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PAVILION, MADRÁS INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION, 1903.

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REPORT

OF

The Proceedings of the

NINETEENTH

**Indian National Congress,**

HELD AT

**MADRAS**

ON

*The 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1903.*



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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE closing days of the year 1903 found Madras in the full swing of activity. Political, social, religious and educational gatherings were held all through December. The Christian Missionary was in conclave. The Temperance Reformers met to protest against the excise revenue. The teachers of various schools sat together to suggest Educational Reforms. Hindu Social Reformers had their Conference. The *alumni* of Colleges met to exchange views. Mrs. Besant at Adayar and elsewhere eloquently discoursed upon the necessity of religion as the basis of all progress. And our Muhammadan fellow-subjects met in large numbers to discuss Theology. But all these gatherings were either denominational or only of limited importance. That which focussed men's attention from all parts of India and embraced topics which affected all alike was the Indian National Congress and its adjunct, the Industrial Exhibition. Here was a common platform for all classes and creeds, and here was an opportunity for the interchange of views affecting national well-being. It has been said before and repeated often that the sessions of the Congress have shown no return commensurate with the expenditure of energy and the sacrifice of money which they involve; and it must be conceded that it is not the querulous critic alone that makes the charge. In the first place nobody will deny that in one direction the Congress has had a disappointment which was not anticipated. It was hoped that the Government of the country and our Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects would warmly welcome the Congress. True statesmanship and the traditions of the country they come from, it was believed, would induce all Englishmen to extend the right hand of fellowship to those who were striving to direct national opinion along the path of loyal and constitutional agitation. This proved to be a miscalculation. Instead of counsel and advice we have had contumely and derision and where sympathy and co-operation were sought, hatred and ill-will have been reaped. The indifference of the Government and the ill-humour of the bulk of the Anglo-Indian Press had the effect of inducing a few of our own countrymen to hold back from joining the movement. But the thoughtful men of all sections recognised in the movement a loyal and patriotic attempt to give expression to views which the nation as a whole desires to convey to the rulers of the land. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tyabjee has, in his opening speech at the Muhammadan Educational Conference, truly observed: "There is no reason why the two great National institutions—the Congress and the (Muhammadan) Conference—should not work hand in hand together—the one having for its object chiefly the political advancement of the country; the other the intellectual advancement of the Mussalman community. I can see no reason why the two institutions should not work in perfect peace and harmony, and why the educated and enlightened and experienced and influential members of the Mussalman community should not take part in the deliberations of both the institutions so far as their circumstances and conditions permit, etc."

No Government, however well organised, can be perfect. There will be failures and mistakes. Especially where one people rule another to whose traditions and modes of thought they are aliens, it is inevitable that there should be mistakes and misunderstandings. The Government has not chosen, of its own accord, to create the mode in which the leaders of the people from all parts of India can be brought together to confer with one another with a view to make suggestions for improvement in the methods and machinery of Government. It would have shown statesmanship, good feeling and genuine sympathy, had the Government embraced the opportunity offered by our national gatherings to take the Congress leaders into its confidence instead of uttering veiled threats in postprandial speeches. The temptation to sneer at and to ridicule was apparently too strong. To welcome and to be friendly would have involved the labour of a fair-minded examination of the aims and objects of the Congress. It was easier to criticise. So the first step was taken of presenting an unfriendly attitude towards the Congress. And as a bureaucratic Government always moves in a groove, it has come to pass that these nineteen years have not been able to make our rulers see that the Congress deserves as much encouragement and sympathy from the Government as from the people. By a strange inconsistency of conduct the Government that has bestowed its honours upon some of the most ardent and enthusiastic leaders of the Congress of their time, men like Sir R. Mitter and Sir S. Subramanya Iyer, Mr. Telang and Mr. Tyabjee, Mr. Chandavarkar and Sir Gurudas Bannerjee, and Mr. Sankaran Nair, has treated with suspicion the doings of the Congress which these very men led. It is doubtful whether the historic statement of Lord Dufferin at the St. Andrew's dinner that we were taking a leap in the dark is not more appropriate to the action of the Government than to the conduct of the organisers of the Congress. No doubt the Congress would have gained in prestige and power if it had the countenance of the Government and the support of our Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects. But there cannot be many who will seriously argue that the want of patronage can, in the long run, be a disadvantage to a popular movement of this magnitude and importance. The Congress leaders had no doubt to work against adverse winds. The thinly veiled hostility of the rulers, the selfish denunciations of a section of the Anglo-Indian press, and the distemper of those who stood aloof only because of official and quasi-official frowns rendered it incumbent upon all Congressmen to carry on their work with greater care and a nobler resolve. The watchful enemy is a friend in disguise. Men are prompted to bestow more attention upon their handiwork lest the opponent should criticise the performance and wreck its usefulness. So has it been with the Congress. Self-reliance has come from official aloofness; and steadiness of aim from non-official misrepresentation. From one end of the country to the other, people have been compelled to look for guidance and counsel from their own ranks, with the result that the national drawing together has taken no note of the immense distances which separate the various people inhabiting this historic land. A closer bond of friendship and fellow-feeling now unites the Punjabi and the Madrassite than for centuries past. A newly awakened sense of a common mother-land pervades the whole atmosphere; and a more cosmopolitan feeling of love, and of mutual respect and esteem is spreading a glow throughout the whole land. Friends of the Congress should find in all this a good deal to stimulate them to activity.

What Mr. Bradlaugh said in Bombay must be the line of work for all Congressmen: "I will ask you not to expect too much. One man is only a water drop in the ocean of human life. You are the breeze driving the water drop on the western side of the seas, and by your encouragement, adding others to it and giving it a force that shall wash it into the old rock of prejudice that hindered, you will make those on the other side hear, as I have heard, the clear English sounds which show that you share our language, our traditions, and our hopes, and are willing to work with us and to make common cause with us. Not only do not expect too much, but do not expect all at once. Great as this assembly is in its suggestiveness, by its delegates travelling hundreds and thousands of miles, you are yet only the water drop of the two hundred and ten millions whom you number under our Empire, yours and mine—not mine against yours, not English against Indian, but our common Empire for common purposes. Don't be disappointed if of a just claim only something is conceded. It is new but shall be every day coming; it is new but you have those who stand in the House of Commons to plead for you; not I alone, but members as devoted to you as I can possibly be; and I hope soon to see added to their ranks, with the authority of his knowledge and of the position which his presiding here has given him—Sir William Wedderburn. I would remind you, as an encouragement to you to be patient, that in England great reforms have always been slowly won. Those who first enterprised them were called seditious, and sometimes sent to jail as criminals; but the speech and thought live on. No imprisonment can crush a truth; it may hinder it for the moment, it may delay it for an hour, but it gets an electric elasticity inside the dungeon walls, and it grows, and moves the whole world when it comes out. Your presence here to-day confutes and answers in anticipation one sneer that I have heard spoken within the walls of Parliament. It is said, "There is no Indian nation, there can be no Indian National Congress; there is no Indian people, there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds." The lesson I read here is that this Congress movement is an educational movement hammering upon the anvil of millions of men's brains until it welds into one common whole men whose desire for political and social reforms is greater than all distinctions of race and creed."

What Lord Curzon said on a memorable occasion should be the watch word of every friend of the Congress. "It is because these truths (*the Congress principles*) to me are so self-evident that I decline to lose heart and elect to take my stand on the platform of confidence and faith": and the beautiful lines quoted by His Excellency should bring hope and courage to all those who have any love for this great land.

Say not the struggle nought availeth,  
 The labour and the wounds are vain,  
 The enemy feigns not, nor faileth,  
 And as things have been they remain.  
 If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars,  
 It may be, in yon smoke concealed,  
 Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,  
 And, but for you, possess the field.  
 For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
 Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
 Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
 Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

He is not a patriot who feels disappointed because his labours do not bear immediate fruit. He has to look ahead and must feel satisfied that his humble endeavours will make generations unborn happier than he has been and more pleased with their environments. No political movement, no philanthropic undertaking and no social reform can stand the test, if the theory of immediate and commensurate return were applied to it. The Indian National Congress should not be judged from that standpoint. After all, the achievements of the Congress point to solid advantages gained by its deliberations. The expansion of the Legislative Councils is the fruit of Congress agitation. The reduction in the Salt-Tax, and the increase in the taxable minimum of the Income-Tax are directly due to its repeated prayers. The various commissions which His Excellency Lord Curzon has appointed and notably the Police Commission are not altogether unconnected with the criticisms passed by the Congress leaders from time to time. Indirectly the Congress has done more good work than is generally credited to its account. Everywhere there is activity, everywhere there is a gathering together of the scattered forces. The work of comparing notes is going on apace. If imitation is any indication of appreciation, the Indian National Congress has the good will of diverse classes and of peoples; social, religious and clannish conferences have sprung into existence all over the country. If we take the trouble to count the number of the conferences that have come into being since 1885, it will be found that the Congress has been very prolific in its off-spring. Do all these count for nothing in estimating the work of the Congress? Pessimism is said by some to be our national characteristic. There is good ground for the charge, if notwithstanding the direct and indirect benefits which Congress has been instrumental in securing, our politicians regard the prospect as gloomy and the outlook as uninviting. The Congress has set to do honest and loyal work. *The doing of the work should be the only reward that should be looked to.* That is the grand national teaching. It is to be hoped that this noble ideal will be steadily kept in view in estimating the value and usefulness of the Congress.

It has been considered desirable to refer to these misgivings on the part of the friends of the Congress, as the Madras Reception Committee in the early stages was confronted with these questions which we have attempted to answer. It has always been the privilege of the donor to ask questions, and it is neither wise nor prudent to shrink from answering them. Those that contributed to make the Madras Congress a success were not unreasonably inquisitive; and their subsequent liberality makes it incumbent upon those who were held responsible for the collection and expenditure of the subscription to offer them an adequate explanation. We hope that what we have said above will convince them that, looked at from every point of view, the demands of the Congress on their purse are neither unreasonable nor extravagant. The prospect was not very hopeful when the Reception Committee was formed in Madras. There was discontent, as already indicated, with the results achieved. There was the feeling that, unless a constitution was provided for the Congress, the efforts could only be spasmodic. The general opinion throughout the Presidency was that fewer subjects should be discussed, that greater knowledge should be displayed on each subject, and that only persons competent to offer and guide opinion should sit in the Congress. The demand for a more manageable and a more representative assembly was unmistakable in Madras. The Secretaries were told that they could not



expect much help from the mofussil unless these considerations were to be pressed. In another place reference will be made to the decision come to on this subject. We allude to this point here only with reference to the initial difficulties which the Reception Committee had to contend against. Again Madras had, for the first time, to arrange for holding the Industrial Exhibition along with the Congress. The nature and extent of the work this would involve, few had any knowledge of. The amount of reliance which should be placed on Government support had first to be considered. It was resolved that the distinctive character of the Exhibition as an *annexe* of the Congress should be insisted on. This resolution which conclusively marked the non-official character of the Exhibition threw upon the Reception Committee increased work and responsibility.

Although it is now matter of history that the Exhibition held in Madras has been a greater success than its best friends predicted for it, and although as remarked by Mr. E. Thurston, the Committee and the Secretaries exhibited wonderful powers of organisation and business habits, still it was with no light heart the prospect was viewed by the Congress leaders. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the work of the Congress was vigorously pushed on. The first substantial help came from the Nattu Cottai Chetties of Madura. These merchants and money-lenders have always been renowned for their munificent charities. Sanskrit Patasalas have been maintained by them in various places. Their passion for feeding the poor is unbounded; and there is no place of any importance from a religious point of view which does not possess a Dharmasala endowed by the Chetties. They have built new temples and repaired old ones at enormous cost. It was extraordinary that these gentlemen should not have helped the political mission of the Congress hitherto. But when the importance of the work was explained to them, their contribution was handsome and voluntary. They gave the first impetus to the work of the Congress. We, therefore, take this opportunity of offering the best thanks of the Reception Committee for the liberality and promptitude of these merchant princes of Southern India. When the beginning was made so well, it was thought that the work of further collection would proceed apace. But it was not smooth work all through. The districts were slow to respond at first. As months passed, some exceeded anticipations. Others were far below the mark. On the whole, the Committee felt grateful for the substantial aid that came from the districts. The Madras Reception Committee owes a debt of gratitude to the District Committees for their assistance for which they take this opportunity of thanking them. Congressmen in the districts felt that the Delegation fee of Rs. 20 was too high. They felt dissatisfied with the answer of the Madras Committee that the fee was fixed by a Resolution of the Congress passed at Calcutta and that their Committee had no power to alter that Resolution. The slight fall in the number of delegates is due to this fact. It is to be hoped that this question will be set at rest once for all at Bombay. There are considerations both ways to be borne in mind in dealing with it. In October, 1903, the Reception Committee had to appoint various Sub-Committees for supervising the arrangements to be made in December. It is not intended to review the work of the Committees here, but it may be mentioned that the various Members and the Secretaries of the Sub-Committees did their work disinterestedly and with singleness of purpose.

The Industrial Exhibition preceded the Congress. The work of constructing a pavilion attractive in itself and capable of containing the promised exhibits was no easy task. The unusual rains of the year greatly interfered with the progress of the work; and to the casual onlooker, as Mr. Thurston remarked later on, the work was unpromising. But the perseverance, the patience and energy of the Secretaries and of the Committee prevailed in the end; and the Contractor, a graduate of the University and one to whom Madras owes not a few of the buildings which are its main attractions, was able to get ready the hall for the 26th December. On the opening day of the Exhibition, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankara Nair in addressing the young Maharajah of Mysore pointed out the true scope and object of this National Exhibition. He said:—

“One purpose of holding this Exhibition is to evoke the interest of the representatives of the educated classes from all parts of India and induce them to take such action as lay in their power to further industrial progress. We thus hope by means of this and similar exhibitions to enlist the sympathy, ensure the support of the educated classes of the country and thus to secure the active co-operation of all classes European and Indian alike, interested in the industrial progress. The manufacturers in our midst, of both classes, may then be hoped to hold their own in friendly rivalry with the outsider.”

And referring to the cordial support which His Excellency Lord Ampthill had given to the movement, he said: “His Excellency Lord Ampthill, when the matter was brought to his notice, signified his warm approbation and his willingness to render every help he legitimately could. He has not only subscribed to our funds and instructed the officers under his authority to afford every assistance, but he has also endeavoured during his tours to enhance interest in the movement among the people by exhortation, advice and appeals to their patriotism. We have received every encouragement at his hands. To him our grateful thanks are due.”

The Maharajah of Mysore delivered a speech on the occasion which testified to the deep interest His Highness had taken in the industrial development of the country. His Highness' Government had made a very liberal contribution towards the expenses of the Exhibition. All the industries of the Province were exhibited; and for months together Mysore officials had been gathering and storing up articles to be exhibited in Madras. So had Travancore, Cochin and Pudukottah contributed to the success of the Congress Exhibition. A few Municipalities and District Boards had also helped the Committee by sending valuable exhibits. Mofussil Committees specially organised for the purpose had sent up the best products of the locality. In fact no District in the Presidency was unrepresented in the Exhibition Hall and no native potentate in and around Madras failed to come to the help of the Committee. Valuable exhibits had also been received from the other parts of India. The Exhibition proved a far greater success than was expected. The articles exhibited are being catalogued anew, and they will show what vast capabilities the country possesses of producing works of art of rare skill and delicacy and textile fabrics of the finest workmanship and finish. The country has got materials which can be worked into the most useful articles of daily use. The capital to put the raw products into shape is undoubtedly

wanting. As was remarked by His Highness, The Maharajah of Mysore, "An Exhibition such as this will have been of small purpose, if it fails to suggest new methods for developing the skill of the workers, new fields for their employment and new methods for their products." It is on these lines that the leaders of the community have to organise their work. It is undoubted that there is the capacity to produce in the soil and the intelligence to turn the products to good account in the artisan. Speaking of the special adaptability of Madras for beginning the new Industrial Era, His Highness said :—

Madras may claim to be a peculiarly suitable locality for such an Exhibition. Not only is the Presidency noted for the excellence of its hand-woven goods, for the skilfulness of its metal workers and for its pre-eminence in the leather tanning industry, but the city of Madras has also seen the birth of a completely new industry, which promises to be a source of no little profit in the future. When the trade of copper and brass workers was threatened by an import of cheap and suitable aluminium vessels, Madras set itself to work, and, with the assistance of Government, developed, by the skill of its artisans, a local industry in aluminium goods, which has now advanced well beyond the experimental stage. The development of the Madras aluminium industry affords a lesson of unrivalled import and is a hopeful augury for the future of industrial India.

It is to be hoped that the Exhibition so successfully engineered through and so fully representative of all that is best in the land may, in the words of His Highness, "serve as a stimulus to public spirited men to set on foot similar enterprises, so that by combination, investigation and experiment, the way may be cleared for a progress, of which the exhibitions of the future will illustrate the happy results." The Exhibition continued to attract immense crowds of people from all parts of the Presidency and from a spectacular point of view was an unqualified success. At a moderate estimate the number of visitors could not have been less than 100,000. The Delegates to the Congress who visited it were unanimously of opinion that it was the best of the kind yet started under the auspices of the Congress.

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, the President elect of the Congress, arrived in Madras on the evening of the 27th December, 1903. He had been met *en route* from Calcutta by deputations from various Congress organisations in the outlying Districts of this Presidency. Elaborate preparations were made to give him a fitting reception on his arrival. The streets were thronged with eager crowds long before the train was timed to arrive in Madras. Festoons and evergreens, triumphal arches and welcome inscriptions were conspicuous at every turn of the roads through which the President was to be taken to his residence. Private houses were decorated with flags and Chinese lanterns. The whole town presented an appearance of great rejoicing. The leading Congressmen were on the platform to receive Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, and amidst great enthusiasm he was escorted to his carriage and taken along a gaily decorated route of six miles distance by volunteers on bicycles and by a procession of numerous carriages.

The morning of the Congress session opened with a bright sun. Everything looked cheerful and encouraging. The huge pavilion erected to accommodate nearly 6,000 people looked grand and imposing. There were bustle and activity everywhere. From nine in the morning, delegates and visitors began to pour in. The vast hall was filled to its utmost capacity before it

was 11 A.M. The President arrived from his quarters at the Adayar exactly at 12 noon. From the office of the Secretaries, the usual procession was formed to take the President to the Congress Pavilion. The entrance of the President into the pavilion was the occasion of tremendous cheering from the audience. When order was restored, the Hon'ble Mr. Nawab Syed Mahomed rose amidst enthusiastic cheers to welcome the President and the Delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee. His speech displayed sterling good sense and contained sound and practical suggestions. The nationality of the speaker, his historic descent, his calmness and self-possession at once rivetted the attention of the audience to his excellent speech. His announcement of the death of Lord Stanley of Alderly and of the Rajah of Ramnad was received with great regret. Lord Stanley had done great service to India by constantly interpellating the Secretary of State upon Indian questions. He had a genuine sympathy for the people of this land and his sense of justice was not circumscribed by geographical limits. It was evident that he felt that there was something wrong in the administrative machinery of this great dependency and to the best of his lights strove to bring home to the British public the necessity for a closer scrutiny of the work done in India. In him, India lost a true friend and a warm-hearted sympathiser. The Rajah of Ramnad was an ardent Congressman, and he freely helped the Congress with funds. He died in the prime of his life. After making a graceful reference to these departed worthies, Mr. Syed Mahomed made a striking reference to the position of his own community in regard to the Congress movement.

"It is hardly necessary for me to add that no great advance in the path of progress and reform is possible of achievement unless the two great races inhabiting this vast continent, the Mahomedans and the Hindus, co-operate and work together in harmony for the common benefit. I can assure you that, so far as this Presidency is concerned, the relations of the two classes of the population is as harmonious as could be desired and it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to remember always the saying "United we stand; divided we fall." There is an idea current in some minds, not alone among the ignorant and uneducated, but also among some educated men, that political agitation is much to be deprecated and avoided. Such persons do not grasp the principle that politics is the science of social happiness, and that it is the duty of every citizen to cultivate the habit of taking a watchful interest in the transaction of the national affairs by the authorities concerned. They do not also perceive that it depends upon what you agitate for, and how you agitate, as to whether an agitator is to be condemned, or praised; and as an acute writer puts it, just minded agitation prevents the putrefaction of opinion which is as fatal to states as to truth."

The Chairman of the Reception Committee had the great example of the Hon'ble Budrudeen Tyabjee before him in thus throwing in his lot with Congressmen. The first session of the Congress held in Madras was presided over by Mr. Tyabjee, and it has been felt among the rank and file of Congressmen that he made an ideal Chairman. He ruled the assembly with tact and firmness and his pronouncements were both dignified and sound. His officialism has not taken away the edge of patriotism in him; and he is as sound a Congressman to-day as he was ten and six years ago. He had occasion to reiterate his adhesion to the Congress cause and his firm faith in its principles in his capacity as the Chairman of the Mahomedan Educational Conference in Bombay. With such precepts to guide him, Mr. Syed Mahomed felt no difficulty in calling upon his co-religionists to join forces with the Hindus and to work for the common cause. The

Chairman then justified the position of the Congress by observing "that we are simply striving to walk in conformity with the lessons taught by the British nation." He further remarked: "Impatience at, nay intolerance of, unfavourable comment seems generally to breed in the atmosphere of Indian official life. Criticism which is unpalatable to the Government runs the risk of being entirely disregarded, but Government are prepared to accept those criticisms which are in harmony with their own declared opinions. It is therefore gratifying to see the Viceroy stating, in speaking of educational reforms, that "The State is the aggregate of its own citizens, and not a mere governing organisation, and in the latter capacity cannot discharge its educational responsibility, without the cordial co-operation of the community at large." This is an age of feverish activity and of momentous changes in all departments of life, of life in the individual as well as in the nation. That the Government are fully alive to the difficulties and responsibilities with which they are confronted in the administration of this vast country and honestly strive to overcome them, may be taken to be an axiomatic truth. But the methods with which they pilot the boat at the present day, seem to us to be old-fashioned and clumsy and the administration can sooner be steered, into calm waters, if they take the people more into their confidence." Referring to the various Commissions of enquiry, the Honorable Mr. Syed Mahomed observed that the Universities' Commission Report has shelved the real question at issue. In this he was simply anticipating his remarks upon the Bill before the Imperial Legislative Council. He had much hope from the report of the Police Commission. This led him to make a graceful reference to the death of Dewan Bahadur Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar. His observations on the failure of Government to utilise the services of the best intellect of the country in the Executive Administration are unanswerable. "Is it not a matter of deep significance with regard to the professed recognition by the Government of the claims of Indians to administrative offices suitable to their capacity, without distinction of colour, race or creed, that this gentleman of remarkable ability and character, was not given an appointment in the British Service higher than that of head of the Registration Department and had to go to Baroda as Dewan to find a fitting sphere for the exercise of his great abilities and experience, and was on the eve of being drafted to guide the helm of another Native State, when he was struck down by a mortal illness? Another distinguished countryman of ours, Sir A. Seshiah Sastri, who has also recently left the land of the living, belonged to an older generation and died full of years and honours and won laurels as an eminent administrator when he successively occupied the posts of Dewan of Travancore and of Pudukota. The highest appointment which he held in the British service was the Sheristadarship of the Board of Revenue. So long ago as 1886, Sir William Hunter said, "We know by experience that we could not have made a workable land law for Bengal, without the help of a Native Member of Council. Notwithstanding Babu Peary Mohun Mukerji's general opposition, his knowledge of the land system was of the greatest value to us. Yet while Native Judges have been admitted to all the High Courts, the Indian races have hitherto been excluded from all the Boards of Revenue."

Lord Curzon in his Budget Speech has called in the aid of statistics to prove that Indian agency is over largely employed in the services of the

State. His Excellency is an excellent advocate and at first sight the figures quoted may seem convincing. A moment's reflection will show that Lord Curzon has missed the true point. Taking the years 1867 and 1904, the first point to be noticed is the number of Indians who were and have become capable of assisting in the administration of the country in those two periods. The materials have multiplied a thousand fold. These thirty-seven years have brought into existence a large number of Indians who are able and willing to serve their country. There is abundance of local supply; why indent upon costly articles from outside? Take Education, take the Magistracy, the Judiciary, the Finance, the Post and Telegraph Offices, the Salt and Abkari Departments. Are there not in India to-day men of undoubted qualifications who can, at least, do as good work in all these branches of service as the raw recruits brought out from England? Look at the men available and the number of them taken into service in 1904. What is the percentage of recognition? Make the same comparison for 1866. It will be found that the generosity of the Government is not as apparent as is claimed. Mr. Syed Mahomed closed his eloquent address amidst great enthusiasm and was warmly congratulated by the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta and by Mr. Eardley Norton upon the manner and matter of his presidential pronouncement.

In response to the call of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to choose their President, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta in a humorous speech proposed Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose. He called to the mind of the audience the noble struggle which Mr. Ghose maintained to gain admission into Parliament. Mr. Mehta rightly said that Mr. Ghose paved the way for others. He was the pioneer of a new movement and of new possibilities. Bombay gained the prize because of the way being made smooth by Calcutta. The real credit belonged to the President elect. He then referred to Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose's apparent retirement from active politics and hoped that, now that he was once more amongst us, his energy and ability would be at the disposal of this national movement. Mr. Mehta assured the President that there were no schisms in the Congress, no great differences among its leaders. Differences of opinion as to details there will be among all persons who work for progress. On the main principles of action, there was undoubted unanimity of purpose and of aim. Mr. Eardley Norton on his rising to speak was greeted by loud cheers. In a graceful speech, delivered in a voice which has enchanted many an audience, he seconded the proposition. He also referred to Mr. Ghose's endeavour to get into Parliament and spoke of the esteem in which the British electors held their candidate. Mr. Manu Mohun Ghose's life-long service in the Congress cause and his large-heartedness and enthusiasm were alluded to by Mr. Norton in connection with his brother's election to the Presidential Chair. The Hon'ble Mr. Madan Mohun Malavya supported the proposition which was carried with acclamation.

The President's address covered the whole field of Indian and Imperial politics. Mr. Ghose's knowledge and experience of English Politics, his literary equipment and his patriotic instinct gave his presidential pronouncement more than the usual interest. Mr. Ghose told the delegates at the outset that his absence from the political platform was no indication of want of sympathy with the Congress cause. "I have followed every important political question with unabated interest, and perhaps the views slowly

matured in the retirement of my study may be somewhat worthier of your attention than if I had rushed to the platform on every imaginable occasion." Referring to the position of the Congress, the President said: "I do not disguise from myself the fact that we have a formidable task before us. We are not a self-governing nation. We are not able, like the English people, to change one administration for another by our votes in the polling booths. We have to depend entirely upon the justice of the British Parliament; for unfortunately it is only too true, that as time advances, our Indian bureaucracy, instead of coming into line with popular ideas, seems to grow more and more unsympathetic."

Mr. Ghose denounced the Delhi Durbar as an "empty pageant," and said that the great *tamasha* was celebrated with that utter disregard of expense which you may always expect when men, no matter however highly placed, were dealing with other peoples' money and were practically accountable to no one for their acts. Mr. Lal Mohun's scathing criticism regarding the effect of the Durbar on the finances of the Native Princes was undoubtedly well deserved. The invitation to the Princes was a command to attend and a direction to disregard all prudential dictates in the matter of expense. Many a principality has become appreciably the poorer by this enforced call to grace the Durbar. *Qui Bono?* We do not believe that Lord Curzon will calmly look back upon this waste of money as creditable to his sagacity or statesmanship. Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose was led to refer to the general position of the Native Princes under British suzerainty after this allusion to their presence in the Durbar. The story of Mulhari Rao's deposition is not an incident upon which the British administration can glorify itself. It is acknowledged that some of the important States are administered in a way that suggests lessons to the Anglo-Indian rulers of British India. It is well known that all attempts at internal reform and all endeavours to introduce beneficial changes are looked down upon by the Political Residents of these States who have the ears of the Viceroy. Often when a Resident disapproves of the action of a Native Prince, it is well known that the native ruler goes to the wall. We hope the Secretary of State for India will devise steps by which the independence and internal management of Native States will be better safeguarded than at present. Depositions of Native Princes are becoming too frequent.

Mr. Ghose then referred to the question of Free-Trade as affecting India. It may be that the heresies of Mr. Chamberlain will never gain currency in the United Kingdom; or it may be possible that the policy of Cobden, Peel and Gladstone will be found unsuitable, by the Electors of Great Britain, to the exigencies of the present. We, in this country, have very little in common with the British consumer and the tax-payer in this matter. Our complaint is that neither the principles of Free-Trade nor the shibboleths of protection are consistently followed by the rulers of India. Mr. Dutt in his excellent Book (*Economic History of India*) truly observes: "Endeavours were made, which were fatally successful to repress Indian manufactures, and to extend British manufactures. The import of Indian goods to Europe was repressed by prohibitive duties; the export of British goods to India was encouraged by almost nominal duties. The production of raw material in India for British industries, and the consumption of British manufactures in India, were the twofold objects of the early commercial policy of England. The

British manufacturer, in the words of the historian, Horace Hayman Wilson, employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms. When Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837, the evil had been done. But nevertheless there was no relaxation in the policy pursued before." Mr. Dutt's quotation from the evidence of Mr. Montgomery Martin given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons puts the matter in a nutshell. "We have,"—said Montgomery Martin in his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1840, and of which Mr. Gladstone was a member,—“during the period of a quarter of a century compelled the Indian territories to receive our manufactures,—our woollens duty free, our cottons at 2½ per cent., and other articles in proportion; while we have continued, during that period, to levy almost prohibitory duties, or duties varying from 10 to 20, 30, 50, 100, 500, and 1000 per cent. upon articles, the produce of our territories. Therefore the cry that has taken place for *free-trade* with India has been a free-trade from this country, and not a free-trade between India and this country.” And he added with great force:—“India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilisation.” Mr. Dutt sums up the attitude of the British Government towards the commerce and industry of this country in these words, and we venture to submit there is not a syllable of exaggeration in all this. “During a century and a half, the commercial policy of the British rulers of India has been determined, not by the interests of Indian manufacturers, but by those of British manufacturers. The vast quantities of manufactured goods which were exported from India by the Portuguese and the Dutch, by Arab and British merchants, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have disappeared. India's exports now are mostly raw produce,—largely the food of the people. Manufacturing industry, as a source of national income, has been narrowed.” Indian trade requires the fostering care of its Government, but it is being sacrificed to meet the purposes of political parties. Indian industries require encouragement, and, notwithstanding the repeated declaration by various Viceroys, the principle of indenting upon Indian goods to meet Government demands has not been given effect to, to any appreciable extent. The President thus refers to Indian opinion on this question: “I am myself a staunch believer in the doctrines of Free-Trade. But whatever my individual opinions may be, I am aware that a large body of opinion amongst my countrymen is in favour of protection as regards our own industries. And having regard to the fact that so many of our flourishing industries were deliberately killed by heavy excise duties, Free-Trader as I am on principle, I have scarcely the heart to oppose my fellow-countrymen when they ask for protection on behalf of our native industries.”

Mr. Ghose next dwelt upon the condition of the people. The annual drain in the shape of pensions, home and military charges, exchange, &c., have made it impossible for the Government to carry out necessary reforms in the administration of the country. The agricultural population is in a state of chronic indebtedness with the result that the peasant is unable to hold out against a single failure of the crops. England has not yet sent to India a statesman who is able to cope with the problem thus presented. Periodical famines, starvation and destitution have become the normal condition



of the masses. The makeshifts adopted to tide over a famine or to combat a pestilence do not go to the root of the matter. The truth is the land is overtaxed, the indigenous industries have been ruined by prohibitive duties, trade has gone down, capital has left the country and the people are becoming poorer every day. All these must be boldly met and ably grasped. England must look far ahead, and must not be content to make each succeeding financial statement exhibit a surplus which was intentionally not anticipated. The evil lies deep and the remedy must go to the root of the evil. Mr. Dutt has done commendable service to the Government which he long and faithfully served by drawing attention to the existing evils. Finely-phrased resolutions and dialectical skill will not serve India or its cause. There must be sympathy, there must be good will. The idea that England has made no mistakes in India must be sacrificed to a desire to learn the truth. Great Britain has rendered India incalculable service. But it has unintentionally brought about evils. These must be eradicated. British statesmanship of the highest type is required to grapple with the question. The attempt may bring unpopularity for the time being. Many a nostrum to which the Anglo-Indian passionately clings will have to be given up. A brave heart and an unswerving determination to do the right must dominate the Viceroy that will undertake the task. When the task is accomplished no greater service to England, no nobler duty to India could have been done. But the prospect is gloomy; the Viceroy, who has most of the qualities required for the purpose has chosen to shelter himself under vague generalities and unsound dogmas. He has failed to see deep enough and he has been impatient of criticism: a splendid opportunity has been lost and India stands where it has been all along.

The Presidential address next touched upon what was described as "a Reflex Jingoism." It is rather unfortunate that the endeavours of Lord Curzon to "think imperially" should have been such disastrous failures. In Persia, Lord Curzon failed to impress the ancient people of that land by the pageantry and pomp with which his journey was accompanied. Lord Curzon gives scant credit to the common sense of the Oriental when he imagines that an imposing cavalcade and a glittering equipage will make England more respected than ever before. It may be true that the Orientals love display and are drawn to splendid and magnificent shows. But it is not a fair inference to draw therefrom that you can create affection or remove dissatisfaction by spending large sums of money on costly pageants. Lord Curzon is an apt pupil of Lord Beaconsfield, and His Excellency seems to hold with that remarkable statesman that pomp and glitter will make the British name honored and respected everywhere. It was a mistake into which Lord Curzon who has seen so much and who has written so well should not have fallen. The journey to the Persian Gulf and the pageantry at Delhi owe their initiative to this mistaken notion that the love and affection of the Asiatic can be won not by justice, not by sympathy, not by generosity but by splendour, by *tamasha* and by imposing ceremonies. The cost of this doubtful experiment has been very heavy and the poor Indian tax-payer has had to bear the burden without murmur. Take again the expedition to Thibet which the President next alluded to. It was an aggressive and unprovoked trespass upon other's property. The Thibetans never raided British territory, they never interfered with British rights. They were content to be left alone in their ancient land unmolested.

They did not ask for English goods, they did not ask for English guns. Why do you wage war against these ecclesiastics? The answer is, that the Russian influence is paramount in Thibet and that therefore Englishmen must fight the lamas so that they may counteract the greedy Russian. The whole episode throws discredit upon British justice and British fairness. It was thought that there would be no bloodshed. But it is notorious that the blood of many a Thibetan, who thought he had a right to remain undisturbed in his own country, has been shed on the road for the progress of the peaceful Thibetan mission.

The President's reference to the question of the separation of the judicial from executive functions was necessarily very short. The subject has been discussed from all points of view and the consensus of responsible opinion is against the continuance of the anomaly. He concluded by saying: "But nevertheless our Anglo-Indian officials know how to obstruct the most urgently needed reform. That they should do so while mediocrity or worse than mediocrity was in office during the days of Lord George Hamilton is nothing to be wondered at. But we had a right to expect better things from a statesman of Lord Cuzon's reputation and strength of mind." The President quoted largely from the speech of Sir Henry Cotton regarding the trial of European criminals for offences against Indians. The subject has since been ably and sympathetically dealt with by Lord Curzon, and we feel sure that, notwithstanding the acrimonious comments passed upon the statement of policy by Anglo-Indian writers, His Excellency will persevere in the attitude which he has adopted in the matter. England has been justly famed for the purity of its judicial administration and it should be the function of every European resident in India to safeguard this well-earned prestige. The educated people of this country have had accumulating evidence of the bias and partiality with which a European offender is treated. The latest case from Umballa is typical of all that preceded. We are glad that England can send out Judges like the Sessions Judge of Umballa who fear not to speak out boldly and fearlessly in the cause of justice. Lord Curzon's policy in this matter has earned for him the gratitude of the people of this country.

The Official Secrets' Bill which has since been passed was altogether unwarranted; and notwithstanding the unanimous protest of all the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council this mischievous piece of legislation has been added to the Indian Statute Book. Lord Curzon's ingenuity and undoubted ability were employed to spin out an elaborate apology for the proposed measure. It would have been true statesmanship to have abandoned the Bill which all non-official Anglo-Indians and every publicist agreed in condemning as retrograde and repressive. Mr. Ghose truly observed:

"A just and honest administration has nothing to lose by courting publicity and criticism. A great historian and eminent statesman of the last century tells us that "the press may have absolute freedom without danger; truth alone is formidable; whatever is false is powerless; and the greater the exaggeration the weaker its effect. No Government has ever yet been overthrown by lies. A week's exaggeration and lies exhaust all the pens of pamphleteers and libellers: Governments have only to allow them to declaim. But a Government requires time and philosophy

before it is prepared to admit these truths." Well, gentlemen, when will our Government acquire philosophy enough to admit these truths? Viceroys and Governors of different schools succeed one another, but with a few bright exceptions, such as Lord Ripon, they all seem to accept the vicious tradition of repressive legislation as one of the unquestioned axioms of statecraft."

The Universities' Bill was next touched upon and the President carried the audience with him when he said:—"We do not want our indigenous Colleges to be harassed by undue interference. While we are prepared to welcome any reasonable and well-considered reforms as regards the health, morality and education of our students, we do not want the aristocratic standard of Eton and Oxford to be established in this poor country." The act has been passed in the face of a determined and strenuous opposition. The lines upon which it was believed legislation will be undertaken have been given up, and an act has been passed whose sections, one by one, aim at making the action of the Government uncontrolled. The machinery for imparting education has become less voluntary, less free and more dependent upon Government, and more under its autocratic control. The recent resolution of the Government of India abolishing Competitive Examination regarding certain appointments, shows the groove in which Government is moving. The right of conferring appointments, the privilege of nominating Fellows, the power of recognising or refusing to recognise Schools and Colleges, all must be under the supreme and uncontrolled discretion of the Government. The Government is zealous of its powers and prerogatives. They do not want the public to assist them, to advise them. The Universities' Bill is designed to secure this end; and hence all protests have been unheeded. The President's reference to the Madras Municipal Bill was both appropriate and unanswerable. Madras wanted to follow Calcutta, and Mr. Ghose drew attention to the scandal which the present administration in Calcutta was guilty of.

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose in felicitous and graceful language thanked the Madras Government for its financial help to the Exhibition and concluded his valuable remarks in these words:—

"It has been said that the Congress represents after all a 'microscopic minority.' Although this statement was first made several years ago, it is still echoed from time to time by those who are determined to disparage that movement and hold it up to ridicule. Perhaps they will be surprised to learn that an illustrious writer, whose works have already occupied a prominent position in the classical literature of modern Europe, has said, speaking of a country in the van of European civilization, that 'it is only the *elite* of a nation who are alive to the sentiments of glory and liberty, who appreciate noble and generous ideas and are ready to make sacrifices for them. The masses of the people desire quiet and repose, except when they are stirred up by deep and mighty passions.' I may venture to follow up these pregnant words by adding that, inasmuch as history teaches us that opinion always percolates from the higher to the lower strata of society, and what are the ideas of the educated minority to-day are bound to be shared by the masses to-morrow, it is the duty of all far-sighted statesmen to take time by the forelock and by the concession of well-considered reforms to ensure the contentment of the people and to

enhance their loyalty and affection for the Government. At the same time we must not forget that a great deal depends on ourselves; for no nation has ever yet attained any position of importance by merely relying on the favours of the Government. There are many matters as to which, whether the Government is willing to help us or not, we ourselves can do a great deal, such for instance as the education of the masses of our people. Let us remember that, if we are ever to acquire those rights and privileges which we all desire, the stimulus and the motive power must come from ourselves, and above all let us not forget that we can never hope to realise our aspirations unless the Congress, fully sensible of its duties towards the masses of our people, so shapes its policy as to bring them into line with us. If I might venture to address you in the eloquent language which Virgil puts in the mouth of Aeneas I would say that:—

“ Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,  
A voice of brass and adamantine lungs”

I could even then hardly hope to make a sufficiently impassioned appeal to you as regards the vital importance of educating our masses. We cannot forget that unfortunately our Government, by the introduction of a policy of promiscuous distribution of titles, encourages sycophancy and subservience amongst some of our wealthy people. That is the very reason why some of our titled folks, forgetting their duty to their country, are ever ready to perform servile genuflexions before every official clothed in brief authority. We are, however, glad to find that several of the flower of our aristocracy have risen superior to selfish considerations, and with admirable patriotism have come forward to place themselves at the head of the people whose natural leaders, their rank and position justly entitle them to be.”

On the recommendation of the President, Mr. Ghosal proposed the formation of a Sub-Committee to consider the subjects to be discussed. The Sub-Committee met in the afternoon and proceeded to draft the resolutions to be debated upon during the session. It is against the traditions of the Congress to comment upon the deliberations of the Sub-Committee; but it is not against precedent to say that the question which most agitated the Madras and Punjab delegates—the constitution of the Congress—was discussed from every conceivable standpoint and the conclusion was come to that it is too early to press for the passing of hard and fast rules to regulate the election of delegates. It is not disputed that, in sending up delegates, there have been some proceedings which should have been avoided. But it is undoubted that, in the majority of cases, elections have proceeded upon unimpeachable principles. The qualifications of the men selected and their representative character are evident from a glance at the appendix referring to them. There may have been lapses; but there has been nothing to indicate any systematic abuse in the election proceedings. After all it is common knowledge that the best regulated elections do not invariably result in the return of the best men. A good deal has to be left to the good sense and patriotism of the educated men of the various localities, and it has been resolved that the question of giving a constitution to the Congress should be put off for some time to come.

The regular proceedings of the Congress began at 12 A.M. the next day. It must be conceded that the great enthusiasm which characterised

the proceedings of the Congress were literally damped by the unusually heavy rain of the succeeding days. The second day's proceedings were much interrupted by the torrents that came down. It was worse on the third day. The spacious Hall was one sheet of water inside and access thereto was impossible. The meeting had to be held in the verandah of the commodious Bungalow which adjoined the pavilion. The Madras Committee were much disheartened by this unusual weather and many a delegate suffered discomfort and endured great difficulties. It was not possible to attend to the comforts of all the delegates, and, as it had not been usual to provide against such stormy weather at the end of December, sufficient precautions were not taken to avoid inconvenience to the delegates. But the heavy downpour, the extraordinary difficulty in getting conveyances and the want of accommodation did not deter most of the delegates from attending on all the days. On the third day especially, when the delegates had to stand throughout the whole of the proceedings, some within the verandah and some outside it, with umbrellas to protect them from the pelting showers, it was a cheering sight to see the large number that attended. The physical discomfort seemed to make them more anxious to partake in the work of the Congress. If Madras felt sorry that it was not able to say that the creature comforts of the delegates were satisfactorily attended to, it unconsciously made the unfriends of the Congress feel that the Congressman was not a mere *tamasha* seeker, that rain and storm made him more energetic, more patriotic, and that his devotion to the cause was not dependent upon a good show, fair winds, and a clear weather.

The first resolution moved from the Chair was one of mournful interest. It deplored the death of two distinguished Englishmen and of the Rajah of Ramnad. We have already referred to the services which Lord Stanley of Alderley and the Rajah have rendered to India. Mr. Caine's loss to India was irreparable. After the death of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, Mr. Caine took upon himself the task of championing India in Parliament. He was a veteran Member of the House of Commons and his utterances were listened to with attention. His espousal of the cause of India was beginning to bear fruit when the cruel hand of Death snatched him away. The Congress rightly echoed the sentiments of all right-thinking men in saying that the people of India would always cherish with gratitude the memory of Mr. Caine's services.

Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay) moved the resolution relating to the employment of Indians in the public service. The speaker pointed out how the recommendations of the Public Service Commission were in themselves inadequate and unsatisfactory, how even the recommendations of this body were whittled away first by the Supreme Government, and then by the India Office, how, after these cheeseparing processes, the minimum number of appointments has not yet been bestowed upon the sons of the soil, how certain departments of the State systematically and of set purpose refused to employ Indians in the higher grades, and how circulars, authoritatively denied but dragged out and published, proscribed Indians from appointments of particular descriptions. Mr. Wacha knew his subject better than the draftsman who penned the elaborate apology in the form of a solemn Government resolution for not more largely employing indigenous talent in the service of the country. It is not a question of mere statistics and comparisons. Our late Queen Empress graciously proclaimed that, in the

services of the State, colour and creed would have no preference; ability and efficiency would be the only tests. Has Lord Curzon examined the subject from this point of view? He probably holds in common with Lord Lytton from whom he has copied so much—the Delhi Durbar and the journey to the Persian Gulf—that the Queen's Proclamation was never intended to be literally understood. That is neither loyalty nor statesmanship. If our sovereign promised that, in recruiting the services, colour and creed would not be any guide, why laboriously examine statistics and institute comparisons? The only question will be, are there men in India who can efficiently serve the State? If there are, you are guilty of a breach of trust in going away from India in making your selection. And again, look at the additional burden thrown on the State by the employment of non-Indian talent—increased pay, heavier pension, exchange compensation and the loss to the State and to the country of the services of those who retire from office. As Mr. Wacha said: "They say that a certain number of appointments should always be held by the English for efficiently superintending the administration of the country. We are willing that such a fair number of appointments should be so reserved. But after all, superintending appointments for administrative efficiency could only be very limited; the remaining appointments should be very large." It is with reference to these appointments which do not interfere with the political exigencies that the Congress has been registering its protests from time to time. Mr. Wacha concluded his remarks in these words:—

"I now come to the last part of this resolution. I do not want to inflict any further speech but I will only say this, that, throughout, the whole career of the British Indian Government, not from to-day but from the days of the East India Company, there is this tradition to give a promise to the ear and to break it to the hope, and they faithfully and loyally follow that tradition. In the case of the Public Service Commission, we have found, to our bitter cost and experience, that the same traditional policy has been carried on. Promises were most profusely given to us; a Commission was appointed amidst a great flourish; finality was to be given to our legitimate aspirations and our just grievances were to be fairly redressed. It has been so for the last half a century. When the practice comes, we find ourselves exactly in the same situation as we were in before the Commission was appointed. This is the tale of our grievances, of our legitimate and fair grievances."

Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar seconded the resolution and drew attention to the importation of young men, the sons and nephews of the members of the Civil Service, for appointments which Indians are better able to fill. His remarks upon the moral drain resulting from such importations are excellent.

"This is a very important matter, and if the taxes of this country paid to foreigners in the shape of salaries should be taken away to another country from the country where they are collected, and spent in a distant foreign land, that drain is bad enough; but there is another and more serious drain to which I must refer and to which this resolution refers and to which more importance should be attached than to the financial drain. I mean the moral drain which this policy involves. Employment in the service of the country opens a great field for valuable training. The education and experience gained in high offices of the public service are invaluable, and gentlemen that work in the public service for a length of time and retire with pensions and

live in the country command such influence for good that their service would be of the utmost value. This advantage we are deprived of. We have been under British rule for more than one hundred and fifty years. Is there one Indian gentleman whom we can mention as an authority in the administration of Railways? Or is there even one amongst us whom we can put forward as a great financier or great diplomatist or as a great engineer? We have been under the most enlightened progressive administration, and yet not one of us has reached a position which people under an independent patriotic Government like the Government of Japan have attained. Where is our Marquis of Ito or Count Okuma? Is there anyone who is in a position to hold his own against the great men of European countries like Russia or Great Britain? What is there to prevent our great men reaching a position of great professional eminence? You know that Anglo-Indians, after serving here for nearly thirty years in high offices, go back to their native country. What do they do there? They offer their experience and knowledge to be used by the State or by Municipal Corporations or industrial organisations. Sir Antony Macdonnell is Secretary for Ireland. At whose cost did he gain his experience? For thirty years he was drawing large salaries from Indian revenues; he acquired his experience at our cost, and the benefit of the experience which he gained in our country during a long series of years he is now giving to a different country altogether. Suppose Sir Antony Macdonnell, who is Irish Secretary, or Sir David Barbour, who was sent to South Africa to estimate its fiscal resources, remained here amidst us, and, if their experience and services and influence could be at the disposal of the public here, what a tower of strength would they be to us? What is the justification for the Government to deprive us of the invaluable assistance of men who have served in the public service of our own country? I look upon this aspect of the question as a serious evil. Year after year, we are spending millions of rupees as salaries paid to Europeans imported from other countries. They hold all the responsible appointments. They gain all the experience that these responsible appointments and high administrative charges give them and they carry away the experience as well as the savings they make. We here are told that we should be satisfied with subordinate appointments; and what is the reason? Absolutely no reason is given. The old bogey reason that we are not fit for service in higher grades is given up. Nobody can put forward that excuse now."

Mr. Peary Lal Ghose supported the resolution. He very rightly remarked: "We fight simply that everything should be done according to qualifications, merit and ability. This is the point we fight for. Whether he be a domiciled Anglo-Indian, European or Eurasian, whether he be a Madrassese or Bengalee we want to respect ability and merit." He referred to the Rawalpundy Comptroller who was honest enough to say that he found Indian subordinates superior to all other classes of people. Mr. Abool Kasem in an able speech also supported the resolution. He referred to the experiment of employing natives in the opium department and as to how it was an unqualified success. He very humorously referred to the answers given by Viceroys, Governors and Lieutenant-Governors to Mohamedan deputations when they told the memorialists that there would be no exceptional treatment for them and that merit alone would be the passport for preferment: and then remarked "when, however, it becomes a question of deciding between Europeans and Natives, they give the lie to what they have told the Mahomedans.

The next resolution claimed a very large number of speakers. The tendency to increase assessment frequently, and the poverty of the agricultural population have drawn the attention of all thinking men to this subject. The subject was discussed from every standpoint and the matter was fully thrashed out. The Hon'ble Mr. L. A. Govinda Raghava Aiyar proposed the resolution in a clear and lucid speech. He showed from statistics published under Government authority that the average annual earning of a ryot is Rs. 17-9-7. It would be impossible to argue that this annual allotment could make any ryot live comfortably and well. His poverty is pronounced: what is the remedy? Mr. Govinda Raghava Aiyar suggested that, although a Permanent Settlement would not cure all the evils, it would undoubtedly enable the ryot to be more industrious and to make larger profits. He pointed out that the two conditions laid down in the despatch of the Secretary of State 1862, namely, "As districts are gradually brought under the revised assessment when there is reason to believe that the land revenue has not only reached its probable limit but is equitably distributed over the land affected by it, then the Permanent Settlement might be introduced" have been long fulfilled and yet the Government have not chosen to introduce a Permanent Settlement. The reason being that the Government desire to get out of the ryots as much as it is possible to obtain. He said:—

"They say that it is not politic, that it is not just, that there should be a surrender of what income could be had on account of improvements effected by the growth of population, by the gradual development of the country, by the introduction of new staples or by an increase in the productivity of the soil and in the value of its produce, more particularly, if the latter are themselves the result of an expenditure upon irrigation or communications that has been incurred by the State. Now, gentlemen, what I submit is, if you take it, that the assessment shall have to be revised only on the basis of the increase in prices most of these matters in respect of which Government says it will not make a surrender of income are included in that because it is difficult to conceive what exactly the increase in the value of the land or income will be which is due to the growth of population or general development of the country or introduction of rates, which is not due to a rise in prices. I therefore submit, gentlemen, that that will be a tangible, definite, easily understandable rule that the reassessment shall be on account of the rise in prices." That is the true reason why Government fight shy of the Permanent Settlement.

The proposition was seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh of Bombay whose services to the agricultural population of Bombay are recognised throughout the whole of India. His story of the Survey Officer, how his advent strikes the unsuspecting ryot and upon what principles a resettlement is recommended were humorously told. "An increase in population, an increase in tiled houses, the opening of a school and such like reasons, which may have nothing whatever to do with the prosperity of the village or the prosperity of the agricultural population, are brought forward for the purpose of recommending increases. There are reasons even stranger than these. You are aware probably that there is a system in some parts of the country for Government to levy certain rates in addition to the assessment for the purpose of meeting local wants. These rates are called the Local Funds and the object of these funds is to provide wells, tanks, and such like facilities to the



village agriculturists. Now instead of devoting this money to the object for which it is intended, and which would be useful to the villagers, they are spent towards constructing roads. While the ryots on the one hand do not receive those benefits which are the chief object of their contributions in the shape of wells and tanks, the roads are made an additional reason for raising the assessments, the argument usually adduced being that new roads give increased facilities for the carriage of produce and bring increased prosperity to the ryots. But the imagination of the Survey Department does not stop here. One of the strongest reasons assigned for increasing the assessment was that a certain village in the Taluk sent a Delegate to the National Congress!

He concluded by observing: "Finally I say again we must have the Permanent Settlement or if that can't be had the grounds of enhancement should be defined and the period of tenure should be longer than what it is."

Mr. Paul Peter Pillai supported the resolution. He said that Mr. Dutt conceded too much and that so far as Madras was concerned Mr. Dutt's concession would impoverish the peasant. He was strongly of opinion that, even if a Permanent Settlement was not granted, the power of increment should be stated in a legislative enactment. "All the arbitrary calculation on the imaginary considerations of unearned increment should be abolished by statutory law. For the advantages of railways and roads which benefit the trader the land should be exempted from any cesses and from increase of assessment on that account. For such improvements the cost should be met from enhanced customs revenue. When the improvement is made by the Government as in the case of irrigation, there should be a limit prescribed by statute as to the rate of water cess. When there is a failure of crops the claim for remission should be adjudicated by suits in Civil Courts. It would be the highest political wisdom and greatest statesmanship for the Government to frame laws to limit its own demand on the poor ryots and resort to other resources to raise revenue and thus give the agricultural classes in temporarily settled tracts all the advantages of a Permanent Settlement though without its name."

Mr. Srinivasa Varada Chariar who spoke after Mr. Pillai went into the history of the subject very fully, and quoted from the various despatches to show that the Government had been constantly changing ground and that their professions of good faith had never been given effect to. He concluded by observing: "The Government would do well to bear in mind the words of Mr. Bourdillon who said: 'The government of the country is not to be conducted wholly on the same principles as a mercantile concern. Revenue is not the only consideration. The happiness and comfort, peace and contentment of the population should be the chief items in the account.'"

Mr. S. Subramania Aiyar also spoke on the same subject. He referred to the solicitude of the Government for defining and limiting the rights of the Zemindars as against their tenants and asked why the same principle should not be applied to their attitude towards their own ryots. "Lord Curzon says that, instead of the suggestion made by the critics in India of the British Policy, if they were to suggest that the rents payable by tenants to private landholders be limited, it will do very well indeed." If it will do very well for the Zemindars why should it not do equally well for the Government? Why

should not the same rule be adopted with regard to the ryot who pays his revenue directly to Government? The Viceroy says there should be a limit to the rent which the landholders has to get from the tenant. If that should be so, why should a different policy be adopted so far as Government tenants are concerned? Why should not the same policy be adopted in regard to the ryots under the British Government?

Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar drew attention to the heavy percentage of increase in the assessment which oftentimes characterises the new settlement. He said :—“ I believe you will all agree with me that one of the most important restrictions to be introduced is that in any individual case the enhancement of assessment should not exceed a certain percentage. I believe the Bombay Code says it should not be increased more than 75 per cent.”

The last resolution of the day related to the disabilities of Indians in British colonies. The resolution was moved by Mr. Desai of Bombay who referred to the rights granted to the people of India in this country and to the difficulties with which they are beset in other lands under the sovereignty of the British Government. He pleaded for exceptional treatment in South Africa on the ground that the war with the Boers was largely won by Indian help and co-operation. Referring to the ground of objection that Indian quarters were insanitary, Mr. Desai said :—“ I have seen places in London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Cape Town, inhabited by European scums, which beggar all description for slovenliness ; and still the Government there does not suggest their exportation to the Polar Regions that they may not pollute the fashionable thoroughfares of London by their approach nor is a similar alternative proposed for the millions of insanitary Negroes and Zulus overcrowding in South Africa. The question of insanitation ought not to be dealt with by the blind seclusion of the Indians, for Indians are not half so bad as the slums of European populations are.” The true reason was stated by him to be the ignorance of the European labouring classes and the want of firmness on the part of the Colonial Governments.

Mr. S. K. Nair referred to the Queen's Proclamation and pointed out that the principle of restriction on the emigrants' rights was opposed to the avowed policy of the British Government. He truly observed that the secret of the restrictive laws was commercial jealousy.

Mr. Sievwright of Melbourne who supported the resolution presented an address to the Congress on behalf of the Indian emigrants in Australia clearly setting forth their desirabilities. It is to be hoped that the attention of the Indian Government will be drawn to this statement of the case by the Indian settlers. Mr. Sievwright touched upon the usefulness of the Congress and referred to the principles upon which it is based as being beyond cavil. He concluded in these words : “ The most urgent problem of Eastern Statesmanship is, how to reconcile Self-Government for India with Imperial supremacy for Great Britain? My political doctrine is that the more we concede the former the more we confirm the latter. Many, who dispute or would unjustly defer the applicability of this principle to Indian affairs, will admit it with reference to this question of the British Indians' enfranchisement. To the English race I would say ; ‘ No preparations for war in India itself, if you wish to keep it in peace, but remember that to educate, enrich and please the subjects makes the foundation of the kingdom

strong, as the subjects are the walls on which the building of the Government stands." When the word "alien" is applied to a British Indian in presenting himself for admission into a British Dependency like Australia, is that the way to create "loyal subjects" of the Empire? On the battle fields, that the English have figured in, during recent years, the blood of the English, Indian, and Australian soldier has flowed in the same stream and drenched the same ground as if it was a baptism of their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril, are Indians not to be partakers in glory? Are they to be told they are "aliens" from that noble Empire for whose salvation to-day or to-morrow the Indians' life blood will be poured?"

With this resolution the day's proceedings closed and it was announced that the sittings would be resumed the next day.

The first subject taken up next morning brought to the platform some of the most eloquent leaders of the Congress. The Universities' Bill, then before the Viceregal Council, was regarded as a retrograde measure by most Indians. It was extraordinary that, at the first Conference held in Simla, no Indian was asked to give his opinion. When the Commission was constituted, Indians of approved merit and ability were intentionally excluded. The defect was so glaring that Lord Curzon felt bound later on to invite Mr. Justice Bannerjee to join the Commission. Everybody is now familiar with the minute which Dr. Bannerjee appended to the report. For thoroughness, for lucidity, for straightforwardness and for the statesmanlike grasp of the principles of education, it would be impossible to find its match. The convincing reasons which the minute of dissent gave for differing from the report of the majority saved Second Grade Colleges from the fate which threatened them at the outset. Lord Curzon's official statement based upon the minute of dissent gave some assurance that the drastic recommendations of the majority would not be adopted in their entirety. But it is sad to contemplate that neither Justice Bannerjee's unanswerable pronouncement nor the Viceroy's reassuring circular letter had any effect in finally moulding the mischievous provisions of the Bill into proper shape. The Bill, as introduced, was passed without any serious amendments affecting the principle of the Bill, and the protests of the Indian Members of Council were as before ignored altogether.

Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, in an eloquent speech, moved the resolution. He combated the position that our Universities had proved to be a failure. During the time that these Universities were working, they turned out men of whom any nation should be proud. Speaking of the services which the Universities have rendered to the public cause, Mr. Bannerjee said :—

"It is no exaggeration to say that our Universities are the seed-plots upon which and around which have grown up the National Congress, the Social Conference, indeed every movement, social, moral and political, which has marked the activities of the present generation. It is our Universities and the beneficent influences which they have scattered broadcast, that have elevated the tone of the Indian Press and have made it a power for good. It is our Universities that have produced a distinguished galaxy of eminent men who have adorned morals and manners, have ennobled the literature of their country and have made it a rich vehicle for the expression of the highest purposes and the varied requirements of modern life. It is again

our Universities that have supplied a body of distinguished public servants whose ability and integrity have been the theme of universal admiration and have vindicated the capacity of our countrymen for high offices in the State. All these achievements have been accomplished by the Universities under their old constitution which it is now proposed to supersede."

The learned speaker found nothing to be ashamed of in graduates trying to serve their country. It is a natural ambition. It is because they are trying to replace men who can boast of no University education Indian or English, that the cry is raised against the discontented B.A. Referring to the alleged existence of defects in the system of education, he candidly conceded that it was capable of improvement. But are you proceeding on right lines to effect the improvement? How will terminable Fellowships make the B.A. more satisfied with himself? Mr. Surendranath referred to the dangers of making nominated Fellowships terminable in these terms:—

"To make the Fellowships terminable in a body, the bulk of whose members are to be appointed by the Government, is to deal a death-blow at their independence; for the members will be only too ready to please the authorities in order to obtain a renewal of their term of office. Mr. Raleigh is fully alive to this objection, but he says in reply that in all the deliberative assemblies of the British Empire, the memberships are terminable. So they are, but he omits to notice a very important fact. Those assemblies are entirely or in the main elective in their constitution. Even if fifty per cent. of the members were elected, there would be little or no objection to terminable Fellowships."

Mr. Bannerjee referred to the grounds of recognition as contemplated by the act, and said that, if those conditions were insisted upon, indigenous enterprise was impossible. Other sections were referred to and Mr. Bannerjee's examination of him led to remark:—

"Thus, Sir, I think, I have conclusively shown that the effect of these provisions will be to prevent the further growth of institutions for high education, to restrict the educational area, to subvert the educational policy of the Government, to tear up the Education Despatch of 1854, and to scatter to the winds the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882. If this is not revolution—if this is not a reactionary measure of the most pronounced type, I know not what these terms mean."

The honorable mover concluded his remarks amidst great applause in these words:—

"All our possibilities of progress are bound up with it. All our public movements derive from it their vital breath, their animating spirit, their sustaining influence. High Education is the great heart, the mighty moving impulse of all our public activities. It affects and benefits even those whom it does not touch, elevating the general tone of society, generating a purer atmosphere of lofty ideals and high aspirations. Such a boon we cannot part with. Such a boon we cannot allow to be tampered with. Such a boon we cling to with fond devotion, prompted by a spirit akin to that of filial reverence. Next to religion, education is our most sacred interest. The feelings prompted by religion deepen our affectionate

devotion to our educational concerns. The hymns of the *Bhagvad Gita* which delight, instruct and inspire, derive an added inspiration when addressed to minds strung to the music of the higher emotions by the combined culture of the East and the West. Therefore, let there go forth a great protest from this Congress,—a protest which I hope and trust will be emphasized by similar protests from other parts of the country. To-day we stand face to face with one of the gravest crises in our history. Are we to succumb to it, or play the part of men? If you sleep over the situation and indulge in cowardly inaction or if you weakly hesitate or falter, then the heritage of the past will be undone, the interests of the present will be compromised, and, as to the future, you will have forfeited your claim to that precious boon of constitutional liberty for which you have, for the last twenty years maintained so arduous a struggle and which, under the blessing of Almighty Providence and the fostering care of British statesmanship of the future, if not of the present, you are bound to win and which when won, will glorify the name of England in India and will consecrate a new bond of union between the two countries, that shall be proof against the machinations of European powers and the fleeting vicissitudes of Eastern politics.”

Mr. A. S. Desai of Bombay seconded the resolution. He was of opinion that “unless and until we have Native Professors and Lecturers educated in the best Universities of Europe and placed in charge of higher education, there can be no chance for a sound system of higher education.” It is seldom that, you find, Indians can be induced to equip themselves in the way suggested; and if they do, what is the result? How long has it taken to recognise the services of Mr. Bose of Calcutta? If Mr. Bose had been an Englishman, his promotion would have come by leaps and bounds. Look at the Indian Professors in Madras who have been trained in English Universities. Their success as teachers, and their qualifications do not enable them to obtain promotion. And again what is the position of our men who are specialists in subjects which no European education can give them? Why, for filling up the post of the Sanskrit Professor, Madras had to fight hard for the services of an Indian whose qualifications are undoubted. As was remarked by Mr. Mudholkar later on, education has not been as great a success as it might have been, because of Government’s failure to obtain the services of the right men.

“If third-rate people are employed, if men not competent to occupy the professorial chair are to be put in, then the fault is on the side of Government and not on our side. It is a question for the Administrative Government and not for the Legislative Council—it is not a question for which the University can be reproached. The University is not responsible for incompetent professors.”

Mr. Desai illustrated the certain failure of the system of nomination by referring to other public bodies:—

“With the experience we have of Municipal Councillors and Legislative Council Members of terminable tenures, and of men periodically nominated to Councils and Corporations, there are good grounds for the fear that there is a great probability that Fellows under the new conditions will not act with the independence which longer tenures would ensure.

Dealing with the pronouncement of Lord Curzon that the motives of the Government should not be questioned, Mr. Desai remarked:—

“The Government think that their motives ought not to be questioned. I agree with them. But the case stands thus: you want to remove crum and improve higher education. What means do you adopt? One of the means is to sweep away the independence of the Senate. Are people unreasonable in thinking, in suspecting, that there must be some ulterior motive underlying the action of Government? Again is it not reasonable to think that under the circumstances the Government may have some ulterior motives?”

Mr. Chatterjee, who followed, pleaded for a careful definition of the term *misconduct* which will have the effect of making a graduate forfeit his degree.

Mr. Mudholkar, a veteran leader, delivered a thoughtful speech on the subject. We have already referred to his remarks upon the class of men now employed as professors. He warmly repudiated Lord Curzon's insinuation that the agitation against the Bill came from *interested* persons. Mr. Mudholkar severely criticised the provision by which the Senate and the Syndicate were to be in the hands of *experts*.

Mr. Subramania Aiyar who had considerable experience as a teacher, as a proprietor of a school and as a journalist next addressed the meeting: He said:—

“If the real object of Government is to improve the standard of education, they should proceed differently. They should have tried to pass an enactment to make the Colleges more independent rather than less independent, to provide for greater representation, apart from Professors and Principals of Colleges, of that large class of the community, the parents of students whose interest in raising the quality and standard of education is real. It is a great mistake to suppose that only the Principals and Professors of Colleges are interested in the progress of education. In fact, the large community of parents has a more serious and direct interest in education; but, for their representation the Bill makes no provision. What we want is not a better constitution for the Universities, not more control by Government; but more effective measures to raise the standard and change the quality of the education that we are receiving in our Universities.”

He complained that the Bill did not provide for the allotment of sufficient funds by the Government to help on education. He animadverted upon the relations of the Civilians obtaining employment as Professors of Colleges. He advocated change in the direction of making education more scientific and practical. The literary part of it was overdone:—

“If higher education is to exercise a more direct and beneficial influence on the career of our educated countrymen, if that education is to be converted into a means of advancing the material and moral progress of this country, a more practical and scientific education should be substituted as far as possible.”

Mr. Madan Mohun Malavya whose appearance on the platform was greeted by great cheering dealt with the question in an elaborate speech.

He drew his illustrations mainly from the University with whose working he is very familiar. Referring to the system of nominating Fellows he said :—

“I thought, Gentlemen, that the system of nomination had long ago been found to be faulty and buried in England. The Government have also in this country during the last fifteen years shown that they do not believe entirely in the system of nomination. In the matter of Municipal Boards the principle of election has been introduced; in the matter of District Boards the elective principle is working. In the matter of Legislative Councils only a few years ago the Government admitted the reasonableness of the demand for introducing the elective principle. Now the Senates, which were the first body in this country in which the principle of election was first introduced and worked, are going to be deprived of their power in the beginning of the twentieth century. You cannot help feeling that the hand of the clock is being put back forcibly.”

He referred to the position of the Senate under the new Bill and agreed with the previous speakers in thinking that the effect of the Bill would be to make the University a badly manned Department of State. Then he referred to the Syndicate and said that the principle of making it compulsory to have a certain proportion of a certain class of men would be to hand over the Syndicate to a very inefficient body. He had no doubt that the promised provision of five lakhs would be altogether inadequate for the requirements of the case. His remarks in this connection are very apposite :—

“You will remember that Sir Norman Lockyer gave an estimate of 60 lakhs. Can we not ask the Government of India reasonably to give us at least one-fourth of that sum, namely fifteen lakhs a year, to have higher teaching in all the various Universities. The country is considered to be fit enough to have the services of the best men of the Civil Service: the country is considered fit enough to have the best soldier the British Government can have. Are not the youth of this country qualified to receive the benefit of instruction from the best Professors that can be brought to this country? We, natives of this country, have certainly no voice in expending the money which is raised from us.”

