Mr. Wacha may be deported. The police reform is one of those things which we want. We have often read in the papers about what has been due to the irregularities of the police, especially in regard to torture. The Police Commission made a very elaborate report and recommended a certain amount of expenditure. We also know that the Government has been expending large sums of money on police expenditure; but for my part I must say that notwithstanding the larger expenditure, there has been no further efficiency at all. Police reform is all right, but if police reform means further expenditure without more efficiency, this is a sort of expenditure which we do not want. This is one of those things upon which I should certainly draw your attention. If police reform is to go forward, and if further expenditure is incurred, let us have some genuine improvement; let us have more intelligence, let us have less corrupt police officers, and let us have more efficiency.

Then I will take another branch of Civil expenditure, and that is the Railway. These railways are the real bugbear of Indian finance. If you enter into a minute study of railway finance, you will find out that the railway expenditure is not going at railway speed but is going at the rate of what I may call electric speed. For the last few years the Government has been going on at a breathless pace so far as railway expenditure is concerned. Ten years ago the railway borrowing came to 4 crores,

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now it has come to 15 crores. The cry is we want new rails, we want new rolling-stock, we want expenditure for the convenience of the travelling public. We do not quarrel with them, but as a matter of fact you all know that whereas one crore is spent on railways for the convenience of the 3rd and Intermediate class passengers, they spend 7 crores for the 1st class passengers and rolling-stock for goods at the behest of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. I am therefore very glad that the Chambers of Commerce, and every one of those interested bodies, will not have the ear of Government when they are isolated in Delhi. I have told you that they are borrowing more and more every year, and what is the consequence? The consequence is that for their borrowing they are paying 3½ per cent interest and railway charges have during the last 10 years increased by 50 lakhs. This expenditure goes on practically unchecked, for the Government of India has a very limited responsibility. It may come to its own tether, but every time the railway expenditure increases it goes to diminish not the resources of the railway, but it means that it diminishes your own surplus revenue and therefore you have less to spend for your own needs and requirements. It will be found that there will be a deficit, and you, gentlemen, will then have to put your hands into your pockets and give the tax-gatherer something more. Therefore it is to the interest of everyone to study very carefully railway finance which is very much neglected. So far as Civil expenditure is concerned, there is no more wasteful body than the Indian State railways. You have no idea of the matter. From 1848 to 1898, we spent something like 300 crores and more. During the last 50 years the taxpayer has lost 50 crores; he has had to pay one crore every year, and for the last 50 years they have paid 50 crores; and that we have had to pay more for the last seven years on railways is due to the fact that railways have been paying and making a gain of 2 crores; but we do not know when we shall have another famine year and there may be a deficit.

I now come to military expenditure. I have written to the Government on the subject and lately issued a pamphlet which you may have seen or heard of. It is now before the Secretary of State for India, and the Under Secretary of State was good enough to take notice of it and say that it was under the notice of a Committee under the presidency of Sir William Nicholson. But I am afraid of Sir William Nicholson. He is one of those who is always holding before us the Russian bogey. I am always afraid of their forward policy. They always raise bogeys, sometimes it is Russia, sometimes it is Thibet and the Dalai Lama, and it may be the Emperor of China. We only hope that so far as Military expenditure is concerned the committee appointed will look minutely into this matter. Their expenditure depends upon Military policy. As your policy, so your expenditure. The Government marks out a certain policy, and the expenditure will be more or less in accordance with that policy, and instead of retrenchment there may be further taxation. If you want a scientific frontier you will find it is a will-o'-the-wisp. To-day it is Peshwar, to-morrow it is Persia, the next day it may be Samarkand, later on it may be Siberia, and we don't know whether it will not reach the Arctic Ocean. Therefore like a will-o'-the-wisp, the further you get in trying to catch it, the further it goes away from you. Therefore this military policy should be very much guarded against. There are two things which I would try to draw your attention to. There is the amalgamation scheme whereby the European army was amalgamated with the British army, and in that scheme we have been most scurrilously treated. As Mr. Fawcett said, we may be unwilling partners with England. We are the poor partner with very little money, and we, the poor partner, have no voice in the matter at all. The other partner says, "we must have this, we must have that, we must have more soldiers, more guns, more this, that and the other", and the Government of India is tied down. It has no voice in the matter; it may protest and it does protest, but no notice is taken of its protest. The voice of the War Office is the voice of God, and we have no control over it. That is why under this scheme they have been made to pay money, they have been forced into expenditure of the most exorbitant and the most unjust character. This

is one of the things about which the Congress is hammering away so as to get a modification of the amalgamation scheme and bring about a more just arrangement.

Another thing is the policy of the Government so far as the frontier is concerned. I need not go into the question at any length. You all know this frontier question. Owing to this frontier question the military expenditure is now 30 crores against 16 crores some years ago. I hope that the military committee will go into the question and give us some relief. The Government of India at present is very anxious upon the subject of retrenchment in expenditure. Therefore I hope that when they see this resolution the Government will see what the views of this Congress are, which represents the voice of the people. We hope also that in the coming Budget we may see some good things in regard to the retrenchment in public expenditure. I also hope that in the Imperial Council this matter will be fought out. I am glad that we shall have Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Bhupendranath Bose and other staunch advocates of the people in the Imperial Council next year. I appeal to them to fight and fight until they gain the day.

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Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea (Calcutta) in supporting the Resolution, said :—

This Resolution has been proposed by a great expert on Indian finance and does not require any words of mine to be commended to your acceptance. I shall content myself, therefore, with only a few observations. That the Civil expenditure of the Government has enormously increased in recent years, is not a matter of opinion but a fact which has been admitted by the highest officials including the Secretary of State and the Finance Member of the Government of India. During the last decade, Civil expenditure has increased more than 50 per cent. The progressive movement in expenditure was first begun during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. The Government then had the good fortune of having a prosperity budget with a fat surplus year after year; but instead of being devoted to measures of permanent benefit to the country, these surpluses were squandered away in an unnecessary multiplication of offices and departments in the name of efficiency. The progressive movement was continued by the Government of Lord Minto with the result that the imposition of additional taxes became necessary. During the years 1905 to 1911, the net revenue of the Government increased, in spite of additional taxation, to the extent of over 25 per cent., whereas the net expenditure grew to the extent of about 52 per cent. Nobody will dispute that such a rate of increase of expenditure is detrimental to the real interests of the country. However, we have now been solemnly assured by the highest officials that efforts at retrenchment will be made in all departments of the Government, and let us hope that these solemn promises will be fulfilled in the spirit and to the letter in which they have been given.

Gentlemen, I now pass on to Military expenditure. As you know the net annual expenditure under the head of Military Services amounts to over 30 crores, which represents about 43 per cent. of the total net revenue. This is undoubtedly an enormous amount. Indian statesmen have always held that the maintenance of a huge army in a country situated as India is, is quite unnecessary and wasteful. The real strength of the Indian Government lies not in their army, but in the content, happiness and prosperity of the people of India. If the Government can secure the hearty support of the 315 millions of the sturdy and courageous inhabitants of India, no foreign power will dare to invade the country, and the need for the maintenance of British soldiers will be reduced to a minimum. As a matter of fact, the danger of a foreign aggression is very remote at the present moment, for Russia and Japan are bound by treaties to maintain friendly relations with England, and the movement towards international arbitration is daily gaining ground. A reduction of the forces in India may, therefore, be made with perfect safety. Further, as a large part of the Indian army is held as an Asiatic reserve of the British army, it is but fair and equitable to ask that the British exchequer should bear the cost.

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Gentlemen, it is extremely necessary that Government should curtail their expenditure, both civil and military, for unless a substantial retrenchment is made the most urgent needs of the people, such as education and sanitation, will continue to languish for want of funds.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION X.—ABOLITION OF COTTON EXCISE DUTIES

Resolution X.
Abolition of Cotton
Excise Duties.

Mr. D. A. Khare (Bombay) moved the following resolution:—"That this Congress is of opinion that the countervailing excise duties on Indian cotton are handicapping the growth and expansion of the Indian manufacturing industry, and earnestly prays to the Government of India that they may be abolished at an early date".

He said:— The scope of this resolution is not so vast as the scope of the previous one which this house has adopted. No doubt the amount of revenue affected by this resolution is not even half a crore. I think our cotton excise duty is not more than 45 lakhs. It is not the bulk of the revenue that is affected by this resolution, but this resolution is of peculiar importance because of the principle involved in it. The question is whether instead of giving active encouragement to our industries we are not handicapping those industries that we have started and carried on to some measure of success. This is the principle involved, and it is from that point of view that we have to look at this subject. The subject has been threshed thread-bare in the recent debate in the Imperial Legislative Council. So far as the reading public is concerned every one is convinced, every English merchant in India, every native of India and every official, they are all of one mind that these duties are unjust, but the officials cannot help this. They have the fear of Lancashire behind them, and these cotton duties were imposed at the behest of Lancashire for the purpose of reviving their trade.

As I have said, they had to impose these duties on account of the grumblings of Lancashire. Year after year the English and Indian merchants have agitated against this injustice. That agitation has been met by various arguments. The members in charge of the finances tried to uphold these duties on general and scientific grounds, and they gave up that old stand that it was for Lancashire that these duties were imposed, and now they come and try to show that these duties were not handicapping our industries. They said that this only covered that portion of Indian production which threatened to imperil Lancashire imports. They said that if this was handicapping the Indian industries, how was it that the Mill industry in Bombay had been on the increase. That is the sort of argument they put forward. These duties were unjust inasmuch as they were not levied on mill production alone. They said it was not so, but as a matter of fact you know, gentlemen, that these duties are levied wherever goods are produced. In former years these duties were levied only on the finer count, not on all cotton goods. The Indian case is that the figures and statements that are made in support of these duties are not correct. I for one in conjunction with the people would ask Government to appoint an independent commission—a commission not consisting of Lancashire merchants or officials, to consider the whole question. Then I have no doubt that the facts and figures would be proved to be wrong. It is on that ground, gentlemen, that we pray in Congress assembled that these duties be abolished. I will go further and say that these duties are absolutely iniquitous. They say that you are crying for retrenchment and the Government cannot give up any source of revenue. Then I say that if these duties must be imposed, the money arising from that should be devoted to technical education. When we cry for retrenchment we are told that no argument for reduction of the revenue will hold water, especially in view of the abolition of the opium revenue from which our finances will suffer in a very short time. This abolition has been brought about by an agitation directed against the iniquity of the opium revenue, and no doubt it has to go overboard in consequence, in spite of the great loss and great inconvenience which it will cause to the Indian

finances. Now what we urge is that for the same consideration of justice and fairplay, these 45 lakhs of rupees should also be given up because they are in every way as iniquitous as the opium revenue.

Lala Gobardhan Das (Punjab) supported the resolution in a speech delivered in Hindustani.

The motion was carried.

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Resolution X.
*Abolition of Cotton
Excise duties.*

RESOLUTION XI.—LAND SETTLEMENTS.

Resolution XI.
Land Settlements.

The Hon Mr. M. S. Dass (Cuttack) moved the next resolution :—

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

He said—It speaks of the unsatisfactory condition of the agricultural classes, and the object which is sought to secure by this resolution is the amelioration of that unsatisfactory condition. Land settlements there are of different kinds throughout this vast British Empire, and the land settlements are different in the incidence in the rates which they throw upon the people of the different provinces. My remarks shall be confined to the part of the country from which I come. You will have an opportunity of hearing how the thing stands in the Madras presidency. You gentlemen who are residents of Bengal know exactly what the permanent settlement is. When Orissa was first brought under British administration, the promise of a permanent settlement was given. It was a solemn promise, not given by a Lieutenant-Governor or a Viceroy, not made by any individual, not embodied in a despatch, but embodied and repeated in legislative enactments. And that solemn pledge and promise still stands unredeemed, and no notice has been taken of it. I suppose the position of the Government is that they have permanently, once for all, settled that they will not give a permanent settlement. After the last revisional settlement in 1897, the people submitted a memorial to the Government reminding them of their solemn pledge to give us a permanent settlement. That memorial was so clothed that it attracted the notice of no less a journal than the London *Times*, and that paper in one of its leaders thought that any one who saw pledges so solemnly given and repeated was bound to admit that it was a solemn pledge which the Government ought to fulfil. But what did the memorialists get in return? I don't like to say what they got, but at least one is reminded of that place where the people asked for bread and got stone. Now what did we get? We got an annual revision of the settlement. Every year the settlement must be revised. For what? So that our records may be gradually brought up to date. The changes are due to the transfers in default, and transfers by operation of law, and it is the intention of the Government to have the record brought up to date showing in whose possession the land is, and so on. I think, brother delegates, it is possible for the Almighty father alone to keep such a record. The settlement officer comes and visits a village, notes the transfers that have been made up till then, and passes away. The very same day a man dies and his property descends to his son. How on earth are you to keep that record up to date, and what is the value of these records? Take another instance. There are five co-sharers in a certain property. Does this record say how much rent is to be paid by each co-sharer, and so much land belongs to each co-sharer? It shows only the total amount of the land he holds and the total rent. In the meantime one of these co-sharers dies and his share is subdivided amongst his four sons. The actual object at the bottom is to realise the expenditure of the revenue settlement which comes 15 or 16 years hence.

Mr. P. Venkateswarlu (Madras) in seconding the resolution said :—It is no doubt a pity that this resolution should have come up before you at the fag end of the day, and

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Land Settlements.**

that it should be seconded by quite a novice like me on the Congress platform. But on account of the importance of the resolution you will please excuse my faults and defects. This resolution embodies two prayers, namely, that the permanent settlement should be conceded to the tracts which are under the Government by a ryotwari settlement, and secondly, that the period of re-settlement should be extended to 60 years.

About the year 1812 when Sir Thomas Munroe gave evidence before the House of Commons, he said that there was absolutely no difference between these two systems, but you know gentlemen that the difference is that under the ryotwari systems Government would expect that waste lands would be converted into cultivated lands. From that time forward the idea of permanent settlement was retained by the Government. It was accepted till the year 1872. In 1872 Sir Charles Wood wrote in one of his despatches that the prosperity of the land revenue was worth encouraging. However, from 1865 to 1867; and from 1870 to 1879, there were a number of despatches, and if you peruse these despatches, there was very little variation, but in 1885 the permanent settlement was positively denied to Madras. Now, gentlemen it is not necessary for me to speak to you about the advantages of the permanent settlement. The rich province of Bengal is an object lesson in this connexion. The disadvantages of the revisional settlement are manifold. Year after year the question has been discussed upon this platform and the defects of the revisional settlement have been presented to you. But one point I shall now press upon your attention, namely, that there should be a certain principle laid down which is to govern the revision of the settlement, so that it may not interfere with the relations between the zemindars and their ryots. A zemindar or private landowner cannot increase the rent due from a ryot except once in 20 years, and even then the maximum to which he can increase it is $12\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., but there is absolutely no reason why the ryots' landlord should be able to take from the ryotwari ryot more than $12\frac{1}{4}$ per cent at each period of re-settlement. If you take the Bengal Act or the Tenancy Act of other provinces, you will find that a general statutory limit has been placed on the power of enhancement which a private landlord possesses. There is absolutely no reason why the State, which is the ryots' landlord, should not be subject to a limitation like this. There is absolutely no reason why there should be an enhancement of $31\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., as it was in my own part of the country. It is sometimes 50 per cent. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the principle of re-settlement should be embodied in legislation, and the period should be extended to 60 years. The reason why the period should be extended for 60 years, is this. About 5 or 6 years before a re-settlement comes, the ryots cease to make any improvement on the land, for the reason that the improvement is likely to be taxed. Therefore the land deteriorates. The land takes five years more to recoup itself. Then the ryot will have an opportunity of recouping himself for the cost he will have to incur for the additional enhancement from year to year. The period for which he enjoys the benefit of his improvement will be about 30 years or more, and 30 years is a very short-time. Perhaps 60 years would be a proper period.

With these few words I ask you to pass this resolution.

Mr. Pantalu (Madras) in supporting the resolution said :—

I come from the isolated district of south Kannara, where the settlement was introduced only 10 years ago. I may be permitted to mention that at the same time the plague also came into our town. My reason for mentioning this is that the Chairman of the Council is also the special plague officer. Both the plague and the settlement came about the same time into district, and therefore they seem to be kindred. I may at once tell you that what is true of one district is true of almost every other district. We were also under the ryotwari system. 10 years ago the revenue of our district was 11 lakhs. Under the settlement this rose to the respectable figure of 21 lakhs, and when you see what the population is, this 11 lakhs' increase will be considered extraordinary. That is very good evidence of the hardship of the settlement.

I will only make one more observation and it is this, that these frequent settlements give no impetus to any sort of improvement. The moment a ryot or landlord makes any improvement there will be settlement and the improvement will be assessed. Now the Government says that the improvement will not be taxed, and their principle is that because there is a rise in price, because the Government and the boards make railways and public roads, and there are so many facilities for communication, therefore the Government of India has a right to, and is justified in assessing the land once in 20 years.

I support the resolution with these few remarks.

The motion was carried.

The Congress then adjourned till noon the next day.

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Resolution XI.
Land Settlements.

Third Day's Proceedings.

THIRD DAY

Death of Mr.
Krishnaswami Iyer.

On the Congress assembling on the 28th December, the President said :—

The news of the lamented death of the Honorable Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer, which took place at Madras at 6 o'clock this morning, has just reached me. He was, as you all know, one of our best men, and in him not only this Congress but all India have suffered a great and irreparable loss. Until he was appointed a High Court Judge, we knew him as one of the staunchest supporters of the Congress, and ever since he has taken a deep and genuine interest in all that concerns the welfare of his countrymen. He was a man of great ability and sturdy patriotism. He was not only honoured in his province but throughout the whole country. I hope you will authorise me to wire on your behalf a message of sympathy and sorrow to his bereaved family, for the loss which has fallen upon them.

The business of the Congress was then taken up.

RESOLUTION XII.—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL

Resolution XII.
Elementary Educa-
tion Bill.

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer moved the first Resolution on the agenda which ran as follows :—

“That this Congress accords its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and expresses its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this Bill in the Council.”

The reason why a special place has been devoted in the scheme of the programme of this Congress to this Resolution is, that the matter is to be placed before the Imperial Council at some very early date, when the Hon'ble members will consider this Bill in its further stages. As you may be aware, most, if not all, of the local Governments have pronounced against the feasibility of the introduction of this Bill and of this Bill being passed into law. Our representatives in the Imperial Council have therefore very great need indeed for the support of this Congress and, through this Congress, of the whole body of the Indian people. We can give them that support in the very righteous task that lies before them in getting the Government of India to recognize that there is really a deeply felt need for the introduction of a measure upon the lines on which this Bill has been conceived. This is the chief reason why this Resolution has been put forward for special discussion, notwithstanding the fact that you have another Resolution upon education in the programme of to-day. It is to be thankfully acknowledged that of late the Government has shown a great and increasing interest in the spread of Primary education, and you have noticed the efforts made by the Imperial and local Governments with regard to this. We have had the sympathy of His Majesty, who, by the advice of the Government, announced to the people of India that there would be a grant of fifty lacs of rupees for the furtherance of primary education, not merely for this year, for there will be similar substantial grants for years to come. His Majesty in making that announcement has made tighter the bonds of affection which unite him to us. So you see, gentlemen, that what we feel to be the real need is also His Majesty's real concern. Therefore I take it that it is under very good auspices that we are working so far as this resolution is concerned. It is not necessary for me in the limited time at my disposal to draw attention to the arguments which have been urged from time to time as to why it is that primary education should be given the first place in the programme of the Government. It may be worth while to hear one or two of the points which we urge in favour of our claim for primary education. As Mr. Gokhale has stated in his speeches in the Legislative Council, you will notice that if you have a Legislative measure of this kind it will compel only those who have been pledged to the good effects of education and are desirous to give their children education. It will also give to those who are apathetic the

right stimulus, and what is of more importance, it will educate and strengthen public opinion, and therefore it will be better for the spread of primary education. The gain is not all on our side, there is also considerable gain on the part of the Government. I am not one of those who believe that the interests of the Government and the interests of the people are not identical; but it may be that we look on the matter from different standpoints, but the benefit that is said to be achieved is the same whether it comes from the public quarter or from the Government. We find that as early as 1868, Lord Lawrence laid great emphasis upon the necessities of the people becoming educated, so that they might be able to be in a position to appreciate the blessings of good Government and the civilization that the Government was able to bring to it. We find the same point given expression to in the Resolution of 1904, and our worthy Chairman has also drawn attention to the pronouncement of Lord Cromer in Egypt in regard to a similar situation. It is therefore not necessary for me to expatiate upon the necessity of primary education spreading largely among the masses. I shall mainly confine myself to-day to the objections that the several Governments have taken to the Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. It is a somewhat thankless task, but none the less it must be done.

Upon reading the opinions of the various Governments I find that the only point upon which there is any unanimity is that most of them, if not all, have given their opinion against the Bill. You find one Government saying that the Bill is not drastic enough. Another says it has not gone far enough. Another Government says it is likely to raise public discontent if you pass a Bill like this. One Government says compulsion is not necessary because you have got the same thing without the name. Another says that compulsion is premature, because the people do not understand the blessings of education. One Government says that the Bill is bad because the same provision is not made for the education of girls. Another Government says that the Bill is good because the education of girls is not made compulsory. One Government says that the Bill will remain a dead letter if passed into law. Another Government says that it is likely to raise feelings of resentment amongst the people. Another Government says that this measure is not needed by the people. Another Government says that the educated classes at any rate may accept it. Among all these conflicting reasons, so far as I can see, there is only one point of agreement, and that is that the Bill should be rejected. But in a measure like this, in respect of which the Government recognizes that the majority, if not the whole, of the educated classes is in favour of the Bill, we shall be well entitled to ask what exactly is the reason upon which this Bill is to be rejected, and it is upon a consideration of these reasons that I will devote the time at my disposal. As to the proposal of this resolution, perhaps I am swayed by unconscious bias, but I feel that the opinion of the Madras Government is one of the ablest, if not the ablest, that has been delivered. I find its reasons against the Bill have been put very cogently, but fortunately the Government has itself supplied the antidote. We have along with the opinion a minute of dissent by the Honourable Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer, which is a most masterly piece of exposition of the policy of Government. A most melancholy interest has been added to this by the information received this morning that the Hon'ble M. Iyer is no more. Gentlemen, a great soul has been lost to us, and the loss to us is so great for his voice has been hushed for ever. A great national calamity has fallen upon us. His services, inestimable as they have been, inestimable as they would have been, have been lost to us, and it will be many years before we can find one who can anything like adequately fill his place, at any rate in our part of the country. If you will turn to Mr. K. S. Iyer's minute you will find a recognition of the great principles which the Government has to keep in view before it will sanction or pass a scheme such as this. You will find in that minute full and cogent reasons of the arguments advanced by the Government.

Now I shall pass on to a rapid review of the various arguments advanced by the various Governments. The first argument is, that it is the educated classes alone who ask for this measure, that the masses do not ask for it at all. It is

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also said that the educated classes do not represent the voice of the masses. Now, gentlemen, this is a very old argument, and one with which we are familiar, and which I have heard in this Congress for the last quarter of a century or more. If we who form the educated classes have not the means of ascertaining the views of the masses, who is it that has got the opportunity, and who is it that is in a better position to gauge their views? Can it be said that the Government officers are able to do that better than we can ourselves, we who move among them? Can it be said that those who are alien in matters of sentiment, in traditions and training, whatever the goodness of their intentions may be, are better able than ourselves to understand and voice forth the feelings of our countrymen? Yet it is stated that this is the position that we are in, and that the masses are inarticulate. Is it our fault that the masses do not speak? We feel the weight of the responsibility that rests on us. If we give forth this voice, we challenge them to say that this voice is not the voice of the masses. That the masses are not articulate, is it our fault? In fact we want this Bill in order that the masses may be made articulate. We want that the masses should be so able to express their views that the Government will no longer be in a position to say that they do not know that the masses require a certain thing. This is one of the objects which the Bill has in view.

Then they say that these masses speak a variety of languages. There is more serious difference here than in the European countries, and it is said that on these grounds it is desirable that the Bill should not be passed into law. Now these difficulties are put forward for the purpose of showing that there will be difficulty in the actual practical working of this measure if it is passed into law. It is said that there will be difficulty as there are different areas where different languages will have to be taught; and there are different places where different scripts will have to be taught, and these different scripts will have to be created; and then we have the problem of the untouchables, which remains to be solved. It seems to me that these difficulties, to the extent to which they may be considered to be real, are difficulties which may be easily tackled, specially with the safeguards which Mr. Gokhale has provided for us.

It is not necessary for me to trouble you with the contents of the Bill. You are all familiar with it, and with the limited time at my disposal it is not a matter which I should like to go over just now. You will notice that the chief principle is one of compulsion, the compulsion to be taken at the initiative of the local bodies. The Bill also provides for the levying of local rates where such levying may be considered necessary for the purpose of introducing private education in the midst of the jurisdiction of any particular local bodies. These, I may say, are about the most salient features of the Bill. There are of course ample safeguards provided. It may be necessary for me to turn to the consideration of some of the other objections taken to the Bill, but these, I take it, are the salient features of the Bill.

Then it is stated with respect to this that there is the religious question that will trouble us. It is said, for instance, that people will not be willing to send their children to schools where no religion is taught, or where a religion is taught which is different to the religion of the parents of the children. Now the Bill provides that if there is any religious objection that objection shall be scrupulously respected. That does not mean that if there is a secular education that will absolve parents from sending their children to school, but if it is considered that there should be a religious education also provided, there is nothing in the Bill which will prevent those who are interested in the matter from providing it for themselves. So that you will observe that these allusions to religious education or religious difficulties is merely drawing a red herring across our path. Then it is said that the very civilised Government under which we live is one which has been imposed from without and which is not evolved from within. Again, it is said that the conditions which obtain in the foreign countries are not the conditions which are applicable to this country. That again, gentlemen, is, I submit, an exceedingly fallacious argument. Whether it is a Government which is

imposed from without, or a Government which is evolved from within, it is the Government under which we live, the Government under which we are following our own traditions. It is also said that the difficulty is not a question of want of pupils, but is a question of the want of schools. At first sight that looks like a very plausible argument, but if you probe it further, and if you consider the cogency and the relevancy of the argument with reference to the Bill before you, you will find that there is very little in it. It must be recognised that the compulsory provisions of the Bill are not to be put into force except in places where benefits of education have been largely felt by means of voluntary education. You are aware that when Mr. Gokhale introduced his Bill into the Council he told us that it was not his intention that this Bill should be passed into law and brought into force in every place without any discrimination. It is to be a condition precedent that there must be a certain percentage of children of school-going age already at school, a sufficiently large percentage which will assure the Government and the local bodies that there is already a thorough and sincere appreciation of the benefits of primary education. There is nothing more in the argument.

Then it is said that if we want education to be made compulsory there can be a larger number of schools. We say that so far as the compulsory nature of the measure is concerned, if you once place that in your Statute Book, you will find that the local bodies will be forced by public opinion to take steps; they will be goaded to avail themselves of the provisions of this Bill. These are the chief reasons why it is stated that compulsory measures of this Bill may be brought into force in places where there is already a tendency made perfectly manifest to obtain the benefits of education, and where the necessity for this is realised by the people. In every country where there is universal education you will find that there education has been made compulsory. The Madras Government does realize that fact, although I may say that other Governments think that education is diffused,—it is not because it is made compulsory but because it is diffused. This is a chain of reasoning which I am not able to quite understand, but probably some of you may. Now, gentlemen, we find that this argument is not one of great force.

