

PAVILION OF THE TWENTY-THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, MADRAS, 1908

REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-THIRD
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT
MADRAS
ON THE
28th, 29th and 30th December 1908

MADRAS

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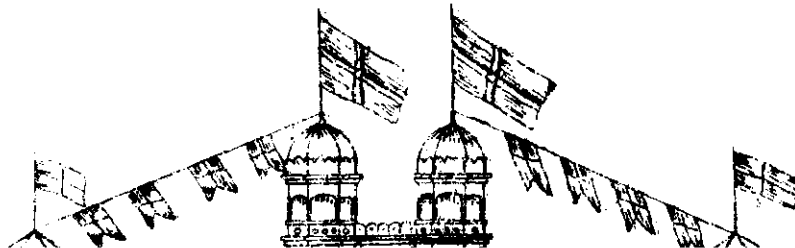
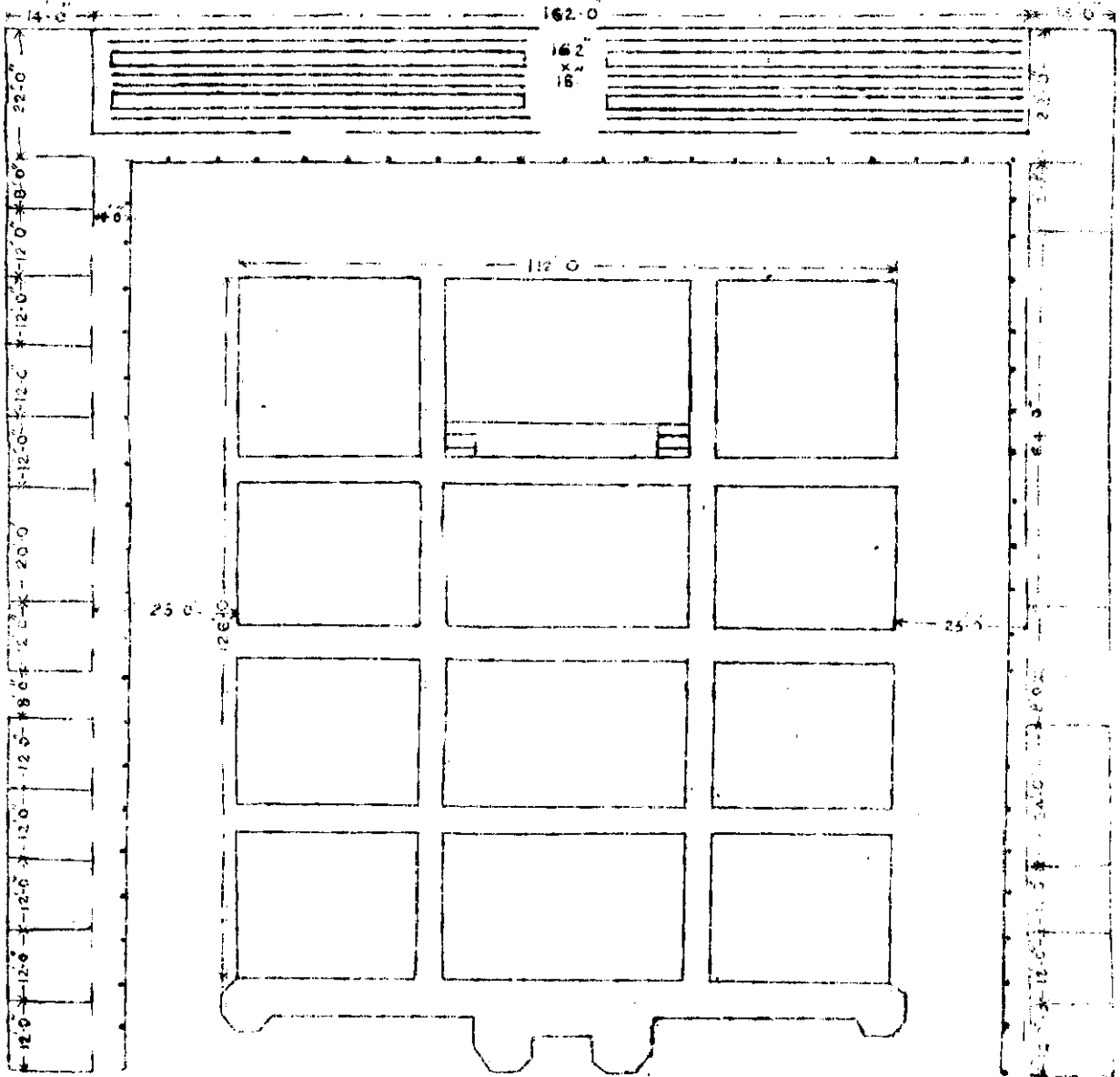
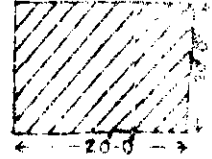
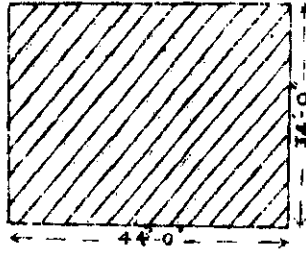
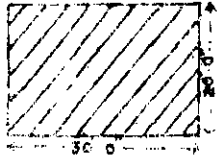
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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



STATEMENT.

1 It appears that about a hundred Moderates out of a total of 826 members of the Nagpur Reception Committee of the 23rd Indian National Congress have addressed a circular letter to the All India Congress Committee, expressing their inability to hold the Congress Session in Nagpur on account of what they are pleased to call the unconstitutional conduct of the Extremists. It should be noted in this connection that the circular letter was not placed for adoption before and passed by the Reception Committee in a meeting called and assembled for the purpose; neither has it been placed before and approved of by the Executive Committee which has been purposely appointed to work on behalf of the Reception Committee to arrange to hold the next session of the Congress at Nagpur. It therefore represents only the individual opinions of a few moderate members of the Reception Committee.

2 As the Nationalists have been profusely accused of unconstitutional and rowdy behaviour, with the sole object of making out a case to excuse their desire of not holding the Congress Session at Nagpur, we the undersigned members of the Executive Committee have been obliged to publish this circular letter, so that the All India Congress Committee may not be misled by one-sided statements in the matter. Without meaning to rake up old matters and unnecessarily prolong the controversy, we shall content ourselves with pointing out the errors and mis-statements contained in the circular letter of the moderates.

(a) It is not true that the Congress was invited to Nagpur under a "sort of compact" with the Nationalists, as is alleged to have been entered into by the moderates. The fact is quite otherwise. The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis' letter dated 24th March 1907 from Calcutta in reply to the requisition of the Reception Committee to accept its Chairmanship offered unanimously by both the parties, quoted below, will give a direct lie to this statement. Writing to the joint Secretaries of the Executive Committee, the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis wrote as follows:-

"I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letter informing me of the honour conferred upon me by the committees, of making me chairman of the Provincial, Reception and Exhibition Committees, you know, as you were present on the occasion of the meeting held here of the C. P. Delegates as to the conditions which were preliminarily settled upon as antecedent to our inviting the congress, considering the condition of the Province and the circumstances attending them. We are in honour bound down by these conditions and I must invite the attention of the Committees to these conditions before I agree to accept the chair of the Reception Committee....."Then he writes as

P. S. in the same letter as follows, "of course in case these conditions on which I agreed to associate *with these gentlemen who wanted to invite the Congress* are not accepted, I may here say that I must decline the honour with thanks." The compact, if there was any, appears to have been made without the knowledge of the Nationalists, by Mr. Chitnavis himself, with some of his moderate friends. The Nationalists are completely in the dark about the nature of this compact as also about the time and place where and persons with whom and the conditions on which this compact was made. In fact prominent leaders of the Nationalist party on the spot were strongly opposed to the inviting of the Congress to Nagpur this year. The Nationalists were, then, sure, (and it is now an open secret) that the moderates were actuated with a desire to prevent the election of a Nationalist leader like Mr. Tilak to the Congress Presidentship which, they believed, might be accomplished if the congress were allowed to be taken away to Lahore.

(b) The Provincial Congress Committee in its meeting held on the 22nd and 23rd February 1907, formed a Reception Committee of 63 with powers to add to its number which then appointed a permanent Executive Committee composed of 36 members empowering it "to add to its number and to transact all business, to carry on all correspondence and generally to work on behalf of the Reception Committee." Each party had 18 members on it including the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis, a confirmed moderate, as its chairman. Thus it will be seen that the original Executive Committee had a standing majority of one vote, the casting vote of the Chairman, in favour of the moderates. Later on, the Executive Committee was enlarged on the 24th August 1907 by the unanimous consent of both the parties, the Nationalists adding 12 members and the moderates preferring to add only 10. This gave the Nationalists a majority of one vote only. It is therefore not true to say that in the Executive Committee the Nationalists are in a preponderating majority. It is no fault of the Nationalists if the Moderate members, for reasons best known to themselves, which, however, can now well be surmised, regularly abstained from attending the meetings of the Executive Committee.

(c) As a matter of fact, the Moderates tried to exclude the Nationalists from participating in the Congress work by putting forward such preposterous and extraordinary proposals as 'the minimum fee of Rs. 200 for membership of the Reception Committee,' 'minimum age limit of 30 years for candidates to membership' and so on. As a further proof of the desire of the Moderates to exclude us we quote below what has appeared in the "Guzerattee" of the 13th October 1907, believed, on very strong reasons, to have been written by a very prominent and leading Moderate:—"we wanted to reconstruct the Executive committee in such a way as to get rid once for all of *all the hopelessly bad obstructives* Unless this preliminary step was taken, it was impossible to carry on any

work in the best way we thought proper." This refers to the object of the meeting of Reception Committee of the 22nd September 1907.

When, however, they failed to secure this object, they proceeded to achieve their end by wilfully setting aside an important rule laid down by the provincial Congress Committee, of "one man one vote quite irrespective of the amount paid by him over and above the minimum."

It is this that fully accounts for the fact that such well-known and generous C.P. millionaires as Rai Bahadur Seth Wallabhdas of Jubbulpore, Diwan Bahadur Kasturchand Daga of Kamptee and Shrimunt Ghatate of Nagpur and such distinguished gentlemen of the position of the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnaves C.I.E., Rao Bahadurs Kolhatkar, Gadgil Pandit, Bapurao Dada, Dixit and others are shown to have paid only Rs. 25 in their own names; while they are known to have paid much larger sums.

(d) It is absurd, if not malicious to say that the name 'Rashtriya Mandal' was given to the organization of the Nationalists of Nagpur with a view to mislead the people. As a matter of fact no misunderstanding was ever caused anywhere nor was it intended to be so caused. The chief object with which it was started was to preach the Nationalist propoganda all over the Province and to prepare the people to take a lively interest in the cause of their country.

(e) It is entirely untrue to say that the fund collected by the 'Rashtriya Mandal' belongs to the Congress, and that it was collected in the name of the Congress for its general purposes. The subscribers have paid their money to the 'Rastriya Mandal' and it has received it to be utilized for a specific purpose. When it was found that it was not possible to secure that object the money so collected was not paid into the Congress Treasury. The moderates also collected their money on some definite understanding regarding the Congress Presidentship. This object of theirs under the present constitution of the Congress could be easily achieved by securing votes only to the extent of one-third and a few more, so as to give a final defeat to the other party. We have proofs to show that the Moderates have purposely abstained from realising subscription from persons who did not agree with their views in respect of the election of the President. But as they have succeeded in securing the required majority in the Reception Committee, they find it now convenient to conceal this fact from the public.

(f) It was improper and illegal on the part of the Moderates to disturb the executive committee or to reconstitute it, as they proposed to do, simply because they had secured a large majority in the Reception Committee on the 31st August 1907. The primary object of the Executive Committee was to arrange for the erection of the Pandal, to

provide accomodation for delegates, and see to their being properly fed. These things, whether done by moderates or Nationalists make no difference. So the collision was needlessly provoked or as it appears, its object was to provide the moderates with an excuse for trying non-possimus and get out of the trouble and expense of holding the congress Session. If making it representative is the one reason for the re-constitution, as it is alleged to be, the Executive Committee runs the risk of being changed any number of times as the list of the members of the Reception Committee is not to be closed until the very last day. The Executive Committee had done nothing wrong. It is not true that it wasted its time in discussion. It had no money in its hands sufficient to enable it to take actual Congress work. If after securing the supposed preponderating majority in the Reception Committee on the 31st August last, the moderates, wanted to have the whole management entirely in their own hands, they should have specified their intention in a gentlemanly and friendly way to the Nationalist members of the Executive Committee, and the latter would have gladly retired after the question of the election of the President in accordance with the rules framed by the Executive Committee, based on the Congress Constitution, had been decided. What they resented was the unconstitutional and high-handed procedure adopted by the chairman of the Reception Committee in the matter, when his resignation was in the office and had not been withdrawn.

(g) It is admitted by the Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Chitnavis himself that the procedure adopted by the Nationalists in the so called meeting of the Reception Committee in the Town Hall of the 22nd September last was perfectly legal and constitutional. What took place outside the the Town Hall the Nationalists are in no way responsible for.

(h) It is more malicious than mischievous to say that the Nationalists have not the cause of the Congress at heart; or that they are not willing to cooperate with the Moderates. The Nationalists cannot in good faith, surrender the money they have collected on certain conditions, to the Moderates. But short of that they have been all along willing to cooperate with them or to do any Congress work they may be entrusted with. They are even prepared to withdraw from the Executive Committee as stated above.

3. The Moderates having their eye on the fund collected by the Rashtriya Mandal have rejected every proposal advanced by some of their own leaders for compromise and harmonious work. The Nationalists on their part have always been and are still prepared to work for the Congress on any of the conditions stated below:—

(a) If the Moderates are prepared to hand over the Congress fund of about Rs. 21,000 now withheld by Rai Bahadur Dixit and Goswami, Rrmkrishna Puri, on their behalf, to the Excutive Committee,

the Nationalist members are prepared to hold the Session of the Congress in cooperation with the Moderates by jointly raising more fund if necessary and themselves paying their mite along with the Moderates who have up till now paid one and all only Rs. 25 each and by not opposing the election of any Moderate President they may choose to nominate.

(b) If the Moderates so desire the Nationalists are prepared to retire bodily from the Executive Committee leaving the whole management to the Moderates.

(c) The Nationalists are further prepared to advance as a loan any sum up to Rs. 10,000 if the Moderates be prepared to advance an equal sum on condition that the whole loan should be made the first charge on the surplus if any remaining, after defraying the actual expenses of holding the Congress Session at Nagpur.

4 On the other hand it will not be inaccurate to say, that the Moderates do not heartily wish to run the Congress as they are afraid lest the Session will give ample cause to the authorities to resent the speeches that are likely to be made and the resolutions that shall be passed on the present policy of the Government generally, and particularly regarding the deportation, the ordinances and other burning questions that have cropped up since the latest Calcutta Session.

It will not be out of place here, we believe, to quote again another extract from the "Guzrattee" of the 13th Oct—

"When leaders of our party withdraw, the whole work of running the next session would fall on the Opposition and they would be too glad to get such an opportunity. I think it is very desirable that the venue of the Congress should be changed. In that case we are quite willing that the money collected by our Party should be handed over to the Province which would take up our work."

5 Under the circumstances it is absurd to throw the blame on the Nationalists, of making it impossible for the Moderates to hold the Session at Nagpur. Such are the glaring inaccuracies, misrepresentations and untruths in the circular letter issued by the Nagpore Moderates. We therefore trust that the All-India Congress Committee will take these facts into consideration while deciding the question placed before it. We might state in conclusion that so far as our observation goes the feeling is very strong not only in the town of Nagpore but all over the Province that the Session should at all costs be held at Nagpore. Besides being nothing short of a Provincial disgrace, it would establish a bad precedent and hereafter it would be possible for any body of men to object to the Session of the congress in other place.

G. M. Buty

C. V. Nayudu

G. L. Subhedar

G. V. Kukday

Shyam Rao Jakate

Shett Ram Narayan

Dhoodirajpant Thengdi

L. D. Gadre

L. V. Paranjpe

A. B. Kollhatker

K. G. Gokhale

D. G. Diveiker

N. R. Alekar

B. V. Buty

Nilkanth Rao Udhoji

M. Chakravarti

B. B. Chande

Chintaman Rao Diwale

Shanker Govind

M. V. Kavare

W. V. Limaye

A. V. Paranjpay

S. G. Gadgil

R. G. Bhide

N. V. Deshmukh

B. S. Moonje

and others.

INTRODUCTION

The Congress was invited at the Calcutta Session of 1906, a Session which in many respects was a most eventful one, to hold the next at Nagpur. The Session of the Congress at Nagpur was looked forward to with interest from all quarters and with apprehension and anxiety from some. When the local differences at Nagpur accentuated by the political conditions in Bengal and elsewhere, rendered the prospect of a successful session altogether remote, the All-India Congress Committee whose duty it was to make arrangements for the continuity of the Congress work in emergencies, resolved that the Congress Session in 1907 should be at Surat. Though the Resolution was passed late in the year, the good people of Surat, notwithstanding the short notice they had and the difficulties they had to overcome, made magnificent arrangements for the holding of the Congress in their city. The grounds on the banks of the Tapti, forming French Territory, were secured and prepared for the holding of the Congress Meetings and the accommodation of such of the delegates as were prepared to live in tents : other accommodation being provided for the rest. In fact a temporary city was brought into existence with all the conveniences that could be demanded of it. Over 1,400 delegates assembled. Lala Lajput Rai who had been only recently released was given a most cordial and princely reception. The President-elect Dr. Rash Behary Ghose was given a great ovation.)

So far as appearances went there was much to justify the hope that the Session would be a successful one and would pass off without a hitch. But, signs were not wanting of the coming rupture. Those who were not in sympathy with the methods of Congress work as till then pursued, who objected to what they contemptuously termed the mendicant policy,—the policy of firm but respectful representation of the peoples' grievances to Government and of legitimate and constitutional agitation—formed themselves into a separate camp in the interior of the city and were organising their forces.)

The first ostensible point of difference was the Presidentship of the Congress. It was urged that Lala Lajput Rai should be elected President, that the community as a whole assembled in Congress should unmistakably declare its unabated confidence in him, and its unqualified disapprobation of the conduct of Government in deporting him. Many, on the other hand, felt that Lala Lajput Rai would himself feel it an embarrassing honour to be made the President of the Congress at that juncture, especially when his deportation ought to form one of the subjects of the Presidential address and was sure to become the subject of a most animated discussion in the Congress. Lala Lajput Rai, unwilling that anything connected with him should mar the successful session of the Congress and with characteristic modesty, declined to be a party to any agitation which had as its object his election as President.

This subject of controversy being out of the way, the disagreement changed to what have since become known as the four Calcutta Resolutions, (*viz.*,) those relating to Boycott, Swadeshi, self-Government and National Education, passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1906. It may be pointed out that there was no statement from any responsible quarter, justifying the apprehension that those four Resolutions would be dropped from the list of subjects to be put before the Subjects' Committee. The only circumstance that

might be seized upon to support the view that those four Resolutions were in danger of exclusion, was that the Draft Resolutions were not before the public as early as in previous years. The reason for the delay, however, was that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale who was entrusted with the task of preparing the Draft Resolutions was not able for various reasons to get them ready earlier than he did. As a matter of fact, he stated at an informal meeting at the Madras Camp held on the evening of the 25th December, *i.e.*, the night before the Congress was to meet, that there was no intention to drop any of the four Calcutta Resolutions from the list of subjects to be placed before the Subjects' Committee though it was proposed to alter the wording of some of them, particularly the one relating to boycott, so as to bring them more into consonance with what was really intended to be expressed and to free them from the liability to misconstruction to which, unfortunately they had already been subjected. Such assurances were however of no avail. The Congress met on the 26th December 1907 at 2-30 P.M. as a visitor from Sindh putting up with the delegates from that Province, suddenly died that morning and the Sindh delegates were unable to attend the Congress earlier. After the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Thribhuvan Doss Malvi, delivered his address welcoming the delegates, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sekharlal Desai of Ahmedabad proposed the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to the Presidential Chair. As soon as Dr. Ghose's name was uttered, there were some dissentient voices in the body of the hall shouting 'No,' 'No.' The proposer nevertheless finished his speech and Babu Surendranath Banerjea was called to second the proposition, but even before his first sentence was over, a most determined effort was made by a section of the delegates to prevent his speaking. They made an uproar with the result that he was unable to proceed, though he tried as hard as he could with his powerful voice to get a hearing and induce order in the meeting. In the circumstances, the Chairman had no other alternative than to suspend the meeting for the day after several attempts to bring about order. There was an informal Conference of many of the leading delegates at the lodgings of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, the leaders of the dissentient section not attending. There was a general feeling of disapproval of the unseemly termination of the day's proceedings. It was believed that all the delegates would meet next day in a better frame of mind and the Conference broke up, determined to continue the Session as if nothing had happened. The Congress again met at 1 P.M. on the 27th December 1907, and the proceedings were sought to be resumed from the point where they were left on the previous day. What took place on that eventful occasion is succinctly set forth in the official account of that day's proceedings to be found at pages 15 and 16 of this Report. It was an unfortunate chapter in Congress history and we would fain consign it to oblivion. Suffice it to say that it was impossible to continue the proceedings and there was no hope that a peaceful session of the Congress would be allowed to be held. Nothing was left but to suspend the Twenty-third National Congress *sine die* and that was done. The leaders of the Congress movement, who have been in it ever since its inception and have stood by it through all its vicissitudes of fortune and have made it what it has become, were not slow to devise means by which the disgraceful incidents of the 27th December 1907 could no longer be repeated and an orderly and peaceful session of the Congress could be ensured. It was felt that the differences that made themselves so unpleasantly manifest on the 26th and 27th were not merely differences on unessential particulars which time and calmer judgment might remove but were fundamental in character and related to the principles that should dominate the Congress movement thereafter and that the time had come when there should be an explicit and unmistakable enunciation of the basis on which Congress work was to be

carried. The question was whether the principles on which the Congress had till then been working should continue to be the principles on which the Congress should work thereafter, or whether in view of the political tension in the country and of the fact that the representations of the people had not met with that consideration and response from the Government that the importance of the representations themselves and of those from whom they proceeded deserved, the attitude of the Congress should be one of absolute aloofness or dissociation from the Government, and the object to be striven for by the Congress should be absolute independence. It was felt (by the veterans in the Congress cause, those who helped it to become a recognised institution and won for it the power and influence that it possesses,) that the best interests of the country imperatively demanded that the attitude of the Congress should not be one of hostility to the British Government, one of inconsistency with its continuance, but that should be one of frank, responsible, well-informed, courageous and reasoned criticism of British administration and its measures. A crisis has been reached in the history of the Congress and it has become necessary that the basic principles on which the Congress should continue its propaganda, the ideals that should inspire it, the objects for which it should strive and the methods by which it should seek to achieve them should be clearly and explicitly formulated. Guided by the light of precedents in similar extraordinary emergencies in the history of other countries, the leaders of the Congress convoked a convention of the delegates that had come to attend the Congress insisting, however, that those who were to take part in it should signify in writing their acceptance of the three propositions more specifically set forth in page 17 of this Report.

It will be readily seen that these propositions involved no departure from the recognised though not formally expressed principles on which the Congress had been till then working or from what is recognised to be the way in which all orderly public meetings should be conducted. The necessity however has arisen for the explicit responsible statement of the propositions to be accepted by all who are to take part in Congress work in the future. So no time was lost in formulating them. Over 900 of the delegates that had come for the Congress who signified in writing their acceptance of the above propositions met in convention on the 28th December. (It has to be noted that many had left Surat soon after the scenes of the 27th who would, if they had stayed, have also signified their acceptance of the three propositions referred to. One point however may be said to be perfectly clear and that is that those who took part in the convention undoubtedly constituted an overwhelming majority of those that went to Surat to attend the 28th Congress so that even if the above propositions had come up for discussion in the Congress immediately meeting after the unhappy incidents that had occurred, there can be no doubt that the propositions would have been accepted in the Congress by a decisive vote. It cannot be said of these propositions that the delegates would not have followed settled views regarding them and that new views were likely to be accepted in the light of fresh discussion in Congress.)

The convention met and authorised a Committee consisting of over 100 delegates to draw up a constitution on the lines already laid down in the declaration signed by those who met in convention. The Committee duly met at Allahabad on the 18th and 19th April 1908, and after a full and prolonged discussion, adopted the Constitution printed as Appendix B to this Report. Article I defines the objects of the Congress, and Article II makes it obligatory upon any person desirous of becoming a delegate to signify his acceptance of those objects. The objects as set forth in Article I merely repeat, though to some extent in different but more definite language, what was accepted at

the convention. The whole constitution has proceeded on the basis as laid down at the convention and the Articles serve to define and explicitly set forth the objects and the procedure that have hitherto been adopted by the Congress. It will be observed that the provisions of the constitution relating to the All-India Congress Committee and the Subjects Committee are on the lines indicated in the Resolutions adopted at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 though the details are to some extent different. The constitution has served to give continuity to the work of the Congress, solidarity to the Congress organisation and a definite basis on which Congress activity may hereafter be carried. The power of public meetings to elect delegates to the Congress is not retained in the constitution but there are enough bodies covered by the constitution to which the right of electing delegates to the Congress is given. The question of a constitution for the Congress has been before that body and the country since the session at Madras in 1887 and it formed at one time a chief subject of difference between our Punjabi friends and the rest of the country particularly Bengal. (It is noteworthy that Article I only serves to give fuller and more definite expression to what is contained in Resolution 10 adopted at the fifteenth Session of the Congress held at Lucknow in 1899.) The disruption at Surat cannot perhaps be said to have been an unmixed evil as it precipitated the settlement of a workable constitution which has been insisted upon for many years past but which for various reasons has been postponed from time to time. It may be said that the experience so far had of the working of the constitution, *i.e.*, in Madras has been altogether favourable to its continuance. It was found practicable to conduct the Congress in accordance with the constitution and without risk to the weight and effect of the Congress deliberations. The constitution as settled at Allahabad was published by the end of July 1908 and the Madras Provincial Congress Committee was formed with the Madras Members of the Convention Committee as the nucleus, in August 1908. The Congress had to be held in December 1908. It was not desirable that another year should pass without the country meeting and adopting Resolutions on the important topics of the day. It was the turn of Allahabad to invite the Congress for 1908. The famine in the United Provinces did not justify the burden of holding the Congress being imposed upon them if another Province could take it. The turn of Madras was next. The Provincial Congress Committee did not want to shirk its duty at this juncture. It was thought by some that in the political tension of the country and the crisis through which she was passing the Congress should not be held this year and at Madras. But the Provincial Congress Committee as a whole were of opinion that the reasons urged against the holding of the Congress were themselves the strongest reasons for holding the Congress and resolved upon inviting it to Madras by their Resolution dated 26th August 1908. It was not with a light heart or without a due estimate of the responsibility that the Committee were incurring by inviting the Congress to Madras, that the Madras Provincial Congress Committee took that step. The attitude that was taken by some of the publicists in the Presidency did by no means lighten the labour of the Committee or add to the prospects of the Congress Session being a successful one. Thanks to the cordial help which the Servants of India Society gave by lending a few of its most trusted servants, District Congress Committees were organised throughout the Presidency and Taluq and sub-divisional Committees as well in some places. The short time that was at their disposal coupled with the difficulties that the Committee had to overcome, did not allow of any Industrial Exhibitions being held with the Congress. This was to be the first Congress to be held under the new constitution and its success or failure would largely influence the acceptance or rejection of the Constitution in future Congresses. The circumstances that led to the settling of the

Constitution, the great names that took part in framing it and the want that had long been felt for a workable constitution for the Congress organisation, rendered it necessary that no effort should be spared to give the constitution a fair trial. With this idea the Committee worked and it may be stated that their labours in spite of a great many difficulties were attended with a measure of success that would gladden the heart of the most thorough-going pessimist. The gloomy forecast of a few of our friends only served to help the successful conclusion of the committee's labours.

The Reception Committee was formed and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was unanimously elected President by the various Provincial Congress Committees and the Reception Committee.

The Congress met on the 28th December 1908 at 12 noon and was welcomed by Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnasawmy Rao, C. I. E., the retired Dewan of Travancore. After Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was installed in the Presidential chair he delivered his address, "every line of which was marked with a simplicity and force of language, virility of thought and sobriety of judgment, the parallel to which it is difficult to find."

The Subjects-Committee met that evening. Naturally enough the Reform Proposals which by that time had been published claimed the first place amongst the subjects to be discussed. After the message of Mr. Keir Hardie to the Congress was read by the President, and the Resolution was put from the chair and adopted, tendering the loyal homage of the Congress to His Majesty and respectfully welcoming his gracious message to the Princes and people of India on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the memorable Proclamation issued in 1858 by his illustrious mother Victoria the Good, the Resolution regarding the Reform Proposals was placed before the Congress. As the Hon. Mr. Ghokale has said of these reforms "...hitherto, we have been engaged in agitation from outside ; from now, we shall be engaged in what might be called responsible association with the administration. It is still not control over administration, it is still not any large share of administration but it is association and responsible association in administration."

The next Resolution related to the treatment of British Indians in South Africa, a subject pregnant with serious consequence to the solidarity of the empire, one which directs prominent attention to the miserable spectacle of the British Government being powerless against its self-governing colonies. The next Resolution prayed for the unsettlement of the Partition of Bengal and the readjustment of the newly created Provinces so as to keep the entire Bengali speaking community under one and the same administration. Then came the Resolution about Swadeshi insisting upon the development of the indigenous industries by preference being given wherever practicable to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice. The recent imposition of a fresh burden of £ 300,000 upon the Indian Exchequer for military charges on the recommendation of the Romer Committee notwithstanding Lord Morley's "shrewd suspicion that the partition of charges between India and England is not in all respect equitable" to the former formed the subject of the next Resolution. The separation of Judicial and Executive functions, that "counsel of perfection" the actual fruition of which has been long looked forward to but is still delayed in spite of Sir Harvey Adamson's splendid plea in the Viceregal Council, was the next to claim the attention of the Congress. The next Resolution related to the repeal of the Deportation Regulations, the action under which shook the faith of the people in the liberalism of Lord Morley and the existence of which shows the differential treatment accorded to the Indian subjects of His Majesty from the rest of the subjects of his world-wide empire.

The recently passed enactments VII of 1908 and XIV of 1908 marking the commencement of another era of repression were next discussed and a Resolution was adopted condemning them. The legitimate request of our brethren of the Central Provinces and the Berars that they should be provided with a separate Legislative Council and thus be placed on the same footing as the other Provinces in British India—a request with which the Congress fully sympathized—found its expression in the next Resolution. The great economic grievance that is now claiming the anxious attention of all in India, the high prices of food-stuffs, was the subject of the next Resolution. It is satisfactory that the Government has recently promised an enquiry into this serious economic problem. The subject of Education was the next to which the Congress addressed itself. The last Resolution of the Congress was on the land-tax which has been discussed almost threadbare in the course of successive sessions of the Congress and the Resolution was therefore put from the chair and adopted. The sense of the great loss that the country has sustained on the death of some of its greatest men was duly recorded. Mr. Hume the father of the Congress and Sir William Wedderburn than whom none has evinced greater interest in and sympathy with Congress and its work and to whom more than to any other single individual, the Congress cause in India and England owes the attention and support it has received, were next congratulated on the partial fruition of their efforts in the Reform Proposals of Lord Morley, efforts that they have all along ungrudgingly and at great pecuniary and other sacrifice been making for the amelioration of the condition of the Indian people. The 23rd Session of the Congress came to an end with the appointment of the members of the All-India Congress Committee and a hearty vote of thanks to the Reception Committee and the President.