He referred to Lord Curzon's desire to introduce reform, but regretted that the tendency of these changes was largely to curtail liberty, to put back reform and to make all departments more bureaucratic.

Mr. Choudry, who spoke last on the subject, said that Indians had been pressing for reform for a long time and their advice was not heeded. He referred to the endeavours of Mr. A. M. Bose whose dignified presence, simplicity, earnestness and patriotism are well remembered in Madras. He said that the first thing necessary to improve education was to improve the quality of men appointed to impart instruction. We believe Mr. Bilderbeck's remarks in the Imperial Legislative Council was to the same effect.

Another unpopular measure before the Legislative Council next came up for discussion. No Bill introduced by Government ever received so much unanimous condemnation by Indians and Anglo-Indians alike as this one. The Press in India without a single exception deplored its introduction. All

public bodies—all political associations, all trades unions—protested against it; and yet the Government was unyielding. The small concession shown to the opposition do not affect the principle of the Bill. It was arbitrary and unwise. No necessity was shown for its introduction in its present form. At first it was believed that Lord Curzon would see his way to withdraw the Bill when he was made fully acquainted with the strength and unanimity of the opposition. His immediate declaration on his return from his tour to the Persian Gulf led people to believe that substantial alterations would be made in the Bill. But Lord Curzon has apparently grown weary of being graceful. He apparently thinks that concessions show weakness and not true statesmanship; and that the stronger your position, the less cordial you prove and the more autocratic you become. The Indian air has apparently made him more fond of exhibiting his powers and less inclined to exercise them with good will and sympathy.

Mr. Bishen Narayan Dhar who moved the resolution referred to the unanimity of disapproval which the Bill has evoked in these terms:—

“The Bill has caused widespread stir and excitement throughout the country. No measure of equal importance and magnitude has ever been so universally condemned—none upon which, within living memory, both sections of the Press—the Indian and Anglo-Indian—have with a unanimous voice, without one single discordant note, pronounced their Judgment which is anything but flattering or satisfactory to the Government.”

He rightly declared:—

“It is impossible to speak with patience or with moderation of the odious, nay, iniquitous measure which, at a time of peace and tranquility, when the generous pledges and assurances of the Coronation Day are still vibrating through our hearts, Lord Curzon has thought fit to attempt to inflict upon us, and thus to add one more page to the odious and hateful chapter that was first opened by the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton.”

He referred to the historic origin traced by Lord Curzon and characterised the narration as unhistorical. Regarding the Viceroy's objection to the remark that the Bill was calculated to “Russianise the administration, he said sarcastically:—

“I am astonished that any body should be so imperfectly informed regarding the Russian Government as to think that it has got anything in its purely civil laws so arbitrary and so disastrous to the civil liberties of the people as Lord Curzon's Bill, if passed, will be in this country.”

He very rightly remarked that the procedure portion of the Bill subverted all principles of Criminal Jurisprudence; and made severe comments upon the proposal to keep the subject in Jail until the responsible authority resolved upon prosecuting him or not. Of course, neither he nor those that followed him had a single word to say against legislation to repress the disclosure of military and naval secrets. The Indians, loyal to the core, are not less anxious than the Government of India that the secrets connected with the naval and military affairs should not be divulged to aliens. Legislation in this behalf is a move in the right direction;



but to include in the same category official information of a civil nature is a gross miscalculation of the proportion of things. The truth is that the Government is averse to criticism of all kind and the extension of the severe penalties imposed upon those who disclose military and naval secrets to those who publish information regarding civil administration only shows how anxious the powers are to repress honest comments. Mr. Dhar concluded by saying :—

“Gentlemen, the policy of coercion and distrust is a mistaken, a suicidal policy. It is not strength but weakness that gives title to be unreasonable. The strength of the British rule in India rests not upon such treacherous under-pinnings and clumsy buttresses as the press laws of recent years, but it rests upon those noble traditions of justice and fairness which are engraven upon the hearts and minds of the Indian people. In the name of those traditions of justice and fairness, in the name of that policy of trust which, in spite of the temporary aberrations of this individual ruler or that, England has steadily maintained towards this country, we, on our behalf and on behalf of the millions of people, whose voice nobody ever hears, beseech Lord Curzon to withdraw his Bill.”

Mr. Murli Dhar of Punjab in a very humorous speech which was listened to with great attention emphasised the draconian character of the proposed legislation.

The Honourable Mr. G. Srinivasa Rao supported the resolution in a closely reasoned speech. He said the Bill was framed on the lines indicated by the English Act of Parliament and he failed to see any necessity for the changes sought to be introduced. And the Police, who were given the powers to arrest without a warrant the suspected person, were those on whom the recent commission had passed very scathing remarks. He concluded by saying :—

“The prayer of the Congress is that the scope of the Bill may be confined only to the disclosure of naval and military secrets, and its feeling is that the Official Secrets Bill, as drafted, is against the interests of the public retrograde in policy and dangerous to individual liberty. A more reasonable prayer there cannot be and the resolution conveying it is worded in language which it at once both temperate and respectful.”

The next resolution related to the heavy military expenditure which India has to bear. The position is this. The army in India is maintained because of England's jealousy of other European Powers. The costly army maintained is not for ensuring safety from any internal disturbance. The loyalty, the good feeling and the attachment of the native of India to the British Rule are undoubted. Even if the Government smelt sedition here and there where none was intended or meant, the local constabulary will be more than enough to quell the apprehended disturbance. It is the fear of foreign invasion, of European complications that necessitate the maintenance of a large army in India. The Boer is aggressive and the English Cabinet expect the Indian Soldiers to be in readiness. The Mulla of Somaliland goes mad and the Ghoorkha is wanted to fight him. Arabi Batcha in Egypt, and the scheming Lama at Lhasa have all to be kept in dread ; and therefore a huge army has to be maintained in India. Is it not just, that the Nation which has such need of the Indian soldier should pay some portion of its

cost? Can anything be more in consonance with justice and equity than that the heavy charges which India is unable to bear should be shared in by a rich country for whose benefit the expenditure is mainly incurred. But in England, there is the troublesome elector. He would not be cajoled into extravagance. He is already grumbling and dissatisfied. Consequently he is not approached and the unquestioning Indian is saddled with the whole expense. He has no voice in spending what he pays. He dares not grumble, because it may be construed into sedition. This is the simple truth, and so long as party exigencies render an appeal to the British taxpayer to pay for the soldiers maintained for his benefit inexpedient, so long will India have to pay the piper.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. Samarth of Bombay in a short speech which brought out all the points that should be urged. He went to the root of the question when he said :—

“Our complaint is, and in this the Government of India agrees with us, that the cost of the British Garrison in India and its strength have been determined from time to time not according to the real needs of India, but by the exigencies of the Army of England and the difficulties of the British Cabinet. India is made quietly to pay the Bill and has no choice or voice in calling for the papers then.”

Mr. Samarth further observed that, if the cost of recruitment was to be thrown on India, the only possible remedy would be to recruit the soldier entirely in India. He paid a graceful tribute to Lord Curzon's government for their unheeded protest against the award of Lord Alverstone. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar who seconded the resolution summed up the situation neatly when he said that it was the quest after a scientific frontier that was responsible for the heavy charges: His remarks upon this point are very significant:—

“The Government of India in 1878 went in search of a scientific frontier. They went to the West and the scientific frontier receded as they approached it, like the horizon. They have since attempted to discover a frontier in the East, and the only thing they discovered was the unscientific frontier of the French Government of Cochin China. They have since then tried to find a scientific frontier in the North, across the Himalayas, in the land of the Lamas. I do not know where in the South they are going to discover a scientific frontier. Scientific or unscientific they have been in quest of frontiers and the result of it has been that the expenditure on the Military armaments of this country has been increasing every day so that the Military expenditure is equal to the entire Land Revenue raised in the country.”

He then touched upon the award of the Lord Chief Justice and pointed out that, after the amalgamation of the army, the Indian Revenue has to bear “the cost of enlistment as he comes out, and the cost of the training he receives.” He rightly asked “what does England pay (when the soldier is employed in her service) for the qualification he has acquired by his residence here?”

Mr. Charu Chunder Ghose supported the resolution and adduced the example of the colonies as justifying his position :—

"All that we advocate is that a substantial portion of the expenses should be borne by the British Exchequer and we strengthen our case by referring to the position which the Colonies occupy. The Colonies, as you know, gentlemen, contribute little or nothing towards the Imperial Military expenditure, and their feeling in the matter may be gauged by the fact that when, at the recent gathering of Colonial Premiers, Mr. Chamberlain mooted the idea, Sir Wilfred Laurier the distinguished Canadian Statesman declared that, if the proposal was persisted in, Canada, would have to reconsider her position in the Empire and that they had apparently come to the parting of ways."

He, as well as the previous speakers, referred to the fact that on recent occasions as many as 30,000 soldiers left India and no responsible statesman ever suggested that there was danger to the British rule in thus reducing the army. He concluded by observing :—

"By all means, have an efficient army if you please, but in the hour of need the most efficient army will not be found " in men with Lee Metfords and Dumdum bullets, but in the hearts of a grateful and contented people."

Mr. G. A. Natesan confined his attention to the arbitrariness and injustice upon the Indian taxpayer of the award relating to the recruitment charges. He found fault with the constitution of the tribunal and quoted from previous Secretaries of State to show that the appointment of an arbiter unconnected with India and unacquainted with its political and economic condition was never contemplated. He said :—

The late Lord Salisbury declared in the House of Lords that the tribunal for deciding questions of dispute between England and India should be so "impartially composed as to obtain the confidence of the tax-payers of both England and India." That idea of Lord Salisbury was also approved of by Lord Northbrook and Lord Lansdowne who considered that some machinery ought to be devised which would enable Her Majesty's Government and the Indian Government so to apply the principles of reciprocity that India would be placed for the future, "in an infinitely sounder position with regard to the controversies than she had ever occupied."

The next resolution was one of thanks giving : Lord Curzon has laid the poor people of India under deep obligations to him by the reduction of the Salt Tax and by raising the taxable minimum of the Income Tax. It was Lord Ripon who originally insisted upon reducing the Salt Tax and we are glad that Lord Curzon has chosen to follow that good ruler in this respect at least. Mr. Chintamani well put the feeling of the Congress when he said :—

"It is for this reason, gentlemen, viz., that Lord Curzon was courageous and sympathetic enough to overcome the interested clamour of his own countrymen, both here and in England, and give relief to the voiceless Indian masses, that this Congress, speaking for the masses no less than for the classes, records its thanks to His Excellency's Government."

We hope it may be found possible to reduce the Salt Tax further in succeeding years.

Mrs. Florence Belgarnie seconded the resolution. Her remarks, concerning the condition of the masses, coming as they do from a sympathetic English woman who has personally made enquiries on the spot, deserve the careful consideration of the Government. She observed :—

“During my four weeks of travel in India, two of the things which chiefly impress me are the awful, appalling and incredible poverty of the people and the almost entire absence of Government elementary education. Probably I notice this more as I come, not direct from England, where the Conservative Government has recently done its best to destroy our School Board system, but from an oriental country like your own. I have been journeying in Japan which, under the era of enlightenment has not only Representative Government but compulsory elementary education. I saw no Durbar in Japan, but witnessed a Royal Ceremony of another kind. I saw the heir-apparent to the Empire of Japan on a progress through the country as a School Inspector. He was followed by no gorgeous suit, but, in a simple rickshaw, he drove through the streets, without any bodyguard, to review the school boys and girls drawn up to receive him. I feel the sad lack of primary schools in your land. Universities are the topmost stone of the edifice of which elementary education is the only safe and sure foundation. Without the education of the poorest of its people, no land can obtain and retain freedom. But I notice the British Government, if it is slow in opening schools of virtue, has been very active in opening schools of vice in every city and nearly every village in the country. I refer to the arrack and toddy shops many of which, I have already visited, dens where I find straw provided *gratis* for drunken men to sleep off their debauch.”

The proposed redistribution of Bengal and Madras which was the subject of the next proposition came in for a good deal of adverse comment. It is not wise to disturb the established order of things unless a strong case is made out against its continuance. Calcutta has been associated with Dacca and Mymensing for centuries past. The people of these Provinces look up to Calcutta for guidance and advice. These districts return Members of Council to the local legislature. They are subject to the same High Court. The same is the case with the Madras districts. Why should they be severed from the rest? What is the objection to their continuance as part of the respective Provinces? As Mr. Choudry who moved the proposition pointed out :—

“We have now got some voice, weak as it may be, to represent our grievances in the Legislative Council and its interpollate governors with regard to their actions and measures. If Dacca, Mymensing, Chittagong, Tipperah and the neighbouring districts are transferred to Assam, they will have to forego this privilege, and it will be an evil day for them and the people of Bengal from many points of view.”

It is not easy to understand what counteracting advantage these provinces will derive by the dismemberment. Speaking for Madras, Mr. Raghava Rao who seconded the proposition pointed out :—

“The Madras Government has for about one hundred and fifty years been accustomed to administer the Uriya people, and the Uriyas have become used to Madras administration against which, as the Government of India

admits, there is no complaint. The Telugu peoples, on the other hand, will present a new problem to the Bengal Government, and the Telugus will have to adapt themselves now for the first time to new surroundings and a new system of education and administration."

Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar moved an amendment for omitting from the proposition all reference to Madras. The amendment which was seconded by Mr. Samarth of Bombay was opposed by Messrs. V. Ryrü Nambiar, N. Subba Rao and A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu and was declared lost.

The next resolution related to the Madras Municipal Bill which was then before the Local Legislative Council. The Bill has since been passed into law and it is needless to say that no material amendments were accepted by the Government. The Bill aimed at reducing the number of elected Commissioners. Both Mr. Krishna Nair and Mr. Parthasarathy Naidu who moved and seconded the resolution respectively severely criticised the attitude of the Government in this matter. As pointed out by Mr. Krishna Nair, the Bill was based upon the Calcutta Act. What has been the experience of the Calcutta rate-payers? It was admitted that there have been grave scandals in the new administration. There was less control by the Municipal Commissioners with the result that there was more laxity on the part of the executive. Referring to the complaint that there were not a sufficient number of European Commissioners, Mr. Krishna Nair very rightly pointed out.—

"The city contains about 500,000 and odd inhabitants, out of whom the number of Europeans, men, women, and children all told, consists of 4,420. So that for every 150 Indians there is only one European. In these circumstances, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is highly undesirable that the administration of the city with reference to its Municipal affairs, when more than 95 per cent. of the taxes of the city are paid by the Indian population, should pass into the hands of European members."

It seems clear that Europeans are over largely represented, if statistics prove anything. Moreover Europeans never take the trouble to contest an election; and a paternal Government is anxious to provide seats for these gentlemen who consider it beneath their dignity to stand as candidates in a contested election. When well known Englishmen came forward to serve the electors, they found no difficulty in entering the commission. As Mr. A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu pointed out:—

"Native Commissioners have the patience and willingness, at great sacrifice, to go about their respective divisions, to enquire after the Municipal needs of their wards. The commercial Europeans, whom Government wish to introduce, will, I am sure, not condescend to do that sort of inspection work of nasty gulleys and gutters and Paracherries."

The European is anxious to be nominated and he wants such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades association to have the power to nominate him. On what ground are these bodies to have representatives? They are not the heaviest tax-payers and they do not fully represent Anglo-Indian interest. None of these considerations weighed with the Government. Mr. Parthasarathy Naidu criticised strongly the attempt to increase the taxation of houses. He said:—

"There are hundreds of houses in lanes, corners, and alleys, where poor people are huddled together. Further increase of taxation would raise the rental of those who live in these wretched hovels, and huddling more closely will be the result, and would disastrously reflect on the health of the poorer classes."

All these have been cries in the wilderness and the ability and eloquence of the native members of the Local Council have not served to induce the Government to make any important concession to the opponents of the measure.

The resolution moved by Dr. Mullick tendering the cordial support of the Congress to its veteran leaders and tried friends met with enthusiastic reception. Agitation in India, although not barren of fruit is not likely to be as beneficial as representation in Parliament. Dr. Mullick put the point forcibly when he said:—

"I know that, in the expression of our sincere opinion here, we are considerably handicapped, but in the House of Commons there is no such thing as sedition; according to our Anglo-Indian friends it is seen lurking in the highways and bye-ways of poor plague-stricken Poona. Be that as it may, it was time that we brought to the notice of the British Electors that we had good men and true who would do justice not only to India but whose zeal, and assiduity and ability would be of the utmost importance to the Empire at large"

Dr. Mullick rightly said that it was a mistake to suppose that Liberals were likely to govern India better than Conservatives. He wanted honest and true sons of India to have seats in Parliament so that they might enlighten the British people upon the wrongs of our people.

Mrs. Florence Balgarnie in an eloquent speech seconded the proposition. When she said,—

"I belong to a great political association 80,000 strong, the Women's Liberal Association. On my return to London, I shall meet some 900 delegates in annual meeting, the wives and daughters of men prominent in politics. I shall ask them to influence their husbands and fathers on behalf of India. I shall ask them to do more, for through their local organizations they will canvass, yes, although women are denied the right to vote, we are sent out by men's liberal organizations to call upon and canvass men voters; in other words we are not allowed to vote but we are entrusted with the education of men voters; at the election many of us will speak with the candidates of Parliament at public meetings," she was vociferously cheered. We feel no doubt that our true friends will find great support from the mothers of England whose sympathy and support Mrs. Balgarnie promised for our cause. Mr. Mudholkar who supported the proposition explained why certain omissions were made:—

The reason why we ask that men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee should be returned is that there may be in Parliament men who are born in the country, men who are of the people and men who know the people. It is on grounds similar to these that we support the

candidature of Sir Henry Cotton and Sir John Jardine; Sir Henry Cotton has been known long in Bengal and for some time throughout India. The name of Sir John Jardine is well known in Bombay. These two gentlemen have a very sympathetic heart."

The next resolution proposed a vote of thanks to the Government of India for introducing the Co-operative Credit Society's Bill. Mr. Ramakrishna Aiyar who has had considerable experience in the management of Mutual Benefit Societies which are largely to be found in the Madras Presidency moved the proposition. He dwelt upon the poverty of the masses and refuted the statement that they spent largely upon marriages. He paid a tribute to the generally thrifty habits of the people and said:—

"We find, on the other hand, that, with all their thrifty habits and economic views, they are obliged to go on borrowing simply because for their agricultural operations and other expenses, they have not got the funds to rely upon exactly at the time when the funds are wanted. A few months after the harvest is over they find that their stock of grain is out, and the result is that they have to go to the Banker, or the Sowcar for assistance."

He paid a graceful tribute to the labours of Sir Frederic Nicholson and said that the present measure was largely due to his initiative in the matter. He suggested that the existing Mutual Benefit Funds should have the same privileges which societies started under the new Act are to enjoy.

Mr. Karandikar of Satara seconded the resolution. He complimented the Madras Government on having collected the information which was useful in framing the measure and referred to the Dekkan Agriculturists' Act as an indication of the sympathy of the Bombay Government in the matter. He pleaded for the inclusion of artisans among those who are to benefit by the Act.

Mr. Charu Chunder Ghose of Calcutta who supported the Bill said that it was only fair that the ryot who was so heavily taxed by the Government should have the wherewithal to pay in time the Revenue dues.

The next resolution which is technically known as the Omnibus Resolution was proposed by the Chairman. The subjects comprised therein have been discussed *ad nauseam* on the Congress platforms and the Madras Congress simply expressed its adhesion to the principles enunciated in them. They are not the less important, because they have not been discussed seriously. All that need be said in their favour have been said scores of times before, and, as these propositions had the full support of all Congressmen, they were not debated upon afresh. It is to be hoped that the Government will see its way to carrying out some at least of the suggestions embodied in these resolutions.

The next resolution dealt with the appointment of General Secretaries and Local Secretaries, allotted sums of money for the expenses of the British Committee and thanked the Committee for its disinterested labours.

The names proposed are familiar to every Congressmen. The appointment of Mr. Gokhale was received with great cheering. Mr. Gokhale in the words of Mr. Bannerjee is *brilliant and versatile*. He is a good deal more.

He is intensely patriotic and unassuming. He has laid all India under deep obligations to him by his vigorous leadership of the opposition in the Supreme Legislative Council. It is needless to refer to others. They are all tried friends of the Congress. All of them have done valiant service for the cause; all of them are as able as they are patriotic and as willing as they are energetic. So long as the Congress is able to command the adherence and active labours of these gentlemen, it can never fail to win the esteem and confidence of all right-thinking men. The Government of Lord Curzon has done a very graceful act in conferring the Knight Commandership of the order of the Indian Empire upon the leader of this band of true sons of India and devoted patriots; and we feel highly thankful for this recognition.

After Mr. Wacha had invited the delegates to meet next year in Bombay Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose. The President, in acknowledging the vote, gave expression to these sentiments which we hope will animate every Congressman and nerve him to do the work he has undertaken to do cheerfully and ungrudgingly.

“I only desire to appeal to you, my fellow countrymen, to resolve or to determine that, whatever may have been the case in the past, we shall have no more controversies in the future but that we shall all be content whether Hindu or Mahomedan, high or low, rich or poor—we shall all be content to co-operate with each other heartily—content to work in obscurity—content, if need be, to sink our individual personality—content to give up all thoughts of leadership and to fight for the common cause like private soldiers of the rank and file. (*Loud Cheers*). If we are prepared to act in this spirit of self-abnegation, I know of no limit to our national advancement, and I know of no power excepting the Almighty Power that can say to us, “Thus far shalt thou go and no further.”





# RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

NINETEENTH

## Indian National Congress,

HELD AT MADRAS

On the 28th, 29th and 30th December 1903.

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### I. RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE.

**T**HAT this Congress desires to put on record its sense of the deep and irreparable loss sustained by India by the death of Lord Stanley of Alderley and Mr. W. S. Caine, the memory of whose services the people of India will always cherish with gratitude.

That this Congress also wishes to place on record its deep regret at the death of the Raja of Ramnad, who has always been a distinguished benefactor of the Congress.

### II. THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

(a) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country; that while the recommendations of the Commission did not secure full justice to the claims of the people of the country to larger and more extended employment in the higher grades of the Public Service, the Government have not even carried them out in their integrity, and have not extended the principle of appointing Indians to new appointments since created from time to time and in Special Departments such as the Salt, Opium, Medical and Police Departments, the Survey Department of the Government of India, the Government Telegraph Department, the Indo-British Telegraph Department, the Mint Department, the Postal Department, and the Foreign Department.

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress the recent policy of the heads of departments and of the authorities responsible for Railway administrations proscribing the appointment of Indians in the Public and the Railway Services is a grave violation of the pledges and assurances given by the Government.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress in order to arrest the economic drain that is caused by the present system of appointments by the Government, to secure to the people of the country the invaluable benefit of the experience and knowledge which a training in the Public Service affords, and to introduce economy in the administration, a policy of free employment of the natives of the soil in all branches of the service, is imperatively demanded.

### III. INCREASING ASSESSMENT.

That this Congress views with alarm the tendency to increase the land revenue assessment every time there is a revision, and declares its firm conviction that the policy of raising the assessment so frequently and so heavily is increasing the poverty of the agricultural population of this country and rendering them still further unfit to withstand the periodical visitations of bad seasons and famines than they are now. This Congress, therefore, prays that the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, as laid down in the Secretary of State for India's despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that settlements for longer periods be made, and judicial and legislative restrictions on over-assessments be imposed in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the Permanent Settlement.

### IV. INDIAN EMIGRANTS.

That this Congress views with grave concern and regret the hard lot of His Majesty's Indian subjects living in the British Colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, the great hardships and disabilities to which they are subjected by the Colonial Governments, and the consequent degradation of their status and rights as subjects of the king, and protests against the treatment of Indians by the colonies as backward and uncivilized races; and it prays that, in view of the great part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the colonies and the economic advantages which have resulted both to India and to the colonies from their emigration to and stay in the latter, the Government of India will be pleased to ensure to them all the rights and privileges of British citizenship in common with the European subjects of His Majesty, by enforcing, if necessary, such measures as will render it impossible for the colonies to secure Indian immigrants except on fair, equitable and honourable terms; and that in view to the great importance of the principle of equal treatment to all His Majesty's subjects, His Majesty's Government should devise adequate measures to ensure that position to Indian emigrants in all the British Colonies.

### V. THE UNIVERSITIES BILL.

That this Congress, while welcoming any wisely considered scheme for the reform of the educational policy of Government, is of opinion that the Universities Bill, if passed into law, will have, as recommended in the report of the Universities Commission, the effect of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the independence of the Universities upon which largely depend their efficiency and usefulness, and of turning them practically into departments of Government.

That this Congress is of opinion that the provisions of the Bill will not remove the shortcomings of the present system of higher education but that provision for funds and improvement in the standard of teaching by the agency of a superior class of teachers are imperatively needed in the interests of higher education.

That this Congress prays for the following modifications :—

(a) That each University should be dealt with by a separate Act.

(b) That in the case of the older Universities the number of ordinary Fellows should not be less than 200 of whom at least 80 should be elected by registered graduates and 20 by the members of the Faculties and that, in the case of the Universities of Allahabad and of the Punjab, a similar provision should be made.

(c) That the ordinary Fellows should hold office as at present for life, but should be liable to disqualification for absence during a fixed period.

(d) That the provision of a statutory proportion for the heads of Colleges on the Syndicate be omitted.

(e) That all graduates of ten years' standing in a Faculty be declared eligible to vote.

(f) That the section making it obligatory upon Colleges which apply for affiliation or have been affiliated to provide for suitable residential quarters for students and Professors and for the permanent maintenance of the Colleges be omitted.

(g) That as regards affiliation and disaffiliation the decision should, instead of being the direct act of Government as under the Bill, be as at present the act of the University, subject to the sanction of Government.

(h) That as regards the inspection of Colleges it should be conducted by persons specially appointed by the Syndicate unconnected with the Government Educational Department or any aided or unaided College.

(i) That the power of making bye-laws and regulations should as at present be vested in the Senate, subject to the sanction of the Government.

## VI. THE OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL.

That this Congress views with entire disapproval the Official Secrets Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council inasmuch as it is uncalled for, against the interests of the public, dangerous to individual liberty and retrograde in policy, and prays that the Government of India may be pleased to confine its scope to the disclosure of Naval and Military secrets.

## VII. MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

(a) That this Congress reiterates its opinion that the scope of the measures, which have been undertaken from time to time for increasing the

army in India, for armaments and fortifications with a view to the security of India, not against domestic enemies, or against the incursions of warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British Power in the East, and on which millions of Indian money have been spent, reach far beyond the Indian limits in that the policy that has dictated these measures is an Imperial policy; and that, therefore, the Indian army charges which not only include the cost of the native army but also that of the British forces, amounting to about one-third of the whole British army, which forms the Imperial Garrison in India, are excessive and unjust, especially having regard to the fact that the colonies which are equally dependent upon and indebted to the mother-country for their protection contribute little or nothing towards the Imperial military expenditure.

(b) That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion, that the Indian tax-payers should be granted substantial relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European army.

(c) That this Congress protests most emphatically against the manner in which the Indian revenues have been charged with £786,000 per annum for the increased cost of the recruitment of the British army, in spite of the Viceroy of India and his Council having strongly condemned such a charge as being injurious to Indian interests and as calculated to retard many urgent measures of domestic reform now under contemplation or in course of initiation.

(d) That this Congress reiterates its conviction that inasmuch as the army amalgamation of 1859 has all along been the cause of a considerable portion of the unjust and excessive burden of Indian military expenditure, the time has come when steps should be taken to have that system wholly abolished.

#### VIII. THE SALT AND INCOME-TAX.

That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the relief granted to the poorer classes of the country by the reduction of the Salt-Tax and by raising the assessable minimum for Income-Tax and prays that the Government of India be pleased to make a further reduction in the Salt-Tax.

#### IX. TERRITORIAL REDISTRIBUTION OF BENGAL.

That this Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social and administrative relations and deprecates the separation from Bengal to Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong Division and portions of Chotanagpur Division and also the separation of the District of Ganjam and the agency tracts of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts from the Madras Presidency.

#### X. THE MADRAS MUNICIPAL BILL.

That this Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Madras Municipal Bill, now before the Local Legislative Council, is not in consonance with the principles of Local Self-Government in India laid down in the

of Lord Ripon, and it desires to point out that the interests of the rate-payers of the City would not be adequately served by a lesser representation than that of twenty-four members. That, if the elective franchise is to be given to associations and institutions, it is of opinion that the institutions and associations should be such as possess a direct interest in the administration of the Municipal affairs of the City, and that the number assigned to them should be very limited. That the Madras Railway and the Port Trust are not bodies to whom such representation should be assigned, but that it should be extended only if at all, to bodies like the Chamber of Commerce, the Traders Association, and the University, by giving each of them the power of returning one member.

#### XI. ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidature of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji for Walthamstow, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that, in the interests of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which, though a part of the British Empire, has no direct representative in the British Parliament.

#### XII. CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES' BILL.

That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the introduction of the Co-operative Credit Societies' Bill into the Viceregal Legislative Council and trusts that the measure may be so enacted as to achieve the objects the Government has in view.

#### XIII. OMNIBUS RESOLUTION.

That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating :—

(a) that, with a view that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may enjoy greater respect and confidence, it is necessary to reconstitute it on a broader basis and that the time is ripe for the appointment of Indian Lawyers of eminence as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the decision of Indian appeals ;

(b) that the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government should be discontinued ;

(c) that the rules under the Arms Act should be modified so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, colour or caste, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;

(d) that a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain should be introduced amongst the people of India ;

(e) that a High Court of Judicature be established in the Punjab ;

army in India, for armaments and fortifications with a view to the security of India, not against domestic enemies, or against the incursions of warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British Power in the East, and on which millions of Indian money have been spent, reach far beyond the Indian limits in that the policy that has dictated these measures is an Imperial policy; and that, therefore, the Indian army charges which not only include the cost of the native army but also that of the British forces, amounting to about one-third of the whole British army, which forms the Imperial Garrison in India, are excessive and unjust, especially having regard to the fact that the colonies which are equally dependent upon and indebted to the mother-country for their protection contribute little or nothing towards the Imperial military expenditure.

(b) That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion, that the Indian tax-payers should be granted substantial relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European army.

(c) That this Congress protests most emphatically against the manner in which the Indian revenues have been charged with £786,000 per annum for the increased cost of the recruitment of the British army, in spite of the Viceroy of India and his Council having strongly condemned such a charge as being injurious to Indian interests and as calculated to retard many urgent measures of domestic reform now under contemplation or in course of initiation.

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#### X. THE MADRAS MUNICIPAL BILL.

That this Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Madras Municipal Bill, now before the Local Legislative Council, is not in consonance with the principles of Local Self-Government in India laid down in the tin

of Lord Ripon, and it desires to point out that the interests of the rate-payers of the City would not be adequately served by a lesser representation than that of twenty-four members. That, if the elective franchise is to be given to associations and institutions, it is of opinion that the institutions and associations should be such as possess a direct interest in the administration of the Municipal affairs of the City, and that the number assigned to them should be very limited. That the Madras Railway and the Port Trust are not bodies to whom such representation should be assigned, but that it should be extended only if at all, to bodies like the Chamber of Commerce, the Traders Association, and the University, by giving each of them the power of returning one member.

#### XI. ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidature of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji for Walthamstow, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that, in the interests of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which, though a part of the British Empire, has no direct representative in the British Parliament.

#### XII. CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES' BILL.

That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the introduction of the Co-operative Credit Societies' Bill into the Viceregal Legislative Council and trusts that the measure may be so enacted as to achieve the objects the Government has in view.

#### XIII. OMNIBUS RESOLUTION.

That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating :—

(a) that, with a view that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may enjoy greater respect and confidence, it is necessary to reconstitute it on a broader basis and that the time is ripe for the appointment of Indian Lawyers of eminence as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the decision of Indian appeals ;

(b) that the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government should be discontinued ;

(c) that the rules under the Arms Act should be modified so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, colour or caste, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;

(d) that a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain should be introduced amongst the people of India ;

(e) that a High Court of Judicature be established in the Punjab ;

(f) that inasmuch as the scheme for organisation of the Education Service is calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England from the superior grade of the Educational Service, to which they have hitherto been admitted, the scheme should be recast, so as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service ;

(g) that the act of the Secretary of State for India in fixing the limit at two posts more than which natives of India should not compete for, in the Cooper's Hill College is opposed to the plain words of Act I of 1833, and to Her late Majesty's Proclamation ;

(h) that the system of Trial by Jury should be extended in the districts to offences to which at present it does not apply and that the verdicts of Juries should be final ;

(i) that it is desirable that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons who are natives of India, the right of claiming in Trials by Jury before the High Court and in trials with the aid of Assessors that not less than half the number of the Jurors or Assessors shall be natives of India ;

(j) that the existing rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, in the matter of the Forest Department, are opposed to the Resolution of the Government of India made in 1894 with the object of enunciating the objects of Forest Conservancy and that an amendment of the rules in conformity with the above Resolution is urgently called for in the interests of the inhabitants of rural India ;

(k) that the necessity is urgent for the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions, so that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer ;

(l) that the simultaneous holding in India and in England, of all examinations for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, should be conceded.

(m) that an enquiry into the economic condition of the Indian Ryot, as urged by the members of the Famine Union in England, in their appeal to the Secretary of State for India, should be instituted.

#### XIV. RESOLUTION.

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

And that a sum of Rs. 10,500 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and that the several Congress circles do contribute the amount allotted to each.

That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear and be responsible for the sums due by the



respective circles and that the money be paid in advance in two half-yearly instalments:—

BENGAL.

Baboo Surendra Nath Bannerjee.  
„ Bai Kanta Nath Sen.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Baboo Bhupendra Nath Basu.

BOMBAY.

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

MADRAS.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. Srinivasa Rao.  
„ Mr. Vasudeva Aiyangar.  
Mr. V. Ryrn Nambiar.  
„ G. Raghava Rao, Berhampur.

BERAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.

N. W. PROVINCES AND OUDH.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. M. Malavya.  
Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma.  
„ S. Sinha.

CAWNPORE.

Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit.

PUNJAB.

Mr. Lala Harakissen Lal.

XV. RESOLUTION.

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

XVI. THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

That the Twentieth Indian National Congress do assemble, on such day after Christmas Day, 1904, as may be later determined upon, at Bombay.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NINETEENTH  
Indian National Congress,  
HELD AT  
MADRAS.  
ON  
*the 28th, 29th & 30th December 1903.*

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*First Day's Proceedings.*

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1st Day, Monday, 28th December, 1903.

THE 19th Session of the Indian National Congress opened at noon on Monday the 28th December, in a spacious amphitheatre specially constructed at the Spring Gardens, Teynampet. The pandal was filled to overflowing with delegates and visitors from all parts of the country. At a moderate estimate there could not have been less than 4,000 visitors in addition to 540 delegates. On the dais were seated many distinguished adherents of the Congress including the Honorable Mr. Mahta, C. I. E., Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C. I. E., the Honorable Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, the Honorable Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur, the Honorable Mr. K. Vasudeva Aiyangar, the Honorable Mr. D. A. Khare, the Honorable Mr. Setalwad, Mr. V. R. Natu, Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, the Honorable Mr. M. Krishna Nayar, the Honorable Mr. G. Sreenivasa Row, the Honorable Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, the Honorable Mr. K. Venkata Row, Rajah Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Mr. J. Goshal, the Honorable Mr. Parekh and the Honorable Mr. Dikshit. Besides these there were also present the Rajah of Venkatagiri, the Honorable Dewan Bahadur R. V. Sreenivasa Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur P. Rajarathna Mudaliar, C. I. E. and others.

## ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT.

First Day.  
 —  
 Arrival  
 of the President.  
 —

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, the President-elect arrived at the pavilion at noon, escorted by the Secretaries of the Reception Committee, and was received at the entrance by the Chairman of that Committee, and by the ex-Presidents of the Congress. As he was being conducted to the dais the entire audience rose and greeted him with loud and prolonged cheering. After the President-elect and others had taken their seats, the Honorable Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur before proceeding to deliver his address of welcome to the delegates announced to the assemblage the death of Lord Stanley of Alderly and the Rajah of Ranmad, intelligence of which had been received shortly before.

Address  
 of the Chairman  
 of the Reception  
 Committee.  
 —

The Honorable Nawab Syed Mahomed then delivered his address the speaker being repeatedly cheered in the course of its delivery.

FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—On behalf of the Reception Committee, I bid you all a most hearty welcome to this city. I feel it a high and proud privilege to stand here as the representative of the non-official educated members of the Indian community in this Presidency (*cheers*), and to offer to you our cordial greetings and humble hospitality. In heartily thanking my colleagues on the Reception Committee, for the honour they have done me by selecting me as their spokesman, I feel that the honour is due more especially to the great community to which I belong than to any personal merits of mine.

Gentlemen, it has often been noticed as a drawback to the value of this political institution that the members of the religious fraternity to which I belong, do not show as much zeal to form part of its organization and to partake in its activities such as their position in the Empire must impel them to do. I am not yet competent to speak with authority for all India on this subject, but I venture to say that, so far as this Presidency is concerned, neither the Mahomedan community nor the other communities whose representatives are assembled in this great gathering feel that as citizens of a great Empire, they have any mutually conflicting interests or ambitions. We are not wanting, I believe, in what our distinguished Viceroy has justly pointed out, *viz.*, "The first essential to the orderly rule of a community of one race and religion, and still more of a community of many divergent races and religions, by a governing class of another origin and faith, is the recognition by both parties of that fellow-feeling which substitutes mutual respect for distrust, co-operation for antagonism, and kindness for social indifference." The happy harmony which exists among all these communities is, without doubt, the glorious outcome of British Rule, and in all the efforts which are made to make British sovereignty more stable, and more conducive to the happiness and contentment of the people, it is the duty of every self-respecting man to take his share.

In the brilliant speech delivered by Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabji, as the President of the Congress in this City in 1887, he said, "I do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position of the different communities of India, be they Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsees, or Christians, which should induce the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from

the others in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights, which are for the common benefit of us all, and which I feel assured have only to be earnestly and unanimously pressed upon the Government to be granted to us." Those wise words of our eminent countryman ought to be laid to heart, by all stragglers belonging to whatever creed, from the path of political and social advancement in this country and it is hardly necessary for me to add that no great advance in the path of progress and reform is possible of achievement unless the two great races inhabiting this vast continent, the Mahomedans and the Hindus, co-operate and work together in harmony for the common benefit. I can assure you that so far as this Presidency is concerned the relations of the two classes of the population is as harmonious as could be desired and it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to remember always the saying "United we stand; divided we fall." (*Cheers.*)

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 Address  
 of the Chairman  
 of the Reception  
 Committee.

There is an idea current in some minds, not alone among the ignorant and uneducated, but also among some educated men, that political agitation is much to be deprecated and avoided. Such persons do not grasp the principle that politics is the science of social happiness, and that it is the duty of every citizen to cultivate the habit of taking a watchful interest in the transaction of the national affairs by the authorities concerned. They do not also perceive that it depends upon what you agitate for, and how you agitate, as to whether an agitator is to be condemned, or praised, and as an acute writer puts it, just-minded agitation prevents the putrefaction of opinion which is as fatal to states as to truth. The poet Cowper says,

"Winds from all quarters agitate the air,  
 And fit the limpid element for use."

Every educated man, and the man of leisure and opportunity, feels that he owes a duty to his less favoured fellowmen, to learn their wants, and the means of remedying them, and he owes a duty to the Government under which he lives, to interpret the same correctly and to advise upon the best course to adopt under the circumstances. In the discharge of this double duty, neither the frowns of the authorities, nor the other difficulties that may beset his path, ought to deter him. One of the greatest of living English statesmen says, "The salt of English character springs from the double circumstance of every man being at liberty to have, and being inclined to take the trouble to have an opinion about the method and doings of his Government, and of so many men being called upon in high capacity or low, in an important function or an obscure one, to take an independent and free share in controlling or initiating the doings of their Government."

In the efforts, then, which we make for holding the mirror up to the Government, in regard to the wants, and the conditions of the people of this country, we are simply striving to walk in conformity with the lessons taught by the British nation. To my fellow countrymen of all creeds, and classes, I beg leave to commend the following words of Cardinal Newman, *viz.*, "We are not born for ourselves, but for our kind, our neighbours, for our country—it is but selfishness, indolence, a perverse fastidiousness, an unmanliness, and no virtue or praise, to bury our talent in a napkin." I must at the same time observe, that it is unfortunate that the officers of Government do not always receive in the right spirit, free and honest expressions of opinion on public questions, and view with ill-concealed dislike, any adverse criticism of the acts, measures and opinions of Government

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though I am bound to admit that the relations between the Government and the people in this Presidency are more cordial than appears to be the case elsewhere. (*Cheers*). Impatience at, nay intolerance of unfavourable comment, seems generally to breed in the atmosphere of Indian official life. Criticism which is unpalatable to the Government, runs the risk of being entirely disregarded, but Government are prepared to accept those criticisms which are in harmony with their own declared opinions. It is therefore gratifying to see the Viceroy stating, in speaking of educational reforms, that "The State is the aggregate of its own citizens, and not a mere governing organization, and in the latter capacity cannot discharge its educational responsibility, without the cordial co-operation of the community at large." This is an age of feverish activity and of momentous changes in all departments of life, of life in the individual as well as in the nation. That the Government is fully alive to the difficulties and responsibilities with which they are confronted in the administration of this vast country and honestly strive to overcome them, may be taken to be an axiomatic truth. But the methods with which they pilot the boat at the present day, seem to us to be old-fashioned and clumsy, and the administration can sooner be steered into calm waters, if they take the people more into their confidence. In an elaborate justification regarding the large number of Commissions which have been formed under the present administration, His Excellency the Viceroy, in his budget speech last year, referred to the fact that the Executive authority in this country is out of touch with a constituency so scattered and so huge as this is, and pointing to the necessity for building bridges between the Government and the people, maintained that the Commissions appointed in his regime were intended to fulfil that purpose. There are, however, Commissions and Commissions, and as His Excellency himself in his masterly way put it, they may be of two categories, Commissions to shelve and Commissions to solve, problems in Indian administration. I would venture to affirm that the report and recommendations of the Universities Commission do worse than shelve the highly important question with which they deal. Those recommendations, if adopted, would, in the opinion of competent authorities, inaugurate a scheme of educational policy in this country destructive of the best interests of the nation.

The report and recommendations of the Police Commission on the other hand, are, I have every reason to believe, conceived in a sympathetic and catholic spirit and with a clearer insight into the needs, capacities, and aspirations of the people of the country. Be this as it may, I think that the system of administering the country by means of these Commissions which are costly contrivances intended to serve as bridges between the Government and the people, ought to give place to a system of admitting the natural leaders of the people and men of capacity and character in the country to a larger and juster share in the councils of the Empire, so as to bring to bear the living forces of society upon the administrative machine. There is absolutely no ground for saying that men of the requisite calibre for such responsible functions are not to be found in the ranks of the educated classes in this country. It is little more than two weeks since we have had to mourn the loss of Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, who at the age of 54 was cut off in the midst of a career of conspicuous service and achievement. He was a man of brilliant talents, and of wide culture, possessing an extensive range of information and exact knowledge on a large variety of subjects, and imbued with a lofty ideal of public and private duty.

His services have been appreciated in the highest terms by the Government both during his life-time and since his death. Sir Andrew Fraser, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who came into daily contact for a period of eight months with Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar in his capacity as member of the Police Commission, said of him that "His assistance was most valuable to us. He never on any occasion did or said anything that could have been regarded as inconsistent with his high character as a gentleman and as a statesman. He loved his people and maintained what he believed to be their cause with chivalry and firmness."

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Is it not a matter of deep significance with regard to the professed recognition by the Government of the claims of Indians to administrative offices suitable to their capacity, without distinction of colour, race or creed, that this gentleman of remarkable abilities, and character, was not given an appointment in the British service higher than that of being the head of the Registration Department and had to go to Baroda as Dewan to find a fitting sphere for the exercise of his great abilities and experience, and was on the eve of being drafted to be at the helm of another Native State, when he was struck down by a mortal illness? Another distinguished countryman of ours, Sir A. Seshiah Sastri, who has also recently left the land of the living, belonged to an older generation and died full of years and honours and won laurels as an eminent administrator when he successively occupied the posts of Dewan of Travancore and of Pudukota. The highest appointment which he held in the British service was the Sheristadarship of the Board of Revenue. So long ago as 1886, Sir William Hunter said, "We know by experience that we could not have made a workable land law for Bengal, without the help of a Native Member of Council. Notwithstanding Babu Peary Mohan Mukerji's general opposition, his knowledge of the land system was of the greatest value to us. Yet while Native Judges have been admitted to all the High Courts, these races have hitherto been excluded from all the Boards of Revenue."

Sir M. E. Grant Duff who, as Governor of Madras, did not establish a high reputation for a liberal and sympathetic treatment of the Indians, said that "The main object of the Indian Government must be to get for the country the best possible administration at the cheapest rate. To that object all minor considerations such as those of race and color, must be subordinated." Upon the principle of economical administration, of giving just recognition to the claims of the children of the soil, and of utilizing the best means available for probing the social evils, and of finding out the true remedies for their removal, the appointment of Indians to high administrative offices is a matter of paramount obligation on the Ruling power, which has been recognised in solemn form in the gracious proclamation issued by Her late Majesty the Queen-Empress.

In practice, however, we find that the candid declaration of that Viceroy, is only too true, who said that Englishmen in India have taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise uttered to the ear of the people of this country by that proclamation.

The gradual emancipation of the people from their present state of intellectual and political thralldom, in this country is also a matter deserving the deepest consideration of the Government, for as a writer on Politics and Economics points out, "No man can escape from the influence of his

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surroundings. The history of the nation in which he lives, and the institutions under which he is born, do an immense deal to mould his character. We are always talking about the influence of education, but nowhere can it be so clearly seen as in the influence of political institutions in forming character and opinion. This is constantly noted in the present day by those who demand the extension of the franchise as an instrument of education, or by others who tell how the active participation in political life in the colonies affects the mutual habits of the British labourers who settle there."

The first English statesman in India who laid the foundation for a form of popular representative Government, and who emphasized its value as an essential factor of political education to the people, was the Marquis of Ripon, whose famous minute on local Self-Government is a masterpiece of sound political wisdom and foresight. The edifice which he built has not, to my thinking, been added to at all, or improved by his successors, but there have been attempts now and again, to shift the foundations upon which it was reared.

As a result of the kaleidoscopic arrangement and the shifting agencies by which the system of administration in this country is carried on, there is no security for any set of principles being acted upon for any length of time so as to lead to a continuous stream of national activity and progress. We must build our hopes for national regeneration upon the fact that the Government will sooner or later, see the wisdom of pursuing a steady and enlightened policy, the policy of ceasing to make leaps into the unknown in the matter of legislation, and administration and of appreciating the value of Sir William Hunter's words, viz., "British rule can be stable only if it rests upon the good will and is supported by the co-operation of the people. My fundamental idea is a united India, but one no longer united by force, but by the gradual recognition of the rights and aspirations of the people."

Gentlemen, only one point more, I desire to press for your consideration. It was pointed out not long ago in the columns of a leading Indian newspaper in this city that it is an extraordinary circumstance that in Calcutta, statues for every Viceroy have been erected excepting for the Marquis of Ripon and that in order to redeem and restore the national trait for gratitude, steps should be taken at the time of the assembling of this Congress to have the memorial set up. Having been recently to Calcutta which may be described as a city not only of palaces but also of statues, I am in a position to feel the force of those observations and I do hope that by the united efforts of all the gentlemen who are present here, we shall succeed in wiping off this longstanding stigma on the national reputation. The Marquis of Ripon himself whose name is enshrined already in the heart of every true Indian, is determined that his name shall ever stand green and fresh in the memory of the people of this country as the noble champion of their cause. When the proposal was recently made in England to make this country pay for the cost of the British troops to be stationed in South Africa, no Englishman raised his voice in more indignant protest against the utter unrighteousness of it, than did the noble Marquis in the House of Lords. As long as the British nation can send representatives of the type of Lord Ripon, A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton and Sir Henry Stokes to administer this country, we have no reason to be otherwise than hopeful of the future and the flame of loyalty to the British throne will ever burn brightly in the hearts of all true Indians.

Once more I beg heartily to welcome you to this city and request you to proceed to elect your President.

## ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

THE HON'BLE MR. PHEROZESHA M. MEHTA, who, on rising, was received with loud and prolonged cheers, proposed the election of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose to the Presidentship of the Congress, in the following speech :—

BROTHER DELEGATES,—We must now proceed to the task of electing the President of the 19th session of the Indian National Congress. But, Brother Delegates, before I proceed with the motion will you allow me, as one of the privileges of garrulous age, to say one word to congratulate the distinguished Chairman of your Reception Committee—(Cheers)—on the excellent and graceful speech in which he has welcomed us to this Congress. (Cheers) I am sure, gentlemen, that we are not surprised at the character of the speech that we have just heard, when we remember how much the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed has distinguished himself in the Supreme Legislative Council—(Cheers)—distinguished himself by showing a thorough and sturdy independence, no doubt most sober and temperate, but at the same time firm and unflinching. Now, Brother Delegates, I could not ask you to elect a President, because it is all settled beforehand, but would place before you the name of the distinguished gentleman for whom, I will ask formally your suffrages—the name of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose. (Cheers) Gentlemen, in electing a President, we do not look to claims; we select only those who have distinguished themselves in the service of their country by great abilities and valuable services. Speaking of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose in this connection takes me back several years; and I come to an event which I consider to be an event of very great historical importance to this country—the introduction of a native of India to that great historic assembly, the House of Commons in the British Parliament. (Cheers). That honour gentlemen, was obtained by one whom I will not call a Parsee, whom I will not describe as belonging to the community to which I belong, whom I will not describe as belonging to one Presidency, but as one who has belonged and will always belong to the whole of this country—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (Cheers) Gentlemen, the credit of that achievement certainly belongs to the Bombay Presidency. You must not be jealous. (Laughter) But, gentlemen, there is a credit which is equal to, if not even greater than that success—the credit of having prepared the way for that historic consummation. Gentlemen, I say this to-day as I have said before when congratulating Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—(Cheers)—on his election, in the Town Hall of Bombay, that the credit of that great preparation, of that strenuous preparation, belongs to Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose and to the Bengal Presidency. It was then we discovered that Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose united in himself great abilities with wonderful grasp of great political questions. Since then, gentlemen, if Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose will allow me to say so, we have been always looking forward, and looking forward. He gave us the reasons the other day at Calcutta why he kept us waiting looking forward. But, gentlemen, those personal reasons are not reasons into which we can go to-day; but I will summarise the whole thing by saying that Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, after his great exertions in England, became a political *yogi*. (Cheers) He gave himself up to political meditation and political contemplation. Now there are great advantages in becoming a political *yogi*, in giving yourself up to political meditation. But there are also dangers. You will not get into the turmoil of public life by that way, but you are apt also to miss the realities of that public life from which you have retired into contemplation; and my friend Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose will permit me to say that in his political *yogism* he

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 —

may have formed ideas which are not quite real, which are not quite practical. For example, Brother Delegates, he may imagine that I, a mild Parsee, belonging to a mild race, may be charged with being a despot. Why, gentlemen, he might apply to me the words from one of the great historians, that I talked the language of patriots but trod in the footsteps of despots. Can there be a greater calumny on a mild Parsee than that? Then, gentlemen, he might again imagine, not coming in actual contact with us, but reading only newspapers, that there are terrible factions and cliques in the Congress. He might imagine, because some of us sometimes playfully excite ourselves into exaggeration, that we are all divided and severed by factions and cliques. I will venture to tell him, now that he has come out of his political *yogism* that we have our little differences—we always had them and shall have them I hope; but factions and cliques founded on personal objects and selfish aims have been totally unknown to us. We have been bound together, in spite of differences, by one common desire to work for the good of our country. (*Cheers*) I make no exception, not even of those who might differ from us most. I hope Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose will take that assurance from me, that of cliques and factions we know nothing in the Congress. Gentlemen, when you think of it, is it not a wonderful thing that, coming from all parts of this great continent, coming from Presidencies divided by long distances from each other, belonging to different races, holding different religious views, we still are able to feel ourselves as if we were one in the pursuit of that one great aim, the cause of our country. (*Cheers.*) But, gentlemen, retire as Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose may into political *yogism*, we were not prepared to let him remain there for too long a time; and, gentlemen, we have dragged him out of his political *yogism*. Here he is among us, prepared to do his duty by the country which he served so well in the old days, and let me hope that now that he is out, he will continue to devote his great abilities, his high qualifications, for the service of the country which I know he loves as dearly as any one of us. (*Hear, hear*) Now, Brother Delegates, for these reasons I have come before you to ask you to give your enthusiastic cheers and your enthusiastic suffrages for the election of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose as President of this Congress. (*Loud applause*)

Mr. EARDLEY NORTON, in seconding the motion, said :—

MR. EARDLEY  
 NORTON.  
 —

Mr. CHAIRMAN:—When I was asked a few minutes ago to second the call of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose to the Chair, I was at a loss to conceive why this selection should have fallen on myself. But in the time which has elapsed since notice was given me, and the moment when I am now addressing you, I have supplied to myself two excellent apologies for my appearance here. In the first place, it is possible that my Presidency is anxious to give me this public opportunity, which I gladly embrace, of illustrating my loyalty and adherence to the great and catholic principles of progress and reform which first enticed me to enter your Congress in 1887, and which have always been, and I pray always will remain, the axioms upon which are built the foundations and which are emblazoned on the banners of this institution. Time makes most things old. It has silvered the hair of many whom I have not seen since 1894, but time cannot age the heart, not even of one—and I am applying the severest test I know—who lives in Madras. The second possibility is that I have been intentionally accorded an opportunity of saying how glad I am that I was beaten—and deservedly beaten—by the Honorable Chairman, who now represents Madras in the Viceregal Council. We have read his speeches in Calcutta. We have listened

to his speech of this morning, and it is gratifying to know that Madras has once more realised and discharged a very onerous responsibility by summoning up a new Solomon from the ranks of the Mahomedan community to adorn and instruct the solemn deliberations of the Imperial Legislative Council. There is a third reason, perhaps, why I should have been afforded this chance of connecting myself with your impending President's election. He takes me back through the dead years to Calcutta and 1889, to the happy household in Theatre Road, where the most generous hospitality was extended by his distinguished brother, and my dear friend, Mano Mohun Ghose. A great criminal lawyer, a great patriot, worthy of being ranked among the lists of eminent statesmen, Mana Mohun Ghose was a brilliant leader of society, large-hearted, eloquent and single-eyed. More than the eloquence of the dead Mano Mohun has descended, let me trust on the living Lal Mohun. Let me re-call for one moment in tender tribute to the memory of my vanished friend and your trusted leader, an incident of Bengal. Mano Mohun, during my stay with him was retained on both sides in a criminal case at Goalundo. He took the better and handed me over the weaker side. We went up together from his Calcutta house, lived together in the same thatched bungalow up-country, and appeared daily on opposite sides in Court before Mr. Richardson. We had a great fight; we quarrelled furiously on every point; we sulked and refused to talk to each other, while we walked the 200 yards that separated the Court House from our sleeping quarters. But every night we dined with the Magistrate, and every night Mano Mohun, who had unearthed many a serious criminal scandal and had covered himself with glory, by his humorous and splendid victories, used to decant the story of his triumphs into the Magistrate's ears. I watched with amazement and horror the effect upon our host. Daily, Mano Mohun rose in his appreciation, daily I fell with corresponding rapidity. I lost my case, but I won a friend, and to the last Mano Mohun remained true and staunch and loyal to me and mine. His brother will be your worthy President shortly. I trace the facial resemblance to my departed leader. I almost envy him the chance which he will shortly have of addressing the splendid assemblage in this spacious hall—the chance of stirring your hearts and filling your minds by appeals to all that goes to make up the sum total of civic happiness.

If the triumph of to-day has been to some extent clouded by the death of the Rajah of Ramnad and of Lord Stanley of Alderley, it is but another exemplification of the truth that in the midst of life we are in death. The Rajah of Ramnad had his faults, like most of us, but he had great virtues, and the Congress will always keep him in respectful memory, if only for his benefaction to the institution of which we are all so proud. Of Lord Stanley of Alderley, what have we to say but what is good and grateful? Almost alone in the House of Lords, year after year for many years, he championed causes and discussed topics, which, though of prime moment to us, were of but little interest to his audiences, and were not seldom obnoxious to the authorities in the India Office. Our friends at Home are few and we can ill afford to lose the services of one so able, so courageous and so unselfish as Lord Stanley. One word more and I have done. It has been brought to our notice to-day that while Viceroy's of all ranks are filling up the public places of Calcutta with statues and monuments, memorials of themselves, no one has thought fit to suggest that some great public monument should rise in honour of Lord Ripon, the best and honestest of all Viceroy's who in my time have filled the supreme office in India as representatives of England's

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Queen and King. I appeal to my friends of Madras. Once before in Bombay, when Charles Bradlaugh presided in the Congress of 1889, my Presidency took and kept the lead—a triumph, of which I am not afraid to boast to-day before delegates of all India. Let Madras lead once more. Before we dissolve, let us start our subscriptions for Lord Ripon here, in recollection of a Viceroyalty signalised by its loyalty to justice and to truth.

On behalf of the Presidency of Madras, a Presidency in which I have already passed nearly one quarter of a century and in which I seem destined to spend another quarter—on behalf of Madras of which I am proud as I am fond—I tender to Lal Mohun Ghose the right hand of good fellowship and the warmth of a real and sincere welcome. (*Cheers*)

THE HONORABLE PANDIT MADAN MOHUN MALAVYA (ALLAHABAD):—

BROTHER DELEGATES:—If it was ever necessary to commend the proposal which has just been placed before you for the election of the President, it is certainly not so after you have heard the very eloquent speeches of the Honorable Mr. Mehta and Mr. Norton. I know also how eager you are to hear the Presidential address and therefore I think I cannot do better than simply formally support the proposition, which has been placed before you, and which I have no doubt you will carry with acclamation.

THE HONORABLE NAWAB SYED MAHOMED:—It is now my pleasing duty to put the proposition to you, and I hope it will be carried with acclamation. (*Cheers*)

The proposition was carried unanimously.

The President MR. LAL MOHUN GHOSE then rose amidst deafening cheers and said.

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FELLOW DELEGATES:—I thank you heartily for the high honour you have done me, and I ask your permission to take this opportunity of offering my grateful thanks to the citizens of Madras of all classes and of both sexes who, rich and poor, young and old, united together last evening, to give me a welcome the warmth of which overwhelmed me with the deepest emotion. But gentlemen, although yesterday was undoubtedly one of the proudest days of my life yet from another point of view it was also a day of humiliation. For I could not but make a mental contrast between my humble labours on behalf of our common country and the splendid ovation which Madras was kind enough to accord to me.

It has pleased my Honorable friend Mr. Mehta to refer by anticipation to some observations in my inaugural address. He calls me a political *yogee*. But if political activity has its value, political *yogism* as my friend calls it, and which I prefer to describe as thought and meditation, is not without its uses. Mr. Mehta adds that having been a *yogee* for some time I have been labouring under some delusions. He assures us that there have been no differences in our camp worth speaking of. It may be so. I have no personal knowledge of these matters. But if I have laboured under any delusions, I have at least the consolation of knowing that my delusions were shared by some of the leading Indian newspapers both of Calcutta and of this city. Mr. Mehta also assures us that he himself has never been autocratic in his conduct as a leader. I freely accept his assurance. But he will also perhaps permit me to express my surprise that he should have been

so ready to apply to himself Gibbon's observation with reference to the Roman Tribune Baroucelli. I shall now proceed to read my inaugural address for I do not think that it is necessary that I should go through the farce of pretending to speak a speech which was in print before I left Calcutta.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I had hoped, indeed, I had publicly declared only a few months ago in my native town of Krishnaghur, that after the storm and stress of more than a quarter of a century of political life, it was my desire to devote the remainder of my days to the peaceful worship of the goddess of letters undisturbed by the noise and bustle of the political arena. I am by constitution and temperament a student and a recluse. But our destinies are shaped by a higher Power than our own inclinations or our own natural aptitudes. Thus, it has happened that, by an irony of fate, the best years of my life have been spent in the storm and strife of politics. And it seems that even now when I was flattering myself that I might be permitted to follow the natural bent of my own mind, leaving the work of my earlier days to be carried on with greater energy and vigour by the rising generation, so many of whom I am happy to see here to-day,—it seems I was reckoning without my host. But since it has been your pleasure, gentlemen, to drag me out of the seclusion of my study, in obedience to your mandate, I once more appear before you on the platform of this our great National Gathering to discuss with each other some of the most important political questions affecting the well-being of our common country.

NOT A RIP VAN WINKLE.

FELLOW DELEGATES :—Although for the last few years I have not been able to take the same active part in the discussion of our public affairs as I had been accustomed to do in former years, I can truly say that I do not come before you as a political Rip Van Winkle, for these latter years, if they have not been a period of action, they have been a period of thought and reflection. I have followed every important political question with unabated interest, and perhaps the views slowly matured in the retirement of my study may be somewhat worthier of your attention than if I had rushed to the platform on every imaginable occasion. My recent abstention from active political life might perhaps also have another compensating advantage, and that is this, that I am absolutely unconnected with the factions and cliques which, I understand from the newspapers, have caused and are still causing considerable mischief by sowing dissension and discord among our public men. Far be it from me to presume to point out the path of duty to those who by their abilities and their services have justly risen to the rank of leaders, but I may perhaps be permitted to remind our young men that as the very aim and object, the *raison d'être*, of the National Congress is to introduce some little popular element into the autocratic constitution of the Indian Government, so if they ever aspire to be the leaders of our people, they should be especially careful that their own acts may not be condemned as autocratic by the rank and file of our party. They should take care that it may not be said of any of them what Gibbon says of one of the Roman Tribunes that "he spoke the language of patriots and trod in the footsteps of despots." If we are really sincere in our professions of democratic faith, let us prove our sincerity not merely by mellifluous phrases, but by deeds more eloquent than words. The greatest of modern poets has told us that "words without thoughts never to heaven go." And going to the very

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antipodes of poetry, we find that the greatest of soldiers and the most practical of men, the Emperor Napoleon, in the zenith of his power, referring to one of the many libels published against him, prohibited his ministers from contradicting it and used the memorable words :—“ *Les declamations passent —les actions res tent !*” Next to the approbation of my own conscience I have never looked forward to any higher reward than the approval of my fellow-countrymen. Nevertheless, I can truly say for myself that I have never been anxious to set my sails to catch every passing breeze of popularity. I have always considered it to be my first and most sacred duty to express my sincere and conscientious opinions freely and frankly, regardless of the frowns of the Government, and even at the risk of losing some portion of the popularity and good opinion which must naturally be welcome to those who have grown grey in the service of their country.

Gentlemen, I hope no one will misunderstand me. It is my desire in this Presidential address, and it is my highest ambition, to hold the balance evenly between the Government and the people. Lord Curzon said the other day that he saw the hand of Providence in the extension of British Rule over distant and different peoples, and went on to add that there was not a single man amongst his hearers who would not admit that it was for his good. Unfortunately, gentlemen, Providence is only too often appealed to, whether by the governing classes or by the leaders of the masses. Just as, in times of violent popular excitement, mischief-making agitators pretend to hear the voice of God in every shout of the infuriated mob, so sovereigns and rulers invested with despotic powers, from the time of the Grecian Alexander to that of the German Kaiser of our own days, find it easy to believe that every act of theirs is the direct result of divine inspiration. And coming to the case of our own country, although there is not a man amongst us who is not sincerely loyal to the British Government, yet claiming the undoubted right of British subjects to criticise the acts of the Government may we not respectfully ask our rulers—and in this connection I make no distinction between the different English political parties—may we not ask whether we are to believe that the policy which many years ago killed our indigenous industries, which even only the other day and under a Liberal administration unblushingly imposed excise duties on our cotton manufactures, which steadily drains our national resource to the extent of something like 20 millions sterling per annum, and which, by imposing heavy burdens on our agricultural population, increases the frequency and intensity of our famines to an extent unknown in former times,—are we to believe that the various administrative acts which have led to those results were directly inspired by a beneficent Providence ?

VOX POPULI VOX DEI.

But, gentlemen, as I have already said I desire to be strictly impartial. It is not Governments and rulers alone who claim to seek shelter under the wide wings of Providence. History tells us that there always will be demagogues and popularity-hunters, who, whenever they are at a loss for arguments in support of their crude notions, try to take refuge behind democratic shibboleths, and “tickle the ears of the groundlings” by exclaiming in season and out of season *vox populi vox dei*. Now, gentlemen, great as is my respect for healthy public opinion, and much as I desire that our Government should recognise and give effect to it, I am bound to say that never was a more grossly misleading proposition clothed with the dignity of a

classical tongue. Those who have read history and read it to some purpose, will agree with me that the voice of the people, just like the voice of despots, has very often been far from being the voice of God. When in the dark days of Queen Mary, fanatical mobs exulted over the tortures of Protestant martyrs burnt alive at Smithfield,—was the voice of the people the voice of God? When towards the end of the eighteenth century, the French people maddened with the lust of blood, hunted down aristocrats and emigrants in the sacred name of liberty, when the innocence of childhood, the helplessness of the gentler sex, and the infirmities of age appealed to them alike in vain,—when the blood-thirsty mob, fiends in human form, shouted themselves hoarse, as the saintly Louis, the long suffering Marie Antoinette, the scholarly Bailley, the venerable and learned Malesherbes, and a host of other victims were led to execution,—will any one dare to maintain at the present day that the voice of the French people during the Reign of Terror was *Vox Dei* and not *Vox Diaboli*? Let us, therefore, beware of claptrap phrases and flashy rhetoric, and whenever we advocate a particular reform let us be prepared to stand or fall on the merits of that question, and if after proving that our contention is right, we can show further that we are supported by public opinion, we should be within measureable distance of the winning post. At the same time, I do not disguise from myself the fact that we have a formidable task before us. We are not a self-governing nation. We are not able, like the English people, to change one administration for another by our votes in the polling booths. We have to depend entirely upon the justice of the British Parliament; for unfortunately it is only too true, that as time advances, our Indian bureaucracy instead of coming into line with popular ideas, seems to grow more and more unsympathetic. Do you think that any administration in England, or France or the United States would have ventured to waste vast sums of money on an empty pageant when Famine and Pestilence were stalking over the land, and the Angel of Death was flapping his wings almost within hearing of the light-hearted revellers?

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#### A POMPOUS PAGEANT TO A PERISHING PEOPLE.

GENTLEMEN:—A year has now rolled by since the great political pageant was held at Delhi against the almost unanimous protests of all our public and representative men both in the press and on the platform. On what ground did they protest? They protested not because they were wanting in loyalty to the Sovereign whose Coronation it was intended to celebrate, but because they felt that if His Majesty's ministers had done their duty and had laid before him an unvarnished story of his famine-stricken subjects in India, His Majesty, with his characteristic sympathy for suffering humanity, would himself have been the first to forbid his representatives in this country to offer a pompous pageant to a starving population. However, our protests were disregarded and the great *tamasha* was celebrated with that utter recklessness of expense which you may always expect when men, no matter however highly placed, were dealing with other peoples' money and were practically accountable to no one for their acts.

We are all familiar with the financial jugglery which by distributing the expenses under various, and sometimes under the most unexpected headings, makes it so difficult for ordinary men to find out the total cost of such a pageant. Still, whether you estimate that cost by a few *lakhs* more or less,

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it cannot be denied that if even half of the vast sum spent in connection with the Delhi Durbar had been made over for the purposes of famine relief, it might have been the means of saving millions of men, women and children from death by starvation. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin", and His Majesty Edward VII, the son and successor of our beloved and revered Queen Victoria, won the hearts not only of his British subjects but also of the countless millions of his subjects in this country when it became known, that of all the various functions in connection with the Coronation in England, that which specially appealed to the sympathy and interest of the Sovereign was the feeding of half a million of the poor at His Majesty's own expense. Can we doubt, therefore, what His Majesty's own verdict would have been if the true condition of his Indian subjects had been faithfully laid before him by those who represent him in this country and the Minister whose duty it is to advise him in regard to Indian affairs?

PAYING THE PIPER.