Then it is stated that there is not enough literature, not enough good literature, upon which these people who go to school and learn for four years should feed themselves. It is said that there is not the right stuff which forms the school literature, but that there is a good deal of unsavoury and prurient stuff, but how far this is true I leave it to my Punjab friends to say. At present they may not have much literature, but this will be no great argument against passing this Bill into law, because it is perfectly possible not only for the Government and the public to bring into existence healthy and useful literature, such as I can honestly say there is in the Madras presidency, and such as can be understood by the masses and will be useful to them. Under these circumstances I do not think there is any very great weight to be attached to this argument. Then it is said that the measure, if it is passed into law, will promote sectional hostility and rivalry; impulses will be developed to set one community against the other. I find it very difficult to understand how education on healthy and rational lines can have any such effects. If a man is to some extent able to realise and understand what are his rights and duties, and is able to assert those rights and perform those duties, I submit that it is impossible to understand that any measure which is intended to have this effect can bring about sectional rivalries. If there will be any sectional rivalries, it will be due not to the principle of the Bill, but it may be due to the fatuous way in which the Bill may be worked after it is passed into law.

Then it is said that the police and the magistrate will be much inconvenienced because of the penal provisions of the Bill. One of them says, it will not be Mr. Gokhale who will be thought of by the people, because he is unknown and will soon pass into oblivion, but it will be the Government, the police and the magistrate who will come in for the odium on account of the penal provisions of this Bill. The Government did not hesitate to pass the Seditious Meetings Act and the recent Press Act, and that

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on the present occasion any one who has any share in the Government, or is working under the Government, should use this argument for the purpose of showing that the Bill should not be passed, is a very strange spectacle. If we are convinced that it is necessary in the interests of the general good government of the people, in the interests of the development of the intelligence of the people, I cannot understand why there should be any objection because it conforms with the ideals of the Government, ideals which they always have before them in the government of this country. In the matter of a measure like this, hedged in as it is by safeguards to which no reasonable man can take objection, it is impossible to conceive the Government being made odious in the eyes of the people. It may be that in some cases the penal provisions may have to be put into force, but what the Bill says is, first give the erring parent a warning, and in the case of repeated complaints you may fine him. I submit that this is perfectly reasonable, and it is difficult to understand that the people will not realise the importance of primary education. It seems to me difficult to understand that where compulsion will have to be used, and a man brought into court, there will be such an amount of public discontent as to render the position of the Government difficult.

It is asked in some quarters why have this All-India legislation? Is it not better that provincial Governments, who are able to pass laws governing their own provinces, should be left to deal with these matters? I submit that while at first sight that may be plausible, there is a great deal to be said against it. The point is that we want to have it recognised by the Government of India that there is a need, a great need, for primary education to be made compulsory with certain safeguards. That principle ought to guide not merely the local Governments but the Government of India. It may be that much of the funds with which the measure can be brought into force in various localities will have to be found by the Government of India, and it is reasonable therefore that such a measure as will compel the Government of India to give a large amount from its own funds for the spread of education in various places, should be passed by the Government of India who will be called upon for these funds. We want in the first place uniformity of policy, and secondly, we want to place responsibility for the measure upon the Government who will pass the measure into law.

So far, gentlemen, I have been speaking only on the general grounds advanced against the Bill. But it is stated that on two other grounds also this Bill is obnoxious, one of those being the educational ground, and the other being the financial ground. With reference to the educational ground, it is said that we have not got enough teachers, and it is said that four years is not enough. It is also said that there are not enough schools, and that the teachers are not sufficiently good or strong. I submit, with respect to every one of these objectors, that it is frivolous. If you want a longer course, have it. The compulsory provision will extend only to four years, but if the people learn to understand the benefits of education and will allow their children to remain longer in such schools, it will be so much the better. With reference to the provision of teachers, I may mention that this difficulty is one which has been for years with us. When you make education compulsory, the better course will be to give a gradually increasing number of teachers and be satisfied at present with persons who will be able to discharge the duty fairly satisfactorily just now. With regard to the provision of school accommodation, that will be perfectly open to the various local bodies.

I shall now go into the financial ground, and this has been considered the strongest objection. Those who supported the Bill said that they did not take the financial consideration into account. I shall now very rapidly pass over the position. We find that according to the latest census there are one hundred twenty millions of people, and the school-going children are fifteen per cent. of that, which gives us eighteen and three quarters of a million, but of this only three and three quarters of a million are already at school. Supposing the Bill is passed to-morrow and the provisions of it are brought into force, it will be fifteen millions who will have to be taught. Therefore, according to a Madras calculation, I find that what we will require is ten crores of rupees. Some of it will be found by the local bodies who will have special power to levy

taxes. India has lost her opium revenue, and against that no protest was made, not a whisper was heard, but it is now said that primary education will cost so much. All this expenditure is not coming upon us at once. You will find that there are provisions by which it is to be gradually introduced. If you spread this over thirty years, it will come to twenty-five lacs a year. Again you will find that with the liberal grant which is now being made by the Government, it may not be necessary to add to the fund any more largely. And if any further safeguard is wanted the Government may restrict the measure accordingly. Under these circumstances it now asked that you should support the Bill. We want that the Bill should be passed into law by the Government of India so that there should be a proper recognition of the need for primary education, that it may take its place amongst the settled policy of the Government so that we may depend upon definite funds provided for the support of primary education. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. R. P. Karandikar (Bombay) in seconding the resolution said :—After the very exhaustive and brilliant speech which you have just heard from my Hon'ble friend Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, you will naturally expect very few remarks from me, and I will devote my attention to one point in particular, namely the question of compulsion. All the Governments are agreed as to the advances made by education in the various provinces. The statistics supplied by Government and the account given in the moral and material progress report would satisfy every one that there are good reasons for any Government to be satisfied that India is competent to claim the privilege of free education. But it is added that the compulsion provided for is the only thing that is objectionable in the proposed measure. I will ask your attention to one point. The object of our law is to help the helpless. Statistics will show that secondary education is making great advances and going on with rapid strides. It is the people themselves, the students, who will not allow their fathers to remain idle and say "I will not teach you." It is the boys who come up and say, "father, send me to school; provide education for me." Now who are the boys that say this? Certainly not the little urchins. They are boys over 12, because as we all know, up to the age of 12 primary education is completed, and it is after that that secondary education begins. It is for these small children, on behalf of these little urchins, who are unable to say anything for themselves that the law must intervene. It is there that the legislature is required to help the helpless. Neglect and poverty are the two factors that have been the main causes which have kept back the advance of education in India, and it is for the purpose of removing these two defects that Mr. Gokhale has brought forward this Bill. He says, punish those who neglect their children and help those who are poor. There are certain kinds of neglect which in a certain sense are punishable. It is when the children cannot say anything for themselves that those who are the guardian of education must come forward and do what is necessary. One who has observed the procedure in regard to little children in our courts of law, could hardly fail to have the disadvantage of hearing the cries of small children when they are handed up by one guardian and are made over to another. The judge is obliged to disregard the child's feeling in the matter and does what is the best thing for the child. Will not the same law intervene in favour of the students and ask the guardian that the child be sent to school? It is in this respect that we want the bill. This aspect of the question has not been considered in the literature which has been supplied to us. I state this matter shortly and stop there, but had time permitted it, I would have very great pleasure in contributing to the discussion of this measure, because it in a manner assists the laudable efforts made by Mr. Gokhale in the cause of education. I know that Mr. Gokhale does not require assistance in this behalf, and all that he requires now is a solid vote in favour of the bill. I know, we all know, that his voice is the voice of millions of the people.

There was a comment made from a quarter from which it would be least expected. The Bombay Government, speaking of Mr. Gokhale's efforts, says, as was remarked by the last speaker, that it was not Mr. Gokhale who will be held up to odium, but the

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Government. If any effort upon our part will help the Government in this matter we are quite ready to come forward and say to the people. "Do not blame the Government for this measure but turn to Mr. Gokhale." But remember this, that one who is prepared to take the odium, must also be given credit for the result of this educational scheme.

There is another amusing argument, and it is to the effect that when the people are summoned before the Magistrate and fined, the people will say that it is the Government who have summoned them and will lay the blame upon them. My answer is, very well, let the summons show who the complainant is. Let it appear on the summons that Mr. Gokhale is the complainant. In this way the Government will be saved any odium in the matter. This is merely an argument. A very substantial part of the case is that every one agrees that there is a justification for this demand, and I therefore ask you to help Mr. Gokhale's motion in this respect.

Now I proceed to the second part of the Resolution which refers to the work of the Government and asks that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this bill in the Council. What are the difficulties in the way? What are the pitfalls? Not being accustomed to the procedure followed in the Imperial Legislative Council, I cannot say much upon that point, but I should certainly say that, having ascertained the general desire of the people in this respect, it is the duty of the Government of India to pave the way for the Bill, and not to let it drop, not to say "we cannot refer it, we will not refer it to the Select Committee." In referring a Bill to the Select Committee, I understand, the Government is pledged to the fact that the principle of the Bill is accepted. Now the principle of the Bill is the wider spread of education in India, and this is a policy which has been given additional force to by the latest and most important utterance of His Majesty through the Governor-General of India. You know what the Governor-General said in that memorable Proclamation of the 12th of December. In it he refers to the policy of the Government with regard to education, and he also refers to attempts being made to make education more easily accessible and more widely spread. Now what would make it more accessible and wider? Certainly the kind of compulsion which is provided for in the Bill itself. That is what is wanted. We want all obstruction to the children's education to be removed, and the obstruction is the apathy, carelessness or neglect of the parents. Remove this obstruction, and let education be more accessible, let it be made wider. Having regard to the circumstances and condition of the people, there are ample safeguards provided in the Bill.

One word more. It is said that the Government has been doing all that they want to do. Why, therefore, do you want this measure? The same thing would have been said with regard to the Municipal and Local Board Administration. If that large hearted statesman, Lord Ripon, had not raised his voice in favour of the Local Self-Government scheme, years would have rolled away before you would have heard anything about it. Because you are doing your best, that is no reason why the people should not take the matter into their own hands.

Then it is said that there are certain people who are against the Bill. Who are the people that do not want it? Certainly not the Indians, because we do want it. And it is in this respect that I ask the Government of India to pave the way for the Bill, and therefore in the second part of the Resolution we express our earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this Bill in the Council.

With these words, I beg to second the Resolution which I hope and trust will meet with your unanimous approval.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces) in supporting the Resolution said:—

This Resolution which I have been called upon to support is one which requires but few words of commendation, because the people owe their position, status and prosperity to the advancement of the British system of education. Mr. Gokhale's Bill introduced into the Viceregal Council is a bill intended to create a desire for, and foster the growth of, this species of education.

I should have been the last person to take my stand upon this platform, if I had been prepared to endorse the views that I have heard from the Yellow Press of this country in which it has been stated that the true education which the people of India are receiving and are clamouring to provide by our education of the *patshalas* is an education which develops the mnemonic faculties of the mind and entirely neglect the intellectual developments. We are also told that if Mr. Gokhale's bill receives the imprimatur of the Imperial Council it will give the death-blow to secular and religious education. If this bill is intended to subserve that purpose and substitute in its place the true education that we have received and from which we have profited, then I say that this Educational Bill should be passed, nay, indeed rushed through the Council, so that we may place the last nail in the coffin of this so-called education.

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The epoch of Indian education dawned with the celebrated despatch of Lord Macaulay and it was after that that India first commenced to take its place amongst the civilised nations of the world. The education bill, which Mr. Gokhale has been commending to the country at large, and which has received almost universal concurrence from the thinking and educated community, is a bill which goes in that direction. I have scarcely heard any one in India say that this bill, if it is passed by the Imperial Council, will work for anything but the good of this vast community. But I have often heard people say, and these are our candid critics, the so-called friends of India to whom reference has been made in the course of the debate during the last two days, that the bill is an excellent idea, but it savours somewhat of the chimerical. And they asked, if you have this education where is the pile of money necessary for it to come from? My reply is, that if the Government of India is opulent enough to afford to shift the old and deep-rooted capital of the whole Indian Empire from Calcutta to Delhi, if the Government of India has got ample funds for the increase of salaries in the various departments of the Government, surely the Government of India would not find difficulty in raising necessary funds for such great necessities as this which are admitted as such by all civilized Governments. We have often been told that we must not advance in the matter of education with too great a rush, as if we had been advancing in this direction with any rush at all.

You will observe, if you look at the map, that there are some little dots of islands which we know as the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. There they have no less than 12 or 14 Universities. Now compare that with India, its extents and population. If you take the census figures, you will find that education in this country is far behind not only England and other European countries but even Japan, and, I should say further, Ceylon. If I had more time at my disposal, I could give you facts and figures to show that our country not only lags behind other civilised countries, but it is also far behind countries which are under the aegis of the British Empire. Mr. Gokhale will follow me, and as no one knows the subject better than he does, he will be able to go more fully into the matter. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee (Allahabad) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President, my sisters and my brothers,—I rise most cheerfully to obey the mandate of the chair. The matter just now before you is one which was dealt with in his own masterly way by our worthy president, in the course of that great speech of his which we had the privilege of listening to the day before yesterday, and to-day again the same question has been dealt with, with more fullness and with great ability, by the speakers who have preceded me. I understand that the author of the Elementary Education Bill is going to address you, and therefore I do not desire to detain you with any feeble words of mine. I will only say that I regard this question as the question of questions, the one supreme question for the country at the present moment. This education bill has given rise to some controversy. So far as the criticisms in the Anglo-Indian Press are concerned, we need not mind them. We have learnt to appraise such criticisms at their proper worth. But, coming from the benighted province of Agra, I must confess to a feeling of surprise at the coolness with which the bill has been received in parts of India

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which are more intellectually advanced. Speaking for myself, I cannot conceive that any person having the good of his country at heart should raise the slightest controversy regarding the imperative need of having education widespread throughout the length and breadth of the land.

A black pall of ignorance lies heavy upon the country, it checks every endeavour and stifles all life. Until this pall has been lifted we cannot get any way nearer the national ideal which we believe in and are working for. The torch of knowledge must be carried from cottage to cottage, from door to door, and I fully realise that some compulsion must be brought to bear upon the ignorant masses before the cause of elementary education can make any real progress in the country, and if this compulsion is to be exercised, and the Government is not prepared to come to our aid, I fully recognise that it is our bounden duty to make some sacrifice and pay an educational rate. I cannot understand why any one should demur to make such a sacrifice, and I should imagine that if a man is called upon to make some sacrifice for his motherland he should feel proud that he is allowed to render some service, however humble that may be, to the country which he calls his motherland.

Year after year we have in Congress assembled debated upon what is known as the Swadeshi movement, and I cannot understand how any of us can call himself a Swadeshi in the true sense of the word if he is not prepared to accept sacrifice as the guiding principle of conduct.

In conclusion I will say, if I may do so without impertinence, that I am entirely at one with the President in thinking that if a choice had to be made between any other special reform and free and compulsory education for the masses, a solid emphatic and full-hearted vote must be given for the latter.

With these few words I commend this proposition to your unstinted support.

Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit (Central Prov.) also supported the motion. In doing so he said:—

The proposition has been moved, seconded and supported by so many able speakers that it is not necessary for me to deal with the general aspects of the question at any great length. It is admitted on all hands that it is most desirable that elementary education should be universal in this country as it is in other civilized countries. It is also admitted, though perhaps not with the same decree of uniformity, that the progress of education in this country is slow. By the Bill which the Hon. Mr. Gokhale has introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council, he has sought to make that progress as quick as possible, commensurate with the preparedness of different parts of the country, and the means at the disposal of the Government and the people. It will be remembered by those who have read the bill with any degree of scrutiny, that it does not perhaps on one point cover the whole field of compulsory education. Those who are practical will at once conceive that in making various exceptions and by providing that the local Governments and local bodies of the different provinces should have a certain amount of latitude in adopting it if they want, the author of the bill is right. If after considering the advisability of working the bill in a particular tract, they decide not to do it, this latitude should be allowed. We are asked here to give our support to this measure which is before the Supreme Council. We here assembled are educated people from the whole of India gathered together, and it is for us to pronounce whether the measure is not one which will be conducive to the good and benefit of the country, and whether it is not eminently fitted to the circumstances of the country. The reply which has been received to the opinions expressed at the various meetings held all over the country is this: you educated people only dream; you do not represent the people of whom this bill is framed and against whom compulsion is to be applied.

When it is a question of enlightening the masses, when it is a question of impressing upon them the need of sanitation, when it is a question of preaching to them about the efficacy of inoculation against plague, in all these matters, we are regarded as the people who ought to move the masses and ought to teach them what is right and

proper, but when it comes to the subject of education, although this is a subject upon which there is no divergence of opinion among the educated people at any rate, we are told that we do not represent the masses—we do not represent them, we cannot understand them and we have no right to speak on their behalf,

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It has also been said that we do not take into consideration the amount of money that will be required to give effect to this bill. They have asked,—has the framer of the bill and those who support him taken into account the question of rupees, annas and pies? Now I ask, do they leave the entire charge to be met by the Government from out of its own fund? Do they not provide for the levy of a rate from the people themselves, where such compulsion is to be introduced? Surely it cannot be said after this that we have not taken the question of rupees, annas and pies into account.

It is urged that even if a local rate is to be put on the people, the odium will fall upon the Government, and that the Government will be regarded as the party who impose it, members of the local bodies being considered as merely acting under their orders.

On the question of compulsion, with your leave, I should just like to say one word. It is admitted that wherever education has spread, there in those villages a certain amount of pressure which is euphemistically called persuasion, was employed by the officers of the Government in getting the children to go to school. Surely when they consider this state of things, the compulsion which will be introduced by the bill when passed into law will not be any worse than what it is at present.

With these few words I heartily support the proposition.

Mr. Jitendra Lall Banerjea (Bengal) who also supported the resolution said:—It may seem rather odd to do so, but I wish to begin my address by bringing a grave charge against Mr. Gokhale, namely, that he has exhausted the subject. The position from the point of view of a humble speaker like myself, is that you cannot urge an argument which has not been already put forward by him: you cannot bring forward a single figure—he has given an ocean of figures; arguments, reasons, statistics—everything has been supplied by him with the greatest fullness and accuracy, so that to-day when we speak of Mr. Gokhale, we speak not of him first, but of his Bill. He has done his work so thoroughly and systematically that his existence has, as it were, been merged in the Bill. The worker has been lost in the work that has been accomplished, and to-day I cannot conceive any higher tribute to Mr. Gokhale than to say that when we now speak of Mr. Gokhale, we never speak of Mr. Gokhale first, but speak of his Bill first.

I do not come here to pose as an authority or expert on the question. I come here to remove a suspicion, a misapprehension which I find has prevailed among some people, the suspicion that we Bengalis are not united in the matter, or rather that we are lukewarm in the support of Mr. Gokhale's Bill. I assure you that this is not so, we the people of Bengal are quite united, and our sympathy with Mr. Gokhale's Bill is cordial, strong and intense.

I do not deny that there has been some opposition of this Bill in our country. The opposition has proceeded from three quarters. The first quarter from which this opposition came was rather an unexpected one, namely, the able Editor of the *Indian World* who claims the independent privilege of being the friend of the poor ryot.

Then we have the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, which pretends to be the friend of higher education; and lastly, we have the Anglo-Indian papers which are of course the Friends of all India.

We shall take the Anglo-Indian papers first. They, like the plague and malaria, are always with us, not casual visitors, but permanent and prominent factors to be reckoned with, and we have to reckon with their loves and their hates. For my part, I confess I frankly prefer their hatred to their love. The friendship of the Anglo-Indian papers is truly a fearful and wonderful thing. Just at the present moment, as you have no doubt noticed, we are having a perfect deluge of affection lavished upon us by the Anglo-Indian Press. His Majesty the King's announcement of the transfer of the Capital to Delhi

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excited the overflowing compassion and sympathy of the Anglo-Indian papers, and they are in consequence shedding copious tears for the great insult offered to Bengal. This outburst of compassion is rather sudden, and it makes me somewhat suspicious when I think of this access of love so suddenly swaying the Anglo-Indian papers.

I come next to the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. It is a very learned body presided over by eminent, I was almost on the point of saying august, personages. The line of reasoning which the Syndicate adopt is eminently amusing. The Syndicate say, "if there is anything going, please put it into our pockets; why do you wish to spend it in this way?" I shall not say that this is a very petty kind of feeling, but I shall say that it is a supremely selfish and wicked idea. Of the Syndicate one is tempted to say, "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers."

Next I come to the able Editor of the *Indian World*. This benevolent gentleman's heart bleeds for the poor ryot, but in his solicitude for the poor ryot he forgets that it is the ryot's ignorance which makes him the prey of the usurer and the rack-renting zemindar. He loses sight of the fact that it is this ignorance which is at the bottom of the manifold evils from which he suffers.

Before passing from this portion of the subject, I wish to say, first of all, that when a controversial question is before us, we Bengalis, if we wish to make our opinions known, we give it voice through one man and one man alone. Need I name him to you. There he sits at the table, bending beneath the weight of a great personal sorrow which has befallen him. There is great latent strength within him, and you will always hear his voice like a trumpet-call in the service of his country. There he sits, with the snows of 60 winters upon his venerable brow, and the scars of a hundred battles on his wrinkled cheek. He has often led us to victory in the past, and it may be that he may lead us to defeat in the future. Who knows, who can tell whether it is victory or defeat? But it is he alone that leads us now and for the future, so long as the breath of life is warm within his body (Applause).

We have been asked to accord our support to the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill. These principles, I take it, are to be compulsion and taxation. I need not say many words in support of compulsory education. It is now universally acknowledged that without compulsion education will not spread. I will give you a few figures, but they are of course taken from Mr. Gokhale's speech. We in India have had the voluntary system for more than 50 years, and the result is that only 6 per cent of the population are literate. In England they have had compulsory education for 40 years, and cent per cent of the population are literate. How has the difference come about? Let us come to our own home. Here in India we have had voluntary education for 50 years, and the result is that out of the boys of school-going age, only 21 per cent actually attend school, whereas in Baroda where compulsion prevails, 80 per cent of the boys of school-going age attend schools. These are significant figures. Every where in the world, where education has been able to spread, it has spread with the help of compulsion. Why therefore should we in India ask for exemption from this rule?

People may say, "why should we subject ourselves to taxation?" One answer is quite sufficient, and that answer is that without taxation you will not get it. If any one was asked "which would you prefer, would you rather be illiterate or have taxation,—be illiterate without taxation, or have the spread of education with a little taxation?" I am sure that your answer will be "taxation with education".

But there is a higher ground. We the middle and upper classes have neglected the lower classes, the untouchables and undesirables, we have kept them down, we have degraded them, and between them and us we have placed artificial barriers. The time for expiation has now come, and one means of expiation has been held out to you by Mr. Gokhale's Bill. Here you have an opportunity of doing something, of doing some work with that object, namely for the purpose of uplifting those whom you are responsible for degrading and casting down.

We are told that the Government of India will throw out the Bill. I do not know. I am not sure. If the Government were to do so, I would not wonder at that, for it has

done many foolish things in the past, and this will be one more added to a long and inglorious list. The Government may reject the Bill, but the ultimate triumph of the Bill is sure and certain. It is bound to triumph in the end. This is as sure as months follow months and year follows year. It is certain that it will grow in greatness, it will swell and become overwhelming, it will gather in force and intensity till it carries everything along in its resistless course, bursting through all opposition on all sides and driving everything before it like chaff before the wind.

The Honorable Mr. Gokhale said:—I do not propose to occupy your attention for more than a few minutes, because I have spoken on the subject of this Bill repeatedly at many places in the country, and I really think that I should not have come to-day to speak again upon this proposition before you.

Those of us who look upon mass education as the root of all true national progress, and should therefore cherish the aspiration to see a system of universal education established in this country, have reason to regard with the utmost gratification the support which this measure has received in all parts of the country and from all sections of the people. It is true that here and there a note of dissent has been heard, but that note has been drowned, has been literally drowned, in the chorus of whole-hearted and emphatic approval with which the Bill has been welcomed on all sides.

Fellow delegates, this practical unanimity among us is to my mind, a most hopeful and significant feature of the present situation, because it is, I think, the surest guarantee of the ultimate success of this movement. I think it is as true to-day as it ever was, that when a whole people has made up its mind to have a reform, that cannot be withheld from the people very long. Of course we are yet a good way off from success. I am quite sure that the struggle that lies before us is a long one, and probably a weary one, but this struggle can have only one end, if we press forward unitedly with high hearts and with faith in our cause which no reverse can daunt.

Now, in this struggle, there are certain fundamental principles which we must hold up to ourselves as articles of our very creed. The first is, that without some sort of compulsion it is impossible to have universal education in the land. This has been, beyond question, the experience of the whole civilised world, and we must take that as our starting point. It is therefore that while I rejoice as much as any man can at the announcement made by the Government of India in regard to the grant of 50 lakhs for primary education, I still say that this grant does not meet our requirements, for what we require above everything else is education with the principle of compulsion in the system of voluntary education. For, a day's delay in making a beginning in this matter puts off by a corresponding day the time when universal education shall be established in this land. This then is the first fundamental principle which we must hold to.

The second fundamental principle is as regards how this compulsion is to be introduced. We feel that if compulsion is to be successfully introduced in order that it should have a reasonable prospect of success, it should be introduced only in those areas where there is a chance of its receiving a certain measure of public acceptance. This means that you should have compulsion for the present only in those areas where the benefits of primary education are already fairly appreciated. This means that there should be a certain proportion of children of school-going age already at school in such areas, so that you may have no doubt that compulsion will work with ease in these areas. It follows therefore that a fairly high standard of educational progress on the voluntary basis must be attained in that area before we apply compulsion to it. I believe that if the bill is passed, the Government will lay down a fairly high standard. This standard will be probably 33 or 35, or it may be 40 per cent, but I do not think it will be less than 33 per cent. This therefore means that compulsion can not be introduced all over the country at once. It can only be applied in selected areas, in the more advanced areas. In that way compulsion can be introduced only area by area as each area is ripe for it. This is the second fundamental principle; no compulsion is necessary all over the country at once, but area by area as each area is ripe for it.

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The third fundamental principle is as regards the authority to raise the funds. Now, there are only two authorities which can do this, either the Central Government, or the Local Government and Local Bodies with the sanction of the Central Government. I for one should rejoice if the Central Government would take upon itself this responsibility of introducing this compulsion in certain selected areas. But as a matter of practical politics, you may take it that in the near future there is no chance of any such assistance forthcoming from the Government of India. If any one has any doubt upon this point, let him turn to the opinions which the local Governments have expressed on the bill. The opposition which has been offered by officials of this class, (there are a few exceptions here and there, but I am now speaking of the whole class)—the opposition which has been offered by the officials as a class is absolutely uncompromising. As I glanced through the opinions the other day, I could not help exclaiming that if this is in the green tree what must it be in the dry! If this is the attitude towards a modest, cautious measure, which is purely permissive and which throws the whole responsibility upon local bodies, a measure which throws also a large part of the cost of the scheme upon local bodies,—I say that if this the attitude of the official class in regard to a modest, cautious measure of this sort, how fierce, how violent, would be the opposition if we had asked for direct compulsion! However, as I have already said, as a matter of practical politics there is no use to expect that the State of its own accord will introduce compulsion.