The Panjab invited the Congress to hold its next Session at Lahore.

The Industrial and Social conferences were held as usual in the Congress pavilion and were successes in every way.

The credit of the comparatively early publication of the Report is due not a little to the promptitude of the Congress reporter Mr. Muniswami Iyer and the expeditious manner in which the *Guardian Press* did its work under the personal care of Mr. G. C. Loganatham Mudaliar, the proprietor.

.RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

Twenty-Third

Indian National Congress,

Held at MADRAS

On the 28th 29th and 30th December 1908.

*Present:—DR. RASHBEHARI GHOSE, M.A., D.L., C.I.E.—President
and 626 (Six hundred and twenty-six duly elected Delegates from
the nine Provinces and the British Committee of the Congress).*

I.—THE ROYAL MESSAGE

THE Indian National Congress tenders its loyal homage to His Gracious Majesty the King Emperor and respectfully welcomes the message sent by His Majesty to the Princes and Peoples of India on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Memorable Proclamation issued in 1858 by his Illustrious Mother

VICTORIA THE GOOD

This Congress begs to record its satisfaction that the interpretation placed by it upon the pledges contained in that "Great Charter of 1858" has been upheld by His Majesty.

This Congress gratefully welcomes the pronouncement made by His Majesty that the time has come when the principle of representative institutions, which, from the first, began to be gradually introduced in India, may be prudently extended and that the politic satisfaction of the claim to equality of citizenship and greater share in legislation and government made by important classes in India, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British Rule, will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.

The Congress looks forward with confidence to a steady fulfilment by those in authority under the Crown in letter and in spirit, of the pledges and assurances contained in the great Charter of 1858 and in His Majesty's Message of 1908.

Moved from the Chair, and carried unanimously.

II. REFORM PROPOSALS

This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley's despatch have been received throughout the country; it places on record its sense of the high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter and it tenders to Lord Morley and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

This Congress is of opinion that the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils and the enlargement of their powers and functions, in the appointment of Indian members of the Executive Councils with the creation of such Councils where they do not exist, and the further development of Local Self-Government, constitute a large and liberal instalment of the reforms needed to give the people of this country a substantial share in the management of their affairs and to bring the administration into closer touch with their wants and feelings.

This Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed Scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State's despatch have been conceived.

Proposed by BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA OF BENGAL.

Seconded by the HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA OF ALLAHABAD.

Supported by RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR OF BERAR.

Supported by DEWAN BAHADUR L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA AIYAR OF MADRAS.

Supported by the HON. MR. HARKISHENLAL OF LAHORE.

Supported by MR. JEHANGIR B. D. PETIT OF BOMBAY.

Supported by MR. M. A. JINNAH OF BOMBAY.

Supported by REV. DR. R. A. HUME OF AHMEDNAGAR.

Supported by PUNDIT GOKARAM NATH MISRA OF LUCKNOW.

Supported by DR. C. B. CLARK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS.

Carried unanimously.

III.—CONDEMNATION OF OUTRAGES AND DEEDS OF VIOLENCE

This Congress places on record its emphatic and unqualified condemnation of the detestable outrages and deeds of violence which have been committed recently in some parts of the country and which are abhorrent to the loyal, humane and peace-loving nature of His Majesty's Indian subjects of every denomination.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

IV.—TREATMENT OF BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This Congress views with the greatest indignation the harsh, humiliating and cruel treatment to which British Indians, even of the highest respectability and position, have been subjected by the British Colonies in South Africa, and expresses its alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far-reaching consequences of a mischievous character calculated to cause great injury to the best interests of the British Empire, and trusts that the Imperial Parliament when granting the new Constitution to South Africa will secure the interests of the Indian Inhabitants of South Africa.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the British Parliament and the Government of India, the desirability of dealing with the self-governing Colonies in the same manner in which the latter ruthlessly deal with Indian interests so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress, while aware of the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, deems it but right to point out that the policy of shutting the door and

denying the rights of full British citizenship to all subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy in Asia and other parts of the world, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

Proposed by MR. MUSHIR HUSSAIN KIDWHI OF LUCKNOW.

Seconded by MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI OF MADRAS.

Supported by MR. IBRAHIM NORODDIEN MUQUADAM OF CAPE TOWN (SOUTH AFRICA).

Supported by DR. U. L. DESAI OF BURMA.

Supported by MR. G. L. GADGIL OF BOMBAY.

Supported by MR. GURUCHETTYAR OF CAPE TOWN (SOUTH AFRICA) SPEAKING IN TAMIL.

Supported by DR. C. B. CLARK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Carried unanimously.

V.—PARTITION OF BENGAL

This Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India to reverse the Partition of Bengal or to modify it in such a manner as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

This Congress is of opinion that the rectification of this admitted error will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to the other Provinces and instead of impairing, will enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the Country.

Proposed by the HON. MR. M. KRISHNAN NAIR OF MADRAS.

Seconded by BABU AMBICA CHARAN MUZUMDAR OF FARIDPUR.

Supported by LALA DHARAMDAS SURI OF THE PUNJAB.

Supported by MR. HARICHANDRAI VISHINDAS OF KARACHI.

Carried unanimously.

VI.—SWADESHI

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of industries capable of development in the country and respond to the efforts of Indian producers by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice.

Proposed by MR. DEEP NARAIN SINGH OF BEHAR.

Seconded by MR. K. PERRAJU OF MADRAS.

Supported by BABU ISWARA SARAN OF ALLAHABAD.

Supported by MR. G. K. CHITALE OF AHMEDNAGAR.

Supported by MR. R. V. MAHAJANI OF BEHAR.

Carried unanimously.

VII.—IMPOSITION OF MILITARY CHARGES

This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the fresh burden of £300,000 which the British War Office has imposed on the Indian Exchequer for military charges on the recommendation of the Romer Committee, the proceedings of which, the Under-Secretary of State for India has refused to lay on the table of the House of Commons, in contravention of previous practice in such matters.

The Congress views with the deepest regret the repeated imposition of military charges by the British War Office on the Indian tax-payer from the date of the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, in regard to which imposition the Government of India has repeatedly remonstrated.

The Congress respectfully urges upon the attention of His Majesty's Government the necessity of revising the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 in the light of the experience of the last fifty years and the desirability of laying down a fair and reasonable principle which shall free the Indian Exchequer from unjust exactions of this character.

Proposed by MR. V. V. JOGIAH OF BERHAMPUR.

Seconded by PANDIT RAMHAJA DATT CHOUDHARI OF LAHORE.

Carried unanimously.

VIII.—SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

This Congress records its satisfaction that the proposal for the separation of Executive and Judicial functions has received the sanction of the Government in some definite shape for the Province of Bengal; but is at the same time of opinion that the Scheme should also be extended throughout the country and that it will not succeed in its object unless and until the entire Judicial service be placed directly and absolutely under the High Court or Chief Court as the case may be, even in matters of promotion and transfer.

Proposed by DR. SATISCHANDER BANERJEA OF ALLAHABAD.

Seconded by MR. R. SADAGOPACHARI OF MADRAS.

Supported by BABU BISHUNPADA CHATTERJEE OF BENGAL.

Supported by MR. GOVINDA RAO APPAJI PATIL OF AHMEDABAD.

Carried unanimously.

IX.—HIGHER CAREER TO INDIANS IN THE ARMY

This Congress prays that the high recognition of the valour and fidelity of the Indian troops by His Majesty the King Emperor in his message to the Princes and People of India should include the throwing open to Indians of higher career in the Army from which, as this Congress has repeatedly pointed out, they have been hitherto excluded.

Proposed by PUNDIT RAMHAJA DATT CHOUDHARI OF LAHORE.

Seconded by MR. P. NARAYANA MENON OF MADRAS.

Supported by MR. GOVINDA SHAI SHARMA OF AGRA.

Carried unanimously.

X.—REPEAL OF REGULATIONS RELATING TO DEPORTATION AND THE RECENT DEPORTATIONS

Having regard to the recent deportations and the grave risk of injustice involved in Government action based upon *ex-parte* and untested information and having regard to the penal laws of country, this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and similar Regulations in other Provinces of India; and it respectfully prays that the persons recently deported in Bengal be given an opportunity of exculpating themselves or for meeting any charges that may be against them, or be set at liberty.

Proposed by SYED HUSSAIN IMAM OF BANKIPORE.

Seconded by BABU BHUPENDRANATH BOSE OF BENGAL.

Supported by MR. P. L. RAJPAL OF THE PANJAB.

Supported by DR. TEJBAHADUR SAPRU OF ALLAHABAD.

Carried unanimously.

XI -REPRESSIVE MEASURES

This Congress deprecates the circumstances that have led to the passing of Act VII of 1908 and Act XIV of 1908, but having regard to their drastic character and to the fact that a sudden emergency can alone afford any justification for such exceptional legislation, this Congress expresses its earnest hope that these enactments will have only a temporary existence in the Indian Statute Book.

Proposed by MR. P. R. SUNDARA AIYAR OF MADRAS.

Seconded by MR. S SINHA OF ALLAHABAD.

Supported by MR. MATHURADAS RAMCHAND OF SIND.

Carried unanimously.

XII.—LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

This Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of—

- (i) placing in regard to legislative and administrative matters the Province of Berar on the same footing as the Provinces included in British India; and.
- (ii) establishing a Legislative Council for the combined territory of the Central Provinces and Berar.

Moved from the Chair and Carried unanimously.

XIII.—HIGH PRICES OF FOOD-STUFFS

This Congress is of opinion that having regard to the high prices of food-stuffs for the past several years and the hardships to which the middle and poorer classes are put thereby, an enquiry should be instituted by Government into the causes of such high prices with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedies such causes could be removed.

Proposed by MR. C. KARUNAKARA MENON OF MADRAS.

Seconded by PROFESSOR LIMAYE OF POONA.

Supported by MR. A. C. PARTHASARTHI NAIDU OF MADRAS.

Carried unanimously.

XIV. EDUCATION

This Congress is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps,

- (a) to make Primary Education free at once and gradually compulsory throughout the country.
- (b) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes).
- (c) to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces having regard to local requirements, and
- (d) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of Education in this country.

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

Proposed by MR. A CHOUDHURI OF BENGAL.

Seconded by MR. RAO BHADUR KHANDUBHAI DESAI OF SURAT.

Supported by MR. PARMESWAR LAL OF BEHAR.

Supported by MR. UTTAMLAL K. TRIVEDI OF BOMBAY.

Supported by DR. NILRATIN SIRCAR OF BENGAL.

Carried unanimously.

XV.—LAND TAX

This Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on land, and it regrets that Lord Curzon in his Land Resolution of 1902 failed to recognise the necessity of any such limitation and declined to accept the suggestions of Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists in the matter.

This Congress holds that in Provinces where the Permanent Settlement does not now exist, a reasonable and definite limitation of the State demand and the introduction of Permanent settlement or a settlement for a period of not less than sixty years are the only true remedies for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population.

This Congress emphatically protests against the view that the land revenue in India is not a tax but is in the nature of rent.

Moved from the Chair and Carried Unanimously.

XVI.—THIS CONGRESS RECORDS ITS SENSE OF THE GREAT LOSS WHICH THE COUNTRY HAS SUSTAINED IN THE DEATH OF

- I. BABU KALICHARAN BANERJEA.
- II. PANDIT BISSHUMBAR NATH.
- III. MR. ALFRED WEBB.
- IV. BABUBUNSILAL SING AND
- V. RAI BHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU.

Moved from the Chair and Carried Unanimously.

XVII.—MESSAGE TO MR. HUME CONGRATULATIONS TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN BART AND THANKS TO THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS

(a) That the following message be addressed by the Congress to Mr. A. O. Hume.

This Congress sends you its cordial greetings and congratulations. The reforms announced by Lord Morley are a partial fruition of the efforts made by the Congress during the last twenty-three years and we are gratified to think that to you as its father and founder they must be a source of great and sincere satisfaction.

(b) This Congress offers its sincere congratulations to Sir William Wedderburn Bart on his recent recovery from a serious illness and takes this opportunity to give expression to its deep gratitude for the unflagging zeal and devotion and the love, patience and singleness of purpose with which he has laboured for the Indian cause during the last twenty years and which has been largely instrumental in securing for Congress' views and representations the favourable consideration which they have received in England.

(c) This Congress desires, to convey to the members of the British Committee its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services in the cause of India's political advancement.

Proposed by the HON'BLE MR. G. K. GOKHALE, C. I. E. OF POONA.

Carried unanimously.

Responded to by DR. C. B. CLARK OF THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE

XVIII.—THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The following gentlemen are appointed members of the All-India Congress Committee :—

MADRAS

Elected :—1. The Hon. Mr. Nawab Syed Mahomed, 2. The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 3. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 4. Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, B.A. B.L., 5. Mr. C. Karunakara Menon, B.A., 6. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastrial, B.A., L.T., 7. The Hon. Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L., 8. The Hon. Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 9. Mr. W. L. Venkataramiah, B.A., B.L., 10. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 11. Mr. G. A. Gulam Hussain Sahib Bahadur, 12. Mr. G. A. Natasan, B.A., 13. Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai, B.A., 14. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 15. Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu.

BOMBAY

Elected :—The Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parkeh, B.A., LL.B., 2. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B. (Ahmedabad), 3. Sir Balachandra Krishna Bhatavadekar, Kt. L.M., 4. The Hon. Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, B.A., LL.B. 5. The Hon. Mr. Hari Sitaram Dikshit, B.A. LL. B., 6. Rao Bahadur Khandubhai Gulabbhai Desai. L.C.E., Surat, 7. Mr. Narayan Madhav Samarth, B.A., LL.B., 8. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas. Bharwani, 9. Mr. Mathuradas Ramchand Javahri, B.A., LL.B., (Hyderabad, Sind), 10. The Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume, M.A., D.D., (Ahmednagar), 11. Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law, 12. Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Bar-at-Law, 13. Mr. Hormusji A. Wadya, (Bar-at-Law) Rajkot, Kathiawar, 14. Mr. Damodar Ganesh Padhye M.A. Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.

Ex-Officio Members :—16. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, 17. The Hon. Sir Pherozezshah, M. Mehta, K.C.I.E., M.A. 18. Mr. D. E. Wacha, 19. The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., B.A., 20. The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare B.A., LL.B.

UNITED BENGAL

Ex-Officio Members :—1. Babu Surendranath Banerjea ; 2. Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., 3. Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, 4. Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, D.L., C.I.E

Elected :—5. Babu Baikuntanath Sen, Esq, 6. Babu Ambikacharan Muzumdar, 7. Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri, 8. Babu Ananda Chandra Ray, 9. Babu Jatra Mohan Sen, 10. Aswini Kumar Dutt, 11. Babu Bishunpada Chatterjee, 12. Babu Maulvi Abul Casim, 13. Mr. A. Chaudhuri, 14. Mr. J. Ghosal, 15. Babu Heramba Chandra Mitra, 16. Babu Jogendranath. Mukerjea, 17. Dr. Nilratan Sircar, 18. Mr. J. Chaudhuri, 19. Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter, 20. Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray, 21. Moulvi Dadar Bux, 22. Babu Pramathanath Banerjea, 23. Babu Bhupendranath Bose, 24. Babu Satyananda Bose.

UNITED PROVINCES

Elected :—1. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, 2. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 3. Mr. Sachidanand Sinha, 4. Dr. Tejbahadur Sapru, 5. Dr. Satishchandra Banerjea, 6. Babu Iswar Saran, 7. Mr. Govind Sabhai Sharma, 8. Mr. Preatanath Banerjea, 9. Dr. Manohar Lal, 10. Munshi Gangaprasath Varma, 11. Pandit Gokaram Natha Misra, 12. Pandit Izbai Narain Masaldan, 13. Babu Ramachandra, 14. Mr. Sheikh Mushir Husain Kidwai, 15. Mr. A. P. Sen.

PUNJAB

Elected :—1. The Hon. Lala Harkishan Lal, 2. Mr. Lala Lajpatrai, 3. Mr. Lala Ganapat Rai, 4. Mr. Lala Dharm Das Suri, 5. Moulvi Moharrun Ali Chroty, 6. Mr. Lala Bhana Ram, 7. Mr. Lala Mukand Lal, 8. Mr. Alfred Nundy. 9. Mr. S. S. Bhatia, 10. Mr. Lala Sangam Lal, 11. Pandit Rambhaja Dutt Chaudhuri.

BEHAR

Elected :—1. Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, Patna, 2. Mr. Syed Mazhurul Huq, Patna, 3 Mr. Parmeshur Lall, Gaya, 4 Mr. Syed Najmul Huda, Bankipur, 5. Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, Bhagalpur.

BERAR

Elected :—1. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, 2. Rao Bahadur Deorao, Vinayak, 3 Mr. M. V. Joshi, 4. Mr. R. G. Mundle, 5. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

BURMA

Elected :—1. Dr. U. L. Desai, M. D. 2. Mr. Halkar.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

Elected :—1. Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, Esq., C.I.E., 2. Rao Bahadur Waman Rao M. Kolhatkar, 3. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, 4. Rao Bahadur Bapurao Dada, 5. Mr. Mahadeva Krishna Padhye, B.A., LL.B., 6. Mr. Damodar Nilkanth Khare, B.A., LL.B., 7. Mr. V. R. Dixit.

Announced from the Chair.

XIX. This Congress accords its most hearty thanks for the hospitality with which the Reception Committee has received the delegates and the perfection of the arrangements made for their comfort during their stay in Madras. The Congress also thanks the Captain, Lieutenants and Members of the Congress Corps for the trouble they have taken in looking after the comforts of the delegates and in being very diligent in preserving order throughout the Session.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

XX. That Mr. D. E. Wacha, and the Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare be appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing years

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

XXI. This Congress resolves that the next Congress assemble at Lahore.

Moved from the Chair and Carried unanimously.

MADRAS,)
The New years' day 1909.)

D. E. WACHA,
DAJI ABAJI KHARE,
General Secretaries.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Twenty-Third
Indian National Congress,
HELD AT
SURAT
ON
the 26th and 27th December 1907.

THE 23rd Indian National Congress assembled yesterday in the Pavilion erected for it by the Reception Committee at Surat at 2-30 P.M. Over sixteen hundred delegates were present. The proceedings began with an address from the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Mr. Tribhovandas Malvi the Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates said :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I consider it an inestimable privilege to have this opportunity of offering to you from my fellow-citizens of Surat most sincere and cordial greetings of welcome to this city on the occasion of the 23rd Session of the Indian National Congress. My fellow-citizens, let me assure you, consider this assemblage in their midst of Indian brothers coming from all parts of the country belonging to all religions and creeds to be the greatest honour to themselves and their old historic, but now fallen, city. They welcome you in words as well as by deeds from the bottom of their hearts. Such a gathering is an unparalleled event in the annals of this city, replete as it is with memories of its past. This year has been one of exceptional good fortune for Surat, inasmuch as it has been honoured by the sittings of the Provincial Conference as well as by those of this larger and more important body. This city was once so prosperous and rich and so famous and well known, that it had almost become a synonym for the whole of our country in the countries of Europe in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Our city was at one time the Gate of Entrance for Europeans into India, just as Bombay, the *urbs primus in Indis* now is, and the Surat of yore, can justly be said to have been in early times the predecessor of the present capital of the Presidency in its manifold prosperity. Ours was the first city in India which foreign merchants and travellers of all nationalities visited during their tours through India. At least no merchant or traveller ever thought of returning to his home from India unless he had paid a visit to our city. All European Powers of importance in the times of the Great Moghul in India had considered it worth their while to have their factories in our city, and it is on land where the French Government had once their factory that we meet to-day. Our city was the first in India to have a factory of our Rulers in its midst and in the present fulness of the glory and the prosperity of the British Empire in India, the inhabitants of Surat cannot help recalling to their minds the fact of their city being the cradle of the British Empire in

the East. And now, gentlemen, the citizens of Surat will remember in future the fact of the wise men from all parts of India having condescended to select our city as the most suitable place this year for their annual conclave to deliberate upon the ways and the means of securing a steady reform of the Government of the country, and continued usefulness for their national movement.

The tide of fortune, however, soon changed with Surat as it does with everything in Nature. When the great Mahratta warrior and founder of the Mahratta Empire, Shivaji Maharaj, was attempting to wrest the Indian Empire from the Moghuls and establish a Hindu Empire in India in its stead, this city happened to be under Moghul rule, and its very prosperity and fame became one of the chief causes of its ruin. Surat was the first to attract Shivaji's attention as a Moghul possession in Western India worth having, and he invaded it on no less than three occasions. During the invasions we did not escape the usual pillage and damage at the hands of the invaders, but as the trade of the city continued to be prosperous owing to the favourable situation of its port, the pillage of its stored wealth could not affect the condition of the city and its inhabitants in any appreciable degree. A rival port was, however, coming into existence in the Konkan, and it was destined to play an important part in the downfall of Surat, to rise from the ashes of Surat as it were, to appropriate to itself all the glories and grandeur and to be its successor as the first city in Western India. It is well-known history that the Island of Bombay was presented to the English King Charles II. by the Portuguese King as part of the dowry of his daughter Catherine who was married to the English King. The Island had a fine harbour, in fact owed its very name Bombay to the situation of its harbour. The East India Company had their eyes turned to the Island long before the acquisition thereof by the English King. They thought that, if they got Bombay, it would be the most convenient and central place of safety from which they could keep a careful watch over their possessions and trade on the Western Coast of India and in the interior. Soon after the English King got it, the East India Company began to negotiate for its transference to themselves from the Crown and within half a dozen years succeeded in securing a lease of the Island from the Crown. Gerald Aungier, who was then the Governor of Bombay and is regarded as the founder of Bombay, transferred the seat of Government from Surat to Bombay, and this event marks the second stage in the downward course of the fortunes of the city. With the transfer of the seat of the Company's Government most of the foreign trade of the city was also gradually transferred to the rising city. Reverses after reverses followed, the Empire of the Great Moghul was completely annihilated by the British, Surat itself was taken by the British and was thenceforward reduced to the position of a minor city under the Governor of Bombay. The manufactures of silk, brocade and other embroidery work as well as the art of wood-engraving, which were until then carried on by the artisans of Surat on a very large scale and had enjoyed a reputation all their own, had to give way before cheap European goods and gradually dwindled into obscurity. The last century has been the worst. It has been an almost unbroken record of fires and floods, famines and plague, and it has seen the complete ruin of the city which had commenced with its invasion by Shivaji. As our great Poet of Surat sings, these fires and floods have disfigured and destroyed the Golden Beauty of Surat. During the last 12 years Surat has also had its fair share of the dire calamities of famine and plague, which are impoverishing and devastating, it may be said, almost the whole of India. Plague this year left us only about a month ago, and what might probably turn out to be one of the worst famines on record is now staring us in the face.

The inhabitants of Surat, though now depleted of their past wealth and deprived of their historic fame and grandeur by misfortune, and passing as they have been, through times of trouble and anxiety, have still retained their pristine notions of hospitality. Surat has been for long anxious for the honour which is now somewhat tardily conferred on her. After the Session at Ahmedabad five years ago, she had made up her mind to secure the privilege as soon as possible, and the Congress was appealed to in Calcutta last year to hold its present Sessions here, but a more favoured candidate was then in the field, and Surat had to give way. Providence had, however, ruled otherwise, and our offer was repeated and accepted only a month ago.

The earnestness and sincerity of the people of Surat will best be judged by the preparations made by them in the exceedingly short time at their command. We have tried our best and strained every nerve to make thier usual necessary preparations to receive and serve our countrymen. We are conscious of the shortcomings in our preparations, and for one thing want of time has prevented us from providing for the Exhibition which has been a very instructive and useful accompaniment of the Congress Sessions for the last half-a-dozen years. I fully trust and hope, however, that it will be seen that we had very little time to cope with our work, and I dare say our Indian brothers will find sufficient compensation for our omissions in our manner and we earnestly appeal to our brothers to accept our hospitality with all its defects in the spirit in which it is offered.

Gentlemen, the Congress has now completed the 23rd year and is already, so to say, in the full flush of youth. Taking a retrospective view of its past career, we find that it has done much to fulfil its mission and to realize the expectations formed by its founders of the good to result from it. Within a few short years after its birth, it exhibited within itself signs of vitality, stability and permanence which astonished and upset its most adverse and virulent critics. As was expected, it was for several years a red rag to many Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. They attacked it in season and out of season, with reason and without reason. Their self-interest was seriously menaced by the movement, and they left no stone unturned to discredit it. All sorts of fanciful charges were levelled against it. It was urged that the British Government was perfect, and there was no need of the existence of such a body to suggest improvements in its policy. It was also stated that the Congress was only made up of a microscopic minority of Hindu lawyers in the country, and a sprinkling of some Parsis, wanting to come into prominence by hook or by crook, and to secure for themselves some of the loaves and fishes within the gift of the Government. It was accused not only of harbouring impracticable and chimerical views about Government but also of deliberately putting forward impossible demands. In some quarters, hints were also thrown out that the movement was seditious and subversive of the British Government. Hostile feelings towards the Congress were roused even among a section of the Indians themselves, and matters were carried so far that a counter-movement to support the bureaucracy was actually set on foot. Nothing daunted, however, the institution has gone on working and has survived all criticisms and attacks and has grown up and flourished, thanks to the foresight and the good sense of the patriotic helmsmen steering its ship through these storms! Their deliberations and resolutions bore on the very face of them marks of sobriety and moderation, usefulness and practicability, necessity and importance, and last though not least, complete unity and harmony among the men taking part therein. The counter-movement was found to be such a weakling that it could not live for any appreciable length of time and had to be carried to the grave in its infancy

The critics of the Congress, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, were then forced to retreat from the position they had taken up, and began reluctantly and slowly to admit its usefulness if not its importance and necessity. It was now admitted that the movement had not its origin in the ambition or avarice of briefless Hindu lawyers, but that Indians of all religions and creeds, professions and occupations, took part in its meetings and conducted their proceedings with unanimity, and that it was the Indian National Congress not merely in name, but in reality also. It also began gradually to dawn upon the members of the bureaucracy that there was some meaning after all in the annual complaints of these "agitators," that some of the defects alleged by them did exist in the administration carried on by the "infallible" British administrators, and that there was room for improvement therein on the lines suggested by the Congresswallahs. The claims of the Congress to the sympathy and support of the Rulers of India have been steadily coming to be recognised more and more by the British public and even the British Parliament. Retired Civilians and Members of Parliament like Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Henry Cotton have thought it an honour to accept the Presidentship of the Congress Sessions. Even those Members of Parliament who had not even so much as seen India before, like the late Mr. Bradlaugh, or like Mr. Keir Hardie and our present guest, Dr. Rutherford, have made no secret of their sympathies with the movement, and have openly advocated its cause. Some of them have even undertaken the trouble and the expense of a voyage to India simply for the purpose of attending the Congress. Thus Mr. Bradlaugh had come out in 1889 for the special purpose of attending the Congress presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, and Dr. Rutherford now attends as a delegate from our British Committee.

The Congress thus has not only succeeded in securing a recognition of its character, but, besides, several of its demands have had to be conceded, and its resolutions acted upon, by our Rulers. One of the most prominent changes introduced by our Ruler in the system of administration of the Government in this country in consequence of our annual meetings and annual resolutions was the expansion of the Legislative Councils in 1892. It is well known how in the past the non-official members of the Legislative Councils were at times mere nonentities nominated by Government and what part favouritism played in such nominations. Some of the nominated members knew very little of the language in which the proceedings were conducted, and in voting invariably sided with the official members. Instead of this we have now some members elected by the people, who are in every way qualified and competent to represent their constituents as regards their aims and desires and their difficulties and grievances, who are fully capable of forming independent judgments of their own as to what is best in the interest of the country, and who are perfectly unfettered in giving their votes. A scheme to further enlarge the Council and to constitute Advisory Councils is at present on the anvil, but it is not for me to enter at present into a detailed consideration of this subject. The scheme forms one of the items of deliberation, this Session and will be fully discussed by abler gentlemen later on. Suffice it to say that the Government have deemed it advisable to recognise the necessity of further improving the Councils, though the proposals drafted are, as they stand, of a most disappointing character. Another important reform urged by the Congress year after year is the separation of the Judicial and the Executive functions, and it has recently been announced that the Secretary of State has resolved to try in some parts of the country an experimental measure of that reform.

An important concession has been made in regard to the Council of the Secretary of State for India. The right of Indians to seats in the Council has been recognised, and two Indians have already been appointed as members. The advocacy of the Congress for an advance in the direction of local self-government has resulted in that subject being entrusted to the Royal Commission on Decentralisation for inquiry. The Madras and Bengal Governments have thought it worth their while to inaugurate a system of consulting non-official members before framing their budgets, and I trust other Local Governments, as also the Government of India, will imitate their example. We have also succeeded in getting the incidence of taxation lightened in some cases, *e.g.*, the reduction of the salt tax to less than half of what it formerly was and the raising of the limit of taxable incomes under the Income-Tax Act from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per annum.

These results are not to be altogether despised. But what is of more importance is that the Congress has now attained to a position of considerable influence and weight with the Government, both here and in the United Kingdom. Only the other day, the *London Times*, the most Conservative and Imperialistic journal in the British Isles, thought it necessary to admit this fact though somewhat unwillingly, and referred to the Congress in terms which, having regard to its general attitude towards Indians, must be regarded as appreciative.

The Congress has not only to maintain the present position and prestige it has acquired, but, as time goes on, to acquire fresh weight and influence. A great many more and important things have yet to be done for India in order to secure to her the full benefit of the privileges promised to her people by her late lamented Majesty Queen Victoria, in her memorable Proclamation of 1858. In achieving this end, the weight and influence of this body will be of very great use and help to the Indians. It must not be forgotten that this weight and influence has been acquired in the past by the exercise of moderation, firmness, and unity in the expression of its aims and desires, and the conduct of its deliberations. It is, therefore, incumbent on all true patriots of India, to maintain and strengthen the Congress and its reputation and position by persevering in the same policy of moderation, firmness and unity which have stood us in good stead and proved so beneficial. Any departure from this track may involve us in difficulties of which few can have any real idea. Those who have been forced to abandon their hostile attitude towards the Congress are on the alert, and will, on the least sign of any departure from the old policy of the Congress, resume their former attempts to strangle it, and if the mischief is once done, it will be very difficult, perhaps impossible also, to repair it afterwards. Differences of opinion there will exist, as they must, but, in the interests of national unity, it is necessary to keep them from going beyond a certain limit.