But apart from the enormous expenditure incurred by the Government of India, what has been the result to the independent Native States? Information is now beginning to leak out showing how little some of these States were prepared to bear the extraordinary expense,—or shall I say extravagance—which was forced upon them by the invitation to the Delhi Durbar. It is stated by a retired English covenanted Civil Servant of 28 years' service that one State became temporarily bankrupt owing to three causes:—(1) Famine; (2) expenses in connection with the Coronation trip to England; and (3) the still heavier outlay at Delhi. Be that as it may, it is well-known that all the Native States, almost without exception, have found the drain upon their resources so heavy that they have been obliged to curtail their expenditure by postponing many urgently-needed works of utility. Now, let us ask ourselves if anything has been gained by the Delhi Durbar which may even for a moment be balanced against these sad results. But with every desire to take a fair and impartial view of the whole question, I cannot say that this "sable cloud turns forth her silver lining on the night." As to the masses of the people, nothing could possibly seem more utterly heartless than the spectacle of a great Government imposing the heaviest taxation upon the poorest population in the world, and then lavishly spending the money so obtained over fireworks and pompous pageants while millions of the poor were dying of starvation. As to the middle classes, the most representative men generally kept aloof and were conspicuous by their absence, and of those who entered an appearance on that occasion most of them came back with bitter memories of the different treatment received by Indians and Europeans both during travelling and at the Durbar itself.

THE POSITION OF OUR PRINCES.

Then how about the Princes and the Feudatory Chiefs? If it be true as I believe it is, that one of the objects that Lord Curzon had in view, was that our Princes and Nobles should meet on a common platform and thereby arrive at a better understanding and cultivate more cordial relations with each other, then all I can say is that never had good intention met with a more signal failure. The descendants of the Sovereign Princes before whom English merchants had presented themselves on bended knees, and with whom the East India Company after they had acquired sovereign rights in this country concluded treaties as allies—the descendants of those princes

found themselves treated as ordinary subjects and their proud and sensitive natures were subjected to a humiliation which they had never known before under the British Government. I have said that our Indian Princes, instead of being treated as the allies and feudatories of His Britannic Majesty, have been treated like ordinary subjects, but I ought to add in order to fill up the picture, that the princes are denied the rights and privileges of British subjects. If the poorest and meanest of His Majesty's subjects in India is charged with the most heinous offence known to the law, he has the right to be tried by a jury of his peers and if found guilty he has the further right of appealing to the highest judicial tribunal of the Presidency to which he belongs. But in the case of an Indian Prince, if his enemies succeed in persuading the British Resident that he has committed some grave offence, the Government of India, endorsing the opinion of its Political Agent, directs his trial before a special commission entirely composed of British officials and the verdict of such a special commission is always a foregone conclusion. Nor is this to be wondered at, for we have it on the authority of an illustrious historian that even in Europe where there are no racial prejudices, "a military commission to which a government sends accused persons of importance, never knows how to send them back to it absolved." And what is true of a military commission is equally true of a special commission of Civilian officials whose promotion and prospects depend upon the good opinion of the Government. On one occasion only, in the case of Mulhar Rao Gaekwar, the Indian Government tried the experiment of a mixed commission. But in that case the Indian Commissioners, consisting of two princes and a statesman of repute, returned a verdict of acquittal, but the three English officials associated with them proved the truth of M. Thiers' observation and "knew not how to send back absolved an accused person of such importance." Lord Curzon the other day at Alwar sneered at our endeavours to get better treatment for our princes as making "bad blood" between them and the Government. Gentlemen, we know how helpless our princes are, and if we, who are British subjects, endeavour to see that our princes are at least as well off as ourselves, can that be justly described as making "bad blood?" Sneers such as these may become a Brummagem Imperialist like Mr. Chamberlain, but are they worthy of a large-hearted statesman like Lord Curzon?

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#### THE BIRMINGHAM CONJURER.

Speaking of Mr. Chamberlain naturally reminds me of the great Fiscal Question which is now absorbing the attention of the people of the British Isles. At a time when the great Birmingham conjurer, with two leaves made to order, is performing wonderful tricks before his simple-minded audiences—tricks which our own professional jugglers may be proud of when this great man is inviting the British people to take leave of their senses and to come to the conclusion that the excess of imports over exports instead of being an indication of increasing national wealth and prosperity is a proof of national decadence,—I say this is a fit and proper occasion to draw your attention to the converse state of things existing here. In England imports exceed exports by many millions. Mr. Chamberlain asks the country to weep over this result. Here in India our exports exceed our imports by many millions. If Mr. Chamberlain's view were right we should rejoice to find our exports exceeding our imports. But in my opinion the balance of trade is against us and it is we who ought to weep over the drain to which our country is annually subjected. As this proposition



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with regard to India will be best proved by disproving Mr. Chamberlain's allegations, I shall ask your permission to quote a few sentences from an old speech of my own delivered at Greenwich, during my Parliamentary candidature, dealing with the same subject which was then raised by our Tory opponents. Remember, gentlemen, that Mr. Chamberlain was at that time one of the greatest champions of Free Trade. The cry now raised is nothing new. We were perfectly familiar with it in 1884, and the following was the substance of my reply to Baron de Worms and Mr. Boord, the sitting members for the then united borough of Greenwich. I quote from the *Greenwich Observer* of November 28, 1884.

#### FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

"Both the sitting members had dwelt at great length and had encouraged the idea that the present depression and consequent distress were owing more or less to the policy of Free Trade. The leaders of the Conservative party who, like Sir Stafford Northcote, were perfectly convinced of the absurdity of these doctrines still deemed it politic to profess a considerable degree of indulgence for what they regarded as pious notions. I venture to think that the whole policy of the Conservative party, in regard to this vital question consists of mere weak vacillation, of dreaming and coquetting with ignorant quacks and false prophets who believe that by merely avoiding the use of the word Protection, and by substituting some other phrase such as Reciprocity or Retaliation they would succeed in deluding the people of this country. Well, these people, the Fair Traders relied mostly upon the comparison between the imports and exports of this country. They pointed to the great excess of imports over exports and told them that that was a sure sign of national extravagance and impending ruin. \* \* \* \* It is an undoubted fact that your imports exceed your exports by a very large amount—reaching I believe the sum of something like 150 millions sterling. That fact was undisputed and the only question was whether it was a sign of national decadence, whether it was a gigantic evil or, on the contrary, a matter for national congratulation. They who believed in Free Trade believed that the excess of imports was a conclusive proof of national wealth and prosperity. The first thing to bear in mind was this: that if they (the English people) did not sell a single shillingworth of goods to the foreigner, they would still have to receive a large sum from various countries of the world on account of their foreign investments in every quarter of the universe, and also on account of being the largest ocean-carriers and the largest insurers of the trade of the world. Now, they all know that all international transactions of that kind were carried on chiefly by barter or exchange of goods and but an insignificant part in gold and silver. Therefore, these various sums must come to England in the shape of goods and must necessarily swell the amount of their imports. \* \* \* \* But let them look at the question from another point of view. \* \* \* What Fair Traders said was that almost the whole of these imports represented only what they bought from foreign countries. Well, if that was so, if the whole of their excess of imports over exports represented nothing more nor less than the excess of their purchases over their sales, then he thought it would be only fair and reasonable to suppose that these gigantic purchases had been somehow or other paid for, because they could scarcely assume that the traders of the world had been so foolish and idiotic as to sell their goods without receiving payment in any shape or form.

“Turning to the Board of Trade returns, they found that from the year 1854 down to 1880, a period of 27 years, their imports had exceeded their exports by a sum of not less than 1,700 millions sterling in round numbers. Now how did they think that gigantic sum had been paid for? Surely it could never have been paid for by exchange of goods, for the very fact of their imports exceeding their exports by that amount was absolutely conclusive upon that point. Nor could this enormous sum have been paid in money. He had already said that international payments were never made to any appreciable extent in money, bullion, or specie. If they would allow him he would give a striking illustration of the fact. After the Franco-Prussian War, early in 1873, the French Government made a very large payment to Germany—a payment of not less than 94 millions pounds sterling. And how was it paid? Only six millions in gold and silver and eight millions in bank notes—the whole of the remainder, not less than 80 millions being paid by bills of exchange on various countries, which of course represented the value of the commodities which France had to export in order to pay that indemnity to Germany. But quite apart from general experience, they had a sure test in the statistics furnished by the Board of Trade as regards the exports and imports of gold and silver. \* \* \* So that altogether they had the astounding fact that from 1854 to 1880, they had not only received from the various countries of the world goods of the value of 1,700 millions sterling in excess of their exports but that during the same period they had also imported gold and silver amounting to over 100 millions sterling. Then how about the payment? As they had already seen it could not have been by exchange of goods, nor could it have been in money because their imports of specie had exceeded their exports by not less than 100 millions sterling; thus the whole thing was reduced to what used to be called when he studied geometry at school a *reductio ad absurdum*. Therefore, whichever way they looked at this question of excess of imports, it was no indication of national decadence but of national wealth and prosperity. The case of his own country”—and here fellow-delegates and ladies and gentlemen, I invite your special attention—“the case of India presented the reverse of the shield. Four years ago, addressing a large audience in the city of Bombay he pointed out that they in India had to pay a very large sum, amounting to something like 20 millions to the India Office, on account of what was called ‘Home Charges,’ consisting of the liberal salaries and extravagant pensions paid to superannuated officials. He did not wish to go into the political aspect of the question just now. He was now more concerned with its economic aspect and he desired to tell them that four years ago he pointed out this most significant and curious fact that the Indian exports exceeded by the sum of 20 millions, which was, as nearly as possible, the amount of those Home Charges to which he had referred; in other words it amounted to this—that this *tribute* of 20 millions they had to pay was paid by the export of goods and commodities for which they in India received nothing whatever in the shape of imports. He said, therefore, that whether they looked at the facts and figures in regard to this country, or whether they enlarged their vision and extended their scope of investigation and examined the circumstances of other nations, they could not but come to the conclusion that an increase of imports was not a sign of national decay but of growing wealth and prosperity.”

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Well, gentlemen, I venture to think that what I said nearly 20 years ago before that British audience at Greenwich holds equally true at the present moment. History repeats itself and we find that the same Mr. Chamberlain who betrayed his leader and split up the Liberal Party in 1885 is repeating the same process with the conservative party. We in India may look on complacently over the party conflict in England, but one or two questions remain to be answered by the advocates of this new fiscal policy.

Is Mr. Chamberlain prepared to include India in his scheme of an Imperial Zollverein?—Judging by his earlier speeches no one would imagine that this great statesman knew of the existence of a country like India much less that it is a part of the British Empire or that it has an immensely larger population than the Colonies which he has taken under his wings. It was after having been repeatedly reminded by statesmen of the first rank that it suddenly dawned upon him at the very conclusion of his campaign that India was a factor which could not be altogether ignored even by Imperialists of the Birmingham School.—We should also like to ask Mr. Chamberlain, whether if preference is given to the wheat grower in Canada, the same preference is to be given to India, or whether Canadian wheat is to be protected against Indian wheat. But although we here as well as his critics in England may go on repeating these questions till we are hoarse, the Birmingham Sphinx is not at all likely to give us any reply; for one of his chief characteristics is an insolent contempt for all his opponents however high their personal and political reputation.

I am myself a staunch believer in the doctrines of Free Trade. But whatever my individual opinions may be, I am aware that a large body of opinion amongst my countrymen is in favour of protection as regard our own industries. And having regard to the fact that so many of our flourishing industries were deliberately killed by heavy excise duties, Free Trader as I am on principle, I have scarcely the heart to oppose my fellow countrymen when they ask for protection on behalf of our native industries. I shall, therefore, take leave of this subject by asking one question of Mr. Chamberlain and his followers.

#### PLAIN ISSUES.

If you succeed in deluding the people of England and inducing them to adopt a suicidal protectionist policy, what answer will you return to our people when they desire their industries to be protected against Lancashire? Hitherto while England was herself pursuing the policy of Free Trade your arm-chair politicians were able to console their consciences by saying we believe in Free Trade. We allow free imports into great Britain and Ireland, and we as trustees for the Indian Empire cannot approve of your adopting a policy which we ourselves believe to be wrong and when we offer the best proof of the sincerity of our convictions by showing that we are sincere Free Traders and allow goods from every foreign country to come into our country without any protective duties"—That was all very fine in the old days. But if Mr. Chamberlain wins, shall we not be able to say in reply, 'you the people of England in your simplicity have "lent a too credent ear" to the siren voice of the Birmingham tempter, and now

that you have done so, when every rag of hypocrisy has been stripped off your backs and you stand exposed before the world in all the nakedness of your selfish policy, with what countenance will you undertake to justify your policy in India? One of our Anglo-Indian newspapers, the *Calcutta Statesman*, has taken the measure of this Birmingham Politician. In 1884 when Mr. Chamberlain was one of the shining lights of the Radical party, and I was a Parliamentary candidate, I freely acknowledged him as one of my leaders. I shall, therefore, abstain from saying anything myself inconsistent with our old relationship and only make an extract from the *Statesman* newspaper giving a faithful description of Mr. Chamberlain and his political programme :—" Mr. Chamberlain has the faculty of overpowering the common sense of his audiences otherwise they would hardly allow him to continue the repetition of such astonishing folly. The character of the eminent campaigner's economics is already familiar, but hitherto we have not been made acquainted with any examples of his reading of history. Now that we are privileged to catch a glimpse of it we can merely marvel at its impertinence and wonder what may be coming next. \* \* \* \* As for Mr. Chamberlain's claim that he can provide work and wages for all, there seems nothing for it but to take refuge in a remark which we find in the *Economist* :—The egotism of the man is growing really stupendous."

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#### PAX BRITANNICA.

Incidentally in connection with the Fiscal Question I have alluded to the annual drain on the resources of this country. Now, gentlemen, I shall ask your leave to point out in somewhat more detail the causes of the increasing poverty of our country. A political critic or reformer has always a difficult task before him. His is not a bed of roses. The very fact of his finding fault with the existing state of things arrays all the vested interests against him. Even disinterested Englishmen are inclined to start with a prejudice against those who are not full of unqualified admiration for the acts and the policy of their countrymen in India. Still we have the consolation of feeling that many who came to scoff have remained to bless and thanks to the efforts of the Congress, and the labours of some of our large-hearted English friends such as Mr. Digby, to whom we can never be sufficiently grateful, we have the mournful satisfaction of knowing that we have succeeded in convincing a large portion of the English people that India is no longer the Eldorado which many yet pretend it is but that it is a land of ever-increasing poverty where the masses of the people hardly ever have an adequate meal during the 24 hours from year's end to year's end.

It has been said by men who ought to have known better that India is the lightest taxed country in the world, in spite of the clearest evidence that the tax per head in England amounted to 7 per cent. of the income of the people but in India it was according to one calculation 11 per cent. and according to another, that is taking 20 rupees as the annual income per head, it was no less than 14 per cent. *i.e.*, double that of the English people—the richest nation in the world. It is also deliberately ignored that Lord Mayo more than 30 years ago declared that the utmost limits of taxation had been reached in this country, a statement more than once re-affirmed by responsible statesmen. Apart from the normal poverty of our people when we draw the attention of the Government to the ever-recurring famines and their increasing severity, we are officially told that famines are acts of God and attributable only to want of rainfall. To those who, as rulers of

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this vast country, are entrusted with irresponsible powers over the destinies of 300 millions of human beings, it may be very satisfactory to assign to Divine power and the operations of Nature, the consequences of their own short-sighted policy, but they cannot expect independent and intelligent observers to accept their interested and specious statements. Even officials of high rank and Anglo-Indian newspapers which ordinarily support the Government and are known to be its demi-official organs have been obliged from time to time to admit that the policy of the Government in the progressive increase of the land tax is a potent factor in the increasing frequency and severity of our famines. Referring to the fact that from the time the dominions of the Mahratta sovereign came under British rule in 1817, to the year 1823, that is to say within a period of six years, the assessment was nearly doubled being raised from 80 lakhs to 150 lakhs the Bombay Government in its Administration Report for 1892-93 thus describes the operations of that period :

OFFICIAL CONDEMNATION.

“ Every effort was made—lawful and unlawful—to get the utmost out of the wretched peasantry, who were subjected to torture—in some instances cruel and revolting beyond description—if they could not or would not yield what was demanded. Numbers abandoned their homes and fled into neighbouring Native States; large tracts of land were thrown out of cultivation, and in some districts no more than a third of the cultured area remained in occupation.” One of the most conservative of English journals speaking of the condition of these ryots said :—“ Stupidity, blindness, indifference, greed—inability, in a word, in all its thousand forms—settled down, like the fabled harpies on the ryot's bred and bore off with them all that he subsisted upon. Coming down to more recent times we find that in 1893 the Hon. Mr. Rogers, member of the Bombay Council, stated as follows: “ In the 11 years from 1879-80 to 1880-90, there were sold by auction for the collection of land revenue the occupancy rights of 1,963,364 acres of land held by 840,713 defaulters in addition to personal property of the value of Rs. 29,65,081. Of the 1,963,364 acres, 1,174,143 had to be bought in on the part of the Government for want of bidders, that is to say, very nearly 60 per cent. of the land supposed to be fairly and equitably assessed could not find purchasers.” Could there be any more scathing condemnation of this system of taxation? Passing from Bombay to Madras we are confronted with a similar merciless enhancement of taxation. The Calcutta *Englishman*, the leading Anglo-Indian newspaper of this country, wrote as follows :—“ The late Madras famine has raised the question as to what the Government has done to protect the agriculture of Southern India in return for the revenue raised from it. \* \* \* Twenty years of British rule have increased the Government demand upon the agriculture of Madras by over one million, or one-third of the whole land revenue paid by the Presidency to the Company in 1858. There are not wanting those who affirm that this increased taxation had much to do with the late calamity. The husbandmen were less able according to this view, to bear the strain of bad seasons, in consequence of the enormous increase in the revenue taken from them.” Well gentlemen, let us turn now for one moment to the state of things in the Central Provinces. Only about a year ago, the Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Bose, a member of the Supreme Council, made the following statement from his place in Council :—“ From a view to a second new settlement are also in progress in

Raipore. The Districts, especially the former were very hard hit during the last famine. They are no less so this time. They were both newly assessed about ten years ago. The enhancement in Bilaspur was 102 per cent. in some cases and 105 per cent. in others." It is important to note that this remarkable statement remained unchallenged. In Bengal, thanks to the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, we are somewhat better off than our compatriots in other parts of India. But even in Bengal, attempts are every now and again made to bring about a reversal of Lord Cornwallis' policy, but since an open and direct reversal would be attended with serious difficulties, indirect encroachments upon the spirit and letter of the Permanent Settlement are made by the imposition of new taxes upon the land such as the chowkidari tax, the road cess and the public works cess.

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#### PROMOTION-BY RESULT SETTLEMENTS.

Disparaging references are also made to our Mogul Emperors. But there again they forget that those rulers were not birds of passage like our English officials but the revenue which they gathered from the people—and theirs' was a very elastic system very favourably contrasting with the system of which we now complain—was spent in the country and the money circulating among the children of the soil remained and fructified in the country. But what is the case now with our English rulers? The revenue is wrung from the pockets of our people but the savings of English officials, both civil and military as well as their ample pensions, are spent for the benefit of their native land. The elastic modes of the Mogul and the Mahratta have given place to a cast-iron system worked by a host of highly paid and "promotion-by-result" settlement officers. The most recent result of the present system was prominently brought to the notice of Lord Curzon by the Hon. Mr. Smeaton in his speech at the Viceregal Council. He pointed out that according to the accounts of 1900-1901, the collections in Bombay, the Punjab and Madras were 60 lakhs in excess of the previous year which was a year of famine and these 60 lakhs were largely the arrears for that year which Mr. Smeaton declared "*should not have been demanded at all.*" And this, he added, brought to his mind a very vital question lately raised, whether the *intensity* of recent famines is, or is not, *largely due* to poverty caused by the operation of our land revenue system as a whole."

Gentlemen, I may observe here parenthetically that candid language like that of Mr. Smeaton is not very highly appreciated by our Government, and whether it be a mere unfortunate coincidence or whether it was owing to his opinions not finding much favour in high quarters, it is quite certain that just at the time when the public expected that he would succeed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Burmah, an extension was granted to Sir F. Fryer just long enough to oblige Mr. Smeaton to retire from the service under the 35 years rule.

Even the ordinary Government organ, the *Pioneer*, was compelled to say that the fact that "in the Supreme Council Mr. Smeaton has always given his opinion fearlessly and independently ought to have told in his favour rather than against him."

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testimony but I have based my conclusions on the inexorable logic of facts. If when in Bombay out of 1,963, 364 acres of land held by defaulters had to be sold by auction, no less than 1,174,143 acres had to be bought in for want of bidders, what did that mean? It simply meant this; that the land was too heavily taxed to be worth buying. If the taxation had been equitable and there had been a reasonable chance of deriving even a poor and miserable pittance from the cultivation of those lands, do you think there would have been any lack of purchasers? Well, then, gentlemen, according to all the available evidence, India is one of the poorest countries in the world. We have seen how the English Civilian Officials, through their extravagant pay and pensions and compensation for exchange and furlough allowances, drain the resources of the country. But if even after meeting their demands we might have had any vitality left, the military service steps in with all the inhumanly selfish policy of the British War Office, shamelessly supported by the Secretary of State for India and sucks the life-blood of this country. I have never been slow to acknowledge the benefits conferred upon us by the British Government, so much so that no less an authority than the late John Bright, after the meeting in Willis's Rooms in 1879 himself assured me that the only portion of my speech of which he did not approve was where, to use his own words, he thought I was endeavouring "to sugar the pill." But, gentlemen, while none of us is insensible to those benefits, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that whenever British interests clash with ours, India is certain to kick the beam. Our Anglo-Indian friends, therefore, should not be surprised if the policy and means of our Government do not always command our unqualified admiration or render us inclined to fall down on our knees and offer our thanks to heaven for the wisdom and benevolence of our rulers. I have already referred to the tendency of some persons when they are worsted in argument to take refuge in some high sounding phrase especially if it is veiled in the obscurity of a learned language, and to consider it almost an act of blasphemy on your part if you do not immediately raise the white flag and surrender at discretion. Such is the case with the defenders of the extreme party of our Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Argument and logic are not their *forte*, and, therefore, whenever they are pushed to a corner they appeal with an air of triumph to the Latin phrase "*Pax Britannica*." We all unhesitatingly admit that this Pax Britannica has undoubtedly put an end to the anarchy and internecine wars which prevailed here during the declining days of the Mogul Empire. But if, now-a-days, we are free from the ravages of lawless hordes, if we are no longer subject to the pillage and rapine and slaughter of domestic strife and struggles for ascendancy between rival princes and chiefs, we cannot forget that there is another side to the balance sheet. After all it makes but little difference whether millions of lives are lost on account of war and anarchy or whether the same result is brought about by famine and starvation.

#### A REFLEX JINGOISM.

The Jingo fever which has swept over England during the past few years has had its baneful results in this country. When the British Government on the initiative of Mr. Chamberlain, who has been the evil genius of the Empire for so many years, after having embarked upon the Boer War with a light heart, which reminds one of the notorious declaration of the French War Secretary just before the Franco-Prussian War that "the Army

was ready, aye, ready to a button,"—I say, when the British Government discovered that they had entered upon a really serious and extremely costly affair, they endeavoured, in accordance with former precedents, to make India the scapegoat and in defiance of Law and Justice to throw the burden of the War upon our unhappy and unrepresented people. I am glad to think that some of the leading Anglo-Indian journals, who do not always see eye to eye with us, raised their influential voice on our behalf. *Capital*, the organ of English mercantile men in Calcutta, made the following forcible observations:—"It seems that the Home Government proposed to foist upon the Indian people a charge of £ 786,000 in the shape of additional pay to the British soldiers stationed in this country. This increase of pay has been the result of the war in South Africa, where troops from India saved the situation in Natal in the early part of the conflict—a conflict with which the Indian people had nothing whatever to do, and in a country too, where the natives of this Empire are denied the full rights of citizenship, and where a Hindu has actually been fined for walking on the pavement. The Indian Government should resist this impost tooth and nail." Gentlemen, we cannot be too thankful to my friend, Mr. Shirely Tre-mearne, the Editor of *Capital*, for this spirited protest and for the admirable impartiality with which he discusses public questions. But then, as Mr. C. J. O'Donnell says, the Indian Government has no tooth or nails except for the native tax-payer.

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*Capital* went on to say: "There is another charge that is to be hung round our necks, if Lord Curzon's Government is weak enough to submit to it, viz., a sum of £548,000 being £7-10s. for every soldier sent to India as the cost price of recruiting him. A more unjust imposition could not be made, and it is one which could only be thrust upon a people having no representative institution. The British Army is raised at Home for Imperial purposes. A regiment may have seen years of service in other parts of Greater Britain before it comes to India, and yet it is proposed to charge the original recruiting and training charges of the soldiers to the Indian Exchequer. The whole thing is ridiculous."

#### TIBET AND PERSIA.

No less an authority than the late Mr. Fawcett pointed out many years ago that, by a mere change in the service and transport system and without reducing the strength of the Army by a single man it was possible to effect a reduction of at least three millions sterling in the military expenditure of this country. We also know that the late Mr. Caine repeatedly pointed out that the strength of the British Army in India was far in excess of what was necessary for purely Indian purposes. This statement is often challenged, but the London *Standard*, the leading Tory newspaper, which can never be suspected of any pro-Indian proclivities and least of all, in military matters, has unexpectedly come to our support. It declared not long ago that Ladysmith had been defended by regiments brought from India; that Indian troops had relieved the Legations of Peking; that during the South African War over 13,000 British officers and men, had been sent there from India accompanied by more than 9,000 followers and attendants: Thirteen hundred British officers and men and 20,000 Native troops together with more than 17,000 camp followers were sent to China. After giving these figures which speak for themselves, the *Standard* exultingly exclaims: Such is "the scale on which India at the shortest notice and

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without dislocating here establishment *can contribute towards the military capabilities of the Empire beyond her own frontiers.*" When such a high Jingo authority has stated our case in as clear and forcible language as we could have desired to use ourselves, let not lesser Jingoës in this country presume to question the truth of the statement that the military establishment of India is far in excess of our own requirements.

Before leaving this subject of military extravagance, I desire to raise a warning voice against the pseudo-Imperialism which impels some of our prancing Proconsuls to seek new adventures beyond our proper frontiers, whether in Afghanistan or in Burma; whether in the forbidden Land of the Lamas or in another direction so close to the sphere of Russian influence as almost to invite a collision with that power. If we had an Irish Viceroy and if Persia had been Oriental Donnybrook Fair there might not perhaps have been anything so very incongruous in the Governor-General going to the shores of the Persian Gulf and inviting all and sundry to oblige him by treading on his coat tail.

There are some enterprises which might well be called a tempting of Providence. But if it be considered presumptuous on our part to protest against any enterprise however perilous and ill-conceived which a Jingo Ministry in England might be disposed to undertake, let it, not be forgotten that under an Act of Parliament no portion of the Indian Army can be lawfully taken out for service beyond the proper frontiers of India without the previous consent of Parliament (*Hear, hear*) and let it at all events, be made clear to us that India is not to be saddled with any portion of the burdens which may be thrown on the Empire as the result of the vaulting ambition of vain-glorious Imperialists.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

I now pass on to the important question of the Administration of Justice and more particularly of Criminal Justice. Every one will admit that nothing is more calculated to create discontent and disaffection than the belief that justice is not evenly and impartially administered. It is equally unquestionable that it cannot be impartially administered if the functions of Prosecutor and Judge are combined in the same official. Therefore, it is that for some years past we have been asking for a complete separation of executive from judicial functions. The present combination of these two incompatible functions has been condemned by almost every one whose opinion is worth anything. Only in 1893, Sir R. Garth declared that the present anomalous position of the District Magistrate only "tempts him to use his influence and powers for a good many improper purposes, which however much they may have been countenanced by high civilian officials, have deservedly incurred the odium of the public and brought disgrace on the Indian Administration." But, gentlemen, it is no longer necessary to fortify ourselves with the opinions of high judicial authorities like Sir R. Garth, Sir B. Peacock, Sir R. Couch, Lord Hobhouse and a host of other distinguished persons, for the justice of our contention has been admitted in the most emphatic terms by more than one Viceroy and more than one Secretary of State for India. But the capacity for passive resistance of the Indian Civil Service is unlimited, and when beaten all along the line on the merits of the question, they have still managed to shelve this urgent reform by deluding successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State into the belief that it would involve doubling the cost of

administration. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy is not easily baffled. A Viceroy, however well-intentioned and strong-minded, can rarely resist the steady pressure of his Civilian *entourage*, and especially on questions of administrative detail, he is naturally inclined to place implicit reliance upon the officials who have had long personal experience of the working of that administration. Then as to the Secretary of State, he is equally well-guarded by a band of Anglo-Indian fossils who take good care that he should be nothing more than their mouth-piece. Thus it is, that driven from all their positions of vantage, they have now taken refuge in their last entrenchment—financial difficulty. Lord Kimberley who was strongly convinced of the merits of this reform was told that it would mean doubling the staff throughout the country. His predecessor Lord Cross, similarly deceived by the same group of ancient fossils, said in the House of Lords that this reform which in his opinion would be an excellent one, resulting in vast good to the Government of India, could not possibly be carried out in the existing state of Indian finances. But, gentlemen, fortunately we have had the good fortune of having some of our countrymen in the Indian Civil Service. Mr. R. C. Dutt, who had attained the rank of a Commissioner of Division, and who had filled the office of District Magistrate in most of the important districts of Bengal came forward with a weighty statement showing that the reform could be most easily carried out without increasing the cost of administration by a single rupee. Mr. Dutt's scheme has been before the authorities now for some years. He has mercilessly exposed the hypocrisy of this objection on financial grounds. Not one member of the service of which he was so distinguished a member has ventured to enter the lists and measure swords with him. Therefore, we may take it that his statements cannot be answered. But nevertheless our Anglo-Indian officials know how to obstruct the most urgently-needed reform. That they should do so while mediocrity or worse than mediocrity was in office during the days of Lord George Hamilton is nothing to be wondered at. But we had a right to expect better things from a statesman of Lord Curzon's reputation and strength of mind.

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#### EUROPEANS AND INDIANS.

Then again, what about the burning question of justice as between Europeans and Indians? But as this is a most delicate matter, involving racial questions, in regard to which my own statements may not be credited with the impartiality and freedom from exaggeration with which it is my highest ambition to approach the discussion of all controversial questions, I prefer to rest our case on the deliberate admissions of English officials of high position and experience who cannot be suspected of any undue bias against their own countrymen. With this object I shall ask your leave to read an extract from the speech of a recently-retired English member of the Covenanted Civil Service who has filled some of the highest official positions in this country. I refer to Sir Henry Cotton who, as you all know, was Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Member of the Viceregal Council, and Chief Commissioner of Assam and who, in all probability, would have been Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal if his conscientious and out-spoken opinions, like those of Mr. Smeaton, had not placed him out of the running. Sir H. Cotton speaking at a recent meeting in London stated as follows:—

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"When Englishmen were put upon their trial for these crimes what was the general result? In the great majority of cases it could only be described as a judicial scandal. He was not particularly anxious that anyone should find his way to the gallows but he was bound to say that there were innumerable cases in which men charged with most brutal murders for which no other punishment than hanging was suitable had escaped through the failure to administer justice fairly and fully. Why was that? In the first place, these offenders were tried by a jury of their own countrymen. It was, of course, a very sound principle in law that a man should be tried by his peers and equals, but it was hardly necessary for him to point out that in a country like India where Englishmen were widely scattered, and where one of them, say a tea planter was charged with causing the death of an unfortunate coolie, and was arraigned before other tea planters in the same position as himself, it was natural and even inevitable that the jury should be biassed and should find the accused guilty of the smallest cognisable offence under the law—viz., simple hurt—for which a fine of a few rupees was only imposed. Decisions of that kind did not commend themselves to the judgment of the Natives of India and in consequence a strong and bitter feeling was aroused by such cases. Suppose that the Government interfered and took up the prosecution, the result might be the infliction of a term of imprisonment instead of the imposition of a fine, but immediately that happened a storm of protest was raised; the greatest anger and indignation were given vent to at every European breakfast table and tea table, and no stone was left unturned to get the sentence either cancelled or modified. That was one of the chief difficulties under which the Indian administration laboured. No responsible Governor was anxious to face the wrath and anger of his own countrymen, however keen he might be to administer justice as between man and man. It required, in fact, more than ordinary courage for the heads of the Government to preserve an even tone and temper in dealing with these cases. Lord Curzon was undoubtedly animated by a high sense of justice, and he had used his best efforts to see that justice was done in these cases. He had instructed his officials to watch them carefully, and to report on them to the Government, but he regretted to say that as a result of the recent agitation his Lordship had stated that he had at no time, whether publicly or privately, officially, or semi-officially, issued any instructions which would affect the administration of justice as between Englishmen and Natives. In other words, he had withdrawn from the field, and had given rise to the impression that his previous action had been misunderstood. That was very much to be regretted."

Gentlemen, it is impossible to add to the force of this weighty pronouncement. Sir H. Cotton concludes by pointing out that it was not very easy for Judges and Magistrates to maintain an attitude of strict fairness and impartiality in India for they were in isolated positions and possibly in many cases their only companions were the very men they were called upon to try. I shall only venture to emphasise the truth of this last statement by a reference to two recent cases showing how even English judicial officers go to the wall when they try to hold the scales of justice evenly, and executive members of their own service come out triumphant even when they try to muddle the fountain of justice at its very source. A few years ago, a Sessions Judge in one of the Behar Districts administered even-handed justice between a native of India and some English officials. The District Magistrate and even the Commissioner of the Division took the part of the English officials. What was the result? The Judge became a marked man and

was transferred to a distant district. I will not refer to his ultimate fate for that was complicated by other circumstances as to which it may perhaps be said that the Judge did not exercise the sound discretion that might have been expected. But how about the executive officers connected with the case? I do not remember if the District Magistrate was considered worthy of immediate promotion, but we all know that the Divisional Commissioner to whom I have already referred so far from being blamed for his part in the affair, was, a few years afterwards, promoted to the highest office to which any member of the Indian Civil Service may aspire. The second case is equally instructive. I refer to the Rajshye Mohurrum case. In that case some poor Mahomedans had complained before the District Magistrate that they had been ill-treated by the District Superintendent of Police, but the Magistrate summarily dismissed their complaint and directed their own prosecution on a charge of bringing a false and malicious prosecution. The Sessions Judge endeavoured to do justice to these poor men but with disastrous results to himself. Not only did the Executive Government promptly transfer him to a notoriously unhealthy district but he was even snubbed by a Division Bench of the High Court which I regret to say is no longer what it used to be. Well, gentlemen, having regard to all these circumstances, I have no hesitation in saying that for my part I am growing more and more hopeless as to the prospects of obtaining justice when crimes of violence are committed by Englishmen or Eurasians against the children of the soil, unless the British Parliament thinks fit to take up this question in earnest and deal with it boldly.

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#### RUSSIANISING THE STATUTE BOOK.

Apart from the question of the actual Administration of Justice, we are every now and again threatened with new laws or amendments of old Acts, that are more worthy of Russian than of British legislators. To begin with, it should never be forgotten, and we should never be tired of reminding the British nation that while the scandal of *lettres de cachet* was abolished in France in 1789 amid public rejoicing, the representatives of the English people, who pride themselves upon being the eldest sons of Liberty introduced the ancient and hateful engine of oppression into this country in 1818 and 1821. Nor has it been suffered to remain idle and forgotten. Only a few years ago, two prominent citizens of Poona were laid by the heels and kept in confinement for a considerable period without any charge being formulated or any prospect of their being brought to trial before any judicial tribunal. Would any Government have dared to do such a thing in the British Isles? If it had, it would have been the beginning of the end so far as that administration was concerned. Simultaneously with the arbitrary imprisonment of the Natu Brothers, we had a Sedition Act of Draconian severity passed in a great hurry as if the country was in the throes of a revolution, and a number of political prosecutions instituted, and the Judges being also in a state of panic, several well-known and respected citizens were convicted of charges of which not one of their fellow-countrymen believed them to be guilty. One of these unfortunate victims, on presenting himself before the Calcutta Congress of 1901, received a splendid ovation which showed that in the opinion of his fellow-countrymen he was a persecuted martyr and not a culprit. Well, gentlemen, we had just begun to hope that the dark clouds of those days of panic had rolled by, when the Government of Lord Curzon has thrown another bombshell in our midst, by the proposed amendment of the Official Secrets Bill. One of these precious

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amendments proposes, contrary to every maxim of civilised jurisprudence, to throw the burden of proof upon the accused person, in other words the prosecution is relieved of the duty of giving evidence in support of its charges so that the accused person must be convicted almost automatically if he cannot prove the negative proposition, *viz.*, that he is not guilty. Mr. Arundel, with the *naïveté* so characteristic of Anglo-Indian officials, declares that under the old Act there were difficulties in the way of obtaining convictions. Mr. Arundel is a genius. He has been the first to discover the method of securing convictions automatically. After this it is hardly worth while to refer to other amendments such as that which seeks to gratify the *amour propre* of the executive officers by placing the petty secrets of their offices, such as the projected promotion by favour of a particular official over the heads of worthier men, on the same level with important military and naval secrets the divulgence of which may be fraught with great and perhaps fatal danger to the Empire. No wonder that this proposal of the Government has been too much even for its most steady supporters among the conservative Anglo-Indian press. I desire to express our special thanks to the *Calcutta Englishman*, which true to its British instincts, has made a vigorous protest against this Bill which it described as a deliberate attempt to Russianise public affairs. Gentlemen, we freely admit that military and naval secrets should be safeguarded against espionage, but apart from those matters, to me it is inexplicable why the Government of India, although it has always at its head a statesman brought up in the free and healthy atmosphere of England, should display such strong impatience of criticism and such a morbid antipathy against the liberty of the press. If they are confident in the justice of their proceedings, why should they not be able to say like Maitre Labori on a well-known occasion, *Nous voulons la lumière, toute la lumière?* (we want light: we court all possible light). A just and honest administration has nothing to lose by courting publicity and criticism. A great historian and eminent statesman of the last century tells us that "the press may have absolute freedom without danger; truth alone is formidable; whatever is false is powerless; and the greater the exaggeration the weaker its effect. No Government has ever yet been overthrown by lies. A week's exaggeration and lie exhaust all the pens of pamphleteers and libellers: Governments have only to allow them to declaim. But a Government requires time and philosophy before it is prepared to admit these truths." Well, gentlemen, when will our Government acquire philosophy enough to admit these truths? Viceroys and Governors of different schools succeed one another, but with a few bright exceptions, such as Lord Ripon, they all seem to accept the vicious tradition of repressive legislation as one of the unquestioned axioms of statecraft.

#### NO TORY EDUCATION.

Gentlemen—The subject of education is not second in importance to any other. Not long ago the whole country was convulsed over the Report of the Universities Commission which plainly showed a determination to deprive a large portion of our middle classes of the benefits of high education in this country and also to abolish the private educational institutions which had gradually grown up around our Universities. It was well known that the majority of the Commission only echoed the ideas which the Viceroy had put forth in a speech of his. With his Lordship's Tory and aristocratic ideas, he wanted to make our educational institutions

approach as nearly as possible the standard of Eton and Oxford. It was naturally difficult for him to understand why poor men (such as the majority of our middle classes happen to be) should be anxious to receive a sort of education which poor people's children in England do not aspire to receive. Fortunately, however, there was among the members of the Commission a distinguished Hindu gentleman, Mr. Justice Guru Das Banerji, who perceived the danger of the situation and wrote an elaborate and convincing dissentient minute. It is, however, a matter for congratulation that the Government has already made several concessions. We are glad to feel that our indigenous colleges are not to be destroyed by a stroke of the pen and that our meritorious students of limited means are not to be excluded from the benefits of higher education by the device of raising the fees and abolishing the private colleges. It may be all very fine for the scions of the English aristocracy, brought up in the lap of luxury, to imagine that it is only they and men like them who are fit to receive the advantages of Higher Education which they themselves have received in Eton or Rugby, in Oxford or Cambridge. For our part we cannot help remembering that some of our most distinguished men who were the first to be honored by the Government itself with the highest offices ever yet attained by any native of India,—we cannot help remembering that these men would have never occupied the positions that they did if the difficulties now sought to be thrown in the path of poor students had existed at the time when they were students in our schools and colleges.

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Gentlemen, I take it that there can be no more important national question than the question of education. Let us, therefore, lay down the principles by which that question should be governed. Subject to your approval, I desire to lay down the following principles: Firstly, the education of the people should be as much as possible in the hands of the people; secondly, the popular control over our educational institutions should not be lightly interfered with until it has been plainly shewn that popular control has been found altogether wanting. Now, our chief criticism and opposition to this Bill must be concentrated on that clause which does away with the present constitution of the Senate which is now independent of the Government because although the Fellows are almost all nominated by the Government yet by reason of the tenure of their office being for life they are practically independent. This Bill, however, strikes a blow at their independence because the vast majority of Fellows are to be nominated by the Government and only for five years. So that their renomination must to a large extent depend upon how far they may have succeeded in ingratiating themselves into the good graces of the Government.

APRES MOI LE DELUGE.

If members of the Covenanted Civil Service so high in standing and position as Mr. Smeaton and Sir H. Cotton could be deprived of their legitimate reward simply because they had the courage to declare their conscientious convictions how could the members of the Senate expect a better fate? It is true that the Bill proposes that a small number of Fellows should be elected by the graduates, but in our opinion they will be far too few to give the Senate a popular character. I think you will also agree with me that the qualification of the electors as proposed by the Bill is extremely limited and that it ought to extend to all who are graduates. Mr. Raleigh has been good enough to assure us that at some future time the principle of election



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might be extended. That is exactly the sort of promise that Anglo-Indian officials are always fond of making. All concessions of a substantial nature they very complacently leave to their successors as if they unconsciously sympathised with the sentiment bluntly expressed by that typical despot, Louis XIV, when he said "*Après moi le deluge.*" So far back as the year 1860, Sir Bartle Frere, while leaving to District Magistrates a combination of judicial and executive functions, held out a hope that at no distant future this anomaly might be removed. More than 40 years have gone by and yet that hope has not been realised. Therefore, as regards Mr. Raleigh's statement, we would much rather have a better recognition of the elective principle at the present moment than a promise to be realised at some uncertain future period. Such, therefore, are our objections to this Bill. We want as little Government control as possible. We do not want difficulties to be put in the way of our poorer students. We are glad to find that the suggestion as to the raising of the fees has been abandoned; but if I may be permitted without derogating from the dignity of the occasion to use a homely saying I would remind you that "there are more ways of killing a cat than stuffing it with cream." We do not want our indigenous colleges to be harassed by undue interference. While we are prepared to welcome any reasonable and well-considered reforms as regards the health, morality and education of our students, we do not want the aristocratic standard of Eton and Oxford to be established in this poor country.

#### COMPULSORY FREE EDUCATION.

But, gentlemen, let us not confine our attention to High Education alone. We have a sacred duty towards the poorer classes of our people. Those of us who have received the benefits of High Education are bound to do, whatever may be in our power, to extend the blessings of education, so far as may be, to the masses of our people. Let us remember the simple but eloquent words of the late Mr. John Bright that the nation in every country dwells in the cottage. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that we should have some system of primary vernacular instruction, like the Board Schools in England, whereby the dwellers in the cottage and the sons of toil may be brought more in touch with the more fortunate classes of their countrymen. Do not let us forget that wherever the masses of the people are steeped in ignorance there is always a double danger, firstly of their being entirely apathetic towards all questions affecting the welfare of the country and secondly of their being liable to be excited beyond reasonable bounds by unscrupulous or fanatical agitators. In all European countries, with perhaps the exception of Russia and Turkey, provision is made by the State for the free education of all its subjects. I was myself in England when the Board Schools were first introduced and I remember that even in that country the scheme was at first somewhat unpopular because it involved the compulsory attendance of children at school. But that feeling soon wore away, the English people came to recognise the benefits of the institution and now there is hardly a single individual amongst the poorest classes who cannot read and write, and it is an ordinary spectacle to see even the cab drivers regularly buying a daily newspaper and reading it while waiting for a fare on the stand. It is this system of compulsory free education which has rendered it possible for representatives of the working classes to enter the British House of Commons and to hold their own against those who by birth were more fortunately situated. I have cited the case of England as I am more

familiar with its politics, but the same thing may be said *mutatis mutandis* of most countries of Europe and the United States of America. Coming nearer home, we have seen what wonderful results have been achieved in Japan by the introduction of the same system of compulsory free education. If, therefore, all progressive nations have found it necessary to adopt this system to keep abreast of the times, is it too much to ask our people to take up this question in earnest? I am sure that on mature consideration all our thoughtful men will agree that this reform is very much to be desired and I am equally sure that if we approach the Government with any degree of unanimity and ask for some tentative measure in this direction, the Government itself will be glad to respond to our wishes. I shall only add that the enlightened ruler of Baroda has already set an example in this direction which British India might well follow.

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But, gentlemen, while it is the duty of a civilized and enlightened Government to give all reasonable facilities for both primary and higher education, let us not forget that we have corresponding duties of our own. Perhaps the rising generation will not consider it presumptuous on my part if I venture to remind them that, after all, the best of educational institutions and the most ideal of Universities can only furnish us with a pass key to the Temple of Knowledge. But whether that key is to grow rusty in our pockets, or whether we are to make use of it to open the portals of that sacred Fane, in order to hold communion with the immortal dead and to take possession of the priceless legacy left to us by the mighty men of old, depends entirely upon ourselves. Think you, gentlemen, that our own classical poets, that Homer and Virgil, that Shakespeare and Milton, that Dante and Tasso, that Corneille and Racine who surpassing the wonders of the Arabian Nights have left to us works which, after the lapse of so many centuries, still stand out to the eyes of the initiated like pictures bright with "colours dipt in Heaven"—think you that these men "who though dead, deathless all," lived and worked only for their own generation and for the circumscribed geographical limits of their own native land? No, gentlemen, they were cosmopolitan in the truest sense of the word. They lived and worked and died for the entire human race. The rich legacy they have left behind is a legacy for all nations and for all posterity.

#### THANKING THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

Just before leaving Calcutta for Madras, I received a wire from the Dacca People's Association asking me to enlist on their behalf your sympathy to encourage them in their protest against the absorption of Dacca and Mymensingh by Assam. Hitherto Assam has been considered a most backward administration, but Dacca and Mymensingh form two of the most advanced districts in Bengal. You can, therefore, quite understand that Dacca does not appreciate the tender solicitude of the Government when they are requested to give up their advantages to oblige Assam.

I understand, gentlemen, that you too have a grievance of such an important nature that it may fitly be called a national question involving as it does the principle of Self-Government. I refer to the retrograde and reactionary Madras Municipal Bill which is before your Legislative Council. Under ordinary circumstances, one would have thought that the Government of Madras would have benefited by the extraordinary financial

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disclosures in the Calcutta Municipal accounts, by no less an authority than the Government auditors whose impartiality is above suspicion. Such have been the results in Calcutta of the boasted reform introduced by Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Gentlemen, the Madras Municipal Bill has taken the Calcutta Bill with all its deficiencies as its model and is trying to concentrate in a few the power which should really belong to the representatives of the majority of the rate-payers. I am, therefore, not surprised that the proposal has evoked such strong opposition on your part.

Gentlemen, I shall touch on one subject more before I conclude, viz., the industrial movement which is of such vital importance to our nation; and although I have left the subject to the last, it is by no means the least. Day before yesterday, one of our most advanced princes opened the Industrial Exhibition which is such an useful adjunct of the Congress and here on behalf of the people of India let me in the most cordial manner thank the Government of Lord Amthill for the substantial gift it has made to the Exhibition Fund. I have always been strong in my belief that our industries form the best of all political levers. Once we rear up large industries in India (you must distinguish it from exploitation by foreign capital) in which the interest not only of the capitalist but that of the wage earner and consumer is to be safe guarded, you may be sure that three-fourths of our battle of reform is won, for the power of the purse is by far the greatest of all powers.

Gentlemen, if I were to attempt to do full justice to all the questions in which we are interested it would require a great deal more time than I should be justified in taking up. As it is I find, that I have exceeded the length which I had prescribed for myself. The Congress has now been in existence for 19 years, during which we have had our days of sunshine as well as our days of storm. It has been said that the Congress represents after all a "microscopic minority." Although this statement was first made several years ago, it is still echoed from time to time by those who are determined to disparage that movement and hold it up to ridicule. Perhaps they will be surprised to learn that an illustrious writer whose works have already occupied a prominent position in the classical literature of modern Europe has said, speaking of a country in the van of European civilization, that "it is only the *elite* of a nation who are alive to the sentiments of glory and liberty, who appreciate noble and generous ideas and are ready to make sacrifices for them. The masses of the people desire quiet and repose, except when they are stirred up by deep and mighty passions. I may venture to follow up these pregnant words by adding that inasmuch as history teaches us that opinion always percolates from the higher to the lower strata of society, and what are the ideas of the educated minority to-day are bound to be shared by the masses to-morrow, it is the duty of all far-sighted statesmen to take time by the forelock and by the concession of well-considered reforms to ensure the contentment of the people and to enhance their loyalty and affection for the Government. At the same time we must not forget that a great deal depends on ourselves; for no nation has ever yet attained any position of importance by merely relying on the favours of the Government. There are many matters as to which, whether the Government is willing to help us or not, we ourselves can do a great deal, such for instance as the education of the masses of our people. Let us remember that if we are ever to acquire those rights and privileges which we all desire, the stimulus and the motive power must come from

ourselves, and above all let us not forget that we can never hope to realise our aspirations unless the Congress, fully sensible of its duties towards the masses of our people, so shapes its policy as to bring them into line with us. If I might venture to address you in the eloquent language which Virgil puts into the mouth of the Sibyll, I would say that :—

“Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,  
A voice of brass and adamantine lungs”

I could even then hardly hope to make a sufficiently impassioned appeal to you as regards the vital importance of educating our masses. We cannot forget that unfortunately our Government by the introduction of a policy of promiscuous distribution of titles encourages sycophancy and subservience amongst some of our wealthy people. That is the very reason why some of our titled folks, forgetting their duty to their country, are ever ready to perform servile genuflexions before every official clothed in brief authority. We are, however, glad to find that several of the flower of our aristocracy have risen superior to selfish considerations, and with admirable patriotism have come forward to place themselves at the head of the people whose natural leaders their rank and position justly entitle them to be.

#### A WELCOME RAPPROCHEMENT.

Gentlemen, in dealing with the economic question, I have shown that a good portion of the Home Charges is represented by the pension and other liberal allowances made to Anglo-Indian officials in England. Is there any reason why this injustice should be perpetuated? Have we not a right to say to our Government, that by the policy inaugurated by some of the best of your statesmen you have given us the benefits of a liberal education and stimulated our personal and national aspirations? Is it not, therefore, your duty to open up a career for those whose legitimate ambition you yourselves have roused? If you deliberately choose to close every avenue to our legitimate aspirations, do you really think that you are strengthening the loyalty of the Indian people? Or does it not strike you if you have any of the sagacity and foresight of statesmen, that you are doing your best to sow discontent and disaffection amongst a people sincerely disposed to be loyal to British rule? Speaking at a dinner of the National Liberal Club on 20th February 1884, when the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Kimberley was the President, having to respond to the toast of Liberal administration in India proposed by Mr. Walter Wren I said, “My Lord, in proportion as you pursue a policy of justice and provide a legitimate field for the gratification of our growing aspirations, you will place the loyalty of the Indian people on a firm and sure foundation;” and, gentlemen, I had the satisfaction of finding that that sentiment met with the unanimous approval of the cultured audience that I was then addressing.

Looking around us, I miss many of those who were such familiar figures in the Congress, and to whom so much of the success of the movement is due, but whom in the inevitable course of nature the Grim Ferryman, who spares neither prince nor peasant, has wafted across those dark waters from which there is no return. But I am glad to find that the rising generation is so well represented on this occasion; for if Time is year by year

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depriving us of some of our most valued leaders, we have at least the consolation of knowing that our younger men are ready to take up with vigour the work commenced by the generation that is fast passing away. I remember to have read some years ago in Orme's *History of India*, that whatever we do, we do languidly. If there be any foundation for that opinion, the zeal and energy of our younger generation ought to go far towards wiping out that reproach, for even men like myself who can no longer lay any claim to youth, unconsciously feel ourselves almost rejuvenated when we come in contact with their exuberant enthusiasm. Young men of India, in you the hopes of our country are centred, and I cannot bring home to you the responsibilities which rest on you better than by repeating, with the alteration of two words only, the historical message sent from Ligny on the 16th June 1815—"Gentlemen, the fate of India rests in your hands."

It is another hopeful sign of the times that there is an increasing *rapprochement* between Hindus and Mahomedans,—a *rapprochement* happily emphasised this year by the fact that of all the men of light and leading of which Madras can boast, the Congress party have selected you, Sir, to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee of our great national organisation. Our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen who may have at one time looked askance at the Congress, on account of the misrepresentations of those who are interested in dividing us, are now daily becoming more and more convinced that their interests as well as ours can only be advanced if we heartily co-operate with each other. There may have been a time, Sir, when the East India Company found it necessary to adopt a policy which in a letter, addressed to your great ancestor, General Bonaparte well described as *diviser pour regner*. Happily we can now hope for better things for we are no longer ruled by an irresponsible, unscrupulous and avaricious body of traders whose only object was to mercilessly exploit the country and whose rapacity and inhuman methods roused the indignation and fired the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan. Our Government is now under the control of Parliament and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our destinies are linked with those of a nation that has ever been distinguished by its fervent love of liberty proved not merely by their own political institutions but displayed on various occasions with rare generosity on behalf of distant and oppressed peoples. Although a British poet has sung:—

Did peace descend, to triumph and to save,  
 When free-born Britons, cross'd the Indian wave?  
 Ah, no!—to more than Rome's ambition true,  
 The nurse of Freedom gave it not to you?  
 She the bold route of Europe's guilt began,  
 And, in the march of nations led the van!

Still, for our part, we prefer to cling to the belief that the English people are not barbarous conquerors, but that they are champions of liberty whose divine mission it is to rekindle the torch of genius in this ancient land of civilization and to raise us once more to a position in some degree worthy of the greatness of our past history.

The PRESIDENT :—It is my duty to announce to you that you have to elect the members of the Subjects' Committee. Our Secretary Mr. Ghosal will read to you the names he has received from the various Provinces, and it will be for you to elect the members.

Mr. J. GHOSAL (Calcutta) then read out the names of the members constituting the Subjects' Committee and the names were approved.

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## MEMBERS OF THE SUBJECTS' COMMITTEE.

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### *EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS.*

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The following is the list of members :—

- 1 Lal Mohun Ghose, Esq., President.
- 2 The Hon. Mr. Nawab Sayed Mahomed Bahadur, Chairman, Reception Committee.
- 3 D. E. Wacha, Esq., General Secretary.
- 4 V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Esq., Secretary, Reception Committee.
- 5 V. Ryrn Nambiar, Esq., do do
- 6 T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, Esq., do do
- 7 V. Masilamony Pillai, Esq., do do
- 8 V. C. Desika Chariar, Esq., Treasurer.

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### MADRAS.

- 9 The Hon. Mr. C. Sankaran Nair.
- 10 " " L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.
- 11 " " M. Krishnan Nair.
- 12 " " G. Srinivasa Rao.
- 13 " " K. Vasudeva Aiyangar.
- 14 " " K. Venkata Rao.
- 15 Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu.
- 16 Eardley Norton, Esq.
- 17 M. R. Ry. P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.
- 18 " P. R. Sundara Aiyar.
- 19 " S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar.
- 20 " G. Subramanya Aiyar.
- 21 " C. Karunakara Menon.
- 22 " M. Veeraraghava Chariar.
- 23 " P. N. Rama Pillai.
- 24 " G. A. Natesan.
- 25 " A. C. Parthasaradhy Naidu.
- 26 " Dr. T. M. Nair.
- 27 " S. Subramanya Aiyar.
- 28 " Paul Peter Pillai.
- 29 " C. Krishnan.
- 30 " M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar.

- 31 M. R. Ry. G. Raghava Rao.  
 32 „ A. Suriyanarayana Rao.  
 33 „ B. Narasimmeswara Rao.  
 34 „ K. Perraju.  
 35 „ N. Subba Rao.  
 36 „ P. Kesava Pillai.  
 37 „ T. M. Munuswamy Aiyar.  
 38 „ G. Krishnama Chariar.  
 39 „ P. Ramanuja Chariar.  
 40 „ C. Vijayaraghava Chariar.  
 41 „ E. S. Ramaswamy Aiyar.  
 42 „ A. Subbarayalu Reddiar.  
 43 „ N. K. Ramaswamy Aiyar.  
 44 „ V. C. Sessa Chariar.  
 45 „ Srinivasa Varada Chariar.  
 46 „ T. K. Balasubramanya Aiyar.  
 47 „ P. Rathnasabapathy Pillai.  
 48 „ M. Venkatarama Aiyar.  
 49 „ A. Sundara Sastri.  
 50 „ P. M. Kailasa Pillai.  
 51 „ P. Narayana Menon.  
 52 „ M. Gopala Menon.  
 53 „ V. Mahadeva Aiyar.  
 54 „ T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar.  
 55 „ M. Chengayya.  
 56 „ B. Venkatachella Mudaliar.  
 57 „ Bhimasankara Rao.  
 58 „ S. Hanumantha Rao.  
 59 „ T. S. Sivaswamy Odayar.

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**BENGAL.**

- 1 Dr. S. Mullick.  
 2 J. Choudhury, Esq.  
 3 S. M. Haldar, Esq.  
 4 J. Ghosal, Esq.  
 5 Babu Surendranath Banerjee.  
 6 Babu Kumara Krishna Dutt.  
 7 Hirendra Nath Dutt, Esq.  
 8 Babu Zoti Prasanna Mukerjee.  
 9 Babu Surendra Nath Ray.  
 10 Babu Nanda Gopal Bhaduri.  
 11 Babu Hariprasad Chatterjee.  
 12 Babu Akhoykumar Mukerjee.  
 13 Babu Charoo Chundra Ghose.  
 14 Dr. Haridhona Dutt.  
 15 Nil Ratan Sircar, Esq.  
 16 Babu Ambica Charan Ukil.  
 17 Probode Chunder Roy.  
 18 Babu Premtosh Basu.

- 19 Rai Yatindra Nath Choudhury, Esq.
- 20 Hurry Mohun Roy Choudhury, Esq.
- 21 Ram Sankur Roy, Esq.
- 22 Janakinath Bose, Esq.
- 23 Babu Sarat Chandra Hazra.
- 24 Sudhansu Shekhar Bagchu, Esq.
- 25 Bhagbut Prasad Mahapatra, Esq.
- 26 Kalidas Rai Choudhury, Esq.
- 27 Nafar Das Ray, Esq.
- 28 Choudhury Mahomed Ismail Khan, Esq.
- 29 Khondkar Anwarali Sabib, Esq.
- 30 Babu Surendranath Mukerjee.
- 31 Babu Promoda Govinda Choudhury.
- 32 Dr. Kunjalal Shaha.
- 33 Babu Jnanodha Govinda Choudhury.
- 34 Umagati Roy Esq.,
- 35 Charoo Chunder Ghose, Esq.
- 36 Aswini Kumar Dutt, Esq.
- 37 Babu Barada Kante Ray.
- 38 Kishori Mohon Ray, Esq.
- 39 Jagendranath Mukerjee, Esq.
- 40 Babu Pyari Lal Ghose.
- 41 Pyari Sanker Das Gupta, Esq.
- 42 Sarat Chandra Chakerbutty, Esq.
- 43 Abool Kasem, Esq.
- 44 Raja Kali Prasanna Gajendra Mahapatra.
- 45 Maulvi Rafuiodeen Mahomed, Esq.,
- 46 Lakshminath Bezborroa, Esq.

### BOMBAY.

- 1 The Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta, C. I. E.
- 2       "       G. K. Parekh.
- 3       "       Daji Abaji Khare.
- 4       "       C. H. Setalvad.
- 5       "       H. S. Dikshit.
- 6 Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, Esq.
- 7 Narayen Vishnu Gokhale, Esq.
- 8 Lalubhai Samaldas, Esq.
- 9 N. M. Samarth, Esq.
- 10 Dr. U. L. Desai,
- 11 K. R. Cama, Esq.
- 12 R. P. Mody, Esq.
- 13 Narotum Morar Gokuldas, Esq.
- 14 Ramabhai Mahipatram, Esq.
- 15 H. N. Apte, Esq.
- 16 Professor V. K. Rajwade.
- 17 Dr. C. P. Boyce.
- 18 Nariman Manekji Pohowalla, Esq.
- 19 N. C. Kelkar, Esq.
- 20 V. M. Gadgil, Esq.
- 21 G. R. Abhyonker, Esq.



- 22 C. N. Jagirdhar, Esq.
- 23 A. K. Katti, Esq.
- 24 R. G. Mundle, Esq.
- 25 Nathabhai Lallubhai Vakilna, Esq.
- 26 Charles F. Sievwright, Esq.
- 27 G. B. Wagle, Esq.
- 28 R. P. Karandikar, Esq.

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#### BERAR.

- 1 R. N. Mudholkar, Esq.
- 2 V. M. Mahajani, Esq.

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#### THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

- 1 Hari Balwant Karmarkar, Esq.
- 2 Raja Ram Setha Ram Dikshit, Esq.

#### THE UNITED PROVINCES.

- 1 The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya.
- 2 Pundit Bishen Narain Dhar.
- 3 Pundit Ikbal Narain Gurtu.
- 4 Babu Ganga Prasada Varma.
- 5 „ Jugal Kishore.
- 6 C. Y. Chintamani, Esq.

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#### THE PUNJAB.

- 1 Sirdar Jhanda Singh.
- 2 Pundit Madho Ram.
- 3 Mr. Bulaki Ram Sastri.
- 4 Mr. Murli Dhar.

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#### BURMA.

- 1 V. G. Vasudeva Pillai, Esq.

Mr. D. E. WACHA :—The Subjects' Committee will meet at 4 P.M.  
The Congress then adjourned for the day to re-assemble at 12 noon  
on the following day.

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# *Second Day's Proceedings.*

*Tuesday, 29th December, 1903.*

NINETEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1903.

The Congress met at 12-15 P.M.

## RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE.

Before proceeding with the regular business of the meeting, the President moved the following resolution from the chair:—

“That this Congress desires to put on record its sense of the deep and irreparable loss sustained by India by the death of Lord Stanley of Alderley and Mr. W. S. Caine, the memory of whose services the people of India will always cherish with gratitude. That this Congress also wishes to place on record its deep regret at the death of the Rajah of Ramnad, who has always been a distinguished benefactor of the Congress.”

In doing so he said:—It is a Resolution of a mournful character, which requires no speech to support it. Not a word more is needed to commend it to you, and I shall ask you to honor the memory of the great departed by rising all in a mass and carrying it in solemn silence.

The Resolution was carried in accordance with the President's request, the audience standing in a body as a mark of respect.

## THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay), who on rising was received with cheers, said:—The resolution I have been asked to move is as follows:—

- (a) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country; that while the recommendations of the Commission did not secure full justice to the claims of the people of the country to higher and more extended employment in the higher grades of the Public Service, the Government have not even carried them out in their integrity, and have not extended the principle of appointing Indians to new appointments since created from time to time and in Special Departments such as the Salt, Opium, Medical and Police Departments, the Survey Department of the Government of India, the Government Telegraph Department, the Indo-British Telegraph Department, the Mint Department, the Postal Department, and the Foreign Department.
- (b) That in the opinion of this Congress the recent policy of the heads of departments and of the authorities responsible for Railway administrations proscribing the appointment of Indians in the Public and the Railway Services is a grave violation of the pledges and assurances given by the Government.

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Resolution of condolence.

The Public Service.

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- (c) That in the opinion of this Congress in order to arrest the economic drain that is caused by the present system of appointments by the Government, to secure to the people of the country the invaluable benefit of the experience and knowledge which a training in the Public Service affords, and to introduce economy in the administration, a policy of free employment of the natives of the soil in all branches of the service, is imperatively demanded.\*

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—This is a very old resolution of the Congress and I do not think that many words are required from me to commend it for your approval. Ever since 1886 when the Public Service Commission was appointed, natives of India have been hammering and hammering at this question ; they have been knocking at the door of Government from year to year till at last, as you all know, the Government of Lord Dufferin appointed a Commission the main object of which was to satisfy our legitimate ambitions and aspirations. Gentlemen, you might recollect that in the resolution appointing the Commission it was stated that once for all finality would be given, finality in respect of our aspirations. Well, gentlemen, you know that the Commission went round the country ; it made miles of report as usual, as Commissions generally do, and, as Lord Curzon's Commissions have especially done, without any avail or good to the people. The Commission went round, made its report and submitted it to Government. One hundred and eight appointments were recommended by the Commission to be taken out of the schedule of the Civil Service and to be given to the natives of India, and a special service was to be created, called the Provincial Service. It seemed, however, that the Government of India could not digest that report and its recommendations ; it was rather too bitter a pill to swallow. So they sat upon it, and having sat upon it, they reduced the number of appointments from one hundred and eight to, I believe, ninety-three, if I correctly remember the figure. Then another year elapsed. The report, with the recommendations of the India Government, went to the Secretary of State, Lord Cross ; and then the India Council and that responsible functionary between them incubated upon that to see how far the number of appointments could be still further attenuated. I believe eventually the ninety-three appointments were brought down to eighty-nine. But it took another year and more to prepare the rules and regulations with reference to these appointments, and as to how the service should be created in the different Provinces. At the time that these recommendations were finally adopted, this Congress passed a resolution to the effect that, although finality was originally promised, no finality was ever reached ; for, really speaking, the number of appointments eventually given to the natives of India was nothing in comparison with what was expected. Practically,

\* [Survey Department of the Government of India.—132 Officers salaries from Rs. 300—2,000, only two are Indians on Rs. 300.

Government Telegraph Department.—52 Appointments of Rs. 500 and more, only one Indian.

Indo-British Telegraph.—13 Officers above Rs. 500 salary, not an Indian.

Mint Department.—6 Officers above Rs. 500 pay, not an Indian.

Post Office.—Last year only 1 Indian among the 10 men drawing more than Rs. 500, who was a member of the Civil Service.

Geological Survey.—2 out of the Officers, drawing salaries above Rs. 500, an Indian.

Botanical Survey.—None.

In the Foreign Department.—Out of 22 such Officers only 3 are Indians.

Miscellaneous.—There are 22 Officers, of whom there is not a single Indian.