There remains only the other authority, namely the local bodies. As we have some voice on the local bodies, though they are not as perfect as we could wish, we must turn to these local bodies in order to have compulsion introduced into the system of education. These are the three fundamental principles in the bill. Those who would like to wait till the various parts of the country are ripe for it, are people who talk merely from an academical standard, but those who are filled with a burning and passionate affection for the future welfare of the country, and desire to see that education should spread, can not be content with such academic discussion. Therefore, I say that the three fundamental principles of the bill are: first, the introduction of compulsion; second, the introduction of compulsion area by area; and third, that the initiative is to be taken by local bodies. With regard to these three fundamental principles, there can be no omission or modification. The whole scheme stands together, and we stand or fall by the scheme.

With regard to the other matters connected with the bill, these are questions of details. There are some details which are important, and there are other details which are not so important. With regard to these I say that they are susceptible of modifications and improvements.

One of the details in this bill is with regard to the financial provision contained in it. You have heard a good deal about the financial clause, but much of the arguments advanced against it are based upon misapprehension. You must realise that what the bill does is merely to empower local bodies, but they have no power to tax. The District Boards and Municipal Councils have no power to levy an extra tax for educational purposes, but the bill can confer power upon Municipal and District Boards to earmark the proceeds of such taxation for educational purposes only, so that the Central Government could not come down upon local bodies and divert the proceeds to any other purpose. I do not think there is anything to complain of in this. Moreover, remember that the whole of this is merely permissive. The bill does not say that every local body shall or must do so, but if local bodies do so, they must be enabled to bear their share of the cost of the scheme. I do not see how you can proceed unless you empower them. It is said that this will lead to a good deal of financial injustice, that it will lead to financial inequalities as regards different areas. This is a question which has obtained some sort of plausibility on account of the support which it has received in certain quarters. I must therefore make a passing reference to it. Now, what is the objection? The objection is that if the scheme is adopted, local bodies may be led to levy taxation and raise money themselves, and if local bodies are led to raise money,

the Imperial or Local Governments will have to find a corresponding amount of money to help the local bodies. Thus some localities will receive assistance whereas other localities will not receive any. Mark what this argument means. This argument was first raised in this city by a certain local Anglo-Indian paper. I have already dealt with this argument when I addressed a meeting at the Town Hall of this city in last September, but I want to say a few more words upon it now. It means that because certain localities go in for compulsion and raise money, they will receive a grant-in-aid from the Government, therefore it is said it will be a matter of legitimate complaint, because those who go in for compulsion will receive more than any other areas. Now let us examine how that bears on the existing state of things. Even under the existing arrangements the cost of primary education is divided between local bodies and the Government. Taking one area with another, you will find that one-third of the cost comes from the Central Government and two-third falls upon the Local Body. If local funds pay one-third, and if the bill is carried and the Central Government gives two-third, I do not see that any ground for grievance arises. Even now there is this sort of grievance, because some localities are receiving a larger grant from the Government. Are you going to speak of it as a financial inequality? Such a complaint has not been heard till now. If you examine the practice of the civilised world you will find similar inequalities where compulsion is introduced. In England, primary education existed upon a basis similar to the one which this bill proposes. It was in 1876 that every local body was compelled to frame a rule under which attendance was necessary before they dared levy taxation. In Ireland, even to the present day, it rests upon a basis similar to what the bill proposes. From 1892 to the present day, Ireland has gone in for compulsion area by area, and those areas which go in for compulsion have received assistance from the Government, and those who have not are receiving no assistance. This cry of financial injustice is the last cry that we should hear from our own countrymen. I put it in this way, we claim to voice the opinion of the diverse races of the country. What does it matter if one of the localities is educated first? Our interest is that the people of all parts of the country should be educated. If one part goes ahead of another, let that be a cause of rejoicing for every one in the country, and not a cause of complaint. You will again find,—I am speaking on the question of the distribution of the burden—you will find that the practice of the whole civilised world is against those who would like to throw the whole burden upon the Government. There are those who say that primary education concerns the Supreme Government, and therefore the cost of it should be borne by the Supreme Government. Those who say so do not show any acquaintance with the practice of the civilised world upon which the whole scheme is based. I have examined this practice with such materials as are available, and I do not know of a single case where the whole of the cost of primary education is borne by the Government. This practice has one apparent exception, but this exception is more apparent than real. In Ireland the bulk of it comes from the Central Government exchequer. It is contended that Ireland did not receive just financial treatment at the hands of Great Britain, and therefore the authorities have treated Ireland with extra leniency with regard to the cost of primary education. But you must remember that the whole of this cost comes from the one Exchequer, whether it is English, or Scotch, or Irish. If our educational expenditure came from the English Exchequer, then it could be said that we were treated unjustly financially, and we should have some sort of set-off in the matter. Therefore, the example of Ireland does not apply to us.

The most favourable arrangements are made by England and France. In England, $\frac{2}{3}$ comes from the State, and $\frac{1}{3}$ is supplied by the locality for the expenditure on primary education. The proportion is somewhat less than this in France. In France, more than half is borne by the State. In Japan, the proportion is one to five. In Prussia it is one to six, and in America one to seven. In Canada $\frac{2}{3}$ falls on the local bodies and in some cases half. If we succeed in getting the Government to give us $\frac{2}{3}$ of the expenditure on primary education, I do not think we shall have done badly.

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There is only one more objection which has been urged by some of our friends. It has been urged by some of our friends that if we adopt this bill and ask the local Government to introduce the bill, then the Government of India will be free from its responsibility in regard to primary education. What does it mean? That means keeping primary education where it is. So far as municipal areas are concerned, the Government has no responsibility; the matter is left entirely to the Municipalities; and the only thing that the Government exercises control over is the keeping down of the expenditure of the local bodies, because it has otherwise to give an increased grant to Municipalities, District Boards and councils. It is true that the Government is responsible, but the bill provides that a certain standard should be reached before compulsion can be exercised, say 35 or 40 per cent. The standard is bound to be a high one. Till that standard is reached in any Municipal or District Board area, the Government is not free from its responsibility. It will be some time before that standard is reached, and by that time we shall have compulsion in many Municipalities, and also by that time people and our public men will become familiar with it. When we have 35 or 40 per cent. of the villages in school, if we can not induce the District Boards to go in for compulsion, I think the fault will be our own; I think that we shall have shown that we do not deserve what we were asking for. I do not wish to say anything more about this objection.

There are other objections of different characters that can not be gone into in an assembly like this. One is about making education free. I think I may make a statement here upon that subject, and say that in view of the expression of opinions that we have received from certain quarters, I think the best course will be to go in for free and compulsory education together. This is a change which could be made very easily in the bill. I may state that this was my own view for years and years, and I would have urged it in the Council that education should be free as well as compulsory, but when the bill was framed last year, the Resolution having been introduced year before last, in order to conciliate the official position it was thought desirable that education should be made free only to the poorest classes. The opinions that have been received from the officials indicate that they have not been conciliated by this compromise. As this compromise has failed to effect its purpose, I do not see why we should not go in for free and compulsory education, I do not see why we should offer any room for dissension in our ranks. Another subject I wish to touch upon, is the fear expressed by Mahomedans that this Bill may be the cause of forcing Mohomedan boys to learn languages which are not their own. I need hardly say that there was no such idea present in the minds of the framers of the bill. If there is any room for such a fear, I am quite willing to add a provision laying it down, that where there are 20 or more boys speaking a particular vernacular, provision must be made for teaching them that vernacular. Where a number of boys speaking a language is less than 18, it will be left to the community to say which vernacular should be taught. I think this should satisfy the Mohomedans and remove this objection.

Now the main difficulty is, what is to be the future of the bill? It has been introduced into the Council, and the next stage is to refer it to a Select Committee. If the Government so pleases, the bill can go to a Select Committee, otherwise the bill will be strangled at its birth. When the motion is made that the bill be referred to a Select Committee, seeing that the Local Governments have gone against it, I should not be surprised if the Government of India would feel that they were bound to reject the bill. If they wish to do so, when the motion is made to refer the bill to a Select Committee, they will find no difficulty because there is a standing official majority of 21. But if this bill is rejected, I earnestly hope that our countrymen will not be discouraged by such rejection. It will only mean that having advanced a considerable way, we have received what for the moment may be regarded as a temporary check. Of course, we realise that this campaign is bound to be a long and weary one, and one engagement lost does not mean that the whole campaign is gone. If a defeat like this comes about, I trust that our countrymen will receive it with such a spirit and will exhibit such an attitude towards

it that it will stimulate and redouble our efforts to make a combined agitation, so that we may carry on this agitation with all our might and main, in even the most distant parts of the country, and be able to satisfy the Government that our demand is such that public opinion is bound to be ranged on our side. If we do this, I for one am confident that we shall succeed in lighting a torch in this country the light of which will fill and flood all the land, the rays of which will penetrate into every nook and corner, dispelling darkness, removing ignorance and combatting superstition. I am quite sure that if we do our duty well in this matter, the future will rest with us, and this great work will be accomplished. Then in that event we shall have laid the foundation of a noble democracy in this country in which tens and tens of millions will come in the forefront that have long been kept in the outer darkness, and countless numbers of our countrymen will be relieved from misery and despair. The task no doubt is a formidable one. Which one of us will hesitate to put his hand to it, when the reward is bound to be so great? Let us then, Ladies and Gentlemen, concentrate ourselves upon this question of questions. Let all of us, young and old, high and low, rich and poor, sinking all minor differences, press forward, with a single end in view, in the service of our Motherland—our hearts all cheered with the great task before us, our eyes fixed on this shining vista glimpses of which we can get even in these days. Let us press forward, whether success comes or failure comes, let us press forward like men.

Fellow delegates, I hope you will accord your cordial and hearty support to this resolution.

The resolution was put and carried by acclamation.

RESOLUTION XIII.—COUNCILS REFORM REGULATIONS

Mr. A. Chaudhuri (Bengal) proposed the next Resolution:—

"While recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Mahomedan and other communities where they are in a minority, this Congress disapproves of the Regulations promulgated in 1909 to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the Regulations framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909 before another election comes on, so as to remove anomalous distinctions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise and the qualifications of candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils. This Congress also urges a modification of the Regulations, where necessary, relating to the composition of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils so as to render them effective for practical purposes."

In proposing the above, Mr. Chaudhuri said:—It is hardly necessary to discuss a Resolution of this kind at any length. We have been thinking over these Regulations ever since they were promulgated in 1909. After all is said and done, it is absolutely true that all Governments are dependent ultimately upon the voice of the people, even the Government of dependencies. Gentlemen, it is a truth which is slightly understood and more slightly practically applied, but once that truth is known and understood and accepted, it becomes the dominant factor in the Government of any country. That truth has now been felt by the Government of India; they have had to tardily concede that the people of the country must be associated with them for the good government of the country. They were actuated by a sincere desire for such association, and when these regulations were about to be promulgated we enthusiastically received them. It is not necessary therefore to dilate upon the general principles which ought to govern these matters. I am concerned now to emphasise the fact that we in Congress assembled have disapproved of these special electorates, and although we are anxious that minorities should be represented and should have fair and adequate representation, we are unable to concede that special electorates should be given to special communities. We want to be treated as *one* people. It should be against our principle if we came forward and said

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that the minority here or the minority there should be treated with special consideration. I do not know for what purpose this was asked for, except for the purpose of saying that they do not belong to us. Gentlemen, so far as our Mahomedan friends are concerned, we are anxious that they should have fair and adequate representation, but we are unable to concede that where they are in a minority they should insist upon a special electorate. What has happened in Eastern Bengal? There they are in the majority; there is no question of a special electorate, yet we find that there has been a clamour for a special electorate, and there is a special electorate. I am concerned therefore in simply stating this as a principle from which we are not prepared to depart. We shall not encourage a special electorate.

The next thing I have to deal with is the question of the educated classes. In the Regulations, the educated classes, who fought for the scheme and who, it must be conceded, brought it about, are the persons who are neglected. It is conceded that so far as the educated community is concerned, the representation is not sufficient. Sufficient is not the word, the representation is absolutely inadequate. Would it surprise you to hear that the Chairman of our Reception Committee neither has a vote in Bengal, nor is eligible for election. He is Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Congress, and is a member of the Imperial Council, but he has been in the Bengal Council through the grace and courtesy of the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, as he had no right to be there as an elected member. It was said by the Lieutenant-Governor who nominated him, that at any rate as a representative of the educated community he ought to be on the Council.

Take another illustration. Mr. S. P. Sinha, who was Law Member of the Executive Council, is neither eligible for election, nor has he a vote.

[A voice: "What about yourself?"]

My friend here speaks about my position. Fortunately or unfortunately, I was a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University, and in that way I had a sort of a fictitious vote. I will not speak of myself, but having given you illustrations as to how the scheme is working in Bengal, I ask you is it not a shame? So far as the Government is concerned, how they can face a question like this without blushing, I do not understand. It has been conceded that the representation of Bengal has been somewhat unfortunate. In the Minute by Lord Hardinge he mentions this. His Excellency mentions that Bengal has been overwhelmed by Behar and Orissa, and that sufficient justice has not been done to the intelligence of Bengal.

I will give you only a few figures relating to a recent discussion in the Bengal Legislative Council to show you how the thing is working. You will not understand that I am speaking either for or against any particular Bill or measure. I am only illustrating the fact that in the Bengal Legislative Council, when the Calcutta Improvement Bill came up for discussion, there was a very large body of opinion that it was not a measure which should be supported. We have a non-official majority in that Council, but there are 27 non-official members of whom 16 come from the following classes: two from the Zemindars of Bengal; 2 representatives of Zemindars from Behar, 4 representatives of the Mahomedan community, 2 of the European Chamber of Commerce, one of the Trades Association; one of the Planting Community; and 3 nominated members, Babu Bhupendranath Basu being one of them. The result of this was, that when this bill came up for discussion, Babu Bhupendranath Basu and others found themselves in a hopeless minority, for, out of these 16, the bulk of them went over to the official side, and the result was, as I have said, a hopeless minority so far as the public voice was concerned.

One word more just to illustrate how the thing works. One of these nominated members belongs to a well-known family in Calcutta. He is one of the nominated Zemindars, and he found himself in this dilemma. He thought that his nomination carried with it the obligation to vote with the Government. But this noble scion of a recent great family in Bengal, this great young gentleman, was unable to be present when the matter came to the vote. I think he was somewhere in East Bengal looking after a

pageant that was to be got up there, and we did not get the benefit of his vote one way or the other.

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Then we had two representatives of the European Chamber of Commerce who voted solid against us; then there was the European Trades Association, and the representative of the European planting community who voted in the same way.

Then as regards the Zemindars; I do not want to say anything against them. We love them. Do they reciprocate our love? I do not see any signs of it; in fact, the great Zemindars of this province who are entitled to vote against us in measures of public importance, are conspicuous by their absence here. In fact, one of these gentlemen had the temerity to appear on this platform, and you will be surprised to hear that it was whispered to the Press-representatives that his name should not be given out. This is the sort of people you have got to deal with. I want the Zemindar to take his position. I have always pleaded that he should be amongst the Legislatures and the Government. He has a stake in the country: we recognize it. Probably he has a bigger stake than ourselves, but he belongs to us and we want him. Therefore he is one of us; we want him in the Councils, because he is able to interpret our ideas and the ideas of the people of this country. We do not want him there as one who goes there in a position for which he has not been trained, and for the purpose of votes which he is always ready to give to the other side. We do not want such men on the Council. Therefore, the standard which has been laid down, namely, the large percentage of Government revenue paid by these men, should not be so high. There ought to be a much smaller amount payable to make them eligible. Rs. 10,000 as Government revenue is not a small amount to pay. I submit that this should not be the minimum. If we were to count those who are paying such a large amount of land revenue, it would be difficult to count a large number of them. There would have been no necessity to bring this resolution before you, if we found that there was any desire to amend these rules in the near future. I fear there is no such chance, and for this reason. You will remember that a short time ago a committee was appointed for revising these rules. Although I had the honour of being there, we were somewhat surprised to understand that the limit of our work was entirely circumscribed to only a few questions. One of the things which it was our privilege to discuss, was to what extent educated men should be allowed to vote. I do not think that the question should be allowed to remain in abeyance very long. It is a matter which we feel very deeply, and we hope that measures will be taken at once, if possible, to remedy the evil.

There is nothing further for me to say with regard to this resolution. I have already illustrated to you that the non-official majority is a myth. I have already told you that we are not prepared to depart from the principles which have been enunciated from this platform. And with these remarks, gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. V. Naidu (Madras) in seconding the resolution said:—The learned mover of the Resolution has told you about our disabilities with regard to the educated people and the Zemindars of the country. It shall be my purpose to let you know the lot of the middle classes and of the masses of this country. At the time when the last Indian Councils Bill was passed into an act in England, we all rejoiced at it, but when the regulation came into force almost all our joy had departed. Conceived in the most inconceivable haste, drafted on the eve of the departure of a Governor-General who wanted to bring it into force before he left the shores of this country, approved by the Secretary of State for India at the time when he was casting off his mantle as minister of the Crown and assigning to himself a place among the stars of the Upper House, this regulation bears the mark of all the confusion that you find on the platform of a Railway station just at the time when a train is about to depart. One great defect of the Bill was that the elective principle was not recognised in it. When the Act came we thought that the elective franchise would have been extended to the country, but sir, this was not to be. You will find that there has not been much change made in this respect over the

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old rules and regulations. In the place of the old Municipal councils, we have the same Municipal councils as voters, but instead of the district Boards we have the Taluk Boards substituted, but the total number is nowhere increased.

Taking the case of England, Scotland and Ireland, which between them have the same population as Madras, about 41 millions of people, they have something like 7 millions of voters. In Madras for the same population we have, you will be surprised to learn, only 3000 voters. In other words, whereas in the United Kingdom there is a voter for every 6 people, here we have one for every 1200. In giving these figures I am not unaware of the fact that Lord Morley has said that he was not prepared to extend the principle of franchise which obtains in England, to this country. It is not that we want the principle to be extended, but a franchise that does not reach the people of the country, that does not go down to the masses, is not a franchise at all. How can it be called a franchise when it is limited to the upper ten? How can the upper ten know our views, or represent our views, or represent us in any way, when they do not live with us? You have been shown what sort of upper ten we have here, by the previous speaker. What we want therefore is that this franchise, must be extended to the people. The Government will lose nothing by this. We are not prepared to work merely for mere seats. It is not with the number of seats that we are so much concerned. This is not the spirit in which the act was conceived. We want that the regulations may be drawn up in accordance with that spirit in which the Act was conceived, so that it may reach the people. You will remember that, in season and out of season, from platforms and in the press, British statesmen have told the people in England, and our Anglo-Indian friends have also told us, that they were the friends of the people. And yet we find that we have no representation of the people, and these assurances are broken when it comes to a question of extending a helping hand to the people. If these regulations are to have any meaning, if this franchise is to be anything of a real franchise, it must go down to the people.

With these words I beg to second the resolution.

Pandit Rambhaj Dutt Chaudhuri (Lahore) in supporting the Resolution said:—In supporting this Resolution, I support every word that has fallen from the lips of Mr. Chaudhuri. I would only add one word to the discussion. I found in Presidential address at the All-India Moslem League several reasons urged in support of a separate electorate for his community. He says.—Lord Minto's statesman-like and sympathetic attitude has averted a crisis, for signs were not wanting to show that the young blood of India were growing restive and straining at the leash, and had they succeeded in getting out of hand, it would have brought great discredit upon the Mahomedan community. I do not know whether any such threat was held up to Lord Morley in certain private interviews that took place in England, and therefore I think I may dismiss this argument without saying a word about it.

The second great reason which he gives, and I think this is the only reason given, is that by giving a separate electorate to the Mahomedans they have averted a danger of increasing the bitterness between the two communities which would have resulted disastrously.

In my own province, if his argument is right, friendly relations should be secured between the Hindu and Mussalman, but that it is not so is a fact which is admitted on all hands. The Government of India cannot deny that the bitterness of feeling between the two communities has come almost to a crisis, and I do not know what measures the Government is going to adopt to put a stop to what we may call a real danger ahead. You must have read in the papers of some troubles we have had on account of certain differences regarding the number of Members upon this or that Local Board. The state of affairs has come, as I have said, to a crisis, and this is mainly due to the present system of separate electorates. We have had these differences not only in the Councils but also in many important district Corporations.

The one great reason which has always been given by Mahomedans, Christians and Hindus in support of the Congress movement, is that here we have got a common platform upon which we can speak together in support of this proposition or that. I dare say, with all gratitude for what Lord Morley and Lord Minto have done, that a greater wrong has been done to India by the introduction of this separate electorate, than the great wrong that was done by Lord Curzon himself. Pardon me, gentlemen, if I say so, your partition was only a partition of hearths, but our partition is a partition of hearts. The matter has become very serious indeed. As a Hindu, I would refuse to ask a Mahomedan to come forward and ask me to become his friend. Let him stand on his own legs. Let me stand on my own legs. But here on the Congress platform, our chief object is to bring about a union between all the various people of India. It is my duty, and the duty of everyone here, to use every endeavour to make the Hindus and the Mahomedans united, but the only chance of their unification, of their coming together on the same platform, has been practically taken away by this separate electorate. For these reasons, I submit that this Resolution should be unanimously passed by this Congress.

The Resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XIV.—SEPARATE ELECTORATES FOR LOCAL BODIES

Pundit Gokarnath Misra (United Provinces) moved the next resolution:—

“That this Congress strongly deprecates the extension or application of the principle of separate communal electorates to municipalities, district boards or other local bodies”.

In moving the above, he said:—This Resolution, I am glad to see, have been put in the front rank of the Congress programme. This resolution has received importance from a circular which has recently been issued by the Government in my Province. The proposal embodied in that circular has received wide criticism in the press and has excited the members of the Hindu community of my province. I say that this resolution is a resolution which is of Imperial interest, because it affects the whole of India for the reason that, if once you adopt that principle in one province, you cannot refuse its adoption in the other provinces of India. I therefore think that we have precedent for bringing forward this resolution as one of the main resolutions of the Congress today.

Now let me at once go into the reasons which our Mahomedan friends use for the introduction of this principle into local bodies. One of their main contentions is that they are not adequately represented on local bodies. I am only aware of the condition of one province, my own province, and so far as the United Provinces are concerned, I have figures which speak for themselves. According to these figures, as has been pointed out by Sir John Hewett, on the District Board out of the total number of electors there are 445 Hindus and 189 Mahomedans, and on the Municipal Boards 562 Hindus and 310 Mahomedans. Now do you know what is the ratio of the population, and how the Mahomedans compare to the Hindus in this respect? The Mahomedans are only 14 per cent of the population. You will thus see that their representation on the District and Municipal Boards is far in excess of their numerical proportion, and that the argument advanced by them is fallacious when you take these figures into consideration.

The second reason advanced by them is that it is necessary for the safeguarding of Mahomedan interests that you must have on the local board a sufficient number of Mahomedans returned by themselves.

Now, gentlemen, I myself belong to the Municipal Board and have been on it for the last 10 years, but I have not had within my experience any such vital question coming up before the board which could be called a question of Mahomedan interest. There may be questions which affect one community or the other more, but none which are really purely Mahomedan interest altogether. We are all in this country governed by the same laws and the same institutions, and there is no such thing as a Hindu institution or a Mahomedan institution or interest. I say therefore that the second

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reason advanced for the admission of separate communal representation on local bodies does not stand.

Now let me turn to the chief objection which has been advanced, and which has to be seen and examined so far as the granting of communal representation is concerned. How can you possibly create a minority into a majority? You may grant a separate electorate to the Mahomedans, but they are only 14 per cent of the population, and the granting of a 20 per cent representation will not very much alter the fact of their being in the minority. The only way by which you can possibly checkmate us, is by making the minority equal to the majority, and this would be unjust and unfair in the extreme.

The second objection which we have to consider is as to how far you should carry this principle of communal representation. If a Hindu has to distrust a Mahomedan, and a Mahomedan has to distrust a Hindu, why should there be any trust or confidence between Hindus or Christians or any other community? If separate communal representation is to be granted to the Mahomedans, why should it not be granted to the Christians or even the Buddhists? Then among the Mahomedans, why not the Shias opposed to the Sunni? Then among the Hindus, why not to the Jains, why not to the Arya Somajists? You see therefore that the principle is quite wrong.

The chief objection is that this principle of separate representation, is striking at the root of the friendship and unity that has existed for several centuries between these two sister communities in my country. Wherever such a system has been introduced, feelings have been embittered. You have just heard from my predecessor Pandit Rambhuja Dutt who has related to you his experience in the Punjab. I say that we must all see that the one thing which is responsible for the embitterment of feelings and the estrangement between the Mahomedan and the Hindu, has been caused by the introduction of a separate electorate on the Legislature. Therefore on this Congress platform I say that we should all of us unitedly work for the attainment of the National ideal. If we are to be united, we cannot afford to pass any measure which would tend to divide us, because we are governed by the same laws, we are under the same Government, we are speaking the same language, we are brought up under the same traditions. Gentlemen, I say that in order to fulfil the traditions, in order to attain any unity in India, it is absolutely necessary that we must work hand in hand in union, so that we may be in a position to serve our motherland worthily and well. With these words I commend this resolution to you.

Munshi Narayen Prasad (United Provinces) seconding the resolution said:—

The proposition that I have the honour to second has already been read over to you by my learned predecessor. You have only to realise the importance of the matter to support him. I could very well accommodate myself to the recognition of the principle of separate representation in the Councils, where there are educated people, where the elector is also educated, but I cannot reconcile myself to the extension of that principle to the local bodies where the separate member will have to penetrate to the lowest classes of the population. You have only to realise the fact that this separate electorate, or policy of separate election, is the cause of embitterment of feeling which may be cleverly concealed by people who are educated, but it cannot be concealed, it cannot remain hidden for a long time when it has penetrated to the lowest classes, to the illiterate people in the farthest hamlet in the village, to the village ryot. I have simply to point out to you that the importance of the matter is such as to require serious attention from this Congress.

It has been said that the Government has promised the Mahomedans that some separate representation will be given to them, but I have very great doubts whether that promise extends also to the case of the local bodies. I do not know how far this claim will go. The local bodies have to deal with sanitation, lighting and roads. I do not know whether the Mahomedans would like to have separate roads, or separate lamps, or even a separate atmosphere to breathe in. Municipal and local bodies deal with these matters, and the interest of both communities, so far as these matters which are dealt

with by the local bodies are concerned, is one and the same, and it is to the interest of the local bodies that only those people should be elected who can work well for this purpose. It clearly is not necessary that we should have separate people claiming separate interests.

With these few remarks, I commend this resolution to you with confidence.

The motion was put and carried.

XV.—SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

The following resolution was then put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

"(a) That this Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by the Government sometime ago that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have yet been taken in that direction, and, concurring with previous Congresses, it urges that any scheme of separation to be really effective must place all judiciary completely under the control of the highest Civil courts in every province in respect of pay, promotion and transfer.

"(b) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession."

The Congress here adjourned for Lunch.