Since the Congress met last year, we have passed through very troublous times indeed. Eminent Indians have been seriously suspected of and charged with the highest offences against the State, *viz.*, exciting sedition, rioting and the like in most cases without justification. Somehow the idea became prevalent among the ruling class that the present year being the 50th year of the Indian Mutiny, Indians were preparing for a similar revolt, and a sort of panic seized them. To check this imaginary revolt all sorts of repressive and reactionary measures were taken. Old obsolete enactments, of the existence whereof even no one ever dreamed, were brought into requisition for the purpose of punishing people for undefined offences assumed to have been committed without giving any notice to the victims of the charges laid at their doors or giving them an opportunity of meeting these charges. The

people in certain localities were assumed to harbour treasonable intentions and meetings were prohibited in those districts, at first for a time, and we have now a very dangerous statute, in the shape of the Seditious Meetings Act, capable of general application throughout the country by a notification in the Government *Gazette*, thrust upon us.

No one deploras these incidents of the past 12 months more than ourselves, and we should not be doing our duty to our countrymen if, assembled as we are in our representative National Congress, we omitted to take notice of these deplorable events, and you will no doubt consider how best we are to give expression to our feelings and opinions in this matter. Any reactionary policy on the part of the Government is bound to cause irritation, which can be allayed by a resort to conciliation, and we ought to tell the Government so. Our countrymen on their side also owe a duty in this respect to themselves and to the Government. It is their duty to keep their heads perfectly cool and steady in such times, and to take all reasonable care that their representations and comments in expressing their disapproval of questionable measures do not give ground for any suspicion of a seditious movement lurking behind.

A great calamity is just now staring us in the face. Providence seems somehow to be against us, and the failure of the September rains and the complete holding off of the monsoons since the middle of August threatens with a failure of the khariff as well as the rabi crops this year almost throughout India. The country has been unfortunately, for about 10 years last, suffering from famines and droughts almost every third year. Past famines have already prostrated the poorer sections of the people, and especially the poor agriculturists, and how they will face this famine is a very difficult problem. The land tax, especially in the Bombay Presidency, presses very heavily on the poor. The Government must be appealed to for the adoption of liberal policy, the opening of relief works, making of advances to poor agriculturists, and the refunds and remissions of revenue. The people are totally unable to provide against the impending famine, and unless a liberal and sympathetic policy is extended to them, the end of the year will see a heavy mortality and devastation of large arable lands. We have had, however, during all our troubles of the year one great consolation for which we cannot be too thankful to Providence. Our Grand Old Man, the nestor of Indian politicians, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has recovered from his somewhat alarming illness and I trust that an earnest and fervent prayer from every one present here will go up that the Great Dispenser may spare him to us for a long time to come to assist and bless us in our work. Even in his present old age the old man is actively striving for our country, and it is no exaggeration to say that it will be impossible for us to find an equal to him.

We have seen how we have succeeded in eliciting a favourable consideration of a great many of our representations in the past, by making them firmly and unanimously and in a spirit of complete loyalty and absolute moderation. It would be simply presumptuous on my part to say anything about the future policy of the Congress, but, in my humble opinion, if the same policy is pursued we should meet with a similar success in the future, and that a departure from such lines would be exceedingly disastrous. Loyalty, moderation, firmness and unity in all our deliberations, resolutions and representations should be our mottoes and we cannot keep them too much in sight.

I again tender to you a warm and hearty welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee and the inhabitants of Surat and request you to proceed with the business of the Session. The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the

eminent lawyer of Calcutta and member of the Council of the Governor-General, who is so well known all over the country, has been designated President of the Session by the Reception Committee in pursuance of the resolutions passed at the last Sessions, and he has kindly accepted the post. His election will have to be formally proposed and seconded before he takes the chair, and I request Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Desai to put the formal proposition before the meeting.

After the reading of the address was over, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal proposed that the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose having been nominated by the Reception Committee for the office of President under the rules adopted at the last Session of the Congress, he should take the Presidential chair. As soon as the Dewan Bahadur uttered Dr. Ghose's name some voices were heard in the body of the hall shouting "no, no," and the shouting was kept up for some time. The proposer, however, somehow managed to struggle through his speech; and the Chairman then called upon Babu Surendranath Banerjee to second the proposition. As soon, however as he begun his speech—before he had finished even his first sentence—a small section of the delegates began an uproar from their seats with the object of preventing Mr. Banerjee from speaking. The Chairman repeatedly appealed for order but no heed was paid. Every time Mr. Banerjee attempted to go on with his speech he was met by disorderly shouts. It was clear that rowdiness had been determined upon to bring the proceedings to a stand-still, and the whole demonstration seemed to have been pre-arranged. Finding it impossible to enforce order, the Chairman warned the House that unless the uproar subsided at once, he would be obliged to suspend the sitting of the Congress. The hostile demonstration, however, continued and the Chairman at last suspended the sitting for the day.

The Congress again met to-day at 1 P.M., due notice of the meeting having been sent round. As the President-elect was being escorted in procession through the Hall to the platform, an overwhelming majority of the delegates present greeted him with a most enthusiastic welcome, thereby showing how thoroughly they disapproved the organised disorder of yesterday. As this procession was entering the Pandal a small slip of paper written in pencil and bearing Mr. B. G. Tilak's signature was put by a volunteer into the hands of Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was a notice to the Chairman that after Mr. Banerjee's speech seconding the proposition about the President was concluded, Mr. Tilak wanted to move "an amendment for an adjournment of the Congress." The Chairman considered a notice of adjournment at that stage to be irregular and out of order. The proceedings were then resumed at the point at which they had been interrupted yesterday, and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee was called upon to conclude his speech. Mr. Banerjee having done this, the Chairman called upon Pandit Motilal Nehru of Allahabad to support the motion. The Pandit supported it in a brief speech and the Chairman put the motion to the vote. An overwhelming majority of the delegates signified their assent by crying "all, all" and a small minority shouted "no, no." The Chairman thereupon declared the motion carried and the Hon. Dr. Ghose was installed in the Presidential chair amidst loud and prolonged applause. While the applause was going on, and as Dr. Ghose rose to begin his address, [*vide* Appendix A—The President's address intended to be delivered at Surat.] Mr. Tilak came upon the platform and stood in front of the President. He urged that as he had given notice of an "amendment to the Presidential election," he should be permitted to move his amendment. Thereupon, it was pointed out to him by Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee that his notice was not for "an amendment to the

“Presidential election,” but it was for “an adjournment of the Congress,” which notice he had considered to be irregular and out of order at that stage; and that the President having been duly installed in the chair no amendment about his election could be then moved. Mr. Tilak then turned to the President and began arguing with him. Dr. Ghose in his turn, stated how matters stood and ruled that his request to move an amendment about the election could not be entertained. Mr. Tilak thereupon said, “I will not submit to this I will now appeal from the President to the delegates.” In the meantime an uproar had already been commenced by some of his followers, and the President who tried to read his address could not be heard even by those who were seated next to him. Mr. Tilak with his back to the President, kept shouting that he insisted on moving his amendment and he would not allow the proceedings to go on. The President repeatedly appealed to him to be satisfied with his protest and to resume his seat. Mr. Tilak kept on shouting frantically, exclaiming that he would not go back to his seat unless he was “bodily removed.” This persistent defiance of the authority of the chair provoked a hostile demonstration against Mr. Tilak himself and for some time, nothing but loud cries of “Shame, Shame,” could be heard in the Pandal. It had been noticed, that when Mr. Tilak was making his way to the platform some of his followers were also trying to force themselves through the volunteers to the platform with sticks in their hands. All attempts on the President’s part either to proceed with the reading of his address or to persuade Mr. Tilak to resume his seat having failed, and a general movement among Mr. Tilak’s followers to rush the platform with sticks in their hands being noticed, the President, for the last time, called upon Mr. Tilak to withdraw and formally announced to the assembly that he had ruled and he still ruled Mr. Tilak out of order and he called upon him to resume his seat. Mr. Tilak refused to obey and at this time a shoe hurled from the body of the Hall, struck both Sir Pherozeshaha Metha and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee who were sitting side by side. Chairs were also hurled towards the platform and it was seen that Mr. Tilak’s followers who were brandishing their sticks wildly were trying to rush to the platform which other delegates were endeavouring to prevent. It should be stated here that some of the delegates were so exasperated by Mr. Tilak’s conduct that they repeatedly asked for permission to eject him bodily from the Hall; but this permission was steadily refused. The President, finding that the disorder went on growing and that he had no other course open to him, declared the Session of the Twenty-third Indian National Congress suspended *sine die*. After the lady-delegates present on the platform had been escorted to the tents outside, the other delegates began with difficulty to disperse, but the disorder having grown wilder the Police eventually came in and ordered the Hall to be cleared.

RASH BEHARI GHOSE,

President.

DATED }
27th December 1907. }

TRIBHOVANDAS N. MALVI,

Chairman.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

D. E. WACHA,

G. K. GOKHALE,

Joint General Secretaries,

23rd INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

Held at SURAT

On the 28th December 1907.

After the adjournment of the 23rd Indian National Congress *sine die* under the most painful circumstances on the afternoon of the 27th December, a large number of the leading delegates met the same evening at about 4 p. m. in Sir P. M. Mehta's quarters to consider what steps should be taken to continue the work of the Congress.

At this meeting it was unanimously resolved that a National Convention be held at Surat on the next day (28th December,) and the following notice calling the Convention was issued:

The 23rd Indian National Congress having been suspended *sine die* under painful circumstances the undersigned have resolved with a view to the orderly conduct of future political work in the country to call a Convention of those delegates to the Congress who are agreed :—

(1) That the attainment by India of Self-government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and participation by her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members is the goal of our political aspirations.

(2) That the advance towards this goal is to be by strictly constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of existing system of administration and by promoting *National Unity* fostering public spirit, and improving the condition of the mass of the people.

(3) And that all meetings held for the promotion of the aims and objects above indicated have to be conducted in an orderly manner with due submission to the authority of those that are entrusted with the power to control their procedure and they are requested to attend at 1 p. m. on Saturday the 28th December 1907, in the Pandal lent for the purpose by the working Committee of the Reception Committee of the 23rd Indian National Congress.

(Signed) RASH BEHARI GHOSE.
PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA.
SUREDRANATH BANERJEE.
G. K. GOKHALE.
D. E. WACHA,
NARENDRANATH SEN.
AMBALAL SAKERAL DESAI.
V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER.
TRIBHOVANDAS N. MALVI.
MADAN MOHAN MALVIYA
and many others.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

The Convention met at the Congress Pandal at 1 p. m. on the 28th December. Over nine hundred delegates subscribed to the terms of the Convention and attended it.

Dr. Ghose, accompanied by the Moderate leaders arrived at 1 p. m. and received a tremendous ovation.

Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta, in opening the Convention, said :

I remember that once from the Congress platform I spoke of an unconventional Convention for the purpose of promoting the interests of the country. I did not think then that in process of time we should really have to meet in the form of a convention for the purpose of resuscitation, if you will, reincarnating if you desire, the work which has gone on for 23 years with the co-operation of all provinces of this country. You were asked to attend here to-day for the purpose of forming a convention of that character. I think you will all agree with me that we can ask no better person than Dr. Ghose to take the chair on such a memorable occasion and preside over our deliberations. I therefore request him to take the chair.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea in seconding said :

We are about to enter upon what may be regarded as a new stage in the development of this great movement. 'The King is dead : long live the King'—Congress is dead. (Cries of "no, no.") Only to live long, I am perfectly certain, that with a constitution revised and resuscitated. We now enter upon a stage of usefulness fraught with the most momentous results to the fortunes of this country.

Lala Lajpat Rai who rose to support was received with great demonstrations of sympathy and affection, the gathering responding enthusiastically to a call for three cheers. He said :

While thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the kind reception you have accorded me, I beg to associate myself with the proposal that has just been made. I wish it was not necessary for me to associate myself with the proposal to-day. Had we gone on with the proceedings in a normal manner it would have been unnecessary but as misfortune will have it that was not destined. To-day we meet. Notwithstanding all our misfortune we are determined to continue our work and thereby give proof to the world that with all our internal quarrels we are all agreed in the service of the country and that under no circumstances are we going to desert the banner under which we have been fighting.

Several others supported the motion which was put and carried unanimously.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose took the chair and said:—

You are all aware of the painful circumstances under which I was most reluctantly and painfully compelled to suspend the sittings of the Congress yesterday. We are met this afternoon, not in Congress but in Convention and that Convention consists of delegates who have subscribed to what I may describe as two fundamental articles of our creed.

With the object of formulating a constitution for the Congress, and laying down the lines on which our political agitation should be carried on it is proposed to form a representative committee who will frame rules for the orderly conduct of our future political work in the country. He then called upon Mr. Gokhale to move the resolution appointing the Committee.

Mr. Gokhale said that the Committee he was to name would draw up a constitution on the lines laid down in the declaration of the creed which all of them had signed.

The Committee he was to propose would consist of over 100 members. It was difficult to say when the Committee would finish its labours. If possible the Committee would meet during Easter. If not in September. The Committee would meet that day for the first time after the dissolution of the convention. Speaking on his own authority he would say that so far

as one could see the programme of the body they were trying to bring into existence would for all practical purposes be the same as that of the Congress for which they had worked for 28 years. He then read the names of the Committee which included all leading Congress men from all the Provinces who had signed the articles of creed that day.

Mr. Gokhale formally moved the adoption of all these names for the Committee which was also to make arrangements for the first meeting of the body to be brought into existence under the new constitution.

Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer seconded the motion and said that he had no doubt the Committee would fully justify the confidence reposed in them by drawing up a constitution which would be for the good of the body and last for a good length of time.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri supported it. The motion appointing the Committee was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Sir Pherozeshah Metha, Messrs. Gokhale and D. E. Wacha were appointed Joint Secretaries to the Committee.

Sir Pherozeshah in moving a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Ghose exhorted the delegates from all Provinces to prepare well reasoned and carefully drawn memorials in regard to the new reform proposals. Bombay was preparing such a memorial and it was the duty of every Province to send well reasoned representations in support of the views of the country on proposals which attacked educated Indians, especially lawyers, in an absolutely unjustifiable and undeserved manner. All these must be put down in their representations. He also advised that the delegates assembled there might have an informal conference and discuss this and other matters of interest.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

The Convention was then dissolved by Dr. Ghose.

Proceedings of the Committee

APPOINTED BY

THE CONVENTION AT SURAT

Held at ALLAHABAD

On the 18th and 19th April 1908.

Present :—THE HON. DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE, C. I. E.

President, Convention Committee

and the Members of the Committee.

The Committee drew up the constitution of the Indian National Congress Organization on the lines laid down in the declaration of the creed signed by all the members of the Convention at Surat, and Rules for the conduct and Regulation of the meeting of the Indian National Congress. The constitution containing Thirty-one Articles and the Rules Thirty-one in number are set out in Appendix B. The President and Secretaries of the Convention Committee were entrusted with the duty of arranging for the holding of a meeting of the Congress during Christmas 1908, in accordance with the constitution.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Twenty-Third
Indian National Congress
Held at MADRAS

On the 28th, 29th and 30th December 1908.

First Day's Proceedings.

1st Day, Monday, 28th December, 1908.

THE Twenty-third Session of the Indian National Congress assembled at noon on the 28th December 1908 in the Pandal specially constructed on the Elphinstone grounds on the Mount Road. The approaches to the Congress pavilion were crowded from early morning with enthusiastic spectators, a short distance from the pavilion on the Mount Road were two triumphal arches, and the main entrance was flanked by two artistic towers with turrets at each wing. The interior of the pavilion was draped entirely with white giving added lightness to the well-proportioned building. The dais, running the whole breadth on the northern side from east to west, was draped with red and immediately in front of the President's table was the Union Jack bearing an inscription "Truth, Light, Love" and "Vande Mataram" and an outline of India. The pillars were also clothed in white festooned with coloured draperies.

For the first time in the history of the Congress movement it assembled with a constitution and a statement of objects, acceptance of which was made a condition precedent to enrolment of members. At 12 noon the scene presented at the pavilion was one of great animation and enthusiasm. The blocks allotted for the delegates of the various Provinces in the central portion of the pavilion were rapidly filling and the seats reserved for visitors were also being taken up by the several hundreds who had purchased tickets of admission.

The President, the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, arrived shortly after noon from Tawker's gardens accompanied by Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, C. I. E., the Chairman of the Reception Committee. He was received at the entrance of the Congress grounds by the Secretaries and the Captain of the Congress Corps, and conducted in procession which was headed by a native band round the pavilion to the President's tent behind the platform on the north. After a few minutes' stay there, a procession was formed in the following order:—Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Captain of the Congress Corps and his Lieutenant Mr. V. Purushothama Aiyar, the Secretaries Mr. V. Rynu Nambiyar, Dewan Bahadur L.A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, Mr. V. Masilamani Pillai, and Mr. A.S. Balasubramani Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, C.I.E., Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., the Hon'ble Mr. D. A. Khare, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta and the President. The procession walked up the central aisle to the strains of the

First Day.
—
Arrival
of the President
—

First Day.
 ———
 Singing of the
 National Anthem.
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Indian National Anthem and the President was received with tumultuous applause and loud cries of Vande Mataram. On the President arriving on the platform "Indian's National Anthem" was sung by a number of delegates to the tune of "God Save the King" and the accompaniment of a piano and violin, the audience standing. The following is the National Anthem:—

Hail Land of ancient name,
 Bharat of holy fame,
 Motherland mine !
 Teach me to know thy worth,
 O, Land of Sacred Birth,
 Thou Soul of All the Earth,
 My heart is thine !

Land where the Sages walk,
 Where Saints and Prophets talk,
 Blest be thy clime !
 The glory of thy past
 Awakes to life at last,
 In all the splendour vast
 Of that bright time.

Where'er my feet may roam,
 Thou art my well-loved home,
 My country dear !
 The Magic of thy air
 And all thy beauties rare
 But haunt me everywhere,
 Both far and near.

Bharata's sons arise
 And sing unto the skies
 Fair India's praise.
 Her ideals are not dead
 For which her children bled,
 She proudly rears her head
 To greet new days.

Then let her watchword be
 That word of harmony,
 Peace, blessed Peace !
 Its potency shall sway,
 All that obstructs the way,
 To bring the perfect day,
 When strife shall cease.

Nations arise and fall,
 But thou dost stand through all,
 Unchanged by time.
 So shall it ever be,
 Child of Eternity,
 The Gods do favour thee
 With grace sublime.

The storm may beat thy brow,
 But strong in faith art thou,
 The calm to see.
 The heritage divine
 To save all worlds is thine,
 For æons shall it shine
 Their light to be.

On the platform at the head of the pavilion were accommodated distinguished visitors and the members of the Reception Committee and a large number of ladies. Among those present there were past Presidents, like Sir Pheroza Mehta, Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, Mr. D. E. Wacha, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, and prominent Congress leaders like the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Bose, Mr. A. Chowdhury, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, C. I. E., Mr. J. B. Petit, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohun Malavya, the Hon'ble Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, The Hon. Lala Harkishanlal, Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai; also Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey, Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi, Mr. K. Perraju Pantulu, Hon'ble Mr. D. A. Khare, Mr. N. N. Samarth, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, Mr. M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar, Mr. R. C. Cama, Pandit Gangaprasad Varma, Mr. Lalubai Samaldas, Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachariar, Mr. P. N. Purniah, Mr. C. Setalwad, the Hon'ble the Raja of Kollangode, the Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai, Mr. J. Ghosal, Dr. C. B. Clark, M. P., Mr. K. Venkata Rao, the Hon'ble Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai, Mr. C. Karunakara Menon, Dewan Bahadur D. Seshagiri Rao, Mr. Ruru Nambiar, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Rao Bahadur M. Audinarayana Aiyar, Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Rao, Rev. Dr. Skinner, the Hon'ble Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, the Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad, Babu A. C. Mazumdar, the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mr. A. M. Jinnah, Mr. J. Chowdhury, Mr. Pandithurai Thevar, Mr. N. Pattabhirama Rao, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Mr. W. L. Venkataramayya, Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, Mr. V. Ruru Nambiyar and Mr. A. S. Balasubrahmani Aiyar.

First Day.

Address of the
Chairman of the
Reception
Committee.

WELCOME TO THE DELEGATES.

After all the delegates and visitors had taken their seats, Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, C. I. E., the Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates delivered the following address :—

Hon'ble Dr. RASH BEHARI GHOSE, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee, I most cordially welcome you to this session of the Indian National Congress. I cannot adequately express my thankfulness to the Committee for the honor they have done me in entrusting me with the pleasant duty of welcoming on this great occasion, a large number of educated, intelligent and public spirited gentlemen devoted to the cause of the peaceful regeneration of India. You have come from different and distant parts of India, in obedience to the call of your mother-country, to take part in the deliberations of this august assembly, at a great sacrifice and inconvenience to yourselves. Within the short time at their disposal, and amidst many difficulties, the Reception Committee have spared no pains to make satisfactory arrangements for your stay among us. But they regret that they have not been able to accord you a more fitting reception. They however feel certain that you will kindly take their will for the deed and overlook any shortcomings in the arrangements made for your convenience and comfort.

We are meeting this year under peculiar circumstances. The ever-regrettable incidents that prevented the holding of the last session of the Congress are still fresh in our memory. Although 12 months have now elapsed, there has not been effected that complete union which results from calm and dispassionate deliberation that generally follows sudden outbursts of temper. To wait to summon this session of the

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Address of the
Chairman of the
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Committee.
—

Congress until all the differences are adjusted, would mean its long, if not, indefinite postponement. The differences that exist are not, after all, a great evil. They may be taken as a blessing in disguise, if they act as a stimulus for us to work in the cause of our country with zeal and earnestness.

During the last two years, many remarkable events have occurred and several important legislative and administrative measures have been introduced. On these measures, which relate to our vital interests, the deliberate and collective opinion of the leaders of Indian thought in different parts of this great Peninsula has to be pronounced. The Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India has proposed important reforms which call for our careful consideration and for the expression of our views. They are conceived in a liberal spirit and may be taken as a substantial instalment of reform. These proposals mark, as His Lordship himself has observed, "the opening of a very important Chapter in the history of the relation between Great Britain and India." Even more than the actual proposals, the spirit that dominates them is welcome. We cannot be too grateful to his Lordship whose master-hand is visible in every important detail of the proposals, for the broadminded sympathy with our aspirations and ambitions and for the assurance that an era of progressive administration is to be inaugurated wherein the people will have a real voice in the management of their own concerns. The doing away with the official majority in the Provincial Councils, is a distinct and liberal concession to responsible public opinion and has removed an incub whose existence always gave an air of unreality and formality to the discussions in the Legislative Councils. Next comes the power intended to be conferred on the Councils to pass resolutions in the form of recommendations, on administrative matters, for the consideration of Government. The responsibility which a Government incurs by lightly disregarding the recommendations made by a regularly constituted body, is by no means small. The proposed admission of an Indian Member to the Executive Councils is a most important step, the results of which are bound to be abiding and far-reaching. There is much to be said in favour of the proposals regarding the discussion of the budget in Councils, Electoral Colleges, improvement of Local Fund Boards and Municipalities. But I feel that I should not take up your time with a detailed consideration of them, as they will form the subject of your deliberations.

Ever since he came to the India Office, Lord Morley has been trying his best to understand us and advance the cause of Indian progress. He has given signal proof of his sincere sympathy with our aspirations, by appointing 2 of our countrymen as his Councillors, and in this Presidency the Hon'ble Mr. Sivaswami Aiyar and the Hon'ble Mr. Abdur Rahim as Advocate-General and Second Indian Judge of the High Court of Madras, respectively. While he found it necessary to sanction certain repressive measures in the paramount interests of peace and order, he has taken care to see that their operation was confined to the gravest of cases and to certain disturbed areas, and that the new powers are exercised with moderation. It is the first duty of Government to preserve peace and order; and if in meeting such responsibility, they take strong measures, we are bound to give them such united and whole-hearted support as lies in our power. There may be differences of opinion as to what is the best method of dealing with the anarchical development in the country; but as to the necessity of putting it down by a strong hand, there can be none. The creation of a special bench of 3 Judges of the High Court to try certain classes of grave offences, and the limitation of the Seditious Meetings' Act to a period of 3 years evidence the strong desire of the Government to respect the liberty of the subject, as far as the circumstances within their knowledge permitted. The proposed reforms bear testimony to their generosity in dealing with Indian problems.

The philanthropic gentlemen who constitute the Indian Party in the House of Commons and who have magnanimously made our cause their own, will be very anxious to know what we collectively think of the proposed reforms. I seriously ask Indians of all shades of opinion whether the formation and expression of collective and authoritative opinion, is possible without meeting in Congress. We have already lost the opportunity of giving early expression to our views on the events of 1907, by the lamentable disruption of the Surat Session of the Congress. "Better late than never" may be a good rule in the ordinary concerns of life. But in politics, "delay is dangerous." Belated expression of opinion is worse than silence. No Government whatever be its constitution, likes to recall the measures once sanctioned by it, lest its prestige for sound judgment and firmness may suffer. No opportunity should therefore be lost to organise and give an early expression to public opinion on the proposed measures. It is the duty of those who have faith in constitutional agitation, to see that the Sessions of Congress are regularly held and that the opinion of the whole country is recorded in good time.

A section of our countrymen taunt us as the followers of a mendicant policy, by which name they describe constitutional agitation. Constitutional agitation is nothing but the exercise of the subjects' right of petitioning the Sovereign, which the British Nation (the first among the *free* nations of the world) obtained after a long struggle, and values as one of its best privileges. Our highest ambition has been and is to be placed on a par with European British subjects in every respect. We need not therefore be ashamed of exercising the right of petitioning the Government for redress of our grievances and for the acquisition of fresh rights and privileges. No Government (Native or Foreign) has ever granted privileges or conceded rights, unasked. Even a mother, the dearest of relations, does not anticipate all the wants of her child. So long as we have our wants and so long as we have our aspirations, we must ask our rulers to help us. Is it possible under any Government to obtain redress without appealing to the governing body, by whatever name it may be called? We have no grounds to say that in the past, our representations received no consideration from Government. The increased employment of our countrymen in the higher ranks of public service, the reforms in the Legislative Councils, the experiment now being made in Bengal to separate the Judicial from the Executive Service, the reduction of the duty on salt and the raising of the minimum of taxable incomes may be mentioned among the measures introduced in response to Indian opinion. There is, no doubt, a very keen feeling that Government have not moved as fast as our intellectual and moral progress warrants; but we cannot say that they have stood still. The present attitude of the Indian and the Home Governments is full of hope for us. We have also the most authoritative assurance in the Gracious Message of His Majesty the King Emperor addressed to the Princes and Peoples of India on the 1st November last, that the progress henceforward will be steadfast and sure. This assurance has been followed by the important reform proposals which Lord Morley has placed before the Parliament and the country. With these facts before us, can anyone say that our demands have received no consideration from the Government?

Constitutional agitation being necessary in the best interests of India, we invited this Congress to this city. In the ordinary course, it is our turn to hold this year's Session. We have not taken the burden or responsibility of others in inviting you to this City. We are simply discharging our duty. May the Merciful Disposer of all events bless us with success!

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Address of the
Chairman of the
Reception
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 —
**Address of the
 Chairman of the
 Reception
 Committee.**
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A most gratifying feature of this Session of the Congress is that it is held under a constitution. Past Sessions were often reproached by even friendly critics as unregulated gatherings, although they were conducted according to the well established usages governing the procedure of similar assemblies. That reproach has been happily removed. It must be said to the credit of the said occurrences of Surat, that they opened our eyes to the necessity for a written constitution and rules of procedure. In this age of codification, we cannot afford to continue to be governed by unwritten usages. You are aware that a large number of delegates who had met at Surat appointed a Committee to frame the necessary regulations. The members of this Committee met at Allahabad in April last. Amongst those that met, were legislators of repute, and gentlemen of great intelligence, high culture, varied and long experience and, above all, distinguished for their valuable services to the Congress cause. After a deliberate consideration, the Committee framed the constitution and the rules of procedure according to which this Session of the Congress is to conduct its proceedings. The first Article of the constitution is nothing but the embodiment of the principles established with the consent of all parties at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 under the presidency of Dadabhai Naorojee—our Grand Old Man—who by his unparalleled devotion to the political regeneration of India and by his eminent services to our country in and out of Congress, has earned the esteem, affection and gratitude of all his fellow-subjects in the British Empire. So far as I can see, there does not seem to be any difference of opinion as to the propriety of the provisions of the first article in the constitution. Except the provisions relating to the powers of the President and to the manner of taking votes in certain cases, all the other regulations are what ordinary associations in all civilised countries observe in the conduct of their business. Considering the importance of the Congress which is the premier national assembly of the whole of India and the paramount necessity of preserving order during its deliberations, the powers conferred on the President cannot be said to be unreasonable or excessive. The fact that the Venerable Mr. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn and Dadabhai Naorojee have set the seal of their high authority *on the constitution and the rules*, ought to be a sufficient guarantee their reasonableness and fairness and should commend themselves to all parties. I do not of course claim perfection for them. They may be found imperfect in some respects, as they are only human acts. We must remember what Alexandar Pope said on Criticism:

“Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see,
 “Thinks what never was, nor is nor ever shall be.”

It is of course open to the Congress to modify any rule found by actual experience to be inexpedient or unworkable, without affecting the principles embodied in the first article of the constitution.

However perfect laws may be, they will fail to secure the object in view unless they are implicitly obeyed. I entertain no doubt that those who take part in this Congress will loyally support the constitution. To so enlightened and wise an assembly as this, no words of exhortation from me are necessary to exercise the great virtues of patience and tolerance in the conduct of the very serious business we have before us. “Harmony” must be our motto. We must judge of measures irrespective of their authors and sink personal differences in the pursuit of great and good objects. Nothing will be more lamentable than that the differences on non-essential points should stand in the way of our harmonious action. The disgraceful scenes of Surat are enough for all time to come. I therefore most solemnly appeal to all my countrymen to act as one man to secure the continuity and stability of the Congress.

A great deal of discussion has been going on about the ideal to which political movements in India should tend. As you are aware, absolute autonomy is the one proposed in certain quarters. No doubt, political thinkers of all shades of opinion are agreed that as a matter of abstract principle and as a philosophic doctrine, absolute freedom, ought to be the ideal to which nations should aspire. Our concern however is not with theoretical perfection but with practical politics. We have to enormously develop our industrial resources and considerably strengthen our capacity for corporate action. It will not do therefore that we should be carried away by the grandeur of the ideal of absolute autonomy without consideration of the long, weary and even useless steps that will have to be taken. As free and full a self-Government as can be had within the British Empire, is, I hold, as noble and inspiring an ideal as can be thought of in the conditions of our country, to stimulate our political activity and weld us into a nation worthy of the traditions of the past and fitted to play its part in the economy of the world. I can conceive of nothing more certain to retard, nay, to stay our progress altogether than what is being done by some who place absolute autonomy as the ideal to be striven for, before the young and undeveloped minds whose capacity for mature judgment is not so sound as their imagination is powerful, and work upon their sentiments and lead them to form habits of thought and action subversive of the best interests of the country.

I beg to invite the attention of all Congressmen to the sage counsel given by our most sincere and staunch friends and well-wishers—Mr. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn in their letter addressed to me as the Chairman of the Reception Committee and published last month in all the leading papers of India. The only return we can make to them for their long disinterested, never-ceasing and philanthropic service in the cause of Indian progress, is to respect their advice and act up to it.