Financial Department.—14 are Indians out of 59 who draw more than Rs. 500 pay.]

under the Statutory Civil Service, which the Public Service Commission abolished, we might have had to-day something like hundred and fifty appointments, but against them we have now only eighty-nine ! That is the net effect of the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service and the institution of the Provincial Civil Service. We asked the Government for bread but they gave us stone in return. No wonder we were dissatisfied. The Government took care to take away from the Indian pocket a great deal more than it put in it. Hence from that day the Congress has regularly made it a point to express the dissatisfaction of our people at this bureaucratic legerdemain. Unfortunately something like thirteen years have passed ; but we have not seen any nearer solution of this great problem which touches almost the entire material welfare of all Indians. The more the appointments in the higher services are reserved for Indians, the less is the stress on the annual drain of thirty crores from the country. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been breaking his head and heart for the last thirty years on the subject. That economic drain can never be stopped until all the higher appointments are given in a considerably large proportion to natives. They say that a certain number of appointments should always be held by the English for efficiently superintending the administration of the country. We are willing that such a fair number of appointments should be so reserved. But after all, superintending appointments for administrative efficiency could only be very limited ; the remaining appointments should be very large. But monopolist as the Government is, I suppose, it feels bound to carry on the traditions of the East India Company who were great seekers of place and power. The Civil Service is nothing if not a close service of the greatest monopolists of place and power in the world. Still more so, because they are masters of the situation. The Government wholly consists of these monopolists. They are clever adepts at passing resolutions as to how to reserve all the fattest and the most numerous appointments for themselves. There is again their counterpart at the India Office. Some of the retired civilians who have sufficiently fattened here allow themselves to fatten there for at least ten years ; and in the bargain do what they can to starve the very natives of India whose salt they eat all through their retirement. This is the situation, gentlemen. Imagine the economic evil of the salaries and pensions enjoyed by this army of monopolists. But this economic stress would be reduced if the Government were to act in good faith, that is, carry out the declared policy of this country, of diverse charters and of the Queen's Proclamation. This has not been done to anything like reasonable satisfaction to this day. From the statistics which have been appended to this resolution every one must see how miserable has been the condition of the several appointments in the different departments, ever since the appointment of that Commission ; whether you take the Survey, the Opium, the Salt or the remaining Departments, everywhere the same tale of woe is told—half a dozen Indians and so many dozen Europeans. This is the tale which the statistics reveal. I will not further refer to the statistics because they are tiring in the first place, and in the second place, my Honorable friend here (Mr. Surendranath) has with eloquence, said enough at the two previous Congresses as to how we have been jilted out of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. It will be, therefore, superfluous on my part to refer to these statistics again. What has happened is this. Not only have these appointments been withheld from us but the Provincial Service, which has been created for this purpose, has again deteriorated. We cried aloud against the Statutory Civil Service, because we said that the rules

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and regulations made in regard to that Service were of a character which brought in recruits of mediocre or no ability. That is to say, the Statutory Civil Service was recruited by nomination and it happened that the Government exercised its patronage in rather an indiscriminate way, whereby a number of people were drafted into the service who would not have belonged to it if they had been admitted under some well considered test. Sons of rich aristocrats were taken in. We do not, of course, disapprove of sons of aristocrats and the landed gentry, provided they are men of approved merit and ability. We do not want all donkeys in the service (*Laughter*); what we want is men of ability, we want to see an aristocracy of intellect and from that aristocracy we should draw our force for state service. What occurred with the Statutory Civil Service is now occurring with the Provincial Service. I must say in almost all the Provinces rules were adopted for examination. What happened is this. These rules have been cast to the winds; the very rules, which our own rulers have made, have been consigned to the waste paper basket, and the old vicious system of nomination which was prevalent in the days of the Statutory Civil Service is again in the ascendant. This is the case in Allahabad. In Bombay we had examinations at first but they have lately followed in the wake of backward Allahabad. That is another of our grievances.

Thirdly, our grievance is against the Railway Department. Many of you must have been reading the annual administration of Railways published in long Blue Books in India. Till late, that is, prior to the mischievous "razor" Resolution of Lord Curzon, a chapter was devoted to the description of employment in Railways. They made a big parade, the gentlemen who prepared the annual Railway Report, of the fact that 97 per cent. of the employees of all the different Railway Companies in India were natives of the country and only three per cent. were Europeans. The facts stated may be taken for granted, that is, that there are only three per cent. of Europeans. But who are those three per cent. of Europeans? They are all men with fat salaries of Rs. 5,000—4,000—3,000—2,000—1,000—per month and I may go down like the auctioneer singing and bring it down to Rs. 500 and 400 and so on. That is about it all. The 97 per cent. of natives of India, who are employed in the Railway Service, do not, I believe, earn more than a maximum salary of Rs. 250. There may be here and there an exception who may get more. But the rest are a large number of porters, coolies and gate-keepers whose salary is Rs. 6 or 7 and Rs. 10 in some places. It was before the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure that I brought out this point. I said that 2448 Europeans earned salaries of Rs. 1,000 and upwards per annum and that their total amounted to 80 lakhs, while only 895 natives earned the same salaries and the total of these came to 13 lakhs. I think my friend, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, also pointed it out. Look at the disparity of the amount of salaries received by the 97 per cent. of the employees who are natives and the amount of salary earned by the three per cent. who are Europeans. It was very telling. Some questions were put by the Welby Commission and there was no cross-examination, because they thought it was really too telling to have any cross-examination on the subject. Apart from the fact already stated, it seems that, in the Bengal Province, for some six or eight or twelve months past, there has been a great uproar owing, they say, to a private and confidential circular in which the mandate has gone forth that no native of India should be allowed to hold any appointment in Railways beyond Rs. 30 per month. Practically, gentlemen, they are backing out of their old promises

and pledges. There is an old resolution, which has never yet been rescinded, of 1879, in which it is stated that, wherever a European was to be appointed above Rs. 200, there should be the sanction of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State. That resolution has been given the go-bye as if it never existed! Europeans of no merit and no proved ability are being recruited in the Railway Service; young men just out from schools, who cannot earn their livelihood in any other way are pitchforked into places on salaries beginning with Rs. 50 per month. What is the case in Bengal is also to a certain extent the case in Bombay and elsewhere. We do not grumble at Europeans having a share of the loaves and fishes, but we do grumble and make it a strong grievance that the bigger and most numerous loaves are deliberately allowed in defiance of charters, pledges and proclamations to go to the whites and the smaller and fewer loaves to the blacks. That, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, is another grievance. Lord Curzon contradicted the other day that there was any such circular. The question is how it is that the leading Press in India, particularly the leading Press of Bengal, gave vent to the circular and in fact particularized and specialised the different points mentioned in the circular. (Mr. Surendranath Banerjee:—They published the whole circular). Therefore there was such a circular. How can the Viceroy deny it? There cannot be smoke without fire. It might have been diplomatic on the part of the Government of India, who issued the circular, to give an official contradiction to it, seeing that the public had caught hold of it. But I will say openly that Official contradictions in this country are worth absolutely nothing (*Cheers*); they are not worth the paper on which they are written. Let the Viceroy say anything he likes, but I will contradict him and say that the Official contradiction is worth nothing. Look again at the irony of it. We are charged with suspecting the motives of Government; we are charged with attributing motives to Government. If the Government chooses to take a particular action which is prejudicial to our interest, are we wrong in attributing motives to it? If, as Mr. Mehta observed the other day at the Bombay University, there was evidence, circumstantial evidence, of a crucial character before us, to infer that there was something behind which would lead us to suspect motives, why should we be prevented from suspecting? In all high affairs of state, when we find that the preaching of Government does not accord with its practice, and when we find that the practice entirely differs from the preaching, we are entitled to suspect the motives of Government and say that the Government is not acting straightforwardly. The most curious thing is that it is not open to us to suspect the motives of Government, but Government may do so and castigate us to any extent as Lord Curzon tried the other day to castigate Mr. Gokhale most wrongfully. It comes to this, that what is mild or inoffensive in the captain becomes choleric and blasphemous in the soldier. So on our part it is blasphemy to attribute motives to Government; but it is not blasphemy for the Government to rave and rant and castigate us to its heart's content. (*Loud laughter*).

I now come to the last part of this resolution. I do not want to inflict any further speech but I will only say this, that, throughout, the whole career of the British Indian Government, not from to-day but from the days of the East India Company, there is this tradition to give a promise to the ear and to break it to the hope, and they faithfully and loyally follow that tradition. In the case of the Public Service Commission, we have found, to our bitter cost and experience, that the same traditional policy has been carried on. Promises were most profusely given to us; a Commission was

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appointed amidst a great flourish ; finality was to be given to our legitimate aspirations and our just grievances were to be fairly redressed. It has been so for the last half a century. When the practice comes, we find ourselves exactly in the same situation as we were in before the Commission was appointed. This is the tale of our grievances, of our legitimate and fair grievances. Under these circumstances, I think, this Congress will do well to hammer at this question with unabated vigour from year to year until our aspirations in this particular matter are satisfied in an honourable and straightforward way. With these remarks I commend this resolution to your approval. (*Cheers*)

MR. G. SUBRA-  
MANIA IYER.

Mr. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER, in seconding the above resolution, spoke as follows :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

My friend, Mr. Wacha, concluded by exhorting you to go on hammering away at this question until ample and full justice was done to our legitimate claims. Indeed, gentlemen, our experience in this particular question has been singular. The more we clamoured for justice in this matter, the more in apparent compliance with our clamour did Government institute enquiries, the more backward have they shunted our position on this question. I shall just examine what followed the last two enquiries. Mr. Wacha just said that the result of the investigation by the Public Service Commission brought us to a position much worse than that in which we were before the investigation was undertaken. Under Lord Lytton's statutory system even the recommendations of the Commission which did imperfect justice to our claims were not fully carried out ; and again they gave us a Provincial Service, a so-called Provincial Service which gave us a distinctly inferior position to the one which was open to us under the old system. There was never a greater fraud perpetrated upon the claims of the people than by that Service. They took certain minor appointments in the higher service and added a few others in the lower service and made a conglomeration of the two and called it Provincial Service. Then, in June 1893 our friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, had a resolution passed in the House of Commons saying that, until simultaneous examinations were held in India and England, full justice to our claims would not be done. You remember, Gentlemen, that, when the resolution was forwarded to the Government of India, an elaborate official enquiry was held ; and what was the result of this ? You all know that the Government both here and in England declared themselves against a system of simultaneous examinations. Probably you are not aware that the result of that was the enunciation of new doctrines in regard to the advancement of the people of this country in the Public Service. In the first place, some of you might have observed that Lord Landsdowne and Sir Henry Fowler, in belittling the importance and solemn character of the great proclamation of the late Queen Victoria, said that no restrictions on the claims of the Indians were imposed, and in that connection described the terms of the proclamation as so-called pledges. That was one novel principle enunciated. The second retrograde principle was that they said that, in the public service of this country, there must be an irreducible minimum of English servants. That was to say that, in spite of the solemn assurances and pledges given, no claim of the Indian people was to be considered above a certain point. The third retrograde and

reactionary principle was that, it has been laid down in this country, the competitive system of recruitment for the public service was unwise and impracticable. Thus you see both the Public Service Commission and the enquiry in regard to the simultaneous examination have tended to make our position in regard to this question distinctly worse. Then, again, there are other matters. Under the old system, before the Provincial Civil Service was established, it was open under the statute of 1870 for any Indian public servant of proved merit and character to be promoted to the Imperial Service; without any public examination, an Indian in the Uncovenanted Service may be promoted to the Civil Service. Since the Public Service Commission and the institution of Provincial Service, no advantage has been taken of this provision. And again, as Mr. Wacha said, under the statutory rules of 1879, every appointment in certain departments carrying a salary of Rs. 200 and more was to be conferred upon natives; if it was to be conferred upon Europeans, the sanction of the Secretary of State was to be obtained. Under this rule we used to protest against appointments of Europeans and, so far as this Presidency was concerned, we were able to prevent a few appointments being taken away from us by the Secretary of State.

[The weather had been cloudy all the previous day and there was occasional drizzling in the morning with signs of an impending cyclone unusual in Madras at this time of the year. But at this stage of the proceedings the rain began to descend in torrents and the temporary stone line leaked in many places to the great discomfort of the audience.]

PRESIDENT:—As nobody can hear the speaker on account of this rain we will suspend the meeting for a short time.

A few minutes later proceedings were resumed.

THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee will dominate the noise of the rain. I call upon him to address the Congress.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE who received a tremendous ovation then addressed the meeting. He said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—It was the earnest wish of some of the members of the Subjects Committee that I should speak to this Resolution; I did not see my way to comply with that request; but now that the Heavens have descended, it seems necessary that I should, in my own humble way, come to the rescue of the situation. Mr. President and Brother Delegates, in this matter we take our stand upon the Queen's Proclamation, the Magna Charta of our rights and liberties. In that gracious Proclamation, we have these noble words: "And it is our further will, that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely admitted to all offices, the duties of which they are qualified by their ability, education and integrity to duly discharge." Those are the gracious words of the solemn Proclamation, and Viceroy after Viceroy has declared that that Proclamation is the golden rule of his conduct. If so, what becomes of those iniquitous racial considerations imported into the distribution of public patronage throughout the length and breadth of this vast Empire? Ladies and Gentlemen, the other day a Resolution was issued by the Government of Bengal—no doubt under superior inspiration—to the effect that

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certain appointments in the Bengal Secretariat, carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards, a month, should be reserved for Europeans and Eurasians. I protest against this reservation. In your name and on your behalf, and on behalf of the entire educated community of India, I desire to record my protest against it. Let not my position and that of the Congress be misunderstood. We welcome the domiciled Europeans and Eurasians into the fold of the public service. They are our brothers; the country is theirs as well as ours; they have made India their home and have identified themselves with its interests. Both they and we ought to protest against racial considerations being introduced into the public service. They and we ought to protest against the Queen's Proclamation being torn into tatters and scattered to the winds. That is our position with regard to this matter. And, gentlemen, we have the Resolution of the Secretary of State, to which my friend here has referred, namely, the Resolution of 1879, and, under the terms of that Resolution, no appointment, excepting appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service, carrying salaries of Rs. 200 per mensem and upwards, can be conferred on any other person than a Statutory native of India except with the consent of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. But when, by this Resolution of the Government of Bengal, you reserve appointments for a particular class, you nullify the order of the Secretary of State. You only give up the direct frontal attack in deference to modern tactics and execute a dexterous flank movement. You profess to stand on the exalted platform of the Queen's Proclamation and proclaim it to be the golden rule of your conduct, while, by a side wind, you tear that Proclamation and introduce racial considerations into the distribution of public offices.

I hope and trust that from this Congress there will go forth a mighty protest against proceedings of this kind. We have lost ground; but our cause is one of righteousness and justice, and so long as the God of nations shapes the destinies of communities and peoples, working in the path of righteousness, be confident that the day will come which will mark the ultimate triumph of equality and of equal principles even in this unhappy land of ours. (*Loud Cheers*)

Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee having resumed his seat and the rain having somewhat abated, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer continued his speech which had been interrupted before.

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I will only add a few words to what has fallen from the lips of Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. I said, in the few words I spoke some few minutes ago, that the privileges, to which we were entitled before the last Public Service Commission, have been taken away from us. Under the old Statute of 1870 any member of the Uncovenanted Civil Service was entitled to be promoted to any appointment in the Covenanted Civil Service, or what is called the Indian Civil Service now. Again, under the rules, the Statutory Rules of 1879 to which reference has been made, we had a right to get all appointments in certain specified departments in preference to Europeans in whose case any new appointment required the previous sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Now the Public Service Commission recommended the repeal of this Statute and the abolition of these rules, but the Secretary of State said that these two were provisions which afforded ample guarantee for full justice being done to the claims of the Indian people and that the Provincial Service which was constituted

under the recommendation of the Public Service Commission secured to them a steady permanent footing in the Public Service of their country. But what has happened as a fact? While this Provincial Civil Service is a distinctly inferior service containing a small number of higher appointments, most of the appointments being what we used to get in the Uncovenanted Civil Service formerly, the advantages that could be taken under the Statute of 1879 and the rules that I have referred to have been entirely lost to us. Under the pretence of the claims of the old members of the Civil Service being satisfied, all the claims of men in the Provincial Civil Service to promotion to the Indian Civil Service have been ignored. I do not know what length of time it will be before the claims of these members of the Indian Civil Service are fully satisfied. I do not admit that they are entitled to any such consideration, barring those that entered the Civil Service before 1884. Those that entered it after the Public Service Commission have no right to any advantages that they might have expected because they knew that the Indian people had been conceded certain rights. Still, under this pretence, our legitimate claims have been waived too long. As for the rules of which we used to make a good deal, no advantage is taken of them and they are now entirely ignored. Although the employment of Europeans is prohibited under those rules except with the permission of the Secretary of State, still appointment after appointment is being made in violation of those rules without regard to what has been promised to us. Formerly, when Lord Kimberly was Secretary of State, the Mahajana Sabha of Madras, after sending a telegraphic petition to him, snatched back two appointments in the Revenue Survey which had been actually given away to Europeans and also the Sanskrit Professorship of the Presidency College which was almost given away to a European. These appointments were got back to our countrymen by reference to these rules. Latterly ourselves and the Government have forgotten these important rules. Only recently in this part of the country, appointments in the High Court, in the Educational Department, etc., have been filled up by European young men freshly imported from Europe while there have been a number of Indian gentlemen fully qualified to be appointed to these places. So if you go on considering these different appointments we come to various departments. Recently the Public Works Department, the Finance Department, the Military Commissariat Department, not to speak of the Post and Telegraph Departments, in all these, most important appointments have been set apart exclusively for people other than pure Indian. These things are being done in open daylight without regard to promises that have been made. Is it not time that we raise our strong voice against this open violation of the most sacred promises and pledges that have been made to us? This policy of ignoring the claims of the Indian people involves threefold wrong to the people of this country. The last part of the resolution, you see, refers to this. This is a very important matter, and if the taxes of this country paid to foreigners in the shape of salaries should be taken away to another country from the country where they are collected, and spent in a distant foreign land, that drain is bad enough; but there is another and more serious drain to which I must refer and to which this resolution refers and to which more importance should be attached than to the financial drain. I mean the moral drain which this policy involves. Employment in the service of the country opens a great field for valuable training. The education and experience gained in high offices of the public service are invaluable, and gentlemen that serve in public service for a length of time and retire with pensions and live in the country command such influence

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for good that their service would be of the utmost value. This advantage we are deprived of. We have been under British rule for more than one-hundred and fifty years. Is there one Indian gentleman whom we can mention as an authority in the administration of Railways? Or is there even one amongst us whom we can put forward as a great financier or great diplomatist or as a great engineer? We have been under the most enlightened progressive administration, and yet not one of us has reached a position which people under an independent patriotic Government like the Government of Japan have attained. Where is our Marquis of Ito or Count Okuma? Is there anyone who is in a position to hold his own against the great men of European countries like Russia or Great Britain? What is there to prevent our great men reaching a position of great professional eminence? You know that Anglo-Indians, after serving here for nearly thirty years in high offices, go back to their native country. What do they do there? They offer their experience and knowledge to be used by the state or by municipal corporations or industrial organisations. Sir Antony Macdonnell is Secretary for Ireland. At whose cost did he gain his experience? For thirty years he was drawing large salaries from Indian revenues; he acquired his experience at our cost, and the benefit of the experience which he gained in our country during a long series of years he is now giving to a different country altogether. Suppose Sir Antony Macdonnell, who is Irish Secretary, or Sir David Barbour, who was sent to South Africa to estimate its fiscal resources, remained here amidst us, and, if their experience and services and influence could be at the disposal of the public here, what a tower of strength would they be to us? What is the justification for the Government to deprive us of the invaluable assistance of men who have served in the public service of our own country? I look upon this aspect of the question as a serious evil. Year after year, we are spending millions of rupees as salaries paid to Europeans imported from other countries. They hold all the responsible appointments. They gain all the experience that these responsible appointments and high administrative charges give them and they carry away the experience as well as the savings they make. We here are told that we should be satisfied with subordinate appointments; and what is the reason? Absolutely no reason is given. The old bogey reason that we are not fit for service in higher grades is given up. Nobody can put forward that excuse now.

They say there should be an irreducible minimum of Englishmen. What does it mean? Slavery is ingrained in the skin of our body. If we in our own country are not to be trusted with responsible appointments, if our own Government would not take us into their confidence and place us in offices which will give us responsibility in the administration of our own country, what is it, gentlemen, but slavery? We are hewers of wood and drawers of water and nothing more. Even in the Railway Service what happens? Mr. Wacha referred to the salaries drawn by Europeans. The salaries amounting to one crore of rupees annually are drawn by Europeans employed in the higher Railway appointments over and above a certain portion. In England the Directors of Railways draw fees, large fees, and often they find it convenient to increase the scale of their fees. There is again the dividend paid to shareholders. They speak of the advantages of Railways, but they forget the great difference between Railway administration here and Railway administration in other countries. At least do we gain the experience which the administration of Railways gives? Suppose oppor-

tunities were given to people to construct a Railway and manage it, how many people are there amongst us with the qualification and experience to do that? Similarly, not only in the Railway service, but in other important services we have not got men who are qualified and who can discharge any great responsible duty because no opportunity is given.

In this matter, both Lord George Hamilton and Lord Curzon have been the worst sinners. They have promised a great deal. During the last five years that Lord Curzon has been Viceroy, notwithstanding his mellifluous utterances he has not given a single proof of his confidence in and recognition of, the attainments or the rights of natives. What has Lord George Hamilton done with regard to Cooper's Hill? What has he done also with regard to the Rurki College? In regard to the Cooper's Hill College intended for the training of Indians as Engineers, he has laid down that more than two Indians should not be admitted in a year. The result is when appointments have been restricted, no Indian would care to seek admission. Similarly, in every department there is a regular retrograde policy being pursued. On the one hand, they go on making promises, and giving us hopes and assurances and, on the other hand they go on adopting a backward policy. After a hundred years we have not advanced by one inch but have gone a long distance backward from where we were. Without saying more about this resolution, I commend it to your acceptance.

MR. PEARY LAL GHOSE :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—I hope you will kindly bear with me for a few minutes. It is very difficult for a young man of my stamp to stand amidst such a vast assembly as this and raise my voice to such a pitch that it can be heard from all corners of the Pandal. I shall first give the reasons why I have come here to speak. I should not really speak, but the reason, why I have ventured to come forward, is that I take a pride to speak something in this Congress. The second reason is this, that I did not know beforehand that so many famous speakers would speak on this subject. However, as it is a paramount duty of ours to bow down before our leaders, I have come here to speak on this subject. Before doing that I crave your indulgence for a few minutes. In the year 1897 when the men of my own native District had elected me as a delegate I came here to this city of Madras and joined the Congress movement. I think we have a right to expect that every one now joining our ranks ought to undergo a period of apprenticeship. My period of apprenticeship has now passed. For the past five years I have tried my best to circulate the views of the Congress by means of pamphlets and speeches to people of all castes and creeds from village to village (*Cheers*). We hear a great deal about the spreading of political ideas. I went also from village to village and had the good fortune of winning the good opinion of such distinguished leaders as Mr. Bannerjee, who were kind enough to appoint me agent of the Provincial Conference. In several places 500 to 700 people were present at my meetings and you will be glad to hear that I found illiterate people taking more delight to hear about the Congress and that they grasped its principles more readily than many of our so-called educated countrymen: (*Cheers*). I tell you that if you try to spread the principles of the Congress and to educate the people, there is nothing hopeless about the Congress movement. The movement is not on the wane as some people tell you. My experience tells me that the movement is not at all on the wane. It is for that reason that I have come here

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to speak. As regards the subject itself I do not want to enter into any details because, you know, it has been before the Congress for many years, and such distinguished speakers as Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, Mr. Subramania Iyer and Mr. Wacha, before whom we all must bow down, have already spoken on the subject. You have heard the Proclamation, and after you have heard the Proclamation I will only give two instances of how in Bengal they have tried to violate the terms of this sacred Proclamation. A recent case in Bengal created great sensation. It was a case brought by one Mr. Jolly against Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee and another Editor of a newspaper. It came out in the course of the evidence taken there that Mr. Jolly, though a European, had managed somehow to get into the executive service in Assam where no European has any right to get an appointment reserved for the statutory service. What was the result? He was dismissed before he could be confirmed in the post; I say, many of our countrymen have thus been deprived of their legitimate claims. We fight simply that everything should be done according to qualifications, merit and ability. This is the point we fight for. Whether he be a domiciled Anglo-Indian, European or Eurasian, whether he be a Madrassese or Bengalee we want to respect ability and merit. That is the thing we fight for. I will cite another instance and then I have done. In a recent case, in the Comptroller of Military Accounts Department there were for more than ten years ten hands of whom nine were Europeans or Eurasians and only one native. You will be surprised to hear that, when ten posts were created, the nine Eurasians were permanently appointed and the one native who served there and who had done good work was found unfit to be made permanent ("shame"). I am given to understand that a private circular is sent to the three Presidencies requesting the people there to inform the Government of India so that, wherever there is a preponderance of natives, the fact may be brought to the notice of the Government. One of the Comptrollers, that of Rawalpindy, said, that natives were the backbone of his office and that he would not admit Europeans or Eurasians because there was a preponderance of natives. He was an exception. But throughout the country they are trying to do away with the rights of the Indian people.

THE PRESIDENT:—Before I call on the next speaker Mr. Ghosal reminds me that he has got some rules to be read out to the Congress.

Rules for con-  
duct of business.

MR. GHOSAL:—As some of the speakers are taking a very long time I wish to read the rules on the subject:—(Reads).

Rule:—The President will allot the time during which each speaker can speak and no one can exceed this without the special permission of the President. The President will sound his gong when the time allotted to each speaker is drawing to a close and he will sound it a second time when that period has elapsed and the speaker must retire.

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KASEM.

MR. ABOOL KASEM (Bengal) said:—

As the learned mover of the Resolution has told you, this is one of the earliest items on our programme, and if till now we have not been able to throw it into the Omnibus it is simply because of its importance. You

have been told by the distinguished mover and Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee that, in this important matter, we have been going backward instead of forward. Instead of granting our request for simultaneous Civil Service Examinations, the Government of India by Resolution and Regulation are trying to snatch away some of the important appointments formerly held by Natives of India. To quote again the same Honorable Gentlemen these things should not dishearten us. Ours is a cause of justice and of right, and if we only keep on with persistence demanding our rights, we shall in the end get by our persistency what is now denied to us. I would in this connection speak of my experience in connection with one particular department. The Government of Lord Ripon resolved that the Opium Department should be opened to Natives of India as an experimental measure. His Lordship's Government decided that one-fifth of the officers should be Natives of India, and if the experiment proved a success, Natives of India should be more freely admitted to the Department. I am proud to be able to tell you that the experiment has proved a complete success. Altogether there are about 300 superior appointments in the Department and of these 288 are held by Europeans and 12 by Natives of India. The annual report published by the Board of Revenue of Bengal makes honorable mention of 8 Officers of the Department, and of these 4 are Natives and 4 Europeans. Out of the 288 European Officers the Board of Revenue found only 4 men worthy of special mention; but out of the infinitesimally small number of 12 Native Officers it also found 4 men worthy of mention. If this does not show that the experiment has been a success I don't know what will. If this is so in this Department why should not the same be the case in other Departments? I can well understand the policy of the Government of India. They have got at least some show of reason when they say that there should be a preponderance of the European element in the executive service, but what is there to prevent Natives of India being admitted more largely into branches of work in India, which have nothing to do with the executive.

Gentlemen, our distinguished leaders have spoken on the Resolution and you don't expect a speech from me. When the Subjects Committee asked me to support the Resolution, they did so because they wanted a Mohamedan delegate to associate himself with the subject. I cannot say whether I represent that community here or not; but I do say that as a Mohamedan delegate I do associate myself with the Resolution as strongly as I can. In this Resolution we demand free admission for Natives of India into the Public Service and I think that Natives of India here include Hindus, Mohamedans and representatives of all creeds and nationalities. It has been the fashion with some of my co-religionists in Bengal and elsewhere to approach Viceroys, Governors and others in authority, with addresses and memorials requesting a larger share of appointments for Mohamedans. The Viceroy and those in authority have told them to their face that in this matter of Public Service no special treatment can be accorded to any body, that all must depend upon their own exertions, and that the exigencies of service will not permit the Government of India to make any difference. When, however, it becomes a question of deciding between Europeans and Natives, they give the lie to what they have told the Mohamedans and that shows plainly the light in which the Mohamedan community is regarded by the Government of India. After this, will our co-religionists and their sympathetic Anglo-Indian advisers dare to say that we should not come to the Congress for fear of losing the sympathy and interest of the Government of India?

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

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## INCREASING ASSESSMENT.

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THE PRESIDENT :—The next Resolution will be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer.

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution that I have been asked to propose for your acceptance runs as follows :—

That this Congress views with alarm the tendency to increase the land revenue assessment every time there is a revision, and declares its firm conviction that the policy of varying the assessment so frequently and so heavily is increasing the poverty of the agricultural population of this country and rendering them still further unfit to withstand the periodical visitations of bad seasons and famines than they are now. This Congress, therefore, prays that the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, as laid down in the Secretary of State for India's despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and settlements for longer periods be made; and that judicial and legislative restrictions on over-assessments be imposed in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the Permanent Settlement.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The question that is involved in this resolution is one which has been before the public like the previous resolution for many years. The sense of the public has been very strong against the view that the Government has taken of the matter, and yet the Government has not shown any disposition on its part to yield to the view of the public. We have had recently a resolution that has been framed by the Government of India, a resolution which professes to have been based upon recommendations and views submitted to it by the Local Governments and which I am sorry to say puts the matter beyond the achievement of our hopes as far as possible. I do not think, Gentlemen, that it is necessary for me to take up your time by discussing the merits of the question that is involved in this resolution for this very simple reason that the Government itself is not differing from us with respect to the basic points on which we are making this prayer. Government does not deny that the ordinary Indian ryot is poor and that anything that can be done to better his condition is absolutely essential; but what the Government thinks is that this is not the remedy that shall have to be applied; at any rate this is not a remedy that calls for being adopted so largely as other remedies that the Government thinks are in our own hands. I do not take it, Gentlemen, that those who advocate the adoption of this resolution have ever so far forgotten the nature of the case as to think that if we only have a reduction in the assessment the millenium will be reached, there will no longer be famines, and there will no longer be poor Indian ryots. Nobody has gone so far as that. But what is contended on behalf of those who plead for the acceptance of this resolution is that there are ways in which the condition of the Indian ryot might be bettered and that reducing the assessment he has to pay the Government is one that is entitled to great consideration, that it is one of the very important ways by which his condition could be bettered and that it is perfectly possible for the Government in this way to do the good it is capable of. That is the point. Every body recognises

that our industrial enterprises cannot increase, unless industrial education is given on a larger scale, that unless the exports that are sent from India are not of the raw material, India can never hope to become a prosperous country. But what they also say is that until that stage is reached, and until it is possible for people to take to industries more and more largely, there is a course that is open to Government, a course which they could readily adopt which, if adopted, will make the condition of the Indian ryot a little better. When I go into the facts of the case I hope I shall satisfy you that the prayer that is now made is an absolutely reasonable one. In the very resolution that the Government has last adopted on this matter it has been laid down and it has been expressly admitted that the measure of the Indian ryot's prosperity will very largely depend upon the incidence of the revenue that he has to pay. If that be true, then it follows that if you lessen the assessment his prosperity will be much greater; and it is also freely acknowledged that that can only be a proper assessment which enables a ryot to save in good seasons something which he could lay by and which he could use when he has the stress of adversity on him. Our contention is a contention that cannot be gainsaid. At present, as the rates of assessment go, the ryot has to pay much more than he is actually able to do and we simply ask that there should be a reduction in that rate of assessment. Taking, for instance, Madras, you will all remember, gentlemen, that there has been a most able resolution adopted by the Board of Revenue on which the views contained in the resolution of the Government are very largely based. It is there stated that excluding Malabar and South Canara, you can take the gross income of the agricultural population in the Madras Presidency to be 44 crores of rupees from land and 10 crores by means of cattle. If you only deduct the cost of cultivation, exclude the labour employed on it and the cost of feeding the cattle, we may take it that the annual net income available is 3,080 lakhs of rupees.

Distributing this over a population of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  millions, you will get something like Rs. 17-9-7 per head. That is, according to the roseate view taken in the resolution itself of the Board of Revenue, the income which each ryot has. Yet we have it on the very highest authority—an authority that has been accepted by Government itself, that it will cost at least Rs. 21 for an adult of the lowest class to maintain himself, and it has also been stated by the late lamented Srinivasaiah Iyengar that for some higher classes it might cost something like Rs. 45 a year. I leave it to you, gentlemen, to say whether these figures are correct, but for the purposes of my argument it is unnecessary that I should cavil at these figures. The income per head of the population which I showed, comes very far short of what has been accepted as the lowest figure with which it is possible for an adult to maintain himself. When you remember that this figure which I have given viz., Rs. 17-9-7, is the average and, therefore, that there must be a number of instances wherein persons must be getting very much less than that, it is not very difficult to picture to yourselves the condition of misery which is the normal lot of every Indian ryot. It therefore appears to me, gentlemen, that there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the misery and poverty-stricken condition of the Indian ryot.

The next question then will be how to remedy it. Our suggestion is, accept the Permanent Settlement and introduce it. In 1862 the Secretary of State for India sent a despatch which is very

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far-seeing in its character and which displays those evidences of statesmanship and political wisdom which unfortunately are absent in the present-day resolutions of the Government of India. None of the arguments that the recent Government of India resolution has adduced, have been ignored in those despatches. It is not at all denied that it is perfectly possible that the State shall have to surrender something of the prospective income that it may expect. Suppose there is no revision of assessment at stated periods. It is recognised that the Government shall have to sacrifice some of its revenues while the demerits of a Permanent Settlement are recognised, it is also recognised that it has got certain good features about it, certain features which will make for the betterment of the Indian ryots' condition, something which will make them more happy and more loyal citizens and worthy of the British Empire. It is because the then Government recognised this that they said that they were unwilling that this possibility of their having to surrender the prospective income that might otherwise be added to the State should not be in the way of accepting the Permanent Settlement. They said in that despatch, i.e., in the Despatch of 1862, that this system of Permanent Settlement could not be introduced in all places. The conditions that they lay down there, are 'As districts are gradually brought under the revised assessment, when there is reason to believe that the land revenue has not only reached its probable limit but is equitably distributed over the lands affected by it, then the Permanent Settlement might be introduced.' The two conditions imposed are, you must be satisfied that the probable limit of assessment has been reached and that this assessment has been equitably distributed over the lands affected by it. If these conditions were satisfied, then they said that the Permanent Settlement could be introduced. Again in 1865 in another despatch the Secretary of State laid it down that when 80 per cent. of the lands that are assessed are taken up for cultivation that is the limit to be reached before the Permanent Settlement can be introduced. And in 1867 this principle was confirmed but there was a modification made of it, namely, that in cases where canal irrigation is expected to be extended Permanent Settlement shall not be adopted when there is a possibility of the assets being increased by at least 20 per cent. All that we ask, gentlemen, now, is, in cases in which these various conditions have been satisfied in such cases, Permanent Settlement shall be introduced.

Take again Madras. I find from the statistics that have been published by the Government that there have been something like 23,848,965 acres fully assessed under ryotwari tenure, that is something like 24 millions. 80 per cent. of these 24 millions will make 19,200,000. The same book gives us that the cultivated area is 19,801,060 so that it is much over the prescribed limit that is, the limit prescribed by the despatches of the Secretary of State in 1865 and 1867. Then again, gentlemen, it has been conceded in the resolution itself that has been last issued by the Government of India that this Settlement for thirty years shall have to be adopted only where the land is fully cultivated, rents are fair, and agricultural production is not subject to violent oscillation. You will thus see, gentlemen, that these conditions, which according to the despatches of 1865 and 1867 had to be fulfilled before Permanent Settlement could be produced, are considered now to be conditions for the Settlement for thirty years being introduced. We say that this is a case of going backwards. No

proper reason has been shown for the retrograde step the Government has taken.

If it so happens that the Government differs from us as to the time being ripe for the introduction of the Permanent Settlement, then we say make the conditions definite under which settlement shall have to be revised. We say that unless people are in a position to know what exactly the circumstances are that the Government will insist on before it makes up its mind to increase the assessment that is leviable on the land, there will not be any certainty of tenure and people will not be able to invest their money in the improvement of land, there will not be security of property, that certainty of income which ought to be the first essential of every citizen's life. That is the reason why we request that in the event of the Government finding it difficult now to allow Permanent Settlement being introduced the conditions should be definitely laid down by which the assessment is to be revised. Here again we have had the recognition by Government of the propriety of our contention until a very recent past. In 1883 it was considered by Lord Ripon that there should be some definite conditions laid down under which alone assessment shall be revised and the Government of Madras in 1883 accepted the proposal that if assessment has to be revised it shall be only on the ground of a rise in prices. The same view was also accepted by the Government in 1889 as also in 1892 and in 1892 there was a Standing Order of the Board of Revenue in Madras promulgated, by which it was distinctly given out that there should be no reclassification of soil or recalculation of grain values, so that if assessment is to be increased, it shall be only on the basis of increase in prices. When in 1893 in the memorandum of the progress in the Madras Presidency the late lamented Srinivasaraghava Iyengar suggested that there might be a legislative enactment setting forth the conditions under which alone assessment could be revised, the Government said there was no necessity for such an enactment. They were satisfied that the principles on which resettlement should take place were well understood and well recognised and there was no possibility of going back on them, and they said that therefore a legislative enactment was unnecessary. Unfortunately for us there was despatch of the Secretary of State in 1895 which was intended not for Madras, in respect of which Madras was not consulted, but which was intended for the North-West Provinces wherein the conditions of tenure are different from what obtain in Madras. On the strength of that despatch, it was considered by the Madras Government in 1895 that there should not be any definite pledges or any definite promises made to the people as to the exact circumstances under which alone assessment shall be revised. Now the whole thing is in confusion. Nobody can say what the principle will be that will ultimately dominate the Government when it makes up its mind to resettle any particular district and this view that of having no fixed principles for resettlement has been accepted, gentlemen, by the Government of India in the resolution to which I have more than once called your attention. They say that it is not politic, that it is not just, that there should be a surrender of what income could be had on account of improvements effected by the growth of population, by the gradual development of the country, by the introduction of new staples or by an increase in the productivity of the soil and in the value of its produce, more particularly, if the latter are themselves the result of an expenditure upon irrigation or communications that has been incurred by the State. Now, gentlemen,

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what I submit is, if you take it, that the assessment shall have to be revised only on the basis of the increase in prices most of these matters in respect of which Government says it will not make a surrender of income are included in that because it is difficult to conceive what exactly the increase in the value of the land or income will be which is due to the growth of population or general development of the country or introduction of rates, which is not due to a rise in prices. I therefore submit, gentlemen, that that will be a tangible, definite, easily understandable rule that the assessment shall be on account of the rise in prices. We ask that that principle should be enacted by the legislature. We are familiar with the fact that even legislative enactments are abrogated and that they are easily changed. Our hope is that if a thing passes into the Statute Book there is a far greater certainty of that being observed than if it merely is subject to explanation by way of executive orders. We therefore want, that these conditions under which alone resettlement shall have to be made must be conditions prescribed by Statute and we also say that in the event of there being found a difficulty on account of a difference of opinion between Settlement Officers and the Villagers that the differences should be settled by Civil Courts. When you fix a principle there should be no difficulty about its application. The Civil Courts which may not have technical knowledge will not be on that account the less competent to deal with the question.

Another prayer that we make is that Settlements shall have to be for longer periods than now. In a place where the country has been well developed, they say the Settlement shall be for thirty years, we ask that it should be for longer periods. As a matter of fact so far as the Settlements of the Madras Presidency are concerned the recommendation made by the Madras Government to the Court of Directors was that the Settlement might be for fifty years. No reasons were given as to why this period was shortened, beyond the fact that thirty years were the period adopted in Bombay and the North-West Provinces. No other reasons were given. We ask that the period of Settlement must be longer than the one which obtains now of thirty years. I think these words are sufficient to commend the resolution to your acceptance.

THE HON. MR.  
 PAREKH.

THE HONORABLE MR. PAREKH (Bombay) said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I feel much pleasure in seconding the proposition so ably moved by the gentleman who has addressed you last. If there is any hesitation in the mind of any gentleman, about accepting this Resolution, I would ask him to picture in his mind the anxiety and unrest that prevail in the villages when Survey operations are introduced in the taluk. There is a large number of petty revenue officials brought into the taluk and when the ryot considers that his interests for a number of years depend on the reports of these officers about the pitch of his assessments, you may very well conceive that the poor man would strain all his resources for the purpose of propitiating these myrmidons of the Revenue Department. And it is not sufficient that they should be propitiated ; there are other superior officers who are not so easily propitiated and you will readily find the strongest and the most ridiculous reasons to justify the raising of the existing assessments. An increase in population, an increase in tiled houses, the opening of a school and such

like reasons, which may have nothing whatever to do with the prosperity of the village or the prosperity of the agricultural population, are brought forward for the purpose of recommending increases. There are reasons even much stranger than these. You are aware probably that there is a system in some parts of the country for Government to levy certain rates in addition to the assessment for the purpose of meeting local wants. These rates are called the Local Funds and the object of these funds is to provide wells, tanks, and such like facilities to the village agriculturists. Now instead of devoting this money to the object for which it is intended, and which would be useful to the villagers, they are spent towards constructing roads. While the ryots on the one hand do not receive those benefits which are the chief object of their contributions in the shape of wells and tanks, the roads are made an additional reason for raising the assessments, the argument usually adduced being that new roads give increased facilities for the carriage of produce and bring increased prosperity to the ryots. But the imagination of the Survey Department does not stop here. One of the strongest reasons assigned for increasing the assessment was that a certain village in the Taluk sent a Delegate to the National Congress! (*Laughter*). Even worse than these is that the very poverty of the cultivators is sometimes adduced as a ground for raising the assessment! You will find lots of instances in which the grounds put forward for raising the assessment are that the ryots have become poor since the last settlement and are considerably indebted; the only way to relieve this indebtedness is to raise the assessment and prevent the land from falling into the hands of money lenders. This recommendation which you find put forward in a number of Survey Reports is accepted by Government; these facts show that the raising of assessment has very little to do either with increase of the ryot's profits or his prosperity. I think, therefore, that we are justified in asking that there should be a Permanent Settlement or that the grounds of assessment should be definitely fixed. There is great necessity for this when I tell you the mischief that high assessments have caused in the part of the country from which I come. Though the province was so fruitful as at one time to deserve the name of the garden of India, though it was fortunate to escape a famine for about a century, the high assessments so affected the material condition of the people that there was an appalling mortality even during the first year of the famine, and people died like flies. The lands have become deteriorated and the crops they now yield are far less than what they yielded at the time of the first settlement. The ryots are not able to purchase their fuel and the produce of the cattle which used to be applied for purposes of manure, has now to be used as fuel. These conditions are intensified from year to year and the number of cattle has steadily been decreasing; all this is due to the heavy burden of the assessment. One of the arguments urged to prove the case against Permanent Settlements and the interference of the Courts, in the matter of assessment, is, that there are a good many checks to prevent Survey Officers having their own way. One of them which has been mentioned is that the ryots are given an opportunity of showing cause against the pitch of assessment; but as far as this goes the truth is that the notice enhancing the assessment is sent to the village affected but it gives the increase on the whole village and not on individual fields and it gives no reason whatever for the enhancement. How, therefore, can the ryot be expected to show cause if he does not know what the grounds against him are? Thus when the matter goes before Government, Government have before them the grounds of the Survey Officers but

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as the villagers don't know what grounds they have to meet, their petitions are invariably rejected as being too vague. Then it is said that the Collector and Commissioner are not friends of the Survey Department, and, therefore, they can keep a proper check against any undue raising of the assessment. So far as these officers are concerned, they are after all servants of the Government, and although there are occasionally found officers well acquainted with the district who take an interest in the people and stand against assessments being raised, this is not generally the case, and officers of this stamp are few and far between. Then there are the rulings of the Secretary of State preventing the increase of rates for certain purposes; but as the villagers are not able to raise their voices they have to submit to raising of assessment on most ridiculous grounds. Finally I say again we must have the Permanent Settlement or if that can't be done, the grounds of enhancement should be defined and the period of tenure should be longer than what it is.

MR. PAUL  
 PETER PILLAI.

MR. PAUL PETER PILLAI, in support of the resolution, said :—

We condemn the resolution of the Government of India in reply to the letter of Mr. R. C. Dutt to his Excellency the Viceroy embodying the prayer of the National Congress made year after year that Permanent Settlement be introduced in place of Temporary Settlement and that, if Temporary Settlement be continued, the duration of the settlement should be longer than twenty or thirty years. If the salt-tax paid by a labourer at the rate of less than one per cent. of his annual income, and if the income-tax at the rate of about two per cent. of a person's income up to thousand rupees be found to be very oppressive, what must be the oppressive and ruinous character of the taxation of the ryot who has to pay up fifty per cent. or upwards of his income. Apart from the consideration of the oppressiveness of the taxation, the ryot represents an interest unlike the payers of salt and income-taxes. The ryot maintains by far the most important and life sustaining industry of agriculture. With all due deference to Mr. Dutt I am surprised that he should have suggested to Lord Curzon that the land revenue on temporarily settled lands may be levied up to fifty per cent. of the net income or twenty per cent. of the gross income. He approves of the imposition of cesses like the road cess. Though the rate of assessment is the chief item of the grievous hardship of the ryot, the incidences of taxation like the rigour of its collection are equally important. Neither the Government nor Mr. R. C. Dutt has noted the grievances of the ryots as regards the condition of agriculture in their controversies. During the Hindu and Mohamedan periods the land revenue was taxed on produce by the sharing of crops under irrigation, and by money assessment on crops on dry lands varying in rates according to the value of the crops except cereal crops which had a uniform low rate. When there were no crops there was nothing to pay. In most instances the rate of rent was only nominal, while the real payment was much smaller. With the advantages the ryots had of evading or reducing the payment with the collusion and connivance of village servants and revenue subordinates the ryots opposed commutation of *varam* into rent in British tracts. Even if the rate of taxation may be higher in Native States the leniency of the collection makes the revenue administration much less harsh than in British tracts. With all the advantages of the village system, with the enjoyment of communal rights, with abundant supply of animal labour and manure, with the system

of automatic relief by remission of taxation, when there is no produce to be taxed the ryots were bound to thrive under the native regime when conditions of agricultural industry were very favourable.

The Government in its Resolution in reply to Mr. R. C. Dutt on the authority of the collective opinions of all the Provincial Governments refutes his arguments and proposes its own novel suggestion as a remedy for the constantly recurring famines. From the solitary instance of the Behar famine of 1873-74 and 1897, the Government concludes that it has proved beyond doubt the failure of the Permanent Settlement to prevent famine in Bengal and that the position of the National Congress and Mr. Dutt is demolished. Strangely, with extraordinary inconsistency the Government proposes a certain legislative remedy as a preventive of famine by saving the tenant from being "rack-rented, impoverished and oppressed."

What are the facts? Mr. William Digby in his "Prosperous British India" gives the famines in different provinces of India. In Behar during the whole period of Permanent Settlement from 1793 when it was introduced up to 1865 there was no famine at all. Famines begin to manifest themselves only subsequent to the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859 re-enacted in 1885 and also subsequent to the ingenious discovery of the cesses referred to by the President yesterday. Though I am a Zemindar's man myself, certainly I would welcome the laws to improve the condition of the tenants and definitely settle their rights, provided that the interests of the landlords are safeguarded with even-handed justice and the collection of the rent is made smooth. Unfortunately the tendency is that that the rent laws work hardships to both parties to the injury of agricultural prosperity. In the absence of Malguzars, Zemindars, and Talukdars as in the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and the Punjab even the quack remedy is not applicable to the Presidency of Bombay and two-thirds of the Madras Presidency where the ryots pay their revenue to the State direct. During the period of British occupation of the North-West Provinces from 1803 up to 1865 there were four famines. During the same period of British occupation there were five famines in Madras. Up to the present date, for a century, there have been nine famines in Madras and North-West Provinces. Since the Permanent Settlement there have been only four famines in Behar beginning from the year 1865. The only other famine of a very severe character during the British administration of Behar was that of 1770 previous to the Permanent Settlement. The points of differentiation between famine years and non-famine years in permanently settled provinces are the harsh rent laws and the imposition of new taxes in the shape of cesses. I appeal to every student of logic to decide whether the Government is right or wrong in denying the Permanent Settlement as a famine preventive measure and whether the remedy suggested by rent laws is quackery or not. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal has been all along condemned as involving a permanent sacrifice of revenue to the Government. The annual rental value of Bengal is  $16\frac{1}{2}$  crores a year now, whereas the land assessment of the province is only 4 crores. The balance, however, is not lost to the Government. It cannot be denied that it is retained in the country and that a good portion of this finds its way to the Government Treasury in the shape of some tax or other, so that the aggregate revenue of the Bengal Presidency is about 20 crores annually. When the demand of

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the Government is permanently settled, the uneven or unequal distribution of the produce of the country between landlord and tenant will not injuriously affect much of the welfare of the people. The objection that the Permanent Settlement will benefit middlemen and not so much the tenants, where landlordism prevails, is untenable. In times of agricultural distress the pressure is felt more keenly in ryotwari tracts, than in permanently settled tracts. For instance, when there was an acute agricultural distress in Ganjam in 1891, there was grain rioting in ryotwari tracts, while there was none in Zemindari tracts for the reason that the permanently settled tracts had more staying power than temporarily settled portions. How in the name of wonder could the settlement of accounts between the landlord and tenant as proposed by the Government possibly go to help the settlement of accounts between the landlord and tenant jointly on one side and the Government on the other? That the comparative immunity of Bengal from famine is due to the Permanent Settlement cannot be denied.

All the Provincial Governments in reply to Mr. Dutt say that the rate of collection is lower than the rate allowed by him *i.e.*, 50 per cent. of the net income and 20 per cent. of the gross income. The Madras Government said that the Ryotwari Permanent Settlement without fluctuation and without remission would be impracticable and inflict hardships. We may accept these remarks as correct. Where landlordism prevails Permanent Settlement may be made with its representatives conveniently. The best justification for putting a limitation on arbitrary exaction and enhancement lies in the limitation of the demand on the landlord himself by the Government. In ryotwari tracts with the restoration of communal rights, communal servants and the village systems in all their original indigenous simplicity, there should be legislative and judicial checks and restraints upon the Government on principles of equity and justice. It is not the rate of taxation with reference to the produce, but the paying capacity of the ryot that should be taken into consideration. The Government in its resolution claims its right to enhance the taxation on the unearned increment. What is known as unearned increment as in case of the rise in value of things is not a matter of taxation anywhere, not even in England. It is the actual income that is made the standard of calculation for purposes of taxation. The general improvement of the country by railways and roads no doubt advances the country by giving the people the luxury of facilities of communication. From an economic standpoint railways are great impoverishers of the people who use them for money-wasting and not for money-making purposes. Economically they benefit trade, and trade alone, the land and the landholder should not be made to pay for it. Taxation on exports and imports is equitable, and light, and the commercial produce is at hand to be taxed. It is inequitable to impose additional taxation and levy a road cess on lands while the burden should take the shape of customs duty. Here are vast resources practically unutilised for fiscal purposes, while an undue pressure is put upon the land. In fact the ryot is made to bear the whole financial burden and is getting crushed under it. As for the rise of the price of grain it is also a faulty standard. Comparing the statistics of the price of grain for twenty years previous to the settlement of the Districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore with the price of twenty years previous to that period the rise is only 4 per cent. If we exclude the famine price and take into account only the normal price the rate of increase in the price will be still less. This will not justify the

Government in enhancing the assessment of Tanjore and Trichinopoly by 50 and 70 per cent. respectively though the figures are put down as 32 and 52 per cent. in the Government Resolution. In individual cases the enhancement of taxation is cent per cent. Out of the net produce the ryot has to meet the charges of the maintenance of his increasing family, the payment of land revenue and cesses, a small dividend on the outlay or investment on land and then he has to lay out something in store as his saving out of his earning. The consumption of grain is the most necessary item, and the rise of price makes no difference as the quantity consumed is the same with high price or low price. Mostly he is in difficulty to find resources for the maintenance of his family and agricultural cattle, and he is driven to the necessity of resorting to loans.

The Resolution contains a most extraordinary reasoning justifying the Land Revenue Policy of the Government. It says:—"It is obvious that land has in general a very great value in exchange or on rent after the Government assessment has been deducted: two-and-a-half million sales for 50 crores in ten years, and more than three-and-a-half million mortgages for 70 crores, are eloquent figures." These are eloquent figures of what? In the eye of the Government the figures eloquently speak of the agricultural prosperity of the Presidency. But in reality they prove incontrovertibly agricultural ruin and disaster. The Resolution compares the number and value of sales and mortgages in the famine year of 1877-78 with the figures for the decade ending in 1901. The number of sales and mortgages in 1877-78 was 75,864 and 13,10,82 to the value of 254 lakhs of rupees, and 393 lakhs of rupees respectively against the average number of sales and mortgages for the last decade at 25,43,03 and 36,24,28 to the value of 503 lakhs of rupees and 707 lakhs of rupees, respectively. The number of leases also has increased from 44,662 to 92,838 to the value of 39 lakhs and 54 lakhs of rupees respectively. What does this show? There are people to draw inference from these eloquent figures to prove that the country and the agricultural classes are progressing in prosperity. When Mr. Robert Sewell gave out this opinion in his lecture delivered at the East Indian Association Meeting in London in 1897, in the discussion that followed I had to refute his view demonstrating that the enormous increase in the transfers of property by sale and mortgage instead of being the sign of prosperity is a sure sign of serious disaster and danger and that if the ryot only finds his lands to be paying concerns he would not sell or mortgage them. According to the "eloquent figures" the number of sales rose at the rate of 330 per cent. during the last decade, the mortgages rose nearly three times, while the value of sales per head fell from Rs. 300 to Rs. 198 and the value of mortgages from Rs. 330 to Rs. 195. The statistics about leases also speak about the deplorable deterioration and degeneracy. The number rose 209 per cent, while the value per head drops from Rs. 89 to Rs. 50. This shows that the ryots find it difficult to carry on their agriculture on *Pannai* system at their own cost and under their own supervision, and are obliged to let the lands on lease on account of the growing difficulties in carrying on agricultural operations. The leases brought to account are those for three years and upwards which have been registered, unregistered leases being more numerous.

In discussing the labour question in the local press I referred to the continental press that took note of the fact that during the decade under consideration there were 850,000 cases of eviction by revenue sale and

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gave its opinion that such a state of things would lead to serious "catastrophe". Added to this the transfer of property by private sale and mortgage to the number of no less than two-and-a-half millions respectively during the decade will stagger and alarm any Government. Here is a serious catastrophe and collapse. The Governments of the Punjab, the United Provinces and Bombay were uneasy over the dangers of such transfers. Hence the Punjab Land Alienation Act, the Bundelcund Land Alienation Act, the Bombay Land Act not to speak of the Encumbered Estates Acts in different provinces. Our Government is complacent over the disaster and argues that it is a sign of prosperity and the people derive the blessings of the "unearned increment" and justifies for this reason the enhancement of land revenue at the time of the settlement and the necessity of periodical settlement. It is incredible that our Government should have used such an argument from such data. The "eloquent figures" vitiate the very arguments in support of temporary settlements. If there be any reason to be derived from the "eloquent figures" it is against the enhancement of land revenue. The Resolution of the Government refers to the high price of wet lands in the valley of the Tambraparni in my District of Tinnevely as a proof of the agricultural prosperity of the country. If the price of land in the valley be from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 per acre, it is not due to the increased productiveness nor to agricultural prosperity. The value is much higher than in the lands watered by the Cauvery, Pennar, Kistna and Godavery. The reason of the high price is the limited area of land with certainty of water supply and of produce and the demand for such lands by those who seek investments for their savings out of their legal, official or commercial incomes. The ryots holding such lands unless they have extra income to supplement their agricultural income, are as bad as those owning other lands beyond the valley. If calculated according to the estimate of an Englishman of business, who counts profit at a moderate rate of interest on the amount invested there will be nothing left for the holders of lands in the valley. Even the profit on the calculation of interest on the outlay is very low, about three per cent. per annum. In the language prevalent in the district the investment is about as good as burying it in the earth. In Godavery and Krishna the yield is far greater in proportion to the expenses of cultivation and the assessment, while the price is only one-third to one-fifth of the value of nunjah lands in the Tambraparni valley. Mr. J. B. Pennington referred to the price in a recent issue of the *Indian Review* and Mr. J. D. Rees repeatedly cites the instance of the high price of the lands in the valley and the high rate of assessment up to Rs. 20 per acre of double crop lands exclusive of cesses which come to Rs. 2½ and jumps to the extraordinary conclusion that the most heavily taxed ryots are the most prosperous!

We are thankful that there are cases in which there have been reduction of taxes. Throughout India the revenue officers recognise the equitable principle that the ryot should not be taxed for his improvement with his labour and at his expense. On this principle the Government was generous in remitting the high assessment on garden cultivation under wells. There are accounts to show that the Government remitted permanently the assessment of Rs. 2-1-9 per acre and is contented to levy the rate of Rs. 1-4 per acre at a great sacrifice of revenue. On the same equitable principle when land which was classified as fourth class land becomes first class land in productiveness and when the increased fertility is at the

expense of the ryot all the benefit and profit should go to the ryot and not to the State. All the arbitrary calculation on the imaginary considerations of unearned increment should be abolished by statutory law. For the advantages of railways and roads which benefit the trader the land should be exempted from any cesses and from increase of assessment on that account. For such improvements the cost should be met from enhanced customs revenue. When the improvement is made by the Government as in case of irrigation there should be a limit prescribed by statute as to the rate of water cess. When there is a failure of crops the claim for remission should be adjudicated by Civil Courts in suits. Only in cases where the Revenue Officers go wrong and unreasonably increase taxation there will be necessity to resort to the Courts. The people should be saved from the disastrous consequences of the defects of the revenue administration. If the Government only cares to reduce the expenditure, curtail the princely salaries of its officers, and dispense with wasteful extravagance, and limit the incessant economic drain, it will be in a position to save itself from the necessity of arbitrarily enhancing the demand on the already overtaxed and impoverished ryot. It would be the highest political wisdom and greatest statesmanship for the Government to frame laws to limit its own demand on the poor ryots and resort to other resources to raise revenue and thus give the agricultural classes in temporarily settled tracts all the advantages of a Permanent Settlement though without its name.

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MR. N. SRINIVASAVARADA CHARIAR (North Arcot), said:—The question of the Land Revenue Policy has been exhaustively dealt with by the previous speakers. I have only a few words to add:—

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In the year 1875 Lord Hobart the then Governor of Madras sent a despatch to the Home Government requesting the Home Government to suspend the operations of the Settlement Department for two reasons:—One was that increasing the assessment contravened the original understanding and the other that in pursuance of orders from the Home Government the Local Government was practically debarred from increasing the assessment. The Councillors at Madras differed from His Excellency with reference to this minute. The matter went up before Lord Salisbury. He discussed the question whether the sums payable by the ryot to the State was Rent or Revenue.

The distinction became important because if it were denominated rent the ryot might be treated as a tenant at will liable to be ejected out of the land at the pleasure of the landlord, the ryot having no proprietary interest in the soil. Then the State would be competent to dictate its own terms about the tenancy, levy any rate, and increase the assessment by leaps and bounds. On the contrary, if the sums payable be regarded as Revenue the State has to recognise the tenant's proprietary right to the soil; so that the State is in the position of a big landlord who cannot dictate any terms he likes to the tenant about the assessment but would be entitled to recover only the *mamool* rate. Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State, came to the conclusion that the sum payable by the ryot was only Revenue and not Rent. He wrote in his minute as follows:— "The cultivator should pay a smaller proportion of the whole national charge, the policy of producing the mass of Revenue from the ryot was not a thrifty policy where capital is scarce. The injury is exaggerated in the case of

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India where so much of Revenue is imposed without any direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be applied to the parts, where the blood is congested or at least sufficient and not to those which are already feeble from want of it."

Mr. H. E. Stokes, afterwards a distinguished member of the Madras Council, writing in 1878 about the Land Revenue System, says:—"I protest against the process of reasoning that the Land Revenue is in the nature of Rent and not Revenue." He says he dissents from the doctrine of calling it Rent for which he says there is no historical foundation and which if accepted would lead to "mischievous results."

Old Hindu Law-givers such as Manu, Gautama and Vyasa laid it down that the ryot was the owner of the soil and the State was entitled only to a fixed share in the produce.

When land was required for Railways this question again cropped up and the Government fully perceived that they could not take the land of the the ryots by giving them notice to quit but should buy it up from the ryots. To facilitate purchases Land Acquisition Acts were passed in 1850-57-63-70 and 95. So the ownership of the ryots in the land was practically admitted. Recently the Madras High Court has decided that the Government cannot levy what is called penal assessment on lands illegally encroached upon by the ryot, the principle being that if once the tenant's right is accepted proper assessment ought to be levied.

Sir. M. E. Grant Duff, a former Governor of Madras in his review minute dated 10-9-1886 criticising the opinion of Sir. James Caird who said he would abolish all the rights of the ryot because the ryot was borrowing from the money-lender and mortgaging and selling his lands, says, that that would surely be a "very harsh proceeding."

In the Viceroy's despatch of 1882 there is no allusion to increasing the assessment on account of the rise in prices and reclassification of the soil,

For the first time in 1895 the increasing of assessment on reclassification of the soil was introduced. The ryot labours hard to reclaim the land and manure it to make it more fertile and more productive. He should have the benefits of his labour, else he would get thoroughly discouraged and would leave the land fallow without properly manuring it.

Our contention is condensed into the following nine reasons for opposing "the increase of land assessment."

1. The declaration of the Revenue Board in 1857 that the Madras ryot is able to retain his land *perpetually* without any increase of assessment.
2. The declaration by the Government of Madras in 1862 that the Government demand on ryotwari land is *fixed for ever*.
3. The declaration by Lord Ripon in 1882 that assessment in Madras should not undergo further revision except upon the ground of rise in prices.

4. The recognition by the Madras Government of this fixed assessment for a period of fifty years.

5. The views of three successive Governors-General viz., Lord Wellesly, Lord Minto, and Lord Hastings, and of three Viceroys viz., Lord Canning, Lord Lawrence, and Lord Ripon for fixing a permanent limit on the land-tax.

6. The injustice of depriving the ryot of his surplus and crediting it to Government by constantly increasing the assessment.

7. The disproportion between the Bengal tenant who pays one-sixth of the gross produce to the landlord and the Madras tenant who pays one-third of the gross produce.

8. The burden of taxation that presses heavily on the ryot.

(a) The fluctuating land assessment.

(b) The payment of water rates for wet crops on dry lands.

(c) The irrigation cess in several districts.

(d) Charging half the wet assessment on single crop wet land for raising a second crop.

(e) The road cess.

(f) The village cess.

(g) Charging *mamool* waste.

(h) Charging full assessment even if the outturn is a one anna crop.

(i) Tree-tax.

(j) Double charge for water if taken without permission.

Besides numerous other taxes such as the tax on salt, grazing of cattle, wood, and other necessities of life. So much so, that the ryot is unable to pay the assessment and his land is brought to sale and purchased by Government. For example, in the North Arcot District in Fasli 1308, 60,806 acres of land were sold under coercive process, Government themselves purchasing 29,060 or 30,000 acres in round numbers.

9. Lastly the fallacy of calculations in the Settlement Department, for example, calculating that inferior land requires less cost, that is, Rs. 3 for cultivating an inferior acre of wet land, whereas, good land the cost is Rs. 14 an acre, while as a matter of fact the inferior land requires more expenditure for cultivation. For example, according to the calculation of Government the gross outturn on one acre of inferior wet land, known as fifth class land is Rs. 17-8-0; deducting one-fifth of this on account of the vicissitudes of season, Rs. 14 is left; Rs. 8 is deducted for cultivation expenses, Rs. 6 remains. Half of Rs. 6 is Rs. 3. But, in reality, inferior wet land does not at all produce 15 Wallajah kalams of paddy worth Rs. 17-8-0 but only produces five or six kalams which come to about Rs. 9. Deducting one-fifth of Rs. 9, we have Rs. 7-3-0 left. Deducting Rs. 8 for cultivation expenditure we have minus 13 annas. Again deduct Rs. 3 for assessment. We have minus Rs. 3 annas 13 or in round numbers minus Rs. 4. Strictly speaking the calculation of Rs. 8 for cultivation expenses is not correct. The inferior land requires a larger amount of manure, greater amount of care, cultivation, labour and other expenses. So the sum of Rs. 14 calculated as the probable expenditure on one acre of good land is decidedly required for inferior

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land also. So if Rs. 14 is the cultivation expense, we have minus Rs. 4 and minus Rs. 6 or in all minus Rs. 10 left besides six months manual labour and energy bestowed upon the land. So a ryot possessing fifth class land has to lose Re. 10 from his pocket after calculating the profit and loss after each harvest. So we all pray the Government may be pleased not to increase the assessment *at all on inferior wet lands.*

The Viceroy in his recent Resolution on the Land Revenue Policy (1902) practically admits the poverty of the Indian ryot but contends that the causes that contribute to the poverty are not the heaviness of land assessment and other taxes, but :—

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| 1. The ever increasing subdivisions of holdings due to increase of population.                             | (1) <i>Ans.</i> —Population in India does not increase in the same ratio as it does in England and other civilized countries.   |
| 2. The decline of indigenous industries.   | (2) <i>Ans.</i> —This is due to want of encouragement by the State, not resuscitating the dead industries, and by showing undue partiality to English trade by prohibitive tariffs on Indian goods and light duty on English goods. |
| 3. The middlemen swallowing up the profits.  | (3) <i>Ans.</i> —Under the ryotwari system 75 per cent. of the land owners are cultivating the lands themselves.  |
| 4. High rates of interest paid by ryots to Sowcars.  | (4) <i>Ans.</i> —This is due to the State not opening Agricultural Banks and helping the ryots with a low rate of interest as is done in Belgium, Germany and other civilized countries.  |
| 5. The ignorance of the agricultural classes in not being thrifty by saving the surpluses in good seasons. | (5) <i>Ans.</i> —The Madras ryot is very abstemious and quite thrifty.  |
| 6. Speculative expenditure on litigation.  | (6) <i>Ans.</i> —A very small portion of the ryot population resorts to Courts.   |
| 7. Extravagances on festivals and marriages.   | (7) <i>Ans.</i> —The expenditure on this head is very small.  |
| 8. Payment of bribes to petty public servants.   | (8) <i>Ans.</i> —The State is more responsible for this than the ryot.  |

Thus throwing all the blame upon the ryot, the Viceroy concludes (a) that the prosperity of the Bengal tenant is not due to the Bengal Permanent

Settlement but to the Bengal Tenancy Acts of 1859 and 1885 ; (b) that it is impracticable for the Government to collect a share of the gross produce ; (c) that the gross produce standard will do more harm to the ryot by increasing the assessment ; (d) that the period of settlement being once in thirty years and as such once in a generation is not too short ; (e) that the assessment is calculated on actual assets and not on prospective increase and therefore the Government of India does not enhance the assessment largely but by progressive and gradual steps. As to the first point we have the personal opinion of Mr. R. C. Dutt who was an administrator of revenue in Bengal for over a quarter of a century to the effect that the prosperity of the Bengal tenant is due only to the Permanent Settlement.

As to the second point it is quite practicable for the Government to collect a share of the gross produce by introducing the old *Sharing* system.

As to the third point the gross produce standard will not do any harm because under that system the Government can only get a share of the actual outturn and cannot decline to recognise *Savi* if an one anna crop is the actual outturn as they do at present.

As to the fourth point the want of fixity of the land assessment unsettles the labour of the ryot, paralyses his agriculture and cripples all his resources.

As to the fifth point it is very poor consolation to say that calculation is not made on prospective increase.

The Government of India has stated in 1882 and also in 1883 that enhancements at the revision would be permissible only on three grounds, viz., (1) increase of area, (2) increase in production by water works constructed by the State, (3) rise in prices. So the Government was not justified in having introduced the innovations they have made in the Settlement Manual of 1895. Although settlement, they say, is intended to reduce taxation in places where the assessment was heavy we find from the reports that in all districts hitherto settled only an increase in the assessment and nowhere a reduction in a whole district.

When the late lamented Mr. Caine, member for India proposed an amendment to the budget of the Secretary of State for India in Council and clearly pointed out to the House of Commons how heavily the Indian ryot was taxed and how the people of India suffered from constant famines, Lord George Hamilton to the greatest surprise and disappointment of all stated that the poverty of the Indian ryot was due to the "lightness of the assessment." This statement passes entirely our comprehension. Still as the Government of India have stated in their book on Land Revenue Policy that the welfare of the ryot was a matter of the most intimate concern to them and that it demands the most exhaustive scrutiny and the most liberal treatment and that it is their desire that assessments should be equitable in character and moderate in incidence and that there should be left to the cultivator of the soil that margin of profit that will enable him to save in the ordinary seasons to meet the drain of exceptional misfortune," we are encouraged by the hope of better days dawning for the Indian ryot by our constantly agitating this question and trying to convince the Government of the justice of our cause. In the words of

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Mr. W. C. Bannerjee, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. A. O. Hume we must awake, arise, or be for ever fallen.

The Government would do well to bear in mind the words of Mr. Bourdillon who said the government of the country is not to be conducted wholly on the same principles as a mercantile concern. Revenue is not the only consideration. The happiness and comfort, peace and contentment of the population should be the chief items in the account.