On re-assembling after lunch, the Hon. Babu Bupendra Nath Basu said :—

"Gentlemen of the Subjects Committee, you remember that last evening there was a discussion about certain amendments in the constitution and rules of the Congress, and it was decided that those amendments should be considered at an early date, having regard to the great difference of opinion. It appears that a large number of members of the Subjects Committee have come to some sort of settlement, and it may be possible to propose a resolution which may be accepted by the whole of the Subjects Committee. Before we put that resolution, it is necessary under the rules that the Subjects Committee itself should meet. I therefore ask you to meet in the tent to the east of this Pandal, and settle once for all whether the resolution which was suggested should or should not be brought forward. I do not think it will take more than five minutes of our time."

*After a short adjournment, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, who was presiding during the absence from the Chair of Mr. Bishen Narain Dar, said :—*The Subjects Committee have just passed an important resolution affecting the Constitution of the Congress. The points of difference have now to be referred to the All-India Congress Committee. The All-India Congress Committee will lay its report before you at the next Session of the Congress, so that the procedure, if adopted, will ensure thorough and careful consideration. After mature deliberation by the All-India Congress Committee, this report will come before you for final consideration. The Subjects Committee have adopted the resolution practically unanimously, and I am sure that there will be the same unanimity here. The resolution is as follows :—

RESOLUTION XVI.—FURTHER AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

"That the All-India Congress Committee consider and report to the next Congress what further modifications may be made in the constitution and rules of the Indian National Congress with a view to promote the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the constitution, keeping that article intact".

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

PLACE OF NEXT CONGRESS

Mr. Hassan Imam (Behar) said :—

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is my privilege and very pleasing duty to invite this Congress to hold the next session of this assembly at Patna. In giving you this invitation, I am not merely fulfilling my own heart's desire. I am conveying to you also a message from the people of Behar who are naturally anxious that you should do them the honour of holding the next sitting of this Congress in the ancient capital of Pataliputra.

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I shall not be egotistical and I shall not remind you to-day of the claims that Behar has to the attention of all India. In the past, my little province did much to add to the glory and history of this ancient land. I trust that you will now by your consent give an opportunity to my province in the present century by way of adding to the activities, political and social, of this county. I trust, gentlemen, that you will accept the invitation that is given to you now with earnestness and with every desire that it should be accepted. I beg leave therefore to move the last resolution, which has been allowed by the indulgence of the President to be moved now on account of the necessity for my going away on account of ill health.

I propose therefore, "That the next Congress be held at Bankipore."

The motion was put and carried by acclamation.

Resolution XVII.
*Police Reforms.***RESOLUTION XVII.—POLICE REFORMS**

The Honourable Mr. Karandikar moved the following resolution :—

"That this Congress desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that the reforms in the police system which have been effected under the recommendations of Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission have not produced the results which had been anticipated, as is evident from the judicial findings of the highest courts in some recent cases, and they have not improved the efficiency or the quality of the police force, including the village police. This Congress is of opinion that the pay and prospects of the Indian officers are not sufficient to attract the best men to the service, and it strongly protests against the practical exclusion of Indians of a better class from the higher offices of trust and responsibility, and records its conviction that no real improvement in the methods of police investigation can be effected unless confessions are made inadmissible except when made at a trial."

In moving the above, Mr. Karandikar said :—

Coming from Bombay, I find that the question of the village police has not attracted the attention that it deserves. The first law of the village police was passed in 1867, since then there have been numerous improvements in the district police act, but no improvement whatever in the village police in spite of the recommendations of Sir Andrew Fraser's commission. At present it seems that the police has got one central idea about their investigations, and that is how to secure a conviction. Recent pronouncements on this matter make it clear that it is desirable that something should be done to compel the police to give up that idea. That can only be possible if you amend the law in respect of the admissibility of confession. As soon as you do that, the police will begin to perceive that the main side of the whole of the evidence that he used to bring before the tribunal must now be removed; the confession policy must go, and they must seek elsewhere the means for winning their laurels. I have often found that the police neglect their duty of sifting the case and searching for real evidence in it. He tries as much as possible to get a conviction, and he thinks that he will succeed in getting what he wants if he only secures a confession. This last statement contains the experience, not only of lawyers but also of the general public. It emphasises the necessity which has been recognised in the highest quarters and I do trust that the whole of this resolution as drafted will commend itself to you.

Mr. Birendra Nath Sasmal (Bengal) in seconding the resolution said :—

I second this resolution most heartily. Is it at all necessary for me to tell you that we all require the reform of the police in this country from top to bottom—that we all require that men should be recruited into the police service from more educated and respectable families living in this land—that their power in the matter of investigation and the obtaining of confession should be curtailed—and that the law of evidence as it at present stands regarding the admissibility of confession, judicial and extra-judicial—should be amended as early as possible? Have you no properties of your own? Have you never felt that your properties were becoming the eye-sore of the local Police, who desired your destruction for no fault of your own? Are not you made of flesh and blood, and your

human frailties and shortcomings have been taken advantage of by the police for purposes of their own? Have you not had your own better halves and children taken away and you torn assunder from them and incarcerated in one of the jails in your own province? I come from Midnapore, and those that are aware of the affairs that recently took place there, will excuse me when I say that my heart is full to the brim. It is only by the merest chance that I was away from Midnapore for two years, and it is, probably owing to that, that I have not had the honor of being made an inmate of the Midnapore Central Jail. I have heard of the sufferings and humiliation of my friends; I have felt the trials and tribulations which they were obliged to go through. I take it that you all know that a large number of respectable and innocent citizens of Midnapore have recently suffered at the hands of the police as badly as it is possible for any human being to suffer, and I take it that you also know that some leaders of public opinion in Midnapore were obliged to spend a considerable time in the cells of the jail, a place which is meant only for the worst class of criminals. Do you know, gentlemen, that my friends were obliged, while there, to take food which their servants have possibly never tasted in their lives? Do you know, gentlemen, that they were obliged to walk distances on foot which they had never before covered since the days of their birth? Thanks to the disinterested services of the Saviour of Midnapore, I mean the Hon'ble Mr. K. B. Dutt (applause), the highest tribunal in the land,—the bench was composed, as you are aware of the present Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mukerjee, most emphatically pronounced that these men were innocent and that the confessions were false and exaggerated (applause). Furthermore their Lordships said that Peary was incarcerated in the Midnapore Central Jail wrongly, and that the head of the Executive authority, Mr. Weston, was alone responsible for it. The gong is warning me to cease, and I have only a few words more. The matter is at present subjudice. Then there is the Dacca Conspiracy Case which is also subjudice, and I must ask you to wait for another year till the next Session of the Congress. One matter I must refer to. In the lower Court, in what is known as the Naraingurh train wrecking case, there was an attempt made on the life of the then Lieut.-Governor of Bengal Sir Andrew Fraser. Everyone knows that it was an attempt on his life, but the confession that was recorded was to the effect that there was a quarrel between one Nepal and others, and it was made to appear as if Sir Andrew Fraser came there accidentally. Good government pre-supposes the security of the property and the person of the ruled. We have every right to ask the Government to impress upon the police the fact that our properties are not at all safe and that our persons are entirely and most outrageously at the mercy of the police. Let us fervently hope that our prayers will reach that august trinity—Lord Hardinge, Lord Crewe and His Imperial Majesty the King—and that they will be pleased to vouchsafe to us a better form of police than we have now got in the country.

Mr. V. M. Jakatdan (Central Provinces) said:—I heartily support the proposition which has been so ably moved and seconded, and I have only a very few words to add. We have had experience of commissions, and we all know that commissions always prove fruitless. When Sir Andrew Fraser made certain recommendations, and those recommendations were accepted by the Government of India, the Government of India made a certain grant for carrying out the police reforms which were recommended. The actual working however lies in the hands of the Local Government, but unfortunately for the country, the Local Governments which were charged with the carrying out of this reform utterly failed, as is apparent from the decision of the highest tribunal in Bengal. In the several provinces we have schools for training sub-inspectors. Certain candidates are selected and sent there for the purpose of being trained, but unfortunately the class from whom these candidates are drawn is not the class from whom the Congress desire that these men should be selected. These people belong to a class which are not educated, and the result is that notwithstanding that the pay of these sub-inspectors and other higher officers is sufficient to attract a better class of men, still, for all that, the men they get are inferior and utterly incapable, and it is for this reason that the Congress desire that

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the class of people from whom these candidates should be drawn for the purpose of being trained up as police officers should be elected or selected from a better class. For the pay of the sub-inspectors, inspectors and District Superintendents of police, I think we could get a much better class of people, but unfortunately for us, Government is not prepared to accept those candidates I am referring to. They select their men from a class who are favoured and to whom they are inclined to grant certain concessions.

The second part of the resolution is as to the admissibility of confession. I know how these confessions are often taken. Some are extorted, and some are obtained in other questionable ways, but the usual way is this: in cases where the police fail to find whether there is any evidence leading to the guilt of the accused, they try their utmost to get a confession. Now, how is this done? The little experience that I have, is that they do not beat the accused any longer than they can possibly endure, because if they do they may be brought to book. The way that I have found them going about is that when a man is suspected of having committed an offence, and the evidence is not quite ready to hand, the man is not allowed to sleep for nights together. They do not formally arrest him, but they do not allow him to sleep. It is very easy to do this. They have a great many people whom they can employ in various ways, and they ask the police constables to go in by turns and not allow the man to sleep. You can conceive this man's condition after a time. He bears up for a time, but ultimately he confesses, and these confessions are made to Magistrates who have no jurisdiction to try the case. When an accused is in the hands of the police he has still the dread that after his confession he will again be in the police custody. For this reason the resolution says that no real improvement in the method of police investigation can be effected unless confessions are made admissible only if made at a trial. If this is done, there will be no chance of a confession being extorted or taken under the improper circumstances which I have explained.

With these observations I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. Samasamudram Pillai (Madras) who also supported the resolution said:—The proposition under consideration is a very important one, for of all the various departments of the State the most important one, in which both the Government and the governed are deeply interested and in which the fair fame of the Government and the safety of the person and property of the governed depend, is the Police department, and on the efficiency and proper working of this department also depends the happiness of the people. If this department is not upto the mark, the administration of the criminal law is at stake and will not be satisfactory. In India, the police department is not as it ought to be, in spite of the best efforts to improve it, and the reason is not far to seek. There are three duties which the Indian police have to perform: the first is the prevention of crime, the second is the detection, and the third is the investigation of crime. Their method of performing these duties differs from the principles laid down in the law of evidence. The first principle laid down in the law of evidence is that every accused person is presumed to be innocent till the contrary is proved and established by the prosecution. Another most important principle is that it is better to allow 99 guilty persons to escape than to punish one innocent man. The police on the contrary do not seem to care at all for these principles of the law of evidence. Their first principle is that it is better to send 99 innocent persons to jail than to allow one guilty man to escape, and they presume that every accused person is guilty till the contrary is proved by their defence. If these are the guiding principles of the police, what can you expect from them? In their investigation they invariably adopt this principle. As an instance in point, I will quote one case which happened in our part of the country. A man was accused of murdering another man. The man who was supposed to be murdered disappeared, but his dead body was produced as *corpus delicti*, a post mortem was held, the Doctor certified that the man was killed by beating, and the accused were made to confess; they were tried at the Sessions Court, and while the trial was going on, to the surprise of the Judge and every one else, the dead man came to life and stood before the Judge (laughter)! Afterwards it was proved that the whole of this story was a concoction on the part of the Police.

My province beats the other provinces in this respect. Why do the Police do it? Because there are so many considerations which sway them. The first consideration is that by securing convictions they would rise to superior grade. In some instances they have very deep pockets with mouths gaping wide. It is not necessary for me to refer to these matters in more detail, as they are all very well known to you. You are under the same system of police throughout the length and breadth of India.

With this few words I support the resolution.

Mr. Bishnupada Chatterjee (Bengal) also supported the resolution in a humorous Bengali speech.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

XVIII.—EDUCATION

The President then put the following resolution which was carried unanimously—

“That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government by organising for themselves an independent system of literary, scientific, technical, and industrial education, suited to the conditions of the different provinces of India.

“This Congress is further of opinion that the Government should take early steps:—

‘(a) to assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education (special encouragement being given, where necessary, to educate all backward classes);

‘(b) to make adequate provision for imparting industrial and technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements; and

‘(c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of education in this country.”

XIX.—SIMULTANEOUS CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION

The next resolution was as follows:—

“That this Congress records its emphatic opinion that the present differentiation of the Civil Service into (1) the Imperial Service recruited in England, mainly from Europeans, and (2) the Provincial Services recruited in India, mainly from Indians, is opposed to the declarations made in the Statutes of 1833 and 1870 and the Queen's Proclamations of 1858, and that such differentiation should be abolished as early as possible and that Indians should be afforded equal opportunities with Europeans for appointment to posts now reserved for the Imperial Service by the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India under conditions calculated to secure the best men for the posts.”

Mr. V. V. Jogiah (Madras) in moving it said:—This is a very important resolution which has been before the public for the last 60 years. It formed the subject of the most important resolution before the first Congress, and ever since we have been urging it on the attention of the Government every year in Conference and Congress assembled. It is of the utmost importance to the country; it is the key, we might say, of the moral and material prosperity of this country, but unfortunately the history of this resolution is a history of pledges and promises unredeemed,—resolutions uncared for, recommendations unheeded. You are aware that before India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown there was what was called periodical enquiries every 20 years by Parliament into the moral and material progress of this country. In 1833 there was one such enquiry by Parliament, and Parliament then decided that the bar sinister of race inferiority should be removed, and that integrity and fitness should be the qualifying basis for service in the higher ranks of the public service. Parliament also passed an enactment to the same effect. 20 years passed away, and in the year 1852 the Charter again came up to Parliament for renewal, and at that time there was another enquiry, and it was at the time of the enquiry that the statute of 1833 remained a dead letter. The only thing therefore that was done by this enquiry was to emphatically insist upon the Statute of 1833 being put into effect. In spite of this

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Police Reforms.

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Resolution XIX.
Simultaneous Civil
Service Examination.

declaration of Parliament, nothing was done till 1858. In 1858, great hopes and large expectations were raised in the minds of the people by the great and glorious Proclamation which was issued by that noble and great Queen, Victoria the Good, of blessed memory. A few years after this proclamation, to give effect to the declaration made therein, the India Council Committee was appointed by the Secretary of State consisting of eminent Anglo-Indians. They submitted a report in favour of simultaneous examinations, but this report was put aside simply because it did not meet with the wishes of the then Secretary of State. The most strange part of the affair is that the report was never mentioned in any of the subsequent despatches of the Government. In the year 1868 the question of simultaneous examinations was raised by Mr. Fawcett in the House of Commons. In 1870, as a result thereof, an act was passed setting apart a number of appointments for Indians from the appointments that were kept exclusively for civilians. The most dismal page in the history of this question is to be found in the Despatch of the Government of India dated 1878. By means of this Despatch, the Government wanted to take away everything that was dear to us. They wanted to lay the axe to the root of the statement of 1833, to the act of 1870, and to the noble declaration of 1858. They proposed that no posts of trust and responsibility should be given to Indians unless it be with the special sanction of the Government of India. This was too bitter a pill even for the Secretary of State to swallow. The then Secretary of State was Lord Cranbrook. Then I pass on to that famous resolution of Mr. Paul. The 2nd of June 1893 was a red letter day in the annals of Indian history. It was on that day that the greatest representative house put their approval upon simultaneous examination. But what was the good of that resolution? The India Government contrived to see that no effect was given to it at all. The last word on the subject was spoken early this year by the Hon. Mr. Earle who said from his place in the Imperial Council, in reply to the resolution put on the Public Service, by my distinguished friend Mr. Subba Rao, that the Government of India could give him no encouragement in that respect.

From what I have said, you will find that as a matter of justice and right and expediency we have made out a good case, but we do not put our claims on mere justice and expediency. We put it on far higher and wider considerations. It is now admitted that India is poor. One reason is that there is a good deal of the foreign agency in the Government of the country. There is not only the economic drain, but also a moral drain on account of the employment of foreign agency. It is due to the fact that the Civil servants after acquiring valuable knowledge and experience in this country go back to their own country, that they do not stay here and do not give their experience to this country but go to other lands. There is an economic drain because the money they save, and the handsome pensions they draw, they spend in England. There is no doubt that the British rule is a great blessing to us, but it would be doubly so if this resolution was accepted by the Government.

With these few words, I ask you to accept this resolution.

Mr. Kane (C. P.) in seconding the resolution said :—

In seconding the proposition which was so ably moved, I feel sure that I have only to suggest a remedy to remove this grievance. The grievance exists and it has been pointed out to us for the last 50 years by our Grand Old Man Mr. Dhadabhai Naorajee who has been urging all along the removal of the grievance by holding simultaneous examinations both in England and in India, and with that object he moved resolutions in Parliament while he was a member of that august body.

Queen Victoria gave us our new birth by the Charter of 1858 which is a proclamation addressed to us, the people of India, stating that there should be "No distinction of caste, colour or creed, that you shall have the same rights as my subjects in England."

This idea was conceived in 1858, the period of gestation was long, and it became a child, in 1885 when the Congress was established. It took 27 years for the birth of that child and shortly after that united India came into existence 26 years ago.

Let us go to the root of the matter and ask our beloved Sovereign to remove this grievance, this inequality which creates a heart-burning in the hearts of the people of India. With these words I beg to support the resolution.

The motion was put and unanimously agreed to.

*Mr. Surendranath Banerjea who was occupying the Chair in the absence of the President said:—*The next resolution is in regard to the Indians in the Colonies, but I propose to pass on to the other resolution and take this one last, in order that we may give Mr. Polak an opportunity of making a statement which I am sure you all want to hear. At the break-neck pace that we are following, we will be unable to give him a proper hearing until we have finished the other business before us.

This was agreed to and the next resolution was then taken up.

RESOLUTION XX.—COUNCIL AND GOVERNOR FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES

Resolution XX.
Council and Governor for the United Provinces.

The Hon. Mr. S. Sinha (Behar) moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the justice of creating an Executive Council in the United Provinces at as early a date as may be practicable, and it further expresses an earnest hope that those Provinces will soon be placed under a Governor as Madras, Bombay and Bengal."

Mr. Sinha said—The President has told you that we are proceeding at a break-neck pace, and therefore I shall trouble you for a few minutes only. This is a resolution, which in one form or another, has been placed in the list of your Congress business for some time. It is one of great importance and does not require a lengthy speech to commend it to you. So far as the need of the United Provinces to have an Executive Council is concerned, it has been urged in previous Congresses and elsewhere, and the case made out in favour of it is unanswerable. As for the other provinces that have a Governor and Executive Council, I shall recall to your mind that in 1833 all the British possessions in Northern India were divided into two Presidencies, one called the presidency of Fort William in Bengal with a Governor-in-Council, and the other the presidency of the North-West Provinces with a Governor-in-Council. As a matter of fact a Governor was appointed in the first instance, namely, Lord Metcalfe, and it was only after he was in the North West Provinces for two years that the act was kept in abeyance. Agra has already had the privilege of being governed by a Governor though not by a Governor-in-Council.

After 80 years, this very modest scheme is put forward that they should be placed under a Governor-in-Council. And on account of the recent territorial redistribution this is not an inopportune time for making this demand. The United Provinces are occupying a very important position, and so far as population is concerned they stand at the top of all Indian provinces, with a population of 50 millions. I think Bengal has a population of 42 millions, and Madras 41 millions, while Bombay has 45 millions.

With these few words I ask you to accept the resolution.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (United Provinces) in seconding said:—

I do not propose to inflict a long speech upon you. I am glad that the Hon. Mr. Sinha has been as good as his word and has come forward and proposed this resolution. I also desire to express on my behalf and on behalf of the people of my province our thanks to the Hon. Mr. Sinha for having moved this resolution in the Viceroy's Council. The history of this proposal was given by Mr. Sinha at considerable length in this speech in the Council, and all that I desire to say now is that so far as population itself is concerned, we in the United Provinces occupy the foremost position. So far as education is concerned, you may take it from me that the Allahabad University exercises jurisdiction over the largest tract in India, over our own province, over the Central Provinces and over the whole of Rajputana. And if we are going to have two more Universities, the United Provinces will occupy a still greater position. The same cannot be said of Behar, though I do not grudge them the privilege they have succeeded in obtaining. Without moving a little finger, except for a few paragraphs in the "Beharee," they have got a Lieutenant-Governor and an Executive Council. I wish we were as happily situated, and we hope that what is due to us will not be withheld any longer. It is not premature to ask for what should have been given to us 85 years ago.

The motion was put and agreed to.

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Resolution XXI.
Release of Political
Prisoners.

RESOLUTION XXI.—RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The following Resolution was next put from the Chair and carried unanimously :—

"That, in view of the gratifying improvement in the general situation of the country, this Congress respectfully submits that the advent to India of their Imperial Majesties may be signalized by the release of those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences ; such an act will be appreciated throughout India and will deepen the feelings of profound gratitude and loyalty which the Royal visit has evoked."

Resolution XXII.
Executive Council
for the Punjab.

RESOLUTION XXII.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR THE PUNJAB

The following Resolution was then put from the Chair and carried unanimously :—

"That this Congress expresses its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to appoint an Executive Council for the Punjab."

Resolution XXIII.
Council for and
Status of the C. P.
and Berar.

RESOLUTION XXIII.—COUNCIL FOR AND STATUS OF THE C. P. AND BERAR

The President then put the following Resolution which was also carried :—

"That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar and for according to Berar, which is now held by the British Government on a permanent tenure, the status and privileges which are accorded to provinces included in British India."

Resolution XXIV.
Indians in the Army

RESOLUTION XXIV.—INDIANS IN THE ARMY

Mr. P. C. Banerjee (United Provinces) moved the next resolution. He said :—
The resolution which I have been asked to propose in the absence of the Hon : Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas runs as follows :—

"That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the injustice of keeping the higher ranks in the Army closed against the people of this country should remain no longer unredressed, and this Congress expresses its earnest hope that the general expectation in the country that before His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor leaves the shores of India, a more liberal policy, under which Commissions in the Army will be granted to selected Indians, will be announced, will not be disappointed."

This resolution presupposes that there is injustice, that the doors of the higher ranks in the army are closed against the people of this country. There can be no two opinions about this. You know what the present position is. The present position is that no native of India whatever his rank may be, whatever education he may have, can get any commission in the army. I know that there are appointments given in the subordinate ranks, but this is given to those people who rise from the ranks. That can hardly be called commissions in the army. The injustice is there, it is admitted. We now ask that this injustice be removed. Well gentlemen, this injustice cannot be allowed to go on for ever. A nation cannot be emasculated for all time. In the first place we have no right to enroll ourselves as volunteers. I will tell you a story which will show you how absurdly this restriction is at present worked, and from it you will see to what a position we are driven. There happened to be in the United Provinces, from which I come where there was a man called Natu sweeper. He became a Christian, and his son was half educated, and changing his name, the son of Natu sweeper blossomed into Mr. Nathan, and being Mr. Nathan he was of course admitted into the Volunteer corps, whereas none of us can become members of the corps. Then another young man came and asked my opinion about changing his name. His name was Nolin Mukerjee. He said that he went to the Adjutant who said that so long as his name was Mukerjee he could not be enrolled. So

I said, why don't you call yourself Nolan Mackenzie? (laughter). As to this exclusion from the ranks of volunteers, the Government will say that there is no law to that effect, but you know that in practice we are all excluded. Well gentlemen, this is the position we occupy, namely that we cannot even be enrolled in the volunteer corps. What we ask from this Congress is that the resolution be passed to this effect that His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, before he leaves the shores of India, will be pleased to announce a more liberal policy under which commissions in the army will be granted to selected Indians.

Well, gentlemen, the era of distrust has passed away, and we hope that more trust will be reposed on us Indians, and if commissions in the army are once granted to the people of India, we shall know that we are no longer distrusted. With these words I place the resolution before you.

Mr. G. Sarma (U. P.) said:—The proposition which I have the honour to second is of greater importance than what is ordinarily attached to it. It is a proposition which concerns our soldiers in the Indian army and other Indians who want to be in the Indian army. It has been acknowledged by the Secretary of State and by the Viceroy that new aspirations have been created amongst the people of India. Among these aspirations, I say, that the aspiration to serve for the defence of one's country is a very noble, laudable and legitimate aspiration. Some of the aspirations of the educated Indians have been satisfied recently, and I do not see any reason why the aspirations of those Indians, educated as well as uneducated, who want to serve the mother country, for the defence of their country, should not be satisfied very soon. Lord Curzon who was responsible for many blunders which he committed was also responsible for creating the Imperial Cadet Corps. I believe that when the Imperial Cadet Corps was created, Lord Curzon had promised them that he would give commissions to those cadets who would serve there, for a certain period. What became of that promise? I should simply say that this promise was made to the ear and was broken to the heart.

Brother delegates, I have had an opportunity of knowing a few of the members of the Imperial Cadet Corps. I have also had an opportunity of mixing very freely with the chief Sirdars and nobles of Rajputana, Central India and the Punjab, and I am in a position to tell you what their feelings are. It is a fact that they have been very much disappointed, but it is also a fact that although they are very much disappointed they are not in a position to say anything openly. The fact however remains that their feelings have been wounded, and well may it be so if commissions are not to be given to them. With the Mayo College in Ajmere and other institutions of the sort in other parts of the country, the Rajput Sirdars, the Maharata chiefs, the chiefs of the Panjab as well as the sons of the Sirdars and noblemen of the other provinces, and the sons of the military classes of India, have now been sufficiently educated to have this aspiration, and if this laudable and legitimate aspiration is not satisfied, I am afraid there will be a sort of discontent among them. We earnestly hope that the general expectation of the people at this time, when our Gracious Sovereign His Majesty the King-Emperor is here, will be satisfied very soon, I mean before His Majesty leaves this country, because this promise has been made several times and it has not yet been fulfilled.

It is a huge pity to see an old Indian soldier, a noble veteran taking his commands from a young English subaltern who is hardly out of his teens and who hardly deserves to give commands to an experienced and old veteran who has proved his loyalty and his capability on many a battle field. Yesterday we passed a resolution to the effect that the expenditure of the Military and other departments should be reduced, and I now suggest that the expenditure in the Military department could very easily be reduced by giving commissions to those Indians who deserve to have commissions and who would no doubt be willing to serve for less pay than what is now given to the European officers.

You may remember that before Lord Kitchener came to India, there were only 4 or 5 European officers attached to the Indian regiment. According to the recommendations of Lord Kitchener, there will be at least a dozen of them now attached to each Indian

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regiment. What I suggest is, that the Government should give half of these commissions in the Indian regiments to the Indians, and the other half to the European officers. In this way economy can be effected in the military expenditure of the country, while at the same time the aspirations of the sons of the military classes of India will be satisfied.

With these few words I commend this proposal to you.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

XXV.—HIGH COURTS

Resolution XXV.
High Courts.