I cannot resist the temptation of repeating here the following sound and practical advice of the great Indian Statesman—the late Raja Sir T. Madava Rao—who was the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee in the session held in this City in 1887 :—

“ Let us stand firm in our conviction that these gatherings are useful and desirable for a multitude of reasons. Let our single aim be to justify ourselves by invariable loyalty, good sense and moderation in our thoughts, words and deeds. . . . Much irritation and retaliation will be avoided if the mutual dependence of the rulers and the ruled is steadily kept in view. With the ruled it must be a postulate that the rulers err from ignorance and in spite of their efforts to avoid mistakes. By the rulers, it must be taken for granted that when subjects petition and expostulate, it is not in a spirit of disputation or cavilling, much less of disaffection and disloyalty; but only to enlighten those holding sway over them and in a peaceful and constitutional manner to have their wishes understood and their grievances made known.”

I do not intend to anticipate the subjects which will be placed before you after they are duly considered by the Subjects Committee. I will however make a few general observations on the “unrest” in India. It cannot be denied that there is discontent throughout the country, in varying degrees. This is mainly due to the growing poverty of the masses owing to various causes, such as the increase of population, the decline of Indian arts and industries the abnormal rise in the prices of all the necessaries of life, and the heavy taxation. The attempts that are being made to increase the indigenus manufactures are not meeting with adequate success mostly for want of the requisite and up-to-date technical skill and training. The Government technical institutions, extremely few in number and very limited in their scope,

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have yet to show that they are effective agencies for the improvement of our industrial status. The avenues for emigration are being closed gradually. What should be due under the circumstances to solve the problem of ever-increasing poverty, is the question put by every thinking person without eliciting an answer. The Indian mind has been traditionally trained to look to the Sovereign for redress of all temporal ills. Our ancient literature contains instances of subjects holding their King responsible for natural but premature deaths and calling upon him to restore the dead to life. It is not strange that people brought up under such ideals should look to the Government for help when they are in want and without adequate means of meeting it, and feel discontented if the anticipated help does not come to them. The inadequate response hitherto made by Government, to our demands based upon legitimate aspirations and ambitions has also contributed its quota to the stock of prevailing discontent. A more liberal policy towards and active sympathy with our pressing wants and aspirations, which are happily now in evidence, will I feel sure, remove it.

It is a matter of deep regret that the prevailing discontent has some time found expression in intemperate and unwarranted language giving rise to prosecutions for sedition, and in a few cases, led to the commission for most outrageous crimes hitherto unknown in India and universally abhorred. There is a deplorable tendency in some Anglo-Indian and English papers and in not a few European Circles to treat the wicked deeds of an insignificantly few persons as evidence of general disloyalty to the British Government. If "disloyalty" means the desire of the subversion of British Rule, I most *emphatically* deny the existence of any disloyalty except perhaps in the minds of a few thoughtless, insane, mischievous, and anarchically inclined persons. The anarchists are causing immense injury to the causes of Indian progress by their abominable and sinful acts which necessarily induce the Government to adopt repressive measures. Such measures mean further increase in Military and Police charges and ultimately lead to additional taxation and curtailment of expenditure on schemes for the promotion of the material prosperity of India. The anarchists do not seem to realise that they are bringing the innocent portion of their countrymen who form fortunately by far the great majority of Indian population, into undeserved suspicion and even trouble, and that their mother-country now requires most undisturbed peace for its advancement in commerce and industries. It is the sincere wish of every sane Indian that outrages on humanity and good Government so foreign to the spirit and traditions of the people should speedily disappear in the general interests of the country.

Turning from this sad picture, I am most happy to say that the General feelings of all classes of His Majesty's subjects throughout India towards the British Government is one deep gratitude for the many blessings conferred on India, the most important of which are security of life and property, liberal education, medical and famine reliefs, sanitation and facilities of communication. The recent Loyal Celebration of the Royal Proclamation Day and the demonstration of loyalty to the British Raj which it evoked are strongest proofs of the existing feeling of devotion to the British Government. The Indian cry for reform is similar in character to the cry of the suffragists and of the unemployed in England. In countries which have Parliamentary institutions, the Government shares with the people, the odium for the existence of grievances while, in countries where people have no real voice in the administration of public affairs, the whole blame necessarily falls on the Government.

It is with the deepest regret that I refer here to the great loss the country has sustained in the deaths of Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E., and

Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar, K.L., C.I.E., most of you had the privilege of personal acquaintance with Mr. Ananda Charlu, and knew him as a distinguished and zealous worker in the Congress cause. He regularly attended the sessions of the Congress, Provincial and District Conferences and almost all local public meetings ; and took an active part in their deliberations. The fact that he was unanimously elected the President of the Congress held at Nagpur and that he conducted its proceedings with great success, bear the strongest testimony to the high estimation in which he was held by all parties. In the Supreme Legislative Council of India, he, as the Representative of this Presidency, fearlessly defended and judiciously promoted the popular cause. What was most remarkable in him was his ready wit and humour which removed the tinge of offensiveness, from even his most severe criticisms. Although Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar did not take part in any popular movement which had for its object, the redress of grievances or legislative or administrative reforms, he may be truly said to have indirectly supported the Congress cause. By his high intellectual powers, conspicuous forensic abilities, deep research in the domains of law and sturdy independence, he proved the justice of the demand made by the Congress, for increasing the share of qualified Indians in the higher grades of public service. It is a distinct concession to his extraordinary merit that the most responsible and trusted office of Advocate-General is now held by our countrymen. As the Advocate-General, as a Member of the Local Legislative Council, as a Judge of the High Court and as a Senator and Member of the Syndicate of the Madras University, he rendered signal services to his country and boldly stood for what he believed to be right and just. It will be long, before the great gaps caused by the removal of these two illustrious and worthy sons of India from the scenes of their earthly labours, are filled.

Under the constitution, the power of electing the President of the Congress, is, you know, vested in the Provincial Congress Committees and the Reception Committee. These bodies have unanimously elected the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E., as the President of this Congress. His high literary and legal attainments, his eminence at the bar, his signal services as a Member of the Viceregal Legislative Council, his thorough grasp of Indian problems, his enlightened patriotism and independence, are well known to you all. The electors must be congratulated on the excellent selection they have made. As Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was the President of the Committee which framed the constitution and rules of procedure, he is eminently qualified to preside over the proceedings of this session of the Congress and guide us in the conduct of our business. I need hardly remind you that his efficiency as President depends more upon your unstinted and cordial support than upon his eminent attainments and virtues. I most earnestly entreat you to follow his guidance and respect his authority.

At the conclusion of his address the Chairman called upon the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammed to propose the motion requesting the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E., to take the Presidential chair.

INSTALLATION OF THE PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammed in proposing that Dr. Rash Behari Ghose do take the chair said:—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I consider it a great privilege to be asked to move the resolution which has been entrusted to me. Our esteemed countryman and my honoured friend Dr. Rash Behari Ghose (*cheers*) is so well known to you all that it is quite unnecessary for me to say anything by way of introduction. Gentlemen, you will, I have no doubt, be eager to hear his masterly address and without taking up your time any

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Installation of
the President.

The Hon'ble
NAWAB SYED
MUHAMMED.

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**Rao Bahadur
R. N. MUD-
HOLKAR.**

more I have much pleasure in moving that the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose be requested to preside over the deliberations of this Congress (loud and continued cheers).

RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR SAID :—Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in associating myself with the proposal made by my friend the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammed that Dr. Rash Behari Ghose be requested to take the chair. Gentlemen, as our worthy Chairman has pointed out the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose possesses unique qualifications to entitle him to guide our deliberations and to direct the proceedings of our National Assembly. His erudition, both general and legal, his culture, his refinement, his high intellectual attainments, his great moral character, his sturdy independence, his unswerving patriotism are known to all ; and at a critical juncture in our national affairs when most important and momentous questions are awaiting the consideration of the Government and of the public, no better, no safer, no wiser President could have been chosen (*enthusiastic cheers*). Gentlemen, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose combines with his great learning a thorough knowledge of practical affairs, a thorough knowledge of men and things. He is not a mere book-worm who does not know the political conditions of his country, who keeps aloof from the practical affairs of everyday life. His profession brings him into intimate contact with important questions of everyday life ; and he has shown that he could handle them with a mastery which very few people can equal (*cheers*). While anxious that the people should have the utmost form, of self-Government that can be given under the present regime, he knows that it is only under law, by respect for constitutional methods that our work can be carried on. We are proud that we are going to have him to guide our deliberations and to direct us in all the important considerations which come before us. I have great pleasure, as I have said, in associating myself with the request made by my friend to ask Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to accept the chair (*cheers*).

**SIR BALA-
CHANDRA
KRISHNA.**

SIR BALACHANDRA KRISHNA in supporting the motion said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I consider it a high honour to be called upon to support the proposition requesting the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to take the chair. We are passing through very troubled times, and this is an eventful and important year in the annals of the Congress. At such a time we must have as our President a gentleman in whom we have the highest and most implicit confidence, and it is the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose who commands these in a prominent degree (*hear, hear*). It is he, I think, who should be called upon to preside over the deliberations of the Congress. Dr. Ghose is known throughout the length and breadth of India as a legal author, a great jurist, and as a gentleman who has filled his place in the Legislative Council, with independence, freedom and great sagacity (*cheers*). Dr. Rash Behari Ghose is especially required on this occasion because we have the precious message from His Imperial Majesty and the broad-minded sympathetic reforms given to the whole of India by that most experienced, enlightened and liberal statesman, Lord Morley (*Loud cheers*). It is on such an occasion that we require a most discreet and statesmanlike pronouncement from the Congress, and we expect such a one from our worthy President, the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose. I have therefore the greatest pleasure in supporting the proposition (*cheers*).

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was then installed in the Presidential chair amidst tumultuous applause.

On taking his seat he called upon Mr. D.E. Wacha, General Secretary, to read the letters and telegrams of sympathy received from several gentlemen.

Mr. Sarada Charan from Calcutta telegraphs "thanks sorry unable to attend"; Mr. Pandit Ramnath of Jullundur telegraphs "mother's illness prevents attendance Madras Congress. Regret much. Please lay this before the house." Mr. Lalchand from Lahore telegraphs "thanks for kind invitations; cannot attend owing to ill health." Sir Gurudas Banerjee of Calcutta telegraphs "thanks for kind invitation; regret inability to attend"; Moropant Joshi of Amraoti telegraphs "regret absence detained wife's illness; wish success Congress sitting." Mr. Mulchand, Secretary, Sukkur District Congress Committee, telegraphs "accept our hearty wishes for Congress success"; Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji telegraphs "I give general approval to reform proposals. Owing health regret cannot attend; wish Congress success"; Mr. P. C. Chatterjee of Lahore telegraphs "regret cannot come; warmly approve Lord Morley's reforms"; Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee of Mitterpara telegraphs "regret inability from illness to attend and co-operate with you"; Mr. Moti Lal Nehru of Allahabad "regret unavoidable absence; wish Congress every success strongly support reforms announced." Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose "regret too ill to attend Congress; wish every success." Mr. Munsui Madho Lal "thankfully support reform proposals, health prevents attendance." Pandit Sundarlal of Allahabad "regret unavoidably detained. Wish Congress all success. Gratefully accept and support reforms announced; praying for early introduction and development"; Rao Bahadur Madurai Pillai of Rangoon "regret inability to attend. Wishing the Congress every success. Our salvation lies in loyal and constitutional agitation alone." Babu Baikuntanath Sen of Shampur "regret inability attending Congress. Am at Rangpur wish Congress all success". Gopaldas Jhamatmal of Hyderabad (Sind) "sorry precarious health prevented attendance. Full sympathy with new constitution. Loyalty is consistent with patriotism". Kothandaramayya, Pleader of Sompel, Ganjam "heartily wishing complete success". The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Abbott, Planting Member of the Madras Legislative Council writes from Meppadi, Malabar dated 24th December 1905, "Dear Sir, I thank you for your invitation to attend the sittings of the National Congress. I regret that I shall not be in Madras and am unable to accept it."

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**MR. D. E.
WACHA.**

Then the President rose amidst loud greetings and delivered his opening address.

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BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The fears which for months haunted the minds of some of us have proved groundless. The genial predictions of our enemies so confidently made have also been falsified. For the Indian National Congress is not dead nor has Surat been its grave. It has been more than once doomed to death but, rely upon it, it bears a charmed life and is fated not to die. It is true a few men have left us, but the Congress is as vigorous as ever. We have now closed up our ranks and though some of us clung convulsively to the hope that those who have now deliberately committed political suicide would still continue to fight the good fight and keep the faith they soon found out their mistake. There can be no reconciliation with the irreconcilable.

The first ominous sign of a moment which has since unmasked itself showed itself in the Benares Congress in December 1905, after the reactionary policy of Lord Curzon had culminated in the partition of Bengal. It was at Benares that the boycott of English goods which had been started in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of the province was declared to be legitimate, not however without some opposition from those who thought that such a step might ultimately end in hostility to the Government. The new movement started in 1905 reached to second stage in Calcutta

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where there was a stormy session, and an open rupture was averted only by the tact and authority of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. By that time the new party, who made no secret of their contempt for the moderates, had sketched out a comprehensive policy of passive resistance modelled on the Irish Sin Fein. They insisted on a boycott not only of English goods but of the English Government itself, though their policy was veiled under the name of self-help and self-reliance. The relations between the two parties thus became strained almost to the breaking point in 1906, and the struggle had reached a still more menacing stage before we met at Surat last year, when the session had to be suspended amid tumultuous and unedifying scenes. And why?—simply because the Congress refused to be dragged from its old moorings by the new currents which had been set in motion. Our National Congress has, I need hardly remind you, from the very beginning strictly adhered to constitutional methods of agitation and has never encouraged disloyalty of any sort or kind. It is true like all other institutions, it has passed through the inevitable process of evolution; but it has never faltered in its loyal devotion to the Empire. And at Surat it remained firm to its creed and refused to purchase unity at the price of principle and of loyalty.

Now, I will not wander into the boundless realm of the might have been but will only say this: Those who have gone out of us, were never of us, for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us. Our paths now lie wide apart, and a yawning gulf separates us. It is however permissible to us to hope that these wayward wanderers, if I may say so without offence, will come back to us and be ours again joining hands and hearts with us and fighting under the old banner—that banner—to which we have always been true,—and by which we have again solemnly pledged ourselves to stand, never again to part. But we will not, we cannot, we dare not extend the hand of fellowship to them so long as they persist in their present insensate policy.

Brother delegates, we have been charged with having imposed a new constitution without a mandate from the Congress, but I can hardly believe that our accusers are serious. In the first place there is no question whatever of compulsion or of a brand new constitution. The constitution is not brand new and nobody is compelled to accept it. In the second place, is it not the idlest pedantry to say that the convention which we were driven to summon at Surat when the regular machinery broke down—a convention at which over eight hundred delegates were present,—had no authority at all to act in the unforeseen emergency which had arisen? If we were always obliged to move only in the beaten path, we could not, in a time of crisis, move at all. "In a wilderness," said Maynard on a historical occasion, "a man should take the track which will carry him home and should not stand crying 'Where is the King's highway? I walk nowhere but on the 'King's highway'.'" There are also other precedents familiar to every student of history. But what is the use of speaking of precedents or of history or of the counsels of common sense, to those who for their own purposes, are determined to belittle the Indian National Congress?

Brother delegates, I must confess it was not without considerable misgiving that I accepted the invitation of the Reception Committee to preside at the present session as I was then inclined in common with most of my countrymen to take a very gloomy view of our position and prospects. For if the situation last year was full of grave anxiety, the year which is just closing was marked by still more sinister omens. I am not, I trust, a pessimist; but a succession of repressive laws and deportations under a lawless Law will sap even the most robust optimism. In the course of the last few days, however, the condition of things has entirely changed, and the clouds which

darkened the political sky and which we watched so long with fear and trembling are now dissolving in rain. The words of the poet have come true:—

“The clouds you so much dread
Are big with mercy and shall break
In blessings on your head.”

They are now breaking in blessings over your heads, slaking the parched and thirsty earth. The time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. English statesmanship which, as Lord Morley justly boasted has never yet failed in any part of the world, has risen to its fullest height at this critical time, and has seized the golden moment, for it knows the season when to take occasion by the hand, not to suppress but to guide the new spirit which England has created in India. To have dropped the policy of conciliation at the present moment would have been a sign not of strength but of weakness. In justice alone lies the strength of rulers—justice which owes no account to the little prudences of the hour. And English statesmanship has dared to be just because England has a national conscience. It has dared to be just because it knows no fear. It has dared to be just because it has no real faith in the cult of canteen ballads,—the tinsel imperialism, which tells us that the white man was created only to bear the burden of the brown.

The reforms which have now been announced were foreshadowed in the King Emperor's message which came to cheer us in our hour of deepest gloom and dejection, of affliction and of shame. It was truly a message of peace and good will, full of the most kindly, most sympathetic, most friendly feelings towards his Indian subjects breathing the same noble sentiments which inspired the Proclamation of Queen Victoria. It has been said that the manifesto is spiritless and rather superfluous. It was not, I make bold to assert, spiritless, nor superfluous. It was not spiritless, because it solemnly reaffirmed the great Charter of 1858. It was not superfluous because it distinctly announced a policy of progressive development in the direction of selfgovernment.

The language of the Queen's Proclamation, the keynote of which was the equality of races, was perhaps equally plain on one point. But can any one truthfully assert that it received a generous interpretation in practice? Did not a brilliant Viceroy attempt to explain it away in a famous speech and deliberately lay down the policy of excluding Indians from the higher branches of the service? The National Congress protested against this policy, but Lord Curzon would not pay the slightest attention to our protest. He would not be Lord Curzon if he did. We have a right to bring against Lord Curzon the same charge that Shylock brings against Antonio 'He hath scorned our nation'—a nation justly proud of their literature, justly proud of their philosophy and justly proud of their ancient civilisation.

We are now on the threshold of a new era. An important chapter has been opened in the history of the relations between Great Britain and India—a chapter of constitutional reform which promises to unite the two countries together in closer bounds than ever. A fair share in the government of our own country has now been given to us. The problem of reconciling order with progress, efficient administration with the satisfaction of aspirations encouraged by our rulers themselves, which timid people thought was insoluble has at last been solved. The people of India will now be associated with the Government in the daily and hourly administration of their affairs. A great step forward has thus been taken in the grant of representative government for which the Congress had been crying for years.

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One of the leading features of the proposed reforms which are all based upon a progressive policy, is the extension of local self-government, perhaps the most potent instrument of political education. This is not entirely a new departure, but the policy with which the honoured name of Lord Ripon will always be associated, never had a fair trial. A single-minded English nobleman of the best type, Lord Ripon believed that righteousness exalteth a nation. He believed that a nation like an individual, has a conscience, and that England's duty to India would be discharged only by making the people gradually fit for self-government. The development of local self-government was, therefore, one of the objects nearest to his heart. But who does not know the fate of the measures introduced by him? Who does not remember the angry controversy which surged round Lord Ripon's administration? Who does not remember the threats of a white mutiny? Who does not remember the open insults to the Queen's representative? It was not the Ilbert will which convulsed the Anglo-Indian world but Lord Ripon's attempt to give the local representative councils some actual share in the government of their district. And it was certainly not his lordship's fault if the reforms proposed by him proved an illusion, a mere Barmecide feast.

But we are no longer going to be fed on illusions. Henceforth we shall have an effective voice in directing the policy of the Government in the administration of the country. Henceforth we shall be able to initiate discussion on all questions of public importance, and to pass resolutions which, though they may not be binding upon the Government, are sure to receive attention. Indian members will also be admitted to the Executive Councils. The debate on the Budget again will be a real debate and not a mere academic discussion, while the right of interpellation will be considerably widened. Henceforth the executive will not be able to control all provincial legislation. In a word we shall now have something like a constitutional government in the place of an autocratic and irresponsible administration. Lord Morley has also promised, not obscurely, that the Bombay and Madras system will be introduced into the larger sister provinces. And if the principle of dispensing with an official majority has not been for the present extended to the Imperial Council, we have no doubt its application will not long be withheld if the result of the experiment in the Provincial Councils proves satisfactory.

The reform scheme has no doubt been very carefully thought out, but it is impossible to say that it is not susceptible of improvement. And it is quite open to you to suggest such alterations as would facilitate its practical working, and I am sure any reasonable representations made by you will receive every attention from the authorities. I would therefore invite your attention to the best method of securing the proper representation of the people in the Legislative Councils, and in this connection, I would ask you to consider the question of the constitution of the electoral colleges. It would also be for you to consider whether the appointment of an Indian member to the Executive Councils should not be guaranteed by Statute, instead of being left to the pleasure of the Secretary of State for India for the time being. We cannot always have a Morley at the helm in England, nor a Minto at the head of the administration in India.

We do not know what the future destiny of India may be. We can see only as through a glass darkly. But of this I am assured, that on our genuine co-operation with the British Government depend our future progress and the development of a fuller social and political life. Of this also I am assured that the future of the country is now in a large measure in our

own hands. And we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the Government which has generously recognised the justice of many of our claims, to show that we are deserving of the confidence of our rulers. And, above all, we owe it to our countrymen to give that generous support to the Government which can alone promote their happiness and lead to further reforms. If we are apathetic or do not wisely exercise the privileges now given to us, we shall show to the world that we are unfit for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The fault will be ours, the humiliation and the disgrace. Remember that our enemies will always be on the watch and if we fail to discharge our duties properly the fact of the country will be sealed. Speaking for myself, I have no such craven fears. I am confident that we shall all loyally co-operate with the Government in promoting the welfare of the country. And I am equally confident that such co-operation will strengthen existing authority and impart to the administration an efficiency which a foreign bureaucracy with the best intentions can never hope to attain.

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To the impatient reformer who thinks that the proposed measures are in some respects inadequate my answer is, as we all know, that to disdain anything short of an organic change in institutions is nothing short of political madness. Reckless change is dangerous, and the most ardent patriot must see the wisdom of accepting reforms, which if they give satisfactory results are sure to lead up to larger reforms. Remember there is no finality in politics. Of one thing I am certain. One thing I know. The nation as a whole will accept these reforms not in a spirit of carping criticism, but with the deepest gratitude.

And this reminds me that if ever there was a time when we ought to rally to the support of Government, of law and of order, if ever there was a time in which all loyal subjects ought to co-operate with the Government, that time is this. And here I must say that we cannot be too grateful to Lord Minto, who has displayed a rare courage and firmness in trying times and has steadily refused, though determined to put down lawlessness to follow the unwise policy of his predecessor, which has given rise to all those troubles he is meeting so manfully.

Lord Curzon seems to think that he has seized the full meaning of the new movement. In his lordship's opinion, and we know that what Lord Curzon asserts even once must be true, the whole of the unrest is due to the study of Mill on Liberty and Burke on the French Revolution. He forgot, I may note in passing, to refer to his own Indian speeches, which we can assure him were very widely read by the people of this country. Lord Curzon also speaks of the victory of Japan over Russia and the whispering galleries of the East, and protests against the notion that the re-adjustment of the boundaries of Bengal—his euphemism for the partition of my own province—has in any way contributed to the ferment. Now I confess I cannot speak, nobody can, with the authority of his lordship; for I know of no calculus which can integrate the minute but powerful forces which are stirring in the hearts of New India (*cheers.*)

The history of the unrest was sketched by a masterhand only the other day in England and I am not presumptuous enough to think, I am sure you will all agree with me, that I can improve on the picture then drawn by my friend, Mr. Gokhale. (*Loud and enthusiastic cheers.*) I may however venture to add that acquittals are very light sentences in some criminal cases in which the accused belonged to the governing race have contributed not a little to the general discontent. (*Hear, hear.*) Another potent cause which many thoughtful Englishmen have noticed with deep regret is the insolence and

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the overbearing language of some members of the ruling class. Of course, we do not, for obvious reasons, expect to find in the manners of every Englishman in this country the repose which stamps the caste of Vere de Vere, but aggressive rudeness in language and behaviour might easily be avoided.

By one of those strange ironies of fate, so common in political history, Lord Mintowas called upon to face the unhappy consequences of Lord Curzon's policy. He felt himself compelled owing to the growing discontent to enact repressive laws to restrain freedom of speech and of public meetings. Now, all experience tells us secret crime invariably dogs the footsteps of coercion. (*Hear, hear*). That which has happened in every other country happened in India,—discontent was driven beneath the surface. The effect on those who are too young to be wise, too impulsive to be rational, was simply disastrous. Some of them who at first refused to meddle with Cæsar or with the things that belonged to Cæsar and said they would obey him in his place, began to dally with treason; and the first false step in all such cases generally leads by a tragic necessity to that easy descent with which we are all familiar. But the number of such persons was very small, infinitesimally small. And Mr. Tilak, for many years the central figure in the new movement in which he played a notable part, shall be my witness. That gentleman very candidly told an Englishman who was travelling in this country last year, I need not mention the name "Certainly, there is a very small party which talks about abolishing British rule at once and completely, that does not concern us; it is much too far in the future. Unorganised, disarmed, and still disunited we should not have a chance of shaking the British Suzerainty." It cannot certainly be shaken by a little picric acid and a few flasks of gunpowder.

And this reminds me that we have been charged with having maintained an ignoble silence in this time of crisis. Our first answer to this indictment, is that we have not been silent. Our second answer is, that we have no faith in mere protestations of loyalty which must be superfluous. (*Hear, hear*). When certain British subjects in the Cape told Lord Milner that they were loyal to the Crown, his lordship replied, "Loyal, of course you are loyal, it would be monstrous if you were not." (*Laughter*). Let us free our minds of cant, of "nonsense talk" to use a phrase which, I believe is destined to be historical. What, I ask, would an Englishman say if he was asked to join in a loyal demonstration, what would be his feeling, would he not treat the invitation as an insult? As I said only the other day from my place in the Viceregal Council, we must be mad if we were really disloyal. But we disdain all spurious loyalty. (*Hear, hear*). We are not Pharisees. We do not wear our loyalty on our sleeves, for our loyalty is above all suspicion. (*Hear, hear*). To doubt our loyalty is to doubt our sanity. We condemn from the bottom of our hearts all seditious movements and we condemn anarchism most because it is opposed to the laws of God as well as of man. But with the reforms in the administration we are confident that sedition will wear itself out. Anarchism sometimes may die hard. But it will die, it is bound to die in this country, because it is in opposition to the best traditions of our race. (*Hear, hear*). Anarchism, I repeat, is bound to die, because it is in opposition to all those precepts of pity and of compassion for the lowest of God's creatures, which are our great, our priceless heritage, and which have raised man from a brute, to a height a little only a little lower than the angels.

A season of universal rejoicing is not perhaps the time to make unfriendly criticisms on the action of the Government in enacting repressive laws,

and I hope and trust that the memory of these drastic measures will now be buried in oblivion in the same grave with the misdeeds of a few misguided political fanatics. (*Hear, hear*). We must also remember that though the Government have been armed with some new weapons they have been rarely used. Thus the Public Meetings Act was put into force only in one district and that only for one year. The Press Act again has been called in aid only in three cases. Speaking for myself, I am not enamoured no lawyer less possibly be enamoured of a measure which is a serious menace to the freedom of the Press. But in fairness to Government we should remember that in the present state of the country a temporary measure of the kind was perhaps necessary. The distinction between the approval of a recent crime and the discussion of an abstract proposition, like the morality of the action of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is always very fine; and those who engage in such discussions in times of public excitement should know that they can do so only at their peril. But though incitements to violence must be punished and organised lawlessness must be put down with the strong hand, the expediency of prosecuting people for seditious writings or speeches is open to the gravest question. A sustained campaign of repression may be necessary in case of grave peril to law and order, but you cannot prevent the spread of opinions, however mischievous, by sending the speaker or writer to gaol. You cannot imprison the mind. It is in its own place. Outrages, and direct incitements to outrages, must, I repeat, be punished and punished severely. But argument can only be met by argument. Coercion and even the appearance of coercion tend to create only distrust and suspicion. We all know the story of Jupiter and the rustic who listened with attention as long as the god tried to convince him by argument, but when, on his happening to hint a doubt, Jupiter threatened him with his thunder, said, "Now I know that you are wrong, Jupiter, for you never appeal to your thunder when you are right." (*Cheers, laughter*).

And this brings me to the numerous prosecutions for sedition during the course of the year. There have been altogether, I believe about twenty prosecutions and as many convictions. In moments of political passion when feeling runs high, an editor or speaker who is convicted of sedition, however rightly, is sure to be regarded by a section of the people as a martyr. But we do not want any fresh additions to the new Indian hagiology. (*Laughter*). The roll is already long enough. "He has set his heart upon being a martyr," said William the Third of an acrimonious Jacobite, "and I have set mine on disappointing him." (*Laughter*). Lord Macaulay contrasts the policy of William the Third with that of his father-in-law, who refused to remit a cruel sentence of flogging passed upon a clergyman, saying, "Mr. Johnson has the spirit of a martyr, and it is fit that he should be one." "These two speeches," observes the historian, "would alone suffice to explain the widely different fates of the two princes." I am, I know, stating a mere commonplace fit to adorn copy books, when I say, that criticism, however trenchant or drastic, cannot do much harm, so long as the administration is in a sound condition. (*Hear, hear*.) It is sure to come to nought for it must always be powerless against the innate conservatism of a settled and civilized society. The true secret of the power of the agitator is, as Macaulay pointed out long ago, the obstinacy of the rulers. (*Laughter*.) A liberal government always makes a moderate people and this is as true of the East as of the West. (*Hear, hear*).

It has been said by a well known writer on constitutional law on English constitution, law I may say, that the legal definition of a seditious libel might if rigidly interpreted put down all prevailing forms of political agitation. But a Jury are not bound by a too strict interpretation of law, and a man

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therefore, may publish anything in England, which twelve of his own countrymen think is not blameable. In India, where in trials for sedition, the safeguard of a Jury composed of countrymen of the accused is wanting, a prosecution can only be justified when the public peace is imperilled by wild writings or speeches. As the Court of Directors said, not only should justice be done, but people should be made to see that justice is being done. (*Hear, hear*). Where, however, an Indian is convicted of a political offence I do not know of any glasses which will make his friends see that justice has been done. (*Cheers and laughter*).

However this may be, the severity of the sentences in many cases has undoubtedly called forth very strong comments even from those who have no sympathy whatever with seditious utterances. Braxfield was not a model judge. But no candid man can deny that the convention which sat in Edinburgh towards the end of eighteenth century aimed at revolution. It was only the harsh sentences that sank deep into the minds of the Scottish people, whose feelings found expression half a century afterwards in the Martyrs' Memorial on Cotton Hill. Now the east may be the East, and the west may be the West, as the uncrowned Poet Laureate of the new imperialism assures us. (*Laughter*). But the propriety of a sentence is not a question of latitude and longitude. (*Laughter*). It is also permissible to doubt whether a system which places political offenders on a level with ordinary criminals is absolutely perfect. They should at least be spared the humiliation of herding with felons.