MR. S. SUBRA-  
 MANIA IYER.

MR. S. SUBRAMANIA IYER :—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The justification for so many delegates from the Madras Presidency speaking upon this subject lies in the fact that it is this Presidency that requires most of the reforms enunciated in this proposition. The proposition I have the honour to support concerns the largest majority in this country. It is about fourth-fifth of its population that are cultivators and tillers of the soil. Unfortunately these are in a state of abject poverty. The prosperity of this country must stand or fall with that of these people. Now, if as a matter of fact, the agricultural population and the peasantry of India should cease to exist, then India with its Government would share the same fate. Therefore it behoves us to see what can be done for the amelioration of the condition of the poor people of India. I mean, especially of the agriculturists. They are, as it were the sinews of the State. Colonel Baird Smith says in his report after the investigation which he held into the famine of the North-West Provinces that if in India the agricultural population is weak, the weakness of the rest of the community is an inevitable consequence. It is most necessary for you to consider how best you could ameliorate the condition of the poor ryot in India. Now, the relief that is prayed for in the latter part of the proposition is very moderate and reasonable. This matter does not come upon the *tapis* for the first time. It was proposed to Government so long ago as 1860 by Colonel Baird Smith. Then the proposal was adopted by the Government of India and the opinions of all the Local Governments were invited. All the Local Governments with the exception of the Government of the Punjab unanimously approved of the proposal; and the matter did not stop there as was pointed out by the Honorable mover. The matter went up to the Secretary of State for India and two Secretaries of State for India, one after the other, sanctioned the proposal and approved of the adoption of the system into those parts of the country where the ryotwari system prevailed. In the year 1867 everybody was under the impression that this proposal was going to be adopted. Everybody thought, as a matter of fact, that the proposal was about to be carried out but unfortunately another Secretary of State by a stroke of the pen—sharper than the point of the sword—at once cut away the hopes of the people. What was within reach of the mouth was snatched away from the hand. The whole thing was nipped in the bud. The proposal originated with the Government itself and that is the proposal that we now want to be adopted by the Government itself. Now, gentlemen, Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P. in an important debate in the House of Commons in 1900 said that the remedy for famine consisted in the moderating of rents and the extension of irrigation. Now there can be no truer assertion than this. Then again we see Mr. R. C. Dutt has written a very masterly book on the subject. It is unnecessary for me to refer to the advantages of this proposal as it has been referred to in great detail by the Honorable mover and the Honorable

seconded and other gentlemen who have preceded me. Therefore I shall refrain from taking up any more of your time. Mr. R. C. Dutt's open letters to Lord Curzon have been answered by Lord Curzon. The answers are issued in the shape of a Resolution published in the form of a book entitled "The Land Revenue Policy of the Government of India." You know, gentlemen, that in Bengal permanent tenancy is the rule. The Permanent Settlement has worked very well in that part of India. That is very ably pointed out by Mr. Dutt. Referring to his argument what does Lord Curzon say? He says in that Resolution that, as a matter of fact, the Permanent Settlement has not worked well there at all. He said it was the laws and not the Permanent Settlement that saved the ryot and found salvation for him, that the laws and regulations that were passed from time to time saved the people. He does not tell us that the Permanent Settlement is a bad system. What he says is that laws and regulations are necessary for the purpose of avoiding any abuse of the system. If that were so in so far as the tenancy in Bengal is concerned, why should it not be introduced into this and other provinces where the ryotwari system prevails? It has been said that a long period of settlement cannot be adopted. One reason which is given by the Government of India is that sharp enhancements at long intervals will cause trouble to the people and that, therefore, enhancements should be made only at short intervals. Another reason is that the general tax-payer should not be deprived of the benefits of taxation derived from charges imposed upon him from time to time. I submit, gentlemen, that these are not strong arguments at all. The reason assigned by the Government of India that the general tax-payer ought not to be deprived of the benefits of taxation is the same as saying "Rob Peter and pay Paul". If the Permanent Settlement has worked well and proved good in Bengal why should it not be so here? One thing more. Lord Curzon also says that, instead of the suggestions made by the critics in India of the British Policy, if they were to suggest that the rents payable by tenants to private landholders be limited it will do very well indeed. If it will do very well for the Zemindars why should it not do equally well for the Government? Why should not the same rule be adopted also with regard to the ryot who pays his revenue directly to Government? He says there should be a limit to the rent which the landholder has to get from the tenant. If that should be so why should a different policy be adopted so far as British tenants are concerned? Why should not the same policy be adopted in regard to the ryots under the British Government? I do not know if this logic cannot commend itself to any one. It has been very well shown that the Permanent Settlement has been very satisfactory and has proved a workable system and I hope, gentlemen, you will all approve of it.

MR. P. R. SUNDARA IYER:—Gentlemen, I wish to draw your attention only to one matter. In the latter part of the proposition, which I consider the practical part of it, I observe that we suggest that legislative and judicial restrictions should be introduced to prevent over-assessment. I simply want to refer to one of these restrictions which I consider very important. You know that, when a new settlement is resolved upon, the Government first decides that for the whole district there should be so many lakhs more obtained for the Government; that is to say, 33 or 50 per cent. more. Now if the ryot has only to pay 50 per cent. more it might be tolerable but what is most to be reprehended is that in most cases individual ryots have to pay 200 or 300 per cent. more than the assessment they previously paid. This comes with crushing effect upon them and pauperises many a ryot. This

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is an evil which must at any cost be avoided. The justice of this proposal has been recognised by Lord Curzon in the latest Resolution of the Government of India and I believe it has also been recognised in the Land Revenue Code in Bombay. I am not proposing any amendment but I believe you will all agree with me that one of the most important restrictions to be introduced is that in any individual case the enhancement of assessment should not exceed a certain percentage. I believe the Bombay Code says it should not be increased more than 75 per cent.

The President :—The Resolution being duly proposed, seconded and supported I put it to the vote.

Carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned for lunch at 3 P. M. and reassembled at 3-35. P. M.

#### INDIAN EMIGRANTS.

THE PRESIDENT :—Mr. Desai will now address the meeting.

DR. U. L. DESAI (Bombay) :—

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I beg to move the following proposition :—

That this Congress views with grave concern and regret the hard lot of His Majesty's Indian subjects living in the British Colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, the great hardships and disabilities to which they are subjected by the Colonial Governments, and the consequent degradation of their status and rights as subjects of the king, and protests against the treatment of Indians by the colonies as backward and uncivilized races; and it prays that, in view of the great part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the colonies and the economic advantages which have resulted both to India and to the colonies from their emigration to and stay in the latter, the Government of India will be pleased to ensure to them all the rights and privileges of British citizenship in common with the European subjects of His Majesty by enforcing, if necessary, such measures as will render it impossible for the colonies to secure Indian immigrants except on fair equitable and honourable terms; and that, in view to the great importance of the principle of equal treatment to all His Majesty's subjects, His Majesty's Government should devise adequate measures to ensure that position in all the British Colonies.

Without taking much of your valuable time, in introductory remarks, I will at once proceed to the subject in hand. African women so far back as the time of Mungo Park and Livingstone have sung :—

Let us protect and feed the whiteman  
 He has no mother to bring him milk,  
 No wife to grind his corn for him ;

showing that a spirit of deep sympathy and attachment to humanity, whether the skin be black or white, reigns in the hearts of even the most uncivilized and primitive races ; and, when one hears in these days of movements on the part of the white inhabitants of the earth to reserve any particular part of the earth for the white race, one doubts if the white civilized nations of the earth may not later on degenerate in their moral views to the level of unchristian white barbarians of the past.

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When in England the very doors of the House of Commons are open to us—when in India, the Indians can serve the glorious British Empire, on Indian Legislative Councils and in most responsible positions of State—when the British Empire grants them distinctions as Knights Bachelors, Baronets, Knight Companions, K. C. S. Is., G. C. S. Is., &c., ranking them with noblemen in England and when the company of Indian Princes and Potentates is sought and welcomed eagerly on the occasion of the crowning of the Lord of the British Empire, the colonies of the British Empire, ignorant of the sacrifices we are capable of making to the British Empire, ignorant of our capacity to bring to the colonies, mental, moral and physical wealth for the drawing forth of the resources of the colonies, are passing prohibitive laws to shut us out from British Colonies and make enactments to render our stay in the British colonies, unproductive and uncomfortable to the great detriment of our best mutual prospects and interests.

South Africa has set up this pernicious doctrine, and what can you expect from a land where Kruger, the great barbarian, preached the Gospel of selfishness, speculation and ingratitude to the Boers and the British alike and where not a single University exists.

Messrs. Kruger, Steyn and Co., are in their right place now and the British Government now knows, that these Boers were but deluded fools, whom the scum of French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian, Europe landed to ruin, the same scum that the British Government in South Africa is patronising now ; and, mistaking the opinion of these as the opinion of the British colonial subjects in the colony, they are passing prohibitive laws against Indian emigrants and settlers. I would be very ungrateful, indeed, if I did not tell you that our British colonial brethren gave me the best treatment when I was there, and that the colonial Government was equally kind to me during my short period of service in South Africa and that they felt that if India has a Damodar Govardhandas to feel for South Africa in its difficulties and a Mr. Ghandhi to organise a cooly corps taking up his spade, dropping his pen, there must be more men in India capable of making similar sacrifices in the service of the British Empire.

Gentlemen, the part that India played in the defence of the British South African Empire by laying all the resources of our land at the service of the South African Colony, even at the time when we were suffering sorely from famine and plague is known to you all. Why, Lord Roberts, who won South Africa for the British Empire, gained his great experience as a general in India and at India's expense. Gentlemen, if we are good enough to share the misfortunes of South Africa, surely we are good enough to work in that land in better capacities than humble coolies and while we reside in the British Colony to offer our services to the British Colonial Empire.

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In view of the fact that the Negro and Zulu population in South Africa is increasing beyond all calculation, the Colonial Government must take a serious warning to avoid troubles in future and to avert the danger arising from the influx of a disloyal scum of French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish Europe. They must colonize the land freely, and without restrictions, with the peaceful, loyal and self-sacrificing Indian element in every possible shape, as soldiers, coolies, farm-labourers, merchants, &c. A peaceful South Africa pre-supposes a predominance of peaceful and law abiding Indian elements. If India is thrown open to the whole of the European world without any restrictions, and if prohibitive laws are to be enforced in the British Colonies, India cannot continue long without similar tendencies. The tendency in the colony to pass prohibitive laws arises not from the rulers of the colonies but from the labouring and artizan classes who generally make themselves powerful by organising labour unions and enforcing unfair and unreasonable wages to the great detriment of the employers, and the industries of colonies. The present poverty and unsettled condition of the South African Colony are to be explained not so much on account of the havoc of the war, as on account of the unreasonable demands and aspirations of its labouring and artizan classes. The ignorant European labouring classes are characterised by their utmost selfishness and want of foresight and if Colonial Governments fall into their error the results will be disastrous ; and Colonial Governments and the British Colonials, should deal with firmness with such spoiled children, and stifle their cry for illegitimate prohibitive laws against Indian immigrants and settlers.

The one objection taken by the British Colonies against the landing of Indians is their insanitary habits. Gentlemen, I have seen places in London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Cape Town, inhabited by European scums, which beggar all description for slovenliness ; and still the Government there does not suggest their exportation to the Polar Regions that they may not pollute the fashionable thoroughfares of London by their approach nor is a similar alternative proposed for the millions of insanitary Negroes and Zulus overcrowding in South Africa. The question of insanitation ought not to be dealt with by the blind seclusion of the Indians, for Indians are not half so bad as the slums of European populations are.

There is no Press strong enough in the colonies to educate public opinion and every form of agitation there is palmed off upon the credulous Colonial Government as the opinion of the Public. I know how an Englishman thinks, on a point of justice. The enlightened Government of Japan has no restrictions against the Indians. Gentlemen, I am not entering into the details of numerous enactments which prohibit the landing of Indians in British Colonies and impose disabilities on settlers. You all know that a vast literature has sprung up on the subject. It is not my desire to work you up to a pitch of frenzy, by referring to the grievances of Indians in the British Colonies.

I move this Resolution in the hope, that our beloved Emperor of India, for whose long life, and for the prosperity of whose glorious Empire, we ever pray, will throw his personal influence in this matter, for surely to a father with divine aspirations all children are alike.

MR. S. K. NAIR (Travancore) in seconding the Resolution, said:—

The Resolution, which has been moved for your acceptance a little while ago by a delegate from the sister Presidency of Bombay, is a resolution which appeals more strongly and vehemently to our hearts, because it is a resolution concerning not merely us, the people of India, but what is greater than the people of India, concerning the principles of ethics and morality of men, concerning the rights and privileges of humanity at large. Gentlemen, the gentleman who preceded me just now, said that it concerned the unrighteous treatment that is accorded to our brethren in South Africa and other portions of His Britannic Majesty's Empire. I want your attention for a moment. I should like you to bear the fact in your mind that, whatever may be the resolutions we may move from this platform and whatever arguments we may adduce, we cannot do better than resort to that splendid memorable and sympathetic Proclamation of Her Majesty, our revered Queen Empress, the good and glorious Victoria. In that Proclamation, applying to this, we have a clause which I will ask Lord Curzon to bear in mind. "*We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty as bind us to all our other subjects.*" Is this portion of the Proclamation to remain a dead letter for ever? Is this portion of the Proclamation not to be acted upon by that glorious nation of England which lays claim to justice and love of freedom as the redeeming features of their national character? Gentlemen, apart even from the question of the Queen's Proclamation which I now placed for your consideration, I come nearer home to a speech, which the Viceroy in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, delivered on the occasion of the last budget meeting, if my memory serves me right. In that concluding speech, with his characteristic eloquence, Lord Curzon said that India was assuming an imperial character. Where is the imperial character may I ask? If the imperial character of the Indian Empire is to be recognized as a matter of political dictum and faith, let us, with one united voice from the Congress assembly, appeal, with all our might and force, to His Excellency Lord Curzon to uphold the cause of our fellow citizens in the British colonies of Africa and other parts of the British Empire. If need be let us go further, and appeal to the Secretary of State and thus get removed the several disabilities from the path of our fellow subjects who are living in different parts of South Africa. Pray wait a minute more. It is said that, in Australia, we are not allowed to move on a footing of equality with the white population. Let it be said in the same breath, no Australian shall come down to India. But no? They are not prepared to say that. Let us all be treated alike. What is the besetting sin of India that we are not to have the same privileges? The secret, Gentlemen, is commercial jealousy. It is nothing short of that. (*Shame*) It is a matter for shame indeed; but if we are to take away the shame from us, we ought to persist in our agitation until at last the disparity is removed. (*Cheers*).

MR. C. F. SIEVWRIGHT (of Melbourne):—

MR. PRESIDENT, DELEGATES and MEMBERS of the great National Movement:—

I appear before you to-day on behalf of your fellow subjects in

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Australia; and they have deputed me to present to your Congress a petition and to advocate their cause to your direct hearing. Therefore I must ask you to have a little patience with me while I read the petition formally. I will now proceed with it:—

“ To all to whom these presents shall come and to the Indian National Congress,

We, the true and loyal Indian Australian subjects of our present most beloved Sovereign, Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain and of all the Britains beyond the seas, Emperor of India and Ruler over its millions of loyal subjects and of native born Indian subjects dwelling throughout the wide dominions of the British Empire and under the protection of the British flag, give greeting to your powerful association; and, by this petition, are asking you to help us with your prayers, your sympathy and your brotherly generosity in our endeavour to obtain the repeal of the restrictive un-British conditions of an Act of the Commonwealth of Australia, known as the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, which has brought us many disadvantages and injustices and a degradation which confronts us daily in our endeavour to live peaceably in this land. These latter conditions cause us to think it is high time that we should make an appeal to you, owing to having to submit to treatment that the worst of criminals are given in order to prove our identification, namely, that of being photographed, measured and recorded by hand imprints, as practised upon convicts in prisons here. We, therefore, pray that you will undertake to influence the imperial authorities by an appeal in India through His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, to release us of our burdens, which we have been suffering under, during the period the said Immigration Restriction Act has been in force in this great continent of Federated Australia and that you will be graciously pleased to receive our loyal and respectful petition from the hands of our well esteemed friend and brother, Mohamed Abdul Haqq or (the servant of truth) generally known amongst the English people as Charles Francis Sievwright, an Australian by birth, who has devoted himself with unflinching constancy to promoting our welfare and helping our cause, whenever any matter has arisen through misunderstanding, due to our imperfect knowledge, of the laws and institutions under which we live in this country; and we hereby authorize him to advocate our claims and give proofs to you on our behalf in reliance that, under his trusteeship, the matter will be faithfully administered and wisely stated for your consideration and, with the assistance of Almighty God, will receive your compassionate approval. On behalf of the British Indian Empire league of Australia.

We remain,

Your most humble fellow subjects.

Dated 15th August 1903 at Sydney in the State of New South Wales of the Australian Commonwealth.

The petition is signed by Mohamedans, Hindus, Parsees and other people of your country. I now present it to your President formally on

their behalf. In support of that petition I want your kind indulgence to listen to some statements, that are sent to me from Australia, which, when I deliver them in the method that I now follow, will be found authentic. They are not statements coming out of my own mind or based on my own information. But they are from your brethren in Australia. One statement on behalf of the British Indian Empire League :—

“ To British Indians, those interested in Indo-Australian Trade and Friends,

The Committee recently appointed to draw up a working scheme for the complete organisation of British Indians in Australia has, on mature deliberation, concluded that the lines previously suggested as those upon which the new Association should be formed were, in some respects, at variance with the best interests of those concerned. It has, therefore, been agreed to remodel it in some respects; the chief alteration being in the matter of making Europeans interested in our affairs eligible for membership, a number of these gentlemen having, since the organisation was first spoken of, expressed their sympathy with our movement and an earnest desire to join with us and help us to a higher goal of achievement than we could hope for, if membership were exclusively confined to British Indian races.

With this brief explanatory preamble, we desire to draw your attention to a few concrete facts bearing upon the desirableness of making the Empire League a power for good throughout Australia.

Our political and social rights and privileges are menaced by Commonwealth legislation bearing upon the restriction of immigration to Australia. In respect to this matter, our aim is to assist the Commonwealth to carry out its laws as they relate to undesirable immigrants such as those of ignorant, pauper and immoral classes, and to give the administrators of His Majesty, in Australia, advice as to how to best secure the desired end in this direction. While helping with our united knowledge to secure the repression of undesirable persons, we shall aim at removing certain hurtful restrictions which now operate detrimentally on natives of British India who belong to the more enlightened commercial classes of our country. We claim that a very strong line of demarcation should be drawn between the undesirables first mentioned, and those who are engaged in commerce and are calculated by their enterprise to promote the mutual welfare of the two great countries. On this point let us remark, in passing, that the commercial interests, which have grown up between India and Australia in past years, are being seriously menaced by the cast iron administration of the Immigration Restriction Act, which makes no distinctions except those of nationality and color, all classes alike of Asiatic birth being banned by Commonwealth legislation. The result of this is that a systematic boycott of Australian produce, such as coal, grain, live stock, etc., is being insisted upon by large merchant classes in India, through the press, who deem themselves to be unfairly treated in the respect mentioned. This league will also seek to improve the social status of Indian citizens of Australia, and doing this will serve the dual purpose of benefiting the Indians themselves as well as those with whom they are thrown in contact in their daily life.

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The aims and objects briefly are: to serve the interests of all its members; to put a stop to certain legislative practices which are hostile to our welfare; and to demonstrate to Australia on the whole that we have interests to serve and are determined to serve them. One of the essentials to the success of the organisation is that it shall be controlled by officers who are held in esteem by the leading people in the political and commercial world. We shall work together and without regard to the aggrandisement of any individual member, bearing in mind that the interests of the whole of the members must take precedence over all other considerations. We shall have to be whole-hearted and unselfish and to work for no class or clique in making our appointments to the various high offices of the League, and our aim as an organisation must be 'Justice throughout the Commonwealth for all British subjects.'

A very important necessity in our scheme of organisation is ample funds. Already liberal promises of support and sympathy have been made by well-to-do Indians in our midst, and also by Europeans interested in our welfare. At the same time our numerical strength is such that we cannot fairly expect to rely upon donations from individuals for all time. We shall have to sustain ourselves to a large extent, and in order to provide a continuous inflow of the necessary working capital it has been decided by the preliminary committee that the membership fee shall be 10/6 per year, paid in advance, at the time of submitting the name for enrolment. The money thus obtained will be devoted strictly to the work of the Association and to no other purpose. The work we have in hand is sufficiently great to absorb our undivided attention and also the funds we shall be able to command under the system of payment mentioned; and it will be necessary for the committee to see that none of the League's funds are diverted to uses other than those having relation to the improvement of our position in Australia. Early enrolment, accompanied by the fee stated, is absolutely necessary, and we, therefore, hope you will send in your name for membership without delay.

England has already pledged herself to put no disabilities upon the natives of India, nor upon any natural born subject residing in that country, because of religion, place of birth, descent or color. Her Majesty, the late Queen Victoria, by Proclamation in 1858 said, "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty as bind us to all our other subjects." She also proclaimed it as Her Imperial Will that her subjects of whatever race or creed should be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her service, provided they were qualified to perform the duties. Australian legislation so far has been a violation of these proclamations, and it becomes our duty as British subjects to make a strenuous fight for the preservation of our rights, and it also becomes the duty of the Australian people themselves to avoid doing that which will excite the animus of their numerous customers in the British market."

MR. SIEWRIGHT continuing, said:—Your kind sympathetic attention, with regard to my appeal to my fellow Britishers, on behalf of our "coloured" subjects in Australia, has my sincere thanks. I have been much grieved at the attitude assumed by the advocates of a so-called "white Australia" towards their fellow men of Asia, Africa and

Polynesia, believing as I do, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth" (Acts 17-26). The ever Blessed and Righteous One, will not fail to regard with sovereign displeasure the act complained of.

I am but a modest politician, but the claims of my fellow men of whatever race or color, are dear to my heart. Hence I have been moved to advocate, as I have done, righteousness and fair dealing between man and man, with supreme regard to the Will of the Most High as that Will has been revealed in the history of nations and human destiny.

As an "humanitarian" I desire to use no other weapon in this warfare between right and wrong than expostulation with men and prayer to the good, trusting in that alone to bring about a redress of the grievances imposed by the retaliatory legislation against the "colored" races. I make no "call to arms" but I seek organization of ideas and not of arms. Being but a weak man in the great battle of life and unable to do powerful and active work singlehanded, in a public manner, against the overwhelming forces arrayed against me, I seek to do what I can by the voice and by the pen, and by private conversation with individuals in the spirit of truth and goodness that God hath instilled into me, on behalf of righteous rule in the Empire of which we all claim to be equal subjects otherwise known as "British subjects." Yet, after all, dear friends, it is well to know that we may not expect to see anything like permanent righteous legislation established on the earth. I can say this as a fact based upon the past and present relations of nations and even of the "white races" in their attitude to-day towards those peoples of "Darker Hue." Whatever may be the differences between the white races, it is an article of faith with every selfish white man who is not a true believer in God—that a united front must always be preserved towards the colored native whom they have conquered only by force of arms—a feeling the intensity of which is seldom appreciated by Europeans who have never visited these conquered countries, but which God has revealed to me only too plainly in my travels in years gone by and especially during my recent remarkable journey from Melbourne in Australia via Sydney, Brisbane, the New British Isles, New Guinea, the Dutch Islands or East Indies, the Straits Settlements, British Burma, and the presidencies and provinces of India which I have just passed through. In making this statement I do wish that you do not regard me as being abusive. Very little good comes of abuse. I am simply revealing to you a fact, and in doing so, I have neither the opportunity nor the time to go into the causes of the "white man's burden" in associating with his antipathy—the "colored" man. I do not, as is generally the case in public complaints, blame the Government; nay, may I be permitted to say rather that I desire to associate and uphold the Government in most of its unenviable work. There is just one point on which I should like to lay stress to show what "Good Government" can beget when exercised by His Majesty the King. "The Crown" in the sense of being "the Government" is a potent factor for good in international relations and by "Good" I mean the promotion of kindly feeling and mutual understanding, which is one of the best guarantees for peace. For I say that to keep the people in peace is the most important measure in the practice of government and the most urgent measure to obtain this end is the giving

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of equality to Indian people as "British subjects." To divide and rule is ungodly—un-Christian, un-British. It begets slavery to the Ruler but not loving obedience. It continues ignorance, for ignorance and slavery generally co-exist; but education and slavery never. I say that to educate is to enfranchise; and such must eventually be its result in India if the people seek both conditions. To further press my point upon your attention, let me mention only one instance. His Majesty's recent visit to France, Italy and other European countries produced a profound impression on the peoples there, and laid the foundation of an *entente cordiale*, which I hope will long endure. A good understanding with India likewise would tell far in the field of international politics. It would be beneficial to Australia and South Africa especially because their future trade with India is very promising and important. The possibility of such a good understanding lies within the power of His Majesty the King. At the beginning of the last century, the Crown had very little hold on the affections of the Indian people, and at some periods it was often widely unpopular. We have lived to see a vast change. That change can be traced to two causes. Firstly, India learned the secret of the power of England to give free institutions and liberty of the subject to its dependencies; and secondly, the personality of the late Queen Empress won its gentle way through this country and profoundly impressed the imagination of the people of all classes. Thus it was that, at the end of the last century, Indians united, with the rest of the people of the British Empire for the first time in the history of the British, at the Jubilee, as a thoroughly united people, and we shall never know how much of that impressive spectacle we owe to the personality of the late Queen, the giver of the Proclamation of Delhi, on the 1st November 1858. The great work of the past century has been the foundation of a vast Indian Empire, of independently governed States, managing their own interests, yet loyal to the Indian Government as representing the Crown, and possessing interests in common. I earnestly hope and pray that the work of this Congress, that I now have the great honor of addressing, will be to consolidate this Indian Empire, to develop and foster the great untouched resources of its natural inheritance, to advance the advantages of the English connection, and, while conserving the freedom of individual units, races, and creeds, to promote cordial co-operation among them, which will not only benefit its citizens in time of peace, but will render them safe in war. This is the great practical problem that faces you all to-day, and I will ask you to give me a few more minutes' hearing that I may explain to you my plan for the first step in the direction, in which all right thinking citizens of this Empire ought to move to solve the problem. My mission to India has developed within me a whole-souled devotion that, at the onset of my work, I did not anticipate, but my experience, since leaving my native country, amongst Indian peoples at all the ports on my way to Calcutta, where I arrived on the 27th August last, has developed this deeper interest which was only quickened, in Australia, by associations I held there with Indian peoples, who have emigrated to that land. I am now more convinced of the need of imperial justice towards our Indian fellow-subjects, present and prospective, in Australia, as the one safe basis of peace and unity. I must say, however, that I am surprised to learn that so little has been done by the united efforts of Indian peoples in India to secure their status, as British subjects, ever since it was offered in the Queen's Proclamation in 1858. I hold no official position in this National Congress and

possess neither influence nor authority in relation to the movement, but I am a convinced and warm sympathiser with the wrongs of the peoples of India, which the Congress has so nobly, during the past nineteen years, attempted to right. I have to ask you also to include, in your endeavours, the appeal to right the wrongs committed by the ignorant and contemptible Commonwealth Government of Australia, most inexcusably, against Indian subjects of our Sovereign, in their denial of reasonable business facilities to carry on trade with the Australians, who are of a different race. I have done my share so far, to help, in Australia, the Indian peoples injured by the Australian obnoxious "Immigration Restriction Act"; and I now have visited India to get aid to secure the work, already done, becoming successful. In Australia, I clearly foresaw that any agitation of the question on the platform or through the press, would be futile, owing to the oppressive dominance of the Socialistic Labour Party. I was asked by the Principals connected with my league if I would agree to submit the case of the colored people, especially British Indians, to the people of India, and I consented, with what results many of you may probably know. A leading object of my mission to India has been to enlist the practical sympathy and co-operation of the superior classes in this country and their monetary aid towards this vital movement. In giving my league a favourable answer, I knew that it was not in a position to meet the expenses such a tour would necessarily involve, yet I ventured out, from my home, business, and the security of one's native place and associations, and have undertaken risks of all kind, knowing that the good would provide the ways and means if I kept at it, which I have done against all the obstacles in my journey, without a knowledge of languages and customs of different nationalities and notwithstanding a recent dangerous illness of five weeks' duration, in the European Civil Hospital at Allahabad, as the result of overwork and travel, the effects of which still trouble me in the body. My plan in brief, and to come to the point, is to submit the case of the Indian subjects to the British public, by meetings, by conferences, comprising Members of Parliament and other well known gentlemen of influence, and by getting influential members of the House of Lords and Commons to raise a discussion of the question in Parliament and demand a formal denunciation by the British Government and their supporters in London, of the discreditable treatment of Indian immigrants of respectable class, seeking residence in Australia or even South Africa, which Republic also holds the Racial Restrictive Legislation. I fully recognize that all ranks in India and the various institutions they represent, require to be aroused to realize the importance of their rights as British subjects, which were specially confirmed to them in the formal agreement to which our late Sovereign Empress appended her signature, after the Mutiny of 1857 was quelled. But the Imperial Government and the Parliament and others could not be moved to protest against the insult offered to unobtrusive and inoffensive Indian subjects, by their exclusion from our Australian territory, without such a crusade, throughout the United Kingdom, as I have indicated already. Nor should many months pass before the agitation should begin, as the preferential tariff agitation commenced by the late Colonial Secretary would furnish a peg on which to hang the proposed denunciation of the anti-Asiatic Policy of the Commonwealth and South Africa Government and their supporters. Your Congress is aware that, in the agitation now going on for the adoption of the fiscal policy of preferential tariffs within the Empire, there is also the plea for Imperial unity. Now I should add

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this scheme a real necessity for the protection of the rights of Indian subjects, in India, South Africa, and Australia, by the Government in London, to avert the risk of the threatened dismemberment of the Empire.

I wish you distinctly to understand that I have not in any way sought the responsibilities which my league and its friends have urged me to undertake. I am not possessed of private means to bear the cost of hiring halls, advertisements, organizing public meetings and private conferences, travelling, hotel, and other expenses. These are considerable; and additionally I could not be expected to surrender my business chances, in Australia, which I have held for years, without some compensation. However, my colleagues in Australia, when they found me heart and soul with their movement, were satisfied, that all my antecedents fitted me to become their Commissioner to India or to England. Having come thus far upon my mission, I have been requested also to hold myself in readiness to undertake the agitation in England, deemed indispensable by the chief authorities and the Australian connections of the British and Indian Empire league. But, as it is, the most important part of the mission is to raise funds, in India, for the purpose; and the pressure necessary cannot be brought to bear on the English Government and Parliament unless my labours are successful for this end; and the agitation falling short of it will prove a fiasco. I have confidence that your Congress will turn the tide, rising in my favour, to satisfactory account so that the British Government may be forced to take side with India against Australian and South African retaliatory laws. In Australia to-day, according to the results of the Federal Parliament elections held on the 18th December 1903, it seems hopeless, at the present stage or outlook, through the victory achieved by the Labour Party there, to secure notices of the work in the Melbourne, Sydney and other Australian newspapers, which are jammed between the Labour Party on the one hand, and the Opportunists who affect a horror of a colored invasion, on the other. It is when the campaign is carried through England and the Australian federal restrictive policy is adversely commented upon in the London papers, that the Australian press will be compelled to declare its voice. You will see, therefore, that it is necessary to raise the "sinews of war" by means of a fund of £500 or Rs. 7,500—£1000, or Rs. 15,000 for the British mission from India. The end is to be attained only by making the very existence of the British Government depend on their decisive action for India and against Australia, and this can only be done by haranguing the British constituencies. If this plan, held strongly to by all my Indian and mercantile friends in Australia, and also by those I have come in contact with during my recent travel, is not promptly acted upon, I shall not be able to take part in the agitation longer, as my health and my obligations to my family will not permit me to be detained, pending some action.

In conclusion, let me say a few words to encourage you to face this work with us and to grant the appeal of the petition I have had the honor of presenting to you, on behalf of the Indian peoples domiciled, in Australia.

The most urgent problem of Eastern Statesmanship is, how to reconcile Self-Government for India with Imperial supremacy for Great Britain? My political doctrine is that the more we concede the former the more we confirm the latter. Many, who dispute or would unjustly defer the applicability

of this principle to Indian affairs, will admit it with reference to this question of the British Indians' enfranchisement. To the English race I would say ; " No preparations for war in India itself, if you wish to keep it in peace, but remember that to educate, enrich and please the subjects make the foundation of the kingdom strong, as the subjects are the walls on which the building of the Government stands." When the word "alien" is applied to a British Indian in presenting himself for admission into a British Dependency like Australia, is that the way to create "loyal subjects" of the Empire? On the battle fields, that the English have figured in, during recent years, the blood of the English, Indian, and Australian soldier has flowed in the same stream and drenched the same ground as if it was a baptism of their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril, are Indians not to be partakers in glory? Are they to be told they are "aliens" from that noble Empire for whose salvation to-day or to-morrow the Indians' life blood will be poured?

England must provide for your national growth, for your national strength in India as well as in the British Dependencies of the Crown. Suffer me to say that that is a bad policy which prevents the nationalisation of a people. Every part of the Empire, that is in a diseased and morbid condition, corrupts the Empire! Build Empires by all means, but an Indian Empire on Indian hearts, and not on Indian heads and shoulders! and now wishing you triumphant success in the direction I have pointed out, as a *sine qua non* to final victory over South African and Australian oppression and bigotry, believe me to be your devoted fellow subject and advocate.

MR. V. G. VASUDEVA PILLAI (Burma), said :—

In rising to support this resolution, I must ask your indulgence to say a few words regarding Burma, which has been for the first time included in the annals of the Indian National Congress, as a Congress Centre. The Burmese people, as a race, have very little social distinctions. They profess a religion which had its birth in Benares, the most sacred city of the Hindus. Their women enjoy freedom and liberty which are foreign to other races of this vast Indian Empire. They are noble and honest to an extraordinary degree, consequently they are ready to be united to you by the closest ties possible. Inter-marriages between the Hindus and the Burmese people are very common and the fusion of the two races is not an Herculean task, as may be imagined, judged by the differences that exist here. Their hospitality to strangers is proverbial. Once they realize the aim and object of this great national gathering, they will be willing to co-operate with us and to contribute their mite towards its welfare. The advent of the English has developed trade and commerce immensely, and local industry has flourished. Education has made considerable progress among the various classes of people so much so that the educational syndicate of Burma have approached the Viceroy with a memorial to establish a local University and it is likely that we shall have one in the near future. There is activity on all sides and Burma is fast rising into importance. We have at the head of affairs a very popular Lieutenant-Governor who is bent upon introducing reforms in every department, and it is hoped that, before he leaves the shores of Burma, he will enlarge the Legislative Council so as to secure a just and proper representation of the diverse interests and communities and that he will do something practically

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for the separation of executive and judicial functions (at least in the case of honorary appointment as in the Madras Presidency) so that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer.

That the Burmese people have begun to evince some interest in politics is clearly seen in the recent formation of the Burma Association after the model of the Bengal Association and the Bombay Presidency Association. (*Loud Cheers*). The organization of such associations is viewed with alarm by certain critics and is more dreaded than the contagion of the plague itself (*Laughter*) because they see in them the sowing of the seeds of the National Congress principles on a fertile soil like Burma. So long as these critics do not care to study the history of the Congress for the past twenty years, its noble aims and its legitimate aspirations, they will depict in false colours its remarkable achievements to poison the minds of the people in whom a craving for a larger share in the administration of the country has arisen. Fortunately for Burma, this association has been organized by a European gentleman of position and influence whose name is worthy of being mentioned in this national gathering. This honoured name is that of Dr. Pedley (*Cheers*) who has encountered a storm of opposition but who has given a practical turn to his intentions through thick and thin. The President of the Association is the Manager of a leading European firm, and the members of the Committee include such men as Maung Ohughine, C.I.E., A.T.M., M.R.A.S., Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner and the Burman representative at His Majesty's Coronation, Maung Shwe Oh, Millionaire and Rice Mill owner and Mr. K. Rangaswami Mudaliar, the leading Rice Broker and Merchant.

Coming to the resolution itself, I have not much to say especially after the eloquent speech of Mr. Sievwright who has been an eye-witness himself to the treatment to which the Indian immigrants are exposed. The population of India is increasing by leaps and bounds and to borrow a phrase from political economy the supply is greater than the demand. Indians must necessarily emigrate to earn their livelihood. But the Immigration Act of the Australian Commonwealth, which imposes such serious disabilities upon the Indian, wants to nip Indian enterprise, in this direction, in the bud. Owing to the jealousy of the labour unions, we are informed that it is almost impossible for an Indian to go to the country at all, for the immigrant has first to deposit a large sum after leaving the steamer and to pass a certain test conducted by the customs authorities, of course, with a degree of malice on their part. The Indian papers and the Indian public condemned the exclusion of the Asiatic British subjects from Australia and South Africa two years ago when the question was seriously discussed, but no good came out of it. But now that the Immigration Act is being enforced with all its rigidity, England, the kind mother, ought to come to the help of the poor children, who go in search of food to distant lands, leaving behind them their kith and kin, but who are exposed to merciless treatment even there. Coming as I do from Burma, which is a regular anthropological Museum, for in addition to the natives of the soil, it is peopled by the Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Europeans, &c. I simply wonder at the attitude of the Australians, who wish to keep Australia for themselves, when enlightened India is so generous as to receive with open arms all British subjects. It is highly desirable that, in order to consolidate and advance the interests, of the

British Empire and the welfare of its several parts, England should, by an Act of Parliament, compel Australia and other colonies to keep an open door for Indians and other British subjects, so that they may have equal rights to own and occupy land for cultivation under the laws of any state or dominion in which they might be domiciled. As much has been said already on this topic, it is needless here for me to tax your patience longer, but let us hope that England, which is the motherland of freedom, liberty and justice, will not turn a deaf ear to the voice of this great and representative gathering.

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried.

At this stage it became impossible to proceed any further with the business owing to the heavy rain.

THE PRESIDENT :—The business now concludes on account of the rain and the Congress will meet to-morrow at 11 A.M.

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# Third Day's Proceedings.

—♦♦♦—  
Wednesday, 30th December, 1903.

Owing to the heavy rain which had continued all through the night and showed no signs of abatement even after day-break and the flooded state of the Congress Pavilion, the meeting had to be held in the spacious Verandah of the Spring Gardens.

Before opening the proceedings of the day, the President said:—  
Gentlemen, I find that there is some difference of opinion as to whether the Congress should be held in this place as many of our Delegates complain that they have no seats or convenient accommodation. I, therefore, want to ask you, for I am only your mouth-piece, whether it is your pleasure that the Congress should be held in this place.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE:—I think we ought to hold the meeting and to proceed with the business on the agenda. (*Cries of yes, yes, yes*).

## THE UNIVERSITIES BILL.

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#### The Universities Bill.

MR. SURENDRANATH  
BANNERJEE.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE moved the next resolution:—

That this Congress, while welcoming any wisely considered scheme for the reform of the educational policy of Government, is of opinion that the Universities Bill, if passed into law, will have, as recommended in the report of the Universities Commission, the effect of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the independence of the Universities upon which largely depend their efficiency and usefulness, and turning them practically into departments of Government.

That this Congress is of opinion that the provision of the Bill will not remove the shortcomings of the present system of higher education but that provision for funds and improvement in the standard of teaching by the agency of a superior class of teachers are imperatively needed in the interests of higher education.

That this Congress prays for the following modifications:—

- (a) That each University should be dealt with by a separate Act.
- (b) That in the case of the older Universities the number of ordinary Fellows shall not be less than 200 of whom at least 80 should be elected by registered graduates and 20

by the members of the Faculties and that, in the case of the Universities of Allahabad and of the Punjab, a similar provision should be made.

- (c) That the ordinary Fellows should hold office as at present for life, but should be liable to disqualification for absence during a fixed period.
- (d) That the provision of a statutory proportion for the heads of Colleges on the Syndicate be omitted.
- (e) That all graduates of ten years' standing in a Faculty be declared eligible to vote.
- (f) That the section making it obligatory upon Colleges which apply for affiliation or have been affiliated to provide for suitable residential quarters for students and Professors and for the permanent maintenance of the Colleges be omitted.
- (g) That as regards affiliation and disaffiliation the decision should, instead of being the direct Act of Government as under the Bill, be as at present the act of the University subject to the sanction of Government.
- (h) That as regards the inspection of Colleges it should be conducted by persons specially appointed by the Syndicate unconnected with the Government educational department or any aided or unaided College.
- (i) That the power of making bye-laws and regulations should as at present be vested in the Senate, subject to the sanction of the Government.

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MR. SURENDRA-  
NATH BANNERJEE.

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,—Last year when Congress assembled, we recorded a protest against the Report of the Universities Commission. In that protest, we carried with us the sympathies, and, I may add, the convictions of the entire educated community throughout India, irrespective of considerations of race or religion. Those who did not worship with us in the same temple—who did not profess the same political creed, but were separated from us by the widest of human barriers, viz., those of thought and feeling, readily joined us in this universal protest. We then made it clear, abundantly clear, to the rulers of India and all else whom it might concern that next to religion, education was our most cherished interest, that into that domain we could permit no trespass, none of the arts of poaching, and that, we were resolved by all the constitutional means at our disposal to safeguard our educational interests and to transmit our educational legacy, untarnished and undiminished, to those who, coming after us, would bear our names and inherit our privileges as well as our obligations. The Government of Lord Curzon, whatever may be its demerits and I, for one, have never been partial to them, has always been keenly responsive to the intimation of public opinion, and His Excellency recognizing the situation, issued



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a circular-letter which went far to allay the agitation and to reassure the public mind. None the less we recorded a resolution formulating our objections to the main features of the Report of the Commission, for we felt that the controversy was not yet over and that the authoritative protest of educated India, voiced through our great organ of the National Congress, would have a value and a significance all its own. We were wise in making that protest, for the danger is not yet over, and to-day we stand face to face with a Bill (the Universities Bill) which, if embodied in the law of the land, would officialize our Universities and reduce them to so many departments of the Government. During the last thirty years no movement has been stronger—none has evoked in a more unstinted measure the approbation of public opinion than the movement of decentralization, the steady but gradual delegation of centralized authority to subordinate bodies, vested with full responsibility and working under the general supervision of the central power. The movement began with Lord Mayo. It received a new impetus from the statesmanlike measures of Lord Ripon's Government, and in actual operation it has been attended with results which justify an expansion rather than a curtailment of the beneficent policy which it embodies. And the movement has gone on expanding, affording infinite relief to the Central Government and scattering broadcast in its train the inestimable blessing of the enlargement of popular authority. But all this is now to be changed. The civic freedom of our Corporations is to be curtailed by the intervention of Government—and you, the citizens of Madras, have a foretaste of the rich blessing that is in store for you in the Madras Municipal Bill—and our Universities are to be subjected to the persistent pressure of official control. The Government has made no secret of its intentions in this respect. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, speaking in support of Mr. Raleigh's Bill, with a candour and directness of purpose which I greatly admire, for it is so rare in these days, when duplicity and diplomacy have become interchangeable terms, observed that the Government must now assume control over the system of higher education. I should have thought that imperialism—the new-fangled imperialism which has darkened the prospects of human freedom in all parts of the world—would have rejoiced in a sort of general supervision over the repositories of delegated authority, and like the great orb of day would permit the subordinate planetary bodies to move in their respective spheres, content only to guide, to restrain and to control. But that is not to be. Imperialism must meddle—and shall I say muddle? For the officialization of at least one great Corporation has been attended with results which have assumed the proportions of a grave public scandal and have shocked the conscience of the citizens of Calcutta, of at least that portion which have yet any conscience left to them. What then is the justification for this new departure and the policy of the departure which is embodied in this Bill. Have our Universities been tried and found wanting? I will say *no* to this question, and I will ask you to say *no* when you have heard me. It is incumbent upon the framers of the Bill to make out their case. Have they discharged their responsibility—have they seriously attempted to discharge it? It will not do for them to point to a defect here—a failure there—and a breakdown elsewhere—or to urge that our University system does not come up to the requirements of an ideally perfect standard. They must carry their evidence much further than that. They must show that our system has so hopelessly broken down that no partial reform will avail, but that a complete and fundamental change is required

to meet the exigencies of the situation—that the entire superstructure must be taken down and the ground cleared for the erection of an altogether new edifice. So far from there being any evidence in support of this view, whatever evidence there is points to a distinctly opposite conclusion. Our Universities have a brilliant record associated with illustrious names of enduring fame. Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Kashinath Trimbug Telang, Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta, Guru Das Bannerjee are honoured names (a voice—Surendranath Bannerjee) whose labours have shed a lustre upon the Universities with which they have been connected. With the life of our Universities is associated the development of that progressive movement which has changed the moral aspect of the country and finds expression in every phase of our national life. It is no exaggeration to say that our Universities are the seed-plots upon which and around which have grown up the National Congress, the Social Conference, indeed every movement, social, moral and political, which has marked the activities of the present generation. It is our Universities and the beneficent influences which they have scattered broadcast, that have elevated the tone of the Indian Press and have made it a power for good. It is our Universities that have produced a distinguished galaxy of eminent men who have adorned morals and manners, have ennobled the literature of their country and have made it a rich vehicle for the expression of the highest purposes and the varied requirements of modern life. It is again our Universities that have supplied a body of distinguished public servants whose ability and integrity have been the theme of universal admiration and have vindicated the capacity of our countrymen for high offices in the State. All these achievements have been accomplished by the Universities under their old constitution which it is now proposed to supersede. Lord Curzon stands forth as the champion of this Bill. I regret, all India regrets, to see His Excellency in this position, for his culture, his genius, his fine imagination, the brilliancy of his rhetoric are all calculated to place him in the foremost rank of statesmen. I am sorry that His Excellency's name should go down to posterity indissolubly linked with a reactionary and retrograde measure which has been condemned by the unanimous opinion of educated India. Those who will be most deeply affected by the measure have a right to be heard and have a right to urge that their views will be carefully considered and, so far as practicable, embodied, in the law of the land. Lord Curzon observes that the Government of India is overburdened with work and that it is most anxious to decentralize authority, but that it feels itself compelled to come to the rescue of the Universities which, says His Excellency, are falling to pieces. With the utmost deference for His Excellency—and I can have no other feeling for the august representative of my Sovereign—I ask where is the evidence in support of this view of the matter? I am free to admit that our Universities are capable of improvement. What human institution is there that is not? But I again ask where is the evidence to show that our Universities have developed a condition of chronic inefficiency which alone would justify the drastic and revolutionary Bill which has been introduced into the Supreme Council? I can find none. But the vision of the discontented B. A.'s, who, with an exaggerated notion of their own abilities, infest the avenues of our public offices, disturbs the equanimity of the Hon'ble member in charge of the Bill. It is a serious nuisance, says he, and it must be suppressed. With all respect to Mr. Raleigh I venture to submit that the problem which he has set before himself is an administrative

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rather than an educational one—and that no reconstitution of the Senates and no improvement in the method of teaching or of the examinations will allay this discontent, but that the Government must set about the task in an altogether different fashion. Our B. A.'s find that, after a successful academical career, all the avenues of honourable employment are closed against them, that, with the exception of certain specified departments, they are excluded from the Indian Civil Service and from the higher appointments in the Minor Civil Services, and that they are entitled only to the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, to the subordinate appointments which the European does not care to accept or which the Government does not care to bestow upon him. It is not in human nature to repress the ambitions which culture and enlightenment have roused in the human breast. Remove these barriers, give the B. A. full scope for the exercise of his talents and energies, and, above all, do not degrade him by branding him with the humiliating badge of racial inferiority. Then the race of discontented B. A.'s will become as extinct as the Dodo. Further the discontented B. A. has read Sir William Lee Warner's book which the Government has been at so much pains to patronize. In that book he has read the Queen's Proclamation, the terms of which he has inwardly digested. He has learnt from that gracious message that race is no qualification or disqualification for office in India: and he has been assured by more than one distinguished Viceroy that the Proclamation has been the golden rule of their conduct. But when he finds the very widest divergence between profession and practice, between exalted principles and their actual application to the measures of Government, the situation is such as is not calculated to add to the serenity of his temper.

I look in vain for a satisfactory statement of the reasons for this Bill in the speech of the Hon'ble member who introduced it. What I find is not so much a vindication as a statement of the circumstances which led to the framing of the measure. Mr. Raleigh has told us that a body of distinguished educational experts met in Simla somewhere about 1901, that they were of opinion that there were serious defects in our University system which called for wisely-considered schemes of reform and that they further agreed that the Senate must be reconstituted. We are not told what these serious defects were. We have a right to know them. We have a right to know the materials upon which their judgment was based, and we have a right to our own judgment upon these materials. We must know what their proceedings are before we are in a position to judge of them. But the Conference met in secret, deliberated in secret, resolved in secret, and I presume dispersed in secret. The only ray of light that has been vouchsafed upon the situation is that which has been afforded by the preliminary speech of His Excellency the Viceroy now supplemented by the observations of the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh. But if the authority of the Educational Conference is invoked in support of the Bill, we may on the other side appeal, with at least equal confidence, the counter authority of the Senates of all the Indian Universities who have condemned the provisions, which now find a place in the Bill, with unparalleled unanimity and emphasis. But it might be said that the Senates were interested bodies and that, dominated by the instinct of self-preservation, they could not be expected to pronounce an impartial verdict upon issues which affected their very existence. The argument would be convincing enough, if it were not the case that in this

matter the Senates re-echoed the public voice and were supported by the unanimous testimony of public opinion. The public cannot be expected to look at a consideration like this except from the standpoint of the public weal. Any wisely-considered scheme of reform, moving along the line of least resistance, harmonizing the spirit of conservation, with the spirit of progress, the public would cordially approve of. Reforms they would welcome. Revolutions they abhor. And what could be more revolutionary than that the Senates should be thoroughly reconstituted by the Government and that the bulk of their members should be relegated to the cold shade of neglect by being made Honorary Fellows who are to hibernate during the greater part of their Senatorial lives, to emerge only into a sort of flickering existence on the eve of an election of a member of Council and then like the fast-vanishing ghost of Hamlet's father sink back into their doomed non-entity even before the crowing of the cock.

Sir, if I remember rightly, the agitation for the reform of the University system was largely prompted by the desire to expand the Universities and invest them with the function of teaching. Provision has been made for the creation of University chairs, the appointment of lecturers and the inspection and supervision of affiliated Colleges. I hope the teaching function of the Universities will be largely availed of and that before long an advanced school of learning will be founded under University auspices at the capital of each province. But the question is one of ways and means and not of constitutional reform; and I confess that I fail to see how the reconstitution of the Senates will promote University teaching. The Government has, indeed, promised a sum of five lakhs of rupees for the next four or five years, but this money will be devoted to the granting of subsidies to such Colleges as are not able to conform to the requirements of the new standard of efficiency.

You rightly observe in the resolution that the effect of this Bill will be to officialize our Universities and reduce them to the status of so many departments of the Government. This view of the matter His Excellency the Viceroy has protested against, with all the eloquence and fervour he is capable of. But facts are facts, and they cannot be challenged by authority, however distinguished. Let us, for a moment, look at the facts and note the inference which they irresistibly suggest. The Government will appoint 80 per cent. and may appoint 90 per cent. of the members of the Senate. The Government will affiliate and disaffiliate. The Government will sanction, modify, add to and even make regulations in case of delay on behalf of the Senates. If this is not officializing the Senates, will the official sponsors of the Bill deign to explain what it means? One of the professed objects of the Bill—by far the most important which the framers of the measure have in view—is the enlargement of the powers of the Senates and their consequent reconstitution. For, says the Government, the present Senates are unfit for these wider powers and ampler functions. But the Government really takes away with the one hand what it confers with the other. For all these powers are to be exercised subject to the approval of the Government. The Senates are to be merely so many conduit-pipes—subordinate bodies who are to enquire, to report and submit their opinions, the final decision being reserved to the Government. Thus, under the plea of expanding the powers of the Senate, the Government

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monopolizes all authority; and yet we are told that one of the objects of the Bill is to bestow larger powers upon the Senates for the more important and responsible functions which are now to be entrusted to them. If language was given to men to conceal their thoughts in, have we not here a notable illustration of it? Again it is said that one of the objects of the Bill is to place the Universities under the Government of experts. But who are to be these experts? The bulk of them will be Government educational officers wedded to the policy and the traditions of the Government. Thus in placing the Universities under the direction of experts, the screw of official control will have been all the more tightly fixed. Look again at that other provision of the Bill which discloses its drift, *viz.*, to exalt official authority and to make it a predominant factor in the Government of the Universities. The fellowships are to be terminable, to be renewed at the option of the Government. To make the fellowships terminable in a body the bulk of whose members are to be appointed by the Government, is to deal a death-blow at their independence; for the members will be only too ready to please the authorities in order to obtain a renewal of their term of office. Mr. Raleigh is fully alive to this objection, but he says in reply that in all the deliberative assemblies of the British Empire, the memberships are terminable. So they are, but he omits to notice a very important fact. These assemblies are entirely or in the main elective in their constitution. Even if fifty per cent. of the members were elected, there would be little or no objection to terminable fellowships. This brings me to the question of the elective element in the constitution of the Senates. We are thankful to the Government for the definite statutory recognition of the elective principle in the constitution of our Universities. But the concession represents a very small instalment of reform—almost a homoeopathic dose—and its graciousness is very much minimized by the other provisions of the Bill. Our Universities are modelled upon that of London. The London University consists of 55 members, of whom only four are nominated by the King, the rest consisting of Fellows elected by different bodies. To say that our College professors, with a leaven of our graduates, are unfit to exercise the franchise to the extent I have suggested is to utter a calumny. Such a proposition would be in entire conflict with the spirit of the Bill; for if our College professors are fit to be our governors, surely they are fit to elect at least one half of those who are to govern the Universities.

I have tried to show that there is no justification for this Bill. But this is a negative sort of argument which will not satisfy everybody. I would go a step further and contend that there are provisions in the Bill which, if accepted, would be positively mischievous and would be fatal to the interests of high education. You will remember that the Universities Commission had recommended the abolition of the Second Grade Colleges and the consequent restriction of the educational area. Now I have no hesitation in saying that the same object is sought to be attained by the Bill, though in a somewhat roundabout way. The direct frontal attack has been given up, I presume, in deference to modern tactics, in favour of a dexterous flank movement which is all the more dangerous, because it is insidious and unperceived. There are provisions in the Bill which will prevent the further growth of educational institutions under indigenous agency; there are provisions in the Bill which will wipe out of existence the colleges now managed and controlled by our countrymen. Let me ask you to consider

the provisions of Section 21 of the Bill which lays down the conditions of affiliation. The applicant, among other things, must satisfy the University authorities that suitable provision will be made for the residence of students and professors in or near the College, and further he must give financial guarantees so as to ensure the permanence of the College. Now I have no hesitation in saying that in Bengal, at any rate, private enterprise launched under the most favourable conditions will not be in a position to comply with these requirements. The Government have a sort of idea that the private colleges are very flourishing commercial concerns. I wish the Government would run some of them and discover for themselves how much money they are able to put into their pockets. They will find that, instead of a balance, they will have a yearly-recurring deficit. I know something of the unaided colleges in Bengal. I have been connected with one of them which is now nearly of twenty-five years' standing. I have grown grey in the service of that college which, I venture to think, has been of some little help to the educational interests of my province, and, I will say this, speaking from close familiarity and intimate knowledge, that we have enormous difficulties to face and overcome, that these difficulties are of yearly recurrence, that our finances are our weakest point and that the provisions to which I have called attention will be the last straw on the camel's back. But then it will be said that if there is to be no further expansion of high educational institutions under private agency, there is the Government and there are the Missionary bodies which will come to the rescue of the menaced interests of high education. If the past is any guide for the future, I fear we cannot expect much help from the Government or the Missionary bodies. For the last thirty years there has been no addition in Bengal to the Missionary Colleges, although no patriotic Indian can forget the immense debt of endless gratitude which we owe to Missionary effort for the impetus which it gave to the cause of education and the magnificent colleges which are now maintained by Missionary bodies. What is true of the Missionary agency is true of the Government. There are 77 colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University of which only 11 are Government Colleges. Since 1878 no Government College has been founded or affiliated, save and except the Bethune College which is a College for Hindu ladies and was affiliated in 1888. Thus if the policy of the past is to be maintained by the Government or the Missionary bodies and we have seen no signs of any inclination to depart from it, the necessary effect of the provisions for affiliation will be to prevent the further expansion of the educational area. Nay more, I fear its contraction will be inevitable—these provisions will bring about the abolition of most of the unaided colleges in Bengal. By a subsequent section these provisions are made applicable to all existing colleges and the unaided colleges. I fear they will collapse under their operation. Thus, Sir, I think, I have conclusively shown that the effect of these provisions will be to prevent the further growth of institutions for high education, to restrict the educational area, to subvert the educational policy of the Government, to tear up the Education Despatch of 1854, and to scatter to the winds the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882. If this is not revolution—if this is not a reactionary measure of the most pronounced type, I know not what these terms mean.

It is against this policy that we desire to record our most emphatic protest. It is for the abandonment of this policy that we would appeal to

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His Excellency the Viceroy. It is a policy which is inconsistent with the highest traditions of British rule—those traditions which have founded, built up and consolidated this vast imperial fabric. “We are not here” said one of the greatest of Englishmen, to whom we are indebted for the liberation of the Press—“we are not here” said Sir Charles Metcalfe in reply to the deputation that waited upon him on the emancipation of the Press, “merely to keep the peace, to collect the taxes and to make good the deficit. We are here for a higher and a nobler purpose, viz., to pour into the East the knowledge, the culture and the civilization of the West.” Nobly has England fulfilled her mission—her self-imposed, her heaven-appointed mission. Nobly has she earned her reward in the awakened public spirit and the affectionate gratitude of a loyal and contented people. The dry bones in the open valley have become instinct with life and all India is astir with the pulsations of a new-born impulse. I ask—is it seriously proposed to recall the past, to ignore the lessons of the past and to roll back the tide of progress which has set in with such an irresistible rush? I can promise no hopes of success to those who would fain embark upon so desperate an undertaking. Time and her beneficent influences are arrayed against them. The writing on the wall—the inexorable decree of fate written with the pencil of Providence in the scrolls of light—is against them. Progress is the order of nature, the dispensation of divine Providence. Reaction is the exception which whets into renewed activity the sleeping forces of progress. It is the darkness of midnight which precedes the bursting of the new dawn when the gathering forces of progress sweep away the last relics of reaction in their onward and triumphant career. I desire to warn the rulers of India that they stand before the bar of history, where all the pomp and the glitter and the circumstances of their proud position will avail them not, where their words will be critically examined and their measures as carefully judged—and that History will pronounce upon them her awful censure viz., that being charged by the most enlightened of modern nations with a mission of progress and philanthropy, they became reactionaries in the field of practical statesmanship and that they sought to tamper with the interests of high education and to restrict the scope of those beneficent influences which it was the assiduous endeavour of Anglo-Indian statesmanship to foster and to promote. I know not what answer they will give. They know their duty; and we know ours, which is to do all that lies in our power to safeguard the precious boon of high education. All our possibilities of progress are bound up with it. All our public movements derive from it their vital breath, their animating spirit, their sustaining influence. High education is the great heart, the mighty moving impulse of all our public activities. It affects and benefits even those whom it does not touch, elevating the general tone of society, generating a purer atmosphere of lofty ideals and high aspirations. Such a boon we cannot part with. Such a boon we cannot allow to be tampered with. Such a boon we cling to with fond devotion, prompted by a spirit akin to that of filial reverence. Next to religion, education is our most sacred interest. The feelings prompted by religion deepen our affectionate devotion to our educational concerns. The hymns of the *Bhāgavad Gita* which delight, instruct and inspire, derive an added inspiration when addressed to minds strung to the music of the higher emotions by the combined culture of the East and the West. Therefore, let there go forth a great protest from this Congress,—a protest which I hope and trust will be emphasized by similar protests from other parts of the country. To-day we stand face to face with

one of the gravest crises in our history. Are we to succumb to it, or play the part of men? If you sleep over the situation and indulge in cowardly inaction or if you weakly hesitate or falter, then the heritage of the past will be undone, the interests of the present will be compromised, and, as to the future, you will have forfeited your claim to that precious boon of constitutional liberty for which you have, for the last twenty years, maintained so arduous a struggle and which, under the blessing of Almighty Providence and the fostering care of British statesmanship of the future, if not of the present, you are bound to win and which when won, will glorify the name of England in India and will consecrate a new bond of union between the two countries, that shall be proof against the machinations of European powers and the fleeting vicissitudes of Eastern politics.

MR. AMBALALL SAKARLAL DESAI (Bombay), in seconding the motion, said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

After the very eloquent and able speech of our distinguished countryman, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, I have only to offer a very few observations in support of the resolution. Mr. Bannerjee has been connected with education for more than a quarter of a century and he speaks with the authority of ripe experience. I stand before you not as an educationist, but as one of you who have children to educate (*Hear, hear*). I look at the Bill from the point of view of parents, guardians, grandfathers and brothers (*Hear, hear*). I have studied the Bill in my own way and I quite agree with Mr. Bannerjee. There are three evils which the Government have in view and seek to remedy. They say that the past policy of education has encouraged cram in a great degree. They say again that the policy has created 'the discontented B.A.,' and they also say that the present acts of incorporation are defective inasmuch as they make no provision for the promotion of research and study. These are the three points which the Bill is intended to meet. Now let us see how the Bill meets them. There are two methods adopted. The first is providing more stringent rules of affiliation and disaffiliation. Instead of the existing rules, they say no College shall be recognised unless it makes provision not only for a competent staff of teachers but also for suitable buildings, suitable bungalows for the Professors, and affords other securities for permanence. Now these are fine objects indeed; but one ventures to ask whether the provision of good buildings and play grounds and so on will remove cram or will remove the discontented B.A. I happen to be on the board of management of a Provincial College. We have made provision for buildings and play grounds and yet I say, with all deference, our graduates are no better than the graduates of other Colleges not so well equipped as ours. The fact of the matter is that, with our present system of education, with the staff that we import from Europe, there is little prospect of putting education on a sound basis. Until we have Native Professors and Lecturers educated in the best Universities of Europe and placed in charge of higher education, there can be no chance for a sound system of higher education. Then a second means devised by Government is the sweeping away of the independence of the Senate. They say, in the first place, that the number of Fellows shall be limited to 100. While there ought to be some limitation as to the numbers, I cannot see how reducing the number of Fellows from

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200 to 100 will effect the reform they have in view. They say, in the second place, that Fellowships ought to be terminable. With the experience we have of Municipal Councillors and Legislative Council Members of terminable tenures, and of men periodically nominated to Councils and Corporations, there are good grounds for the fear that there is a great probability that Fellows under the new conditions will not act with the independence which longer tenures would ensure. But the propositions of Government do not stop here. They say that the acts of affiliation and disaffiliation should be the acts of the Syndicate. The Senate is simply to record their opinion on the proposals sent by the Syndicate. They are to be mere Post Offices. The Senate may not like certain proposals, but they cannot reject them. They must pass them on to Government. Now in official life such a procedure destroys initiative. Will it not have the same effect on the Senates? The last proposal that the Government makes is that the bye-laws and regulations shall be sent in draft to Government and that the Government may make any additions or alterations in them as they please. This is the last straw that breaks the independence of the Senate. Now, Gentlemen, in the name of common sense, we ask how will these changes stop cram, how will they make the discontented B.A., a contented B.A., how will this improve education, and promote study and research? The Government think that their motives ought not to be questioned. I agree with them. But the case stands thus: you want to remove cram and improve higher education. What means do you adopt? One of the means is to sweep away the independence of the Senate. Are people unreasonable in thinking, in suspecting, that there must be some ulterior motive underlying the action of Government? Again is it not reasonable to think that under the circumstances the Government may have some ulterior motives? Government say "Why don't you give us credit for the new franchise given to the graduates." It may seem that, after all, some credit is due to Government. But when we look closely what do we see? Under the existing practice, in the course of a generation, we are likely to have something like 50 elected Fellows in Bombay and something like 100 in Bengal; in place of them, we shall get 10 Fellows elected by Graduates in the same period under the new system; and that also is subject to the approval of Government. So that the new privilege of election is not a boon after all. This election matter is simply a sugar-coated pill to make us swallow the bitter cup which the Government are prepared to offer us in the Bill.

MR. HARI PRA-  
 SAD CHATTERJI.

MR. HARI PRASAD CHATTERJI (Bengal), in supporting the resolution, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN, it is always considered a great disadvantage to rise and address such an august assembly after Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee whose eloquent and stirring words are still ringing in your ears. But this fact and the foul weather in the midst of which we are carrying on our deliberations are a distinct advantage to me as you cannot now expect me to address you for any length of time. The mischievous provisions of the Bill have been clearly explained to you. I will, therefore, allude to one fact alone before I resume my seat. In the Bill under consideration there is a provision that the degree of a graduate is liable to be cancelled for misconduct, though this word has not been defined. If this Bill reduces the University into a State Department, we may apprehend some danger to ourselves. In the Municipal Act there is a provision that a Municipal

Commissioner is liable to lose his seat in the Board if he is convicted of any heinous offence. I think, Gentlemen, the word "misconduct" in the Universities Bill should be defined on the same lines or in the same spirit; otherwise a wide power will be given to the Government which alone will have the entire control of the affairs of the University. If this power was left, in the hands of the Senate composed entirely of the elected members, we might be less apprehensive, but, as it is, I hope and trust you will all agree with me in thinking that the word must be clearly defined. With these words I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Amraoti) :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

Our friend and distinguished leader, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, has dealt so very exhaustively with the resolution which he moved, and which I beg to support, that it might appear superfluous, particularly with the kind of weather we have got, that I should make any long speech to commend the resolution for your acceptance. The only reason why I ask your patient and indulgent attention on this question is that the subject is one which is of the utmost importance to us. There are momentous issues raised with regard to our very future existence and whether the rain pours down in torrents upon us or whether we are baked in the sun, the matter is one in which we should do our utmost, is one which we should discuss fully and thoroughly, in a manner in regard to which, when we send forth our voice, the significance of it cannot be misunderstood anywhere. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, His Excellency the Viceroy said on more occasions than one that the agitation which is being carried on against the labours of the Universities Commission and the Universities Bill is carried on by interested parties. I presume the noble Lord means only the owners of Colleges or teachers of Colleges or men who have got seats in the Senate or who aspire to seats in the Senate; it is these persons I suppose, who are anxious to oppose the very good reforms which are proposed by the Universities Commission. Well, Gentlemen, as I do not own any College, as I am not a teacher in any College, as I have no intention of joining any educational institution, for I have not the power or ability for it.

MR. BANNERJEE :—Yes ; you have.