Mr. Pravas Chandra Mitra (Bengal) proposed the next resolution, which was as follows:—

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

He said:—The resolution which I have the honour to move before you, is so obviously conducive to the best interests of India, that I venture to think that it will require but few words from me to recommend it to you. Gentlemen, any one who has given any thought to Indian problems must admit that faith in British justice has done more in winning the enthusiastic loyalty of the three hundred and ten millions of Indians than the achievements of the most puissant of British armies. Whatever the bureaucracy may say or think to the contrary, faith in British justice has done more to cement the bonds of union, between India and Great Britain than her proudest achievements in so-called "administrative efficiency." Faith in British justice has helped England more to draw India closer to her by bonds of silken ties, than the life work of the most devoted of English Civil Servants has ever done. Faith in British justice is the true key to the spectacle, unique in the history of the world, of a handful of foreigners ruling with the active support and co-operation of the ruled who are spread all over a vast continent, and who differ so much in manners and customs, in caste and creed, in hopes and aspirations. Gentlemen, it has been truly said that faith in British justice is the strongest bulwark of British Rule in India, and that faith in British justice has made British rule so broad-based as it is at the present moment in India. What British Institution in India has conducted more to uphold and to uplift that faith than the chartered High Courts of India? Therefore, gentlemen, any proposal which has the effect of enhancing the position, the prestige, the utility, the influence, the freedom from executive interference, and above all the independence of these chartered High Courts, must surely command your enthusiastic support, for after all the High Courts of India are so dear to the hearts of all true Indians. Gentlemen, all India knows the recent political history of Bengal, all India knows what troubles, tribulations, dangers and anxieties Bengal had during recent years. All India knows too the story of a well-known district in Bengal where, through the misguided and mischievous zeal of an apparently all-powerful Executive, the liberties of over one hundred and fifty of its law-abiding and peaceful inhabitants, from Raja to beggar, professional men of eminence to humble Government servants and pensioners, landowners of wealth and position to traders of peaceful avocations in life, were placed in imminent peril. And all India knows too how the historic judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Mr. Mukerjee, in the case known as the Midnapore Bomb Case, restored the confidence of the people and removed the sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of about 150 of peaceful and law-abiding subjects of his Majesty in the district of Midnapore. Who in India does not know the story of the Jamalpore riots, the infructuous Howrah Gang Case, the Rangpur Special Constable case, the Comilla Shooting Case, and other cases too numerous to mention, where the misguided zeal of the Executive received severe checks from the judgments of the High Court of Bengal? During the last few years it has been amply demonstrated in the province of Bengal how far the faith of the people in the impartial administration of justice may allay a very acute political situation in times of great unrest, and who can deny the importance of such an asset in the administration

of a country so situated as India is? Therefore, I repeat, gentlemen, that any arrangement by which the position and prestige of the chartered High Courts in India are enhanced must conduce to the well-being of India. Now let us see, gentlemen, how the subject matter of the present resolution may tend to improve that position.

At the present moment there are four chartered High Courts in India, the High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad. Of these, the High Court at Calcutta is directly under the Government of India, and the other High Courts are under their respective local Governments.

By the charters under which the different High Courts exercise their jurisdiction, Judges in India hold their appointments during His Majesty's pleasure. Temporary vacancies in the office of the Chief Justice and Judges, are filled up by the Government of India in the case of Bengal and by the local Governments in the case of the other provinces. Returns have got to be submitted by the High Court of Bengal to the Government of India, and by the other High Courts to their respective Local Governments. All rules, forms, tables etc., which the different High Courts are authorised to frame, require the previous approval of the Government of India in the case of Bengal and of other local Governments in the case of other provinces. Financial control over the High Court of Bengal is exercised by the Government of India, whereas, in the case of the other High Courts such control is exercised by the Local Governments. Now, gentlemen, let us shortly examine some of these points of difference. Turning, first, to the point about the holding of office during His Majesty's pleasure, let us see what this means. The meaning of this expression may well be gathered from certain statutes: (33 George III Chap. 52, Sections 35 and 36; 3 and 4 Will. IV Chap. 85, Sections 74 and 75; 21 and 22 Vict: Chap. 106, Sections 38), and from certain well-known reported cases (*Grant vs. The Secretary of State for India in Council*, L. R. 2 C. P. D. 455; *Shenton vs. Smith* (1895) A. C. 229; *Willis vs. Gipps*, 6 State Trials N. S. page 311.) Gentlemen, I shall not tire your patience by a detailed examination of these statutes and authorities, but I may mention that the net result of an examination of these statutes and authorities go to indicate that a person holding an office during His Majesty's pleasure can be removed without any reason being assigned for his removal. Now whatever the holding of the judicial office during His Majesty's pleasure may mean in theory, in practice the Local Governments must surely exercise a potent voice in the matter, should any such unfortunate controversy ever arise. It must, therefore, surely be a change for the better to have the potent voice of the Government of India, rather than that of the Local Governments, in the actual working of the rule embodied in the words "His Majesty's pleasure", regard being had specially to the fact that the different High Courts have constantly got to try cases initiated by the local Executive and often instituted with the previous sanction of such Executive. Every reader of English constitutional history knows how the position and independence of English Judges were greatly improved when Judges ceased to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure and when they could only be removed by a joint address of both the Houses. The English judiciary were recruited from the same materials both before and after the aforesaid change, but the quality of their justice and the independence of the judges underwent a singular change for the better, after this improvement in the position of their tenure of office. And the reason is not far to seek, for judges however independent, however upright, and however honest, are, after all, human; and the greatest possible care must always be taken to arrange matters in such a way that their duty and their interest may not conflict. Now, gentlemen, regard being had to the position which the Government of India proposes to take up in future in relation to the Local Governments in matters of supervision and control, it will certainly tend to make the judiciary of the different High Courts more independent, and to place their interest and duty less in conflict if the different High Courts have direct relations only with the Government of India and if such relations ceased with the different Local Governments. The other points of difference between the High Court of Calcutta and the other High Courts will also go to show that the relationship of the other High Courts after the proposed change will be less intimate than they are at

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present, and no one can deny that such a change would certainly be a move in the right direction. In matters of filling up temporary vacancies, specially, the change will be one of great importance in the case of officiating Judges and Chief Justices, who may reasonably hope for future officiating appointments. It will further have the effect of placing all the different High Courts in India on the same footing as regards their relationship with Government, and there is no reason why they should not be on the same footing.

Now, gentlemen, if the proposal embodied in the resolution tends to enhance the prestige and independence of the different High Courts, if it tends to place the interest of the judges less in conflict with their duty, if it tends to place the liberty of the subject on a firmer and a surer basis, if it tends to put effective checks on the possible misguided zeal of any local executive, if it tends to allay unrest, should such unrest ever unhappily appear again in the future history of India, if it tends to make the faith of the people more broadbased in the impartial administration of British justice, who is there who can say that the change will not be one for the best interests of both England and of India?

Mr. Atul Krishna Roy (Bengal) seconded the motion.

The Resolution was then carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XXVI.—INDIANS IN THE MEDICAL SERVICE

Resolution XXVI.
Indians in the Medical Service.

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

"(a) That this Congress, while thanking the Secretary of State for his despatch regarding the employment of Indians in the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service, regrets that no action has as yet been taken in the matter.

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

RESOLUTION XXVII.—LAW MEMBERSHIP

Resolution XXVII.
Law Membership.

The President then put the following resolution :—

"That in view of the fact that section 111 of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to members of the English Bar only, thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection may be made, this Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils and Attorneys-at-law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office."

It was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XXVIII.—REDUCTION OF CABLE RATES

Resolution XXVIII.
Reduction of Cable Rates.

The following resolution was also put from the Chair and carried unanimously :—

"That in the opinion of this Congress, and in the interests of the newspaper press and of trade and commerce, it is extremely desirable that the rate of cable messages between England and India should be further reduced so as to bring it into line with the rate which, under recent arrangement, has been announced to come into force between England and Canada and Australia from the ensuing year."

RESOLUTION XXIX.—INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

Resolution XXIX.
Indians in the Colonies.

Mr. J. Chowdhury (Bengal) then moved the following resolution :—

"(a) That this Congress, anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the provisional settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr Gandhi and the Transvaal

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

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

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

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

In moving the above resolution, Mr. Chowdhury said:—The resolution that I have been asked to move refers to the status of Indians in the colonies. At this late hour, I shall not stand between you and Mr. Polak. As to the details of the resolution, I shall only try to impress upon you that this resolution involves a question of vital economic and social importance to every British Indian.

Let me refer once again to the great Charter of 1858. What does it say? It says that the Crown assures us that it is bound to us by the same obligation and duties as it is bound to any other subjects in the British Empire. What does that clause mean, but that we British Indians have the same rights of citizenship that His Majesty's subjects enjoy in other parts of the Empire? This proclamation has had a very chequered history since 1858. You have heard that the Poet Viceroy, Lord Lytton, said that this proclamation contains pledges which cannot be practically fulfilled. Therefore, with his literary frankness, he said that the best way out of it, is to treat us as children and cheat us with regard to the pledges. But I must give him this much credit that when the first Coronation Durbar was held at Delhi he did not flout this proclamation. If you refer to Lord Lytton's speech, you will find that he confirmed it. Directly or indirectly he gave the assurance that by the great proclamation of Queen Victoria we had equal rights.

Then came another Coronation Durbar, and that was presided over by a Viceroy of a still more superior order, and this gentleman did not condescend even to allude to the proclamation of Queen Victoria. He played the King himself, and we were very much amused at his performance at the Delhi Coronation Durbar. He not only flouted the proclamation, but he broke the pledges. We Indians are a very patient people, but even Oriental patience can be seriously taxed. But thank heaven, by the Grace of God, the Imperial Sovereign of this Empire visited Delhi, and what has he done? He has this time confirmed in his person this great obligation. After the outrage committed upon us by Lord Curzon at the previous Coronation Durbar, our Gracious Sovereign's illustrious father in 1898 characterised this proclamation as a great Charter. We have always called it our Magna Carta, and King Edward regarded it also as such. We expressed the hope that these obligations, these pledges, should be confirmed. And what has his Imperial Majesty done? If you read the last two paragraphs of the speech from the Throne, he says that "I in my person confirm the rights and privileges that have been recognised by my illustrious predecessors;" so I say that we stand today as citizens

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of a broad Empire under one sovereign—our Gracious King George V. We have all along demanded equal rights with his Majesty's other subjects, and what does this resolution say, and what is being done in Natal, in the Transval and in Canada and Australia? In all these colonies our rights of citizenship are being set at naught by the white race. We are the subjects of his Majesty the King; we are not the subjects of every white-skinned person, generally, collectively, or severally. They are not our sovereign; we are the most loyal subjects of his most gracious Majesty in the world, but we shall stand by our rights, and we ask that after this Durbar and after the king has visited this benighted portion of the empire, that these pledges be fulfilled to the letter.

Mr. Gandhi has been courageously, boldly and with singular self-sacrifice, fighting our country's cause. I call the case of South Africa a test case. I invite your attention to this matter, and I think much greater attention ought to be given to the question in subsequent Congresses. If you look upon the battle that has been fought by our brothers in South Africa, under the able generalship of Mr. Gandhi, if we want that we should retain the rights of British citizenship all over the empire, I think it would not be an exaggeration, it would not be an exorbitant demand upon you, that we might hold a special Congress for this purpose, be it at Delhi or elsewhere, where we might discuss this question. We are fellow subjects in other parts of the empire; and are we to be treated in South Africa as coolies, as subjects of a dependency? I object to the term dependency as much as to the word native. Under the pledges of our sovereign, we are partners of the empire. Let us be partners. I ask you to call a special Congress to consider the question and declare that we are partners of the empire and that every British subject wherever he may go must carry the full rights of a British subject.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (United Provinces) in seconding the Resolution said:—In the first part of this resolution, we express our congratulations to Mr. Gandhi for the great fight that he has been carrying on for the Indian community in the Transval. It is a fight which he has led with the greatest courage and self-sacrifice, and whatever may be the result of this historical struggle, Mr. Gandhi's services to the country are matchless. I think the records of contemporary history in India have not furnished the name of any Indian public man, with the exception perhaps of Mr. Dadabhai Naorajee, which will stand higher in the estimation of the accredited student of the events of these years than Mr. Gandhi for devotion to his country's cause, public work of the highest order, persistent patriotism and absolute selfless devotion to the interest of his country, in the face of the greatest discouragement that any one could possibly receive. He has set all of us an inspiring example by which future generations of our countrymen will profit. I think the very name "Indian" stands higher in the estimation of the civilised world, because India has produced a man of the spiritual fervour, the great moral worth, and sublime patriotism of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has so far succeeded that a settlement has been arrived at between him and the Transval Government which will be given effect to in the shape of a Legislative enactment. But any one who thinks that because of that settlement the problem of the Indians in the South Africa has come to an end, and that we have nothing else to do in support of our brethren there, is sadly mistaken. Mr. Polak will be one of the speakers to this resolution. He is very much better acquainted than any one of us here as to the circumstances, and as he will speak, I do not think it necessary to go over the same ground. I leave it entirely to him. I will speak here only with regard to the general principles underlying this question. That the question has not been permanently settled is brought out clearly in clauses C and D of this resolution. In clause C you enter a protest against the declarations of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing self-governing colonies in the British empire to monopolize vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against, and denying the rights of full British citizenship to, all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous. As a matter of fact these white men are allowed a perfectly free field in India to acquire any property or to do any business. More

than once from the platform of the National Congress, I believe since 1904, a vigorous protest has been entered against this policy which you characterize as unwise and unrighteous. I will speak a little later about the unwisdom of this policy, but speaking from our own point of view, undoubtedly it is unrighteous and it demands from us a most emphatic protest.

In clause D, reference is made to the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured labour for South Africa. This is a step in the right direction, and it must, have opened the eyes of those engaged in industrial enterprise as to the wisdom of their policy with regard to the Indians there. Those of you who are in the habit of reading Indian newspapers must have noticed the great strides which the planters and others engaged in business in Natal were making, and by them this prohibition of the Government of India has been acutely felt. But one thing that is noticeable is, although that is not to their interests, whatever may be the difficulties to which their industries may be subjected, they were not prepared to make any concessions to Indian sentiments in the matter of their dealings with them. Indentured labour is wrong and immoral. Slavery has been abolished, and perhaps to call indentured labour slavery may be stigmatised as a terminological inexactitude as Mr. Churchill says, but if you go to the root of the matter you will come to the conclusion that the difference between indentured labour and the slavery of old is not very great. Indentured labour is opposed to individual freedom, and it must be abolished if righteousness between man and man is the policy of the Government. The Anglo-Indian papers are loud in their sympathy with the Indians in the Transval, but some of them have found fault with the action of the Government of India, on the ground that it was necessary for Indians to emigrate to every part of the world, and that with a view to satisfy political agitators the Government of India had done an injustice to the poor people of India. Any one who reads Indian history will have no hesitation in saying that this is absolutely untrue as regards Indian labour. I believe Indian capitalists will be able to tell you that far from there being a superfluity of labour at the present moment, manufacturing industries are suffering from a dearth of labour. I do believe that if the emigration of labour to the colonies were prohibited, there would not be much difficulty felt to find employment for the superfluous population in one or other of the factories in the industrial cities in this country. I think it will be a great advantage to this country, but even if it was not a fact that there is need for labour in India, even then I should say—rather let the Indian labourers be content with a little less, than go out to the colonies, give their best service to those lands, and be sent back to this country when they are no longer fit for active work.

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Clause B is a most important one and opens up a wider issue altogether. Here you state that the Government has expressed its inability to bring pressure to bear upon the colonial Governments to do justice to the Indians in the colonies. I confess that although I do not take a pessimistic view of public affairs, I am not inspired with much hopefulness. If it was a matter of Indian sentiment, there might be room for hopefulness. Unfortunately the question is complicated. I had intended to say something upon this aspect of the question to-day, and I attach importance to it, but the President has sounded his gong, and I shall content myself by now formally supporting the resolution.

Dr. Manilal in supporting said :—

The previous speakers have explained to you how Indians suffer in the colonies. Mr. Chintamani has told you about the evils of the indenture system, but as I know that Mr. Polak is going to speak at great length about Indians in South Africa I think I had better confine myself to Clause D and the result of the evils of the indenture system. Before Mr. Gandhi went to South Africa, very few of us knew of the evils of the indenture system. I have been to Mauritius, and although I had been there six months, I did not know about the indenture system and how people suffered under that system. It was by painful experience that I came to learn how iniquitous, unjust and immoral that system is. Almost every week gangs of labourers would come to my house and ask my advice and request me to plead their cause before the courts of

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law. I may claim that I am speaking from personal experience upon this system of indentured labour. This system is grossly immoral, in the first place, because these labourers have been sent to the colonies by means of false pretentions. The man who recruits, goes to the districts of Fyzabad, Gya and other places, and tells the people all sorts of stories about the colonies and that they will get good wages, plenty of good food with very little work. Then these people are exported under circumstances which are very immoral. The number of women exported is 33 to 40 or 60, to a hundred men. The colony I am referring to, imports 33 women to a 100 men. Under these circumstances you cannot expect any morality when 33 women go over with every 100 men. There have been years in which even 33 p c. has not been reached. In this way whole generations have been raised who cannot tell you their pedigree for shame. Let me allude, without taking much of your time, to what the effect of the penal provisions of the labour law is, which makes this system a system like that of slavery. Under this system, if a man is ill and does not come to work, and if the medical attendant on the sugar estate says that he is not ill, he will be treated as a criminal and will be sent to jail. Just fancy a man who cannot come to work owing to illness being sent to jail. In the same way there are various other wrongs which we may call more civil offences for which these people are liable to be sent to jail. According to the report of the superintendent of prisons, nearly two-thirds of persons in the jail are men who have committed offences under the labour law. The superintendent of the prisons says that these men, when they come into the jail come there in an aenemic condition. Such is the way they are fed and clothed under these highly immoral conditions and given food to which they are not accustomed.

It is high time that we should open our eyes to the actual facts and prevent further emigration of our brothers and sisters. I use these words advisedly, because although these persons come from the lowest classes, they are our brothers and sisters. You will all agree with me that it is high time now that we should prohibit emigration of Indians to any of the colonies. It has been said in part D, that indentured labour has been stopped for Natal, and we are thankful for it. But I say that it should be stopped for any country, be it British Guiana or British Demarara or any other place. I think you will all agree with me that indentured labour should be stopped at once because it is immoral, irreligious and highly detrimental to the best interests of the country.

Mr. Sorabjee Sapurjee (S. Africa) said :—

I have got only five minutes at my disposal ; therefore I must finish my speech as soon as possible. A few years ago, resident Indians in the Orange Free State were given notice to leave the colony. They were not strong enough to oppose the concerted measure of the Government. They had to leave the colony. To-day there is not a single Indian to be found there. The Transvaal Government also wanted to drive us out from that colony by passing the Asiatic Legislation. That Legislation we found was one that cast a slur upon the whole Asiatic community. We petitioned and petitioned the Government, but without avail, and then this passive resistance began under the banner of that selfless patriotic leader whose name is familiar to you and therefore I need not mention it. I am not going to repeat to you all our experiences in jail, as you already know them. I will simply content myself by saying that the Indians in the Transvaal have fought a brave fight and as a result this Asiatic Act is to be repealed and there will be no colour bar now. I am happy to say also that indentured labour in South Africa has been stopped. Lastly, I have to thank all those of you who have helped us in the past, and I hope that you will continue to do the same in the future because there are many disabilities still in the Transvaal. For instance, we are not allowed to ride in the tram cars (cries of 'shame, shame'). We cannot even walk on the public foot-path. We cannot even live wherever we like, and the Township Act means ruin to the whole Indian community. All these disabilities still remain to be removed. Therefore I hope that the people of India will pay more attention to our cause in the Transvaal, because our cause is your cause. With these remarks, I beg to support the resolution.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, in bringing the debate to a close, said :—

I take it as a high compliment to us that a representative of re-united Bengal should have proposed this resolution, because I have the honour in supporting it here to-day to represent the re-united Indian Community of South Africa. We, like you, have just emerged from the dark nether world of the settled fact into the bright day of unsettlement.

You remember that, in 1907 when the Registration Act was passed, we adopted the movement of passive resistance which was carried on from that time until last May. I propose shortly to give you the reason why it was carried on and why it has ceased. Immediately after that measure was passed and the movement against it had commenced, further legislation was enacted in the Transvaal, whereby a stigma was placed upon the whole Indian nation, by creating racial differences on the statute book of that province, and the Indians of the Transvaal felt that if they were to give way upon so crucial a point, they would practically give all their interests away. But that was the least of all, for they would have to give away the honour and good name of their Motherland. Accordingly, the movement continued until the end of 1907, when the principal leaders of the Indian and Chinese communities were arrested. These gentlemen were imprisoned, as you know, and were afterwards released, when a compromise was effected with the Transvaal Government. Into the details of that compromise I do not propose at this stage to go, because they are probably well known to you. On the other hand, when we had completed our share of what had been agreed to in that compromise, when we had performed our part of the bargain and called upon the Transvaal Government to perform theirs, we were met with a blank refusal. They refused to repeal the Registration Act and to remove the racial bar from the Statute book. Accordingly, passive resistance broke out afresh, and the movement continued until the Transvaal Government were enforced to enact further remedial legislation, without however repealing that miserable measure which degraded the Indian community and which cast a racial stigma also upon the people of India. The passive resistance movement therefore continued, and the feeling became more and more embittered between the Government and the Indian people. The latter had to face, on the one hand, domestic calamities, ruined homes, and broken businesses. On the other, they saw a haven of safety, but it was the safety of dishonour, and the Indian community chose to suffer and to sacrifice themselves and every material thing that a man holds dear, rather than accept dishonour. The legislation had disunited the Indians in South Africa, because it had practically created an artificial fence or barrier beyond which we were placed, no matter what the culture of any particular man might be; and we were determined to break that ring fence down. However, we were told that this was a settled fact, and that we must accept it, and when our Cape brethren engaged on the Legislative Council urged that remedial measures should be taken, and that we should be given decent treatment, and that the insult offered to us should be removed, we were informed that it was more consonant with our expressions of loyalty that we should remember that His Majesty had sanctioned this law. We felt on the other hand, that His Majesty had accepted the advice of his Ministers who were not fully acquainted with the facts and circumstances, and we felt that we had a higher ideal of loyalty to put forward. Our ideal of loyalty was not loyalty to any erroneous man-made law, but loyalty to our conscience, loyalty to the Indian people. Accordingly that passive resistance struggle continued. You have seen today on this platform one of the most active passive-resisters we had, in Mr. Sorabjee who has just preceded me. His story is a very simple one, and displays true and genuine patriotism. For the sake of his country, he has put aside everything that he valued in life, and he has gone to jail for this cause no less than eight times. He is leaving India immediately after the Congress by the first steamer available, in case the settlement that was arrived at recently should provide a hitch, because he wishes to be on the spot in that event, so that if need be he might go to jail again. We have had, as you know, imprisonment after imprisonment, about 3500 sentences with hard labour have been passed, and our people have been treated like kaffirs. Men like Mr. Gandhi has not escaped this kind of treatment. We found that their treatment was so bad that when they came

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out, their own relatives could not recognise them. Many of them received physical ill-treatment, and all of them had to undergo grave mental suffering. Notwithstanding that, they continued the struggle. Then the Transvaal Government thought that they would take the last step. They seized our boys and some of our men and without trial deported them from the country.

Many of them had never been to India; they were born in South Africa, their families were there, they did not know what they would come to here, they had no friends, no homes, no funds, they had nothing. One man arrived with scarcely more than a shirt on his back. These men were fortunately received by their fellow countrymen with compassion. I am here on behalf of the Indians of South Africa, not only to tender you their very grateful, cordial greetings, but to thank you from the very bottom of their hearts for what you have done for your distressed fellow countrymen who arrived here in such a miserable plight. You will remember that large funds were collected here in India and transmitted to South Africa, in order that your fellow countrymen there might be enabled to maintain this passive resistance struggle, in order that your fellow countrymen there might not suffer too many hardships, in order that your women and children might be saved. Had it not been for the funds that you collected and transmitted, I dread to think what would have been the fate of those who were suffering in your name and on your behalf. I have, therefore, on their behalf and in their name, to thank you for what you did for them in that respect, and I would like to couple with these thanks I am now offering the name of Mr. Rattan Tata. There were meetings held all over India, sympathy and help were given by representative men, by the whole community all over this great country, and I should be utterly lacking in my duty if I were not to mention the name of one whose loss we mourn, the name of Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer who did all that he possibly could to help and comfort us. It would also be lack of duty on my part if I did not couple with my thanks the name of another gentleman present here to-day. Owing to the endeavours of this gentleman, the Government of India finally accepted the motion of Mr. Gokhale and undertook to prohibit the exportation of indentured labour to South Africa, really I believe, by way of protest against the treatment which was accorded to the Indian residents there. We are extremely grateful to the people of India for pressing this matter forward, it is due to their endeavours that we have had removed from us this great scandal, this great shame, because we have always felt that the system of indentured labour was wrong and immoral, and we should be demoralised in the future, as we had been in the past, if it had been allowed to continue. The principle itself is bad but it still exists in Natal. But we hope that in the near future it will be done away with altogether. Following upon this prohibition there seems to have come something in the nature of a change in the heart of the Union Government who have begun to realise that there was something in the persistency of the passive resistance measure. In the House of Assembly, the Minister for Natal (Mr. Smuts) not only in his speeches in that august assembly but also in England, paid high tribute to the passive resisters, and in supporting their cause alluded to the integrity, high principles and self-sacrifice of the passive resisters in the Transvaal, and in connection with Mr. Gandhi reiterated those crying grievances which we were labouring under. We were not surprised that upon the urgent representation of Her Majesty's Government, the Union Government was at length forced to grant us the demands that we made, namely, the repeal of the Registration Act and the removal of the racial bar, as far as Indian immigrants are concerned, from the Statute Book, and a provisional settlement was arrived at in which there were certain terms which have to be legalised in a bill. There are two important conditions which we wish to see fulfilled when the bill is brought forward. The first is, that the racial bar which today exists with regard to Asiatic immigration into the Orange Free State, shall be removed, and secondly that the rights of the Indian colonists of Natal and Cape Town shall not be diminished. When the bill comes forward, I hope you will watch it with great care and see that these two vital conditions are fulfilled.

Although these matters have been settled, and although this vital principle has been recognised that there shall be no racial distinction in South Africa, we have still to

face the law existing elsewhere. The very great difference of treatment of Indians in Australia needs no comment, or comparatively none. I believe that the treatment of the Indians in British Columbia is being improved, and that they are allowed to have their wives and families with them.

I have received a telegram from the British Indian Association that a notice has been issued under an ordinance passed in 1906 on certain Indian residents to remove their business by the 18th of February. If this notice is enforced, it means that thousands of pounds of stock will become valueless, and that all book-debts will be lost. The people who will suffer will be our old standing merchants, and it will be a vital blow to our community. The effect of this law will be to drive the whole of the Indian community into locations for the purposes of residence there. These locations are very much like what was done in the case of the old Jews in ancient times, and I may say that I myself come from the Jewish race, but I may say that the result will be that when your fellow countrymen are driven into these locations, they will be absolutely ruined, they will be injured materially, morally, and spiritually. One thing that I have been asked to do here is to ask you to prevent that Township Act, passed in 1908 and amended in 1909, from being enforced. One effect of it will be the confiscation of properties of which Indians are owners. I find that Mr. Ritch who was Secretary of the London Committee has been threatened with criminal action, having rendered himself liable to imprisonment with hard labour, because he has allowed an Indian friend to reside in a property registered in Mr. Ritch's name; therefore that Indian friend as well as Mr. Ritch find themselves liable to imprisonment with hard labour—the one for residing there, and the other for allowing him to reside there. Further more, the law provides that if such a man continues to reside there, the owner of the property renders himself liable to confiscation of his property with compensation. In Natal we find the Indians have great difficulties placed in their way. The License Act there is so strict as to make it impossible to get new licenses to trade. We find that even our colonial-born Indians cannot get a license to trade. Everybody has to get a license to enable him to trade. No new licenses are being issued, and old licenses are being made terminable at the death of the holder. They cannot be transferred to any other Indians. I am afraid that this license system will spread to the Transvaal and cause great ruin.