Would it be too presumptuous to hope that if everything goes on well and the country settles down, as it must in a short time, a general amnesty will be granted to all political offenders and that those who have been deported will be restored to their homes? (*Hear, hear*). Would it again be too presumptuous to hope that the partition of Bengal will be modified? (*Hear, hear*). A more unpopular measure was never passed by the Government. Our grievance may be a mere sentimental grievance, but a sentimental grievance means a grievance that is felt. (*Loud cheers: and hear*). The wound which was inflicted in 1905 will never heal, and it would be lamentable if the success of Lord Morley's liberal policy was jeopardised in the slightest degree by his failure to undo a grave administrative error,—the greatest blunder, according to Lord McDonnell, ever made in India. (*Hear, hear: and cheers*). I have pleaded more than once for the modification of the partition, and have no desire on the present occasion to repeat myself. But this I am bound to say, even the liberal concessions now made may, in some measure, lose their savour, if this great administrative blunder is long allowed to remain unredressed. (*Hear, hear*). The partition may be a settled fact, but it is still an unsettled question. (*Laughter*)

I find I must stop. I should have liked to say a few words on the rapid and appalling growth of military expenditure and the recent addition of an annual burden of Rupees 45,000,000, against which Lord Minto and his Council always watchful of the interests of the Indian tax-payer, have entered a strong protest. (*Hear, hear*). I should have also liked to say something on the delay in carrying out the solemn promise made nearly two years ago, that primary education shall be free and judicial functions separated from the executive. (*Hear, hear*). I should have also liked to make a few remarks on the high mortality from plague and malaria, on the University Act and Regulations which many people fear are likely to hinder the growth of high education in this country. (*Hear, hear*). But I feel, I cannot detain you much longer.

I cannot, however, conclude without referring to the very serious loss which the Indian National Congress has sustained in the death of Mr. Ananda Charlu. India was still mourning the loss of her foremost lawyer when our friend followed Sir Bhashyam Aiyangar to the grave. A distinguished scholar and a great lawyer, Mr. Charlu will perhaps be best remembered as one of the pioneers of the Congress movement. Behind a playful humour there was in him a singleness of purpose, a devotion to duty and an independence of character, which made him a most prominent figure in the public life not only of Madras but of the whole country. (*Hear, hear*). He has been taken away from us at a most critical moment when more than ever his wisdom and experience would have helped us in our deliberations. But as I have said more than once men like Mr. Ananda Charlu do not really die, but join the

“Choir invisible
Of those immortal dead, who live again,
In minds made better by their presence.”

It remains for me now only to thank you for the honour which you have conferred upon me. Believe me I am not using merely an idle phrase when I say that I am proud very proud of the distinction. I am proud also of my good fortune in being privileged to preside at this meeting, as the present year will be a memorable year in the history of the country. But those who succeed me will, I will make bold to say, be still more fortunate. For they will, I hope, at no distant date be able to congratulate the country on a substantial reduction in the military expenditure and a more equitable division of the burden. They will also, I hope, be able to point to the steady substitution of Indian for European agency in the public service, to the wider and wider diffusion of primary education, to more and more improved sanitation, to a larger and larger reductions of the land revenue and the ultimate repeal of the tax on salt which is still a heavy load on the poor. They will also, I hope, be able to tell the assembled delegates how the success of the experiment which is now going to be made has encouraged the Government to give the people a larger and larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country. They will also, I hope, be able to tell their audience how the Indian is no longer treated as an undesirable alien in any part of the Empire, and how the bar-sinister has been completely wiped out. (*Hear, hear*). They will also be able to congratulate the country on the repeal of Regulation III of 1818, a barbarous relic from the past,—an unweeded remnant which ought to have been extirpated long long ago. They will also, I hope, be able to point with pride to social and material progress, to the growth of indigenous industries, to the investment of Indian capital in the development of the resources of the country, to improvements in agriculture and to the growing prosperity of the masses now plunged in hopeless poverty. They will also, I hope, be able to tell their audience that the establishment of technical colleges and the promotion of works of irrigation have for ever driven away the gaunt spectre of famine from the land. And when in the fulness of time the people have outgrown the present system of administration and have proved themselves fit for self-government, an exultant President of the Indian National Congress will be able to announce to a united people amid universal rejoicing, the extension to India of the colonial type of Government binding our country to the Empire by the golden link of the Crown (*Hear, hear and loud and prolonged cheers*).

Pray do not misunderstand me ; and to guard myself against any possible misconception, I am bound to tell you that this ideal can only be realised in the distant future. But to those who say that it is absolutely impossible of attainment and mock at our hopes our answer is plain. We may

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—
President's
Address.
—

Second Day's Proceedings

Tuesday, 29th December 1908.

The Twenty-third Indian National Congress.

THE Congress resumed its Session at 11-30 A.M., to-day, when the President was conducted in procession amidst loud and deafening cheers to the platform.

Second Day.
The President.

On taking his seat the President said :—Brother-delegates, I have much pleasure in communicating to you a message which we have just received from Mr. Keir Hardie (*loud and enthusiastic cheers*) by the hands of Dr. Clark. I am glad to see he is present to-day to take part in our deliberations (*cheers*). The message which has been communicated to us through Dr. Clark is in these words :—

“My dear Clark, I understand you are going as a delegate to the Indian National Congress. Would you be good enough to convey to the assembled gathering my most cordial good wishes. The moment is a critical one in the history of India, and if only all the forces can be got into line much good may be accomplished. I am waiting anxiously for the proposals of the Government *re*: Indian affairs and if Lord Morley and his advisers will take a bold and generous stand on behalf of a reform of drastic kind in Indian affairs, the present unrest would soon disappear.

“Again wishing the gathering success.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd). J. KEIR HARDIE, M.T.S.”

BROTHER-DELEGATES—By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Subjects Committee under rule 15, I beg to move the first Resolution in the paper. That Resolution is in these words :—

I. THE ROYAL MESSAGE.

“The Indian National Congress tenders its loyal homage to His Gracious Majesty the King Emperor and respectfully welcomes the message sent by His Majesty to the Princess and People of India on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Memorable Proclamation issued in 1858 by his Illustrious Mother VICTORIA THE GOOD.

**THE ROYAL
MESSAGE.**

This Congress begs to record its satisfaction that the interpretation placed by it upon the pledges contained in that “Great Charter of 1858” has been upheld by His Majesty.

The Congress gratefully welcomes the pronouncement made by His Majesty that the time has come when the principle of representative institutions, which, from the first, began to be gradually introduced in India, may be prudently extended and that the politic satisfaction of the claim to equality of citizenship and greater share in legislation and Government made by important classes in India, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British Rule, will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.

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—

The Congress looks forward with confidence to a steady fulfilment by those in authority under the Crown, in letter and in spirit, of the pledges and assurances contained in the Great Charter of 1858 and in His Majesty's Message of 1908."

I put this Resolution from the Chair and I ask you to support it unanimously.

The Resolution was declared carried amidst prolonged and deafening cheers.

The President,—I now call upon Babu Surendranath Banerjea to move the next Resolution, that relating to the Reform Proposals.

SURENDRANATH
BANERJEA.
—

Babu Surendranath Banerjea who, on rising, received a tremendous ovation moved the Resolution thus:—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honor to move the following Resolution:—

II. REFORM PROPOSALS.

"This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform Proposals formulated in Lord Morley's despatch have been received throughout the country; it places on record its sense of the high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter and it tenders to Lord Morley and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

This Congress is of opinion that the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils and the enlargement of their powers and functions, in the appointment of Indian members to the Executive Councils with the creation of such Councils where they do not exist, and the further development of Local Self-government, constitute a large and liberal instalment of the reforms needed to give the people of this country a substantial share in the management of their affairs and to bring the administration into closer touch with their wants and feelings.

This Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed Scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State's despatch have been conceived."

Sir, I fear there will be a note of disappointment with regard to the terms and the substance of the Resolution which I have just read out. It will be said it was and it has been said—that the Resolution does not enter into details, that it does not suggest any modification, any amendment, any expansion of the Reform Proposals. Sir, to this objection we, on behalf of the Congress, have a very satisfactory reply to give. It cannot be expected that in a three days' sitting this Congress can formulate an authoritative and a responsible pronouncement upon a grave consideration of this magnitude. Therefore, we have thought it wise, and I am sure you will share that feeling, that we should content ourselves by voicing the general public sentiment.

And what is that sentiment? It is one of high appreciation and of deep admiration for the statesmanship which has prompted a scheme of reform, so comprehensive in its character, so far reaching in its consequences which, I hope and trust, will mark, as we anticipate it will mark, a memorable speech in the annals of British rule in India (*cheers*). Gentlemen, it will not do for you merely to cheer. The clouds are gathering on the Western horizon. I hold in my hand a paper which has just now been handed to me by my friends on this side of the table (pointing to the President and those sitting near him) and this paper refers to an organised effort, will you believe it

by some members of the India Council, and I am ashamed to say by one who has eaten the salt of India, an old Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to frustrate the Government of India and Lord Morley in this beneficent scheme of constitutional reform (*cries of shame, shame.*) Sir, we need the moral support of all India, irrespective of our varied and divergent sections and divisions. We need the moral support of Hindus and Mahomedans, of Jains and Buddhists and of Christians. We must unite and close our ranks, we must all forget our little party differences, our sectional grievances, in order to extend to Lord Morley and the Government of India the united support of a great nation (*cheers*). Sir, there may be differences of opinion as regards some of the details of the scheme, suggestions may be made, modifications may be recommended, but so far as the people of India are concerned, and I may add that I re-echo the sentiments of my countrymen all over India, of Moderates and Extremists, of Nationalists and those who are not Nationalists, I say, we are all united in the firm determination to support Lord Morley and the Government of India in this work of constitutional reform (*cheers*).

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Sir, in moving this Resolution my mind involuntarily reverts back to the early days of the Congress, when, amid the ill-concealed misgivings of our candid friends and the open derision of our critics in the Anglo-Indian Press, we used to move in a somewhat hesitating and halting fashion our very modest resolution with regard to the expansion of the Legislative Councils. The goal seemed to be distant, the journey long and wearisome ; but we did not despair. Confident of an assured victory, we pressed on, and we were not disappointed. We did not indeed get what we wanted. We obtained a small measure of reform, a first instalment. But we were resolved to make the most of it. We sent our best men to ensure the successful working of the new experiment. We were tried and were not found wanting. Encouraged by our success, we renewed the demand—we pressed for a further and more definite recognition of the principle of Self-government in the administration of the country. In the meanwhile, great events were transpiring in Asia. Japan had become a world-power. China was in the throes of a new birth. Persia was struggling for representative institutions. All Asia, Islamic and Buddhistic, Aryan and Mongolian, was vibrating with the pulsations of a new life. Let it be said to the lasting credit of Lord Minto's statesmanship that from the very first he recognized the new forces that were in operation and were rapidly transforming our national ideals and aspirations. Speaking from his place in the Legislative Council in 1907, His Excellency observed that a mighty wave was sweeping through Asia, bearing on its crest new ideals and sentiments. India felt the full impact of this wave—she felt that a great opportunity was opening out to her. Her own golden records of past achievements stimulated the national hope and enthusiasm ; and the reactionary policy of Lord Curzon deepened the popular sentiment in favour of Self-government, if only as a measure of precaution against a recurrence of the despotic ways of the late Viceroy. Sir, I know not what the verdict of history will be with regard to Lord Curzon. I have no right to anticipate the judgment of the historian. But this I venture to say with some little measure of confidence that he will go down to history as the conscript father of Indian nationality, as the one man who, more than any other, by his labours contributed to the up-building of our national life. Lord Minto has told us that a new era is about to dawn in the history of this country ; and Sir, I take it that the Reform Scheme in the first official recognition of the new epoch, the visible embodiment of the earnest solicitude of the Government to place itself in touch with the new forces and to guide them and lead them on to useful and fructifying channels.

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I cannot say that we have got all that we wanted—whoever in life gets all that he wants?—I cannot say that we are even within a measurable distance of the goal of our aspiration. We wanted definite and effective control over the finances and the executive administration. We have got neither. But we believe that these proposals in their normal development, in their ultimate evolution, will give us both. Therefore, brother-delegates, I ask you all to rise up in your places and express your deep gratitude to the Government of India for what it proposes to do.

[Here the audience rose to their feet.]

On their resuming their seats, Mr. Banerjea went on to say :—

We are grateful for what we have got. We accept it in a spirit of gratitude. Gratitude somebody has told us—an English author has emphasised the lesson—gratitude involves a lively sense of favours to come. Sir, we have heard a great deal in these days about the futility of constitutional agitation. Coming from Bengal, it would be useless for me to disguise the fact that in my own Province there is a growing feeling as to the inutility of constitutional methods of agitation. The reason for this is not far to seek. The sequel of the anti-partition agitation is responsible for it. We prayed, we begged, we entreated, we exhausted the arts of petitioning and begging—and we, Brahmins, are past masters in the art—but our Government in its supreme wisdom refused to listen to the prayers and entreaties of a people, moved by a grievance, the deepest that ever stirred their hearts. No wonder the people lost all faith in constitutional agitation. No wonder that the advocates of constitutional agitation (men like Dr. Rash Behari and others) stood discredited, as the defenders of an obsolete and useless system. So far as I am concerned I have been wedded through life to the methods of constitutional agitation. My faith in them has never wavered amid the most adverse circumstances. I am old enough to remember the events of the last thirty years. I am old enough to remember the triumphs of constitutional agitation extending over the lifetime of a generation. We claim, the Congress which is the platform of constitutional agitation, claims—that it has never taken up a question in regard to which it has not obtained a satisfactory solution, or which at any rate it did not bring within the range of practical politics. The triumphs of constitutional agitation are writ large on the pages of Indian history. I will not trouble you with a recitation of them. But to-day in the new Reform Scheme, we have the crowning triumph of constitutional agitation which coupled with the modification of the partition of Bengal will I hope rehabilitate the public confidence in our lost cause.

Sir, we have been described, I will not include you (pointing to Sir P. M. Mehta) in that description, as old fossils. I will not name the paper which has so described us. My friend, Sir P. M. Mehta, approvingly nods. We have been described as old fossils, impervious to modern ideas, unable to move on with the exigencies of modern requirements. To those who have spoken of us in these terms, I have a question or two to put. Let me ask, my friends—who are the people who first started the question of Self-government in India and included it in the programme of our public efforts—who were the people to begin this agitation, who kept it alive and sent deputations to England? Who are the people who like the Vestal Virgins of old kept alive the sacrificial fire which to-day illumines a whole continent, filling it with warmth and radiance and lustre. Re-echoing the sentiment of my friend in the chair uttered yesterday with so much eloquence and emphasis, I desire to say this that in respect of moral fervour, patriotic enthusiasm and self-denying devotion in the service of the motherland we do not yield to any, nay, not even the greatest amongst those who in the coming generation

will take up our mantles and occupy our places. (*Cheers*). Well, Sir, this scheme of constitutional reform is an object-lesson, the significance of which cannot be overlooked. I take it as the banner of peace and conciliation. I ask all young and old, Moderates and Extremists, all sections and all classes, I ask them to gather round this banner to raise it aloft and to fight under it for law and order, for the attainment of constitutional rights by constitutional methods. Local manifestoes will not do. Repression is futile. Conciliation is the sovereign remedy for the cure of the present distempers of the State Government has held out the right hand of conciliation. Let us grasp it with gratitude and enthusiasm. I have observed that we have not got what we wanted but by and by if we are patient and law abiding and agitate for our right with earnestness and enthusiasm we shall get all that we want and be admitted into the great federation of free States acknowledging England as their august mother. The present case is an illustration in point. The Reform Scheme now before us is a distinct improvement upon the proposals of last year. The Council of Notables has disappeared very properly as I think ; that fifth wheel to the administrative machinery, the Advisory Councils have been dropped, the cumbrous machinery for election, based upon castes and classes has been abandoned. But the scheme is more important, more welcome for what it concedes than what it has given up. The Provincial Councils will have a non-official majority—the beginnings of provincial autonomy are thus laid broad and deep. The right of asking supplementary questions has been conceded. That valued right, one of the strongest bulwarks of popular liberty, the right of moving Resolutions, calling attention to public grievances has been conferred, though for the present the Resolutions will be in the nature of recommendations. The Budget will be discussed in Committee and members will have the right of moving amendments. The Government may indeed reject them, but when they do so they will have to state the reasons therefor. These are valued concessions. But we are under no illusions. So far as the higher branches of the administration are concerned, we know that they confer little or no real power or control. But we also know what developments they are capable of. Growth is the universal law, the normal condition of things in the moral as well as in the material world. No Government can introduce any measure especially if it be a progressive measure which will not contain in it the elements of growth and expansion. Forces gather round it which will give it an impetus and a direction which often lead to great and even unexpected developments. What a vast difference there is between the Parliament of Simon-de-Montfort and the Imperial Assembly which to-day controls the destinies of so large a section of the human race. I am no prophet, though the Brahminical inspiration is strong in me, but I will say this, that if Lord Morley's reforms are carried out in the generous spirit in which they have been conceived he will stand forth in history, as the Simon de-Montfort of the future Parliament of India, a Parliament of India, a Parliament which I hope and trust and as I firmly believe, will maintain an indissoluble bond of union with the Mother of Parliaments. Lord Morley has told us that his imagination does not permit him to anticipate a time when there will be a Parliament in India. We have no quarrel with him. The greatest among us have their limitations. But even Lord Morley will not be able to stay the slow, the steady, the majestic, but the irresistible march of those forces which, as the years roll on, will gather round his scheme, and in the Providence of God confer upon us, maintaining inviolate our connection with England, the inestimable boon of Self-government. That gift the present scheme does not confer upon us. All that we can do under it is to bring pressure, indirect moral pressure, to bear upon the Government. Real power or control, it does not propose to confer, except in regard to purely local matters. Let us take a concrete case. There is no question which in our Province has excited profounder

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sensation or deeper indignation than the deportation of nine Bengalee gentlemen. I am sure you will share our feeling and sympathize with us. To arrest nine respectable persons, to snatch them away from their families and detain them in prison without a complaint, or a charge, and without affording them the opportunity of explanation or defence is a proceeding abhorrent to minds wedded to constitutional methods of procedure and to the canons of law and justice. If the Reform Scheme were in operation the matter would infallibly have been brought before the Supreme Legislative Council in the form of a Resolution. The Government would have been put upon its defence. It would have had the opportunity of offering an explanation and of taking the people into its confidence. Such a proceeding would have been beneficial alike to the Government and the people. There could be no adverse vote, in a Council with an official majority; but at any rate there would have been a discussion, followed by an expression of public opinion which would have exercised a salutary effect upon the executive administration and a mollifying influence upon public opinion, by providing an outlet for the ventilation of a great public grievance. So also in relation to financial votes the Government would not be bound by them: but the moral obligation to comply with them would be great and in some cases irresistible. What is more all history tells us that the transition from a moral obligation to a legal duty is often easy and swift and is bound to come in the natural course of things. Sir, I attach the greatest importance to the rules that will be framed for the working of the new scheme. They may either contribute to its success or bring about its total failure. The partial failure of Local Self-government in Bengal is largely due to the procedure which vests in the executive authorities great powers of interference with the minutest details of local administration. Where there is no power, no sense of responsibility is felt. I hope a different policy and a different principle will be followed. Sir Herbert Risley is entrusted with the duty of framing these rules. No one is better qualified for the task. It will be the last service he can render to India. I trust it will be a service in every way worthy of his great intellectual gifts and will be an abiding memorial of his love and sympathy for the people of India.

Sir, it is impossible for me to take leave of this question, without adverting for a moment to the feeling in Bengal in relation to the Scheme and how that feeling is effected by the partition of Bengal. The partition, as you know, is our sorest grievance, our chief ailment, the root-cause of the present discontent in our Province. It colours our political vision. We cannot afford to look at any question except from the standpoint of the partition—so completely does it dominate our outlook upon all public considerations. We in Bengal have accepted the Reform Scheme with gratitude and enthusiasm. But let me be perfectly frank—the feeling is largely prompted by the underlying hope that the partition will be modified. If anybody were to say that there was little hope for the modification of the partition, I would tell him in reply that there was little hope for the conciliation of Bengal or the hearty co-operation of our people in the working of the new scheme. We fully realize the difficulties of Lord Morley's position. He may sometimes be called upon to stand up for measures which he may not like or even disapprove of. That is sometimes the privilege and the penalty of a statesman's position. But I desire to submit with all deference that a statesman of the intellectual eminence and wide vision of Lord Morley should realize the fact that the eventual attitude of public opinion in Bengal in relation to the scheme of constitutional reform will be largely determined by the manner in which the partition is dealt with. After the first outburst of enthusiasm evoked by the Reform Scheme has subsided and the partition unmodified and in all its grim and naked deformity stares the Bengalee in the face and reminds him, and that from day to day, of his great national grievance, his deep national humiliation, it will not fail to chill the ardour of his enthusiasm. Therefore most earnestly do I appeal to Lord

Morley and to His Excellency the Viceroy to modify the partition, uproot the cause of the present discontent in our Province and thus secure the hearty and enthusiastic co-operation of our people in the working of the great scheme with which their names will be imperishably associated.

Sir, the year which is about to close is one of the saddest in our annals marked by incidents which we all deplore and strongly condemn and by measures on the part of the Government, unparalleled for their sternness and severity. The stress and strain of public work, the load of anxieties which it imposed were at times almost unendurable. But it would seem as if at last we were now within a measurable distance of relief. The darkest midnight often holds concealed in its bosom the streaks of the brightest dawn. The clouds are passing away. The eastern sky is aglow with the streaks of the new dawn which I hope will usher in a day, memorable in the history of our progress. Grave are our responsibilities. Lord Minto never uttered a greater truth than when he said that the future of India is in the hands of the people of India and their leaders. Nations by themselves are made. Among the leaders of India I reckon the youthful generation of my countrymen. I ask them in view of the opportunities which are opening out to their vision to rise to the height of the occasion. We are going down the vale of years and our mantles will soon fall from our shoulders. They will have to take them up and work for the future. Let them qualify themselves for the great trust which will be theirs by discipline, by right doing, by self-consecration and by the cultivation of the virtue of self-sacrifice. We too have our duties. Union in our ranks, sobriety in our counsels, adaptation to our environments, all dominated by an overwhelming love of country, inspiring us to do all and spend all in the service of the motherland—these are the qualities which the situation demands from each one of us. God grant that we may possess these qualities—God grant that we may forget all personal and party differences and sink them in the name of the motherland—that we may avoid all extravagance of thought, of language and of action, that self-sacrifice may be our watchword, self-conservation, the dominating note of our public activities. Possessed of these qualities, realizing our awful responsibility as the makers of modern India, seeking at all times to walk in the illumination of the Holy Spirit let us so discharge our duties that we may win for ourselves, the approbation of our consciences, the applause of our fellow-countrymen, the sympathies of civilized mankind, and above all, the blessing of Him whose finger is visible in every incident of human life, in every phase of human history, and who in his own mysterious ways, through dispensations beyond the comprehension of men, so guides the footsteps of fallen nations as to lead them back to their pristine greatness and make them once again the elect of the earth—*Bande Mataram (Loud and prolonged cheers)*.

The Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya in seconding the Resolution said :—Mr. Chairman, and brother-delegates—while the eloquent voice of my esteemed friend is still ringing in your ears it seems presumptuous on my part to try to address you on the same subject ; but duty has to be done ; it can neither be delayed nor abandoned. I crave your indulgence for a few minutes in which I will try to explain the position of the Congress. I am sure we are all of one mind in expressing our sincere appreciation of the liberal and praiseworthy spirit which has dictated the action of the Government of India and which has inspired the proposals of reform which they have formulated. I am sure we feel warmly grateful and we feel that they have done us a real service in formulating these proposals. Therefore, gentlemen, it is that there is such a unanimity among all Congressmen in expressing our gratitude to Lord Morley and Lord Minto for the services they have done to India, for the statesmanlike wisdom, courage, and coolness they have shown in formulating these proposals and in persevering with them. Gentlemen,

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it is a day upon which not only we have to congratulate ourselves but it is one on which the great English nation has to be largely congratulated. Twenty-three years ago, when the Congress met for the first time in this great city, our late lamented countryman, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, speaking as Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that the Congress was the soundest triumph of British education and a crown of glory to the British nation, (*cheers*). Gentlemen, indeed the Congress has been such a triumph of British administration and crown of glory to the British nation. You may remember that nearly 50 years ago when Her Majesty the Queen of England assumed direct control of the Government of India, in that year there was a great deal of discussion in Parliament as to the system of Government to be introduced in this country. During the debate member after member got up and expressed the desire that India should be governed on the most liberal principles. I will not weary you by reproducing many extracts from those speeches, but I will remind you of what Mr. Gladstone said. Speaking on the subject he said "there never was a more practical writer than Mr. Kaye, and in his history he says:—the admission of the natives of India to the highest office of State is simply a question of time." And there is another name entitled to great weight in this house, Mr. Halliday says:—"I believe that our Mission in India is to qualify the natives for governing themselves." -

Other speakers spoke in the same strain and the Proclamation that was issued subsequently by Her Majesty promised definitely that all the privileges that her English subjects enjoyed would be extended to her Indian subjects as they received education and gained more experience, themselves qualified for the discharge of duties which they will be called upon to discharge. Gentlemen, it took many years before these excellent ideas were put into action. But a beginning was made very shortly after the Proclamation. You know how the Councils Act of 1861 had provided that Indian members should be appointed to the Viceroy's Council. Under that provision Indian members were appointed, but that measure of reform was not sufficient. When the Congress met in 1885 it formulated a definite scheme of representation of the people of India in the Councils of H. E. the Viceroy and in the Local Councils. The Congress expressed its earnest belief that the representation of the people of India in the Councils was essential for the good administration of the country. Gentlemen, at that time the Congress laid down a scheme and that scheme is one which we have yet to see realised in its full measure. In 1886 the Congress expressed the opinion that half the members of the Supreme Legislative Council should be elected, one-fourth should be officials and one-fourth should be nominated. It expressed the same opinion with regard to the Provincial Councils. It also asked for powers of interpellation, for discussing the budget, for moving resolutions, in fact a complete scheme was formulated in 1886. That same scheme was repeated in greater fullness in 1889 when the late Charles Bradlaugh addressed the Congress meeting at Bombay. Gentleman, in those early years the gentlemen who spoke to this resolution were men who had occupied most eminent positions in this country. The late Mr. Justice Telang (*cheers*). Mr. Dadabai Naoroji (*loud and prolonged cheers*), Sir S Subramania Aiyar (*cheers*), Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. George Yule, Pandit Ayodhya Nath—men like these had most earnestly supported the proposals which the Congress had put forward, that half the members of the Supreme Council should be elected, one-fourth should be officials and one-fourth nominated. So also in the case of Provincial Councils. That was the view which the Congress put forward again and again; that is the view which the vast majority of our educated countrymen hold at this moment to be a sound view. We believe that the time has come when, not only in the Provincial Councils, but also in the Supreme Council, half the members at least should be elected representatives of the

people (*hear, hear*). That being on view, if we come forward to offer our unstinted and grateful support to the proposals of Lord Morley and Lord Minto it is not that we feel that the country is not prepared to have that measure of reform carried out in respect of the Supreme Council, it is not that we feel that the need for reform is less urgent or is less pressing than it was 25 years ago, during which we have gained experience by being members of council and by working other institutions—it is not that the need for it is less pressing now; but, we feel that we should continue to act in the wise and sober spirit which the Congress has from the very first displayed in receiving the proposals of the Government (*cheers*). We asked that half the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected; that was in 1885-86, yet when the time came for the introduction of the Indian Councils Act, we were content to receive a very much smaller instalment of reform. We feel to-day as we felt in 1886 and 1889 that half the number of the members of the Viceroy's Council at least should be elected by the people; yet we are prepared to receive the instalment of reform which the Government are pleased to put forward for our acceptance.

Now, gentlemen. I only wish to point out—I refer to it because there is an idea in some circles, not only in England, but here, that we are receiving more than ever we asked for. There is an idea abroad and agitation has been set on foot probably under the impression, that Lord Morley and Lord Minto are under the influence of generous and liberal instincts giving to us more than what we asked for or what is needed in the interests of the country. Nothing of the kind. I have told you and I will give you the reasons very briefly in order to show the value of the support which the Congress is rendering to the Government in accepting the proposals. I want to tell you how urgent is the need for reforming the Supreme Council in the way the Congress has advocated and how beneficial will be the results not only for the people but also to the Government. I will refer to only one or two instances. Gentlemen, you know above all things the Government of India like all other Governments require the goodwill and moral support of the people over whom Providence has placed them to govern. That goodwill is a more valuable asset than all the armies which any Government has. English statesmen have always recognised, that it is so. Mr. Gladstone said so; Lord Morley said so; and every liberal and far-sighted statesman has acknowledged that to be the true view even in the case of India. In order to retain the good will of the people there is nothing more important than that the Government of India should be able to conduct the administration of the country with a sole eye to the good of the people. They said in 1858 “we want to govern India for India and not to please the party here and must adopt principles which will be thoroughly acceptable and intelligible to the people of India.” You know that the Government of India as they are constituted are to a great extent under the thumb of the Secretary of State and that the Secretary of State is under the thumb of the War Office. If you have a good Secretary of State even he cannot always protest your interest. I will refer to the question of the Military burden imposed on India. Government of India after Government of India have fought against the injustice of imposing the military charge upon the Government of India. We owe them our deepest thanks for the attitude they have adopted in this matter; yet they found it difficult to get justice done to India. In the matter of cotton excise duty, who does not know that the Government of India will not have imposed that unjust taxation if they had been left to themselves? If the Government of India cannot, by reason of position that they occupy in the economy of the British Empire, always command or exercise that independence which is needed to protect the interests of this country, what can be more reasonable in the interests of the Government of India themselves than that they should have a larger measure of support from the representatives of the people in the Council? If there

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were half the body of the Council composed of elective representatives of the people, if they recorded their opinions in clear and certain tones the Government of England would probably have hesitated a great deal more before they imposed either the military burden or such an impost as the cotton excise duty upon the people of India. Yet, what is the result? There is any amount of ill-feeling caused in the country by the imposition of such unjust burden. Therefore in the interests of sound administration itself it will be an advantage to have half the number of members to be elected representatives of the people.

Look at the question from the point of view of the people. There is the question of *Irrigation v. Railways*. Times out of number, not only representatives of the people but some of the highest officials of the Government, no less an authority than Lord Maçdonell, presiding over the Famine Commission, expressed the strong opinion that irrigation should receive more attention than railways. Yet what do we find? The Government of India are devoting more money to build railways than to promote irrigation. So also in the matter of Primary Education; if you had elected representatives in the Council their support would enable the Government of India to carry on the administration better and to the greater satisfaction of the people and to the stronger security of the British rule, in that it will win the hearts and affections of the people. I have referred to this to show that the need for the reform of the Supreme Council is very pressing and we feel that it is not that we can abandon it; yet as I told you we are prepared to receive the instalment of reform which the Government have put forward in a truly grateful spirit. That is a remarkable proof, I hope, of the way in which the action of the Government will be received by the educated people of India in all matters where the Government take them into their confidence. That shows that, if they had admitted us to the Supreme Council, we should not run away with mad ideas, pester them with mad ideas, but be reasonable and considerate in pressing for reforms in matters which promote the well-being of the people and would not hamper them in any of their actions.