MR. MUDHOLKAR :—Thanks, I do not know that, I do not know if it is possible for me to get into any Senate situated as I am several miles away from the five University centres, therefore as one who disclaims all interest, who can emphatically say that he has absolutely no interest, I stand up here to raise my voice of protest against the aspersions which have been cast on those who differ from the recommendations of the Universities Commission. Gentlemen, it was the desire of Government that persons whom they believed to be representative men should give their opinion. Those persons, because they are not exactly in the line which the Government should like to have them in, do not certainly deserve to be called interested. When one year ago we gave our opinions because we were solicited to give them, we certainly did not expect to be called persons who raised an agitation because we were interested parties. That is an aspersion which, on behalf of myself and those who have absolutely no other

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concern in any Universities except as members of them, who have no other interest in any College except as citizens who are anxious that higher education should spread far and wide in India, I wish as one whose sole interest is the desire for the improvement of one's country, as one such, to repel and repudiate. While, Gentlemen, Government does not hesitate to make these kinds of charges against us, they become very angry when others point out the nature of the policy under which this Bill is now brought forward. Only the other day His Excellency the Viceroy spoke at Rajputana with some resentment at the "unjustified suspicion" with which this Bill is regarded. I admit that when a disclaimer like the one in question comes from a person occupying the position of the Viceroy, certainly so far as he is concerned, we are bound to accept his disclaimer. I stand here and accept it that Lord Curzon did not at all wish that there must be any curtailment of higher education. But this I do say that certainly so far as the Universities Commission goes, so far as the pronouncement of the Honorable Member in charge of the Bill goes, it is distinctly contemplated, in fact contemplated with a kind of satisfaction, that there should be a curtailment in the area of higher education. In support of what I say I shall read to you an extract from the report of the Universities Commission itself:—"We shall perhaps be told that, in attempting to indicate how the standard may be raised, we have framed proposals which may result in the withdrawal of some opportunities now offered to students in India. Under the system we advocate, the expense of College education will, in many cases, be increased and it may be argued that the measures which we propose will have the incidental effect of narrowing the basis of higher education. To this argument we reply that, in all matters relating to higher education efficiency must be the first and paramount consideration. It is better for India that a comparatively small number of young men should receive a sound and liberal education than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction leading to a depreciated degree." With regard to these charges indicated here, what I have to say is, it shows in the first place the satisfaction that the members of the Commission feel at the contraction of the area of higher education. The very possibility of reduction in the number of educated men seems to give them pleasure. That much is demonstrated from what they themselves say. Then with regard to what they say about depreciated degrees and inefficient education, as our friend pointed out, the Universities which produced a Ranade, a Telang, a Doctor Bhandarkar, and a Doctor Gurudoss Bannerjee, a P. K. Roy, and a J. C. Bose do not deserve to be spoken of in the manner they are done by the Universities Commission. (*Hear, hear*). I shall certainly admit that we *i.e.*, the majority of us, educated Indians—may not have the culture of the Honorable Mr. Raleigh. He is an Englishman and to the language born; he has received a training which most of us have not received. Is that a reason for crying down our Colleges? I am not one of those who say that things are excellent as they are. We do admit that our present system admits of many improvements, and when they speak of suggesting the raising of the standard, I for one will not flinch before it. I say, if you want to raise the standard, raise it to the highest pitch, to the extent which exists in the highest Universities of Europe or America, in any University which is the most exacting. We are not the men, neither the Hindus or the Muhammadans, nor the Parsis, we are not the persons to flinch from such a trial. They may have as high a standard as they choose; they may insist on Colleges providing all

the appliances necessary for the kind of instruction that is required. But certainly a University Bill of the kind now brought forward was not required for raising the standard of University education. There is no Bill necessary for the higher kind of education that is so much talked of, and there is no provision made there in the Bill itself for this higher kind of education, for securing the higher standard that is insisted upon. This always means money; it is merely a question of ways and means. It means superior professors, professors who take the same interest in education as the educationists did of yore. We, in Bombay revere the names of Grant, Hughlings and Wordsworth. Are there professors like them ever sent out now? You, in Bengal, revere the name of Tawney. Where are professors now of that kind? And yet they complain that education is not producing the kind of result that is expected of it. The fault, if fault it is, lies at the door of Government. If third-rate people are employed, if men not competent to occupy the professorial chair are to be put in, there the fault is on the side of Government and not on our side. It is a question for the Administrative Government and not for the Legislative Council—it is not a question for which the University can be reproached. The University is not responsible for incompetent professors. Again, when they say that the Universities are mere examining bodies and that they do not carry on any of the functions of a teaching University, whose fault is it? If Government do not intend to provide any funds for carrying on the teaching functions of Universities, beyond Section 3, which only gives them the power, there is nothing whatever in the Bill itself which can, in the least, support the songs sung in its praise by its advocates. In regard to that clause—I, who know something of the existing Bombay University Act, say that it is not necessary in Bombay at all. If before this Bill we in Bombay could have an Wilson Philological Fellowship, if you in Calcutta could have the Tagore Law Lectures, there is nothing to prevent Government from establishing any number of professorships, under the existing law, for the purpose of giving education to all the students of these two Universities. The law is not needed for the purpose of ever improving the means of education. The law is required to stifle your aspirations. You are asking too many things. Many of your people have got into Senates and it has become necessary that the Senates ought to be more officialised; that the voice of the powers—that be—ought to be more potent in the Universities than it is at present. This is as plain as daylight from the various provisions of the Bill. If you want to officialize the Senate, then for God's sake don't say that you are carrying out the Policy of the Despatch of 1854 or the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882. The Despatch of 1854 distinctly contemplates that Government should, before long, abdicate its function of taking a directly active part in higher education, that Government should gradually retire from the field of actual instruction and let in private Colleges and other private bodies to do its work. The Education Commission of 1882 distinctly states that every encouragement and every aid should be given to private institutions and private efforts. In this Bill, however, care is taken that no more private colleges and private institutions spring into existence. It is now proposed by this Bill that, before a College is allowed to be affiliated, the University authorities (which means the Government) have to be satisfied that there is need for such an institution as that. Now certainly it is for the people who want education and for the organizers of the colleges who want to establish it to say whether there is need for it or not. Again in another matter you see that there is

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a distinct step backward; and that is in regard to the position of the Syndicate. Till now the Syndicate was, as it ought to be, the Managing Committee of the Senate. Under this law the Syndicate will practically be a body independent of the Senate. Senates are sought to be created, it is said in the Bill, for the purpose of having a better control over University matters; but as a matter of fact the most important matters of control would vest in the Syndicate which would be a body practically controlled by Government. Then again there is another matter, namely, the provision that half the number at least should be educational experts on the Syndicate. That again is a provision which it is simply difficult to understand as necessary. Gentlemen, we know how the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were dominated at one time by the so-called experts. It was not at the time of the so-called experts that any real progress in education was made there. You know how Wordsworth speaks of the College Professors of his days. He calls them "the blind leading the blind and the idol weak as the idolator." That was the condition of things that existed when the so-called educational experts ruled the destinies of the English Universities. May I ask again, "Is a Professor in any way more competent to decide educational matters than Barristers who have received a University training or a High Court Judge or a High Court Vakil." Simply because a man has become a pedagogue, does that mean that other people have no sort of education and cannot understand educational questions? I for one cannot accept this position. To sum up, Gentlemen, while we are prepared to admit that the present system of education is capable of improvement, we say that the Bill makes no provision for the real improvements required. On the other hand it is a retrograde measure which will inflict a serious blow on the prospects of higher education. (*Applause*).

MR. G. SUBRA-  
 MANIA AIYAR.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR said:—

Gentlemen, I have been asked by more than one of the gentlemen interested in the proceedings of this afternoon to make a short speech. I do mean to make a short speech, for this subject has been well threshed out. I will try, in the few words I propose to say on this subject, to place the whole case before you in a nutshell. This Universities Bill is really a political measure and not an educational one; because its object is to place the Universities under the more direct control of Government, not to advance the progress of education or raise its standard. You have heard from those that spoke before me of the effect it will have on the independence of the Universities. If the provisions of the Bill are accepted, the position of the Universities will be less independent and their proceedings will become more and more the subject of Government control.

(THE REV. DR. WILLIAM MILLER, LL.D., C.I.E., the Veteran Missionary educationist, arrived at this stage of the proceedings and received an ovation.)

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, continuing his speech, said:—Well, that was the sole object of the Bill. I have said that the effect of the Bill will be to make the Universities less independent. Moreover, certain provisions, if accepted, would injure the interests of the aided Colleges. I do not conceal from myself the fact that some of the aided Colleges are not in the condition in which they ought to be! The equipment, buildings,

staff and general management are, in the case of some of these aided colleges, far from being satisfactory. But if they require improvement, does it require legislation to improve them? If the real object of Government is to improve the standard of education, they should proceed differently. They should have tried to pass an enactment to make the colleges more independent rather than less independent, to provide for greater representation, apart from Professors and Principals of Colleges, of that large class of the community, the parents of students, whose interest in raising the quality and standard of education is real. It is a great mistake to suppose that only the Principals and Professors of Colleges are interested in the progress of education. In fact, the large community of parents has a more serious and direct interest in education; but, for their representation the Bill makes no provision. What we want is not a better constitution for the Universities, not more control by Government; but more effective measures to raise the standard and change the quality of the education that we are receiving in our Universities. My predecessor has said that, if you want an increase in the standard of efficiency in the colleges, no Bill is wanted. If only Government were pleased to lay out larger funds, they would achieve this purpose and would increase the efficiency of the instruction imparted. But that is what the Government is unwilling to do. It is no secret that the staffs of the Government educational institutions are year after year deteriorating. We do not get the first-class professors, whom formerly we used to get, and who used to exercise an enormous direct and indirect influence on the education of this country and the memory of whose good work is cherished with gratitude by the people. We do not get that sort of men nowadays; but what sort of men do we get in Southern India? Many of you are aware of the examples which recently came to notice! A private college sends for a professor from England. Its resources are limited and the salary it offers is only a limited salary and for this limited salary it gets a gentleman with limited qualifications. He comes out and takes up his situation here, but in the meanwhile what happens. He gets into the society of his countrymen and acquires influence in educational quarters and is, in course of time, drafted into the regular service. He becomes a Professor in a Government College—a Professor of Mathematics or of some other subject without regard for his special qualifications. That is the sort of thing that is going on. If the Professorial Staff of the Government Colleges which are intended as examples to other institutions, is steadily deteriorating, if the desire of the Government is to raise the standard of efficiency, their first business should be to provide a better system of appointing professors than the present system of nepotism and jobbery. Sons of former professors, nephews of civilians, relations of those who have power and influence with the Government are put into the educational service, as is done in certain other branches of the public service, as if the educational department was a sort of asylum for incompetent men. Instead of putting in men of known ability, they put in men whom they want to accommodate, and the standard of efficiency is consequently deteriorating. I was glad when the Honorable Mr. Gokhale laid emphasis on this point that the efficiency of the teaching might be increased by sending for a better class of professors. If Government really wished to raise the quality of education, the Bill should have made special provision for altering the quality of the educational standard in this country. I most emphatically state that the present system of literary education is being overdone. What we

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want is that the Universities should take a departure on lines more scientific and practical. In order that that object may be attained, no Legislative enactment is necessary; it is only necessary to spend more money. But, Gentlemen, that is exactly what they have not done and there is no possibility of their doing. If higher education is to exercise a more direct and beneficial influence on the career of our educated countrymen, if that education is to be converted into a means of advancing the material and moral progress of this country, a more practical and scientific education should be substituted as far as possible. To say that the present Senates do this is not true. They won't do it so long as they are constituted as at present. And how can this be done unless the Universities get funds? That is the most important question which the Government seems to have overlooked, and that is what no one seems inclined to provide. Neither the Government nor the colleges nor any body of persons is interested in the progress of education. I do not lose sight of the fact that provision is made for five lakhs; but divided among five Universities and spread over a period of years, what can be done with such a meagre sum for the advance and progress of education? The Bill, as a matter of fact, is not calculated to meet the objects for which it is professed to have been brought forward. It merely alters the constitution of the Senates of the Universities and makes the control of the Universities over the aided colleges stricter than is desirable. It makes the Universities more amenable to Government, and that is not an object of which we can unanimously approve. We prefer that they should be as independent as possible. We protest against the Universities Bill.

**PUNDIT MADAN**  
**MOHUN MA-**  
**LAVYA.**

**PUNDIT MADAN MOHUN MALAVYA** (Allahabad), who on rising was received with loud cheers, said:—

**MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—**

I rise to support the resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded by other speakers. The resolution is one which I need hardly say is of great and lasting importance; and we cannot be blamed if we try to discuss it at some length at this meeting. Gentlemen, the one thing that we have to consider in connection with this question of University reform is, what was it that led to the enquiry being instituted? What was the state of things with which fault was found? What was the state of things which it was sought to remedy? And then consider what the remedies are which have been suggested and what the remedies are which the Government now propose to apply. Gentlemen, we must all ask ourselves and ask the Government what the faults of the Senates and the Syndicates of the existing Universities were which led the Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into the state of University Education. You will wade through all the literature connected with the Universities of this country in vain to find that during the past many years there never have been serious complaints made regarding the constitution either of the Syndicates or the Senates except in some trifling particulars or on some occasions. Speaking generally, you will find that the Syndicates and the Senates have done their work very satisfactorily. (*Hear, hear*). Now, Gentlemen, when the Government of Lord Curzon appointed a Commission, there was no doubt complaint was made by him that the results of University Education were not altogether satisfactory,

were not as satisfactory as they ought to be. Gentlemen, in the same breath every speaker who has discussed this question of the unsatisfactory character of the results of University Education, every responsible speaker, has admitted that the Universities have produced men eminent for learning, men who have distinguished themselves in the various walks of life into which they entered, men who have upheld the honour and intellect of the country and men who have served the Government with honour and credit. If there were some unfortunate young men who did not succeed in getting just the number of marks necessary to enable them to pass, that does not justify their being condemned as unworthy and dishonourable men who ought to be shunned like moral lepers. The line between a passed candidate and a failed B. A., as has been called, is a very short line and if a candidate has not succeeded, certainly we may be more charitable than we are and not condemn him as altogether an unworthy and undesirable person whose existence ought to be provided against by the legislature taking up the task of introducing a new enactment.

Then, the other complaint was that the University Education imparted in this country was not as high as it ought to be. On this point I think Anglo-Indian officials, European scholars and natives of this country were all agreed. I do not think that there is a single man who has said that the education imparted in our Universities is as high as it ought to be. On the contrary, we, poor natives of India, have been crying hoarse with the prayer that the Government should make provision for the highest teaching being imparted in the different branches of study, which ought to find a place in a University. So far as this complaint is concerned, I will deal with it further later on.

But I want to point out that, so far as this Bill goes, it deals with both these questions. It enters at great length into the question of the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. It confers a variety of powers on the Syndicates; it transfers a great deal of the power of control to Government and it makes also a small provision to enable the Universities to appoint professors and teachers. Now, Gentlemen, you are all aware that the Bill is taken up in a great measure with questions concerning the constitution of the Syndicate and the Senate and the vast powers conferred upon the former. Let us examine these provisions briefly and let us then see whether there is no justification for the united opposition which all educated Indians have been offering to this Universities Bill. Gentlemen, I am anxious that the matter should be considered with as little prejudice and bias as His Excellency the Viceroy desires it should be. Let us take the provision regarding the constitution of the Senate. We, in the United Provinces, have got a Universities Act. The Allahabad Universities Act has never been said to be a faulty Act. Its provisions are liberal to a large extent as compared with the provisions of this Bill. There were no complaints made and no complaints also in Bombay as we have heard from various speakers. We then introduce a Bill which will make a clean sweep of these Acts which have worked well, and which have given no room for complaint. Why deal with the whole country as if it were one Province? In the Allahabad University the provision regarding the constitution of the Senate is this. There are certain Fellows who are appointed ex-officio; the remaining Fellows are appointed half by Government and half by the Senate by election. Now, Gentlemen, if

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in 1887 the Government saw the wisdom of permitting members of the Senate to elect half the Fellows of the Senate, where is there any reason shown or suggested for now depriving them of the right of electing Fellows to the Senate? I thought, Gentlemen, that the system of nomination had long ago been found to be faulty and buried in England. The Government have also in this country during the last fifteen years shown that they do not believe entirely in the system of nomination. In the matter of Municipal Boards the principle of election has been introduced; in the matter of District Boards the elective principle is working. In the matter of Legislative Councils only a few years ago the Government admitted the reasonableness of the demand for introducing the elective principle. Now the Senates, which were the first body in this country in which the principle of election was first introduced and worked, are going to be deprived of their power in the beginning of the twentieth century. You cannot help feeling that the hand of the clock is being put back forcibly. Gentlemen, this is the state of things so far as the Senates are concerned. What is it that is going to be done? Nominations are going to be made largely by Government to the Senates. Gentlemen, I have the greatest respect for gentlemen who constitute the Government individually; but when you come to consider them in their capacity as representing the various departments of Government, then you cannot speak of them with the same confidence and the same esteem, not because they have not the desire to do the best thing in the best way, but because they are not brought into touch with the great majority of those from whom they should make the selection and of whose ability and willingness to co-operate in this great work they should obtain first hand personal knowledge. Therefore I do apprehend that, in making the appointments, the Government will largely be guided by the recommendations of the Director of Public Instruction and also by the recommendations or selections of the Secretary who may be in power at the time. None of these methods, I need hardly say, can bring to the Senate half the men of ability and capacity expected to advise the Government and the public in matters of education that would come in through the channel of election. What then can be the justification for this retrograde step? Has it been proved, is it alleged, that the Fellows appointed in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay or Allahabad have been men who ought not to have been appointed. Has it been proved that they were not just the men who, in the great majority of instances, would have been picked up if proper selection had been made, men who have knowledge of the people and of the requirements of the Province. Why then put in this provision which militates against the principle upon which all other assemblies constituted by Government are worked?

Now, Gentlemen, so much for election. Let us now consider what is the position of the Senate. Here, while I am dwelling upon this aspect of the question, let me say that it is stated that now the power to return Fellows will be legalised. Very thankful for this kindness, but we would much rather that the power were not legalised. There are many unwritten laws in England which have led to great prosperity and have conduced to the benefit of the people. We are not so much in love with statutory provisions. What we want is the substance and not the name. If, without any legal provision, the power, which the Government recognised the reasonableness of, of election conferred upon the members of the Senate and graduates to return Fellows, has been well

exercised, the Government ought to allow it to be exercised in future. Now, Gentlemen, comes the question of permitting graduates to elect. They are to elect seven in the province from which I come; seven in the province of the Punjab. Now, Gentlemen, at present half the number of Fellows is elected by the Senate. Why should graduates be not given the opportunity of exercising the privilege of returning such of their fellowmen as they know to be able and competent to manage the business of the University. You have given the privilege of returning Members of Council to Municipal Boards and District Boards who, in turn, have been returned by people who have got no education and whose income is very small. And you will deny to the products of your University—of whom you ought to be proud—will deny to them the privilege of returning a few Fellows to the University where there are no political considerations involved, or, at any rate, where there ought not to be any political considerations.

Let us see what the case of the Syndicate is. The Senate having appointed the Syndicate becomes practically dead; it is only to come to life practically when it is to appoint a Syndicate. Now, Gentlemen, I do not pretend to be familiar with the constitutions of the Senates of many Universities, but I have studied the constitutions of some Universities and it seems to me preposterous, to say the least of it, to say that a body which is really the executive of the larger body of the Senate ought to sit over the heads of the Senate and pass on measures to Government and decide many questions of importance without any reference to the Senate. Gentlemen, if you are going to have a reconstituted Senate, why this great feeling of distrust? Trust begets trust and the reverse also holds good. You complain that we are very uncharitable in criticising you; you complain that we attribute motives. Very well, we are sorry if that should be so. But here you are. You will not trust us with these smaller powers when along with a number of European professors and Government officials we want to exercise the privilege of electing such men as we consider to be best qualified to work on the Syndicate. What does the statutory provision for the representation of the teaching faculty mean? I have the highest respect for the body of professors under whom instruction is being imparted in this country. I have never been disobedient to my professors (*Laughter*); and I can tell you that I consider it a high privilege to sit at the feet of learned men and imbibe the learning that they are able to impart. I think good and true are the men who are in the Senate; all men connected with the Educational Department who ought to be on the Syndicate will, by force of circumstances, be elected over the heads of any other men that might be there. The Senate has not in the past failed to discharge this duty in my part of the country, in Bombay, the constitution of which I have studied to some extent and in Bengal, as my friend says; why now tie down the Senate to the necessity of electing a man whether it considers him competent or not? In my own province the Principal of a College—I don't want you to know his name—was very keenly anxious to get on to the Syndicate. There were many other learned men and those who were as keen in thinking that he ought not to come on the Syndicate. He was defeated on more than one occasion. You can just consider that, if you make it compulsory on the part of the Senate to elect a certain proportion of men, the danger is that men who are not competent will be put on the Syndicate and that the entire management of the University must suffer to some extent. Therefore it is that we pray to Government to remove

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the clause which makes this statutory provision regarding the representation of professors, and to trust to the good sense of the members of the Senate to elect not only half the proportion but a major portion of those who will deal with the executive affairs of the University.

Gentlemen, so much for the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. Let us see what other powers are going to be conferred upon the Syndicate under the Bill. The Syndicate is going to deal with the important question of affiliation and disaffiliation. Gentlemen, knowing as we do in our part of the country what difficulties the Colleges undergo in getting affiliated where this power is entrusted to the Syndicate, I must strongly protest against this provision. Gentlemen, you have other conditions put in. There is the provision for the residence of students in Colleges. Now I may tell you that I am wholeheartedly in favour of the residential system. In my own humble way in connection with the Muir College at Allahabad I have been working along with other Members as Secretary of the Committee which has raised Rs. 1,60,000 to build a boarding house. We are endeavouring to raise three lakhs and provide accommodation for 200 students. Gentlemen, while I am so keenly in favour of that system being introduced, I do feel that it will be a wrong thing to make it compulsory upon Colleges to provide the system of residential quarters because they are affiliated. I will tell you my reason. The Muir College at Allahabad was established in response to the wishes of certain leading gentlemen and with the help of subscriptions paid by several native chiefs, the Maharajah of Vizianagaram contributing one lakh. Of the two lakhs raised, a considerable sum, the Government said, would be reserved for residential quarters. That was at the time of Lord Northbrook. That was in 1871. You will find, in the history of the college, that not until the time of Sir Antony Macdonnell, were any steps taken to really build a boarding house to accommodate students. For nearly twenty years the Government which had spent nine lakhs upon the Muir College buildings did not see its way to build a boarding house for accommodating students. I do not blame the Government of the North-Western Provinces. I have my reasons. No partiality. The Government of the United Provinces have been given such small pittances in the shape of provincial grants and contracts that they did not find the money to invest. Not only that, but worse, the Government of India in many years actually scolded the Government of the United Provinces for having spent much money on higher education and less on other kinds of education. If Government with all its mighty resources, have recognised the utility of the residential system after twenty years, does it not seem violent to require all institutions which now want affiliation to show a splendid row of residential quarters for students, before they are to be affiliated? We must proceed slowly: we must have patience. If the Government there have not been able to work up that system it is not they alone that have failed; but they have failed in other provinces— if the Government Colleges have not their rooms for students, then they ought to pause, allow public opinion to grow and allow people time to make preparation for these things.

Gentlemen, I will not take up your time by going into any more details so far as the provision for residential quarters is concerned. I will claim your attention for a few short minutes while I submit my remarks with regard to the other aspects; namely the teaching function of the University. There is a provision regarding teaching in the Universities

Bill. When the Viceroy complained that our Universities did not produce men of as high ability as it ought to, he forgot that the Universities of this country were not in the least degree to blame. Young men of this country have shown aptitude enough to receive the benefits of the highest kind of education imparted in this country. Those that have gone out of India have proved it further. While the Government have been conscious that this system ought to be introduced, they have never yet been able to make up their minds to do so. So far back as 1854, you will find that this was what was said with regard to higher teaching in the despatch of that year. "It will be advisable to institute in connection with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India." The education commission that was appointed also dwelt upon its necessity and commented thus. "That in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities." Now when you come to the Punjab University Act, you find that a provision is made therein regarding teaching. In the Allahabad University Act which was passed in 1887 a more clear and more liberal provision is made to enable Universities to appoint professors and lecturers to give lecture for advanced degrees. What has come of it? Who is to be blamed for it, if this provision is not worked? It is not in a spirit of unfair criticism, but only to point out the fact, I submit, that it is the Government to blame for it. If the Government had only found the money, or if the Government had realised its duty in the way of providing high instruction, these Universities would long ago have resounded with lectures of learned men brought from England and Germany. But Government had failed to do so unfortunately, and now the natives of India, the graduates of these Universities and failed B. A's, are all blamed and punished for the omissions and sins of Government. What is the provision that is being made in so far as teaching is concerned to advance our learning and promote research. Mr. Raleigh said that some of the schemes which have been submitted to Government involved an expenditure which the Government were not prepared to incur. He said that five lakhs would be set apart for five years for the purpose of giving instruction in aid of the Universities and Colleges whose claims to special assistance in carrying out reforms, which we have in view, have been established. You can understand how this small sum will be distributed in dribbles to the different Universities. This is not the way in which you can expect higher teaching to be provided for. You will remember that Sir Norman Lockyer gave an estimate of 60 lakhs. Can we not ask the Government of India reasonably to give us at least one-fourth of that sum, namely fifteen lakhs a year, to have higher teaching in all the various Universities. The country is considered to be fit enough to have the services of the best men of the Civil Service: the country is considered fit enough to have the best soldier the British Government can have. Are not the youth of this country qualified to receive the benefit of instruction from the best professors that can be brought to this country? We, natives of this country, have certainly no voice in expending the money which is raised from us. But if Lord Curzon's Government will be pleased to consider the moral aspect of the question and take into consideration the feelings of the educated people of India from one end of the country to the other, he should, in justice to their

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claims and in conformity with their prayer, set apart a much larger sum for higher education than he thinks of providing.

I will now conclude. I think we have seen that we are not to blame for not getting the benefits of the advanced type of education that we desire. Lord Curzon is a University man; he understands certainly the benefits of higher education. I will say to him: give us Universities and provide in them for the highest instruction being imparted; provide for the development of talents, for the cultivation of literature, for the elevation of professional standards and provide also a place where learned men can find their calm repose which is to be seen only in seats of learning. A great American writer speaking of Universities—you will pardon me for quoting the passage which is so pertinent to the subject—says “A man of varied experience in public affairs has said that a great University should be at once ‘the best place of education, the greatest machine for research, and the most delicious retreat for learned leisure.’ This is doubtless the truth, but it is only a half truth. Universities, with ample resources for the support of investigators, scholars, thinkers and philosophers, numerous enough, learned enough, and wise enough to be felt among the powers of the age, will prove the safeguards of repose, not only for those who live within their learned cloisters, but for all who come under their influence. A society of the choicest minds produced in any country, engaged in receiving and imparting knowledge, devoted to the study of nature, the noblest monument of literature, the marvellous abstractions of mathematical reasoning, the results of historical evidence, the progress of human civilization and the foundations of religious faith, will be at once an example of productive quietude and an incitement to the philosophic view of life, so important to our countrymen in this day when the miserable cry of pessimism on the one hand, and the delightful but deceitful illusions of optimism on the other hand, are in danger of leading them from the middle path, and from that reasonableness of mind which first recognises that which is, and then has the hope and courage to strive for the better.”

Gentlemen, Lord Curzon has been in our midst for five years. Great hopes were raised in our minds from the high and noble utterances of His Excellency. His Excellency's career, for all that we can see, is now coming to a close, and may I appeal now to him to immortalise his name by leaving behind him an institution which will keep up his name better than the Victoria Memorial Hall. Gentlemen, it were much better if Lord Curzon was not going to introduce real good Universities. I do wish that he had not taken up the subject like his predecessors who did not take it up and had not recognised what was needed. He might be pardoned for not having done so. But for him to have recognised the truth and then to have failed to rise to the occasion will be a thing to be much deplored. Let us yet hope that His Excellency will see the reasonableness of our claims and make ample and liberal provision for real high education, for real Universities, which will enable our young men to acquire something of that education which second class Universities impart in other countries.

MR. CHOWDHURY.

MR. CHOWDHURY (Bengal), in supporting the resolution, said:—

When I entered this Hall, I had no idea that I would be called upon to speak, but I have been reminded that it is my duty to raise, in my humble

way, a protest against this Bill which is fraught with mischief to the country. Gentlemen, you are all aware that all our present benefits, even the present Congress, are the results of higher education. If that higher education is restricted, then I cannot imagine what our fate will be in the near or very distant future. Much has been said that our Senates are a failure. But if you look through all the literature on the subject, since the Universities Commission Report has been published, you will find that not a single reason is given there or in the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, who introduced the Bill. In the speech of the Viceroy too, the Senates were found fault with, without any reason being given. I do not see why we should accept as proved the proposition that the Senates have been a failure. With regard to our Senates, so far as many Universities are concerned, I know, as a matter of fact, that the Act of Incorporation is not wide enough to give full scope to higher education in these parts of the country. So far back as 1890 Mr. A. M. Bose, a distinguished Senator of our University and a scholar of whom our country and our Universities ought to be proud, proposed certain alterations in the law. The Government did not see its way to agree with these proposals. After that it is not for Government to say that our Senates are a failure. Gentlemen, I do not see with what reason Government can come down on us and say that our Senates have been failures. If they would raise the standard of education, let them provide men of higher education. We shall welcome, if our Senates are failures, any change in the law which would enlarge the powers of the Universities and give the franchise to our educated countrymen. If this were done, I don't see why the Senates should ever be a failure in the future. Lord Curzon has said that the Bill will bring our Universities more into line with European and other advanced countries. I don't see how he seeks to do this. The political tendency of the Bill is hidden in a judicial garb according to which they profess to raise the standard of higher education. But I do not see how they can do this without providing money or funds with which teachers can be appointed. We have just heard from the previous speakers that there is no provision for that in the Bill. I do not wish to inflict a long speech. With these few words I raise my voice against the Bill.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried amidst acclamation.

#### THE OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL.

MR. BISHEN NARAYAN DHAR (Oudh):—The resolution with which I have been entrusted and which I beg leave to propose for your acceptance, deals with the Official Secrets Bill and runs as follows:—

“ That this Congress views with entire disapproval the Official Secrets Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council inasmuch as it is uncalled for, against the interests of the public, dangerous to individual liberty and retrograde in policy and pray that the Government of India may be pleased to confine its scope to the disclosure of Naval and Military secrets.”

The Bill has caused widespread stir and excitement throughout the country. No measure of equal importance and magnitude has ever been so

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universally condemned—none upon which, within living memory, both sections of the Press—the Indian and Anglo-Indian—have with a unanimous voice, without one single discordant note, pronounced their judgment which is anything but flattering or satisfactory to the Government. In the Viceregal Council itself two of our distinguished representatives, Nawab Sayed Mahomed, a worthy scion of an illustrious house, and Mr. Gokhale, have denounced the Bill in no mistakable terms and, by this their courageous and wise action, have earned the gratitude of the whole country. Gentlemen, it is impossible to speak with patience or with moderation of the odious, nay, iniquitous measure which, at a time of peace and tranquility, when the generous pledges and assurances of the Coronation Day are still vibrating through our hearts, Lord Curzon has thought fit to attempt to inflict upon us and thus to add one more page to the odious and hateful chapter that was first opened by the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton.

In the speech he made the other day in the Council, Lord Curzon has, in reply to Mr. Gokhale's criticisms, given us a history of the origin of the Bill and explained its aims and objects. I take His Excellency's speech as the text upon which to base the few brief comments I am desirous of making for your earnest consideration, and I hope I may be able to show that His Excellency's history is not quite so accurate as one would desire and that His Excellency's explanation of the aims and objects of the Bill is equally unsatisfactory, nay, rather illusory and misleading. We must, of course, accept Lord Curzon's statement that the Government of India had nothing to do with the Railway Conference at Delhi and the notorious circular issued by it, and that the idea of amending the existing Official Secrets' Act is more than six years old. The idea of amending the Act of 1889 arose, we are told, as far back as 1894, when there was a difference of opinion amongst the highest legal authorities as to the matters to which it referred, more particularly as to whether the Act was intended to prevent or did prevent the disclosure of confidential civil documents and information. So in 1902 it was finally resolved to amend the law and "the principal changes in the law" to use Lord Curzon's words "that were suggested by the Government of India were those already embodied in the existing colonial laws and ordinances." The present Bill was consequently framed and the first sentence of its objects and reasons is important in order to appraise the value of Lord Curzon's historical arguments. It runs thus:—"The present Bill is designed to remedy certain defects disclosed by experience in the Indian Official Secrets Act of 1889 and rendering it less effective for the object which it had in view." Now, what are the defects which experience has disclosed in its working; what are the objects which it had in view and which it has not been able to attain? As to the first question we find no answer in Lord Curzon's speech. I am not concerned with naval and military matters; let the Government make any law it pleases regarding them; but if any serious consequences have happened to Government through the disclosure of its civil matters, though that is not our experience, it is a pity they should still be treated as an official secret and be kept locked up in the bosom of the Government. As regards the second question, that the Act has been less effective for the objects which it had in view, it is necessary in order to show the utter futility, if not the falsity of the reason given for amending the existing Act, to remind his Lordship of the history of the measure to which the origin of the existing act itself

can be traced. An Official Secrets Act was first passed by the British Parliament and passed wholly for the protection of naval and military secrets. Clause 2 of the Bill, as it originally stood, contained the words "contrary to the interests of the State or any Department of the Government." On the motion of a Member of the House of Commons, the words "of or to any Department of the State" were dropped and the Lord Chancellor, in moving the second reading of the Bill, explained that the Bill was meant to protect naval and military secrets.

It is interesting to note that, when a Member of the House of Lords suggested that some punishment might be attached to News-papers which published the information, the Chairman considered it a very delicate matter and that Lord Cross declared that, if such a proposal were made, there would be no chance of passing the Bill, and so the suggestion was dropped. Here, of course, one of the great objects of the Bill would be gone, if the editors of the Indian papers were left out, for, as regards editors of Anglo-Indian papers one would, as Mr. Gokhale so justly remarked, like to see the official who would dare to take action against any of them under the proposed measure.

But this by the way—what I am driving at is to show that the Act of 1889 was passed in accordance with the principle of the English statute. Mr. Scoble (now Sir A. Scoble) introduced it as a Bill, which had not originated with the Government of India, but as a mere re-enactment which did not need to be referred to a Select Committee. That is to say, the Bill was intended to cover only those matters which were covered by the English statute—namely naval and military matters. How, in the light of these facts, an Act can be said to have proved less effective for the object which it had in view because, although intended only to protect naval and military secrets, it has not been effective in protecting civil secrets, supposing such secrets to have been disclosed, is a matter which passes our simple and unsophisticated understanding, and we are unable to comprehend how among the legal luminaries of Bengal, whom the Government consulted, any difference of opinion could have risen as to the real scope of the Act of 1889, in view of its clear provisions, its origin and the explanation of the Hon'ble Member who had charge of it. The introduction of civil matters in the present Bill is an innovation, purely arbitrary, uncalled for, and mischievous and the historical argument of Lord Curzon, in support of it is—what shall I call it in my sore need for an appropriate word—well,—unhistorical.

Thus much then for the origin of Lord Curzon's great measure. Now let us turn for a moment to its aims and objects. The principal feature of the Bill, as we all know, is that, for the first time since India came under British rule, it is proposed to make the disclosure or publication of secrets in connection with the civil administration of the country, a criminal offence—and a criminal offence of the same heinousness and gravity as the disclosure of naval and military secrets. Lord Curzon is astonished that this should be described as Russianising the administration. I am astonished that any body should be so imperfectly informed regarding the Russian Government as to think that it has got anything in its purely civil laws so arbitrary and so disastrous to the civil liberties of the people as Lord Curzon's Bill, if passed, would be in this country. But this is not all. The

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principles of criminal jurisprudence, which obtain in every civilised country, must be reversed here and, instead of its being the duty of the prosecution to prove the guilt of the accused, it is the accused who ought to prove his innocence. It is for the man found in a Government office without lawful authority, to prove that he was there with no criminal intent. Under the proposed measure anybody will be an offender when found in a Government office without lawful authority or permission, and as the offence will be cognisable and non-bailable, he will be liable to be arrested by a policeman without warrant or by a private person, and will not be released on bail. But the ingenuity of a despotic Government jealous of the power of a growing public opinion, does not end here. The man, when arrested under the proposed law, will be removed from the jurisdiction of the Civil Magistrate, and taken to the Military Commander who will decide whether he should be prosecuted or discharged. But the unfortunate man's troubles do not end here. Under the present Act no proceedings can be taken against a man without the previous sanction of the Government. Under the proposed law all the preliminary proceedings will be taken without any reference to the Government and its sanction may be obtained after the man has been committed to take his trial before the Magistrate. And after all, the sanction may not be obtained and the man may be discharged. That is to say, irrespective of the final result of the proceedings taken under the Bill, a man may rot in jail for weeks and months for nothing. These are the principal changes which Lord Curzon proposes to make in the existing law, and are not the changes monstrous, odious and iniquitous in the extreme? Are they not calculated to shake our confidence in the justice and fairness of our rulers? Are not these Draconian proposals, to use the words of the *Pioneer* "more in tone with the middle ages than with the 20th century?" Lord Curzon seeks to justify these monstrous proposals on the ground that similar proposals are found embodied in the existing colonial laws and ordinances. I respectfully demur to this statement. I doubt if there is any colony where the fundamental principles of criminal law have been turned upside down as they are proposed to be turned upside down in this country or where a man can be locked up in jail without being entitled to claim an immediate trial. But let us grant that Lord Curzon is right. Still it may be asked if there is any Colonial Government, like the Indian Government, alien and despotic, owing no responsibility to its people and strong enough to defy public opinion? Is the Colonial Police like our Indian Police, are Colonial Magistrates like our Magistrates? If we are good enough to be placed on a level with the colonies in respect of criminal laws, are we not good enough to be pleased on their level in other matters also? The answer to this question is a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum* of all argument based upon colonial analogies. The chief lamentable and disastrous features of the Bill, which I have just referred to, were pointed out by Mr. Gokhale in his admirable speech, and they were met by this flippant and disingenuous reply from the Viceroy:—

"I will say a word upon each. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, whose outspoken criticisms I always admire, even when I dissent from them, delivered a scathing attack upon the Bill and upon the Government a fortnight ago, when I was not here, upon the occasion of its reference to a Select Committee. He directly attributed the introduction of the measure to the annoyance which, he said, had been caused to Government by the unauthor-

ized publication of the proceedings of the Conference of Railway Officials that took place a year ago, and he went on to describe the proceedings of the Conference in question as a lamentable departure from the avowed policy of Government. I have also seen an advance copy of the memorial that I spoke of just now as being on its way out from England, and which similarly declares that it is universally believed in India that this has been the origin of the Bill. I hope the Hon'ble Member will allow me to assure him that he has got hold of an absolute mare's nest in this case. As a matter of fact, his theory of the events is wholly inaccurate. The Government of India had nothing to do with the proceedings of the Conference in question and I was personally quite unaware of its existence and so was the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Public Works Department. Nor did I or any of my colleagues feel the smallest annoyance at the publication of the proceedings, which in relation to the Government of India, had neither authority nor sanction, but the Hon'ble Member's history has even less foundation than his facts.

The Bill which he alleges us to have introduced in hasty alarm, or in irritation at something which was done or said at Delhi in January, 1903, and which I see that other critics have attributed to other occurrences in recent history, originated, he may be interested to learn, more than six years ago. The desirability of amending the Official Secrets Act of 1889 had been felt as far back as 1894, when, as is well-known, there was a difference of opinion among the highest legal authorities in Bengal as to matters to which it referred, and more particularly as to whether the Act was intended, to prevent or did prevent the disclosure of confidential civil documents and information. A little later the inadequacy of the existing Act in another direction was discovered in the case of some persons who had been found taking photographs of certain military defences, and who could not be dealt with by the Act as it then stood. These difficulties arose in the main, from the ambiguous wording of Sections 3 and 4 of the Act of 1889. Accordingly it was decided to refer the matter to the Secretary of State, and I found the Bill already drawn up when I came out to India five years ago, and a draft despatch to the Secretary of State only waiting for my signature. A prolonged discussion followed upon a suggested amendment of the law. Then occurred some further cases of illicit photographing of the defences, and the matter was again referred to the Secretary of State, who gave his consent to amending the legislation as far back as the autumn of 1902, the principle changes in the law, that were suggested by the Government of India, having been found to be already embodied in the existing colonial laws and ordinances. All these events took place long before the Delhi Railway Conference or any of the other incidents that are alleged to have so greatly disturbed our equanimity. Then came the introduction of the Bill in the Legislative Session of this Council in Simla last summer. A fear was at once expressed that it was intended to force through an unpopular and insidious piece of legislation while the Government was on the hills. I suppose, if we had been guilty of all the motives since attributed to us, that this would have been the most natural course to adopt. But so little design had we of springing a surprise upon the public, or of hurrying through the Bill without full discussion, that the idea never occurred to us of taking up the Bill anywhere else than at Calcutta, and I at once authorised the public declaration to that effect. So much for the history of this Bill, which I think I have shown to be a very different thing from the imaginary sketch of it drawn by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale."

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First then, is there any shred of a shade of reason to show that Mr. Gokhale's criticisms were not justified by the nature of the amendments as they at present stand and that the amendments could not be reasonably construed as Mr. Gokhale had construed them? But let us accept—and I do heartily accept the Viceroy's assurance, that the Government have no intention to work the measure in a harsh and oppressive spirit, that the measure will not be applied in all its logical rigour and that it is only in cases really demanding strictness, that strictness would be shown. I do not doubt Lord Curzon's sincerity upon this point. Indeed I shudder at the very idea as to what would be the state of the country to-day if the people really thought and believed, that, as soon as the Bill passed, they would see the very next day battalions of Indian Editors and thousands of their other innocent countrymen marched off to prisons under the provisions of the new Act. Even the British Government, strong as it is, will not find it safe to leave the public mind much longer in that state of intense excitement and insecurity. No, I do not question the good intentions of the Government. But the good intentions of rulers can never be a sufficient protection against their bad laws. I admit that the chief safety of a people's liberty lies not so much in the soundness of the laws as in the spirit in which those laws are worked, but surely this is no reason for making unwise laws and promulgating arbitrary ordinances.

I do not forget that Lord Curzon has held out some hopes of modifying his measure. Like the proverbial workman he finds fault with his tools, he thinks that all this outcry against the Bill is due to its bad drafting. There he is mistaken. No amount of good drafting can be of any avail where the very fundamental principles of a measure are pernicious. No doubt he says that "We shall be prepared if convinced of the unsuitability of our language, to alter it; if we have been guilty of obscurity, to correct it; if shown to have gone too far, to modify our plan." And when he has done all this, he hopes that even critics of the Bill may be converted into its supporters. Well, if its language is so altered, its obscurity so corrected, its plan so modified as to remove the main objections which have yet been made to it, if the civil matters drop off, the military jurisdiction disappears, the fundamental principles of criminal law are allowed to remain, then indeed its critics will be converted into its supporters, but then it will not be the Bill which is now before the public. But if the Viceroy thinks that the principle of the Bill may be left untouched and that we should fight our battles over the unsuitability and obscurity of its language, then he is much mistaken. Why one is reminded here of a problem in mechanics in which the weight of an elephant formed a factor, and which the students were asked to solve with the weight of the elephant left out. How is it possible to discuss the Bill with profit, if the principal features are not meant to be touched and only a few slight alterations, verbal and other, are intended to be made. No, Gentlemen, the country demands that the most important amendments embodied in the Bill should be removed, and that civil matters should entirely be excluded from its operation; and so long as this is not done, Lord Curzon may pass his measure, but he will have passed it in defiance of the unanimous voice of the whole people, both Indian and European. In the long run it is never to the advantage of any Government to defy and outrage public opinion. He is aware that the whole Indian community is opposed to the Bill. He knows that eminent

Anglo-Indians and Indians like Sir. W. Wedderburn, Sir. H. Cotton, A. O. Hume, D. Naoroji and R. C. Dutt are against it. The leading Anglo-Indian papers denounce it in no measured terms. Even the *Pioneer*—such a thick and thin supporter of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy—has poured the vitriols of its wrath upon it. When even Brutus raises his hands, then indeed Cæsarism must have reached its worst.

Has it really become so urgently necessary for the safety of the Indian Empire that this arbitrary and oppressive measure should be passed in the teeth of all opposition? Is this the reward of our loyalty—of our unswerving allegiance to the British rule? Does England treat her subjects in any other part of the globe as her representatives sometimes treat us here; are we or are we not part of the British Empire? Was the King's precious message on the Coronation Day a real and genuine boon—a solid and substantial pledge of hope or was it a mockery, a delusion and a snare? Gentlemen, the policy of coercion and distrust is a mistaken, a suicidal policy. It is not strength but weakness that gives title to be unreasonable. The strength of the British rule in India rests not upon such treacherous under-pinnings and clumsy buttresses as the press laws of recent years, but it rests upon those noble traditions of justice and fairness which are engraven upon the hearts and minds of the Indian people. In the name of those traditions of justice and fairness, in the name of that policy of trust which, in spite of the temporary aberrations of this individual ruler or that, England has steadily maintained towards this country, we, on our behalf and on behalf of the millions of people, whose voice nobody ever hears, beseech Lord Curzon to withdraw his Bill. (*Loud cheers.*)

The President called upon MR. MURLI DHAR of the Punjab to second the resolution. The speaker first addressed the meeting through a window in the adjoining room, but soon he had to make his way through the crowded verandah to the head of the table, wherefrom he continued his speech, under considerable difficulties. He spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—If, on mere suspicion that I am going to dive into the dark depths of the Official Secrets Bill, I was consigned to a dungeon and thrown into the back ground, I do not know what my fate shall be if I did really embark upon that perilous expedition. Gentlemen, I can well imagine the fate that is in reserve for me. Doing the duty of a public hangman as at present I do and having caused many a worthy person to be sent to the scaffold, the retribution will be just in my case, it standing on this scaffold I am to be hanged from the top of this lamp post. But I assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that I have no ambition to penetrate into the mysteries of the deep or covet the honor that exclusively belongs to the gentlemen whom I have caused to be transported across the ocean of life to discover the great secret for themselves. "Thou shalt speak the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth," says the Bible, says the Koran and says the Zendavesta. But the Government of India says, "Thou shalt not speak an ounce of truth, not a grain of truth, not even an iota of truth." As children of God and subjects of the King, we are bound to respect both these commandments. But to speak the truth and yet not to speak it, is I confess a problem not easy to solve. A yawning

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gulf seems to divide the line of conduct prescribed by these two apparently conflicting commandments. But the divine Manu has correctly interpreted their meaning when he says, "Thou shalt speak the truth, the agreeable truth but never the disagreeable, the mischievous, the ugly truth." Had there been a real conflict between the two commandments, one might perhaps have preferred rather to break the divine law and live in hope of mercy or calmly await his punishment hereafter than transgress the human law which shows no mercy to the delinquent and visits him with sharp and swift vengeance. As there is happily no conflict between the Sermon on the Mount and the Ukas from the throne, there is no occasion to transgress either the one or the other. But how can one speak the truth agreeable or disagreeable when he finds his lips sealed with the seal of the great India Office in London or of the Government of India Office in Calcutta. There are truths of different shapes, of different sizes, of various colours, of various shades, of various weights and of various measures. Those that partake of the nature of military and naval secrets and possess the shape and size of torpedo-boats or battle-ships are imbedded in the bosom of the deep to be revealed only to the enemies of the British Empire for their destruction. We have certainly no desire to seek our own destruction by dealing with truths of this dangerous type. There are again some truths of a civil nature of the dimensions of the devil fish that spread their tentacles far and wide and would not allow other creatures to live side by side with them. They not only live in the deep waters of the Great India Office, but are also found in small rivers of the petty offices of State. They assume different forms at will as occasion suits them. At one time they take the form of a Railway Conference and hold their sessions on the bank of the Jumna; at another they sit in conclave on that of the Hughli to devise means to appropriate all the loaves and fishes of offices to themselves. Our quarrel is only with these big amphibious creatures and not with those that have planted the tree of knowledge in the Garden of India and revealed to us the hidden truths of nature in the shape of different sciences and arts. We only ask them to do unto us as they would have us do unto them. If we ever try to discover their secrets, it is only to ward off the blow they aim in secret at us, and when we shame them by exposing their true intention towards us, they raise the cry of murder and forge fresh fetters for us. What is to be done under these circumstances? There I see the Captain of the army (pointing to the Captain of the Congress Volunteers) standing guard over me and it was with great difficulty that I have been allowed to approach the Congress. If that was my difficulty, from which you had to extricate me, then I submit that the fate which attends me shall be your fate if you are not in time to take steps to hang this noxious measure. I shall be glad to execute your commands as a public hangman if you will permit me to hang this Bill. I will not take up more of your valuable time. With these remarks I commend the resolution to you acceptance.

MR. G. SRINI-  
VASA RAO.

THE HON'BLE MR. G. SRINIVASA RAO, (Madras):—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

The resolution that has been so ably proposed and seconded needs no further support. The changes sought to be introduced by the Official Secrets Bill may be briefly summed up as follows:—

First and foremost—the secrecy that has been vouchsafed and rightly so vouchsafed until now to military and naval matters is attempted to be extended to the Civil Departments also.

Secondly—the offence as per the Official Secrets Bill is made both cognisable and non-bailable.

Thirdly—the long accepted principle of Criminal Jurisprudence viz., that an accused person shall be looked upon as innocent until his guilt is proved and established, is clean forgotten and the burden of proving his innocence and *bona-fides* is shifted on to the shoulders of the supposed offender.

The demonstrations that have been made all over India against the innovations introduced by the provisions of such a seemingly small Bill have been strong, unusual and unprecedented. The protest against it has proceeded simultaneously from all classes of people—the rich and the poor, the high and the low and what is more—from the Anglo-Indian and the Indian alike. The Anglo-Indians have never come out with such force and violence as on the present measure of the Government. Even the representatives of the Anglo-Indians press, who have been systematically sharing the views of Government, have evinced a vigour and an indignation which nothing short of the iniquity of the measure can provoke. Just see what the "*Englishman*" says. I shall only read out to you one sentence from the very strongly worded protest. It says, "The public will not have the Bill which is based upon a grotesque misconception of the proper functions of the law and defies the Government to enforce the provisions of the Bill if passed into law." The *Pioneer* is still more violent in its language of disapproval. I shall just give you the pithy part of it. "The Bill is ill-conceived, badly drafted, arbitrary and revolutionary in its provisions, and the Legislature of this country will not permit it a place in the Indian statute book and thus bring disgrace to itself." In its leaderette on the Indian National Congress referring to the opening address of the President, The *Madras Mail* last evening said "The Official Secrets Act and the Universities Bill come in for criticism of a very able description and with much of that which is stated against the former measure (the Official Secrets Bill) it will be possible to concur most heartily."

These Anglo-Indian views sufficiently indicate the public opinion of the country just now. Unless a strong case is made out, how can there be any attempt to change the existing law?

The existing law which is embodied in the Act 15 of 1889 was framed on the lines of the English Act passed by the British Parliament. The Official Secrets of Great Britain must certainly be more varied and more important than those of India. Since the 26th of August 1889 when the British Act was passed, it has been found to work well and satisfactorily and no necessity has arisen in the laud of our rulers to alter its provisions until now. While so, where has there been the occasion for any change—a change of this extreme nature, in India? Gods alone must divine it. Beyond the vague statement that the Bill is intended to remedy defects disclosed by experience, nothing tangible, nothing definite has been alleged or proved. The existing Act follows the salutary principle of the English

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Act and deals only with persons who would be guilty of doing any one of the acts therein enumerated *for the purpose of wrongfully obtaining official information*. Note that the act will be an offence only when it is done for the purpose of wrongfully obtaining official information. This safe and unobjectionable language is now given up and any person who does any of the acts detailed therein *without lawful authority or permission* is to be arrested and taken to a Magistrate and the proof of the lawfulness of the authority is said to be with the person who does the act. The argument advanced in support of this amendment is that the purpose with which an unauthorized entry into a public office is made is not susceptible of proof by the prosecution, but it is one which is within the special knowledge of the person so entering. Can there be anything more absurd than this? Any, the most innocent act thus stands the chance of being converted into an offence on the ground that it is unauthorized. Does it require any great strength of mind to term such a departure in the well-established criminal administration of the country, as simply arbitrary and extremely unjust? How oppressive it will become in its practical working is self-evident and needs no further demonstration.

The effect it will have upon the press of the country—Anglo-Indian and Indian—will be woeful and disastrous. The liberty of the Press is the pride of Great Britain. To place the Press of India under the constant dread of the consequences of a gagging penal measure, like the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council, is hardly consistent with the high dignity and great fame of British Administration to keep up which, we, in all our humility, pray that the Bill may be dropped.

For an offence under the Bill, the Police, whose efficiency has been just brought out in the enquiries of the Police Commission and whose report is so weighty that it is still thought unfit or dangerous for publication—such a Police have the power to arrest the offender without the help of a warrant from a Magistrate. In the case of an ordinary offender, when the offence is cognizable, he will be marched straight to the nearest Magistrate. But the offender under the Bill will be taken to the Commanding Officer of the nearest Military Station or such other special officer as the Local Government or the Governor-General-in-Council may appoint, such Commander or other officer may discharge the accused or send him on to the nearest Magistrate. Why this intermediary of a Commanding or Special Officer as if the Police are not sufficient for the woes of the offender.

Can it be that the Commanding Officer, who has never had to exercise Magisterial powers, is a specialist and therefore better fitted to do this special work more efficiently than the regular Magistrate, and thereby placed in a more advantageous position? No. Will this in any case hasten the Proceedings against the offender? If it will not and if it will positively protract it, where is the occasion or the necessity for this extraordinarily special procedure?

As the law now stands, a prosecution shall not be instituted except by, or with the consent of, the Local Government or the Governor-General-in-Council. All will admit that this is a very necessary and reasonable protection against unfounded or hasty action being taken against any body.

The new Bill removes this sensible and wholesome provision and tries to enact that the Magistrate shall not proceed with the trial except with the consent of the high authorities noted above. This virtually means that, whether the sanction to proceed with the trial is finally granted or not, the man charged with an offence will be on remand and kept in custody—for what period Heaven knows—until the supreme pleasure is expressed and communicated.

One has simply to conceive what a powerful engine of oppression the Bill proposes to be if it has the misfortune of becoming the law of the country, as it is framed. It is no wonder then that the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is convulsed over the Bill.

The Bill was first introduced in the cool atmosphere of Simla where there was none to object to it. When, on the plains in Calcutta, it came on to be referred to a Select Committee, its hollowness and danger were exposed—much to the chagrin of its supporters. The want of wisdom in placing civil and military matters on the same level and the dangerous consequences that will befall the country were vividly and vigorously pointed out by our worthy countrymen. The presence of the noble Viceroy was unfortunately wanting on the occasion to pour oil over the troubled waters, and none present was able to justify the Bill to any extent. The only shelter that was available to the mover of the Bill was that the spirited protests had not been furnished to him in writing in advance, and that this must have been done if a reply was required. However, at the earliest opportunity that turned up, our able Viceroy has given the public the strongest assurance that the harrowing pictures of the Indian Editors and innocent petition writers being marched off to prison were never intended by Government to be realities. His Excellency is free to admit that all such things are possible under the Bill and that, therefore, the Government will care to carry public opinion with it and will be prepared to alter its language and, if it is unsuitable to remove all obscurity about it, so to modify it that even its critics may be converted into supporters. The prayer of the Congress is that the scope of the Bill may be confined only to the disclosure of naval and military secrets, and its feeling is that the Official Secrets Bill, as drafted, is against the interests of the public, retrograde in policy and dangerous to individual liberty. A more reasonable prayer there cannot be and the resolution conveying it is worded in language which is at once both temperate and respectful.

The prayer is perfectly legitimate and is in good time, being before the arrival of the memorial presented by our esteemed countrymen and friends in England and being before the deliberations of the Select Committee.

I feel confident that the resolution will meet with your fullest approval and be unanimously passed with acclamation.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and declared carried.

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Military  
Expenditure.

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MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

MR. N. M. SAMARTH (Bombay), on rising, moved the resolution on Military Expenditure, which ran as follows :—

(a) That this Congress reiterates its opinion that the scope of the measures, which have been undertaken from time to time for increasing the army in India, for armaments and fortifications with a view to the security of India, not against domestic enemies, or against the incursions of warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British Power in the East, and on which millions of Indian money have been spent, reach far beyond the Indian limits in that the policy that has dictated these measures is an imperial policy; and that, therefore, the Indian army charges which not only include the cost of the native army but also that of the British forces, amounting to about one-third of the whole British army, which forms the Imperial Garrison in India, are excessive and unjust, especially having regard to the fact that the colonies which are equally dependent upon and indebted to the mother-country for their protection contribute little or nothing towards the Imperial military expenditure.

(b) That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion, that the Indian tax-payers should be granted substantial relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European army.

(c) That this Congress protests most emphatically against the manner in which the Indian revenues have been charged with £786,000 per annum for the increased cost of the recruitment of the British army, in spite of the Viceroy of India and his Council having strongly condemned such a charge as being injurious to Indian interests and as calculated to retard many urgent measures of domestic reform now under contemplation or in course of initiation.

(d) That this Congress reiterates its conviction that inasmuch as the army amalgamation of 1859 has all along been the cause of a considerable portion of the unjust and excessive burden of Indian military expenditure, the time has come when steps should be taken to have that system wholly abolished.

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—  
The resolution, which I have the honour to place before you for your acceptance, deals, as you see, with that heavy burden to which we have been subjected from time to time since that great blunder of 1859, which is known as the Army Amalgamation Scheme. The burden is not only heavy, but inequitable and iniquitous, and the intensity of that weariness and injustice has been increasing from year to year. I will not take you, especially in this state of the weather, through the various paragraphs of the resolution and

dwell at any great length upon the many-sided evil to which the resolution gives expression. I am anxious to put my fingers on the seat of the disease, and propose to address to you a few words as to the right cure to be applied. Our complaint is, and in this the Government of India agrees with us, that the cost of the British Garrison in India and its strength have been determined from time to time not according to the real needs of India, but by the exigencies of the Army of England and the difficulties of the British Cabinet. India is made quietly to pay the Bill and has no choice or voice in calling for the papers then. Having regard, we say, to the requirements of poor India and having regard to the justice of the thing, it is but right that there should be some means of preventing this sort of strain and drain on the Indian Treasury. The solution of the difficulty will be found in the last portion of the resolution. The mischief is due, as I said at the outset, to the Army Amalgamation Scheme which was inaugurated in 1859. Expert opinion, at that time, was against it. Those who could speak with authority upon Indian matters strenuously opposed it on military, financial and economic grounds. They did not admit the validity of the unqualified objections to double recruiting, and they thought that the maintenance of a thoroughly efficient Local European force in India was not only possible according to the legitimate needs of India, but desirable as a wholesome check on the precipitate withdrawal of European troops in India in cases where the Home Government might find itself under the pressure of political emergencies elsewhere. And, what is more important, they foretold that the proposed amalgamation would practically diminish the control of the Government of India over the application of its resources. That prediction has been fulfilled to the letter. The whole scheme presupposes the possibility of a strict financial reciprocity between England and India, which is hardly possible under the present system of administration by a Secretary of State, who, as a Cabinet Minister, is responsible only to the party in power and not to those from whom he draws his salary. Under such a system you cannot expect anything better, in spite of any number of Welby Commissions, than the iniquitous impositions of current and permanent charges on the revenues of India dictated by the requirements of the British War Office. We say this must now, for Heaven's sake, cease. And in suggesting our remedy we take our stand on the emphatic opinion of the Simla Army Commission of 1879 to the effect that, if England refuses to act towards India on terms of strict financial reciprocity in the matter of army organisation, India will be driven by sheer necessity to re-establish a Local European Army, which, though perhaps less efficient than that now at her disposal, may be sufficient for her purposes and more within her means. I think the time has come to revert to the old system and have done, once for all, with the present mischief, which prevents the Indian revenues from being applied to the many urgent needs of the people of India. I don't think I need say anything more to commend the resolution to your acceptance.

MR. V. KRISHNASWAMY IYER (Madras) in seconding the resolution, spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have not the voice to speak to you to-night, even if you have the inclination to hear, and I will, therefore, ask your pardon if I do not make myself heard on this occasion, though on

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Expenditure.

MR. N. M.  
SAMARTH.

MR. V. KRISHNA-  
SWAMY IYER.

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MR. V. KRISHNA-  
SWAMY IYER.

other occasions I might have been more successful. Gentlemen, I will only say a very few words on this resolution. Your Military expenditure is now 17½ millions. The Military expenditure has been growing higher and higher since 1859 when the Government of India embarked upon the policy of amalgamating the English and the Indian Armies. That Military expenditure has increased for various reasons. The Government of India in 1878 went in search of a scientific frontier. They went to the West and the scientific frontier receded as they approached it, like the horizon. They have since attempted to discover a frontier in the East, and the only thing they discovered was the unscientific frontier of the French Government of Cochin China. They have since then tried to find a scientific frontier in the North, across the Himalayas, in the land of the Lamas. I do not know where in the South they are going to discover a scientific frontier. Scientific or unscientific they have been in quest of frontiers and the result of it has been that the expenditure on the Military armaments of this country has been increasing every day so that the Military expenditure is equal to the entire Land Revenue raised in the country. Embarking on this policy what has the Government of India done? As a consequence of the amalgamation of the two armies, whatever reason is found for an increase in the expenditure on the Army in England is regarded as a sufficient reason for increasing the expenditure on the Army in India, the poorest of all countries. Some time ago the Government in England, by a Royal Warrant, added to the expenditure on the British Army by raising the pay of the British soldier, and at once that touched India. The Government of India protested against this impost, and you do not want a further proof of the iniquity of the impost of £786,000 per annum; but this expenditure has been sanctioned by the Government of England against the protest of the Government of India. We were told that, on the protest of the Government of India, this was referred to the arbitration of no less a personage than the Lord Chief Justice of England. The Lord Chief Justice of England is an eminent lawyer, but there is no question of law to be determined in this matter. It was not a matter that ought to have been referred to the Lord Chief Justice for settlement. The question is one of political propriety and political justice to the people of this land. The only way in which the matter could have been determined was by referring the whole question of Military expenditure and the contribution which this country is making to Home charges to a body of independent and upright gentlemen; and if this had been done, India would have had nothing to fear from the arbitrament of that body.

Now I will tell you one secret. Years ago it was the practice, before the Army was amalgamated, to give £7-10-0 per head—it was called capitation charge—for every soldier imported from England into India. As a result of the short service system which again was forced upon us by reason of the amalgamation of the Army, we are paying more at £7-10-0 for every soldier that is sent out from England to India. That makes a total of £500,560-0-0, that is, the cost of the soldier as he comes out, the cost of enlistment and the cost of the training he receives. It has been accepted that the best training that the British soldier gets is in India, and, during the seven years he remains here, he becomes a thoroughly efficient machine for fighting. When he has become thoroughly qualified, what does England pay for the qualification he has acquired by his residence here? Why then should we be called upon to pay to the British Exchequer the cost of training which every soldier receives previous to

recruitment. If the whole question of payment made by this country to England on account of Military expenditure had been referred, then we should have been content to abide by the decision of the Lord Chief Justice of England.

There is one other point upon which I should like to address you in connection with this subject. Recently the Government of India were able to spare 30,000 troops—10,000 British and 20,000 Native troops,—for service outside India, without in any way impairing the Military efficiency of the country. If that was so, the matter was made perfectly clear that we did not want 30,000 troops and that we could afford to dispense with them. Lord Curzon has told us in the indignant and emphatic manner, which is so often customary with him that, so long as he was responsible for the peace and good government of this country, he would not allow even one soldier to be reduced. Was that statement made by His Excellency with due regard to the interests of the country? If we were rich, if our country had plenty of revenue, and if there was no poverty staring us in the face, we need not bother ourselves about the Military expenditure of the Government of India. But, as it is, you find famines and periodical droughts on the one side and grinding poverty on the other. Is this the country which can afford to spend 17½ millions, a proportion larger than that incurred by other civilised Governments for Military expenditure? We protested against the imposition of £400,000 which was to be our share of the expenditure of the garrison to be located in South Africa for over-awing the people of that country. We protested against it and so did the Anglo-Indian people; the result of that was that the Government withdrew it. Now we may ask what the remedy is for the present state of things. The remedy is not to cry, as we are crying, in the wilderness. The remedy is not the passing of resolutions in Congresses. The remedy is to rouse the indignation of the people (*Hear, hear*) by leaflets and pamphlets, by going to every cottage and telling the people the iniquity of the impost. The remedy is to rouse the indignation of the people in this land, to rouse the conscience of the great British nation and not to appeal to the Cabinets of England, which are dependent upon particular constituencies and which care only for their own places. Do not depend upon them, but depend upon the great British nation and its conscience; and if you do the one thing and the other, I am perfectly sure that the day will come when the question of Military expenditure will be placed upon a rational footing. (*Cheers*).

MR. CHARU CHUNDER GHOSE (Bengal), in supporting the resolution, said:—

After the solid matter of fact speech of my friend Mr. Samarth and after the exhaustive and elaborate speech of Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, who, if I may say so, unites in him a remarkable knowledge of the subject on which he has spoken with that wonderful power of presentment of his case which we have learnt to associate with his name, I feel it is superfluous for me to occupy your attention for more than a few brief minutes. Moreover, the subject is one upon which there can be very little difference of opinion; for, Sir, I do not know if ever there was any other subject in the whole of the Congress programme in pressing which we could claim to speak with the authority of the Government of India behind us. In their despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 25th day of March 1890, the Government

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of India wrote thus :—“ Millions of money have been spent on armaments and fortifications to provide for the security of India, not against domestic enemies or to prevent the incursion of warlike peoples of adjoining countries but to maintain the supremacy of the British power in the East” and, Gentlemen, Sir Auckland Colvin, whom no one will accuse of an undue predilection for our views, Sir Courtenay Ilbert and that most gifted administrator, Sir Antony Macdonell have left it on record in a joint minute that the Government of India in this matter of Military expenditure were unable to box their own compass, as it were, and that the policy which dictated that expenditure did not ordinarily emanate from the Councils at Calcutta or Simla. (*Hear, hear*). You notice, gentlemen, that in the resolution we do not ask for the withdrawal of a single British soldier from India—a prayer which, we have from Lord Curzon himself, is sure to be unceremoniously rejected so long as his Lordship remains at the helm of affairs in India. All that we advocate is that a substantial portion of the expenses should be borne by the British Exchequer and we strengthen our case by referring to the position which the Colonies occupy. The Colonies, as you know, Gentlemen, contribute little or nothing towards the Imperial Military expenditure, and their feeling in the matter may be gauged by the fact that when, at the recent gathering of Colonial Premiers, Mr. Chamberlain mooted the idea, Sir Wilfred Laurier the distinguished Canadian Statesman declared that, if the proposal was persisted in, Canada, would have to reconsider her position in the Empire and that they had apparently come to the parting of ways. We do further strengthen our case by referring to the fact that on recent occasions we could spare so many as 30,000 British troops without any risk of internal commotion whatsoever. It was not the case of lending one's watch dog as His Excellency Lord Curzon put it. The analogy was scarcely apposite and we fancy the watch dog was absent for a pretty long while and no one missed him. But if it be said that we have had lately some little instalment of a generous policy by the contribution of £250,000 a year by the British Exchequer as a result of the recommendations of the Welby Commission, my answer is that what has been given to us with one hand has been taken away with the other. I allude to the burden which has recently been thrown on India, a burden of £7,86,000 a year for the increased cost of recruitment, &c., of the British Army.

MR. D. E. WACHA (interrupting) :—“ Thanks to Lord George Hamilton.”

MR. CHARU CHUNDER GHOSE, continuing :—My friend Mr. Wachha reminds me of Lord George Hamilton. Yes, we owe this increased burden to him alone, and we deeply regret that, in this matter, the protest of the Government of India was not more vigorous and incisive. Lord George had already signified his assent to the proposals of the War Office—such were his ideas about the safe custody of the revenues of India—before he became aware of the opposition of the Indian authorities. We also know that the Indian case, when the matter was referred to the arbitration of Lord Alverstone, was not allowed to be prepared in India, but was prepared in the India Office. I speak with all respect for the noble Lord, but I am bound to say that he very imperfectly realised the nature of his duties. By all means, have an efficient army if you please, but in the hour of need the most efficient army will not be found “ in men with Lee Metfords and Dumdum bullets, but in the hearts of a grateful and contented people”. (*Cheers*).

MR. G. A. NATESAN (Madras) :—

Gentlemen, I propose to confine myself to only one aspect of the question now before us. I desire to urge that this Congress should take this opportunity to plead for a better and more satisfactory tribunal of arbitration between England and India when the question of the apportionment of charges between the two countries arises hereafter. It is absolutely important that we should lay stress on this point because, in the appointment of Mr. Brodrick in the place of Lord George Hamilton, we have had a jump from the frying pan into the fire. You are aware that, in the matter of giving increased pay to the British soldier, India has recently been saddled with a cost of £786,000 per annum. Despite the able, the eloquent, and the most manly protest of Lord Curzon, this unjust addition has been made because Lord George Hamilton acted in an exceedingly high-handed manner relying on his own omniscience, which quality, according to the opinion of many competent critics, he very lamentably lacks. Lord Curzon deprecated the idea of adding Military charges for the British army in India, while the Government of India had not asked for and did not approve of the same. He was also bold enough to state that, if his views were not accepted by the War Office, an appeal may be made to independent arbitration.