We find that there is a £3 tax imposed upon all Indian men and women who have come out of contracts of indenture and who prefer not to return to India or to re-indenture. That tax is imposed upon men, women and children. The effect has been to drive a large number of women to lives of shame and the men to crime. We find however that only 6 per cent of these people can afford to pay the price of freedom, the remainder being driven under compulsion to return to India or to return to conditions of bondage and harlotage. Therefore I am here to ask you that you will do your utmost to secure the repeal of this £3 license tax.

I am not going to detain you very much longer. Mr. Gokhale has informed me that he has hopes of being able to pay us a visit in South Africa in the course of next year. This is a great encouragement to us. Speaking as a member of the Indian community of South Africa, I feel that the Indian community is rightly deserving of this honour, and we shall repay him by honouring him as a great Congressman and a great Indian. We shall make his stay there as happy as we can, but I am actually sorry that the passive resistance movement is over, so that we cannot send him to jail (laughter).

I am hoping that in course of time other leaders in the country will similarly honour us, just as Joseph Chamberlain honoured South Africa when he wanted to see what were the grievances of the European colonist there. Therefore if your leaders will come to the colonies and see what is happening there to the Indians, they will come back with a feeling that a handful of their countrymen have known and properly understood what national honour means, and that they have known how to keep the flag flying. I am sure that if these leaders of yours will only come and see us, they will come back to India inspired with a firm faith in the capacities of their own fellow countrymen and bright hope for the future, and that they will not stop until they have called a special session of the Congress at which they will discuss, and discuss to the end, what is to be the position of India in

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the Empire. This is a question which has never yet been solved, but if India is to be a great people, if the Empire is to be a great Empire, that question must be solved. A solution that was offered by a special contributor to the *London Times*, was this: It is true that there is this proclamation of 1858; it is true that there have been similar proclamations announced from the highest quarters; but it is not expedient in the interests of the European members of the Empire that this declaration, that these promises, that these traditions should be maintained. I am sure that, as the people most concerned, we Indians will never accept this, that we will never take it lying down. I am sure you will not accept a position like that, that you will not allow these traditions to be broken,—that you will not allow these declarations to be falsified, but that you will see that they shall be maintained with all force and vigour and that India shall take up that position in the Empire to which she is justly entitled by virtue of her position as the proudest jewel in the Crown.

His Majesty the King-Emperor is here in the country to-day, and I believe that it is largely due to the influence which has emanated from very high quarters that we have had something like a settlement in South Africa. I hope it will be possible for the people of India to convey to him what is the feeling of his Indian subjects in this matter, so that His Majesty may be able to direct from the highest channels the European colonies in South Africa and other colonies, so that your fellow countrymen may receive the treatment to which they are justly and legitimately entitled as equal subjects of the Crown.

The motion was put and carried by acclamation, with three hearty and ringing cheers for Gandhi.

RESOLUTION XXX.—GENERAL SECRETARIES

Resolution XXX.
General Secretaries.

The following resolution was put from the Chair:—

"That Messrs. D. E. Wacha and D. A. Khare be appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing year."

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION XXXI.—THANKS FOR SERVICES

Resolution XXXI.
Thanks for Services.

The President moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, and other members of the British Committee, its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services, and it takes this opportunity to make an earnest appeal to the Indian public to place adequate funds at the disposal of the Committee to enable it to carry on its work with vigour."

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION XXXII.—ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Resolution XXXII.
*All-India Congress
Committee*

The Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Basu, on behalf of the President, moved "That the following gentlemen do form the All-India Congress Committee for the next year:—

BOMBAY**EX-OFFICIO.**

1. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.
2. Hon. Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta.
3. Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale.
4. Mr. D. E. Wacha.
5. „ Daji Abaji Khare.

ELECTED.

1. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.
2. Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh.
3. Hon. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad.

4. Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
5. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai.
6. Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas.
7. Rao Bahadur Khandebhai Gulabbhai Desai.
8. Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji.
9. „ Hormusji A. Wadya.
10. „ Narayan Madhav Samarth.
11. „ Mathra Das Ramchand Javahari.
12. „ Hari Sitaram Dixit.
13. „ Narayan Vishnu Gokhale.
14. „ Damodar Ganesh Padhye.

UNITED PROVINCES

EX-OFFICIO.

The Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad).
Pandit Bishen Narain Dar (Lucknow).

ELECTED.

1. The Hon'ble Pt. Moti Lall Nehru (Allahabad).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha (Allahabad).
3. The Hon. Babu Ganga Prasad Varma (Lucknow).
4. Dr. Satis Chandra Banerji (Allahabad).
5. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad).
6. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad).
7. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow).
8. Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan (Lucknow).
9. Babu Ram Chandra (Lucknow).
10. Dr. Hari Dutt Pant (Lucknow).
11. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (Lucknow).
12. Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow).
13. Babu Iswar Saran (Allahabad).
14. Babu Preonath Banerjee (Bareilly).
15. Babu Durga Charan Banerjee (Allahabad).

BEHAR

1. Mr. S. Hasan Imam (Bankipore).
2. Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque (Bankipore).
3. Hon. Mr. Braj Keshore Prasad.
4. Hon. Mr. Deep Narayen Sing (Bhagalpore).
5. Mr. Parmeshwar Lall (Gaya).

BENGAL

EX-OFFICIO.

Babu Surendranath Banerjea.
Dr. Rash Behary Ghose.

ELECTED.

1. Hon. Babu Baikunthanath Sen (Berhampore).
2. Mr. Ananda Chandra Ray (Dacca).
3. „ Pramathanath Banerjea (Calcutta).
4. „ Ambika Charan Majumdar (Faridpore).
5. „ Aswini Kumar Dutt (Barisal).
6. „ Abul Kasem (Burdwan).
7. „ Bishnupada Chatterjee (Hoogly).
8. „ Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri (Rajshahi).
9. „ Jatramohan Sen (Chittagong).
10. „ A. Chaudhuri (Calcutta).
11. „ J. Chaudhuri „
12. „ J. Ghosal „
13. „ Krishna Kumar Mitra „
14. „ Prithwis Chandra Ray „
15. „ Heramba Chandra Maitra „
16. „ Basanta Kumar Bose „
17. Dr. Nilratan Sarkar „
18. Maulavi Dedar Buksh „

THIRD DAY

Resolution XXXII
All-India Congress
Committee.

THIRD DAY.

Resolution XXXII.
All-India Congress
Committee.

19. Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu
20. Babu Satyananda Bose

BERAR

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.
Mr. M. V. Joshi.
Rao Bahadur Dewrao Vinayak.
Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle.
Mr. R. V. Mahajani.

MADRAS

1. The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur.
2. The Hon. Mr. Subba Rao.
3. " " " T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.
4. Hon. Dewan Bahadur, L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.
5. Mr. G. A. Natesan.
6. " V. V. Jogiah Pantulu.
7. " C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
8. " A. S. Krishna Rao.
9. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.
10. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
11. Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanuja Chariar.
12. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
13. Mr. K. K. Guruswami Aiyar.
14. " S. V. Narasimha Rao.
15. " A. P. Patro.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. The Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis.
2. Dr. H. S. Gour.
3. Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Kolhatkar.
4. " " Bapurao Dada.
5. " " V. R. Pandit.
6. Mr. V. R. Dixit.
7. " M. K. Padhye.

PUNJAB.

1. Hon. Lala Harkishenlal.
2. Mr. L. Dhanpat Rai.
3. " L. Sangham Lal.
4. " L. Dharm Das Suri.
5. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhuri.
6. Mr. S. S. Bhatia.
7. " L. Ganpat Rai.
8. " L. Dunichand.
9. " N. Gupta.
10. Raizada Bhagat Ram.
11. Mr. L. Lajpat Rai.
12. " L. Hukum Chand.
13. " D. Dharm Chand.

BURMA.

1. Mr. V. G. Biajpurkar.
2. " Samsundaram Mudaliar.

Dr. S. K. Mullick from among the Bengal delegates enquired if these gentlemen were duly elected by the delegates themselves.

Mr. Basu assured him that in accordance with the rules of the Congress, they were duly elected by the Provincial Congress Committee.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea said that by an oversight Mr Anath Bandhu Guha of Mymensingh had not been elected a member of the All-India Congress Committee, and that he wished to retire in favour of Mr. Guha.

Mr. Basu then asked if it was the wish of the Bengal delegates that the name of Mr. Guha should be substituted for that of Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea.

Dr. Mullick wanted to know if the substitution of the name of Mr. Anath Bandhu Guha in place of Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea, who retired from the Committee, was done in accordance with the constitution.

Mr. Basu said that the proposal had been duly placed before the delegates and passed.

Dr. Mullick persisted in questioning the validity of the election when he was ruled out of order.

Objections to similar effect were raised by the Punjab and Berar delegates, which were however amicably settled by their respective Provincial Secretaries.

The amended list of members was then adopted, the name of Mr. Anathbandhu Guha being substituted for that of Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE CHAIR

In proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair, Mr. A. Chaudhuri said :—

Thanks to the Chair

It is not necessary for me to say anything to recommend this resolution for your acceptance.

You have been known to us as a skilled leader and we welcomed you as such, but we welcomed you as something more. We claim you because you belong to us and are one of us. You are also one of those who are not eligible for a seat on the Council. We thank you for having come forward to take up this office which you have filled in spite of your great illness, and we appreciate the sacrifice which you have made in the cause of the country. We have only one voice in praise of your excellent address, of your words which we shall remember, of your sentiments which we shall honour for the lessons which you have taught. I have nothing more to say. You have come as an accredited speaker of the Congress, as the President of the Congress and as such we thank you.

The motion was carried by acclamation with three loud and ringing cheers.

The President, in returning thanks, said:—

I have to thank you sincerely for the most kind and most generous terms in which Mr. Chaudhuri has proposed this vote of thanks, and for the warmth and cordiality with which it has been received by you, and the compliments that have been showered upon me. I know how little I deserve them, but they are tokens of your generous nature. I know that I have done very little to deserve all this. In fact my burden has been borne by others, principally by Babu Surendranath Banerjee who has presided in my absence, as well as by others who have helped me in conducting the proceedings of this Congress. I know that on account of my ill-health I have not been able to discharge the duty which was entrusted to me, but your indulgence and kindness are so great that I can assure you from the bottom of my heart that the memory of these three days will be with me to the last moment of my life. You have shown by your generous treatment of me how kind you can be to any one who is pleased to render you even a nominal service. The Presidentship of this Congress would be a very important event in an Indian's life, but I consider myself exceptionally fortunate that I come to you at a time of national rejoicing. Joy and hope have come to the people of Bengal after many years' trial, and gentlemen, I have no doubt that this Congress will be always memorable for the great day of rejoicing that it has seen. The proceedings of this Congress have been very harmonious. I am sure, that now that the situation has changed, those friends of ours who have for some reason or another been unable to co-operate with us for the past two or three years will now be able to come back to us and work with us as they have worked with us in the past. A great deal of the success of this Congress must be attributed to the endeavours of the members of the Reception Committee, who worked under very difficult circumstances and had to cope with exceptional disadvantages. Their arrangements have been so excellent, their hospitality has been so generous, that I, on your behalf and on my own, offer them my

THIRD DAY

Thanks to the Chair.

most cordial and sincere thanks. I must express my deep thanks to those indefatigable Secretaries, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Mr. Satyananda Bose and Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea, who have worked so hard and so well that I cannot omit them. While speaking upon this point, I cannot omit mention of the band of Volunteers who have so selflessly worked for us, and who have by their kindness, by their constant unremitting toil, made our stay in Calcutta not only comfortable but also enjoyable. To them my sincere thanks are due. To me personally your kindness has been simply boundless, and I cannot forget the very cordial reception you gave me the first day I arrived. I cannot forget how kind and indulgent you have been throughout the whole proceedings of the Congress during these three days. I thank you once more for all this kindness that you have shown me, and I conclude with an earnest prayer to the Almighty God that His blessings may fall on you and the noble work that you have undertaken. I thank you once more from the bottom of my heart.

After the singing of the "Bande Mataram" song, and with three hearty cheers for Their Majesties, the Twenty-sixth session of the Indian National Congress was brought to a close.

APPENDIX A.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Indian National Congress Organisation.

*(As Adopted by the Congress of 1908 and Amended by
the Congress of 1911.)*

Objects.

ARTICLE I.

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

ARTICLE II.

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

Sessions of the Congress.

ARTICLE III.

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

Component Parts of the Organisation.

ARTICLE IV.

The Indian National Congress Organisation will consist of

- (a) The Indian National Congress ;
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (c) District Congress Committees or Associations, affiliated to the Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (d) Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Congress Committees or Associations ;
- (e) Political Associations or Public Bodies affiliated by the Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (f) The All-India Congress Committee ;
- (g) The British Committee of the Congress ; and
- (h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conferences or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations or Bodies mentioned in clauses (b), (c), (d) and (h) of Article IV unless he has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his acceptance of the Objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Provincial Congress Committees.

ARTICLE VI.

To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District Conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces :—

I Madras ; II Bombay ; III United Bengal ; IV United Provinces ; V Punjab (including N. W. Frontier Province) ; VI Central Provinces ; VII Behar ; VIII Berar ; and IX Burma.

ARTICLE VII.

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

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

- (e) The Joint Secretary or Secretaries of the Congress ordinarily residing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee, such Joint Secretary or Secretaries being added as *ex-officio* member or members of the said Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

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

District or other Congress Committees or Associations.

ARTICLE IX.

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

ARTICLE X.

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

ARTICLE XI.

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

ARTICLE XII.

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

The All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XIII.

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

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

Provided, as far as possible, that 1/5th of the total number of representatives shall be Mahomedans.

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

ARTICLE XIV.

The representatives of each Province shall be elected by its Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting held, as far as possible, before the 30th of November for each year. If any Provincial Congress Committee fail to elect its representatives, the said representatives shall be elected by the Delegates for that Province present at the ensuing Congress. In either case, the representatives of each Province shall be elected from among the members of its Provincial Congress Committee, and the election shall be made, as far as possible, with due regard to the proviso in Article XIII.

ARTICLE XV.

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

ARTICLE XVI.

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

ARTICLE XVII.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the date of its appointment at the Congress till the appointment of the new Committee.

(b) If any vacancy arises by death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining members of the Province in respect of which the vacancy has arisen shall be competent to fill it up for the remaining period.

ARTICLE XVIII.

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

(b) The decision of the All-India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it.

ARTICLE XIX.

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

Electorates and Delegates.

ARTICLE XX.

The right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest exclusively in (1) the British Committee of the Congress; (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated Bodies of more than two years' standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs. (4) Political Associations of British Indians resident outside British India, of more than two years' standing recognised by the All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XXI.

All delegates to the Indian National Congress shall pay a fee of Rs. 20 each and shall be not less than 21 years of age at the date of election.

Reception Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXII.

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Everyone, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays such contribution as may be determined by the Provincial Congress Committee shall be eligible as a member of the Reception Committee.

(b) No one who is only a member of the Reception Committee but not a Delegate, shall be allowed to vote or take part in the debate at the Congress.

(c) The Reception Committee shall be bound to provide the necessary funds for meeting all the expenses of the Congress as also the cost of preparing, printing, publishing and distributing the Report of the Congress.

Election of the President.

ARTICLE XXIII

(a) In the beginning of the month of June, the Reception Committee shall consult the several Provincial Congress Committees as to the names of eligible persons for the Presidentship of the year's Congress. The Provincial Congress Committees shall make their recommendations by the end of July; and in the month of August the Reception Committee shall meet to consider the recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to elect the President in the manner mentioned above or in the case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in manner aforesaid the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final.

Provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

(b) There shall be no formal *election* of the President by or in the Congress, but merely the adoption (in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule 3 clause (b) of the "Rules" hereto appended) of a formal resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

Subjects Committee.

ARTICLE XXIV.

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

Not more than	15	representatives of	Madras ;
"	15	"	" Bombay ;
"	20	"	" United Bengal ;
"	15	"	" United Provinces ;
"	13	"	" Punjab (including N. W. F. Province) ;
"	7	"	" Central Provinces ;
"	5	"	" Behar ;
"	5	"	" Berar ;
"	2	"	" Burma ;
"	5	"	" British Committee of the Congress ;
And additional	10	"	" the province in which the Congress is held ;

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

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

ARTICLE XXV.

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

Contentious Subjects

and

Interests of Minorities.

ARTICLE XXVI.

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number ; and if, after the discussion of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped ; Provided that in both these cases the $\frac{3}{4}$ ths mentioned above shall not be less than a $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total number of Delegates assembled at the Congress.

(b) The President of the Congress for the year may nominate 5 Delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.

(c) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

Voting at the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVII.

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

The British Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

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

General Secretaries.

ARTICLE XXIX.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall have two General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall be responsible for the preparation publication and distribution of the Report of the Congress. They shall also be responsible for the preparation and circulation of Draft Resolutions of the Congress, which they must send to the Provincial Congress Committees at the latest in the first week of December.

(b) The All-Indian Congress Committee shall make adequate provision for the expenses of the work devolving on the General Secretaries, either out of the surplus at the disposal of the Reception Committee or by calling upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make such contributions as it may deem fit to apportion among them.

Changes in the Constitution or Rules.

ARTICLE XXX.

No addition, alteration or amendment shall be made (1) in Article I of this Constitution except by an unanimous vote of all the Provinces, and (2) in the rest of this Constitution or in the "Rules" hereto appended except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Provinces, provided, in either case, that no motion for any such addition, alteration or amendment shall be brought before the Congress unless it has been previously accepted by the Subjects Committee of the Congress for the year.

Transitory Provisions.

ARTICLE XXXI.

(a) The Committee appointed by the Convention at Surat on 28th December 1907 for drawing up a Constitution for the Congress shall exercise all the powers of the All-India Congress Committee till the formation of the latter at the next session of the Congress.

(b) The Secretaries of the said Convention Committee shall discharge the duties of the General Secretaries of the Congress till the dissolution of the next session of the Congress.

(c) The President and Secretaries of the Convention Committee should, in consultation with the Secretaries of the several Provincial Sub-Committees arrange for the holding of a meeting of the Congress during Christmas next in accordance with this Constitution.

(d) For the year 1908, the Reception Committee may, in electing the President consult the Provincial Congress Committees in the beginning of October, before the end of which month, the Provincial Congress Committees, on being so consulted shall make their recommendations and the rest of the procedure prescribed in Article XXIII should be followed and completed, as far as possible, before the end of November.

(e) The Provincial Sub-Committees of the Convention shall in the first instance form themselves into Provincial Congress Committees.

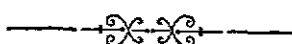
(f) The signatories of the Convention Committee shall take steps to form Separate Provincial Congress Committees for Central Provinces, Behar and Burma.

(g) The Provincial Sub-Committees of the Convention shall, in the first instance, form themselves into Provincial Congress Committees.

(h) The Secretaries of the Convention Committee shall take steps to form separate Provincial Congress Committees for Central Provinces, Behar and Burma.

APPENDIX B.
RULES
FOR THE CONDUCT & REGULATION
OF THE
Indian National Congress Meetings.

(As adopted by the Congresses of 1908 & 1911.)



1. The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily hold an annual session at such place as may have been decided upon in accordance with Article III of the "Constitution" and on such days during Christmas week as may be fixed by the Reception Committee. An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be held at such town and on such days as the All-India Congress Committee may determine.
2. Each Congress session shall open with a meeting of the Delegates at such time and place as may be notified by the Reception Committee. The time and place of subsequent sittings of the session shall be fixed and announced by the President of the Congress.
3. The proceedings on the opening day and at the first sitting of each Congress session shall, as far as possible, consist of:—
 - (a) The Chairman of the Reception Committee's inaugural address of welcome to the Delegates.
 - (b) The adoption of a formal resolution, to be moved, seconded and supported by such Delegates as the Chairman of the Reception Committee invites or permits, requesting the President elected by the Reception Committee or the All-India Congress Committee, as the case may be, to take the chair, no opposition by way of a motion for amendment, adjournment or otherwise being allowed to postpone or prevent the carrying out of the said resolution.
 - (c) The President's taking the Chair and his inaugural address.
 - (d) Reading or distribution of the Report, if any, of the All-India Congress Committee and any statement that the General Secretaries may have to make.
 - (e) Any formal motions of thanks, congratulations, condolence &c., as the President of the Congress may choose to move from the chair.
 - (f) The adjournment of the Congress for the appointment of the Subjects Committee and the announcement by the President of the time and place of the meetings of the Delegates of the different provinces for the election of the members of the Subjects Committee and also of the first meeting of the Subjects Committee.
4. No other business or motions in any form shall be allowed at the opening sitting of the Congress session.
5. The Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside over the assembly at the first sitting until the President takes the chair. The President of the Congress shall preside at all sittings of the Congress session as well as at all meetings of the Subjects Committee. In case of his absence and during such absence, any

Ex-President of the Congress present, who may be nominated by the President, and in case no Ex-President is available, the Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside at the Congress sitting; provided that the Subjects Committee may in such cases choose its own Chairman.

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

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

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

9. The election of the members of the Subjects Committee shall take place at meetings of the Delegates of the different provinces held at such place and time as may be announced by the President. Each such meeting, in case of contest, shall have a Chairman who will first receive nominations, each nomination being made by at least 5 Delegates, and then after announcing all the nominations he may ask each Delegate to give in a list of the members he votes for, or he may put the nominated names to the vote in such order as he pleases, or if there are only two rival lists, he shall take votes on these lists and announce the result of the election and forthwith communicate the same to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

30. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President as well as the Secretaries may, at their discretion, accommodate on the Presidential platform (1) Leading members of the Congress, (2) Distinguished visitors, (3) Members of the Reception Committee, (4) Ladies, whether Delegates or visitors, and (5) Members of the All-India Congress Committee.

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

APPENDIX C.

List of Delegates who attended the Twenty-Sixth Indian National Congress, held at Calcutta in December 1911.

BOMBAY.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Provincial Congress Committee. District Congress Committee.	Mr. Hari Ballavh Sharma ...	Hindu, Gour Brahmin.	Venkatesh Bhavan, Khetvadi, Girgaon.	At a meeting dated 30-11-11.
Hyderabad, Sindh.	Mr. Gopaldas Jhamatmal Advani ...	Hindu, Amil ...	Pleader, Hyderabad, Sindh ...	Do., dated 16-11-11.
Do.	Mr. Hassamal Kalachand ...	Hindu, Sobana ...	Do.	Do., dated 26-11-11.
Do.	Mr. Dowlatram Balchand M.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Amil ...	Pleader, Hyderabad, Sindh ...	Do., dated 26-11-11.
Provincial Congress Committee, District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale.	Hindu Brahmin ...	First member, Servants of India Society, Poona City.	Do., dated 30-11-11.
Hyderabad ...	Mr. Gurdas Singh Jatsing Shahani ...	Hindu, Amil ...	Pleader and Zamindar ...	Do., dated 26-11-11.
Do.	„ Portabsingh Sahibsingh Shahani	Do.	Lawyer, Karachi ...	Do., dated 26-11-11.
Do.	„ Mahtabsing Sahibsing Shahani,	Do.	Hyderabad, Sind ...	Do., dated 26-11-11.
Satara ...	The Hon'ble Mr. Raghunath Pardurang Karandikar.	Hindu, Brahmin...	Pleader, High Court, Satara ...	Do., Decr. 1911.
Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Daji Abaji Khare ...	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Bellases Road, Byculla, Bombay.	Do., dated 30-11-11.
Provincial Association.	Mr. D. E. Wacha ...	Zoroastrian, Parsi.	Mill Agent ...	Do.
Do.	Hon'ble Mr. Harchandra Vishendas	Do.	Pleader, Karachi ...	Do.
Do.	Mr. Gulabchand Devichand.	Hindu, Jain. ...	Pearl Merchant, 3 Malabar Hill, Bombay.	Do.
Guzrat S h a v a Ahmedabad.	Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkauth.	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Pleader, Ahmedabad ...	Do., dated 19-12-11.
Do.	Mr. Chimantlal Purshotamdas Broker	Hindu, Jain Shravak Bania.	Do.	Do.
Do.	„ Chimantlal Lalbhai Nagerseth ...	Hindu, Jain, Bania	Officiating Mill shroff ...	Do.
Do.	„ Lalbhai Trikamlal Seth ...	Hindu, Bania ...	Mill Agent and shroff ...	Do.
District Congress Committee Hyderabad.	„ Tahilram Bassarmal Aswani ...	Hindu, Lahana ...	Pleader and Merchant Hyderabad, Sind.	Do., dated 26-11-11.
Ahmedabad ...	„ V. R. Naik ...	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Banker and Contractor, Hyderabad.	Do., dated Nil.
Sind, Hyderabad...	„ K. G. Naik, ...	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Zaminder, Hyderabad ...	...
Do.	Mr. Lele ...	Do.	Do.	...
Do.	Mr. B. S. Kamat ...	Do.	Contractor, Poona City ...	At a meeting dated 17-12-11.
Poona, Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Kesherao Suntakrow ...	Do.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Deccan) ...	Do.
District Congress Committee, Poona	Mr. S. C. Chitnio ...	Hindu Parbhu ...	Pleader, Poona City ...	Do.
Do.	Mr. S. C. Chitnio ...	Hindu Parbhu ...	Pleader, Poona City ...	Do.
Guzrat Citizen ...	Mr. Velchand Chhayanlal Shah ...	Hindu Bania ...	Banker, Dhana Sutar Pole Ahmedabad.	Do., dated 19-12-11.
Congress C o m - mittee, Surat.	Chopalal N. Nagarsheth ...	Hindu, Jain, Shra- vak.	Landlord and money-lender, Rander.	Do., dated 18-12-11

PUNJAB.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore.	Mr. Rambhaj Dutt Chowdhury ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zamin dar and Pleader, Lahore.	At a meeting dated Nil.
Do.	" Gawardhan Dass, ...	Hindu, Arya ...	Business, C/o. Messrs. Gunurdhan Das & Co.	Do.
Do.	" Ganpat Rai ...	Hindu. ...	Barrister-at-law, Lahore ...	Do.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
United Provinces Congress Committee.	Mr. Bhagwan Din Dube ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Bar-at-law ...	At a public meeting dated 20-12-11.
Cawnpur People's Association.	" Basanta Kumar Bose, B.A. ...	Hindu, Bengalee Kayestha.	Vakil, Cawnpore ...	Do. dated 20-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Benares.	" Gouri Sankar Prasad ...	Hindua Baisya ...	Vakil, High Court, Bulanala, Benares City.	Do. dated 21-11-11.
Do.	" Krishna Ram Mehta ...	Hindu Nagar Brahman.	Legal Practitioner, Bulanala ...	Do., dated 21-11-11.
Do.	" Damodar Das Khandelwal ...	Hindu Baisya ...	Land-holder, c/o. Gouri Sankar Prasad, Vakil.	Do., dated 21-11-11.
United Provinces Congress Committee.	" Sarat Chandra Choudhuri, M.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Kayestha...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Faizabad.	Mr. G. L. Shaw, Bar-at-law ...	Hindu Agorwala ...	Bar-at-law, Faizabad ...	Do., dated 14-12-11.
United Provinces Congress Committee.	" Durga Charan Banerjee ...	Hindu Brahman ...	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Mirzapur.	Munshi Bhagwan Persad ...	Hindu Kayestha ...	Legal Practitioner and Zamindar Welleslygunj, Mirzapore.	Do., dated 21-12-11.
Do.	Babu Ganga Persad ...	Hindu Kalwar ...	Teacher, Duncanganj, Mirzapur	Do., dated 21-12-11.
Do.	Babu Madhava Persad ...	Do.	Banker, Zamindar and Merchant Ganeshganj.	Do., dated 21-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Barielly.	Mr. Sarodapada Mukherjee ...	Hindu Brahman ...	Vakil, Beharipur Barielly.	Do., dated 18-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Fyzabad.	Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru ...	Do.	Vakil, Fyzabad ...	At a public meeting, dated 14-12-11.
Cawnpore People's Association.	Pandit Devi Prasad Shakla ...	Do.	Professor, Cawnpore ...	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	Babu Narayan Prasad Nigam ...	Hindu Kayestha ...	Vakil, Cawnpore ...	Do.
United Provinces Congress Committee.	Mr. Lalit Mohan Banerjee ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad ...	Do.
District Congress Committee, Sitapore.	Mr. Sidh Prasad, B.A. ...	Hindu Kayestha ...	Vakil, High Court, Sitapore.	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do.	Mr. A. K. Bose, B.A. ...	Do.	Pleader, Sitapore ...	Do.
Do.	Munshi Murli Dhar ...	Do.	Vakil Sitapur, Oudh ...	Do.