I hope, having said that much, I need not take up much more time in dwelling upon the reforms. My esteemed friend has done so and the resolution very well summarises the main features of the reform. There has not been time enough to discuss all the proposals, but there are one or two points which are matters of importance, which I crave your indulgence to say something about. The most important is about the question of the appointment of Executive members in the Councils. We are thankful to the Government of India and to Lord Morley that they have decided to appoint Indians as Members of the Executive Councils. That again is a prayer which the Congress had been repeating year after year for a long time. Certainly it must be a matter of great satisfaction to Congressmen that so many of their recommendations have been accepted by Government. But, Gentlemen, with regard to this matter, there is a suggestion which it is important to make. Lord Morley has said that he proposed to take powers under the Act which is to be introduced into Parliament to appoint an Indian member to the Executive Council of the Viceroy and of the Provincial Government. I beg to suggest and hope that the Congress is of one mind in this matter—that the powers should not be merely taken to appoint a member when the Secretary of State may like, but that it should be provided for in the Statute (*hear, hear and cheers.*) There is any amount of reason in support of this suggestion. I will refer you only to two incidents to show that the need for it is urgent. You remember, gentlemen, as a rule, it is our experience that when matters are not provided for in the Statute, when they are left to the will and pleasure, to the particular idiosyncracies or to the generous instinct of a particular representative of His Majesty who may for the time control the destinies of India, the reforms are not always carried out as the interests of

the country demand that they should be. When the Councils Act of 1861 was under discussion in Parliament a question was asked by Mr. Bright, and in answer to that question the then Secretary of State said that a member of Council would be able to propose a resolution to any questions of revenue precisely as they could in the House of Commons. That was said in 1861, yet not once was this privilege exercised. It was not put in the Statute, it was therefore not recognised as a thing which ought to be brought into practice and it was not brought into practice. I will give you another instance. In the matter of appointment of Indian members of Council no man could have used more strong, more emphatic, clear and binding language than was the language used by Sir Charles Wood in discussing that measure. Suggestions had been made by several members that that Act should provide that a certain proportion of the members of Council should be Indians. That suggestion received the support of a good number of members, but then in answer it was pointed out by Sir Charles Wood that, while he agreed to the desire that it should be so, he thought that it was not necessary to make a provision in the Statute. And mark the language he used. The first ground was that he wanted to regard Indian members as being equal to other members in the Councils of the empire. "It had been said," said Sir Charles Wood in the course of that discussion "that their great object ought to be to obliterate the distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered in India. Now, that was precisely the policy which he wished to carry into effect. Those Bills distinctly provided that the natives should be employed in the Legislative Councils as well as in the highest Judicial Courts. And in the most important executive offices. The same spirit ran through the whole of them—the spirit which animated that policy which Lord Canning had been most successfully carrying out, and which, he believed, with his honourable friend would afford the best security for the permanence of our rule, for it would make the highest class of natives, as well as those of lowest degree feel that their own good was bound up in the continuance of our sway. He believed that was the best mode of consolidating and perpetuating our dominion in that country. He might observe, however, that he had not thought it at all desirable to name the natives expressly in the measure. He held the perfect equality (mark you equality?) Before the Law of all Her Majesty's subjects without distinction of race, birth, or religion, and he would not do anything which could lead to the supposition that he doubted for a moment the existence of that principle. He had never admitted that there was any distinction between any of the subjects of the Queen, whatever might be their differences of birth or race, or religion. That was the spirit of the Proclamation of Her Majesty on the occasion of her assuming the direct Government of India; and that was the principle which would continue to actuate him in all his administrative measures."

Nobler language was never used in explanations of intentions of Her Majesty's Proclamation. There never could be a clearer determination shown to employ Indians to the highest executive offices. This was uttered in 1861; we are now in the year of grace 1908 and not a single member has been appointed either to the Executive Council of the Viceroy or to any of the Local Government. It may be, I have no doubt you will agree that Sir Charles Wood was prompted by the same generous instinct which prompts Lord Morley. I believe in Lord Morley's firmness and determination to introduce reforms. I believe, so was Sir Charles Wood. It may be that a member may be appointed to-day. There is no guarantee that a member will be appointed time after time to the Executive Councils unless provision is made for it in the Statute. I therefore beg to suggest, I hope the Congress is of one mind in this matter, that there should be statutory provision for the appointment of not only one Indian but at least two in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the Executive Councils of Governors. (*loud cheers.*)

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There is only one other matter which involves a question of principle. (The President at this stage sounded the gong) I am sorry I have exceeded the time; it is an old sin of mine; but the matter is of importance. I hope I shall satisfy you that I am not taking up your time uselessly. There is one other important question, that of class representation which we cannot afford to overlook on such an occasion. Now, gentlemen, I believe myself and a vast majority of educated, that there are no conflicts of interests among Indians as Indians. In 999 out of every 1,000 matters the interest Hindus, Muhammadans, landholders and merchants are all the same. We are governed by the same taxation; whatever misfortunes be fall the country, we have to share them together. Therefore I cannot see the need, I beg respectfully to say of having such class representation as has been given a prominent place in the reform scheme. (A voice: there are certain questions). There are questions; it is perfectly right, but these questions do not come before the Legislative Council either of the Viceroy or of the local Governments.

In matters of religion, in matters of faith and worship, different sects may work apart, though not with hostile feelings; but in matters secular their interests do not conflict. Their interests are not interests of one class against the other. However, if they do let us consider what the proposals are. (Here the speaker's attention was again drawn by the President to the time limit). The speaker apologised and promised to finish soon and resumed his address. Now, gentlemen, I was going to say in the matter of class representation Lord Morley's proposals, so far as they go, are excellent. There has been expressed a desire in some quarters that there should be provision made to enable members of separate communities to vote apart from other members, that there ought to be a fixed number of members in each community, who could sit in the councils. That will work manifestly injuriously to one community at least in Upper India. In my own Provinces, the United Provinces, there are 1,246 elected Councillors of whom 436 are Mussalman. According to the proportion of population only 225 will be entitled to sit if the rule suggested were adopted. At present, therefore, I think gentlemen, we should leave Lord Morley's proposals as they stand in this matter and not ask that any different principle of representation should be introduced. I will not take up any more of your time. Let nobody be under the delusion that the reforms are final. We must receive them with grace, with warm gratitude. We must hope for more and more.

Not enjoyment and not sorrow
Is our destined end or way,
But to act that each to-morrow
Find us farther than to-day.

Only by the kind dispensation of an all-kind Providence and by the help of Government which Providence has placed over us, we are to achieve that measure of Self-government for which expression has been given by the best Indians during the last 25 years (*loud and prolonged cheers*).

**RAO BAHADUR
R. N.
MUDHOLKAR.**

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar of Amraoti, in supporting said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The scheme of constitutional reforms which Lord Morley and Lord Minto have promulgated is the most important question which will engage the attention of the Congress this year. Yet as the whole thing was put before you by our greatest orator in his most felicitous manner there is not much left for a matter-of-fact-man like myself to say. But it is a subject in regard to which the opinions of the people of the different provinces of India, of persons representing different classes and different interests are awaited in England by the British public, by the British Parliament and by none more anxiously than by Lord Morley

himself. It is necessary that all of us who honestly believe that these reforms are generous, that they are wise, and statesmanlike, should all unite together in giving expression to our views. Gentlemen as Babu Surendranath Bannerji has pointed out, already there are clouds in the west; and it is necessary that though we might hold in theory views, which are in advance of the steps which the Government contemplate taking, though we might without being deemed chimerical ask for many more things than are proposed to be given at present, we should unhesitatingly and gratefully accept the generous, the very substantial proposals which are put forward by the Government of India and Lord Morley. Gentlemen, there is one thing which our people ought to bear in mind. We are not living in the Republic of Plato; we must think and act like practical men. We have to see what it is possible for a Government like that of England to grant and what is in our power now to carry out successfully. Bearing this in view, though there undoubtedly are various matters in regard to which we can with propriety suggest improvements we must first appreciate the difficulties of Lord Morley and Lord Minto and secondly concentrate our attention on the main principles of the scheme. Here in this Congress it is not to details and small points that our attention should be directed. Probably according to the circumstances of each Province it may be necessary to make suggestions called for in the interests of that Province. What we have to do is this. We must take the scheme as a whole; look at it as a whole and see whether it is not that generous instalment that substantial measure of reform that it is claimed to be. Gentlemen, it is beyond question that there is in the scheme formulated by the Secretary of State such an enlargement of the Legislative Councils, such a frank recognition of the principle of election as has not been done by any previous Government till now. That in itself is a most important matter, a matter of vital consequence to us. Over and above an increase in number and the frank and full recognition of the principle of election, there is to be a great extension of the functions and powers of the Legislative Councils. Till now there was hardly any power of initiation; there was no power of moving Resolutions. When questions were asked and answers were unsatisfactory there was no right to put any supplementary question. Now all these things are proposed to be granted by the scheme. These are not small matters. Whenever there is a question of administrative importance, whenever there is any local grievance or a matter of individual hardship, in regard to that you put a question and if the answer is unsatisfactory a further question can be put and even then if there is no justice obtained, you have the right of moving in Council a Resolution upon the subject. Above all we shall be given a far more effective voice in the framing of the Budget. The finances of the country were under the existing system hardly amenable to our influence. Now under the new scheme it is contemplated that before the Budget receives its final shape, a Committee will be appointed and it will be that Committee which practically will be framing the Budget, so that in framing the Budget itself the people's representatives will have a potent voice. These are matters in regard to which it cannot be said. "Oh it is only a small improvement over the existing state of things." It is altogether a different kind of institution, an entirely different constitution—that is proposed to be created in the country. But this is not the only important feature of the present proposals or the most valuable privilege accorded by them. There is the other great thing which is intended to be done, *viz.*, the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils. Gentlemen, it was so far back as 1833 that a Parliamentary Statute laid down the equality of Indians and Englishmen. Race and colour distinctions were abolished by it and Indians were told that the law recognised no barrier to their getting the highest offices in the administration. As a matter of fact to these high offices no appointment of an Indian has yet been made. In the Proclamation of 1858

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the same solemn promises and pledges were renewed. Now however has come the time when these promises and pledges are actually being redeemed. So far as I am concerned I will be satisfied if for some years to come only one Indian is appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-general. The beginning will have been made. A footing being obtained, due representation must come before long. You will have under the scheme a potent voice in the Executive Councils of the Government of Bombay and Madras and in the Executive Council of the Viceroy. There is again a further step proposed to be taken ; and that is the creation of Executive Councils for the four larger Provinces. This, again, is distinctly a step in advance. Then we are promised that thing which really goes to the root of all ; that is the creation of Self-government in our villages, towns, districts, and divisions. It is from there that the superstructure is proposed to be reared. It will be I hope, not merely in regard to sanitation or local public works that powers will be given to the Municipal, rural or District Boards. They must be invested with power in matters of education, judicial administration, and all other questions affecting the public weal. Gentlemen, it is well said that we are at the beginning of a new era. That is what His Excellency the Viceroy said from his seat in the Legislative Council on the morrow of the promulgation of these reforms. We have to remember the spirit which moves the Government. They are quite justified in saying that what they are doing, they are doing not on account of any pressure brought to bear upon them, not out of any fear but on account of their deep conviction that the time has come when there should be a greater association of the people of India, with the Government of the country. Though there may be a Cabal in England, here we find in India important representatives of the Anglo-Indian community, persons who represent, I hope, I may say, I am confident, the great volume of responsible Anglo-Indian opinion, hailing these reforms as the legitimate outcome of British policy and instinct. I hold in my hand an issue of the *Times of India* which represents what I may call sane and sober Anglo-India. The paper says, "we welcome the changes as being not only right and just in themselves but as signifying the continued evolution during a period of great stress of the essential spirit of British rule."

What we have to see is this. There might be suggestions which might have to be made in regard to various matters of detail. This will have to be done by each Province separately. It is impossible to deal with these details in a large body like the Congress. What we do to-day is to take the scheme as a whole. Examine its essential principles and pronounce our verdict on them. In regard to them I am quite sure you will all join with me in expressing our gratitude, our fervent thankfulness to Lord Morley and to Lord Minto for what they have proposed (*loud cheers*).

**DEWAN
BAHADUR,
L. A. GOVINDA-
RAGHAVA AIYAR.**

Dewan Bahadur L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA AIYAR of Madras, in further supporting the Resolution said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to support this Resolution so eloquently and ably proposed and seconded and supported and the reason for my appearing before you is perhaps the discussion we had in the Subjects-Committee as to the principle which should guide the selection of speakers to this Resolution. Gentlemen, there were two views that were put forward ; one was that Congress veterans should address you on these proposals, and another was that those who were humbler workers in the same cause, workers who came upon the field later and whose loyalty to their leaders is unquestioned, that these should be given an opportunity of saying their say on these proposals. The view that ultimately prevailed in the Subjects-Committee was a compromise of both ; and here I am, gentlemen, a specimen of the humbler workers, though I am only one of that class ; and that is the only excuse for my appearing before you.

You have had enumerated to you what the proposals were that have been enunciated by Lord Morley. I venture to say that these proposals require and deserve our whole support. Great, indeed, is the need that Lord Morley has at present for having his hands strengthened in this direction. You are already aware that there has been some opposition to his proposals in England when they were promulgated. The opposition is thickening. It is therefore necessary that Lord Morley should be told that we in India, the persons who will be mainly affected by the proposals he puts forward, that we have every confidence that they will work out to the best of our ends, to the achievement of that destiny which Englishmen, the brightest statesmen among them have always portrayed to us, as a destiny they would like to be that of India under the British Empire. He requires to be told in no uncertain voice that all of us who have given any attention to these proposals are agreed that they have been conceived in a generous spirit, that the lines on which they are promulgated are those which meet with the acceptance of every one of us. We are all confident that these proposals will be given effect to and worked out properly so that we might show him that the confidence placed in us is not misplaced, but that we also deserve a larger and more substantial instalment of good than England is capable of doing to India. Gentlemen, there are more than one way in which Lord Morley's proposals will do us good. You have been told what inestimable good the enlargement of the powers and the number of members of the Legislative Councils is calculated to give us. There is one principle in the proposals which Lord Morley has enunciated which perhaps has been overlooked in the observations of the speakers who have preceded me; that is the fact that according to Lord Morley's proposals, he who has been elected by an electorate, whatever that might be, will take his seat in the Legislative Councils as a matter of right and not as a matter of grace on the part of the Governors of the country. To me, gentlemen, it is an acknowledgment of a sound and important principle. It adds to the dignity and position that any member holds in the councils and what is more important, it adds to his sense of responsibility. In fact, these proposals, every one of them you will find, are intended to effectuate the principle that power and responsibility should go together. It has been found to work well in other countries and there is no reason why we, who have been under the influence of English civilisation, English tradition and English education for more than half a century should not equally profit by such a principle.

Gentlemen, the principle of official majority not being insisted upon in the Provincial Legislative Councils is another noteworthy feature of Lord Morley's proposals. We in this part of India had not the slightest hope that we would be given that concession. Everyone who could speak with authority was positive that the ideal of official majority was a settled fact (*voices: no, no*). We were surprised to be told that there can be any question with regard to the propriety of that. It was in that way, not because we considered official majority as desirable—that we in this part of the country did not ask it to be made an integral part of the proposals that the official majority should not be allowed in the Provincial Legislative Councils. I think, gentlemen, I am echoing the voice of all in this assembly when I say that we owe a deep debt of thanks to Lord Morley for not insisting upon official majority in Provincial Legislative Councils; and if His Lordship, by the sense of responsibility he feels for the smooth and efficient working of the Indian Councils, thinks that this principle should not be extended to the Supreme Council. Let us not quarrel with his judgment; let us not criticise that but accept it. Let us only request that the extent of the official majority will be as indicated by the India Government itself.

Then, with respect to local Self-government here we see the master-hand of Lord Morley. He is perfectly right, if I may venture to say so in

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claiming that by this system of local Government people will be allowed to take part in every-day administration of their affairs, so that not only will they have an opportunity of pressing their grievances upon those who will be in a position to understand them, but they will have themselves a real part in the work. And no system of Self-government can be considered to be on the way to lead to success unless it gives effect to some such measure as this.

Gentlemen, then we have the addition of Indian members to the Executive Councils. I perfectly agree with what has fallen from Pandit Madan Mohun Malavya that it is very desirable that this requirement which is insisted on in the proposals should be embodied in the Statute. But we have confidence in Lord Morley. We are aware of the difficulties in which he is placed; the spirit in which the proposals have come has emboldened us. We are aware of the limitations and restrictions placed on them. He has various adverse influences to overcome; great many prejudices to be got over; and if in these circumstances His Lordship is unable to have this embodied in the Statute, but leaves it to the Executive orders, I think on that account his proposal is not entitled any the less to our gratitude. We wish it would be made part of the Statute, but if it is not, let us take it, as His Lordship says, that there will be a succession of appointments of Indians to the Executive Councils so that a precedent will have been established which it will not be possible for any future Government to get over. I think, therefore, that the proposals of Lord Morley are entitled to our united and enthusiastic support.

There is only one other point on which I will take your time. In various quarters apprehensions have been expressed that we are probably not fit for exercising these reforms, and in this part of the country we had the apprehension expressed by a member of a certain body whose power to interfere with the British public is respectable. He is of the opinion that it should be hoped that Lord Morley has not gone too far in his broad-minded generosity. Now, gentlemen, I hope that we shall show when the proposals are given practical shape and when they are being worked I hope that we shall show that this apprehension on the part of those who are our critics is altogether unfounded. I think that the extent of the reform, although it is a substantial and a liberal concession to our demands, can be by no means said to be a large one; not that we slight what has been given or clamour for more. It cannot be said to be much over what we deserve. My anxiety is that we should show by the way in which we work out the scheme and conduct ourselves under the scheme to be elaborated by the Local Government and the Government of India that we really deserve these proposals. I have no doubt that this Resolution will appeal to you (*cheers*).

**MR. LALA HAR
KISHEN LAL.**

LALA HAR KISHEN LAL of Lahore, in further supporting the Resolution, said:—I heartily join in supporting this Resolution.

**MR. JEHANGIR
BOMANJEE
PETIT.**

MR. JEHANGIR BOMANJEE PETIT of Bombay, said:—Mr. President, Delegates, all Ladies and Gentlemen.

I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition which has been, just placed before you by such eloquent speakers as have preceded me.

The subject-matter of this Resolution embodies only in a general way the expression of the country's views upon the Reform Proposals out-lined in the now famous and historic despatch of Viscount Morley. It is, as you will have already seen, an emphatic and whole-hearted expression of satisfaction and gratitude towards the great and decided step forward, which has been taken. The deliberate and collective opinion of the leaders of Indian thought in different parts of this great country has yet to be pronounced. That must necessarily take time, as it can only be formulated after a most patient, careful and elaborate examination.

For the present, Mr. President, speaking generally of the Reforms, I have no hesitation in saying that they have been conceived in a most liberal and statesmanlike spirit, and that the whole country is more than pleased at them. They form the opening of a new era in the history of the relations of this ancient country with Great Britain, and constitute what I would like to call the earnest of what more must and is bound to come in the future. In them, we perceive the masterhand and the master-mind of Lord Morley. In them, we trace a decided and honest attempt to fulfil those great and sacred pledges which were conveyed to the peoples and Princes of this country by the great Charter Acts of 1833 and 1853; and the Proclamation of 1858.

During the last 25 years, this country has been persistently praying for the gradual fulfilment of those promises of equality of citizenship in all branches of the administration, but the deaf ear that had been continually turned to these prayers by those in authority, had contributed to a great extent to chill that faith and confidence which all India at one time felt in British sovereignty and British justice. It is, however, most refreshing to realise and most gratifying to feel that British statesmanship has risen to the occasion before it was too late. These Reforms have come not a day too soon. Delay would have been most dangerous, if not disastrous. The whole of India hopes that these Reforms will now have the effect of restoring the good-will of the people towards the Government.

Gentlemen, the Reforms as a whole are Reforms which all India welcomes. The country is pleased at the appointment of two Indians to the India Council. When the Government of this country was transferred to the Crown from the East India Company, Lord Beaconsfield, the then Prime Minister of England, included a provision in the India Councils Act, securing two seats for Representatives of India, but that provision was then struck out on the ground that Indians were not fit for such responsibility. It is gratifying to see that provision translated into action after half a century. Only, the country would like to see it assured by Statute. The country would also like to see the introduction of the electoral element in the India Council.

The extension of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, the removal of official majority in the latter, the inclusion of Indian Members in the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, the power of dividing on the Budget, the power of making recommendations in the Councils, are big and bold steps forward, which all-India cordially welcomes. These Reforms will have the effect of making the administration more real in its scope and less bureaucratic in its character than it is at present.

Last of all, Gentlemen, one cannot help admiring the language in which this historic despatch of Viscount Morley is couched. It is the language of Statesmanship, the language of wisdom and the language of forethought. But, Gentlemen, I wish Lord Morley had not alluded to our ideals and had not spoken of Self-government in the manner he has done. I am perfectly certain that I am echoing the sentiments of the entire country when I say that young India, new India and Educated India will not be satisfied with anything less than Self-government on Colonial lines. For, Sir, I honestly believe and I am certain you will agree with me that good Government can never be a substitute for Self-government. (*cheers*) We shall always, therefore, steadily aspire to that goal and work with that end in view.

One word more before I close. It is an open secret that these Reforms would not have taken the shape that they have, had it not been for the indefatigable exertions of our distinguished countryman the Honourable Mr. Gokhale, (*loud and prolonged cheers*). All-India knows the work he has done on our behalf, and I venture to say, even at the risk of incurring the

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displeasure of my honoured friend that the thanks of the whole country are due to him for the excellent work he has done in connection with this matter.

With these words I heartily support the proposition and commend it to your unanimous acceptance, (*cheers*).

Mr. A. M. JINNAH of Bombay, said :—Mr. President—Sister and brother, delegates, ladies and gentlemen. I am asked to support this Resolution which you have all heard read out to you and which has been so eloquently proposed, seconded and supported. I, for my part, feel that these reforms have come to India not one day too early, (*cheers*). The country has been prepared for these reforms, in the opinion of some at least, for a long time ; and although there may be a difference of opinion as to the adequacy of these reforms having regard to the competency and the capacity of the country, still I think that we must all admit that Lord Morley has made his best efforts to meet our demands (*hear, hear and cheers*). I think we ought to express our gratitude, having regard to the spirit in which the reforms have been formulated by him. There is one word more I wish to add ; that is this, that it is a well-known thing that responsibility brings with it sobriety, and unless you throw a certain amount of responsibility upon an individual or a nation you are likely to allow that individual or nation to drift astray and I have no doubt that now that this responsibility is thrown on our shoulders we shall show to the world and to England that we are competent and capable of receiving these reforms and a great deal more in future. From the Muhammadan point of view, speaking for myself, I think and I feel that there are many other Muhammadans, who ought to join cordially with our Hindu brothers (*loud and enthusiastic cheers*), in expressing our gratitude to Lord Morley and Lord Minto. With these remarks, sir, I beg to support this Resolution.

**THE REV. DR.
R. A. HUME.**

The Rev. DR. R. A. HUME, of Ahmednagar, in supporting the Resolution, said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—Thomas Arnold of Rugby, who was the most successful educator of Britain, once said that the highest secular desire of a trained mind is the desire to take a part in the conduct of the affairs of his country. He knew what was the necessary, the invincible, the worthy result of a liberal education, with a growing knowledge of English history, and acquaintance with political life. He did not limit that true and profound remark to the Englishman (*hear, hear*). He knew that—

There is neither East nor West,
Nor border, nor breed, nor birth,
When two strong men meet face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth.

To the Indian, as to the Briton and the American, the highest secular aspiration of a trained mind, acquainted with the course of progress and freedom, is an invincible desire for a worthy part in the administration of the affairs of his native land. This is the open secret of the ever-increasing desire of Indians for a larger and larger share in the management of their country's affairs. And it is simply the natural, the creditable result of Britain's training of India. And now the auspicious hour has come when our far-sighted, sympathetic, and brave Viceroy and Secretary of State and their advisors including some of our own countrymen have honoured us and themselves by indicating their determination to place greatly increased responsibilities upon us, both for legislation and for administration, from the lowest to the highest grades, from local to imperial spheres.

Our first duty is to express grateful appreciation of this confidence. Incidentally, we may also express satisfaction at the part which our Indian

National Congress had in bringing about, at least in hastening, this happy consummation. It must be a gratification to Lord Minto and to Lord Morley that the sense of appreciation and of gratitude has been so widespread and so hearty. But, while in one breath we thankfully appreciate this great achievement, with our next breath our second duty seems to me to be a clear sighted recognition of the seriousness and the weight of the responsibility which has been placed upon India's thinking active men and the humble, yet joyful, determinations both to seek and take God's guidance and help, and by conformity to his eternal laws, through which alone men and nations can prosper, so to meet the new era that our country shall make a really noble advance. To thinking, and above all to experienced men who know the perplexities and the extreme difficulties of directing even municipal, and still more national, affairs it would be no indication of our fitness to assume the responsibilities which now are being placed on India's millions, if with lightness of heart we proclaim our entire ability to do things just as they should be done, and then, before proving our capacity wisely to use the enlarged functions which now are given, to criticise and call for more. I differ radically from those who think this a fitting time to utter one single word of criticism of the open-handed, though prudent, bestowal of political opportunity more than any one seems to have expected at this juncture. Was there ever a wise young man who had longed to be put in charge of a ship, or of a regiment, or any great concern, who, on the moment of being entrusted with that grave responsibility, did not refrain from proclaiming his fitness, but rather felt like first dropping on his knees before Almighty God and humbly asking for wisdom and strength to meet his still unknown duty. Once there was a young Army Commander, just about to enter a serious engagement, whose face blanched, and he was taunted with being afraid. To which unworthy word he replied:—"The brave man is not the one who ignores danger, but he who realises its seriousness, yet, knowing that danger, warily presses on to meet it."

Could we, starting on an untried voyage, with larger powers of control over our ship of State, freighted with opportunities and responsibilities affecting the welfare of millions of our countrymen, sure to meet difficulties from the ignorance and poverty of the masses, from racial and religious prejudices which must be allayed, but which might easily prove serious, and from the comparative inexperience of most in both local and Imperial affairs—could we do other at this solemn, yet auspicious juncture, than, modifying the last verse of the American national hymn, devoutly say,

Our country's God to Thee,
Author of Liberty,
To Thee we pray,
Long may our land be bright,
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, Our King. (*Cheers*).

PANDIT GOKARUANATH MISRA (Lucknow) in further supporting the Resolution, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I have much pleasure in supporting the Resolution so eloquently moved by our esteemed friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea and so ably seconded by the Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malviya. After what has been said by the previous speakers there remains very little for me to say. But it appears to me, Gentlemen, that this is an occasion the importance of which demands that everybody in this vast assemblage should give his hearty welcome to the

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Reform Proposals promulgated by Lord Morley—and this for two reasons: First, that they constitute a liberal and a substantial instalment towards the acceptance and satisfaction of our legitimate demands; secondly, that now the people of the country have been brought into closer touch with the administration of their affairs, much of our future progress and political development will depend on our own co-operation with the Government. Gentlemen, it has been often remarked by men of opposite views that our Congress has not justified its existence for so many years and that this vast expenditure of money, labour and energy has gone in vain. That it is not so you see for yourself. These proposals will ever stand as a great monument of the success that has attended our efforts. Verily it has been said that the enunciation of these reforms opens a new chapter in the political history of our country.

Now, gentlemen, there are one or two matters in the Reform Scheme to which I should like especially to invite your attention. The first matter to which I should like to invite your attention is the appointment of an Indian member to the Supreme Council and the Councils of Madras and Bombay. Lord Morley suggests that this should not be made a provision of the statute but ought to be left to practice and usage growing into confirmed rule. Gentlemen, you all know and are aware that the most liberal measures lose their beneficial effect with re-actionary Viceroy and re-actionary Secretary of State. The President told us yesterday in his remarkable speech that "we cannot always have a Morley at the helm in England, nor a Minto at the head of the administration in India." We should, therefore, insist that this matter should not be left merely to Executive orders but should be assured by statute.

The second matter is the question of there being a permanent Official majority in the Imperial Council. You are aware, gentlemen, that according to Lord Morley's scheme there will not now be a standing Official majority in the Provincial Councils. The two chief safeguards in the opinion of Lord Morley against the disadvantages or inconvenience accruing from such a scheme are the withholding of the assent to any Legislative measure by the head of the Government and the concurrent power of Legislation by the Imperial Government. Lord Morley also says that if there were to happen a combination of all the non-official members against the Government that might be a very good reason for thinking that the proposed measure was really open to objection and should not be proceeded with. Now, gentlemen, I cannot understand why these remarks should not equally apply to the case of the Supreme Councils. As regards the power of veto possessed by the Governor-General, Lord Morley remarks in his despatch that "it is desirable that the Governor-General should be removed from the conflict of the division list, and that the fate of any measure or resolution should not rest on his vote alone." Gentlemen, this could equally apply to the case of the heads of Provincial Governments. If the fate of any measure in the Provincial Councils is to depend on the vote of the head of the Government, I cannot see why it should not be similar in the case of the Governor-General. Would it not be equally true of this Supreme Council to say that in cases where all the non-official members of that Council were arrayed against the Government regarding any particular measure or resolution, it should be considered as a very good reason for thinking that the proposed measure was really open to objection and should not be proceeded with?

The last matter to which I will refer is the question of Electoral Colleges. The Despatch provides that each member of the College would have only one vote and could vote for only one candidate. Gentlemen, there are grave objections to this scheme. This would be forcing practically the hands of the members belonging to a particular community to vote for a candidate belonging to that community and that community alone. For if the votes are

given to the candidates of the other community the members of that community would always be running the risk of not returning a man of their own community at all. This would necessarily result in the permanent estrangement of feelings between two particular communities. I would therefore suggest that each member of the Electoral College should be allowed to vote for as many candidates of each of the communities as they may be deemed necessary to be returned. This may require the fixation of the members with respect to each of the communities, but there could be no difficulty in that.

Gentlemen, these are mere matters of detail and so far as the requirements of each of the particular Provinces are concerned we shall have to formulate detailed schemes and submit them to the Government. One thing, however, I should like to remind you of, gentlemen, at the present juncture. We should all remember the pregnant words which fell from our President yesterday that there is no finality in politics. Things which at one stage are considered quite impracticable become quite easy of solution at another. We should only be firm and determined, patient and persevering—keeping always before our eyes the motto of that grand old man, our venerable Dadhabai Naoroji, “*Agitate, Agitate and Agitate,*” and as past experience has shown us, success, remember, will be our own.

With these few words I hope, gentlemen, you will carry this Resolution with acclamation.