Lord George Hamilton on receiving the Viceroy's letter forwarded a copy of it to the War Office, but he did not support the Viceroy's arguments. He, however, appealed for some concession to the Indian revenues on the ground that it certainly was true that the new scheme was more beneficial to the Home Government than to the Indian Government. But Mr. Brodrick was not prepared to admit that there had been anything inequitable in the original demand. So, he saw "No sufficient grounds for making any representation to the treasury to relieve the Indian at the expense of the British Exchequer." Lord George Hamilton then suggested that Lord Alverstone, the Lord Chief Justice, may be asked to adjudicate in the matter. Mr. Brodrick at first objected to this step being taken; later on, with rather bad grace, Mr. Brodrick submitted a case for the opinion of Lord Alverstone.

Lord George Hamilton, in the meanwhile, asked the Viceroy to furnish him with any fresh arguments or opinions in support of the case. The Viceroy wrote back as follows :—

"The case for relief to the Indian Exchequer from a moiety of the increased charge was adequately and fully stated in the Viceroy's telegram and the arguments therein put forward do not require either reinforcement or repetition."

What became of the Viceroy's second protest is not known. We are told that a representative of each of the three offices concerned in the arbitration, the Treasury, the War Office, and India Office waited eventually upon Lord Alverstone. The War Office and the India Office exchanged copies of their respective cases, and while the former challenged six paragraphs in the India Office's case, the India Office confined its comment to one point only in the War Office's case. Finally, on the 4th May, Lord Alverstone forwarded to the two offices the following decision "I award and determine that the whole of the additional pay issued in India from the first day of April 1904, under the Royal Warrant of the 27th day of March 1902, be borne by the revenues of India".

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The Lord Chief Justice has not given any reasons for his decision. His single sentence "award" smells more of dogmatism. No one would be foolish enough to question the impartiality of the Lord Chief Justice of England, but there can be no doubt that the arbitration could have been more worthy of the name and that better arrangements could have been made to represent Indian interests.

Lord Cromer in his evidence before the Welby Commission, said :—

"I believe there is a general wish in this country, in Parliament, and amongst ministers of whatsoever party, to deal not only justly, but even generously with India; but I think it would be an extremely good thing if you could arrange in some way a Court of Arbitration to deal with these matters. It is not only that the settlement should be just, it is of the highest importance that everybody in India should think it is just, not only natives, but the European public, who have also to be considered and the Government of India themselves. Under the present system, although I am not alluding to any special point, or saying that the distribution has been unjust, there is no means of making the people in India think it just. It is supposed to be arranged between various departments and the India Office, and the general impression, rightly or wrongly, is that the English view is advocated with greater strength and more successfully than the Indian view. Whether that be right or wrong the mere fact that such an opinion exists is an evil, and, therefore, I should be very glad, indeed, if something could be done to have some Court of Arbitration to settle these matters which must be rather the subject of equitable compromise than anything else."

He went on to add :—

"My inclination certainly would be to give the utmost possible guarantee to the Indian public that all these questions are decided by some body of men who are quite independent, and who are not in any way biassed against them."

Gentlemen, I need hardly state that there is at present prevalent a widespread feeling of disgust that in this matter India has not at all been justly treated. "It seems to me that where a nation is practically arbitrarily governed the governing power should behave generously to the nation it so governs." This is what Sir Henry Brackenbury said in his evidence before the Welby Commission. That Commission itself recommended that, in the event of the Governments of the United Kingdom and India not agreeing, a Committee may be constituted of two members appointed by His Majesty's Government and two members by the Secretary of State in Council and a Chairman to be selected by the four members. As against this report of the Commission the late lamented Mr. Caine, our warm friend, Sir William Wedderburn and our grand old man Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji suggested that in their opinion there was no authority in England which would more command the confidence of the Indian public as regards wisdom and strict impartiality than the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council. But unfortunately this suggestion was not taken and it was resolved to refer disputes to a single Arbitrator. In view of the way in which Lord Alverstone's award has been given and in consideration of the fact that the interests of

India were not at all properly put forward on that occasion, and that even Lord Curzon's second protest was not placed before Lord Alverstone when he awarded his "award," we in this Congress cannot do anything better than urge on His Majesty's Government the desirability of adopting the suggestion of the three friends of India, whose names I have just mentioned.

The late Lord Salisbury declared in the House of Lords that the tribunal for deciding questions of dispute between England and India should be so "impartially composed as to obtain the confidence of the tax-payers of both England and India." That idea of Lord Salisbury was also approved of by Lord Northbrook and Lord Lansdowne who considered that some machinery ought to be devised which would enable Her Majesty's Government and the Indian Government so to apply the principles of reciprocity that India would be placed for the future, "in an infinitely sounder position with regard to the controversies than she had ever occupied."

We, in India, feel sincerely and we deplore the fact that in the matter of the addition of the cost of the increased number of British troops our interests have certainly not been placed on the infinitely sounder position desired by Lord Lansdowne. We also deeply regret that the wish of the late Lord Salisbury that the Arbitration tribunal should command the confidence of the tax-payers of both England and India has not been realised at all. What is past is past, is a consolation which we are supposed to have on some rare occasions, but in India in regard to the treatment which England has often given to it we have had to repeat "what is past is past" more than a hundred times. Let us hope that, in this most deplorable matter, we have once for all said "what is past is past" and that in the future, in cases where the interests of England and India conflict with each other, a tribunal will be so constituted whose members will be thoroughly acquainted with the condition of India and its interests and who will recognise that on their just and impartial judgment depends a great deal, the promotion of the feeling of loyalty and of admiration for the great and good and noble principles which have so often been declared to guide England in all her relations with India.

The proposition was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

#### THE SALT AND INCOME-TAX.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI (Allahabad):—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES:—I have been asked to move the following resolution:—

That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the relief granted to the poorer classes of the country by the reduction of the Salt-Tax and by raising the assessable minimum for Income-Tax and prays that the Government of India be pleased to make a further reduction in the Salt-Tax.

Brother-Delegates, last year at Ahmedabad I had the honour of moving the resolution which urged the reduction of the duty on salt by eight annas, which was the amount of its enhancement in Lord Dufferin's time, and it is therefore peculiarly gratifying to me to be the spokesman of the Congress in conveying its thanks to the Government of India for complying with the request made by the national assembly now for so many years. (*Hear, hear*).

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Not merely do we thank the Government for this reduction of the salt duty but we also express our sense of thankfulness that that other prayer of ours also repeated year after year, *viz.*, the prayer for the enhancement of the taxable minimum of income-tax from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, has similarly been conceded by Lord Curzon's Government. Well, Sir, this relief granted by Government to the masses and the poorer middle-class respectively is a conclusive proof that there is paramount necessity for the Congress to meet year after year to secure that justice to our countrymen from the Government for which we have been contending these many years. (*Hear, hear*). Is it conceivable, Gentlemen, that, but for the agitation, the continued agitation of the Congress, this relief would have been given to the Indian tax-payer by a bureaucratic Government? (*No, no*). No doubt, it will be asked as the *Pioneer* newspaper did ask at the time, what else Government could do if not remit taxation when for a number of years it had had large and growing surpluses, and why Government should be thanked for the simple performance, or rather the belated performance, of an obvious duty. But it is forgotten by those who take this view of the matter that a Government situated as the Government of India is with no responsibility whatever to the people of the country as to how they expend the public money, may, if they choose, dispose of their surplus otherwise than to the people's advantage without being called to account by anyone why such an uneconomic policy has been pursued. If, for instance, the Government of Lord Curzon had, instead of remitting taxation in the particular direction they did, yielded to the selfish cry of Lancashire and remitted the import duty on cotton goods, or if they yielded to the equally selfish clamour of the Anglo-Indian merchants of Calcutta and elsewhere and totally abolished the income-tax, which is practically the only tax which these alien exploiters pay, at once the surplus would have been disposed of and the suffering starving Indian masses would have been given absolutely no relief from their crushing burdens. Nobody need suppose, Gentlemen, that the Government of India are not capable of such feats of statesmanship, for have we not still fresh in our memory how Lord George Hamilton, whom I am glad to refer to as our *late* Secretary of State, at his own previous promise to the contrary and got the cotton import duty reduced in 1896 keeping on the salt-tax at its preposterously high figure of Rs. 2-8 a maund? It is for this reason, Gentlemen, *viz.*, that Lord Curzon was courageous and sympathetic enough to overcome the interested clamour of his own countrymen, both here and in England, and give relief to the voiceless Indian masses, that this Congress, speaking for the masses no less than for the classes, records its thanks to His Excellency's Government. (*Cheers*).

But, Gentlemen, we are not content to merely record a thanksgiving resolution. We venture to urge the Government to go further in their good work and reduce the salt-tax still more. It is unnecessary for us to hesitate to so soon ask for further reduction of taxation because it is certain that the Government of India will reap another handsome surplus next year. So far, only a fraction of the annual surplus has been devoted to the remission of taxation, while this surplus will recur and recur in growing amounts year after year so long as the present currency policy will be continued. Taxation, which was imposed to meet the exigencies of Government when the rupee was at 13*d.*, is being maintained when the rupee is at 16*d.*, and this means that, in more shapes than one, more money is being taken from the people than was before taken or than is needed for the requirements of even the costliest administration under the

sun. But no Government has a right to collect more revenue than it needs and it is under an implied obligation to the tax-payers that, so much of the taxation as is found to be unnecessary for purposes of administration, will be returned to them. We have every right, therefore, to ask for this further relief, and so far as I can see, the Government will be in a position to comply with our request at the beginning of the next financial year, unless, Brother-Delegates, the available surplus be squandered away by Mr. Brodrick's insisting on his pet scheme for the increase of the army in India being carried out. But for Lord Curzon's raid into Thibetan territory, it would not have been at all difficult to make a further reduction of this cruel duty on a commodity which in the words of Mr. Fawcett ought to be as free as the very air we breathe. (*Cheers*).

MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE (England) seconded the motion and said:—

GENTLEMEN,—and I would say Brother-Delegates, were it not that, after hearing the list of wrongs needing redress in India, I feel as a British woman such a sense of shame and grief, that I can hardly dare to expect you to allow me to claim comradeship. I heartily, however, support the resolution thanking the Government for some small measure of redress in the salt and income-taxes. As a new comer I should deem it impertinent to discuss intricate Indian questions. I am here to learn. I also represent the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association with which the late lamented Mr. W. S. Caine, that warm friend of India, was so closely identified. During my four weeks of travel in India, two of the things which chiefly impress me are the awful, appalling and incredible poverty of the people and the almost, entire absence of Government elementary education. Probably I notice this more as come, not direct from England, where the Conservative Government has recently done its best to destroy our Schol Board system, but from an oriental country like your own. I have been journeying in Japan which, under the era of enlightenment has not only Representative Government but compulsory elementary education. I saw no Durbar in Japan, but witnessed a Royal Ceremony of another kind. I saw the heir-apparent to the Empire of Japan on a progress through the country as a School Inspector. He was followed by no gorgeous suite, but, in a simple rickshaw, he drove through the streets, without any bodyguard, to review the school boys and girls drawn up to receive him. I feel the sad lack of primary schools in your land. Universities are the topmost stone of the edifice of which elementary education is the only safe and sure foundation. Without the education of the poorest of its people, no land can obtain and retain freedom. But I notice the British Government, if it is slow in opening schools of virtue, has been very active in opening schools of vice in every city and nearly every village in the country. I refer to the arrack and toddy shops many of which, I have already visited, dens where I find straw provided *gratis* for drunken men to sleep off their debauch. In twenty-five years the revenue from Abkari has increased from Rs. 26 lakhs to Rs. 63½ lakhs, an increase of nearly 150 per cent. There has, I am glad to think, been a reduction in the salt-tax. But has there been any corresponding reduction in Civil and Military expenditure? If not, whence has the money come? I fear it has come from the arrack and toddy shops, in other words, from that which causes the misery, poverty, and crime of the poorer classes. The future of India is bound up with the salvation of these poorest and humblest of her people.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

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CHINTAMANI.

MISS FLORENCE  
BALGARNIE.

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Territorial  
Redistribution  
of Bengal.

**MR. J. CHAUDHURI.**

TERRITORIAL REDISTRIBUTION OF BENGAL.

MR. J. CHAUDHURI (Bengal) moved the following resolution:—

That this Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social and administrative relations and the Congress deprecates the separation from Bengal of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong Division and portions of Chota Nagpur Division and also the separation of the District of Ganjam and the agency tracts of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts from the Madras Presidency.

GENTLEMEN, you may consider the proposition that I have been called upon to move now as only of provincial importance. But I shall show you in a few minutes that not only is it one of great national importance but also of great constitutional importance. The resolution that I have been called upon to move, relates to the partition of Bengal, to the breaking up of the Bengal Presidency. Now why do you say in this resolution that it alarms the Congress? It is because of this, that for the last eighteen years, nay more, for the last quarter of a century or more, we have been striving to bring together the many Indian nationalities and to weld them together into one nation. What do we find in this action that is being taken by our enlightened Government under the presidency of Lord Curzon? It is but an attempt to break up our presidencies and to break up our nationalities, to divide us and rule. Here is a proposal to sever Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong and Tipperah from Bengal. Bengal I may tell you did not consist only of those snipe-shooting swamps of the 24 Parganas where the capital of India has sprung up within the last century. You may refer to Calcutta of a hundred years ago and find it recorded that it was chiefly comprised of snipe-shooting grounds. You on the other hand refer to the Classical Literature of Bengal and to Sanskrit literature as well, and you will find that Bengal extended from Gour to Bikrampur, Dacca, Tipperah, Chandrasakbur and Chittagong.

You may not be familiar with the geography of Bengal, but I do not consider that there is a single man of education or enlightenment in this world who does not know the fame of Dacca. Dacca is the centre of a world-famed industry and it has been so for centuries past. Even before the Christian Era, the fame of its cotton weaving extended to China in the East, and Rome in the West.

Now we are told by Lord Curzon who gives himself the airs of a Cæsar (*Hear, hear*) and is bent on making and unmaking Empires, that Dacca is to be severed from Bengal; and forsooth, why? because of the grand discovery that he and his ethnological Chief Secretary has made, that the river Bramhaputra flows through the heart of Bengal. Rivers are the life-blood of the Indian people; water and not alcohol is our life-blood as you have heard just now the respected lady speaker Miss Balgarnie remark. We as a nation have a great partiality for water and truly regard it as our life-blood, and, therefore, we in Bengal have always regarded the river, Bramhaputra, as one of the sacred arteries that flow through its bosom. You may know that the source of the Bramhaputra washes also the feet of the Lamas.

There seems to be a far remote policy in this Lord Curzon's partition scheme. With the prospect of the Tibetan expedition before him, Lord Curzon wants to convert a material portion of Bengal beyond the Bramhaputra into a non-regulation province and bring it under a Chief Commissioner. But I shall leave alone such consideration for the present moment and shall confine myself to the constitutional aspects of the proposed scheme of 'Territorial Redistribution. If you have gone into the Parliamentary Statutes relating to India, you will have found that the whole constitution of India, rests on Parliamentary Statutes. The Government of India Act of 1854, 17 and 18 Victoria, Chapter 77 gives power to the Governor-General in Council to bring under their direct control and management certain territories, and to delegate such powers to Local Governments for the administration of such territories. But that Statute evidently contemplates that newly acquired territories are to be brought under the control of the Governor-General in Council and Local Governments formed for the purposes of the administration of such territories. It would be perverting the object of that Statute to apply it to the present scheme. Supposing that Act was brought into operation in the Madras Presidency and that it was said that Madura was to be taken out of it; or supposing that that Act was brought into force in Bombay and that the people were told that Poona was to go out of the Bombay Presidency—not only to go out, but that it was to be converted into a non-regulation Province—you can imagine the feelings with which such a proposal will be received by the Presidencies concerned and the whole of India. The scheme proposes an identical change in the Bengal Presidency and it is viewed with similar concern by the people of Bengal. The idea of the transfer of two of the oldest and most important divisions of Bengal to the backward administration of Assam and of the division of the Bengalee speaking people into two arbitrary sections is intolerable to them. To pacify the feeling that it has aroused an explanation is now offered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, acting, as it would seem, in collusion with the Chief Secretary Mr. Risley (*Hear, hear*) to the effect that the Government do not propose to make after all any very material changes. This wonderful correspondence tells us that the system of Government is to remain, that the jurisdiction of the High Court is to remain. We do not profess to understand what the Lieutenant-Governor means by saying that the system of Government is to remain. If it is to remain the same as it now prevails in Assam, I cannot imagine a grosser violation of the right and privileges of a large section of the Bengalee race. It is after continued Congress agitation that we have got our franchise, I mean, popular representation in the Legislative Council. We have now got some voice, weak as it may be, to represent our grievances in the Legislative Council and to interpellate governors with regard to their actions and measures. If Dacca, Mymensing, Chittagong, Tipperah and the neighbouring districts are transferred to Assam, they will have to forego this privilege and it will be an evil day for them and the people of Bengal from many points of view.

Although the Government might give us at present the clearest assurance that the jurisdiction of the High Court will not be interfered with, where is the guarantee that some future Governor-General will not hereafter do away with it. Already Mr. Risley's letter bears indications of this. When these districts are ceded to Assam, the Government of India will not require any legislative enactment to withdraw the jurisdiction of the High Court. The Chief Commissioner need only then publish a notification in

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the *Assam Gazette*, under the powers delegated to him by the Governor-General in Council to enable him to take away these provinces from the jurisdiction of the High Court and place them under a Chief Court.

Then the system of Criminal administration that prevails in Assam is a further source of insecurity to the districts proposed to be transferred to the Assam administration. As in other non-regulation provinces the Deputy and Assistant Commissioners may be armed under the provisions of Section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code with powers short of sending a man to the gallows. Under Section 34 of the Code, a Magistrate so empowered may try all cases, however important, and pass sentences except a sentence of death or of transportation or imprisonment exceeding seven years. Under Section 30 it will require only a notification in the *Assam Gazette* to delegate similar powers to the Magistrates of the transferred districts.

So you see what constitutional changes this scheme might mean to the districts proposed to be severed from Bengal. The changes in law and in the mode of legislation that it might bring on are also very momentous. In fact the whole of the constitution of these parts may be changed by this territorial division. You must admit the action of the Government of India in this to be very arbitrary. Considering that we in Bengal have worked up our way to some form of constitutional government by means of sustained and continued agitation of more than a quarter of a century, this assembly enters its firm protest against this latest but not the least of Lord Curzon's destructive measures. Apart from all other reasons, the united voice of Bengal protests against the splitting up of the Bengaïee speaking race, and the united voice of the Indian people should, therefore, join in protesting against this arbitrary, unconstitutional and uncalled for change.

**MR G. RAGHAVA**  
**RAO.**

**MR. G. RAGHAVA RAO** (Madras) seconded the resolution in the following speech:—

Gentlemen, I heartily second the resolution so ably and eloquently moved by Mr. Chauduri; and, in doing so, I fully endorse all that has been said regarding the dangers involved in frequent territorial changes. I should like to add a few remarks in connection with the proposed transfer of the Ganjam District and Vizagapatam Agency from the Madras Government with which they have been connected historically ever since the commencement of British administration. The Government of India in its letter of the 12th December 1903 observes with reference to this transfer: "Such a scheme would solve the question of language once for all; this change would relieve both the Central Provinces and Madras of a troublesome excrescence upon their administrative system." But the Government ignores the fact that the proposed change would entail a more troublesome excrescence on the Bengal Government in the shape of the Telugu population. The Uriyas living under Madras number 1,800,000, and compared with the Canarese, who number, 1,500,000, form a large unit, and are not only receiving the same attention with the other units like the Telugu, Tamil, and Canarese, but are also given certain special privileges in consideration of their being a backward class. They are educated at half fees in schools and colleges and are given preference in the matter of appointments if duly qualified. On the other hand, the Telugus if transferred to Bengal, will still form a unit which cannot be altogether ignored, but will nevertheless form such a small unit

that its interests will be seriously affected. According to the last Census Report, the Telugus comprise 7,50,000, while the Uriyas comprise an equal number. Thus it will be seen that the Telugu people deserve as much consideration as the Uriyas and that the question of language cannot be solved once for all by the proposed scheme. Either the Uriyas or the Telugus of this border district must continue necessarily to be an excrescence or source of anxiety and trouble to any administration under which they may be placed, be it Bengal or Madras.

The Madras Government has for about one hundred and fifty years been accustomed to administer the Uriya people, and the Uriyas have become used to Madras administration against which, as the Government of India admits, there is no complaint. The Telugu peoples, on the other hand, will present a new problem to the Bengal Government, and the Telugus will have to adapt themselves now for the first time to new surroundings and a new system of education and administration. As regards the agency tracts of Ganjam, only 87,000 are Uriyas, out of a population of 3,21,000 the rest speaking a Dravidian language, which is of Southern stock. In the Vizagapatam Agency more than a half of the total population are of a Dravidian stock. There is no valid reason to presume, as the Government of India does, that as education spreads, the Dravidian tongue would give place to Uriya. With these few remarks, I second the proposition.

MR. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER:—

I do not rise to make a speech but only wish to say a few words. In connection with this resolution I have an amendment to move. It is that the words beginning with "Ganjam, &c," be omitted. I have good reason for moving the amendment. I do not think I am violating any secret when I say that the Subjects Committee was not unanimous in having a resolution of this description on the paper; not because any section expressed an opinion against it on the merits of the question, but because it was felt that it was not a question to be taken up by the Congress itself. But in deference to the wishes of the Bengal gentlemen—so far as they are concerned there is an important principle involved in it—the majority were in favour of having a resolution in regard to Bengal. The principle there, so far as those particular districts are concerned, is, the moment they are transferred to Assam they lose the right of electing to the Legislative Council. I think the Government of India may go on disenfranchising one province after another if we allow them to do so. I can see a reason for having a proposition of this kind going forth from this Congress in regard to them; but I cannot understand why we should have a proposition including Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency in it. I am sorry to differ from Mr. Raghava Rao. If there is one principle which the Congress has uniformly acted upon, it is this that, where there is considerable difference of opinion in the Congress on any question, the Congress should not pass a resolution on it. But now so far as Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency are concerned, the Uriyas of these Provinces, who are in number equal to the Telugus, are anxious to be associated with Orissa; and the Telugu people are anxious to continue to form part of the Madras Presidency and not to be associated with Orissa. This Congress should not be invited to pronounce its opinion on this matter. We will leave our energetic Telugu friends to lay their case before the Government just as the Uriyas have been asking that Ganjam should be added

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to Orissa. They are quite welcome to petition Government, and we shall also sit in judgment upon the merits of the respective cases not, however as members of the Congress, but in our individual capacity. I, therefore move the amendment for the omission of the words in the latter part of the resolution.

MR. SAMARTH seconded the amendment.

**MR. V. RYRU  
NAMBIAR.**

MR. V. RYRU NAMBIAR :—

I strongly oppose this amendment. After the amendment has been moved by Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer I think it is highly necessary that we should carry this part of the proposition in the Congress. If it was the intention of the Congress not to take up this proposition, it ought to have been rejected by the Subjects Committee. But it has been carried by the Subjects Committee, and what will be the position of the people of Ganjam if it is now thrown out. Their case is one which requires the attention of the Congress. The Telugu portion of the people of Ganjam and the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam are equally entitled to our regard. Mr. Raghava Rao has clearly pointed out the exact state of affairs and made out a strong case for them. If these tracts go to the Central Provinces, the people of these parts lose a privilege which they have got. They will not be in a position to return a member to the Legislative Council because we know that there is no Legislative Council in the Central Provinces. Therefore I think we ought not to leave the people of Ganjam and the Agency tracts in this position. It is the duty of this Congress that this proposition should be carried. There is a strong feeling among them, and, if this portion is transferred from the Madras Presidency to any other Province all sorts of legislative and administrative inconveniences they are likely to meet with. I therefore strongly oppose the amendment.

MR. C. VIJARAGHAVACHARIAR :—There are three others who want to speak against the amendment :—

MR. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER :—If you allow three to speak against the amendment, you must also allow three to speak in favour of the amendment.

**MR. N. SUBBA  
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MR. N. SUBBA ROW PANTULU (Godavery) :—I did not wish to intervene in this debate this day. But the amendment proposed by Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer has compelled me to come forward on this occasion and show to you that he is very much mistaken in the amendment that he has placed before you. All the reasons which have been put forward with regard to Bengal apply with equal force in reference to the two important Districts *viz.*, the Agency portion of the Vizagapatam and the whole of the Ganjam District which are proposed to be transferred to Orissa. My friend, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer agrees that, if the people of a particular portion are to be disenfranchised, that is, to be deprived of their right to elect a representative to the Legislative Council, they are entitled to enter their protest through this Congress against the transfer of their portion. What will be the position of the Ganjam District and of the Agency tracts of the Vizagapatam District if they are transferred to the Orissa District? They will be disenfranchised. (Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer—no.) They will be deprived of their right to elect their representative to the Legislative Council. What

is the reason put forward that this important portion of the Madras Presidency should be transferred to Orissa? What is the reason now, after one hundred and twenty-five years have elapsed of their connection with Madras, that they should be transferred from the control of a Governor in Council to that of a Chief Commissioner? There is no reason whatever. The Local papers, the *Madras Times* and the *Madras Mail* have taken up the question, and I invite your attention to an able article which appeared in the *Madras Mail* last night.

MR. A. C. PARTHASARATHY NAIDU :—

Although I am not a resident of Ganjam, I have the honour to represent the Telugu Districts as I have been a Telugu Journalist for the last twenty years and have been travelling in the Northern Circars. I say that the Ganjam District consists of many Zemindaries of Uriya origin, pure Kshatriya. They are not at all in favour of the severance that is suggested. The opinion is gaining ground in many places that the fact that the Uriyas are appealing to the Government for the transfer of Ganjam is unfounded and untenable. The Uriyas are the domiciled people of the Circars, and they and the Telugus as well, are against any attempts calculated to sever their connection with this Presidency.

Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer's amendment was then put to the Congress and declared lost.

The President next put the original proposition which was carried *nem con.*

#### THE MADRAS MUNICIPAL BILL.

THE HON'BLE MR. M. KRISHNA NAIR (Madras) :—MR. PRESIDENT, I beg to move the following proposition.

That this Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Madras Municipal Bill, now before the Local Legislative Council, is not in consonance with the principles of Local Self-Government of India laid down in the time of Lord Ripon, and it desires to point out that the interests of the rate-payers of the City would not be adequately served by a lesser representation than that of twenty-four members. That, if the elective franchise is to be given to associations and institutions, it is of opinion that the institutions and associations should be such as possess a direct interest in the administration of the Municipal affairs of the City, and that the number assigned to them should be very limited. That the Madras Railway and the Port Trust are not bodies to whom such representation should be assigned, but that it should be extended only if at all, to bodies like the Chamber of Commerce, the Traders' Association and the University, by giving each of them the power of returning one member.

The Madras Municipal Bill, which has now been introduced into the Local Legislative Council, is of a very highly reactionary, retrograde and revolutionary character. The Bill infringes the maximum well known to

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British statesmen, *viz*, no taxation without representation. Of course, in the present circumstances of the country, this maxim is not applicable to the Government of this country; and having regard to existing circumstances, in all probability it is not likely to be applied to the Government of this country, at all events, for some time to come. But it is not so with reference to Local and Municipal affairs. The policy followed, ever since 1882, the year in which the Government of India passed the famous resolution on the scheme of Local Self-Government, has been to leave, as much as possible, the administration of Local and Municipal affairs to the people themselves, subject, of course, to the general control of Government. This principle, gentlemen, is not likely to be retained with reference to this city if the Bill, that is on the Local Legislative anvil, is to be passed. You know, gentlemen, that more than 95 per cent. of the taxes that are raised in this City of Madras are paid by the Indian portion of the population; and under the constitution that is proposed by the Madras Municipal Bill, the result will be the transfer, to a very large extent, of the administration of 95 per cent. of Madras Municipal rates into the hands of an unduly large proportion of European members.

What is the present constitution of the Madras Municipal Commission? That constitution is this: the Corporation as at present constituted consists of 32 Commissioners, 24 of whom are elected by the people and 8 are nominated by Government. The change contemplated by this Bill is to reduce the number of elected representatives from 24 to 16 leaving the remaining 8 to be sent to the Local Municipal Council by certain associations, associations which consist either wholly or mainly of European members. These 8 members are proposed to be returned by the Chamber of Commerce which consists wholly of Europeans, the Trades Association which consists mainly of Europeans, the Harbour Trust Board which also consists mainly of Europeans, and the Madras and South Indian Railways the management of which is entirely in the hands of European gentlemen. If we take into account the total population of this City, the figures run thus:—The City contains about 500,000 and odd inhabitants, out of whom the number of Europeans, men, women, and children all told, consists of 4,420. So that for every 150 Indians there is only one European. In these circumstances, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is highly undesirable that the administration of the City with reference to its Municipal affairs, when more than 95 per cent. of the taxes of the City are paid by the Indian population, should pass into the hands of European members. Is the efficiency of Municipal administration in any way likely to be improved by the proposed transfer. I think it is not in the slightest degree likely to be improved by this change. It is the mastery of the details of every day life that forms the subject matter of Municipal administration. From their habits and from their want of opportunities, our European brethren of this City do not come in contact with the daily life of our Indian population, especially the poorer among them. The aim of a majority of European merchants is admittedly to make as much money in as short a time as possible. I do not say this in a carping spirit; I do not mean to make any disparaging statement of our European fellow citizens. They are avowedly and professedly European merchants; their object is only to make money and return; with regard to most of them, in any case to retire to their native homes when their competency is assured. Then again how many of them, even if they have the desire to make themselves acquainted with the necessary details of every day life—how many of them, I ask, have the time?

They are the busiest of men having reference to the avocations in which they are engaged, the time requisite to visit the slums and paracherries of this City? I do not think that many of them will find the time. So it is not at all desirable that the contemplated change in the constitution of the Municipal Council should be carried out.

Now we have to judge of the probable consequences, if the contemplated change is given effect to. There is a precedent warning us not to adopt this principle. I refer to the precedent of Calcutta. Many of you are aware that the present Municipal Bill is based mainly upon the Calcutta Act of 1899. Section after section of the present Municipal Bill is copied from the Calcutta Municipal Act; in fact it bears on its face the impress of the Calcutta Act. The startling revelation, recently made by the publication of the report of the Government auditors who were appointed to examine into the state of accounts of the administration of the Calcutta Municipality, serves as a beacon light, warning the Government not to fall into pitiful dangers by introducing a similar change in the constitution of the Madras Municipality. A certain set of circumstances took place in Calcutta and under that set of circumstances certain consequences followed. Is it not likely that similar circumstances, if brought about in Madras, will bring about similar results? Logic points to the conclusion that the premises being the same the conclusion must necessarily be the same. This is neither the place nor the time to enter into all the objectionable details of this highly objectionable measure. I may, however, just refer to one subject, that is the constitution of the Standing Committee. I take this opportunity of publicly thanking His Excellency the Governor for the very sympathetic promise he made in the Legislative Council, for the promise, which is contained in his speech, of reducing the number of members in the Standing Committee. The number of members on the Standing Committee was one of the objections against the Municipal Bill. With reference to that His Excellency made the promise that he would reduce it from 12 to 8, which is the present number. That, however, is not the whole thing. There are many other objectionable features, even with reference to the constitution of the Standing Committee as contemplated in this Bill. With these few observations I commend this proposition to your acceptance.

MR. A. C. PARTHASARATHI NAIDU in seconding the resolution, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES:—

It is needless for me to tell you that the Madras Municipal Bill, to which this proposition relates, contemplates radical changes inimical to the growth and development of Local Self-Government, and the Bill, while sapping its very root, reduces the system to a sham or, in other words, "retains the shadow and takes away the substance." The retrograde and inequitable changes proposed kill the representative character of the Madras Municipality. If, however, the proposed legislation be for remedying any of the existing defects, I boldly say the remedy suggested is worse than the disease. Government had always a good word to say of this Presidency Town's Municipal administration. At no time, had it any occasion to find fault with it for having discharged its duty in a perfunctory manner or for having squandered Municipal funds, like the present Calcutta corporation,

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the result of the revision of the Municipal Act of the City of Palaces. In the face of the indisputable fact that the Madras Municipal administration has all along been carried on satisfactorily, it is impossible to conceive what strange reasons could have induced Government to introduce a Bill distinctly antagonistic to the growth of Local Self-Government.

Although Government have assigned no reasons whatever for introducing such an objectionable Bill, the Honorable Mr. Forbes, the mover of the Bill, has made capital out of the rate-payers' and voters' paucity of attendance at the polling station on the election days, and their want of interest in the exercise of the Municipal franchise, and drawn the peculiar inference that the constitution needed modification. This is no good reason whatever. Paucity of attendance is not due to rate-payers' indifference. The truth is, many of the seats are not contested and as a non-contested election can sufficiently satisfy the requirements of the election rules with but 25 voters, many do not take the trouble to go to the polling stations. In a division like the seventh where the seats are always keenly contested, a very large number of them turn up. Amongst the 5,693 electors in the City, there are Europeans and Natives, and if Natives can be charged with indifference, the charge equally applies to Europeans. If, however, Native electors, or, at any rate, some of them, be said to be indifferent, the indifference is chiefly due to the disgust caused by the inequalities of local burdens on them in the shape of taxes; while the commercial classes do not care to vote at all. How can Municipal administration be bettered by the introduction of the commercial element into the Municipal Board. The Honorable mover said that some either escape taxation or do not get their names registered as voters. That even the poorest man does not escape taxation under the *argus eyes* of the Municipal executive is an indisputable fact; that no one is omitted from the list of voters, who pays an annual tax of Rs. 25 is equally certain. The lists sometimes contain even the names of those that are not in the land of the living; moreover some of these elections occur at a time when Colleges are closed and consequently many graduate voters happen to be away from the City. In some cases, elections happen during the rainy season, and many, therefore, do not take the trouble to go to the polling station. They might willingly undergo some inconvenience, if they have the assurance or satisfaction that the return of A or B or Z will contribute to the reduction of the burden of the local imports. If Government wish, by all means, let them nominate men from commercial bodies to some of the eight seats they have in their power. Native Commissioners have the patience and willingness, at great sacrifice, to go about their respective divisions, to enquire after the Municipal needs of their wards. The commercial Europeans, whom Government wish to introduce, will, I am sure, not condescend to do that sort of inspection work of nasty gulleys and gutters and Paracherries. Although, there is nothing to prevent Europeans from seeking election, many do not come forward at all, as in Bombay. The Calcutta Municipality, which was designed to be a model for India, by the passing of the new Act, has, after all, "fallen from the frying pan into the fire", by earning an uneuiviable notoriety for mismanagement and incapacity. After all, how much do the European commercial classes and Europeans in general contribute to the Municipal exchequer.

The figures are, wheel tax Rs. 20,716, professional tax, Rs. 15,717. As regards house tax or assessment, it cannot but be equally small, since many

do not own bungalows or houses in the City. While these figures and the arguments above advanced regarding the commercial classes, do not justify the modifications proposed by Government, the taxes, Rs. 16,585-11-4, and Rs. 5,483-1-4, respectively paid by the M. R. C. and S. I. R. as well as the fact that their London Board of Directors will have to elect Municipal Commissioners for Madras from there, conclusively proves the absurdity of such a representation. That the taxes are already heavy and that the poor feel the burden painfully I am prepared to prove. Instead of adding another burden of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to the house tax, the professional tax which is only  $\frac{1}{2}$ th per cent. might conveniently be enhanced, or as the great law of taxation enjoins take the utmost possible from those who can bear the burden. If this is considered undesirable, by all means, the apportionment system of the local taxes to each individual, according to each one's property, income, means of livelihood, profits and industry, might be introduced, instead of furthermore increasing the already existing excessive burden, on the backs of the rate-payers.

There are hundreds of houses in lanes, corners, and alleys, where poor people are huddled together. Further increase of taxation would raise the rental of those who live in these wretched hovels, and huddling more closely will be the result, and that would disastrously reflect on the health of the poorer classes. Instead of resorting to this hole and corner policy in the matter of taxation or, in other words, instead of Government being the authors of such a disastrous result, it is better, as I have pointed out, to raise the professional tax. The reluctance of Governments to adopt this course, is surprising. Is it because the raising of the professional tax would touch the commercial and official European element and they would raise a hue and cry? If so, how much more would poor people, who are already heavily burdened, feel the additional burden of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on their houses?

The undesirable distinction which the Bill creates in the matter of the vehicle tax is another point worthy of your attention, and I have no doubt you will agree with me that creating such a distinction, is wrong in principle. The effect of this pernicious distinction, namely, that hence forward taxes paid on animals and vehicles will be excluded from the list of taxes which entitle a person to be a voter or a candidate, will further more reduce the number of competent and capable men. Municipal taxes of all kinds are intended to be utilized for Municipal purposes only; such being the case, is it not unjust to create a distinction amongst them, and thereby render men of real worth, education, experience and aptitude, ineligible for voting at, or contesting an election. That restrictions, there ought to be prevent undesirable men from getting into the Municipal Board, every one will admit, but not the most objectionable sort of restriction, like the above, contemplated in the Bill. There are a few more points in the Bill, but I do not wish to take up your time. The changes contemplated in the constitution, the additional load proposed to be thrown on the rate-payers and the exclusion of the vehicle and animal tax are the most important points about which the Honorable mover of the proposition and my humble self have placed before you facts and figures to convince you of their undesirableness and which, I trust will commend themselves to your unanimous acceptance and the generous consideration of the benign Government. I beg to be allowed to conclude, quoting the words recently uttered by the English

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humourist, Sir Wilfred Lawson :—" Foreign policy is annexation and devastation. Home Policy is starvation and intoxication." And, here, in India, we may well add Municipal monstrosities.

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

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

DR. SARAT K. MULLICK next moved the following resolution :—

That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidatures of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee for Walthamstow, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that, in the interests of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which, though a part of the British Empire, has no direct representative in the British Parliament.

In doing so, he said :—

Sir, I have no hesitation in saying that, whatever may be your views on other questions, this resolution at all events will meet with your cordial commendation. (*Cheers*). Having regard to the amount of business to be transacted, short and sweet should be the motto of the day. Whether it is possible for me to be sweet or not I shall leave others to say, but at all events I intend to be short. (*Laughter and Cheers*.) I regret, however, that it should receive such a determined opposition (referring to the heavy downpour of rain) from the elements. But, Sir, *caelum ruat fiat justitia*, Heavens may fail but justice must be done. (*Hear, hear*.) The names of the gentlemen mentioned in the resolution are names which have become household words throughout the length and breadth of our vast country. Sir John Jardine has been one of our best friends in England where he retired after filling one of the most exalted positions in Bombay. In his judicial capacity he gained that thorough grasp of Indian affairs which give his arguments such force and vitality when he stands up for our cause. When I left him but two years ago and heard him speak of his sympathy with us in that honest Scotch, I felt how true and faithful he was to the people whose salt he had eaten so long. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Dadabhai, our veteran leader, has through evil report and through good report, been our constant guide, philosopher and friend (*Cheers*.) It may be the fashion nowadays to speak with glib volubility on many of the economic problems of the day and to pass off as perfect pundits on those abstruse subjects. But who was it that unearthed the facts, who was it that brought out the arguments, who was it that persevered and pressed them home ? It was Dadabhai Naoroji, that noble-hearted patriot who has grown grey and old, though not weary in our service, who has neither flinched under the lash of virulent vituperation nor been seduced by the smiles of guilty fortune. (*Loud Cheers*). He has borne our cross with that grace

which comes of a self-sacrificing spirit. By entering Parliament, he has shown the world that Indian intellect, given free and fair opportunities, will shine with equal, if not greater, brilliancy than even the most astute of European minds. (*Cheers*). Sir, in speaking of this distinguished Parsee, I am reminded of another who would also, did he care to do so, be a tower of strength to our cause in Parliament. I refer to none other than our distinguished leader, Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta. (*Cheers*). On the opening day when there was such a lively passage-at-arms between him and the President, Mr. Mehta was pleased with that humility which he said was his characteristic to describe himself as a "mild Parsee." (*Laughter*). I confess, Sir, that in common with my fellow-delegates I failed to see where his "mildness" came in, unless, indeed, to be the mildness of the lion who breaks their bones when he frolics and gambols with lamblkins. (*Laughter*). We know that Pherozeshah is his name and more ferocious are his speeches. (*Loud Laughter*). There in the privileged circle of the mother of Parliaments he may "speak the language of a patriot," and if he likes, he may even "tread the footsteps of despots" without incurring the displeasure of his political comrades here. (*Renewed Laughter*). There, I repeat, in a free atmosphere, sheltered and encouraged by the laws of privilege, we would hail his matter-of-fact but elegant diction, his humorous blows straight from the shoulder, as of the utmost importance to the progress of our country. (*Cheers*.) Sir, I know that, in the expression of our sincere opinion here, we are considerably handicapped, but in the House of Commons there is no such thing as sedition; according to our Anglo-Indian friends it is seen lurking in the highways and bye-ways of poor plague-stricken Poona. (*Shame*.) Be that as it may, it was time that we brought to the notice of the British Electors that we had good men and true who would do justice not only to India but whose zeal, assiduity and ability would be of the utmost importance to the Empire at large.

Can any one deny that, in Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, we have one whose commanding presence, keen Brahmin intellect, and forensic knowledge would be of the greatest value to the House of Commons. (*Cheers*). In what way would he suffer in comparison with the majority of those who are already Members of Parliament? I have known Mr. Bonnerjee since my infancy, and for that rare gift of saying the right thing at the right moment and saying it well, I have seen few to equal him. He has made England his home and we look forward with hope and anxiety to the day when he will be triumphantly returned at the head of the Poll to plead the cause of this afflicted and poverty-stricken country of ours. (*Cheers*.)

Sir, allow me to say *en passant* that it is not enough to vote for this resolution alone, for after all we can have but a limited number of our people in Parliament. I am one of those who do not believe—and I have watched men and events in England for over twenty years—that if pushed to it either the Liberal or Tory party will do justice to India for the sake or justice alone. When it suits them they will do it and let us know of it, too, in their papers, in their Blue-books and their histories which by the way are thrust upon our schools. But we know, gentlemen, that there have been not a few occasions when the cause of righteousness has been sacrificed on the altar of expediency or of worse, and India has been treated with utter disregard of her interest simply because the Arms' Act, British Soldiers

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and British bayonets keep us in a position of abject humiliation. (*Cheers*)  
 We can only show our gums for we have no fangs left.

We require help from all quarters. If you think that the Liberal were on every occasion your best friends you live in a fool's paradise. shall not, Sir, go so far as to betray the animus of the Anglo-Indian who having retired to England with his goodly pile after a long spell of despotism in India, showed his contempt for constitutional Government by exclaiming of the British Parliament: "What! is that old humbug still alive?" (*Laughter*). I have faith, I have ample faith in the benign intentions of Parliament; but, Sir, I have seen enough of the world to know that very often the road to a certain bituminous region is paved with good motives. (*Laughter*) Be that as it may, believe me that neither Tory nor Liberal will dare to disregard our wishes and our wants if we be but true to ourselves. Remember, gentlemen, that no nation will or can get a Government of which it is not worthy. We have to be faithful to our pledges, faithful to our people, faithful to our leaders. Already the signs of the times point to the rise of a new India which Sir Henry Cotton, (*Cheers*) on behalf of whose candidature also I would solicit your suffrages has so well and graphically described. We are no longer a disjointed and discordant mass of humanity delighting in nothing but the Reign of Terror and Anarchy. Times have indeed, changed. We are fast welding ourselves together in a solid and homogeneous nationality. This wonderful National Congress of ours is the baby of new India. It has lived nineteen years, but it cannot be styled anything but an infant yet, for what is a couple of decades in the life history of a nation and especially, such a nation as ours, for India has fitly been described as the mother of languages and the grand-mother of history. There are some who are already getting despondent as to the future of the Congress saying that the work of the Congress is done. Gentlemen, do not listen to the siren voice of these tempters, these hollow-hearted knights, these enemies in friend's disguise. (*Loud Cheers*). The Congress has not yet completed its duty. It is still far from that blissful stage which is the hard-earned retiring place of worn-out and effete institutions.

The Congress has but barely commenced its work. Not till the high and low are educated, not till the man who carries your shoes and the sweeper who cleans your streets are educated and taught to preserve their birthrights not till then can we rest on our oars. We must go on and on, striving after our ideal, taking courage in both hands; our progress may be slow, our journey long, and our obstacles many. But you need a stout heart to climb a steep hill. You have the support of your conscience. You have the help of a grand and mighty cause. Armed with these let us not falter, for we shall never fail, but buoyed with hope of sure success, let us so act that we may cover our country with imperishable glory and bring her once more into the forefront of civilised nations charged with the holiest of all missions—the material no less than the spiritual regeneration and elevation of man (*Loud Cheers*).

MISS FLORENCE  
 BALGARNIE.

MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE (England):—

I second this resolution with the greatest pleasure—why I am asked to do so, I hardly understand—for as a woman I am in England excluded from political representation. I am, in short, a political outcast. It is only

in Australia and New Zealand that women have secured political freedom. But my support of this resolution is not merely an empty form as it might at first appear. I belong to a great political association 80,000 strong, the Women's Liberal Association. On my return to London, I shall meet some 900 delegates in annual meeting, the wives and daughters of men prominent in politics. I shall ask them to influence their husbands and fathers on behalf of India. I shall ask them to do more, for through their local organizations they will canvass, yes, although women are denied the right to vote we are sent out by men's liberal organizations to call upon and canvass men voters; in other words we are not allowed to vote but we are entrusted with the education of men voters (*Laughter*). At the election many of us will speak with the candidates of Parliament at public meetings. You may trust me to raise my voice on behalf of India and to secure the return not only of these four gentlemen but of others as well, who shall take the place of Mr. Caine whose loss you so much deplore. It has long been my ambition to visit India to attend the Congress whose proceedings I have watched with interest for many years. Now that I have seen and heard for myself, I return home determined to do all in my humble power to influence those who can help India to solve her main political and social problems.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Amraoti):—

The proposition which has been moved by Mr. Mullick and seconded by Miss Balgarnie does not require any elaboration at my hands. What we mean by this proposition is to express our confidence in our leaders, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and to appeal to the constituencies which they are wooing in England, to return them as their members and thereby afford an opportunity for unrepresented India to be represented in Parliament. Gentlemen, we had at one time two well known friends of India in Parliament—Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. W. S. Caine. Sir William Wedderburn retired from Parliament for reasons of his own, and last year Mr. Caine died; and by the retirement of the one and the death of the other, we may say we have lost two of our most beloved friends in the House of Commons. Now, Mr. Dabhai Naoroji and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee are trying to get into Parliament. We have good reasons to hope that India will not be so utterly unrepresented in Parliament as it has been for the last twelve months. There are friends, men like Herbert Roberts, men like Mr. Paul, who have the interests of India at heart. But it has to be remembered that these gentlemen have not had any Indian experience. The reason why we ask that men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee should be returned is that there may be in Parliament men who are born in the country, men who are of the people and men who know the people. It is on grounds similar to these that we support the candidature of Sir Henry Cotton and Sir John Jardine. Sir Henry Cotton has been known long in Bengal and for some time throughout India. The name of Sir John Jardine is well known in Bombay. These two gentlemen have a very sympathetic heart. One word more. Gentlemen, we do not make any reference to the other friends we have got in Parliament. In order that there may be no misapprehension it is necessary to mention that we do not refer to Mr. Herbert Roberts and Mr. Paul, not because we are oblivious to the services they have done us, but because they are already in Parliament and no advocacy on our part is needed so far as they are concerned. Of the

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MISS FLORENCE  
BALGARNIE.

MR. R. N.  
MUDHOLKAR.



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**MR. R. N**  
**MUDHOLKAR.**

**Co-Operative**  
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**MR. M. R. RAMA-**  
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four gentlemen, two are our countrymen, Indians, and the other two have spent their best years in this country. Hence we support their candidature. With these words I support the proposition and commend it to your acceptance.

The proposition was then put to the Congress and carried amidst acclamation.

#### CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES' BILL.

**MR. M. R. RAMAKRISHNA IYER (Madras):—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER Delegates:—**The proposition which I have the honour to move reads as follows :—

That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for introducing the Co-operative Credit Societies' Bill into the Viceregal Legislative Council and trusts that the measure may be so enacted as to achieve the object the Government has in view.

It is unnecessary for me to make an eloquent speech in support of this proposition, even if I were capable of doing so. I have only to submit a few facts before you, which will lead you to accept this proposition. So far as the indebtedness of the agricultural classes is concerned it is proverbially known to us all and their indebtedness continues merely because they have always been unable to get funds or borrow loans except on highly exorbitant term. Hence it is that in the place of one Sowcar they are obliged to exchange another Sowcar so that the indebtedness always continues. That is one reason why the poverty of the Indian ryots continues on and on. Then another reason for the indebtedness is supposed to be their extravagant expenditure over marriages. It is more the fashion in some quarters to blame the ryots for their extravagant expenditure ; but we all know, that, notwithstanding that we come across cases in which there is extravagant expenditure, the landholders as a class, or rather the peasants as a class, are not at all given to extravagant expenditure even in regard to marriages. We find, on the other hand, that with all their thirsty habits and economic views they are obliged to go on borrowing simply because, for their agricultural operations and other expenses, they have not got the funds to rely upon exactly at the time when the funds are wanted. A few months after the harvest is over they find that their stock of grain is out, and the result is that they have to go to the Banker, or the Sowcar, for assistance. Now you will understand that the Government of India upon the representation of the people and also on their own motion requested the Hon'ble Sir Frederick Nicholson to find whether they cannot introduce into India Co-operative Credit Societies which have been found to work well in European countries. Sir Frederick Nicholson went on tour through the European countries, travelled in Italy and other places, where the conditions are similar to those of our ryots, and recommended to the Government of India that they might introduce into the Imperial Legislative Council a measure based upon the principle of Co-operative Credit Societies which were known to work so well in Europe. We need not now go into the details of the Bill that has been introduced. Suffice it for us to remember that the Government of India have been kind enough to take active steps in this matter and also to introduce a measure into the Legislative Council in view to ameliorate the condition of the ryots. There is

just one word more before I conclude. There are Societies already existing in this part of the country, in Southern India. I mean Mutual Benefit Societies which are advancing loans on favourable terms of interest both to agriculturists and to artisans and others; and they have been doing exactly the kind of work which the Government of India wish to have done by the introduction of the Co-operative Credit Societies. Therefore, we have also to pray to the Government of India that they be pleased to accord to Mutual Benefit Societies which exist in Madras those privileges and concessions which they have thought proper to grant to Societies which are to be brought into existence under the Co-operative Credit Societies' Bill.

With these few observations I would ask you to carry the proposition unanimously.

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (Satara), in seconding the resolution, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN:—It is with great pleasure that I am going to address you a few words on this very fresh proposition. A fresh proposition has to be dealt with by a fresh arrival. The Government of India have introduced a short measure which was long lying suspended. A large proportion of the credit for this is due to the Madras Government in asking for certain information to be collected from responsible agencies; but at the same time a share of that credit is due as well to the Bombay Presidency. You know, Gentlemen, before the introduction of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, the necessity was felt for an inquiry into the condition of the agricultural masses of the country. In connection with that a Committee was appointed with the result that a report was drawn up. In that a recommendation was made that some measure of this sort should be introduced for the relief of the indebted agriculturists. A movement on these lines was suggested and a proposal was sent by the Bombay Government to the Government of India and ultimately to the Secretary of State. We all know what a hard substance the Secretary of State is to move and the measure was vetoed; and we had to wait until recently when it was introduced by the Government of India. The reorganisation of real credit in India has been the subject of serious study of all thinkers and politicians? Ever since the Industrial Conference of Poona in 1891 when Mr. Ranade read a paper on this subject, it has been freely discussed, and it has been engaging the attention of all those who had anything to do with agricultural indebtedness. The Government, however, saw the necessity for it by degrees. The attention of the Government was directed to this subject in consequence of the difficulty of realising their own revenue. Partly on this ground and partly on other grounds we find this measure introduced. The difficulty in the solution of this important measure is this. We find that the measure has so far been restricted to *bonafide* agriculturists. Mark *bonafide* agriculturists. This term is defined in one way in the present Bill and is treated in another way in the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. This difference, we hope, will be wiped off in the enactment. It is also to be hoped that artisans, who have been reduced to the status of agriculturists by circumstances over which they had no control, will be taken care of by the introduction of this enactment. The artisan class, which will be excluded from the scope of the proposed Bill, should also be taken into its compass. There are also other

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considerations which have to be taken note of. But the time at my disposal as pointed out by the learned President is very short and besides this is a subject which has been before the public long. It only remains for me to thank the Government of India for kindly introducing this measure, however late it may be, and to hope that it will be carried during his tenure of office, by Lord Curzon.

MR. CHARU CHUNDER GHOSE (Bengal):—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

Coming as I do from a Province, over 50 per cent. of the ryots of which scarcely get one meal every day, I believe you will allow me a little indulgence when I rise before you to support this resolution. Gentlemen, the poverty of the peasants of India is too well known to need any description from me. You all know, Gentlemen, the famous book of Mr. Digby. You know how Mr. Digby has very graphically represented the condition of "prosperous India." You know, Gentlemen, how from 2*d.* every day in 1850, the average income of each ryot dwindled in 1880, to 1½*d.* and how in 1900 it has still further gone down to ¾*d.* Is it necessary for me to point out to you the indebtedness of the ryot of India? Is it not a patent fact that the Sowcar like a Colossus bestrides the country from one end to the other? Is it necessary for me to point out that the better class of money-lenders is disappearing owing to the gradually reduced condition, the increasing poverty, of the Indian ryot? We have been long praying for the establishment of an Agency by which the enormous rate of interest, ranging from 12 to 24 per cent. that is claimed by the Sowcars might be, to a certain extent, remedied. And if Government has now put upon the Legislative anvil the Bill, the Agricultural Banks Bill, the Co-operative Credit Societies' Bill—is it not the duty of the Congress to thank the Government for this pittance of a favour that the Government has shown to the poor ryots of India? I need not encroach upon your valuable time and I know how anxious you are to hear the parting words of your distinguished President. With these few words, I beg leave to support the resolution which has been read out to you.

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried.

Omnibus  
 Resolution.

#### OMNIBUS RESOLUTION.

The next resolution on the Agenda was the following :—

That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating :—

(a) that, with a view that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may enjoy greater respect and confidence, it is necessary to reconstitute it on a broader basis and that the time is ripe for the appointment of Indian Lawyers of eminence as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the decision of Indian appeals ;

(b) that the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government should be discontinued ;

(c) that the rules under the Arms Act should be modified so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, colour or caste, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;

(d) that a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain should be introduced amongst the people of India ;

(e) that a High Court of Judicature be established in the Punjab ;

(f) that inasmuch as the scheme of organisation of the Education Service is calculated to exclude natives of India, including those that have been educated in England from the superior grade of the Educational Service, to which they have hitherto been admitted, the scheme should be recast, so as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service ;

(g) that the act of the Secretary of State for India in fixing the limit at two posts more than which natives of India should not compete for in the Cooper's Hill College is opposed to the plain words of Act I of 1833, and to Her late Majesty's Proclamation ;

(h) that the system of Trial by Jury should be extended in the districts to offences to which at present it does not apply and that the verdicts of Juries should be final ;

(i) that it is desirable that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons who are natives of India, the right of claiming in Trials by Jury before the High Court and in trials with the aid of Assessors that not less than half the number of the Jurors or Assessors shall be natives of India ;

(j) that the existing rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, in the matter of the Forest Department, are opposed to the Resolution of the Government of India made in 1894 with the object of enunciating the objects of Forest Conservancy and that an amendment of the rules in conformity with the above Resolution is urgently called for in the interests of the inhabitants of rural India ;

(k) that the necessity is urgent for the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions, so that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer ;

(l) that the simultaneous holding in India and in England, of all examinations for all Civil branches of the Public Ser-

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vice in India, at present held only in England should be conceded ;

(m) that an enquiry into the economic condition of the Indian Ryot, as urged by the members of the Famine Union in England, in their appeal to the Secretary of State for India, should be instituted.

THE PRESIDENT:—It devolves upon me to move the thirteenth resolution or what is called the "Omnibus Resolution." All of you have a copy of it. I do not know whether you wish me to read the resolution which is on paper.

THE CONGRESS.—No, no.

THE PRESIDENT.—Then I put it from the Chair. Those who are for it.

THE CONGRESS.—All, all.

THE PRESIDENT.—Anybody against ?

THE CONGRESS.—None, none.

THE PRESIDENT.—Then I declare it carried.

The next resolution was as follows :—

Resolution XIV.

#### RESOLUTION XIV.

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

And that a sum of Rs. 10,500 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and that the several Congress circles do contribute the amount allotted to each.

That the following gentlemen be appointed secretaries for the circles against which their names appear and be responsible for the sums due by the respective circles and that the money be paid in advance in two half-yearly instalments :—

#### BENGAL.

Baboo Surendra Nath Bannerjee.

„ Bai Kanta Nath Sen.

The Hon'ble Baboo Bhupendra Nath Basu.

#### BOMBAY.

Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta.

Mr. D. E. Wacha.

Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

#### MADRAS.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. Srinivasa Rao.

„ Mr. Vasudeva Aiyangar.

Mr. V. Ryrup Nambiar.

„ G. Raghava Rao, Berhampore.

## BERAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.

## N. W. PROVINCES AND OUDH.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. M. Malavya.

Mr. Gangad Prasad Varma.

,, S. Sinha.

## CAWNPORE.

Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit.

## PUNJAB.

Lala Harakissen Lal.

THE PRESIDENT :— I also put from the Chair another resolution which follows next and which you have also in your hands. If you do not wish me to read the resolution, I will simply ask you whether you are in favour of the next resolution.

THE CONGRESS.—Yes.

THE PRESIDENT.—Any body against it?

THE CONGRESS.—None.

THE PRESIDENT.—Then I declare it carried.

## RESOLUTION XV.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE:—No words of mine are needed to commend the next resolution to your unanimous, and I may add, enthusiastic acceptance. Mr. A. O. Hume is the father of the Congress. He founded the Congress, worked for the Congress, and his devotion to the Congress will always remain enshrined in the grateful recollection of the people of this country. As for Mr. Wacha he is the energetic, the industrious, the indefatigable, Joint General Secretary of the Congress. He is our leader whose modesty is only equalled by his enthusiasm. (*Cheers*). And he is now to be assisted by the youthful, the brilliant, the versatile Mr. Gokhale. (*Hear, hear and applause*). I am sure the accession of Mr. Gokhale to the executive staff of the Congress will be a source of great strength to the Congress movement and we anticipate very satisfactory results from his association in an executive capacity with this movement. I desire that this resolution may be carried with acclamation.

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

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

## THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

That the Twentieth Indian National Congress do assemble, on such day after Christmas Day, 1904, as may be later determined upon, at Bombay.

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Resolution XIV.

Resolution XV.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE.

The Next Session of the Congress.

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Congress.

MR. D. E. WACHA :—Gentlemen, In the absence of the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta it falls upon me to welcome you Delegates of the Indian National Congress to Bombay next year.

The announcement was received with great applause.

Vote of Thanks  
to the President.

MR. T. V.  
SESHAGIRI Iyer.

MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI IYER :—On behalf of the Reception Committee I beg to convey to Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose a hearty vote of thanks for his conduct in the chair. Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose referred in his address to newspaper criticisms of there being differences of opinion in the Congress camp, but he has not referred to one matter. He has been referred to as keeping himself aloof from the Congress propaganda and as having no sympathy with the Congress movement. He has given the lie to the criticisms about himself by the able and interesting speech which he delivered, and his experience of the Madras Session belies the other criticisms imputing dissensions. The people of Madras are glad to have called forth Mr. Ghose from his long meditation and contemplation, and we hope, in the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, that he will hereafter take his proper place in the Congress work. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Lal Mohun  
Ghose's Reply  
to the vote of  
Thanks.

MR. LAL MOHUN GHOSE'S REPLY TO THE VOTE OF THANKS.

GENTLEMEN :—I have been able heartily to approve of every resolution that has been moved during this session of the Congress, but I venture to think that this last resolution is a mistake. For I feel that no thanks whatever are due to me from you but that the obligation is entirely the other way. (*No, no.*) But be that as it may, gentlemen, you have had a surfeit of speeches and I have lost my voice. So that it will be best for both parties if we do not detain each other for more than a few minutes. It has been sometimes said that popular interest in the Congress is on the wane. For my part I have never seen any evidence tending to support that allegation. On the contrary, I was glad to perceive, and I am sure my Brother-Delegates from Bengal, who travelled in the same train with me, will bear me out when I say that, throughout our journey from Calcutta to this city, we perceived indications exactly to the contrary effect. At almost every important station I had the honour of receiving deputations from various classes of our community, expressing their hearty sympathy with the national movement. There was one incident in particular which made a great impression on my mind. At the station of Chicacole an old man belonging to the humbler classes accompanied by his young son came to me and asked me to accept a present of a single orange and a few flowers as a token of proof that all the poor people of his district heartily sympathised with the Indian National Congress. He also assured me that he had actually walked nine miles from his village for that purpose. I was more deeply touched with that humble present than if the costliest of gifts had been presented to me by a prince or potentate. (*Loud Cheers*). I have therefore thought it my duty loyally to bring this matter to the notice of the Congress. (*Renewed Cheers*). Then again when I came to Madras what a unique and wonderful spectacle met my eyes. As I told you at the opening of this session of this Congress, while tendering my thanks to the citizens of Madras, a feeling of humiliation came over me at the splendid welcome with which they were pleased to greet me; because I could not fail to be conscious of the fact that my humble endeavours to serve our

common country were wholly inadequate and utterly insufficient to evoke such extraordinary enthusiasm. But, gentlemen, on second thoughts, I felt consoled. I felt convinced that that splendid ovation was not meant for me as Lal Mohun Ghose, but as representing and embodying for the time being a great national cause. I felt that it was a demonstration in favour of the great national movement, which you and I have met together to support and to advance and with which on this occasion I have the high honour of being so prominently associated. Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. My friend here Mr. Seshagiri Iyer, in moving the vote of thanks, has referred to an observation in my inaugural address—an observation to which one or two of our friends have taken exception *viz.*, my reference to certain past controversies in our camp. As you are aware, I had nothing whatever to do with those controversies; nor am I induced to take sides with any of the contending parties. Least of all am I disposed to dig up the buried bones of a dead controversy. I only desire to appeal to you, my fellow countrymen, to resolve or to determine that, whatever may have been the case in the past, we shall have no more controversies in the future but that we shall all be content whether Hindu or Mahomedan, high or low, rich or poor—we shall all be content to co-operate with each other heartily—content to work in obscurity—content, if need be, to sink our individual personality—content to give up all thoughts of leadership and to fight for the common cause like private soldiers of the rank and file. (*Loud Cheers*). If we are prepared to act in this spirit of self-abnegation, I know of no limit to our National advancement, and I know of no power excepting the Almighty Power that can say to us, “Thus far shalt thou go and no further.” (*Loud and prolonged Cheers*). Gentlemen, I thank you heartily and bid you all good-bye. (*Renewed Cheers*).

The President rose again and said:—

It is my pleasing duty, before we separate, to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the members of the Reception Committee and the Volunteers, gentlemen, who have worked most hard and who, in the last words of my concluding speech, have been content to work in obscurity.

MR. C. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER (Madras):—In the absence of my Captain who is away, I have to express the gratification of the force, at the very kind way in which the President has been pleased to express himself as regards our work. We have only done our duty, and if we have pleased the President, it is the greatest reward we could expect.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now declare the Congress Session closed.

With three Cheers to His Majesty the King Emperor, the proceedings of the 19th Session of the Indian National Congress were brought to a close.

### Third Day.

Mr. Lal Mohun  
Ghose's Reply  
to the vote of  
Thanks.

MR. C. V.  
KRISHNASWAMI  
IYER.



# APPENDIX.

## LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED

### THE NINETEENTH

# Indian National Congress,

held at Madras, December 1903.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary, or scholastic distinctions, &c.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation or address.	How, where and when elected.
1	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Rai Bahadur P. Anantha Charlu, B.L., C. I. E., Vidya Vinoda.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras; and formerly Member, Viceregal Council	Elected at the Public Meeting held at the Mahajana Sabha on the 18th December 1903.
2	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. C. Sankaran Nair, B.A., B.L.	Nair.	High Court Vakil, Madras	"
3	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. Nawab Syed Mahmomed.	Muhammadsan	Member, Viceregal Council	"
4	"	"	"	K. P. Madhava Row, Esq., B.A., M.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	"
5	"	"	"	Dr. T. M. Nair, M.D.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner	"
6	"	"	"	P. Peter Pillai, Esq., Agent, Madras Landholders' Association.	Christian.	Bar-at-Law	"
7	"	"	"	T. Gansham Singh, Esq.	Singh.	Proprietor, City Stables, Mount Road.	"
8	"	"	"	R. Sadagopa Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	"
9	"	"	"	C. Venkatasubramiah, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	"	"
10	"	"	"	G. A. Natesan, Esq., B.A.	"	Editor, <i>The Indian Review</i> .	"
11	"	"	"	M. Veeraraghava Chariar, Esq.	"	Proprietor, <i>The Hindu</i> .	"
12	"	"	"	P. N. Raman Pillai, Esq.	Hindu.	Editor, <i>The Madras Standard</i> .	"

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13	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	V. Ryrü Nambiar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	Elected at the Public Meeting held at the Mahajana Sabha on the 18th December 1903.
14	"	"	"	C. V. Kumarasami Sastri Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	"	"
15	"	"	"	G. Subramanya Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	"	Editor, <i>United India</i> ; and formerly Editor of <i>The Hindu</i> .	"
16	"	"	"	T. R. Tawker Esq.	"	Merchant.	"
17	"	"	"	V. Masilamani Pillai, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	"
18	"	"	"	Visvanatha Sastri Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	"	"
19	"	"	"	Eardely Norton, Esq.	European.	Bar-at-Law.	"
20	"	"	"	C. Karunakara Menon, Esq., B.A.	Nair.	Editor, <i>The Hindu</i> .	"
21	"	"	"	C. Krishnan, Esq.	Hindu.	Bar-at-Law.	"
22	"	"	"	S. Kasturi Ranga Aiyanger, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	"
23	"	"	"	T. Ethiraja Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	"	"
24	"	"	"	V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L., & F. M. U.	Brahmin.	"	Elected at the Public Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha held on the 18th December 1903 and at the Public Meeting held at Mylapore on the 17th December 1903.
25	"	"	"	P. H. Sundara Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
26	"	"	"	V. C. Desika Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L., F. M. U., & Municipal Commissioner.	"	"	"
27	"	"	"	M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L., & F. M. U.	"	"	"
28	"	"	"	P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L., & F. M. U.	"	"	"
29	"	"	"	S. Scrinivasa Aiyanger, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
30	"	"	"	T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	At the Public Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha held on the 18th December 1903 and at the Public Meetings of Gan-goi Kandan Man-tapan and the Literary Society, Triplicane.