UNITED PROVINCES—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Meshapur ...	Babu Sri Ram ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Wellesly-Gunj.	At a public meeting dated 21-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Barielly.	Mr. Preonath Banerjee ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, Civil Line, Barielly.	Do., dated 18-12-11.
Do.	Mr. Lalit Mohan Mukherjee ...	Do.	Pleader, Gali Bhatan, Barielly ...	Do.
Do.	Mr. Sures Nath Banerjee ...	Do.	Bar-at-law, Barielly ...	Do.
United Provinces Congress Committee.	Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru ...	Do.	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	Rai Braj Narayan Gurta ...	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	Do.
Lucknow District Congress Committee.	Pandit Jag Mohun Nath Chak ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Barrister-at-law, Lucknow ...	At a public meeting dated 17-12-11.
Do.	Pandit Janki Nath Chak ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow ...	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Kheri District Congress Committee.	Pandit Sooraj Narain Dikshit ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, Kheri Lakimpur (Oudh)	Do. dated 23-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Hardai.	Babu Manni Lal ...	Hindu Kayestha...	Vakil, Hardoi ...	Do. dated 21-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Benares.	Babu Mangla Prasad ...	Hindu Baishya ...	Zamindar and Banker ...	Do. dated 21-11-11.
Provincial Congress Committee	The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohun Malavya	Hindu Brahmin ...	Vakil, High Court, United Provinces.	Do. dated 20-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Rai Barielly.	Kismat Rai Jagdhari	Hindu Kayestha...	Vakil, Rai Barielly ...	Do. dated 14-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Lucknow.	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Barrister-at-law, Lucknow ...	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	Hon'ble Babu Gangaprasad Varma...	Hindu Khatri ...	Editor and Proprietor of "Advocate" and "Hindustani."	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Vakil and Landholder ...	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	Pandit Ikbal Narayan Masaldan ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Barrister-at-law, Lucknow ...	Do. dated 17-1-11.
Do.	Dr. Hari Dutt Pant ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Medical Practitioner and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan ...	Mahomedan Mogal.	Barrister-at-law, Lucknow ...	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	" Kazim Ali Khan ...	Mahomedan Mogal.	Land-holder and Barrister-at-law.	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	" Sayed Ali Khan ...	Mahomedan Mogal.	Land-holder and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	" Sajjad Ali Khan ...	Mahomedan Mogal.	Land-holder ...	Do. dated 17-12-11.
United Provinces Congress Committee.	Mr. C. V. Chintamani ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Editor of "Leader," 14 A, South Road, Allahabad.	Do. dated 20-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Lucknow.	Pandit Ikbal Sankar Kochak ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader ...	Do. dated 17-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Unao.	Pandit Bishambhor Nath Bajpai ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, Unao (Oudh) ...	Do. dated 15-11-12.

UNITED PROVINCES—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
District Congress Committee, Unao.	Pandit Benimadho Dubey	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader, Unao (Oudh)	At a public meeting, dated 15-12-11.
Do.	„ Baldeo Behari Misra	Hindu Brahmin...	Ditto	Do. dated 15-12-11.
Do.	Babu Jagannath Prasad Chowdhry	Hindu Kayestha ...	Ditto	Do. dated 15-12-21.
Do.	Babu Laksmi Narain	Hindu Kayestha ...	Vakil, Unao (Oudh)	Do. dated 15-12-31.
Do.	Babu Shankar Lal Nigam	Hindu Kayestha ...	Pleader, Unao (Oudh)	Do. dated 22-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Lucknow.	Pandit Sangam Lal Chak	Hindu Brahmin ...	Land-holder	Do. dated 17-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Gorukpore.	Mr. Saraswati Prasad	Hindu Kayestha ...	Zamindar, Pleader	Do. dated 15-11-12.
Do.	Babu Iswar Saran	Hindu Kayestha ...	Zemindar, Legal Practitioner, Allahabad.	Do. dated 15-12-11.
Do.	Rai Ram Garib Lal Bahadur	Hindu Kayestha ...	Zemindar, Gorukpore	Do. dated 15-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Lucknow.	Mr. Gurdayal Srivastava	Hindu Kayestha ...	Merchant, Aminabai Park, Lucknow.	Do. dated nil.
Lucknow	Dr. Parshottam Das Kuckor	Hindu, Khatriya ...	Jeweller and Banker, Chowk, Lucknow.	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Do.	Mr. Hari Kishen Dhaon.	Hindu, Khatri ...	Vakil, Goldarwaza, Lucknow	Do., dated 17-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Gonda.	Babu Krishna Prosad	Hindu, Kayestha	Vakil, Gonda	Do., dated 19-12-11.
Do.	Babu Avadh Vihari	Do.	Pleader, Gonda	Do., dated 19-12-11.
Do.	„ Saraju Prosad Bhatnagr	Do.	Vakil, Gonda	Do., dated 19-12-11.
Lucknow do	„ Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do.	„ Ram Chandra	Do.	Do.	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do. Oudh	Mr. H. C. Datta,	Do.	Bar-at-law, Lucknow	Do., dated nil.
Do.	Babu Gopal Das Varma	Do.	General Merchant, Lucknow	Do., dated nil.
Do. Lucknow	Mirza Sami Ulla Beg	Mahomedan ...	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow	Do., dated 17-12-11.
People's Association, Cawnpur.	Babu Munna Lal	Hindu Kaestha ...	Pleader, Cawnpur	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	Pandit Ayodhya Nath Tewari	Hindu Brahmin ...	Do.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Sitapur.	Pandit Ganga Prosad Tewari	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Sitapur	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do.	Pandit Ayodhya Prosad Agnihotri	Do.	Zamindar and Pleader, Sitapur	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do.	Babu Ram Saroop Kapoor	Hindu, Khatri ...	Banker, Merchant, Vakil, Sitapur.	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do. Rai Barielly	Pandit Behari Lal Nehru	Hindu, Brahman	Pleader, Rai Barielly	Do., dated 14-12-11.
United Provinces Congress Committee.	„ Hargovind Pant	Do.	Vakil, Almora	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Unao District Congress Committee.	Babu Saligram Sinha	Hindu, Kaestha ...	Vakil, Unao	Do., dated 15-11-12.
District Congress Committee, Benares.	Rao Gopal Dass Shapptri	Hindu, Brahman...	Banker and zamindar. Katoyalpur, Benares.	At a public meeting dated 21-12-11.

UNITED PROVINCES—concl'd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
District Congress Committee, Benares.	Rao Vaijnath Das Shappuri ...	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Banker and Zamindar, Ranaganj	At a public meeting dated 21-12-11.
Do. Lucknow ...	Raja Prithwipal Singh ...	Hindu, Khatriya ...	Talukdar, Barabanki District ...	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do. Farrackabad	Gaindan Lal ...	Hindu, Kurnai ...	Vakil, Zamindar, Farrukhabad	Do., dated 21-12-11.
Do.	Chowbey Radhakissen ...	Hindu, Chaturvedi ...	Vakil, Farrukabad ...	Do.
Do. Lucknow ...	Thakur Ramsingh ...	Hindu, Rajput ...	Pleader, Lucknow ...	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do. Agra ...	Pandit Govind Sahay Sarma ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Advocate, High Court, Agra ...	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	Do. Gopinath Kunzru ...	Hindu Kashmiri Brahmin ...	Zamindar ...	Do.
Do.	Do. Sham Lal ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Trader ...	Do.
Do.	Mr. Narayan Prosad Ashthaina ...	Hindu, Kyaestha ...	High Court Vakil, Agra ...	Do.
Do.	Pandit Kailas Nath Kunzru ...	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahmin. ...	Do. ...	Do.
Do. Lucknow ...	Pandit Jagat Narain ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Lucknow ...	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do. Gorukhpur ...	The Hon'ble Mr. Narsingh Prosad ...	Hindu, Kayestha ...	Vakil, Gorakhpur ...	Do., dated 15-12-11.
Do. Fyzabad ...	Thakur Mohadeo Singh. ...	Hindu, Khatriya ...	Vakil, Fyzabad ...	Do., dated 17-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Fyzabad.	Mr. Rudra Dutt Singh, ...	Hindu, Kayestha ...	Vakil, Lucknow ...	Do., dated 14-12-11.
Do.	Babu Ram Saran Singh ...	Do. ...	Vakil, Fyzabad ...	Do.
Do.	Pandit Dwarkanath Raina ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.
District Congress Committee, Bareilly.	Saraswati Prasad	Hindu, Kayestha ...	Zamindar, Biharipur, Bareilly ...	Do., dated 18-12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Madho Prasad ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Raes and Banker, Rani-ki-mandi, Allahabad.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	Lala Manmohan Das ...	Do. ...	Banker, Rani-ki-mandi, Allahabad	Do., dated Nil.
Peoples' Association, Cawnpur.	Rai Saheb Dr. Murari Lal ...	Hindu, Vasya ...	Medical Practitioner, Cawnpur ...	Do., dated 20-12-11.

MADRAS.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. S. Venkata Narasimha Rao, B.A.	....	Pleader and Municipal Chairman, Kurnool, Madras.	At a meeting of the Provincial Committee held on the 27th Nov. 1911.
North Arcot Dist. Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer, B. A., B. L.	Hindu, Brahmin...	High Court Vakil. "Palm Grove" Mylapore, Madras.	At a meeting of the Provincial Committee held on 27th Nov. 1911.
Do. and North Arcot District Congress Committee.	Mr. L. Venkata Raghava Aiyar, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Land-holder, High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.	At a meeting of the Committee held at Chittoor on 17th December 1911.
Godavari District Congress Committee.	Mr. Nalam Padmanabham, B. A. ...	Hindu, Vysya ...	Merchant, Coconada ...	At a meeting of the Committee.
Do.	Mr. Nalam Rantalingayya ...	Do.	Do.	Do.

MADRAS—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Godavari District Congress Committee.	Mr. Vajapayagula Bhavanarayana, B. A., B. L.	Hindu, Brahmin...	First Grade Pleader, Coconada	At a meeting of the Committee.
Do.	Mr. D. V. S. Prakasa Rao, B. A. ...	Do. ...	Civi Pensioner, Coconda ...	Do.
Do.	Mr. Y. Kameswara Rao, B. A. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Coconada ...	Do.
Do.	Mr. Ch. Ram Somayjulu, B. A., B. L.	Do.	First Grade Pleader, Coconada	Do.
Do.	Mr. P. Venkata Ramiah ...	Do. ...	Land-holder, Coconada ...	Do.
Do.	Mr. L. Subba Rau, B. A., B. L. ...	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Coconada...	Do.
Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	Mr. G. Surya Narayan Rao Pantulu Garu, B. A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam	Do. dated 18-12-11.
Do.	Mr. Y. Suryanarayana, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Do.	Do. dated 18-12-11.
The Madras Mahajana Shabha.	Mr. S. Ramanujam Chettiar, M. A. B. L.	Brahmo ...	Merchant, No. 1 A, Harris Road, Kamalesvaranpet.	Do. dated 29-11-11.
Tanjore District Congress Committee.	Mr. K. Natarjan, B. A., B. L.	Hindu.	High Court, Pleader, Tanjore ...	Do. dated 16-12-11.
Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	Mr. Akella Surya Narayan Rao, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin...	Pleader, Vizagapatam ...	Do. dated 20-12-11.
Tanjore District Congress Committee.	Mr. N. P. Subbramaniam Ajar ...	Do.	Journalist, Westmain Street, Tanjore.	Do. dated 16-12-11.
Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	Mr. P. L. Narasiham Pantulu B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam	At a meeting of the Committee dated 18-12-11.
Do.	„ V. Jagannatham, B.A., B.L. ...	Do.	Do.	Do. dated 18-12-11.
Madura District Congress Committee	„ K. Rama Iyengar, B.A., B.L. ...	Do.	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	Do. dated 14-12-11.
Do.	„ M. S. Sesa Iyengar, B.A. ...	Do.	District Court Vakil, Madura ...	Do., dated 14-12-11.
Do.	„ R. Krishnaswami, B.A., B.L. ...	Do.	Do.	Do., dated 14-12-11.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	„ N. R. K. Thathachariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore ...	Do., dated 27-11-11.
Do.	„ R. M. M. S. T. Vairavan Chettiar	...	...	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Madras Mahajana Shabha	„ P. S. Subramania Sastriar ...	Do.	Proprietor Carnatic Studio, Mount Road, Madras.	Do., dated 29-11-11.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Pandit D. Gopala Charlu, A.V.S. ...	Do.	Principal, Ayurvedic College 55 Acherappan Street, George Town, Madras.	Do., dated 27-11-11.
Do.	Mr. S. Somalundaram Pillai, B.A., B.L.	...	High Court Vakil, Coral Merchant Street Madras.	At a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee dated 27-11-11.
Madras District Congress Committee.	V. Daie Vasagayam Pillai ...	Christian, Vellala	Law Agent, Zamindar of Amruayarayabam Mairguard Street, Madras.	At Madura public meeting dated 14-12-11.
Madras District Congress Committee.	Mr. S. R. M. M. A. Annamalai Chettiar.	Hindu Chetti Caste	Money lending, Union Chairman, Ramnad.	...
Do.	„ O. A. O. K. Ramasami Chettiar	Do.	Money lending, Union Chairman, Pattachur, Ramnad District.	Do. dated 14-12-11.

MADRAS—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Madras Mahajan Sabha.	Dewan Bahadur Govindass Chathorbhooja Dass.	Hindu Chetti Caste	Merchant, 459 Mint Street, Madras.	Do. dated 29-11-11.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee, Do.	Mr. K. Govinda Chariar ... " M. B. Varada Iyengar B.A. B.L.	Hindu Brahmin ... Do.	Dubash, Messrs. Bert & Co. Madras. Pleader, Kurnool, Madras ...	Do., dated 27-11-11. Do.
Caddapah District Congress Committee, Do.	" T. M. Narasinha Charlu, B.A.B.L. Mr. A. Sadagopacharlu, B.A. ...	Do. Do.	First Grade Pleader, Caddapah First Grade Pleader, Caddapah...	Do., dated 20-12-11. Do., dated 20-12-11.
Madras Mahajan Sabha.	Mr. M. R. Ramasesha Iyer ...	Do.	Proprietor of Messrs. Gonesh & Co., 32 Thamboo Chetty, St. George Town.	Do. dated 29-11-11.
Coimbatore District Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. S. Balakrishna Aiyer. B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore...	Do. November, 11.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee, Do.	Mr. Vidyasagor Paudya ... Mr. A. P. Patra ...	Do. Kheisan, Kalingi...	Banker, Secretary to Indian Bank Ltd. High Court, Vice Chairman, Telleng Board, Berhampore Ganjam District.	Do. dated 20-12-11. Do. dated 27-11-11
Do.	" S. Srinivasa Aiyangar ...	Hindu Bramin ...	High Court Vakil, Luzy Mylpore	Do.
Do.	" K. Kalyana Swami ...	Hindu ...	Vakil, Berhampore, Ganjam District.	Do.
Do.	T. V. Muthu Krishna Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Madras High Court.	Do.
Madras District Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Raer ...	Hindu Brahmin Madhua.	Vakil and Landholder, Madras...	Do. dated 14-12-11.
Madura District Congress Committee, Do.	Mr. P. N. Muthuswamia Aiyar ... " K. A. Venkata Subramania Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin Saivite. Hindu, Brahmin, Saivite,	High Court Vakil, Madura. High Court Vakil, Madura ...	Do., dated 14-12-11. At a meeting dated 14-12-11.
Do.	" M. K. Sankara Ram Aiyar ...	Do.	Vakil, Madura ...	Do., dated 14-12-11
Do.	" M. Swaminath Aiyar ...	Do.	High Court, Vakil, Madura ...	Do.
Do.	" R. S. Narayana Swami Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin Smartha.	Vakil, Madura ...	Do.
Do.	" R. Lakshmana Aiyar...	Do.	Do.	Do.
Do.	" G. Sornayaji Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin Saivite.	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	Do.
Do.	" R. Venkatavarada Aiyangar ...	Hindu, Brahmin Vaishavite.	High Court Vakil, and Municipal Councillor, Madura.	Do.
Do.	" K. V. Ramaswami Aiyar ...	Hindu, Brahmin Saivite.	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	Do.
Do.	" S. M. Narayana Aiyangar ...	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishavite.	Vakil, Sinagurga, Ramnad District.	Do.
Do.	" S. Sowmianarayana Aiyangar ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
Do.	" R. Lakshman Aiyangar ...	Do.	Vakil, Madura ...	Do.
Do.	" T. S. Anantanarayana Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin, Saivite.	Do.	Do.
Do.	" C. Srinivasa Aiyar ...	Do.	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	Do.
Do.	" T. B. A Aiyar ...	Do.	Vakil, Madura ...	Do.

MADRAS—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Gunjam District Association Berhampore.	Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu Garu ...	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Pleader and Landholder, Berhampore, Gaujam District.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Krishna District Congress Committee.	" A. Kalesvara Rau Pantulu ...	Do.	District Court Vakil, Bezwada...	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do.	" B. Narayana Murti, B.A. ...	Do.	Assistant N. College, Muslipatum	Do.
Gunjam District Association Berhampore.	" P. Venkateswarlu Pantulu Garu ...	Do.	Pleader Berhampur, Gunjam District.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Nellore District Congress Committee.	" A. Hanumantharow ...	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Second Grade Pleader, Nellore	At a meeting, dated 22-12-11.
Do.	" A. Venkatramanayya ...	Do.	Landholder, Sangam, Nellore District.	Do., dated 24-12-
Do.	" K. Narasinga Rau ...	Do.	Second Grade Pleader, Kenali, Nellore District.	Do.
Do.	" A. S. Krishna Rau ...	Do.	High Court Vakil, Nellore ...	Do.
Do.	" K. Nammalwar Chetty ...	Hindu, Vysya ...	Merchant Godown Street, Madras	Do.
Do.	" B. Venkatasubbayya Chetty ...	Do.	Merchant, Nawalipot, Nellore ...	Do.
Do.	" V. Narasinga Rau ...	Hindu, Brahmin ...	First Grade Pleader ...	Do.
Do.	" K. Adinarayana Reddy ...	Hindu, Sadia.	Landholder Alhor, Nellore Taluk	Do.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	" C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin...	High Court Vakil " The Grove" Teynampot Madras.	Do., dated 27-11-11.
Aska Taluk Congress Committee.	" N. Jagannadha Rao ...	Do.	First Grade Pleader, Aska ...	Do., dated Nil.
Guntar District Congress Committee.	" G. Ramanath Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	District Court Vakil, Kollapot, Guntar.	At a meeting of district congress committee, dated 7-12-11.
Do.	" P. V. Srinivasa Rao ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, Arundalpot, Guntar.	Do. dated 7-12-11.
Madras Mahajan Sabha.	Mr. C. Vijaiaghava Chariar, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Pleader, Salem, District Salem...	Do. dated 29-11-11.
North Arcot District Congress Committee.	Mr. N. Krishnama Chariar, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Landholder and Banker, Vellore, N. Arcot.	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Coimbatore District Congress Committee.	Mr. G. P. Venkates Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Chairman, Union Gobichetti Pelayam.	Do. dated 26-11-11.
Do.	Mr. C. S. Ramaswami Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Dharmakarta, Mirasdar, Kalinjivadi, Dharapuram.	Do. dated 26-11-11.
Do.	Mr. K. Narayana Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, Mirasdar, Race Course, Coimbatore.	Do. dated 26-11-11.
Madras Mahajan Sabha.	Mr. A. Duraiswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, 43 Lingachetty Street, George Town.	Do. dated 29-11-11.
Do.	Mr. T. S. Natesa Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, 3-13 Hatha Mutingappen Street, George Town.	Do. dated 29-11-11.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	" G. C. Loyanadha Madaliar, ...		Proprietor "Guardian Press" Mount Road.	At a meeting of the provincial congress committee, dated 27-11-11.
Madras Mahajan Sabha.	" M. Kolanthaiveler Mudaliar, ...		Proprietor Dowden & Co., 1 Nammalwar Street, Madras.	Do. dated 17-12-11.
Palghat	Mr. T. J. Venkatachella Aiyar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin ...	Retired Inspector of Schools, Palghat.	Do., dated 17-12-11.
				Do., dated 19-12-11.

MADRAS—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Ellore (Divisional Association.	Mr. K. V. Reddi	Hindu Telago	High Court Vakil, Ellore.	At a meeting of the provincial Congress Committee, dated 15-12-11.
Rajamundry Divisional Association.	Mr. S. Bapanlah	Hindu Vysya	First Grade Pleader, Rajamundry	Do., dated 6-12-11.
Do.	Mr. E. Krishna Rao Naidu	Hindu Telago	Pleader, Ellore	Do., dated 15-12-11.
Vijagapatam	Mr. S. K. Nair	Hindu Malyali Nair	Landholder	Do., dated 18-12-11.
Kristna District Congress Committee.	Mr. M. Venkataswamy Naidu	Hindu	Vakil, District Court, Masalipatam.	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee, dated 16-12-11.
Rajamundry District Congress Committee.	Mr. P. Sundara Siva Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil, Rajamundry, Godavary District.	Do., dated 6-12-11.
Ganjam District Association.	Mr. A. V. Subbarow Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin	High Court Vakil, Berhampore, Ganjam District.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Do.	Mr. S. Satyanarayana Pantulu Garu	Hindu Brahmin	Landholder and Manager Gurunti Agricultural Farm, Berhampur.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Do.	Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin	Pleader, Berhampur	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Parvatipur District Congress Committee.	„ Opadrasta Venkata Jagannadha Sastri.	Hindu Brahmin	Pleader, Parvatipur, Vizagapatam District.	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do.	„ Kuppli Yarakayya	Hindu Telago	Landholder, Parvatipur, Vizagapatam District.	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do.	„ Adhikalia Jaganaedha Pantulu	Hindu Brahmin	First Grade Pleader, Parvatipur, Vizagapatam District.	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	Mr. Bhupatiraj Venkatapati Raja, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kshatrya	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam District.	Do., dated 18-12-11.
Gudavary District Congress Committee.	Mr. Vomganty Subba Rau	Hindu Brahmin	First Grade Pleader, Rajamundry, Gudavary District.	Do., dated 10-12-11.
Kristna District Congress Committee,	Mr. Challapalli Laksmi Nara Sisham	Hindu Brahmin	Pleader Bizunda	District Congress Committee meeting, dated 16-12-11.
Madras Mahajan Sabha.	Mr. P. V. Rama Chandra Raja	...	High Court Vakil, 43 Acharappen Street, George Town, Madras.	Do., dated 29-11-11.
Do.	Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed	Mahomedan	Member, Imperial Legislative Council.	Do.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao	Hindu Brahmin	...	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do.	Mr. T. T. K. M. Natesa Chettiar	Hindu Chetti	...	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	„ V. N. Rama Aiyar	...	...	Do.
Rajamundry Divisional Association.	„ G. Subba Rao Garu	Hindu Vysya	Private Medical Practitioner, Raja Mundri.	Do., dated 6-12-11.
Gunjum District Association.	„ M. Gunjuraju Pantutulu Garu	Hindu Brahmin	Land holder, Berhampur, Ganjum District.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Madura District Congress Committee.	„ A. M. Arunachellain Chettiar	Hindu Chetti	Money lender, Pallathur, Ramnad District.	At a public meeting.
Coimbatore People's Association.	„ N. Kolundavelu Pillai	Hindu Brahmo	Chemist and Druggist, Proprietor of Joseph & Co., Coimbatore.	Do. dated 10-12-11.
Rajamundry	Hon'ble Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	Do., dated 6-12-11.

MADRAS—concl'd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Ganjam District Congress Committee.	T. M. Nair, M.D.	Hindu	Medical Practitioner, Madras ...	At a public meeting, dated 16-12-11. (Extraordinary meeting held at Calcutta.)
Madras Mahajan Sabha.	K. Sreenivas Yangar	Hindu	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	Do.
Madura District Congress Committee.	V. Manikkam Pillai, B.A. B.L.	Hindu Sainite	Vakil, High Court, Municipal Councillor.	At a Public meeting dated 14-12-11.
Pervatipur Congress Committee.	M. S. Ramamurti Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Pervatipur ...	Do., dated—Nil.
Rajamundry Divisional Association. Do.	Mr. Mota Rangrah Garu, B.A. B.L. „ R. Jayaramaswamy Garu, L.M.S.	Hindu Sudra Do.	First Grade Pleader, Rajahmundry. Medical Practitioner, Rajahmundry.	Do., dated 6-12-11. Do., dated 20-1-11.
Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	„ Mallimadugula Bangariah Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin	High Court Vakil	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee, Ganjam District Association. Do. Do. Do. Do.	Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Sirhagar Mr. N. R. Pautulu Garu, B.A. B.L. „ T. V. Narasingarao Pautulu Garu, B.A. B.L. Hon. G. Raghavarow Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L. Mr. P. Venkataramanayya Pantulu Garu.	Hindu, Brahmin Do. Do. Do. Do.	High Court, Vakil High Court, Vakil, Berhampore Do. Do. Landholder, Gehapur, Gunjam District.	At a public meeting dated 27-11-11. Do., dated 9-12-11. Do. Do. Do., dated 18-12-11.
Rajamundry Divisional Association. Do. Do. Do.	„ S. Bhimasankara Rao V. Lakshmi Nara Singha Murti S. Syamal Rao V. Ram Murti	Do. Do. Do. Do.	First Grade Pleader, Rajamundry. Do. Do. Pleader	Do., dated 6-12-11. Do., dated 18-12-11. Do. Do., dated 6-12-11.
Madras Mahajan Sabha. Do.	Mr. Venkaterangam Naidu „ J. Krishnaswami Naidu	Hindu, Naidu Do.	Merchant, 314 Mathungramany St. Peteamet, Madras. Merchant and Landlord, 2, Rama Pillai Street, Pereamet, Madras.	Do., dated 29-11-11. Do.
Gadavari District Congress Committee.	Sri Rajah K. R. V. Krishno Rao Bahadur.	Hindu, Brahman	Zamindar of Palavaram, Cocanada.	Do
Aska Jalung Congress Committee. Do.	Triparuru Venkata Mukhya Pran Rao Mr. Appicutta Tumbanadham Pantulu	Do. Do.	Zamindar, Devabhoom, Aska, Gunjam District. Pleader, Aska	Do., dated 18-12-11. Do.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee. Do.	Hon'ble Rajah Vasudeva, Raja of Kollengode. Mr. A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu	Hindu Hindu, Balija	Zamindar and Member of the Madras, Legislative Council. Editor, "Andraprokasika," Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Mount Road, Madras.	Do., dated 20-11-11. Do., dated 27-11-11.
Gadavari District Congress Committee. Do.	Rao Saheb Pynda Venkatachelepati Mootha Manikyarm	Hindu, Vysya Do.	Merchant, Cocanada Do.	Do., dated 29-11-11. Do.
Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	C. Janakirum Reddi, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Reddi	High Court Vakil	Do., dated Nil.
Peoples' Association, Coimbatore.	Hon. Mr. Sambanda Mudalier	Senite, Vellala	Do.	Do.