Dr. C. B. CLARK, M. P., who rose amidst vociferous cheering, said :—Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am very glad to be privileged to be here to-day and to have heard the very able and eloquent speeches of the eminent gentlemen who have preceded me. I quite endorse all that they have said in reference to the action of the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Liberal Cabinet in London who have formulated these proposals. I congratulate you, sir, and the other men who have been fighting so long and so earnestly to bring about these reforms upon the fact that the ideas and aspirations which you have had are now about to be realised. You have heard the proposals made by the Government. Next year at your Congress I hope you will be as well pleased with the Bill, with the Act, constituting your Charter which we shall then be able to consider. These proposals are general. You have been discussing them to-night in the Committee stage. You must remember that whatever proposal is made, as a Bill will come before the House of Commons and will come before the House of Lords. I hope that when you have the finished article, you will be as well satisfied with it as you are with the draft scheme. Is it likely that it will be the case? Again, I have to congratulate you upon the conditions under which this Bill will be discussed. As far as the House of Commons is concerned, the Anglo-Indian element, the official men who have lived their life in India have as a rule been conservatives. For the first time there are no Anglo-Indian conservatives in the Parliament (*laughter*), (*voices: Mr. Riss*) Sir, I am wrong in saying that there is one; but he is posing as a liberal, (*laughter*.) There are four or five official men who have had great experience in various departments in India; they are on the liberal side. I will say that they will make every effort to broaden and widen the basis of the Bill and not to restrict it—men like Sir Henry Cotton (*loud cheers*). Sir John Jardine, (*cheers*) Mr. Smeaton (*cheers*) Mr. O'Donnell—men with great experience of India. Then they are drafting their amendments, as they will draft them in the Committee stage, all these amendments will be to extend and not to limit the powers of the Bill. So I think that that is something which I can congratulate you upon. When the bill comes before another body a non-representative body, yet there I think there will be very little of the re-actionary spirit shown regarding India.

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Because the bulk of the men who have had experience in India, the leader of the Conservative party, Lord Landsdowne, is not a Tory, is not a re-actionary but in many ways a decent Liberal. My noble friend Lord Ripon (*cries of Vande Mataram and loud and prolonged and enthusiastic cheers*); I am glad you are cheering because he is the Nestor of our statesmen, he is the grand old man of British politics (*cheers*). When the Bill comes before that more difficult body I do not think that there will be the re-actionary spirit by that house towards India that it has shown towards other things that come before that. I do not think that it will touch their pockets and privileges. I do not think it will. I think it will go through that body through the straight gate; indeed that is your Charter, when you have it it will be a valuable one. I hope when it is carried out, no matter how carried out, the result will be very beneficial. We cannot discuss India in Parliament. I have taken part year after year; I have heard Secretaries of State and Under-Secretaries of State make their statements; I have seen 20 people present sometimes when these statements were made of which perhaps not one person understood a part (*laughter*.) I do not know whether you have heard a joke of Sir William Hamilton. He was appointed to the chair of metaphysics in Edinburgh University. When he went home an old farmer, an old school fellow said to him "Sir, I hear you are professor of metaphysics. I do not know what sort of thing metaphysics is. Will you tell me?" Sir William looked round and said: "I will put it in English, you are not likely to understand Scotch." "O yes" he said "Metaphysics is one man trying to explain to another something which he has not understood himself." That is very much the position of gentlemen who have been appointed to the positions of Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of State (*laughter*.)

I have heard good news since I have been here. I have seen a paragraph that it is very likely that the re-actionary Anglo-Indian is going to begin a campaign in England against this policy. That is the best news I have heard for a long time, because the evil in our country has been the ignorance and apathy of the people. They do not know anything about India. They have many things political to interest them regarding themselves. I remember five and twenty years ago when Lord Ripon was here he brought forward those great reforms some of which he was able to carry. One of them touched very much the Anglo-Indian Community the Ilbert Bill. A lot of Anglo-Indians came over to Great Britain; they spent money very liberally; they held meetings all over large towns where they maligned the Indian people; and what was the result? The result was an old Madras man, Mr. William Digby, late editor of a paper here, he got together a number of British and Indian men in London and a Committee was formed. My old friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was a member. Raja Rampal Singh, and Mohan Ghose—these gentlemen honored me by asking me to be Chairman. We had meetings all over the country; we developed an amount of interest in India and Indian matters which otherwise could never have been created. All that I want you to do is to do it again so as to give publicity, diffuse knowledge and dispel ignorance and let people know what you want. If you do that work, I for one will be very well pleased indeed. Some of the members in that Committee did it because they were party men, others because they were interested in Indian questions. To those who have been interested in Indian questions it was an education. You had sent Mr. Gokhale to England. He had been educating the British public. You have to send a great many more Gokhales to the British democracy who determine your conditions. If you can dispel ignorance in England about all-Indian matters you will get what you want. I am not at all doubtful about this measure passing even in a more radical form than it may be introduced. I will tell you why? You not only have the

most radical Parliament that you ever had in Great Britain. You have not only legal men, intellectual men, men of experience and experts, but men who have been educated in this question. The other day three or four hundred of them including Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Conservative party, sent a message to the Turkish Parliament. We have had it before in the case of the Duma of Russia. They will tell you that the Indian question is a difficult one. Well, every question is a difficult one. The Indian question is the easiest possible question, if you test it, by the serious questions which you have in Europe, if you test it by the Russian question, if you test it by the Turkish question. There you have difficult questions indeed. In Russia you have got the Finns, the Poles, the Sircacasians, the Armenians, the Georgians, Athenians, Tartars and Turkomans. I might go on pointing out races and the religions of these people. You have there a very difficult problem indeed. You have got the Russian Peasant Mochee. This year I was in Russia and Turkey. I know something of the Indian ryot because I have gone all round the districts of the Bombay Presidency, I have spent six years. If you are in favour of having a Russian Parliament and the Russian peasant having a vote then any man should be more in favour of an Indian Parliament and the Indian Ryot having a vote. The Indian ryot is a more moral man than the Russian Mochee. He is sober, he is never a drunken beast. He is a much more intelligent and reasonable being. If it goes upon giving a vote on his worth then the Indian ryot should have it before the Russian Mochee. In Turkey you have various slave races, you have the Antonines, you have got the Mussalmans there. You have now a Parliament started there. Those hundreds of men who have been sending a message to the Turkish Parliament must have a message to send to India when you have a Parliament. Now I take a rosy coloured view of the condition of affairs in India. I do it because I have watched the conditions for 30 years. For 20 years I have watched it in the House of Commons as closely as man could watch. Ever since your Congress I was keeping in touch with it and I have watched India as a member of the British Congress Committee for the last 12 years. I am very hopeful therefore that when you have got before you your constitution, you will be able to sing praises of thanksgiving as strongly as you do to-day to the men who have brought about what will be the greatest Charter that India has ever had. I hope so. I am so optimistic, because I have seen not only here in the East, you old Conservative people, of the East, being penetrated by western ideas and claiming those privileges taught by British education as good for you as for them. I do so because the bureaucracy has served its time. It is done. The Russian bureaucrat had got to go; the Turkish bureaucrat has got to go and the Indian bureaucrat has got to go also, *(voices: the sooner he does it the better)*. He has got to go because powerful forces which determine the destinies of a nation are working there. We have given up the old idea of divine right. Democracy is becoming triumphant because it is the only logical and rational basis, of Government and it will be so here in India as well as in Europe. If the bureaucrat is bad in Europe he is bad here also. But if he is controlled under the influence of a Government representing the people, then only will his evil qualities be prevented and hindered. But otherwise they cannot be. I am so glad that these things are going on because I am an old democrat. I welcome its coming because I believe that the many things which you have suffered will pass away under its benignant influence. Like our poet, I may say

“ ‘Tis coming up the steep of time
 And this old world is growing brighter.
 We may not see its dawn sublime,
 But high hopes make our heart grow lighter.

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We may be sleeping in the ground,
Ere it awakes the world in wonder.
But we can see it gathering round.
And hear its voice of living thunder
'Tis coming, yes, 'tis coming."

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

PRESIDENT.

PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, I have been entrusted with the duty of moving the next Resolution which runs as follows :—

III. CONDEMNATION OF OUTRAGES AND DEEDS OF VIOLENCE:

**CONDEMNATION
OF OUTRAGES
AND DEEDS
OF VIOLENCE**

"This Congress places on record its emphatic and unqualified condemnation of the detestable outrages and deeds of violence which have been committed recently in some parts of the country and which are abhorrent to the loyal, humane and peace-loving nature of His Majesty's Indian subjects of every denomination."

PRESIDENT.

I put the Resolution to the Congress and ask you to carry it unanimously.

The Resolution was then declared unanimously carried. *The Congress then adjourned for three quarters of an hour.*

When the Congress resumed its sitting after midday interval, the Honourable Mr. D. Khare, General Secretary, said :—

Gentlemen, the President desires that the speakers will observe the time limit as the business before us is rather long and we must get through it. With this request the President asks you to begin.

The President then called upon Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai to move the next Resolution.

**MR. M. H.
KIDWAI.**

Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai of Lucknow, moved the Resolution which ran as follows.

IV. TREATMENT OF BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

**TREATMENT OF
BRITISH INDIANS
IN SOUTH
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"This Congress views with the greatest indignation the harsh, humiliating and cruel treatment to which British Indians, even of the highest respectability and position, have been subjected by the British Colonies in South Africa, and expresses its alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far-reaching consequences of a mischievous character calculated to cause great injury to the best interests of the British Empire, and trusts that the Imperial Parliament when granting the new Constitution to South Africa will secure the interests of the Indian Inhabitants of South Africa.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the British Parliament and the Government of India, the desirability of dealing with the self-governing Colonies in the same manner in which the latter ruthlessly deal with Indian interests so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress, while aware of the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, deems it but right to point out that the policy of shutting the door and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy in Asia and other parts of the world, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous."

And in moving it, he said :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I stand here as a delegate of our countrymen in the Transvaal—our countrymen, Hindus and Mussalmans who have made a worthy demonstration of their resoluteness, peacefulness and fortitude—our countrymen who have belied those political prophets who used to foretell that the two communities, Hindus and Mussalmans, could never be united. The telegram I received from Johannesburg, dated 11th December, belies them, I shall read it out. To "Kidwal," Lucknow . . . Johannesburg, 11th "British Indian Association representing All-Indians in Transvaal and Hamidia Islamic Society, representing specially Muslims appoint you delegate Muslim league and National Congress, regarding bitter struggle going on repeal Asiatic Act and status educated Indians. India's honour concerned." Gentlemen, I am more proud of this telegram than I have ever been of anything. My countrymen—both Hindus and Mussalmans have done me the honour of evincing such confidence in me that they have unitedly and separately elected me to represent their cause both before this National gathering and the All-India Muslim League. I have even a greater sympathy, gentlemen, if I may say so without being misunderstood, with this honourable gathering than with that of my own co-religionists, because it seems to me to be making, in a higher degree, for liberty, equality, fraternity and progress and is therefore in fact truer to the spirit of Pan-Islamism (*cheers*). But I indeed wish it were possible for me to attend both the gatherings. My personal protest against the Transvaal Asiatics Act must be the strongest. I am an Indian and I have naturally sympathies with my fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal ; I am a Mussalman and cannot see my co-religionist and my religion so openly insulted and humiliated as it has been by that Act, I am a Pan-Islamist and I do not therefore like that democratic, liberal and fraternal spirit of Islam with which I would like to see the whole globe pervaded, being thus set to the wind. There is no nation that would resent an inferior treatment more than the Muslim nation. Islam, thirteen centuries ago, established perfect equality between man and man. A King and a slave, a coloured man, and an uncoloured man, an Asiatic, an African and a European all were tied together in one string of brotherhood and all were given equal rights by that greatest democratic and socialistic reformer that the world has known—the great Prophet of Arabia.

When I went to Turkey a couple of years ago, I found, I am glad to say, that that Islamic spirit had not left the nation and no difference was made there, either socially or politically, even between the conquerors and the conquered and that the Turkish Government went so far as to spend a large amount of State money annually in the up-keep of institutions and places for non-Muslims.

I hope that the All-India Muslim League will remain true to that Islamic spirit and that its protest against the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal will be strong.

In order to give you an idea of the temper of my co-religionists in the Transvaal on the question, I shall take the liberty of reading a few of the Resolutions passed by the Hamidia Islamic Society of Johannesburg that have been sent to me.

RESOLUTION I.

" This meeting of the members of the Hamidia Islamic Society hereby desires to congratulate Imam Abdul Qadir Bawazeer upon his imprisonment with hard labour for six weeks for the sake of our holy cause and desire to tender its deep sympathy with Mrs. Abdul Qadir Bawazeer."

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MR. M. H.
KIDWAL.

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IN SOUTH
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MR. M. H.
KIDWAI.

RESOLUTION II.

"This meeting of the members of the Hamedia Islamic Society hereby respectfully urges the Imperial Government to take such steps as will result in a settlement, satisfactory to the members of this Society, by urging upon the Transvaal Government the need of granting the two requests preferred by its members."

RESOLUTION III.

"This meeting of the Hamedia Islamic Society hereby requests the 70 millions of Indian Mussalmans to call urgent meetings all over India wherever Mussalmans congregate to protest against the treatment of their brethren and co-religionists in the Transvaal."

RESOLUTION IV.

"This meeting of the members of the Hamedia Islamic Society hereby tenders its respectful congratulations to the Transvaal Government upon the arrest and imprisonment of its respected Chairman, thereby enabling members of this society to demonstrate that each one of them is a leader of a righteous cause."

Gentlemen, the cause I stand to represent here is, I regret to say, the cause of a suffering people—of a people who are helpless—who cannot and will not use physical force to have their grievances redressed—of a people whose protecting Government has left them to the mercies of a few selfish farmers. But the cause I stand to represent is a just cause—and I hope I shall never be associated with a cause that is not just. It is a cause for the assertion of the equality of civilized men, a cause to defend the rights of citizenship of a people who form a large Empire—an Empire which has made a little Island the cynosure of all eyes. The British Empire was a grand Empire long before the Transvaal Colony was annexed, but it was only a petty Kingdom before the acquisition of the Indian dependency.

As citizens of the same Empire, the Indians in the Transvaal had a right to demand the same privileges which the Boers enjoyed in the Transvaal and even in India. They would, indeed, have been in the right, had they demanded a few seats in the Transvaal Assembly. But the atmosphere of their own country has made them moderate and modest.

Their present request to the Boer Government is nothing more than to be allowed to live in the country in a decent, self-respecting manner. But they are denied this and they look up to the Imperial Government to defend their honor and to save them from being ruined for no fault of their own. We are proud to feel that our countrymen are not being ill treated for any of their own vices or depravities. They have drawn on them the wrath of the native inhabitants of the Transvaal—the Boers—simply because they have managed to retain in the Transvaal their admirable qualities of thrift and sobriety, simply because they have failed to assimilate that uncharitable selfishness which raises the standard of personal living at the expense of the poor.

The Boer Government as of late charged Indians in the Transvaal with bad faith. It is alleged that they did not keep to the terms of the compromise. This allegation is utterly false. On the 3rd April 1908, I received a letter from Mr. Gandhi who referred to the compromise in these words:—

"The compromise consists in the repeal of the Act immediately. The Transvaal Parliament meets if Indians have carried out their offer of voluntary registration."

The Indians did faithfully carry out their part of the promise but the Boer Government changed its mind. It is not the Indians who can be charged with bad faith. It is the Boer Government that should be so charged.

The fact is that the Boers find it difficult to compete with a people, the ambition in life of whose individuals is not to secure mere personal comforts but rather to live in humble houses, dress in humble clothes and put up with inconveniences in order to save a few rupees to keep from wanting their old mothers and the indigent families.

The money which a Boer may feel happy in spending on a drink of beer or on fine dresses would be set apart by an Indian for the feeding and clothing of his more unfortunately situated relatives.

The supporters of the Boer cause—the cause of injustice and oppression—alleged that the Indians lower the standard of living and they should not therefore be allowed to live in European countries. On being reminded that the Transvaal is not in Europe they change the word “Europe” into “The White Man’s Country.” But what are the White Man’s countries one would like to ask?

Are only those countries that were naturally inhabited by the white races white man’s countries or also those countries that the white races happen to rule?

The passion of earth—hunger has been on Europe for a long time past and there is hardly a corner of the world where the white man has not reached and which he would not like to make his own. Will the whole world then become the white man’s all the coloured men shall have to move away from it? If the Transvaal is to be dubbed a white man’s country why should not then also Egypt or India or Algiers?

I fail to see, gentlemen, the logic of this arbitrary theory that a white man’s country should be a forbidden land for coloured men. Nor would the argument, that the Indians should not be allowed to live in a country in which Europeans also live because they lower the standard of living, hold water for a minute. The necessary corollary of that proposition would be, that Asiatics may object to Europeans or Americans living in their midst, as their influence and example would lead them to live in a style unsuited to the circumstances of their countries.

Would the Europeans leave Asia on the ground that the coloured man’s continent ought to remain the coloured man’s continent?

The more you raise the standard of living the more you increase pauperism. In India the poor people who could live comfortably on an income of 2 Rupees a month have now to starve on that income, thanks to the raising of the standard of living.

I do not know what would Western Moralists say, but an Eastern would unhesitatingly prefer an all-round low standard of living if it would render the ordinary comforts of life accessible in a larger degree to the poor masses and make slender income suffice for a respectable living. My standard of living, for instance, is higher than what was that of my grand-father, but when I go to my people and my tenants and see them struggling hard for their very existence living in worse houses than they used to and on less sufficient food, I stand self-condemned for the selfish folly of spending more on my own living than I might.

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I can profess no admiration for the Statesmen who excuse the inactivity of the Imperial Government on the ground that it cannot disregard the wishes of a whole nation. Ought the unreasonable, narrow wishes of a few thousand farmers have a greater claim to respect than the just demands of 300,000,000 people? Has not India with one voice protested against the action of the Transvaalers? I cannot and will not believe that the Imperial Government is really impotent against the Transvaalers, and I shall continue to hope that it will rise up to its duty and protect the rights of its citizens, unaffected by considerations of race and colour. Not long ago I assured my countrymen on good authority that Lord Minto had done his duty by supporting the cause of those whose honour and property is under his charge, in his trust. He knows the feelings of the people of India on that point and he can realise the undesirability of giving cause to the whole nation for dissatisfaction. It is obvious that he too, who will be called upon to keep order in India of all these people who are undergoing sufferings and humiliations at the hands of a white people are sent back to India seething with dissatisfaction against the white races.

It is a wonder to me, however, that Lord Morley should have kept silence over the matter. Does that eminent philosopher stand in need of being told in which direction his duty lies, does he stand in need of lessons in liberalism? The reforms he has just proposed for India disarm criticism against him and I for one cannot doubt his true and practical liberalism. Having read his kind and sympathetic utterances in the House of Lords we cannot say that he does not know us better than many of his countrymen or that he can be indifferent to his duties of protecting us from the insults and calumnies of a selfish people.

It is possible that His Lordship's seeming indifference to the cause of the people under his charge, who are living in a country which is under the flag of their own Sovereign has been due to his being engaged whole-heartedly in another cause of the people of India even more important to the nation as a whole. The state of India itself has of late been critical with the whole nation in a state of excitement. He could not, possibly, divert his attention to matters comparatively less serious until effective measures had been taken to pacify the Indians in India. He has, I feel happy to note, delivered himself most nobly of the latter responsibility and it may be hoped now that he will give his best attention to the cause of the Indians in the Transvaal and other Colonies.

It is a touching message that the Transvaal Indians sent after the announcement of the Reform Proposals and I hope it will make even those in England who have been supporting the Transvaalers in their tyranny feel ashamed of their actions towards a people whose leader offers such warm congratulations to the Englishmen who have shown liberality to his countrymen, and denounces in such unequivocal terms the enemies of Great Britain in India.

From the spirit that prompted Mr. Gandhi in sending the magnanimous message he has shown that he is not vindictive but is ready to forget the apparent indifference of the Secretary of State for India to the cause of the Indians in the Transvaal—Such a vital cause for them.

I doubt if the loyalty of any people was ever put to a harder test than the loyalty of the Indians in the Transvaal, and I am proud to feel that no other people in the world could have withstood the test so nobly, so successfully, as have my countrymen. Just imagine what any section of the Europeans resident in China would do if they were put to similar worrying insults by the Chinese Government.

The demands of our countrymen in the Transvaal, are, as I have said before, few and moderate. They do not want to oust the white people from the Transvaal : they do not want to rush the Transvaal with their own people ; they do not claim any permanent share in the administration of the country in which they have domiciled; they do not even demand fair chances of competition with the white races. All that they want is that they, having spent the best portion of their lives in that country, having taken a great share in its development and having invested a great deal of their money in it, should be allowed to live in the country freely and honourably, and that their fellow-countrymen of good education and independent means should not be barred from approaching themselves without indignities. They demand, in short, the repeal of the barbarous Asiatic Act. That Act is literally barbarous. It insults religions, it insults races, it insults civilization itself. It is more Asiatic religions, indeed it would seem, than Asiatic people, that are back balled, and no respect is shown even to learning and enlightenment in this narrow minded bigotry. A Mussalman of European birth coming direct from European countries is to be dealt with under that Act as an undesirable Asiatic and treated like a cooly, while a Jew or a Christian of Asia is to be exempted from its operation and welcome as a free man. An Asiatic of whatever status or qualification is barred from entering the "forbidden" land and those already in the country are subjected to all sorts of humiliations. They are required to get licences of their residence in their homes, nor allowed to travel in first or second class compartment, sent to Jail and treated most barbarously. An Asiatic even if he has had his standard of his living raised, even if he is far superior to the average European in point of education, even if he is a master of both Eastern and Western manners will not be accorded any better treatment than an indentured cooly ?

Is not that Act, I would ask all the conscientious white people, contrary to the tenets of Christianity, contrary to the principles of civilization, nay, contrary to the very laws of humanity ? Is it not also an economic mistake, a political blunder ? Economically, the Transvaal Act is a folly as it must necessarily force the idea of retaliations on the minds of the Asiatics ; it is a folly, because by its operation the Boers will lose the chance of developing their country in the cheapest and most economic way ?

Politically, it is obviously a mistake to irritate Asiatics in their present state of upheaval, to create bitterness in their minds against the Europeans. Okakura-Kakuzo of Japan has already talked of the "white disaster." Should a feeling of that sort be accentuated in foreign Asiatic countries ?

Selfish as these Transvaalers are, they do not see what a deal of harm they are doing to the British Empire, to the white race, and the European civilization, by their obstinate intolerance. But we could hardly expect any good behaviour from them or any of the colonials for, what are they ? Do not they represent the mere surplus population of the great European countries ? It is small wonder if they show in their dealings a total lack of broad-mindedness and magnanimity—qualifications that can only be the result of deprootred civilization.

When dealing with them we must remember that we are not dealing with the pick of the European society; and the Indian as well as the Imperial Government, can hope to bring such a people to reason only by sanctioning retaliatory measures against them. Such measures will have a far greater effect upon them than appeal to their sentiments in the name of enlightenment, gentlemanliness, civilization or humanity. They have no traditions to maintain, no sentiments to appeal to. They must either be dictated to or threatened with retaliation, that is, approached through their selfish instinct only. England need not fear their resentment, not even their separation.

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If the worst happens, which of course is not likely, and the Transvaal separated, the British Empire will not suffer much because a happy and prosperous India would be far better to have than all the African Colonies put together.

Mr. Churchill sometime ago suggested a solution of this difficult problem by proposing that a particular part of the country may be set apart for Indians. But that scheme cannot be a solution of the difficulty. The question is, why Indians should be debarred from a British Possession, why should they be treated there worse than aliens? If they must not enter cold countries, would they take it as a kindness to have countries hotter than their own set apart for them? In fact there is no other solution of the problem than that of making the Boers respect the right of citizenship of British subjects, and the Imperial Government must exercise its prerogative and coerce the Transvaal if they cannot persuade her. India is in the right and the Transvaal in the wrong, and the right must be supported. The easiest way to bring Colonials and Transvaalers to reason would be for the Indian Government to boycott their goods and men, coal particularly, and for the Imperial Government to stop help to the Transvaal Treasury. It is indeed a shame that Indians should actually be better off in Foreign countries than in British Colonies and that the treatment meted out to them in the Transvaal now should be worse than what it was before the—Boer war, although one of the reasons of declaring that war was given to be to protect Indians from ill-treatment.

I must say that we Indians fully appreciate the difficulties of the Imperial Government to deal with the question in the face of the United intolerance of the Colonies. We also know that it requires the greatest statesmanship to satisfy conflicting interests of the component parts of this grand Empire. But on these grounds we cannot give up our rights—that we possess not only as citizens of the same Empire but also as members of the same brotherhood. It is said that an old woman once complained to a King that her son was robbed in a distant part of his Kingdom. The King replied that the country was wide and that he personally could not therefore be responsible for its good administration. To this the retort of the old woman was “if you cannot be responsible for a country away from your centre why did you conquer it?” So, if the British people cannot manage so many Colonies and dependencies had they not better confine themselves to the management of those only that they can manage?

Some time ago I read in a leading article of the *Morning Post* of London a complaint that the Orange River Colony had made a knowledge of the Dutch language compulsory for every state official and that the Transvaal Government had discharged many Englishmen from State services under the pretext of economising the administration. This is evidently an indication that it will be the turn of the Englishmen next after the Indians, that the English too will in time have either to leave South Africa a confederated position in the country, or to submit to quite a subordinate position in the country. There are certain signs of the disruption of the Empire and far-sighted Statesmen should try to prevent that. The British nation is not devoid of statesmen capable of solving intricate problems and we hope, that they will be able to solve this problem of the rights of Indians in the Colony. All of us who know the English, know that as a nation they are far above such petty prejudices of colour and race as the Boers entertain. We also know that the majority of the English people have their sympathies with the oppressed Indians in the Transvaal, and I think I shall fail in my duty while urging the Imperial and Indian Government to take effective steps to stop the ill-treatment of my fellow-countrymen in the

Transvaal and in the Colonies, if I, at the same time, do not pray for my countrymen in the Colonies or in the motherland, not to lower themselves to the level of the Boers and let their feelings get the better of their reason. Nations like individuals, that show restraint and self-control under provocations and in adverse circumstances are truly great. The Indians in the Transvaal have given a proof of their greatness by their remarkable abstinence from acts of violence or spite. Indians in India cannot do better than follow their good example. We should remain true to our hoary civilization and our refined character and not let ourselves be carried away by the passion of revenge.

Recourse to violence is always brutal and he is no true man of India who disgraces his country by acts of violence. There is no religion in the world which has preached more sublimely and effectively the Gospel of Love and Peace than the Hindu religion. There are no women in the world who have more nobly infused the spirit of love in the people by their marvellous examples of devotion and self-effacement than Hindu women. The Hindu nation has been heroic but never diabolical or aggressive—and this is what cannot be said of many nations. The world would expect a true Hindu to see that his actions are even now characterised by the same love, peace and heroism and not by vindictiveness, hatred or anarchism.

It would be a pity to forget such a unique past in the present struggle for rights or in future ambitions. Hindus and Mussalmans both have a glorious past, both have a promising future and they should safeguard the honor of their country, defend their rights by the last drop of their blood, if need be, but never by treachery, never by homicide (*cheers*).

Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI, in seconding the Resolution, spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-DELEGATES.—When we met in Congress in Calcutta two years ago, we expressed satisfaction at the disallowance by His Majesty's Government of the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance passed by the Legislature of the Crown Colony—as the Transvaal then was—on the representation of an Indian deputation from the Transvaal. But the Congress also gave “expression to its grave apprehension that unless the Imperial Government continues to extend its firm protection to the British Indian community, the policy of the Ordinance is almost certain to be enforced as soon as arrangements under the Constitution recently granted are completed.” The fear herein expressed unfortunately became a reality as soon as self-government was conferred on the Transvaal. For, the very first act of both Houses of the Transvaal Parliament was to pass at a single sitting by a suspension of the ordinary rules of procedure, the same law that had been disallowed a few months before by the Imperial Government. And this time His Majesty's Government sanctioned the Act on the ground that they could not lightly interfere with the discretion of a self-governing colony. Our countrymen in the Transvaal rightly refused to abide by it as its provisions were galling to their self-respect, and other methods of agitation having failed, they embarked on a campaign of passive resistance which was terminated for a time by the compromise between General Smuts, the Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, and Mr. Gandhi, on behalf of the Indian community. But as ill-luck would have it, there soon grew up a misunderstanding between the two parties in regard to the terms of the compromise. Mr. Gandhi contends that the repeal of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act was promised by General Smuts, but the latter denies having given any such undertaking. In this matter we have the independent testimony of a European gentleman the Rev. Mr. Doge, who has produced much circumstantial evidence in support of Mr. Gandhi's version of the compromise negotiations. Even now General Smut

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says he is willing to repeal the Act, provided the Indian community consented to have some fresh disabilities imposed on them. Principal among these is the prohibition of the immigration of educated Indians. This matter is now governed by the Immigration Restriction Act, under which educated Indians satisfying certain tests can go to and settle in the Transvaal. General Smuts denies that they can do so. The matter lately came before the Transvaal Supreme Court, and the Chief Justice, Sir James Rose Innes, has upheld the interpretation placed upon the Act by the Indian community. Our countrymen refuse absolutely to be willing parties to the imposition of fresh hardships upon them. The result is that the Asiatic Law Amendment Act still remains on the Statute book and our honoured countrymen, Mr. Gandhi—*(cheers)*—and his worthy compatriots are rotting in Jail like ordinary felons. *(Cries of shame).*

This is the situation in the Transvaal. The Government of the neighbouring colony of Natal have not been idle either. They introduced three Bills in the Natal Legislature. One of these was intended to put a stop to indentured Indian immigration—a step we would heartily welcome. But the effect of the other Bills would have been to extinguish all licenses of Indian traders in the Colony and to make it impossible for Indian traders to remain in Natal. Happily these Bills have been disallowed by His Majesty's Government. Rhodesia has been active, too, of late in forging anti-Indian legislation. Nor has the Cape Colony been silent. From Mauritius we had a tale recently from a returned indenture immigrant, the revolting details of which were horrid to read and which, if true even in part, reflect the greatest discredit on the authorities of the Colony and their official superiors. I will not attempt to go into details, as it would be impossible to recite all the grievances and disabilities of the Indian settlers in the colonies, even if our President were exceptionally indulgent to me and allowed me a full half hour. Nor is it necessary, for me to do so as I take it that you all are more or less acquainted with them. The outstanding question is this, are Indians to be denied the elementary rights of British citizenship and the primary rights of all human beings when they leave their mother-country and go to other portions of the British Empire? Are they to be treated, not as British citizens and men, but as beasts?