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31	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	S. Subramanya Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	Elected at the Public Meeting of the Malajana Sabah held on the 18th December 1903 and at the Public Meetings of Gangai Kondan Mantupam and the Literary Society, Triplicane.
32	"	"	"	S. Veeraraghava Chariar, Esq.	"	Assistant Cash-keeper, Bank of Madras.	"
33	"	"	"	T. R. Ramachandra Iyer Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Madras.	Elected at the Public Meeting held at Mysapore on the 17th December 1903.
34	"	"	"	A. S. Balasubramanya Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
35	"	"	"	T. V. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	"	"
36	"	"	"	C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	"	"
37	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur N. Ratnasabapathy Pillai, Retired Engineer.	Hindu.	Retired Engineer.	"
38	"	"	"	M. B. Doraswami Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	"
39	"	"	"	W. Utham Chand, Esq.	Kayasth.	Landlord	At the Public Meeting held at Gangai Kondan Mantupam, Triplicane, on the 24th December 1903.
40	"	"	"	A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu, Esq., Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu.	Editor, <i>Anthraprakasika</i> .	"
41	"	"	"	P. M. A. Muthiah Chettiar, Esq.	Chetty.	Merchant	"
42	"	Anantapur.	Gooty.	P. Subba Row, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader	At the Public Meeting held at Gooty on the 21st December 1903.
43	"	"	"	M. Vedavyasa Charlu, Esq., B.A.	"	"	"
44	"	"	"	Kesava Pillai, Esq.	Hindu.	"	"
45	"	"	"	N. Chengal Row, Esq.	Brahmin.	"	"
46	"	"	"	N. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq.	"	"	"

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47	Madras.	N. Arcot.	Chittoor.	Hon. Mr. L. A. Govinda Raghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting of the North Arcot District Association held on the 13th December 1903.
48	"	"	"	C. Doraswamy Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
49	"	"	"	Mr. K. Seetha Ramarayan Garu.	"	Landlord.	"
50	"	"	"	N. Srinivasavarada Chariar, Esq.	"	Pleader.	"
51	"	"	"	T. T. Veeraraghava Chariar, Esq.	"	"	"
52	"	"	"	C. Rajagopala Chari, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
53	"	"	"	C. V. Sampath Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
54	"	"	"	N. K. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
55	"	"	"	Mr. V. Venkayya Garu, President, North Arcot District Association.	"	Vakil and Landlord.	"
56	"	"	"	Parasa Rangiah Chetty, Esq. . .	Vysia.	Landlord . . .	"
57	"	"	Vellore.	V. C. Sesha Chariar, Esq., Secretary, North Arcot District Association, Vellore Branch . .	Brahmin	Pleader . . .	At the Public Meeting held at Vellore on the 16th December 1903.
58	"	"	"	Verengipuram Umamaheswara Aiyar, Esq.	"	"	"
59	"	"	"	N. Krishnama Chari, Esq., B.A.	"	Sowcar, Vellore . .	"
60	"	"	"	C. Varada Chariar, Esq. . . . .	"	Pleader . . . . .	"
61	"	"	Ranipet.	W. Panchanada Aiyar, Esq., Councillor, Walaja Municipality	"	Banker and Landlord.	At the Public Meeting held at Ranipet on the 23rd December 1903.
62	"	"	"	Halapet Srinivasa Raghava Aiyar, Esq.	"	Pleader . . . . .	"
63	"	"	"	W. Vijaya Raghava Mudaliar Esq., Chairman, Walaja Municipality.	Hindu.	Pleader . . . . .	"
64	"	"	Sholingar.	M. Kondyya Naidu, Esq. . . . .	Hindu.	Pleader . . . . .	At the Public Meeting held at Sholingar on the 9th December 1903.
65	"	"	"	Mambakkam Subbranya Aiyar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader . . . . .	"
66	"	"	"	Ammanur Nadadur Narayana Chariar, Esq.	"	"	"
67	"	"	"	S. A. Sadagopa Chariar, Esq. . .	"	"	"

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68	Madras	N. Arcot.	Tirupati.	K. Krishnama Chariar Esq. . .	Brahmin.	Pleader . .	At the Public Meeting held at Sholingur on the 9th December 1903.
69	"	S Arcot.	Cuddalore.	A. V. Kuppaswami Aiyangar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader . .	At the Public Meeting held at New Town, Cuddalore on the 2nd December 1903.
70	"	"	"	T. Muthu Rama Reddiar, Esq.	Reddy.	Mirasdar . .	"
71	"	"	"	Venkatakrishna Reddiar, Esq.	"	Landlord . .	"
72	"	"	"	T. M. Kuppaswami Pillai, Esq.	Vellala.	School Master . .	"
73	"	"	"	P. S. Arumuga Pillai, Esq. . .	Vellala.	Head Master, St. Joseph's Branch School, Tirupapuliyur.	"
74	"	"	"	M. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq. B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
75	"	"	"	M. Appaji Reddiar, Esq. . .	Reddy.	Mirasdar . .	"
76	"	"	"	A. Bharadwaja Mudaliar, Esq., Trustee, Tiruvannamalai Temple.	Mudaliar.	Landlord . .	"
77	"	"	"	N. C. Srinivasa Chariar, Esq. . .	Brahmin.	Clerk, Parry and Co.	"
78	"	"	"	K. Srinivasa Chari, Esq. . .	"	Pleader . .	"
79	"	"	"	V. Rangaswami Chettiar, Esq.	Chetty.	Merchant . .	"
80	"	"	"	A. R. Dondapani Chettiar, Esq.	"	" . .	"
81	"	"	"	Lakshmi Narayana Reddiar, Esq.	Reddy.	Mirasdar . .	"
82	"	"	"	A. Subbarayalu Reddiar, Esq. B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
83	"	"	"	R. Srinivasa Iyer, Esq., B.A. . .	Brahmin.	Pleader . .	"
84	"	"	"	K. Shanmuga, Esq. . .	"	Mirasdar . .	"
85	"	"	"	M. Tiruvenkata Chariar, Esq. . .	"	Pleader . .	"
86	"	"	"	T. E. Sadagopa Chariar, Esq. . .	"	" . .	"
87	"	"	"	V. Srinivasa Chari, Esq. . .	"	Pleader . .	"
88	"	"	"	V. Desika Chariar, Esq. . .	"	Mirasdar . .	"
89	"	"	"	S. Panduranga Mudaliar, Esq. B.A., B.L.	Vellala.	High Court Vakil.	"
90	"	"	Tindivanam.	T. E. Krishnamurthi Aiyangar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader . .	At the Public Meeting held at Tindivanam on the 7th December 1903.

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91	Madras.	Bellary.	Bellary.	Hon. Mr. K. Venkata Rao, Municipal Chairman	Brahmin.	Pleader .. ..	Elected at the Public Meeting held at Bellary on the 8th December 1903.
92	"	"	"	K. Venkata Reddi, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	" .. ..	"
93	"	"	"	G. Lakshmana Row, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	First Assistant, Wardlaw College.	"
94	"	"	"	B. Gopala Charlu, Esq., B.A. ..	"	Pleader .. ..	"
95	"	"	"	T. Subba Row, Esq. .. ..	"	Chemist ..	"
96	"	"	"	M. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., B.L. .. ..	Hindu.	High Court Vakil.	"
97	"	"	"	Marisidappa, Special Magistrate.	Lingayet.	Silk and Cotton Merchant ..	"
98	"	"	"	V. Krishna Row, Esq. . . .	Brahmin.	Money Lender ..	"
99	"	"	"	Mr. P. Siva Row Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
100	"	"	"	D. Krishnamu Charlu, Esq. ..	"	Pleader .. ..	"
101	"	"	"	Tulsi Doss Narsi, Esq. . . .	"	" .. ..	"
102	"	"	"	Hari Doss Vesengi, E-q. ..	"	" .. ..	"
103	"	"	"	Mr. S. Shanmugappa Garu, B.A.	Hindu.	Pleader .. ..	"
104	"	"	"	Mr. K. Srinivasa Row Garu ..	Brahmin.	" .. ..	"
105	"	Chingleput.	Chingleput.	T. E. Kumaravenkata Chariar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Conjeeveram .. ..	At the Meeting of the Chingleput District Association held on the 22nd November 1903.
106	"	"	"	V. Venkata Chariar, Esq. ..	"	" .. ..	"
107	"	"	"	N Srinivasa Varada Chari, Esq.	"	" .. ..	"
108	"	"	"	Mahendra Krishna Ramanadha Sarma, Esq. . . . .	"	Landlord ..	"
109	"	"	"	A. Venkatasubbiah, Esq. ..	"	Agent, Kerosine Oil Department, Conjeeveram.	"
110	"	"	"	N. C. Srinivasa Chariar, Esq. ..	"	Pleader .. ..	"
111	"	"	"	A. Krishnama Chari, Esq. ..	"	" .. ..	"
112	"	"	"	M. Kumaraswami Mudaliar, Esq.	Hindu.	Mirasdar and Trustee ..	"
113	"	"	"	M. Venkata Raghavulu Reddiar, Esq.	"	Zemindar and Contractor ..	"

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114	Madras.	Chingleput.	Chingleput.	P. Ramanuja Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L., President, District Association; Vice-President, Taluk Board; and Chairman, Chingleput Municipality.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	At the Meeting of the Chingleput District Association held on the 22nd November 1903.
115	"	"	"	N. S. Bashyam Aiyangar, Esq., Municipal Councillor and Special Magistrate.	"	Landlord	"
116	"	"	"	C. Aruliah Naidu, Esq.	Hindu.	"	"
117	"	"	"	K. Sessa Chariar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
118	"	"	"	C. S. Venkata Rama Aiyar, Esq., Municipal Councillor; and Secretary, District Association, Chingleput.	"	"	"
119	"	"	"	C. Scrinivasa Raghava Chariar, Esq.	"	"	"
120	"	"	"	R. N. Ranga Chariar, Esq., B.A.	"	"	"
121	"	"	"	D. A. Raghava Chariar, Esq.	"	Zemindar	"
122	"	"	"	Mayur Bashyam Aiyangar, Esq.	"	Pleader	Elected at the Public Meeting held at Trivellore on the 20th December 1903.
123	"	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore.	K. V. Scrinivasa Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	Elected at the Public Meeting held at Coimbatore on 19th December 1903.
124	"	"	"	B. Venkatachella Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	"	"
125	"	"	"	Mr. N. Geria Chetti Garu	Chetti.	Merchant	"
126	"	"	Udumalpet.	V. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader	At the Public Meeting held at Udumalpet.
127	"	"	"	N. R. Malayandi Chettiar, Esq.	Chettiar.	Mirasdar	"
128	"	"	"	Syed Dewan Abdul Bazai, Esq.	Muham- madan.	Landlord	"
129	"	"	South Coimbatore.	K. N. Venkata Ramana Aiyar, Esq., Secretary, Amravathi Mahajana Sabah.	Brahmin.	Landlord and Manager, Lower Secondary School, Kanyur.	At the Public Meeting held at Kanatholuvu on the 23rd November 1903.
130	"	"	"	K. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq.	"	Landlord	"
131	"	"	"	K. Venkata Krishna Aiyar, Esq., Millionaire.	"	Landlord and Mirasdar.	At the Public Meeting of the Amravathi Mahajana Sabah held on the 23rd November 1903.

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132	Madras.	Coimbatore.	South Coimbatore.	S. Doraswamy Aiyar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Landlord	At the Public Meeting of the Amaravathy Mahajana Sabah held on the 23rd November 1903.
133	"	Cuddapah	Cuddapah.	C. Narasimha Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	At the Public Meeting held at Cuddapah on the 20th December 1903.
134	"	"	"	T. M. Narasimma Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
135	"	"	"	T. M. Muniswami Aiyar, Esq.	"	"	"
136	"	"	"	V. Ramanuja Row, Esq., B.A.	"	"	"
137	"	"	Madanapulle.	R. Giri Row, Esq., B.A., Vice-President, Madanapulle Taluk Board; and Member, Cuddapah District Board.	"	Manager and Head Master.	At the Public Meeting held at Madanapulle on the 17th December 1903.
138	"	"	Proddatur.	M. Lakshmi Narasiraba Sastri, Esq.	"	Pleader, Shotryamdar.	At the Public Meeting held at Proddatur on the 17th December 1903.
139	"	Ganjam.	Ganjam.	B. Dakshinamurthi Sastri, Esq.	"	Landlord	"
140	"	"	Berhampore	Mr. Pattaprasada S. Venkiteswaralu Pantulu Garu.	"	Pleader	At the Public Meeting held at Berhampore on the 12th December 1903.
141	"	"	"	Mr. Ayyagari Ramamurthi Pantulu Garu.	"	"	"
142	"	"	"	Mr. Nalam Bhenuraju Chetti Garu.	Vysia.	Merchant	"
143	"	"	"	V. V. Jogiab, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
144	"	"	"	G. Ragana Row, Esq., B.A., B.L. Municipal Councillor and District Board Member.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
145	"	"	"	Mr. N. Ramanujuswami Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
146	"	"	"	Batchu Jagannadha Doss, Esq.	"	"	"
147	"	"	Chicacole.	Mr. N. V. Ranganatham Pantulu Garu.	"	Pleader and Proprietor, President of the Ratepayers' Association, Chicacole.	At the Public Meeting held at Chicacole on the 13th December 1903.
148	"	"	"	Mr. I. Suryanarayana Chetty Garu.	Chetty.	Landlord	"



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149	Madras.	Godavery.	Rajahmundry.	Mr. T. S. Raghunatha Garu, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader.	At the Public Meeting held at Rajahmundry on the 15th December 1903.
150	"	"	"	Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu Garu.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
151	"	"	"	Mr. S. Neelakantam Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
152	"	"	"	Mr. P. Sambusiva Row Garu.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
153	"	"	"	Mr. C. Sundiah Garu, Taluk Board Member, Rajahmundry; and District Board Member, Godavery.	"	Landlord.	"
154	"	"	"	S. Seetharamiah, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
155	"	"	"	Mr. G. Lakshmana Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
156	"	"	"	M. Ramachandra Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
157	"	"	"	Mr. N. Krishna Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
158	"	"	"	Mr. G. Venkataramiah Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
159	"	"	Cocanada.	Nalam Padmanabhan, Esq., B.A.	Vysia.	Merchant	At the Public Meeting held at Cocanada on the 4th October 1903.
160	"	"	"	Pydah Venkatachallapathy, Esq., Member, Municipal Board.	"	Merchant, Cocanada.	"
161	"	"	"	Mr. P. Narayana Murthi Garu, B.A., B.L. Taluk Board Member; and District Board Member, Godavery.	"	Pleader	"
162	"	"	"	D. Venkatiiah, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	"	"
163	"	"	"	Sri Raja K. R. V. Krishna Row Bahadur, Zemindar of Polavaram; and Member, District Board, Godavery.	"	Zemindar of Polavaram.	"
164	"	"	"	K. Perraju, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
165	"	"	"	Nalam Ramalingiah, Esq.	Vysia.	Merchant.	"
166	"	"	Gudivada.	Mr. V. Venkata Desiah Pantulu Garu.	Brahmin.	Landlord	At the Public Meeting held at Gudivada on the 13th December 1903.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary, or scholastic distinctions, &c.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation or address.	How, where and when elected.
167	Madras.	Godavery.	Eliore.	Mota Venkat Subba Row, Esq., Special Magistrate.	Vysia.	Merchant	At the Public Meeting held at Eliore on the 19th Decemr 1903.
168	"	"	"	Mr. Mota Ganga Raju Garu.	"	"	"
169	"	"	"	Bhimasankaram, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	"	Pleader	"
170	"	"	"	Sundara Siva Row, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	"	"	"
171	"	"	"	Kanchana Nagabushanam Mok-sagar, Esq.	Telaga.	Landlord	"
172	"	Kistna.	Masulipatam.	Mayet Subba Row, Esq.	Vysia.	Merchant	At the Public Meeting of the District Association, Masulipatam held on the 9th Decemr 1903.
173	"	"	"	Mr. Bhatraza Venkataraghava Pantulu Garu.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
174	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshmi Narasimha Garu.	"	Landlord	"
175	"	"	"	Mr. N. Seshagiri Row Pantulu Garu.	"	Tahsildar, South Vallore Estate.	"
176	"	"	"	Kumbaconum Krishnama Char- ar, Esq., B.A., Municipal Councillor.	"	Head Master, Hindu High School.	"
177	"	"	"	Mr. V. V. Subba Row Pantulu Garu.	"	Manager, South Vallore Estate.	"
178	"	"	"	Mr. P. Veerayya Pantulu Garu B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
179	"	"	"	Mr. B. Pyvayya Naidu (Garu,	Naidu.	Medical Practitioner.	"
180	"	"	"	Mr. M. Veerabadrish Pantulu Garu.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
181	"	"	"	Mr. Puranam Krishnamurthi Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L., Joint Secretary, Kistna District Association.	"	"	"
182	"	"	"	V. Rama Row, Esq., B.A., B.L., Joint Secretary, District Association, Kistna.	"	"	"
183	"	"	"	Mr. Kotagiri Jagannadha Rayanam Garu.	Veima.	Proprietor	"
184	"	"	"	V. Ramachandra Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
185	"	"	"	D. Madhava Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"

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186	Madras.	Kistna.	Masulipatam.	Mr. Gowrinath Sastri Garu, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting of the District Association, Masulipatam held on the 9th December 1903.
187	"	"	"	S. Hanumantha Row, Esq. ..	"	"	"
188	"	"	"	Mr. R. Ramachandrayya Garu	"	Landlord ..	"
189	"	"	"	Mr. Lingamally Ramachandra Raju Garu.	Vysia.	Mill Proprietor.	"
190	"	"	"	Mr. Zota Rama Doss Naidu Garu, Municipal Councillor and Honorary Magistrate.	Naidu.	Pensioner ..	"
191	"	"	Bezwada.	Appanna Venkat Krishnayya Chetty, Esq.	Vysia.	Merchant ..	At the Public Meeting held at Bezwada on the 19th December 1903.
192	"	"	"	C. Hanumanlu, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
193	"	"	"	G. Subba Row, Esq. ..	Vysia.	Merchant ..	"
194	"	"	"	T. Seshala Row, Esq., B.A. ..	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
195	"	"	"	Mr. B. Venkatappayya Garu ..	"	"	"
196	"	"	Guntur.	Lenagupally Ramaswamy Gupta, Esq.	Vysia.	Merchant ..	At the Public Meeting held at Guntur on the 10th December 1903.
197	"	"	"	Mr. Akka Ramiah Pantulu Garu, Secretary, People's Association.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
198	"	"	"	Kakani Pundarekathudu, Esq., Municipal Councillor; and Joint Secretary and Treasurer, Agricultural and Mercantile Bank.	"	"	"
199	"	"	"	Mr. T. Appa Row Pantulu, Proprietor, Pengolam and Lingalla Estate, Thiruvur Division.	"	District Board Member; Municipal Councillor; and Director, Kistna Agricultural and Mercantile Bank.	"
200	"	"	Nuzvid.	Mr. S. Venkoba Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	Manager, Vuyyur Estates.	At a Public Meeting held at Nuzvid.
201	"	"	"	V. Krishna Row, Esq. ..	"	Assistant, R. R. High School.	"

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202	Madras.	Kistna.	Tenali.	K. Sreeramulu, Esq. . .	Sudra.	Landlord . .	At the Public Meeting held at Tenali on the 22nd December 1903.
203	"	"	Narasa Row Petah.	M. Parankusam Pillai, Esq., . .	Sudra.	Merchant and Contractor.	At the Public Meeting held at Narasa Row Petah on the 22nd December 1903.
204	"	"	"	M. Gajapathy Pillai, Esq. . .	" . .	"	"
205	"	Kurnool.	Kurnool.	K. Ekambara Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader . .	At the Public Meeting held at Kurnool on the 6th December 1903.
206	"	"	"	Mr. G. Chidambaram Garu . .	"	"	"
207	"	"	"	S. Seshiah Sastri, Esq. . .	"	Landlord . .	"
208	"	"	"	S. Venkatnarasimha Row, Esq., B.A., Municipal Councillor and District Board Member.	"	Pleader . .	"
209	"	"	"	P. S. Parthasaradhi Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
210	"	Madura.	Madura.	A. Rangaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	At the Public Meeting held at Madura on the 10th December 1903.
211	"	"	"	Hon'ble Mr. G. Srinivasa Row.	"	Pleader . .	"
212	"	"	"	P. V. Subba Rama Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
213	"	"	"	A. L. A. R. Chokalingam Chettiar, Esq.	Hindu.	Zemindar and Landlord.	At the Public Meeting held at Paramakudi on the 24th December 1903.
214	"	"	"	A. Rajam Aiyar, Esq. . .	Brahmin.	Landlord . .	"
215	"	"	"	A. S. Krishnaswami Sastriar, Esq.	"	"	"
216	"	"	"	L. K. Talasi Ram, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader . .	At the Public Meeting held at Madura on the 10th December 1903.
217	"	"	"	K. V. Subramanya Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
218	"	"	"	T. V. Krishnamurthi Iyer, Esq.	"	"	"
219	"	"	"	H. Sundaragopala Iyer, Esq. . .	"	Merchant . .	"

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220	Madras.	Madura.	Madura.	K. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting held at Madura on the 10th December 1903.
221	"	"	"	V. Ramachandra Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
222	"	"	"	V. Ramaswamy Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
223	"	"	"	M. Venkatarama Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
224	"	"	"	V. Muthuswamy Aiyar, Esq. . .	"	Landlord	"
225	"	"	"	P. Narayana Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
226	"	"	"	P. N. Naganatha Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
227	"	"	"	P. N. Muthuswamy Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil	"
228	"	"	"	D. Soundra Raja Aiyangar, Esq.,	"	Pleader and Landlord.	"
229	"	"	"	K. M. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
230	"	"	"	Chinniah Chettiar, Esq. . .	Vysia.	Landlord and Teacher.	"
231	"	"	"	P. L. S. Shunmugam Chettiar, Esq., Member, District Board, Madura.	"	Landlord	"
232	"	"	"	Mr. Shunmugam Chettiar of Karnakudi.	Hindu.	"	"
233	"	"	"	T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Esq.	Brahmin	"	"
234	"	"	"	P. Subba Naidu Esq., Taluk Board Member.	Naidu.	"	"
235	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ramabhadra Naidu Garu.	"	Zemindar	"
236	"	"	"	V. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil	"
237	"	"	"	T. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	"	"
238	"	"	"	Sri Seshadri Aiyangar, Esq. . .	"	Landlord	"
239	"	"	"	K. S. Sankara Aiyar, Esq. . .	"	Merchant and Landlord.	"
240	"	"	Sivaganga.	P. S. Anantanarayana Sastriar, Esq., Union Chairman and Taluk Board Member.	"	Pleader . . .	At a Public Meeting held at Sivaganga.

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241	Msdras.	Malabar.	Calicut.	Hon. Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L., Municipal Councillor.	Nair.	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting held at Calicut on the 18th December 1903.
242	"	"	"	M. Gopala Menon, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
243	"	"	"	P. Narayana Menon, Esq., M.A., B.L.	"	"	"
244	"	"	"	C. M. Rarichan Moopun, Esq. . .	Tiyya.	Landlord . . .	"
245	"	"	"	V. Raman Menon, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Nair.	Pleader . . .	"
246	"	"	"	E. Rama Warriar, Esq., L. M. S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner.	"
247	"	"	"	Kizhedath Krishnan Menon, Esq., Taluk Board Member.	"	Landlord . . .	"
248	"	"	"	P. K. Manavikraman Raja, Esq. (H. H. The Zamorin's (family).)	Samantha.	"	"
249	"	"	Kannanur.	O. Krishnan, Esq., B.A., B.L. . .	Hindu.	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting held at Kannanur on the 3rd December 1903.
250	"	"	"	K. Kannan, Esq . . .	Brahmin.	Landlord . . .	"
251	"	"	Palghat.	Chattapuram Visvanatha Iyer, Esq.	"	Mirasdar . . .	At the Public Meeting held at Palghat on the 15th December 1903.
252	"	"	"	K. V. Kathersa Rowther, Esq.	Muhammadian.	Trader and Landlord.	"
253	"	"	"	A. Chockalingam Pillai, Esq. . .	Hindu.	Trader . . .	"
254	"	"	"	C. Seshiah Esq., Agent, Messrs. Best and Co.	Brahmin.	Merchant . . .	"
255	"	"	"	Tirunallai L. Swaminatha Iyer, Esq.	"	Merchant and Banker.	"
256	"	"	"	T. Subramanya Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	"	Cochin Chief Court Vakil.	"
257	"	"	"	V. V. Paramaswara Aiyar, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	"	Proprietor and Manager, Native High School, Palghat.	"
258	"	"	Tangacherry.	S. K. Nair, Esq. . .	Nair.	Landed Proprietor	At the Public Meeting held at Tangacherry on the 1st December 1903.

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259	Madras.	Malabar.	Tellicherry.	M. Gopala Menon, Esq., Chairman, Municipal Council.	Nair.	Pleader .. ..	At the Public Meeting held at Tellicherry on the 17th December 1903.
260	"	"	"	T. C. Narayana Kurup, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Wakil.	"
261	"	"	"	Vengal Kunhikrishnan Nayanar, Esq.	"	Landlord ..	At a Public Meeting held at Teliparamba.
262	"	Nellore.	Nellore.	Katama Reddy Adbinarayana Reddi, Shrotriendar, Esq.	Kapu.	"	At the Public Meeting held at Nellore on the 23rd December 1903.
263	"	"	"	K. Kotiligram, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader .. ..	"
264	"	"	"	A. S. Krishna Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	" .. ..	"
265	"	"	"	M. Chengiah Esq., B.A., B.L., ..	"	" .. ..	"
266	"	"	"	N. Seshadri Aiyangar, Esq., B.A.	"	" .. ..	"
267	"	"	"	V. Narasinga Row, Esq., B.A. . .	"	" .. ..	"
268	"	"	"	B. Annaswamy Iyer, Esq., B.A.	"	" .. ..	"
269	"	"	"	V. Krishnaswamy Row, Esq. . .	"	"	"
270	"	"	"	A. R. Arunachelia Aiyar, Esq., Secretary, Bar Association.	"	"	"
271	"	"	"	Mr. Bezwada Pattabi Rama Reddy Garu.	Kapu.	Landlord ..	"
272	"	"	"	R. T. Krishna Menon, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Wakil.	"
273	"	"	"	T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, Esq.	Brahmin.	"	"
274	"	"	"	Makkenna Kondappa Naidu, Esq.	Kamma.	Mirasdard and Shrotriendar.	"
275	"	"	Ongole.	K. Purniah, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Brahmin.	Pleader .. ..	At the Public Meeting held at Ongole on the 19th December 1903.
276	"	"	"	K. M. Krishna Row, Esq. . .	"	"	"
277	"	"	"	G. Ramanadha Aiyar, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	"	"	"
278	"	"	"	Pasupati Venkataraghaviah, Esq.,	"	Landlord ..	"

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279	Madras.	Salem.	Salem.	T. S. Hari Chettiar, Esq. . .	Vysia.	Mitadar . .	At the Public Meeting held at Salem on the 19th December 1903.
280	"	"	"	R. Doraiswamy Aiyar, Esq. . .	Brahmin.	"	"
281	"	"	"	C. P. Ganapathy Iyer, Esq. . .	"	"	"
282	"	"	"	G. Chockalingam Chettiar, Esq.	Chetty.	Zemindar . .	"
283	"	"	"	T. Venkata Chariar, Esq. . .	Brahmin.	Mitadar . .	"
284	"	"	"	C. Vijayaragava Chariar, Esq. . .	"	Pleader . .	"
285	"	"	"	E. S. Bangaru Chettiar, Esq. . .	Chetti.	Landlord . .	"
286	"	"	"	M. B. Krishna Chetty, Esq., F. T. S., District Board Member.	"	"	"
287	"	"	"	T. K. M. Pattabiram Naidu, Esq.	Naidu.	Merchant . .	"
288	"	"	"	A. Venugopala Pillai, Esq. . .	Pillai.	"	"
289	"	"	"	B. V. Narasimam Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader . .	"
290	"	"	"	E. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
291	"	"	"	C. D. Chockalingam Chettiar, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant . .	"
292	"	"	"	A. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq. . .	Brahmin.	Pleader . .	"
293	"	"	"	K. S. Lakshminarasa Aiyar, Esq.	"	"	"
294	"	"	"	N. S. Venkatarama Aiyar, Esq.	"	"	"
295	"	"	"	S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Esq., B.A.	"	"	"
296	"	"	"	Devanpalli Bokkaram Tirumal Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
297	"	"	"	T. Adinarayana Chettiar, Esq.	Vysia.	Landlord . .	"
298	"	"	Shivapet.	S. Kuppaswamy Chettiar, Esq.	"	Merchant . .	At the Public Meeting of the Traders' Association held at Shivapet on the 20th December 1903.
299	"	"	"	A. Kandaswamy Chettiar, Esq.	"	"	"
300	"	"	"	V. Jannadoss Sait, Esq., Honorary Magistrate; and President, Town Bank, Ltd., Salem and Traders' Association.	Kshatriya.	"	"
301	"	"	"	R. Chandamian Sahab, Esq., Honorary Magistrate.	Muham- madan.	"	"



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302	Madras.	Tanjore.	Tanjore.	C. S. Mahadeva Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting held at Tanjore on the 23rd December 1903.
303	"	"	"	T. Sambamurthi Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
304	"	"	"	V. A. Vandayar, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Hindu.	Mirasdar ..	"
305	"	"	"	A. Seetbarama Aiyar, Esq., Diplomated Agriculturist.	Brahmin.	Farming and Banking.	At the Public Meeting held at Nedamangalam on the 23rd December 1903.
306	"	"	"	Mr. Venkata Varaha Dikshathar	"	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting held at Tanjore on the 6th December 1903.
307	"	"	Kumbakonam.	S. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L., Municipal Councillor.	"	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting held at Kumbakonam on the 16th December 1903.
308	"	"	"	T. S. Sivaswamy Odayar, Esq.	Hindu.	Municipal Chairman.	"
309	"	"	"	N. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L., Municipal Councillor.	Brahmin.	"	"
310	"	"	"	V. Ganapathy Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader ..	"
311	"	"	"	T. S. Vasudeva Chettiar, Esq...	Hindu.	Merchant ..	"
312	"	"	"	S. Sivagurunatha Chettiar, Esq., B.A., B.L., Municipal Councillor ; and Member, Devasthanam Committee.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
313	"	"	Mayavaram.	M. S. Natesa Aiyar, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Brahmin.	Mirasdar ..	At the Public Meeting held at Mayavaram on the 22nd December 1903.
314	"	"	Nagur.	T. V. Panchapakesa Chettiar, Esq., Honorary Magistrate.	Hindu.	Merchant ..	At the Public Meeting held at Nagapattinam on the 27th December 1903.

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315	"	"	Nannilam.	A. Srinivasa Aiyar, Esq., Member, Tanjore Association.	Brahmin.	Mirasdar ..	At the Public Meeting held at Nannilam on the 27th December 1903.
316	"	"	"	Mahadeva Aiyar, Esq., Member, Tanjore District Association.	"	"	"
317	"	"	Negapatam.	B. S. Nataraja Sastri, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting held at Negapatam on the 27th December 1903.
318	"	"	"	Uthaman Levai Merkayar, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Muham- madan.	Landlord ..	"
319	"	"	"	P. Ratnasabapathy Pillai, Esq.	Pillai.	Pleader ..	"
320	"	"	Shiyali.	Mr. R. M. M. S. T. Viravan Chettiar.	Nattu Kottai Chetty.	Merchant and Banker.	At the Public Meeting held at Shiyali on the 17th November 1903.
321	"	"	"	N. Swaminatha Aiyar, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Landlord ..	"
322	"	"	"	M. B. Vijiaragavulu Naidu, Esq.	Naidu.	"	"
323	"	"	"	T. B. Srinivasa Chariar, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
324	"	"	"	T. Chockalingam Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	"	"
325	"	"	"	T. R. S. Venugopal Pillai, Esq.	Pillai.	Merchant ..	"
326	"	"	"	Muthuswamy Chettiar, Esq.	Chetty.	Landlord ..	"
327	"	"	"	Pungudi Sivaloka Mudaliar, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant ..	"
328	"	Tinne- velly.	Tinnevelly.	K. T. Soundra Raja Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting held at Tinnevelly on the 14th December 1903.
329	"	"	"	N. Periyamayagam Pillai, Esq.,	Pillai.	Private Vakil ..	"
330	"	"	"	O. P. Omayourbagam Pillai, Esq.	"	Merchant ..	"
331	"	"	"	S. Kumaraswamy Reddiar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Reddy.	Vakil ..	"
332	"	"	"	A. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary, or scholastic distinctions, &c.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation or address.	How, where and when elected.
333	Madras.	Tinnevely.	Tinnevely.	M. Rajagopala Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil ..	At the Public Meeting held at Tinnevely on the 14th December 1903.
334	"	"	"	Ponnambalanatha Mudaliar, Esq.	Hindu.	" ..	"
335	"	"	"	K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	" ..	"
336	"	"	"	V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, Esq.	Hindu.	" ..	"
337	"	"	"	P. L. Vengu Aiyar, Esq.	Brahmin.	" ..	"
338	"	"	"	K. V. Desilka Chariar, Esq. B.A., B.L.	"	" ..	"
339	"	"	"	B. K. Rama Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L., Municipal Councillor.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
340	"	"	"	S. Palani Andi Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., Municipal Councillor and District Board Member.	Hindu.	Vakil and Municipal Councillor.	"
341	"	"	"	M. Krishna Row, Esq.	Brahmin.	Landlord ..	"
342	"	"	"	A. Sonachalam Pillai, Esq. ..	Pillai.	Merchant ..	"
343	"	"	"	A. Sundara Sastri, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
344	"	"	"	P. N. Kondalrayaswamy Naidu, Esq.	Naidu.	Landlord ..	"
345	"	"	"	S. Chithambaram Pillai, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Pillai.	High Court Vakil.	"
346	"	"	"	P. M. Kailasam Pillai, Esq., B.A., Municipal Councillor and Taluk Board Member.	"	Pleader ..	"
347	"	"	"	T. S. Subramanya Pillai, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	"	" ..	"
348	"	"	"	C. Sadagopa Pillai, Esq. ..	"	" ..	"
349	"	"	"	C. Machado, Esq. ..	Christian.	Merchant ..	"
350	"	"	"	Miss Florence Belgarnie, Esq.	European	Temperance Lecturer.	"
351	"	"	Tuticorin.	S. D. Krishna Aiyar, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Vakil ..	At the Public Meeting held at Tuticorin on the 22nd December 1903.

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352	Madras.	Tinnevely.	Kalladakurchi.	R. Gopalakrishna Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L., Secretary, Bar Association, Ambasanudram.	Brahmin.	Vakil ..	At the Public Meeting held at Kalladakurchi on the 22nd December 1903.
353	"	"	"	S. Rama Aiyar, Esq. ..	"	Landlord, Merchant.	"
354	"	Trichinopoly.	Trichinopoly.	T. K. Balasubramanya Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	"	Landlord ..	At the Public Meeting held at Trichinopoly on the 15th December 1903.
355	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. K. Vasudeva Aiyangar.	"	Mirasdar ..	"
356	"	"	"	D. Subramanya Aiyar, Esq., Member, District Board; and Vice-President, Taluk Board.	"	Landlord ..	"
357	"	"	"	K. Vyasa Row, Esq., B.A., L.T.	"	Professor ..	"
358	"	"	"	R. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
359	"	"	"	K. Chinnaswamy Odayar, Esq.	Hindu.	Landlord ..	"
360	"	"	"	S. M. Raja Ram Row, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Landlord and Journalist.	"
361	"	"	"	S. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	"	Vakil ..	"
362	"	"	"	M. L. Muthuvera Chettiar, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant ..	"
363	"	"	"	K. V. Jumbunatha Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
364	"	"	"	S. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
365	"	"	"	P. T. Ramaswamy Aiyangar, Esq., Union Chairman, Kulitalai; Member, Taluk Board, Musuri; Member, District Board, Trichinopoly; and Member, Devasthanam Committee.	"	"	At the Public Meeting held at Kulitalai on the 16th December 1903 and at Trichinopoly on the 15th December 1903.
366	"	"	"	M. N. Venkata Rama Aiyar, Esq.	"	Pleader and Landlord.	"
367	"	"	"	P. S. Venkata Rama Aiyar Esq.,	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landlord.	At the Public Meeting held at Kulitalai on the 16th December 1903.
368	"	"	"	M. K. Ramaswamy Iyer, Esq.,	"	"	"
369	"	"	"	K. T. Chandrasekhara Row, Esq.	"	"	"
370	"	"	"	C. S. Mahadeva Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
371	"	"	"	R. T. Varada Aiyar, Esq. ..	"	"	"

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372	Madras.	Vizagapatam.	Vizagapatam.	Mr. Bayya Narasimmeswara Sarma Garu, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	At the Public Meeting held at the Hindu Reading Room, Vizagapatam on the 13th December 1903.
373	"	"	"	Mr. Akella Suryanarayana Row Pantulu Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader ..	"
374	"	"	"	Mr. K. Venkata Narasin Pantulu Garu, Member, District Board.	"	"	"
375	"	"	"	Mr. B. Venkatapathy Raju Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
376	"	"	"	Mr. Balagapally Surya Narayana Sastri Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
377	"	"	"	Mr. O. V. Jagannadha Sastri Garu.	"	Pleader ..	"
378	"	"	"	Mr. V. Jagannadham Pantulu Garu.	"	"	"
379	"	"	"	Mr. M. Subba Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
380	"	"	"	Mantha Suryanarayanappa, Esq., B.A.	"	"	"
381	"	"	"	Mr. Bakmapanda Venkata Rama Murthi Garu.	"	Landlord ..	"
382	"	"	"	Mr. P. Venkatarunga Gopalan Garu.	"	Pleader ..	"
383	"	"	Vizianagaram.	K. Sanyasi Row, Esq. ..	"	Landlord ..	At the Public Meeting held at Vizianagaram on the 22nd December 1903.
384	Haidrabad.	Haidrabad.	Haidrabad.	P. Krishna Aiyangar, Esq., ..	"	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting held at Hyderabad on the 6th December 1903.
385	"	"	"	Malla Abdul Kyman Saheb, Esq.	Mubamudan.	Retired First Talukdar, Hyderabad City.	"
386	"	"	"	B. Krishna Aiyangar, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Solicitor ..	"
387	"	"	"	M. Narayana Pandurang Joshi, Esq.	"	Retired Extra Assistant Commissioner.	"
388	"	"	"	S. Aravamudhu Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
389	"	"	"	G. Krishnama Chariar Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	"	"

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390	Haidra-bad.	Haidra-bad.	Secundra-bad.	P. Veeraragavalu Naidu, Esq...	Naidu.	Journalist ..	At the Public Meeting held at Secundrabad on the 6th December 1903.
391	Bengal.	Calcutta.	N. M. E. Division.	Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose ..	Brahmin.	Bar-at-law ..	At the Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on the 21st December 1903.
392	"	"	"	Dr. Mullick, ..	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
393	"	"	"	Mr. J. Choudhury, M.A. ..	"	Bar-at-law ..	"
394	"	"	"	S. M. Haldar, Esq. ..	"	"	"
395	"	"	"	Babu Kumar Krishna Dutt, B.A.	Kayastha.	Attorney-at-Law.	"
396	"	"	"	Babu Premtosh Basu, B.A.	"	Landlord ; and Proprietor, Printing and Process Works.	"
397	"	"	"	Babu Zoti Prasanna Mukerjee.	Brahmin.	Zemindar ..	"
398	"	"	"	Babu Ambica Charan Ukil ..	"	Professor of Logic and Economics, Metropolitan College.	"
399	"	"	"	Babu Surendranath Ray ..	"	Vakil ..	"
400	"	"	"	Babu Charoo Chundra Ghose,	Kayastha.	High Court Vakil.	"
401	"	"	"	Dr. Haridhone Dutt, Esq., L.M.S.	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
402	"	"	"	Mr. Probode Chunder Roy, M.A. B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader ..	"
403	"	"	"	Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.	Hindu.	Physician ..	"
404	"	"	Alipur Bar Association	Babu Kalidas Rai Chaudhuri, B.L.	"	Pleader ..	At the General Meeting of the Alipur Bar Association held on the 14th December 1903.
405	"	"	Barisal.	Aswini Kumara Dutt, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Kayastha.	Zemindar ..	At the Public Meeting of the Committee of the Barisal Peoples' Association held on the 20th December 1903.

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406	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Bhagulpur.	Babu Charu Chunder Bose, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha.	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting held in the Bar Library Hall on the 4th December 1903.
407	"	"	Bogra.	Babu Pyari Sanker Das Gupta, L.M.S. Municipal Councillor and Honorary Magistrate.	Baidya.	Medical Practitioner.	At the Public Meeting of the Bogra People's Association held on the 9th December 1903.
408	"	"	Burdwan.	Abcol Kasem, Esq., B.A. Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Member of the District Board and President of the Muhammadan Association, Burdwan.	Mussulman.	Journalist.	At the Public Meeting of the Burdwan Association held on the 23rd December 1903.
409	"	"	"	Maulvi Rafuiodeen Mahomed, Esq.	"	Landlord ..	"
410	"	"	Dacca.	Sarat Chandra Chakerbutty, Esq., B.L., District Board Member; and Commissioner, Dacca Municipality.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting held at Dacca on the 19th of December 1903.
411	"	"	Dinajpur.	Babu Barada Kante Roy, Bidyaratna, B.L.	Baidya.	Pleader and Zemindar.	At the Public Meeting of the Dinajpur Congress Committee held on the 16th December 1903.
412	"	"	Indian Association.	Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, B.A.	Brahmin.	Secretary, Indian Association; Proprietor, Ripon College; and Editor "The Bengalee."	At the Public Meeting of the Indian Association held on the 20th December 1903.
413	"	"	"	Rai Yathindra Nath Choudhury, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Kayastha.	Zemindar ..	"
414	"	"	Jalpaiguri.	Babu Surendranath Mukerjee.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting of the Indian Association held at Jalpaiguri on the 13th December 1903.
415	"	"	"	Babu Umagati Roy, B.L.	"	"	"
416	"	"	Faridpur.	Choudhury Mahomed Ismail Khan, Esq.	Muhammadan.	Zemindar ..	At the Public Meeting of the Faridpur People's Association, held on the 11th December 1903.
417	"	"	"	Khondkar Anwarali Saheb, Esq.	"	Landlord ..	"

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418	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Krishnagar.	Babu Nanda Gopal Bhaduri,	Brahmin.	Merchant.	At the Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Krishnagar held on the 12th December 1903.
419	"	"	"	Babu Hariprasad Chatterjee, Municipal Councillor.	"	Pleader ..	"
420	"	"	"	Babu Akhoykumar Mukerjee.	"	"	"
421	"	"	Midnapur.	Babu Sarat Chandra Hazra, B.L.	Sadgope.	"	At the Public Meeting held at Midnapur on the 15th December 1903.
422	"	"	"	Raja Kali Prasanna Gajendra Mahapatra.	Mahiszee.	Zemindar and Doctor.	"
423	"	"	"	Pyari Lal Ghose, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
424	"	"	Murshidabad.	Babu Nafar Das Ray.	Kshatriya.	Zemindar, Honorary, Magistrate and Vice-Chairman, Berhampur Local Board.	At the Public Meeting held at Berhampur Grant Hall on the 7th December 1903.
425	"	"	"	Babu Sudhanshu Shekhar Bagehu.	Brahmin.	Zemindar and Silk Merchant.	"
426	"	"	Northern Electoral.	Mr. Hirendranath Dutt, M.A.	Kayastha.	Attorney-at-Law.	At the Northern Electoral Division on the 17th December 1903.
427	"	"	Pabna ..	Dr. Kunjalal Saha.	Vysia.	Merchant and Medical Practitioner.	At the Public Meeting held at Pabna on the 16th December 1903.
428	"	"	"	Babu Promoda Govinda Choudhury.	Brahmin.	Zemindar ..	"
429	"	"	"	Babu Jnanoda Govinda Choudhury.	"	"	"
430	"	"	Purneah.	Babu Jagendranath Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., Municipal Commissioner.	"	Lawyer and Landlord.	At the Public Meeting held at Purneah on the 4th December 1903.
431	"	"	Rangpur.	Babu Kishori Mohan Roy,	Kayastha.	Zemindar ..	At the Public Meeting of the Standing Congress Committee held on the 7th December 1903.



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432	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Orissa.	Hari Mohan Roy Chowdhury, Esq.	Bengali Brahmin.	Mukhtar, Cuttack.	By the Orissa Association on the 15th December 1903.
433	"	"	"	Ram Sunker Roy, Esq., Chairman, Cuttack Municipality.	"	Pleader ..	"
434	"	"	"	Janakinath Bose, Esq., B.A., B.L., Junior Government Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner, Cuttack.	"	"	"
435	"	"	"	Babu Bhagbut Prasad Mahapatra, Member Local and District Board.	Karum of Orissa.	Pleader and Zemindar.	Elected by the Balasore National Association on the 14th December 1903.
436	"	"	"	J. Ghosal, Esq.	Brahmin.	Honorary Magistrate and Zemindar.	Elected at the Meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association held on the 5th December 1903.
437	Bengal.	Assam.	Jorhat ..	Lakshminath Bezborroa Esq., B.A.	"	Merchant ..	Elected by the Sarbojonik Sabha of the Jorhat Association on the 14th December 1903.
438	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Hon. Mr. Pherozesbah, M. Menta, M.A., C.I.E.	Parsi.	Bar-at-Law ..	By Council of Bombay Presidency Association.
439	"	"	"	Mr. Dinsba Edulji Wacha ..	"	Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association.	"
440	"	"	"	H. C. Panjabi, Esq. ..	Khitri.	Techno-Chemical Laboratory, Girgaum, Bombay.	"
441	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. Daje Abaji Khare, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court.	"
442	"	"	"	Balukrishna Bhugavandas Joshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Bar-at-Law ..	"
443	"	"	"	Raoji V. J. Shunkersett, Esq.	Hindu.	....	"
444	"	"	"	Burzor F. Dastur, Esq.	Parsi.	....	"
445	"	"	"	Narotum Morar Gokuldas, Esq.	Hindu.	Mill Owner ..	"
446	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin. Kshatriya.	Advocate, High Court.	"

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447	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Narayan Madhav Samarth, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court; and Fellow of the Bombay University.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Vakil, High Court.	By Council Bombay Presidency Association.
448	"	"	"	Chintamani Ganesh Deshmukh, Esq.	"	"	"
449	"	"	"	G. L. Narasimham, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Engineer and Architect.	"
450	"	"	"	Vishnu, R. Gadgil, Esq., Member, District Board, Belgaum.	"	....	"
451	"	"	"	R. G. Mundie, Esq.	"	....	"
452	"	"	"	N. A. Dravid, Esq.	"	....	"
453	"	"	"	B. R. Lundge, Esq.	"	....	"
454	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. H. S. Dikshit.	Brahmin.	Attorney-at-Law.	"
455	"	"	"	Dr. P. J. Swami	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
456	"	"	"	Lulubhai Samaldas, Esq.	"	Merchant and Banker.	"
457	"	"	"	Goculdoss, G. Parekh, Esq.	Bania.	Merchant ..	"
458	"	"	"	H. N. Apte, Esq.	Hindu.	Journalist ..	"
459	"	"	"	Professor V. K. Rajwade, M.A.	"	Professor ..	"
460	"	"	"	Rustomp Pherozeshah Mody, Esq., M.A.	Parsi.	Article Clerk ..	"
461	"	"	"	K. R. Cama, Esq.	"	Merchant ..	"
462	"	"	"	A. S. Nagawaker, Esq.	Jew ..	Civil Engineer.	"
463	"	"	"	B. N. Bhajekar, Esq.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
464	"	"	"	Charles, F. Sievwright, Esq.	Australian.	Commissioner of the British and Indian Empire League of Australia, Melbourne.	"
465	"	"	"	Narayan Tirumal Datar, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader.	"
466	"	"	"	G. B. Wagle, Esq.,	European.	Representative, British Indian Association.	"
467	"	"	"	Sapoorji Bicarji Patel, Esq.	Parsi.	....	"
468	"	Ahmed-nagar.	Ahmed-nagar.	Balvant Babaji Deshpande, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil	By the Standing Congress Committee, Ahmednagar.
469	"	"	"	Babaji Ganesh Deshpande, Esq.	"	Pleader ..	"

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470	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Guz-rat.	Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B., Vice-President, Ahmedabad Municipality.	Brahmin. Kshatriya	Retired Chief Justice, Baroda State.	At the Public Meeting of the Guzerat Sabha held on the 15th December 1903.
471	"	"	"	Krishna Lal Ambalal Desai, Esq.	"	Trader ..	"
472	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. Goculdas K. Parekh.	Bania.	High Court Pleader.	"
473	"	"	"	Ramabhai Mahipatram Nilakant, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	" ..	"
474	"	Bombay.	Belgaum.	Dr. C. P. Boyce, L.M.S., Municipal Commissioner.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner.	At the Public Meeting held on the 19th December 1903.
475	"	"	"	Hanumant Gavind Subnis, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu. Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
476	"	"	"	Annajee Narayan Deshpande, Esq.	"	"	"
477	"	"	"	Annacharya Babucharya Devali, Esq.	"	"	"
478	"	"	"	Narasimham Murar Naik, Esq.	"	"	"
479	"	Deccan.	Bijapur.	Govinda Rao Annaji Chebhi, Esq.	"	Pleader, Bagalkot.	At the Public Meeting of the Congress Committee, held at Bijapur on the 15th December 1903.
480	"	"	"	Govinda Rao Hanumanta Rao Belgulkar, Esq.,	"	"	"
481	"	"	Dharwar.	Annacharya Kattacharya Katti, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Chairman, Managing Committee, Dharwar Municipality.	"	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting of the District Standing Congress Committee held at Dharwar on the 14th December 1903.
482	"	"	"	Damodher Rowjee, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant ..	Bhatia Mitne Mandal.
483	"	"	"	Lekshmidas Rowjee Tassay, Esq., B.A.	"	Commission Agent.	"
484	"	"	"	Bhimji Narayamji Dhalal, Esq.	"	High Court Pleader.	"
485	"	"	"	Wiswanji Thakessay Halai, Esq.	"	Solicitor's Clerk ..	"
486	"	"	"	Mathuran Das Govindji, Esq.	"	Merchant ..	"

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487	Bombay.	Deccan.	Dharwar.	Narayana Rao Vasudev Kulsapur, Esq.	Brahmin.	Landlord ..	At the Public Meeting of the Gadag Debating Association held on the 15th December 1903.
488	"	"	"	Ananta Rao T. Patnis, Esq.	"	Pleader ..	"
489	"	"	"	Krishnrao Krishna Rao Huilgol, Esq.	"	Landlord ..	"
490	"	"	"	Narayana Rao Venkatesh Margari, Esq.	"	Pleader ..	"
491	"	"	"	R. Ashwatha Row Mahishi, Esq.	"	"	"
492	"	"	"	Guru Rao Balaji Morab, Esq.	"	"	"
493	"	"	"	Gangadhra Rao Gopal Huilgol, Esq.	"	"	"
494	"	"	"	Subba Rao Madhava Rao Huilgol, Esq.	"	"	"
495	"	"	"	Krishna Rao Srinivasa Rao Babatti, Esq.	"	Landlord ..	At the Public Meeting of the Union Club of Gadag.
496	"	"	"	Raghavendra Rao Subba Rao Babatti, Esq.	"	Pleader ..	"
497	"	"	"	Bhima Rao Viswanath Golkhindi, Esq.	"	"	"
498	"	"	Poona.	Narsingh Chintamani Kelkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader and Editor "Marathi."	By the Deccan Standing Congress Committee.
499	"	"	"	Keshen Raghunath Avesta, Esq., Member, Gorakshini Sabha.	"	Contractor, Shukarwara.	"
500	"	"	"	Shrimut Bulvant Ramachandra alias Balasaheb Natu.	"	Sardar and Inamdar of Sharwarpet, Poona.	"
501	"	"	"	Pundlik Narayana Pundit, Esq.	"	High Court Pleader.	"
502	"	Icholkeranji.	Sholapur.	Vinayak Krishna Manikar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Sangli..	At the Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Sangli held on the 13th December 1903.
503	"	"	"	Ganesh Raghunath Abhyonker, Esq. B.A., LL.B.	"	"	"

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary, or scholastic distinctions, &c.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession calling, occupation or address.	How, where and when elected.
504	Bombay.	Ratnagiri.	Ratnagiri.	Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader and Fellow, Bombay University.	Elected at the Public Meeting held at Ratnagiri on the 20th December 1903.
505	"	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	Govind Pandharinath Salakhe, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Secretary, Barsi Orphanage.	"	District Court Pleader, Barsi Town.	Elected on the 24th December 1903 by Friends' Association.
506	"	"	"	Prabhakar Luxman Nugpurkar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Sholapur.	At the Public Meeting of the Sholapur Peoples' Association on the 20th December 1903.
507	"	Surat.	Surat.	Chandulal Narbuam Jagirdar, Esq., B.A.	Hindu, Bania.	Accountant ..	At the Public Meeting held at Surat on the 15th of December 1903.
508	"	"	"	Dr. U. L. Desai, M.D.	Brahmin.	Physician and Surgeon.	"
509	"	"	"	Nurayana Rao Mulhar Bedarkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Dekshni Deshastha Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
510	"	"	"	Nariman Manekji Pohowalla, Esq.	Parsi.	Merchant ..	"
511	"	"	"	Dhimatram Navabram Pandit, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Kelapath, Surat.	"
512	"	"	"	Nathalal Lalubhai Vakilna, Esq., Municipal Councillor, Surat.	Bania.	Cotton Mill Store Supplier; and Contractor, Surat.	At the Public Meeting held at Surat on the 15th December 1903 and by Council of Bombay Presidency Association.
513	"	Satara.	Satara.	R. P. Karandikar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader .. ..	....
514	Central Provinces and Berar.	Berar.	Berar.	Ramachandra Deshpande, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	At the Public Meeting of the Standing Congress Committee held at Amraoti on the 20th December 1903.
515	"	"	"	Raghavendra Sakharan Kattigori, Esq.	"	"	"
516	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Ranganath Narasingh Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader.	"
517	"	"	"	Narayana Rao Gopala Rao Digh, Esq.	"	Jagirdar ..	"

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518	Central Provinces and Berar.	Berar.	Berar.	Vithal Luxman Deolgaoukar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Kulkadai ..	At the Public Meeting of the Standing Congress Committee held at Amraoti on the 20th December 1903.
519	"	"	Akola.	Ramachandra Vishnu Mahajani Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Akola.	"
520	"	"	"	Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani, Esq., M.A.	"	Retired Educational Inspector, Akola.	"
521	"	"	"	Madhava Dhatadri Bhagavat, Esq.	"	Student, Victoria Public Technical Institute.	"
522	"	"	Nagpur.	Shridhar Trimbak Deshmuk, Esq.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Nagpur.	At the Public Meeting held at Macdonald Town Hall on the 13th December 1903.
523	"	"	"	Hari Balwant Karmarkar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Banker and Pleader, Nagpur.	"
524	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Raja Ram Seetharan Dikshit.	"	Contractor ..	"
525	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Pundit Bisben Narain Dhar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Bar-at-Law ..	At the Public Meeting held at Lucknow on the 18th December 1903.
526	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, Proprietor, the "Hindustani" and "Advocate."	Hindu.	Journalist ..	"
527	"	"	Agra ..	Lala Kedarnath, Esq., B.A., B.L., Member of Municipal Board, Agra.	Vysia.	Vakil, High Court.	At the Public Meeting held at Agra on the 20th December 1903.
528	"	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court; and Fellow of the Allahabad University.	Elected at the Public Meeting held at Allahabad on the 28th November 1903.
529	"	"	"	C. Y. Chintamani, Esq.	Hindu.	Joint Editor of the "Indian People" and "Hindustan Review."	"
530	"	"	Benares.	Babu Jugal Kishore.	"	Banker and Zeminadar.	At the Public Meeting held at Benares on the 19th December 1903.
531	"	"	Cawnpore.	Pundit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, M.A., LL.B.	Kashmir Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Cawnpore.	At the Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1903.

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532	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Oudb.	Gorakpur.	Mr. Ayodhya Das, B.A.	Vaish.	Bar-at-Law, Gorakpur.	At the Public Meeting held at Gorakpur on the 13th December 1903.
533	Punjab.	Punjab.	Umballa.	Rai Sabib Lala Murli Dhar	..	Pleader, Umballa.	Elected by the Indian Association, Lahore.
534	"	"	"	S. Jhanda Singh, Esq.	Sikb.	"	"
535	"	"	"	P. Madho Ram, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader ..	"
536	"	"	"	Bulakiram Sastri, Esq.	Kshatriya.	Bar-at-Law ..	"
537	"	"	"	G. Gopal Das, Esq.	"	Photographer ..	"
538	Burma.	Rangoon	Rangoon.	V. G. Vasudeva Pillai, Esq. President, the Rangoon Excelsior Progressive Association; and Honorary Secretary, "Edward VII Paropakarami Sabha"; and Superintendent, Madurai Pillai's High School.	Hindu.	Broker and General Contractor.	At the Public Meeting of the Members and friends of the Rangoon Excelsior Progressive Association held on the 11th November 1903.

# APPENDIX II.

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THE

## Madras Industrial Exhibition.

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I.

THE HON'BLE MR. SANKARAN NAIR'S SPEECH.

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—As the President of the Industrial Exhibition Committee it is my great privilege on this interesting and important occasion to request your Highness the Maharaja of Mysore to graciously open the Exhibition. To all of us it is a source of great gratification and pride to associate your Highness's name with this great movement so full of encouraging possibilities for the future advancement of this country. Your Highness comes amidst us for the first time after your Installation as the Sovereign of Mysore and you come to manifest your kindly sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of the people of India in the direction of India's prosperity and well-being. We are grateful to you, Sir, for your ready condescension in doing this honour to us and in encouraging and helping us with your sympathy and your presence on this occasion. We will remember and succeeding generations will remember your name with gratitude and affection for your support in a matter so intimately connected with India's national prosperity.

Sir, the occasion is one of peculiar interest. We had in Madras, Exhibitions of raw products, arts and manufactures in 1855 and 1857 and other exhibitions mainly agricultural, all of them more or less under European supervision and management.

But, Sir, this is the first Industrial Exhibition which has been originated, organised and carried out by the people themselves (*Cheers*) without external guidance, and we trust that any shortcomings due to our inexperience may be overlooked.

The idea first originated with the Congress Committees, a purely non-official body. The movement similarly begun in Madras received the hearty support of the officials. His Excellency Lord Amphill when the matter was brought to his notice signified his warm approbation and his willingness to render every help he legitimately could. (*Cheers*) [And at this stage a voice called for three cheers for His Excellency Lord Amphill, which were most enthusiastically given.] He has not only subscribed to our funds and instructed the officers under his authority to afford us every assistance, but has also endeavoured during his tours to enhance interest in the movement among the people by exhortation, advice and appeals to their patriotism. We have received every encouragement and help at his hands. To him our grateful thanks are due.



Our invitations to the various leading men in the Presidency were cordially received. Committees were formed in all districts, grants were voted by local bodies for the collection and delivery of the exhibits in Madras. We have to thank them also for their valuable assistance.

We have to thank also the various persons, Europeans and Indians, who have rendered similar service.

The assistance rendered by the Native States can scarcely be over-estimated. We sincerely thank them.

The Committee have widely distributed leaflets explaining the advantages accruing from the Exhibition. Those who have organised this Exhibition are well aware of what is being done by our rulers for the benefit of Indian trade. The Government have availed themselves of important exhibitions to advertise Indian goods and these always attracted attention. At Melbourne, Paris, and London Exhibitions India occupied a prominent place. The Calcutta Exhibition of 1884 was mainly to advertise Indian goods. And from the time the Imperial Institute was established in London forward, there were sustained efforts to promote trade in India's commercial products. Sample collections of the specimens of products and manufactures are made and maintained both in London and Calcutta. Enquiries and investigations regarding the chemical properties, the economic uses and the commercial value of such products have been systematically carried on and all available information is obtained from scientific and commercial experts, and such information is published in this country. For all this, it is very doubtful whether this country has derived those benefits that may be reasonably expected. On the other hand, these exhibitions have enabled foreign merchants to ascertain the needs of the country.

They have disclosed the nature of the goods in demand and the quality of the supply and the result has been the partial or entire destruction of the indigenous industries by the inundation of the cheaper goods from the factories of Europe. The Indian commercial classes did not grasp the situation. They clung to their own old ways and they had no initiative. It is very doubtful whether they even tried to ascertain how they could keep pace with their foreign rivals. It may be that a certain class of producers and the Indian labourer have benefited. But this surely cannot compensate for the displacement of labour and the drain of wealth due to the importation of foreign goods. The result has been the decline of Indian arts and manufactures and there has certainly been no such industrial development as one is entitled to look for. We cannot hide from ourselves such result is due in great part to ourselves. Those who have received English education imbued with Western ideas, capable of following European guidance and example in commercial methods have not devoted sufficient attention to the subject. They alone have access to that scientific knowledge which has enabled the Western nations through the co-operation of labour and capital to check the growth of our industries. The annual session of the Congress brings together representatives of the educated classes from all parts of India, and one purpose of holding this Exhibition is to enlist their interest, and induce them to take such action as lay in their power to further industrial progress. They could see at this Exhibition instances of development of Indian industries by European skill and labour. They could realize the condition and progress of local industries under Indian manage-

ment and suggest with the help of European experts lines of future progress. We thus hope by means of this and similar exhibitions to quicken the sympathy, ensure the support of the educated classes of the country and thus to secure the active co-operation of all classes, European and Indian alike interested in the industrial progress. The manufactures, in our midst European and Indian, may then be hoped to be able to hold their own in friendly rivalry with the outsider.

How far our hopes and expectations will be realised it is impossible to say. It is, however, our earnest hope that this movement of which the Exhibition is only a small beginning may lead to great industrial progress, find employment for thousands of people, reduce the pressure on land, alleviate if not prevent, the horrors of famine. (*Continued cheers.*)



## II.

### HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE MADRAS INDUSTRIAL AND ARTS EXHIBITION :—

1. It was not without diffidence that I accepted the invitation, so courteously extended to me by the Committee, to open the Madras Industrial and Arts Exhibition. I could not but feel that there were many others more obviously qualified for the duty, whether as captains of industry, administrators of experience, or as spokesmen of public opinion. But, as it was evident that the Committee were not in search of instruction from an expert, I could not but conclude that they desired the sympathy of a representative of my class, or of the head of a State which may claim a substantial interest, not only in the indigenous arts and crafts, but also in the more progressive enterprises of Western origin. Of my official sympathy I had already been able to give expression, when sanctioning the proposal of my Dewan and Council, to send a representative collection of objects of Mysore Art and Industry to the Exhibition, and, in view of the considerations to which I have referred, I felt that I could not decline the opportunity of evincing my personal interest by taking part in to-day's ceremony.

2. In some quarters doubts have, I believe, been expressed of the utility of exhibitions such as this. In early days extravagant expectations were formed of their possibilities, and the great London Exhibition of 1851 was, at the time, supposed to have inaugurated the millennium. The fifty years or so that have elapsed since then have not witnessed the realisation of this pleasing vision, nor have the "World's Fairs" of Europe and the West always fulfilled the expectations of their promoters, in immediate and startling expansions of trade and industries, in general or particular. Our exhibition here, however, is on a more modest scale and our expectations of its results are modest in proportion.

3. In these days of keen competition much is heard in all parts of the Empire of what pessimists term, the decadence of British trade and industries which others prefer to regard as the legitimate and natural advance of foreign rivals in the markets of the world. Whatever the correct description of the trouble, the symptoms are beyond question and everywhere the need of increased commercial and industrial activity is proclaimed and acknowledged. Here, in India, the problem is peculiar. Our trade tends steadily to expand, and it is possible, as we know from the Parliamentary reports, to demonstrate by statistics, the increasing prosperity of the country generally. On the other hand, we in India, know that the ancient indigenous handicrafts are decaying, that the fabrics for which India was renowned in the past are supplanted by the products of Western looms and that our industries are not displaying that renewed vitality, which will enable them to compete successfully in the home or the foreign market. The cultivator on the margin of subsistence remains a starveling cultivator, the educated man seeks Government employment, or the readily available profession of a lawyer, whilst the belated artisan works on the lines marked out for him by his forefathers, for a return that barely keeps body and soul together.

4. It is said that India is dependent on agriculture and must always remain so. That may be so, but there can, I venture to think, be little doubt that the solution of the ever recurring famine problem, is to be found, not merely in the improvement of agriculture, the cheapening of loans, or the more equitable distribution of taxation, but still more, in the removal from the land to industrial pursuits of a great portion of those, who, at the best, gain but a miserable subsistence, and on the slightest failure of the season are thrown on public charity. It is time for us in India to be up and doing new markets must be found, new methods adopted and new handicrafts developed, whilst the educated unemployed, no less than the skilled and unskilled labourers, all those, in fact, whose precarious means of livelihood is a standing menace to the well-being of the State, must find employment in reorganised and progressive industries. That educated opinion is awakening to the situation, this Exhibition I take to be a proof. The cry for commercial and industrial education increases, and in this education such exhibitions are an important feature.

5. The subject of industrial education has many prophets, there must be many in the present assembly who are eminently qualified to discuss it, of whom I cannot claim to be one, and I do not propose to inflict on you, at any length, such views as I may have been tempted to form. Some attention has, however, been paid to the subject in Mysore, and it has only brought into prominence the great difficulties which must be faced before positive results can be achieved. Possibly our experience is not without its parallels, even in Madras. But that, to my mind, is no reason for discouragement. The old saying that the man who never made a mistake, never made anything, holds good pre-eminently in matters industrial. The time and trouble devoted to experiment have not been wasted, and it is reasonable to hope that all over India the Governments are profiting by past failure and are gradually directing such instruction as they are able to afford, on the sounder and better lines. The prime essential is that the instructor should know more about the industry than those whom he undertakes to teach, a condition that has by no means invariably been fulfilled. Our object is, I take it, to find new callings for these whose hereditary employment, from various causes, no longer provides a livelihood, and increased efficiency for those whose wares are still in demand, but a price which does not remunerate the craftsman. At present, in too many cases, a boy, attracted by a scholarship, spends some years in an industrial school, and, on leaving, has no idea beyond returning to the ancestral calling, clerkly or menial, or to the hereditary tools and methods. So long as this state of things prevails, we have advanced but little on the road to success. It seems to me, that what we want is, more outside light and assistance from those interested in industries. Our schools should not be left entirely to officials, who are either fully occupied with their other duties or whose ideas are prone, in the nature of things, to run in official grooves. I should like to see all those who "think" and "know," giving us their active assistance and not merely their criticism of our results. It is not Government or forms of Government that have made the great industrial nations, but the spirit of the people and the energy of one and all working to a common end.

6. To return to the exhibition, the object of industrial exhibitions is, I conceive, to convey to the public, evidence of the condition and progress of local industries and to suggest to those interested latent possibilities of

improvement. Madras may claim to be a peculiarly suitable locality for such an Exhibition. Not only is the Presidency noted for the excellence of its handwoven goods, for the skillfulness of its metal workers and for its pre-eminence in the leather tanning industry, but the city of Madras has also seen the birth of a completely new industry, which promises to be a source of no little profit in the future. When the trade of copper and brass workers was threatened by an import of cheap and suitable aluminium vessels, Madras set itself to work and, with the assistance of Government, developed, by the skill of its artisans, a local industry in aluminium goods, which has now advanced well beyond the experimental stage. The development of the Madras aluminium industry affords a lesson of unrivalled import and is a hopeful augury for the future of industrial India.

7. The systematic examination of the great Indian handicrafts for the purpose of introducing improvements, which may form the basis of industrial training, has yet to be undertaken. The necessity for it has attracted attention in many parts of India. In the Bombay Presidency an expert in weaving has made important improvements in the warping and weaving of cotton goods on the indigenous loom. In Bengal and elsewhere systematic attempts are being made to disseminate a knowledge of the use of the fly shuttle, which, as I am informed has been quietly at work here in Madras City, for many years, unknown to the rest of India. In Bangalore, a small factory equipped and maintained by my friend Mr. Tata, is steadily improving the process of silk-reeling. Numerous other examples might no doubt be cited, but much, very much, remains to be done in the matter, which is so vital a one for India. Now that the country forms one market with the great industrial countries of the world, her citizens must not sit idly by, awaiting the interference of the Governments in what is, equally, the business of the people. Combination and enterprise are needed. The handicrafts of India have been celebrated since time immemorial, the hereditary aptitude of her artisans survives, waiting but to be utilised in the light of modern knowledge. An exhibition such as this will have been of small purpose if it fails to suggest new methods for developing the skill of the workers, new fields for their employment, and new markets for their products. Let us hope that the successful experiment, which has secured for India the manufacture of aluminium goods may be the forerunner of more far-reaching developments in many other handicrafts. May this Exhibition serve as a stimulus to public spirited men to set on foot similar enterprises, so that by combination, investigation and experiment, the way may be cleared for a progress, of which the exhibitions of the future will illustrate the happy results.