BEHAR.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Muzaffarpur ...	Mr. Baidyanath Narayan Sinha, M.A., B.L., F.C.M.	Hindu Brahmin ...	Pleader, Judge's Court Muzaffarpur.	At a meeting dated 19-12-11.
Do.	„ Arikshan Sinha ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
Provincial Congress Committee.	„ Chandarbansi Sahay ...	Hindu Kayestha...	Barrister-at law, Bankipur	Do.
Do.	Babu Krishraprakas Sen Sinha ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Zamindar, Old Jail Compound, Gaya.	Do.
Do.	„ Maheshwar Prasad... ..	Hindu Khatri ...	Banker and Zamindar, Muzaffarpur.	Do.
Do.	„ Ram Prasad	Hindu Kayestha...	Vakil, Purneah	o.
Do.	„ Krishna Sahay	Do.	Vakil, Hony. Secretary, Landholders Assoc., Bankipur.	Do.
Do.	Thakurnand Kumar Singh ...	Do.	Sasaram District Sahabad ...	Dated Nil.
Do.	Mr. Gopalji Chaudhry	Hindu Brahmin ...	Zamindar Sasaram	Dated Nil.
Do.	Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha	Hindu Kayestha...	Barrister-at law, Bankipur ...	Do. dated 19-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Gaya.	Babu Nanda Krishore Lall M.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, and Zamindar Gaya ...	Do. dated 18-12-11.
Do.	Mr. Parmeshar Lall	Do.	Barrister-at-law, High Court, Calcutta.	Do.
Provincial Congress Committee.	„ Abdul Aziz	Mahomedan ...	Barrister-at-law, Peshawar ...	Do., dated 19-12-11.
Do.	Syed Hasan Imam	Do.	Barrister-at-law, Bankipur ...	Do.
District Congress Committee Darbhanga.	Pandit Bhuwaneswar Misra ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Pleader, Misratola, Darbhanga...	Do., dated 15-12-11.
Do.	Hon'ble Babu Brajakisore Prasad ...	Hindu Kayestha ...	Pleader, Lahiria Sarai, Darbhanga	Do.
Do.	Babu Rajendra Prasad	Do.	Zamindar, and Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	Do.
Do.	„ Lakshman Prasad	Do.	Pleader, Laheria Sarai, Darbhanga	Do.
District Congress Committee, Muzaffarpur.	„ Dwarkanath	Do.	Pleader and Landholder, Muzaffarpur.	Dated Nil.
Do.	„ Kshetrish Coomar Mukerjee ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Zamindar, Muzaffarpur	Do., dated 19-12-11
Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Brijnarayan Tunkha B. A. L.L.B.	Do.	Zamindar Vakil, Lucknow ...	Dated Nil.
Do.	Pandit Keshinath Takhru	Do.	Zemindar, Lucknow	Dated Nil.
Do.	Mr. Rajani Mohan Banerji	Do.	Allahabad	Dated Nil.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
C. P. & Berar ...	Vishnu Madhab Jakatdhan, B. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin ...	Pleader, Bhandara, Central Provinces.	At a meeting dated, 4-12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy ...	Hindu Parsee ...	Barrister-at-law, Proprietor, Factories and Mines, Nagpur; Member, Viceregal Council.	Do., dated 25-11-11.

CENTRAL PROVINCES—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Nagpur	Sir Gangadhar Rao M. Chitnavis, K. C. I. E.	Hindu	Member, Viceregal Council President, Municipality, Chairman, District Council, Nagpur.	At a meeting, dated 25-11-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur Bosudeo Ram Krishna Pandit, B. A., (Calc.). M. A., (Cantab).	Hindu Brahmin	Barrister-at-law and Landholder, Nagpur. Fellow, (Allahabad University), Vice Chairman, District Council, Nagpur.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Saugar	Kanaiyalal Brijpuria, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu	Pleader, Saugar, Central Provinces.	Do., dated 22-12-11.
Nagpur	Dr. Harising Gour, M. A., D. C. L., LL. B.	Hindu Rajput	Barrister-at-law, Nagpur.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
District Congress Committee, Nimar.	Kalu Ram Gangrade, B. A., L. L. B.	Hindu Baniya	Pleader, Khandwa, Central Provinces.	Do., dated 28-11-11.

BERAR.

Electorate	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Madhav Bapaji Saut	Hindu Brahmin	Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti.	At a meeting, dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Mr. Laxman Rao Kaijini			Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	G. R. Kshirsagar	Hindu Brahmin	2nd Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudhalakar, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Brahmin	Advocate, Member, Imperial Council.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Brahmin	High Court Pleader, Vice Chairman, District Board, Berar.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Mr. R. A. Despande	Hindu Brahmin	Pleader, Amraoti, Berar	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Mr. N. A. Dradid, M. A.	Hindu Brahmin	Member, Servant of Indian Society.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani	Hindu Brahmin	Retired Educational Inspector, Akola.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Mr. G. N. Kane	Christian	Pleader	Do., dated 25-11-11.

BENGAL.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Professions, calling, occupation and address.	How and when elected.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Nibaran Chandra Chatterjee	Hindu Brahmin	Merchant, 67 Kanti Ghat Street, Baranagor, 24-Pergs.	At a public meeting dated 20-12-11.
Calcutta District Association	Mr. Mani Lal Magan Lal, Doctor,	Baishnava Gujrati Bania.	Barrister-at-Law	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Indian Association	Basanta Kumar Bose, Esq., M. A., B. L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court; res. Kasaripara, Bhowanipore.	.....
Provincial Congress Committee.	Promatha Nath Gupta, B. L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Noakhali.	Do. do dated 20-12-11.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Faridpore District Association, Indian Association, Calcutta District Association.	Babu Krishna Das Ray ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Merchant, 17 Hurro Chandra Mallick's Lane, Hatkhola, Calcutta.	At a public meeting dated 14-12-11.
Indian Association.	Mr. S. M. Bose, M. A., LL. B., (Calcutta), Barrister-at-Law, High Court.	Brahmo.	Bar-at-Law, 85 Upper Circular Road.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Faridpore District Association.	Babu Binodelal Ghosh, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha ...	Pleader, Madaripur, District Faridpur.	Do., dated 14-12-11
Indian Association & Faridpore District Association.	Mr. Indubhushan Sen, M.A., B.L.	Brahmo	Bar-at-Law, 57-1, Harish Mukerjee's Lane, Bhowanipur.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Calcutta District Association.	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Hindu	.....	Do., dated 19-12-11
Provincial Congress Committee and Midnapur District Association.	Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Bar-at-Law	Hindu	Bar-at-Law, Midnapur.	Do., dated 20-12-11
Nuddea District Association, Indian Association, People's Association, Krishnagar, and Calcutta District Association, Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu ...	Hindu Khatriya ...	Vakil, High Court, 42 Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.	Do., dated 14-12-11
Calcutta District Association and Hooghly District Association.	Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kayestha...	10 Hasting's Street, Calcutta	Do., do.
Calcutta District Association.	Mr. Haraprasad Chatterji ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Vakil, High Court, 19 Durga Charau Pithuris Lane.	Do., dated November 1911.
Calcutta District Association and Indian Association.	Babu Lalit Mohan Das ...	Brahmo, Bengali...	Journalism, 82-1 Harrison Road	Do., dated 9-12-11
District Association, Faridpur.	" Chandra Nath Kundu ...	Hindu Kundu ...	7: Haro Lal Mitter's Lane	Do., dated 14-12-11
Provincial Congress Committee.	" Purna Chandra Saha ...	Hindu Baisya ...	Merchant, 18 Banomali Sircar's Street.	Do., dated 20-12-11
Indian Association	" Akshay Kumar Basu ...	Hindu Kayestha ...	Vakil, High Court, 117 Cornwallis Street.	Do., dated 9-12-11
Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. S. C. Mukerjee, Bar-at-law	Hindu Brahmin ...	Barrister-at-law, 6 Ballygunj, Circular Road.	Do., dated 20-12-11
Calcutta District Association.	" Kashi Parsad Jyoswal, B.A., Bar-at-law.	Hindu	Barrister-at-law, 70 Amherst Street, Calcutta.	Do., dated nil.
Do.	" Jatindra Mohan Basu ...	Brahmo	Merchant and Talukdar, 16 Tangra Road, Intally.	Do., dated nil.
Orissa Association	Mohant Toponidhi Ram Nath Pari Gossami.	Hindu Samenjasi	Devaseva, Muthkuthpara, Knapol P. O., District Cuttack.	Do., dated 26-11-11
Calcutta District Association.	Mr. J. N. Ray ...	...	Barrister-at-law, Beltola	.....
District Association, Manbhoom.	" Sarat Chandra Sen ...	Hindu Vaidya ...	Vakil, Purulia	Do., dated 16-12-11
Chittagong Association.	" Iswar Chandra Das ...	Do.	Pleader, Chittagong	Do., dated 15-12-11
Hoogli-Howrah District Association.	" Keshab Chandra Sadhu ...	Hindu	Merchant, British Chandannagor	Do., dated 17-12-11

BENGAL—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Indian Association, Hara Branch.	Mr. Sanatan Charan Biswas	Hindu Kayestha	Zamindar, and Member, District Board of Hoogli, Hara, Brahmanpara P. O.	At a public meeting dated 19-12-11.
Calcutta District Association.	Roomall Goenka	Hindu Agurwalla Vaisya.	Merchant and Landholder	.....
Do.	Kumar Sankar Ray	Hindu Vaidya	Vakil, High Court, 44 European Asylum Lane.	.....
District Association, Mymensing.	Rames Chandra Sen	Do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Mymensing.	At a meeting, dated nil.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Khagendra Chandra Nag	Hindu Kayestha	Barrister-at-law, Mymensing	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Chittagong Association.	Jatra Mohan Sen	Brahmo, Vaidya	Vakil, High Court, Chittagong	Do., dated 15-12-11.
Do.	Jamini Kanta Sen	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader and Zamindar, Chittagong	Do., dated 15-12-11.
Calcutta District Association.	Prakash Chandra Mazumdar	Hindu Vaidya	Vakil, High Court, 16 Chandra Nath Chatterji's Street, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.	Do., dated nil.
Mymensing Association.	Harendra Nath Mazumdar	Hindu Kayestha	Landholder, Netrokona, Mymensing.	Do., dated 3-12-11.
Indian Association, Mymensing, and Calcutta District Association.	Sasanka Jiban Ray, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta	Do., dated 9-12-11.
District Association, Manbhoom.	Harinath Ghose	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader, Purulia	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Indian Association and Calcutta District Association.	Jogendra Nath Mukerji	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Talla, 15 Pran Krishna Mukerji's Lane.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Calcutta.	Abinash Chandra Mitra	Hindu Kayestha	Zamindar, Keranitola, Midnapore	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Sorabji Shapurji Adjanian	...	...	Do.
Do.	H. S. L. Polak	...	...	Do.
Calcutta District Association.	Amulya Kumar Basu	Hindu Kayestha	Servants of India Society, 119, Akhoy K. Bose's Lane.	Do. dated—Nil.
District Association Hoogli-Howrah.	Bishnupada Chatterji	Hindu Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Chinsura, Hugli.	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Khoolna	Indubhusan Mazumdar	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader, Khoolna	Do., dated 3-12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Dass	...	...	...
Indian Association.	Krishna Kumar Mitra	Brahmo	...	...
Peoples' Association, Dacca.	Sarat Chandra Chakravarti	Hindu Brahmin	Talukdar and Pleader, Judge's Court, Armanitola, Dacca.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Do.	Rasik Chandra Chakravarty	Hindu, Brahmin	Pleader, District Court, Dacca.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Do.	Satis Charan Sen	Hindu Vaidya	Do.	Do.
Do.	Ananda Chandra Ray	Hindu Brahmin	Zamindar, and Pleader, Armanitola, Dacca.	Do.
Do.	Rajani Kanta Gupta	Hindu, Vaidya	Talukdar, and Pleader Judge's Court, Dacca.	Do.
District Association, Faridpur.	Manindra Kumar Mazumdar	Hindu Brahmin	Zamindar, Bajidpur, Faridpur.	Do., dated 14-12-11.
Calcutta District Association.	Hon'ble Mr. Mahendra Nath Ray	Hindu, Mahesya	Vakil, Calcutta High Court, 2 Boloram Bose's 1st Lane, Bhowanipur.	Do., dated 19-12-11.

Electorate	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
People's Association, Tipperah.	Mr. Abinas Chandra Sen	Hindu, Vaidya	Life Assurance and Tea business, 12, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting, dated 19-12-11.
Mymensing	" Anath Bandhu Guha	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader and Zamindar, Mymensing.	Do.
District Association, Maldaha	" Bepinbehari Ghose	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader, Maldaha.	Do., dated 24-12-11.
Calcutta	" Mohinimohan Das	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader, Ballavpur, Midnapur.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Do.	" Upendra Nath Manna	Hindu Mahisya	Pleader, Chirimarshi	Do.
Provincial Congress Committee.	" Surendra Nath Banerji	Hindu Brahman	Journalist and Professor	Do.
District Association, Faridpur.	" Ambika Charan Mazumdar	Hindu Vaidya	Pleader and Zamindar, Faridpur.	Do., dated 14-12-11.
Do.	Kaviraj Jatindranath Sen	Do.	Zamindar, and Physician, 31 Prosanna Kumar Tagore's Street.	Do.
District Association, Orissa.	Mr. Ganesh Lal Pandit	Hindu Brahman	Zamindar, Cuttack	Do., dated 26-11-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	" Pravas Chandra Mitra	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Puddopukur Road, Bhowanipore	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Mymensing	" Haladbar Das	Hindu	Pleader, Bajitpur, Mymensing.	Do., dated 21-12-11.
District Association, Barisal.	" Haranath Ghosh	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader, Barisal	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do.	" Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta	Hindu Vaidya	Pleader District Court, Barisal.	Do.
Do.	" Upendra Nath Sen Raychaudhuri	Do.	Zamindar, Barisal	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do.	" Tarini Kumar Gupta	Do.	Medical Practitioner, Barisal	Do.
Faridpur Do.	" Benimadhab Pal	Hindu Kayestha	Merchant, 186 Durmahatta Street	Do., dated 14-12-11.
Dinajpur	" Suresh Chandra Ray	Do.	Zamindar, Shujapur, Dinajpur	Do., dated 20-12-11.
Barisal District Association.	" Saratchandra Guha	Do.	Pleader, Barisal.	Do. Nil.
Provincial Congress Committee.	" Satynarayana Murti	Hindu Brahmin	Landlord, Tanuku Taluq, Krishna Dist., Madras.	Do., dated 22-12-11.
Do.	" Venkataramiah	Do.	Do.	Do.
People's Association, Senhati.	" Bijay Kumar Ray	Hindu Vaidya	Professor, 11-12 Russa Road, South Kalighat.	Do., dated 25-12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Dr. Rashvihari Ghosh	Hindu Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta	Do., dated 20-12-11.
District Association, Barisal.	Mr. Nabinchandra Gupta	Hindu Vaidya	Pleader, Bhola	Do.
District Association.	" Rajaninath Kar	Hindu Kayestha	Do.	Do.
Indian Association and Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	" Sudhir Kumar Lahiri	Brahmo	Advocate, Lucknow	Do., dated 22-12-11.
Do.	" Herambachandra Maitra	Do.	Principal, City College, 65 Harrison Road.	Do.
District Association, Calcutta.	" Gokulchand	Hindu Vaisya	Banker and Landlord, 30 Bortolla Street.	Do. Nil.
Indian Association and Calcutta District Association.	" Sachindradas Basu	Brahmo	Landholder and Trader, 35 Sita Ram Ghose's Street.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Do.	" Pramatha Nath Banerji, M.A.	Hindu	Professor, Ripon College. Assistant Secretary, "Indian Association" Calcutta.	Do., dated Nil.

BENGAL—contd.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Satyananda Basu, M.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Kayestha ...	Land-holder and Vakil, 78 Dharamtolla Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting, dated 20-12-11.
District Association, Barisal.	" Rameshchandra Sen ...	Hindu Vaidya ...	Talukdar, P. O, Chandahar, Barisal.	Do., dated Nil.
Indian Association and Faridpur District Association.	" Prithwischandra Ray ...	Hindu Kayestha ...	Zamindar, and Editor, "Indian World", 86 Lower Circular Road.	Do., dated 14-12-11 (Faridpur.)
Nadia, District Association.	Rai Saheb Tarakbrahma Biswas ...	Do.	Government Pensioner, Paikpara, Nadia.	Do., dated Nil.
District Association, Barisal.	Mr. Kiran Chandra Chattapadhyay ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Merchant and Zamindar, Barisal	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee, Birhampur, Murshidabad.	" Bamapada Dutt, B.L. ...	Hindu Gandhabonic.	Vakil, Berhampur, Bengal ...	Do., dated 25-11-11.
District Association, Faridpur.	" Jogeshchandra Chukerbutty, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin ...	Pleader, Faridpur ...	Do., dated 14-12-11.
Indian Association.	" H. Bose ...	Brahmo ...	Landholder and Merchant ...	Do., dated 9-12-11.
District Association, Calcutta.	" Surendra Mohan Bose ...	Brahmo Kayestha...	Merchant and Zamindar, 5 and 6 Sivanarayan Das Lane.	Do., dated Nil.
Talukdar Association, Tangail, and Calcutta District Association.	" Prasanna Kumar Bose ...	Hindu.	Landholder, Atisha Kand, Tangail.	Do., dated 19-12-11.
District Association, Faridpur.	" Chandrabilash Mukerji ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Zamindar, Dhalpara Post Office, Faridpur.	Do., dated 19-12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	" Nandakumar Chaudhuri ...	Hindu Kayestha...	Talukdar, Legal Practitioner, Narainganj.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Rangpur.	" Udaynath Bhattacharya ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Talukdar, Rangpur ...	Do. Es. Committee, dated Nil.
District Association, Calcutta.	" Satish Chandra Chatterji ...	Do.	Professor, Ripon College, 75, Bechoo Chatterjis' Lane	Dated Nil.
Do.	" Nageswar Prasad Sinha ...	Hindu Khatrya ...	Zamindar, Kanchokapur ...	Do. dated 20-12-11.
Do.	" Sitaldas Ray ...	Hindu, Sodgope	Zamindar, Nichintapur, Post Office, Radhanagore, Midnapur.	Do.
Do.	" Kirtibas Mandal ...	Hindu Mahisya	Pleader, Ghatal Munsif's Court, Ghatal, Midnapur.	Do.
Indian Association, Calcutta.	" Jitindralal Banerji ...	...	Vakil, High Court, 35, Sitaram Ghose's Street.	Do., dated 9 12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	" Rajkumar Chhoty Narain Singh ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Zamindar, Gya.	Do., dated 20-12-11.
District Association	" Ramanimohan Das ...	Hindu Vaisya ...	Merchant and Zemindar, Karimganj, Sylhet.	Dated Nil.
Do.	" Prafullachandra Ghosh ...	Hindu Kayestha...	Zamindar, Taki in 24-Parganas, Bengal, 86, Harish Chandra Chatterji's Street, Calcutta.	Dated Nil.
People's Association, Dacca.	" R. K. Doss ...	Brahmo Kayestha	Barister-at-law, Court House Road, Dacca.	Do., dated 9 12-11.
Provincial Congress Committee.	" Surendranath Das Gupta ...	Hindu Vaidya ...	8, Panchanon Ghose's Lane ...	Do., dated 20-12-11.
District Association, Faridpur.	Mahomed Rowshanali Chowdhry ...	Islamism, Musalman..	Editor, Pangsá Post Office, Faridpur.	Do., dated 14-12-11
Murshidabad ...	Mr. Asutosh Chakravartty ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Merchant, Arungabad Post Office, Murshidabad.	Do., dated 25-11-11.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
District Association Faridpur.	Mr. Nalinikanta Sen	Hindu, Baidya	Pleader, Faridpur	At a public meeting dated 14-12-11.
Do.	„ Mathuranath Maitra	Hindu, Brahmin...	Do.	Do.
People's Association, Dacca.	„ Lalmohan Chakravarti	Do.	Pleader, Dacca.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
District Association, Manbhurn.	„ Kumud Chandra Mazumdar	Hindu, Kayestha...	Muktiar, Manbhurn.	Do., dated 16-12-11.
District Congress Committee, Berhampur.	Hon'ble Rai Baikanta Nath Sen, Bahadur.	Hindu, Baidya	Vakil and Zemindar, Berhampur Bengal, Masjidbari Street.	Do., dated 25-11-11.
Do.	Mr. Hemendra Nath Sen	Do.	Vakil, High Court, 76, Masjidbari Street.	Do.
People's Association, Dacca.	„ Mohinimohan Das	Hindu, Vaishya Shaha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Ampatti, Dacca	Do., dated 9-12-11.
District Association, Faridpur.	„ Nogendranath Bhattacharya	Hindu, Brahmin	Pleader, Bhanga, Faridpur.	Do., dated 14-12-11.
People's Association, Howrah.	„ Jyotish Chandra Haldar	Hindu, Kayestha..	Pleader, Howrah	Dated 22-12-11.
District Association, Calcutta.	„ Jyotish Chandra Hazra	Hindu, Sadgope...	Vakil, High Court; 5 Kalighat Road, Bhowanipore.	Do., dated—Nil.
Do.	Dr. V. Rai	Brahmo	Government Pensioner, Ex-Munsif.	Do.
Do., Barisal	Mr. Rajani Kanta Chatterjee	Hindu, Brahmin	Teacher, National School, Jhalokati.	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do.	„ Satish Chandra Pal	Hindu, Teli	Merchant, Jhalokati	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do.	„ Jamini Kumar Guha	Hindu, Kayestha...	Teacher, National School, Jhalokati.	Do., dated 17-12-11.
Do., Chittagong	„ Tripura Charan Chaudhury	Hindu, Baidya	Merchant and Landholder, Chittagong.	Do., dated 15-12-11.
Do.	„ Pyari Lal Ghosh	Do.	Vakil, Aliganj Mohala, Midnapur.	Do., dated 22-12-11.
Calcutta	„ Kishori Mohan Roy	Brahmo	Midnapur	Do.
District Association, Pabna.	„ Mohini Mohan Lahiri	Hindu, Kayestha...	Zamindar, Pabna	Do., dated 16-12-11.
Do.	„ Sita Nath Adhikary	Hindu, Brahmin...	Pleader, Pabna	Do., dated 16-12-11.
People's Association, Dacca.	„ Ananta Kumar Bose	Hindu, Kayestha...	Pleader, Judge's Court, Asol Jamadar's Lane, Dacca.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Do.	Mr. M. Pal Chaudhury	Do.	Zemindar	Do., dated—Nil.
Calcutta	„ A. Chaudhuri	Hindu, Brahmin	Bar-at-law and Zamindar	Do.
Indian Association	„ J. Chaudhuri	Do.	Bar-at-law and Journalist, Ballyganj.	Do., dated 9-12-11.
Do.	„ Satyendra Nath Tagore	Do.	Do.	Do.
Calcutta District Association	Professor Kodi Rama Murti Naidu	Kashtri Naidu	Professor of Physical Culture, 58 Grey Street.	Do.
District Association, Pabna.	Mr. Bonomali Mazumdar	Hindu, Brahmin...	Pleader, Pabna	Do., dated 23-12-11.
Do., Faridpur	„ Pran Sankar Das Gupta	Hindu, Vaidya	Pleader, Lhanga, Faridpur	Do.
District Association, Calcutta.	„ Bansidhar Agarwalla	Hindu, Agarwalla	Broker and Banker 4 Fancy Lane	Do.
Do.	„ Smritish Chandra Ghosh, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kayestha...	Vakil, High Court, 25 Harish Chandra Mukherjee Rd. Bhowanipore.	Do.
Do., Rajshahi	„ Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri	Hindu, Brahmin	Pleader and Zemindar, Ghoramara, Rajshahie.	At a meeting in Dec. 11.

Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Religion, caste if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
District Association Calcutta.	Mr. P. Chaudhuri, M.A.	Hindu	Bar-at-law	<i>Nil.</i>
Do. Do.	„ A. Rasul, M.A., B.C.L.	Musalman	Barrister-at-law, 14 Royd St.	At a public meeting dated Nil.
Do. Faridpur	Srijut Anath Bandhu Gain	Hindu Namaspdra	Dabgram, Radhanagar Post Office, Faridpur.	...
Provincial Congress Committee	Hon'ble Babu Deboprosad Sarbadhikary, M.A. B.L.	Hindu	Pleader	At a meeting dated 9-12-11.
Indian Association	Babu Muralidhar Ray	Hindu	Zemindar and Banker, 16, Banomali Sarkar's Street.	...
District Association Calcutta.	„ S. K. Mullick	Do.	...	...
Provincial Congress Committee.	Dr. Nilratan Sarkar	Brahmo	Physician	...
Do.	Babu Langat Singh	Hindu, Brahmin	Harrison Road, Land Lord	At a meeting dated Nil.
District Association Mymensing.	„ Bipin Behary Sen	Brahma	Medical Practitioner, Mymensingh.	Do., dated Nil.
People's Association Mymensing.	„ Prokash Chandra Ray	Hindu, Kayastha	Zemindar's Superintendent Jama'pur, Mymensingh.	Do., dated Nil.
District Association Mymensing.	„ Rehati Sankar Ray	Do.	Pleader, Mymensingh Town	Do., dated Nil.
Calcutta	„ Amulyadhan Addy	Do.	78, Chetla Road, P. O. Alipore, Calcutta.	Do., dated Nil.

APPENDIX D.

Abstract showing the number of Delegates from each Province.

Name of Province.	Number of Delegates.
Bombay	26
Punjab	3
United Provinces	94
Madras	136
Behar	23
Central Provinces	7
Verar	9
Burmah	<i>Nil.</i>
Bengal	148
Total number of delegates	440