Gentlemen, you say in the Resolution which I have the honour to second that the effect of this continued ill-treatment of Indians upon the public mind in this country is bound to be disastrous. How else can it be? The speakers on the proposition on the reform proposals had the pleasant duty to perform of thanking the Government for the courageous and conciliatory statesmanship of which they are the outcome. No doubt they will have the effect of allaying discontent to a certain extent, but only to a certain extent. How can it be expected that a feeling of contentment will be produced in the land when our countrymen continue to be treated in portions of the Empire itself in the manner in which they are treated at present? We say emphatically that the redress of the grievances of Indians settled in the colonies is necessary for the allaying of unrest in the country. I do not say that the task is a very easy one. On the contrary we fully recognise the difficulties of the British Government who have to reconcile opposing interests. As Lord Morley said in his reply to a deputation that waited on him, His Majesty's Government have not a white sheet of paper to write upon. At the same time we have a right to expect the Government and the Parliament of England to be as vigilant and jealous of our interests and our national self-respect, as they always are of even the unreasoning whims of these arrogant self-governing colonies which are so unmindful of Imperial interests and Imperial obligations.

Gentlemen, you say in another part of the Resolution that the effects of the present policy of the ill-treatment of Indians on the future of the Empire itself will be disastrous. Verily this is so. I would call your attention to a paper on Military Geography lately read before the Scottish Geographical Society by one of the most brilliant of Tory publicists, Mr. Amery. Therein the writer reviews at considerable length the military strength, present and possible, of the British Empire, and expresses the opinion that it is very inadequate to withstand Germany, the United States, or the awakening hordes of China. It must be stated that Mr. Amery takes into account only the white population of the Empire, dismissing as undeserving of notice the vast mass of what these colourless men as I may call the so-called whites—contemptuously describe as the coloured races. And Mr. Amery arrives at the conclusion that if the days of the British Empire are not soon to be numbered, protection—which involves a taxation of the food of the people—and conscription which means a contraction of the liberties of the free Englishman and his being compelled to give some of the best years of his life to military service—must be adopted at once. Well, gentlemen, I think there is a better policy we can suggest from this platform. Let the British statesmen and the British people recognise the non-white races of the Empire as their fellow-citizens. (*Hear, hear*); let them adopt a policy of trust and confidence in them; let them accord to them the same privileges of Empire as are conferred on the white people, and they may confidently rely on these non-white men living and dying for the glory of the British Empire, of which we are not less proud than Englishmen themselves. Then need the people of England entertain no fear, not merely of Germany or the United States, but of a combination of all the powers of the world. The race and colour problem is the most complex question which British statesmen will be called upon to solve. Already it is difficult enough, but soon it will become impossible unless they recognise betimes the great importance of solving it in a manner which will satisfy all parties. Let the better policy we put forth for their consideration be accepted and acted upon, and the future of the British Empire will be even more glorious than its past. Let them, on the other hand, allow the present irritating policy to become the settled policy of the Empire, and they will, to use a phrase of Mr. Gladstone's, cover themselves with "an immortality of disgrace." (*Cheers*).

MR. IBRAHIM NOORDIEN MUQUADAM of Cape-Town (South Africa) then supported the Resolution in an eloquent speech delivered in Hindustani.

DR. U. L. DESAI (Burma) in further supporting the Resolution said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

The question of the relations of various units of the British Empire among themselves and with the Imperial British Government has assumed a gigantic intricate, and sentimental aspect. From a business-point of view, every Indian as a British-born subject occupies a certain status in relation to the British Empire. He can go to England, travel freely in England, and settle in England as a citizen. If he is an Indian nobleman or a ruling chief, he can mix with the best Aristocratic English Society, and even dine with His Majesty the King. But if an Indian goes to one of the Colonies under the British Empire he will be called a coolie, cannot travel in the land unless he has a passport registered and bearing his photograph and thumb impression on it. In India an Indian can be made a G.C.I.E., he may be a Knight, he can be a Baronet, G. C. S. I., and even G. C. B., but if he goes out of India to one of such colonies he is a coolie. The sentimental aspect is the natural outcome of this anomaly. However, I do not wish to attach too much importance to sentimentalism. From a business point of view, I say that

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DR. U. L. DESAI (Burma) in further supporting the Resolution said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

The question of the relations of various units of the British Empire among themselves and with the Imperial British Government has assumed a gigantic intricate, and sentimental aspect. From a business-point of view, every Indian as a British-born subject occupies a certain status in relation to the British Empire. He can go to England, travel freely in England, and settle in England as a citizen. If he is an Indian nobleman or a ruling chief, he can mix with the best Aristocratic English Society, and even dine with His Majesty the King. But if an Indian goes to one of the Colonies under the British Empire he will be called a coolie, cannot travel in the land unless he has a passport registered and bearing his photograph and thumb impression on it. In India an Indian can be made a G.C.I.E., he may be a Knight, he can be a Baronet, G. C. S. I., and even G. C. B., but if he goes out of India to one of such colonies he is a coolie. The sentimental aspect is the natural outcome of this anomaly. However, I do not wish to attach too much importance to sentimentalism. From a business point of view, I say that

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the British Colonies would never have prospered economically, but for the investment of Indian labour, Indian capital and Indian intellect for thrift, loyalty and good citizenship, particularly in the case of the Colony of South Africa. We invest our labour or capital and our peculiar intellect backed up by our peace-loving, loyal and thrifty habits, for the development and prosperity of these colonies, which are colonised mostly by the scum of Europe, by artisans, labourers and shopkeepers more from Berlin, Brussels, Dresden, Holland, Paris, Milan, Lisbon and Poland, not from London, Liverpool, Leeds, Glasgow and Manchester. The Britishers there are in a minority. Had it not been so, there would have been no Boer Wars extending almost over a century, and even in the late Transvaal War you have not seen the last of it. I would even go to the extent of saying, that if Africa was more abundantly inhabited by a peace-loving and loyal people from India, there would have been no Boer Wars, in which the British Empire was very near losing its military prestige, besides the most heartrending slaughter of the flower of British soldiery, nobility and manhood, and the untold wastage of British capital. During the late South Africa War, Indian Military strength and intellect in the person of the British Army from India, and Generals and officers trained on the North-western borders of India, in the person of Field Marshall Roberts and his comrades saved a situation created by these colonials. India on that occasion justified its claim, as a useful and loyal unit of the British Empire and extremely humble through the services of Indians living in South Africa, the peaceful, loyal and docile Indian citizens worked as Doolie-bearers in the late war under Mr. Gandhi. Some of them are now rotting in jail for having committed no other sin but of being born with a colour on their skin. As I said before, majority of the Colonials are foreigners and not Britishers, or British subjects, nor have they any vested interests in the prosperity of the British Empire. These people are mostly artisans and labourers who are unable to compete with Indian artisans, and labourers working in the Colonies, and these lazy ones are the people who have started the hue and cry of Africa for Afrianders. If South Africa was inhabited more largely and extensively by peace-loving and industrious Indian population, not only will the prosperity of the colony be permanent, but the constant troubles that are arising in South Africa, will cease. The strength of the British Empire lies in a population that is docile loyal, and a material which could be moulded to any circumstance of any particular case. If Indians were entirely excluded from South Africa, the result would be, that instead of the cheap Indian labour, the expensive and unintelligent Zulu or Negro labour will have to be substituted. Colonials are not rich enough to engage French or Italian cooks, and their own sense of comforts should suggest to them that Indians even the humblest are in their proper place in South Africa. The greater part of the income of Indians in the Colonies go to fill the coffers of the European Steamship Companies, and the rest in paying the heavy taxation imposed on Indians in the colonies. I myself think we had better kick the colonies altogether and give a turn to the investment of our labour and capital towards Swadeshi movements, and gradually draw out all our vested interests in the colonies.

The result would be that Memsahibs in colonies, who are now abusing an Indian cook and ayah for Rs. 15 per month, will have an Italian or a French cook and nurse for two guineas a week, who will spoil their handsome faces on the least provocation. They will soon be in a hopeless mess both financially and politically, for I know what stamina these spendthrift, pleasure-loving, lazy and unreasonable colonials have. You can judge of it for yourself—the whole of South Africa without a decent school

or college, what hope of a University or an intelligent far-seeing, reasonable, sober, colonial there, intelligent enough to know what is good for South Africa. Their fanatic cry is Africa for Africanders. I do not think there is a single man among these fanatic howlers, who can correctly spell the words "loyalty to the Imperial Government."

How ignorant they are, to say that Africa is a white man's colony. Africa was always a blackman's country and will ever remain so. They have got to whitewash the millions and millions of blacks there, before Africa could be made a white man's country.

The Imperial Government must seriously think, how it is going to meet the South African situation in a wise business like manner. There are only two alternatives. Either to compell the colonies to recognize the right position occupied by an Indian as an integral and equal unit of the British Empire, or exclude the colonials entirely from the interests they claim as British citizens, at least so far as the British Indian Empire is concerned.

Apart from this, India being a very large sharer in the responsibilities of the British Empire, is entitled to have a substantial voice in matters colonial and South African, at least where their personal safety of life and property and liberties are concerned.

In the new scheme for Imperial Federation, which at a near future will have to be promulgated by British Statesmen, the proper place of British Indians will be assigned to them when they go and reside and make permanent interests in the British colonies.

May I ask those short-sighted gentlemen who are engineering a disastrous colonial policy, if they are not doing something very dangerous in the best interests of the United British Empire. If the Imperial Government thinks that those colonies will be of real help in times of need, more so than the loyal and grateful people of India, I think the Imperial Government is anticipating too much; for the colonies are situated too far apart and, do not occupy the same central position in the world, as India does. For the safety of these colonies, occasions may arise in future, when India will have to be burdened with the expenses of a strong British Navy and Army, and Indian soldiers may have to fight many a battle for the existence of these colonies, and the resources of India and Burma will have to be largely drawn upon.

Australia wants to nominate a Viceroy from one of the colonials and not one sent from home by the Crown. An idea like that has not entered our heads. (*Cries of why not?*)

DR. DESAI replied:—When by your repeated practical demonstrations of loyalty and love to the British Crown and people, when by doing signal services in the defence and the existence of the British Empire, you will have proved yourself as the only real friends of the British, you will be forced by your grateful rulers to have a Viceroy from among yourselves. Nay, in the near future, occasions may arise when the Sikh, Nepalese and Mahratta soldiers will stand shoulder to shoulder with Britishers as true comrades on the coast of the British Isles, and repel invasions by the enemies of England. England will then know who are the real friends in need; occasions like that will give repetition to history, a Mansing as General and a Birbal and Todurmull as ministers of the English Emperor of India.

We have got to deserve before we get anything, and the standard of deserving required in our case will be one hundred times stricter than that required for the colonies. We have got to earn our own position with the sweat of our brow and numerous sacrifices offered in the interests of the British Empire. I earnestly support this Resolution.

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GADGIL.**

MR. G. K. GADGIL, B. A., Barrister-at-law, Bombay, in supporting the Resolution said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have much pleasure in supporting this proposition which seeks to secure justice, equality and fair play to our British Colonies in South Africa. In reference to the remarks that I am just going to address you, I think it necessary to read to you once more the addition that has been made to the Resolution of which you have printed copies in your hands—"It trusts that the Imperial Parliament in granting the new constitution in South Africa will secure the interest of the Indian inhabitants of South Africa." Gentlemen, it is needless for me in the limited time at my disposal to recount to you the indignities to which our brethren in the Transvaal and the South African Colonies are being subjected. You are all well aware of them. My friend, Mr. Chintamani has also given to you in brief the history of the course which legislation has taken in this matter. The British Cabinet has committed mistakes, nay, blunders; they sanctioned the passage of the Transvaal loans (guarantee) Bill through the House of Commons in spite of the vigorous protest raised by our friends in England like Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Harold Cox in August of last year. An excellent opportunity was then thrown away of imposing restrictions and conditions which could have safeguarded the interests and the rights of Indians as British citizens in those Colonies. You are all aware that there is an absolute unanimity of opinion in India on this grievance, without distinction of caste, creed or colour. When I say without distinction of creed or colour, I am advisedly using those words and not merely by way of a catching phrase or expression. The humiliation that is being inflicted in South Africa on the Indians affects the Mahomedans and Parsees equally with the Hindus. It has roused exasperation in all communities in the same degree and to the same extent. All are placed in the same boat. As regards the absence of difference of opinion on the ground of "colour", you may be well aware that Anglo-Indian gentlemen and journalists fully sympathised with us in our endeavours to get justice for the Indian. The Hon'ble Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Stanley Reed of the leading Anglo-Indian paper, *The Times of India* and Mr. James Macdonald joined us heartily in the great protest meeting of Bombay at the Town Hall in the beginning of this year. So there is no question that there is a universal consensus of opinion on this question in India. But all efforts up to this time have proved futile. We are told on the high authority of the Secretary of State for India that educated and moderate opinion in India ought to be rallied with a view to a harmonious and beneficial co-operation in the work of administration for the strength and glory of the British Empire. But how does it redound to the credit, strength or glory of that Empire when any one member of it is allowed with impunity to trample on the very rights of British citizenship on which the Empire rests for its stability? Gentlemen, my time is up and the only way I suggest to remedy this crying evil is retaliation, when persuasion, conciliation or pressure have failed: and the second part of this Resolution seeks to secure it through the medium of the Government of India and the British Parliament. I commend the proposition to your cordial approval. (*Cheers*).

MR. R. BALAGURU CHETTY OF JOHANNESBURG in further supporting the Resolution in a Tamil Speech of which the following is a translation furnished by him, said:—

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

1. I am a native of the Tanjore District and have been for the last twelve years a merchant in Natal and Transvaal. I have been elected as a

Delegate to this Congress both by the British Indian Association of Johannesburg and the Tanjore District Congress Committee. I have been asked by the Transvaal British Indian Association to represent the Transvaal Indians in this Congress which it is prayed may be pleased to move the Secretary of State for India to repeal the Asiatic Act, for the status of the educated Indians there whose honour is now at stake.

2. With your kind indulgence, I shall mention to you a few of our sufferings though they may all be well known to you.

3. Firstly our respected brother Mr. M. K. Gandhi who is familiar to you all as a Delegate to the Congress in some previous years suffered recently at the hands of the authorities and was put in Jail for his passive resistance to the highhanded Acts of the Boer Government and was treated ignominiously. Several other patriots are similarly suffering there.

4. Indians, however respectable, have to give thumb impressions when renewing their licences. They should show their passes whenever they meet the Police or other officials on the road. The Indians there have special tribunals to try them and their judgments are not appealable. No new Indians can hereafter settle there. Indians, however respectable must live outside the towns in places specially set apart for them. They have special passes if they leave their residences after 8 P. M. At 9 P. M. when a bell is struck the Indians must put out their lights and go to bed. They cannot go with the white people in hackney carriages nor move with them freely. They ought not to purchase from or sell anything to them. They are not admitted in hotels. They have separate tram-cars. They must travel only in the third class in Railway carriages. The white people do not travel in third class. The Indians must walk by foot-paths adjoining roads. They have no votes in Municipalities or in the Legislative Council. They ought not to acquire any property there.

5. It is strange that the British who fought with the Boers for their ill treatment of the Indians should now allow the Boers to treat us, Indians, worse than slaves.

6. I need not say more on behalf of our countrymen who are suffering there. I am no doubt a poor representative of the Transvaal Indians, but I hope you will do your best to your suffering brethren there. It is a great misfortune that the liberal Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, who has done so much recently for the people of this country has been unable to do anything for the people of this land, living in one of the British colonies.

7. Therefore, I, the poor representative of the Transvaal Indians, humbly request this august assembly to pass a Resolution requesting our Gracious Merciful Majesty, through the Government of India, to take steps to alleviate the sufferings of our brother Indians in Transvaal, who are now treated worse than slaves, and to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act.

DR. C. B. CLARK, M.P., in supporting the Resolution said :—Mr. President Ladies and Gentlemen. The problem we are now considering is one of the most troublesome that the British people have got before them at the present time. On this question public opinion in Great Britain, as a whole, is with you and there is, on the other hand, a very strong, almost universal, colonial opinion against you, and, in the struggle, I do not know which will ultimately be successful. I hope the feeling at Home will be able to gain the day. I have given some little attention to this question because I have been officially connected with it and I know every aspect of it from the very beginning. I can assure you that under the treaty of 1884, the Transvaal

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government quite freely gave the right to all British Subjects, irrespective of colour, to come into the country. I say they gave it very very freely because I myself was one of the unofficial negotiators of the Act, and wrote some of the correspondence myself, under which, as far as the Boer delegates were concerned, as far as President Kruger and General Smuts were concerned they conceded it without a murmur at all, so that the claim, based on that treaty, is an absolutely valid one. Undoubtedly we are in a very curious position. We have four colonies in South Africa, and the biggest and most powerful one is Cape Colony. And as far as Cape Colony is concerned there is nothing to complain about. All men, no matter their race, no matter their colour, no matter their religion, are placed in the same position. Whether you are white or black, whether you are European or Malay, if you have the property qualification, then you have the vote. You must remember that that is the biggest colony. There are more white people in Cape Colony than in the other three put together and Cape Colony will dominate the future of South Africa. The other Colony which we have not touched by the treaty is Natal. In Natal, there are about 80,000 white men, 1,23,000 Indians and between 4,00,000 and 5,00,000 Natives, men of the Bantu race. Practically, in Natal, neither the 400,000 nor 5,00,000 nor the 1,20,000 have any voice. Unjust laws are made for them, they cannot control it. Unjust taxes are imposed on them, the wretched poll tax is imposed on all of them alike. Poll tax to a rich man is nothing, but poll tax to a poor man, is a terribly big burden. The question we have to consider in the Imperial Parliament is whether we are going to allow a small minority of white men to pass Acts of Parliament and whether our Government will give their assent to such Bills becoming law or will veto them. I am inclined to be a little optimistic on this point, because there is a new condition being developed at the present moment. During the present month there have been delegates meeting from Cape Colony, Natal and the two newly conquered colonies. As far as the two newly conquered colonies are concerned we are tied by the treaty of Vreidenberg, but there will be a new charter for each of the Colonies and you will have, during the present year, one of two things : Either you will have a federation in South Africa, similar to Australia and Canada, or you will have the four Colonies united into one. You will have federation or unification. The question for the Imperial Parliament and not for men in Cape Town to consider is this: will this new charter conserve the rights, not only of Hirdus who are relatively like white men a small proportion, whether it will conserve the rights of hundreds and thousands and millions of natives of that country. I say in Cape Colony there is no colour line. The only question for the Imperial Parliament to consider is, will you allow the colour line to come in and disenfranchise all the coloured population or will you see that the rights and privileges of every race are properly looked after? I do not claim that the pass laws are the best that can be. All laws, as a rule, are bad. There are always exceptions when they become more or less bad. And the pass laws may be necessary where you have a white population and a large number of savage men. These savages are of a different race and position, and are in a different position from the Boers and Europeans. Well it might be desirable that you should have a pass law, that does not affect the white man. That is intelligible. They have very curious notions in South Africa. They only know an Indian as a coolie. If you are a doctor, you are a coolie ; if you are a Barrister, you are a coolie ; if you are a large or rich merchant, you are a coolie, or if you are worth nothing you are a coolie. You are all coming under the same law ; you are not to walk in the streets but in the side-walks, you cannot be out after 9 o'clock. I had a curious experience in Kimberely eight years ago. I was dining with the Chief Justice and Mr. Rhodes at about 9 o'clock.

I had with me a native gentleman, who was the Interpreter of the High Court, Mr. Morse. At 5 minutes to 9 o'clock he said he must go. "Why must you go?" I asked; "If I were to go five minutes later, the first policeman that sees me will run me into the jail." "What! an interpreter of the High Court, a Civil servant, well educated, like myself, run into jail." "Yes, it is so." He was a man well educated, but had to obey this unjust law which, in his case was unjust and quite unnecessary. I am glad that a fight has been made and I am glad that this question is coming up for final settlement and I have every hope that when it comes up before the Imperial Council, that the new Charter to be given to South Africa will not place the millions of coloured men, and the many thousands of Hindus under the thumb and control of a white oligarchy, who have shown themselves to be incompetent to carry out the work. (*Cheers*)

The President put the proposition to the Congress and declared it carried.

In moving the next Resolution, the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnan Nair of Madras, spoke as follows—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition that I move for your acceptance is this:—

V. PARTITION OF BENGAL.

"This Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India to reverse the Partition of Bengal or to modify it in such a manner as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

"This Congress is of opinion that the rectification of this admitted error will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to the other Provinces and instead of impairing, will enhance the prestige of his Majesty's Government throughout the Country."

Sir, since October 1905, the partition of their Province has been, perhaps, with our Bengalee friends, their greatest grievance. By that administrative act, in the language of the resolution, the whole of the Bengalee-speaking community was split into two parts. The partition has materially interfered with the social, intellectual and moral progress of our friends, the Bengalees. The cost of administration has also been considerably enhanced thereby. Where there was but one Lieutenant-Governor before there are now two Lieutenant-Governors. There was but one set of Secretaries before; there exist now two sets of Secretaries, one for the old Province and the other for the new Province of Eastern Bengal. Similarly, the Revenue Board and many smaller appointments have been doubled. While sanitary, educational and other important reforms of a pressing and very urgent character, are indefinitely postponed on the plea of want of funds. Enough of money is forthcoming for expenditure upon these newly created appointments. Gentlemen, you know that it is said that the whole of Bengal with its 80 millions of inhabitants, has become too unwieldy to be placed under administration. It may be so or it may not be so. Granting that it is so, several remedies to get rid of this difficulty are suggested. It is not necessary for the purpose of affording relief to the administrators, that the Bengal Province should be split into two. Various remedies, as I said, have been suggested, and one of those remedies is this: to convert the Lieutenant-Governorship into a Governorship and to establish for Bengal, as for Madras and for Bombay, Executive Councils. (His suggestion Lord Morley is inclined to accept), for the purpose of assisting the Governor.) The feelings of our Bengalee friends, ladies and gentlemen, on this question of the partition of their Province are very strong and very intense. There is absolutely no difference of opinion, amongst them on this point which is one of vital importance to them. High and low, all feel alike on this question. Ananda Mohun Bose, whose death the country still mourns, really went to

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his grave with this deep load of the partition on his heart. It is sometimes, said that the objections to this partition of Bengal are purely sentimental. I do not believe that they are purely sentimental. Granting however, that they are purely sentimental, are they to be trifled with on that account? The world is governed by sentiment and man, devoid of sentiment, becomes an unattractive and even a repulsive reasoning machine. The surcharged feelings of the Bengalees infect other parts of the country as well. I believe, sir, (turning to the President) you will agree with me when I say that since the partition of your Province, the discussion of public questions, not only in Bengal but in many other parts of India also, has assumed a new tone and a new complexion. (*Hear, hear*). It is unfortunate that this should be so, but the fact is there. The Bengalees are among the most advanced and progressive people of India; I do not say this for the purpose of complimenting our Bengalee brethren present among us to-day. It is therefore but natural that their thoughts and their opinions should considerably influence the thoughts and opinions of the people in other parts of the country. It is now admitted on all hands, though it was not admitted some time before, that the partition was a mistake. One who spent, as an official, the best part of his life in this country and who may therefore be expected to know something of it and who, after his retirement from this country, has held high administrative appointments in his native country and who has since been raised to the Peerage, has condemned the partition in unmistakeable terms. Lord MacDonnell, whose sympathy with our country is so well known, has stated that the partition of Bengal has been the greatest blunder committed in the administration of this country. What is more, gentlemen, the Secretary of State himself admits that it was a mistake (*hear, hear*); but, perhaps, to my mind, the strongest argument that can be found against this partition of Bengal, is to be found in this, *viz.*, that all those who had anything to do with the partition of Bengal are now heartily ashamed of the part they had in it. The partition of Bengal seems to be like a bastard child. Lord Curzon disowned his off-spring altogether. He went beyond that and wanted to father its parentage upon another. But Lord Ampthill would have none of it. He said that he was not responsible for its existence. In spite of all this, Lord Morley says it is a settled fact. Why should it be a settled fact? If he is convinced, as he says he is convinced, that it is an error, why should it not be rectified? In the language of the resolution, the modification of the partition will, instead of impairing, only enhance, considerably enhance, the prestige and reputation of His Majesty's Government throughout the whole country. In politics, as we are aware, there is nothing like a settled fact. What is a settled fact to-day becomes a doubted fact to-morrow, and the day after to-morrow an unsettled fact. Let us hope that Lord Morley will yet find his way to reverse altogether or, in any case, to modify this partition of Bengal. I may say one thing before I resume my seat. It is this, that this partition of Bengal affects the whole country like a deep, bleeding and unhealing wound. So long as such a wound exists in the human body it is difficult, if not impossible, for that body to know peace or enjoy repose. Let us hope, once again, that Lord Morley will yet find his way to reverse, or in any case, modify the partition of Bengal. With these words I move the Resolution for your acceptance. (*Loud cheers*).

**BABU AMBICA
CHARAN
MAZUMDAR.**

BABU AMBICA CHARAN MAZUMDAR, of Faridpur, who, on rising, was greeted with cheers both from the hall and the platform, in seconding the Resolution on the Partition of Bengal, said :—

GENTLEMEN,—The Indian public have given as hearty a welcome to Lord Morley's Reform Scheme as it was possible either for them to give or His

Lordship to expect. Indeed the remarkable document which the Secretary of State has sent out to this country breathes more generous sentiments and is expressed in much finer language than even the gracious Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor which in comparison with the great Proclamation of 1858 unfortunately fell so flat upon the public mind and was received at all events in this country more as a message to the Indian bureaucracy than as a message to the Indian people. But, gentlemen, it would be useless to disguise the fact—nay we would be false to ourselves, false to the country and false to the Government itself, if we were to attempt to disguise the fact—that the reception which Bengal has given to this first instalment of substantial reforms is based not so much upon the proposed reforms as in the hope which the generous spirit of Lord Morley's despatch has engendered about the possible reconsideration of that ill-starred measure known as the Partition of Bengal which like the famous Pandora's Box has brought untold miseries upon the Government and the people. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, we desire to say both to his Excellency the Viceroy and his Lordship the Secretary of State that if these reform proposals are not followed by a speedy rectification of the admitted blunder committed by a Superior Person, Bengal will not participate in many of these reforms and the proposed Act of Parliament is not only likely to fall flat upon the Bengal public, but might possibly intensify the discontent and aggravate the situation. Lord Morley must have been gravely misinformed to think even for a moment that the *status quo* in Bengal is not likely to imperil the success of the Reform proposals. Imperial it will, and a grievous disappointment of the foremost Province in the Empire, the centre of all political activity and the pioneer of all progress and advancement, cannot fail to create fresh bitterness of feeling which it is the avowed object of the proposed Reforms to remove and to eradicate. (*Hear, hear*). As a measure of conciliation therefore, the scheme is doomed to be a failure if the Partition is not modified. It is a wonder to many how this mischievous measure has managed to outlive the many disasters that have followed in its wake. Lord Morley at first wanted new facts. The arguments have been nearly exhausted and what remained has been voluntarily supplied by that illustrious triumvirate among whom the honour and the credit of the unfortunate and indefensible measure was ultimately sought to be divided. (*Laughter and cheers*). Lord Morley apparently forgets that while there is such a consensus of opinion both here as well as in England to condemn this measure, there is none so bold to-day as to claim its authorship. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, Providence has been made responsible for many things in India; but unless the author of the Partition was a blind instrument in the hand of Providence, Providence itself cannot be held responsible for the dismemberment of Bengal. All we can now say is that it probably pleased Providence to punish India with Lord Curzon and Lord Curzon with India. (*Loud laughter and cheers*). Sir, as regards new facts, well they are painfully in evidence in the unrest which is surging from one end of the country to the other and marking its ravages both in Upper India as well as in the Deccan, and latterly in the ugly developments which have disgraced the Indian public and blotted the Indian administration. (*Cheers*). Violence and lawlessness we hate, anarchism we detest. But it seems impossible not to feel the force of the circumstance which has given monstrous birth to the insane bomb-maker. And gentleman, what has been the remedy applied to this state of things:—Repression, Repression and nothing but Repression. (*shame*). But gentleman, if anarchism has in every age and in every country failed to achieve the salvation of any people, repression has likewise nowhere succeeded in restoring peace and order. (*Hear, hear*) and in this country repression has so far only succeeded in converting prison houses into martyrdoms. (*Cheers*). How long, oh! how long, will this intolerable state of things continue! If the Partition is a settled fact, the unrest in India is also a settled fact and it is for Lord Morley and the Government

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of India to decide which should be unsettled to settle the question. I trust, gentlemen, that British statesmanship is not yet exhausted and the Reform Scheme just formulated heralds a new policy of progress and conciliation. If the Reform Bill passes through Parliament and is followed by a prompt modification of the Partition, as I fully hope it will, the dark clouds to which Lord Morley has more than once pointed his finger from his place in Parliament will, I venture to say, at once vanish and India will again rejoice in the bright sunshine of peace, progress and contentment. (*Loud cheers*).

MR. D. D. SURI.

MR. DHARM DAS SURI of Lahore in supporting the resolution said :— Brothers and Sisters, I join in the appeal that has just now been made, but before I lend my support to this proposition I must say, and with all the force that I can command, that we all feel ashamed of these persons who are bomb-makers or who, in any way, think that they can achieve any rights by having recourse to anything of the kind. The land of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, the place where Keshub Chunder Sen came from and the place of Ananda Mohun Bose, are we going to have there bomb-makers and disturbers of peace, some of whom call themselves educated people? I certainly support this resolution that this Partition should be done away with. Bengal has a just grievance and their just grievance has been admitted; but certainly, we must say, with all the force we can command that these crimes ought to be extinguished and that all loyal people in the land should lend their support and influence and cooperate with the Government in seeing that we have no bomb-maker in any part, whether in Bengal or Upper India or anywhere else. (*Cheers*). My own idea is that Lord Curzon when he conceived the idea of the Partition—it was unrighteous no doubt—never thought it would be so much opposed. In fact, in the beginning people in other Provinces did not see what injury it was going to do to the Bengalee race. We have now come to see it. Lord Morley says it is wrong, Lord Minto is also convinced it is a mistake. If he is assured that it was a blunder no time ought to be lost in rectifying it because prestige will always be enhanced by rectifying a mistake, at the earliest possible opportunity. When once you see it is a mistake, when once you confess it is a mistake, then it ought to be rectified without the least delay. (*Cheers*).

**MR. H.
VISHINDAS.**

MR. HARICHANDRAI VISHINDAS of Bombay in supporting the resolution said :—Gentlemen, the general practice of the Indian National Congress has been that when any particular subject affects any particular Province, most of the speakers are confined to that Province. But you can judge of the importance of this subject when you find that at the Subjects Committee it was the members of the other Provinces who undertook to speak to this resolution. And you will find that out of the four speakers three are out-siders. I represent the Bombay Presidency and, on behalf of that Presidency, I join most heartily in supporting this resolution and in expressing the sympathy of Bombay with Bengal in her sad affliction. Just as a pain or a wound in one limb of the body affects the whole body, so this pain of Bengal affects the whole of India. Often-times it has been remarked, and it may be that some of you share that feeling, "What is there in the Partition of Bengal! Why make so much fuss about a piece of bacon? Districts are being divided every day." To those that have this feeling, I say that I am in a peculiar position to feel that the Partition of Bengal is calculated to excite that resentment among the Bengalees which it has actually done. We in Sindh were at one time in imminent danger of being placed in a similar predicament. It was contemplated to alienate Sindh from Bombay and make it over to the Punjab. Sindh was up in arms. We said "We are not going to be taken away from a civilised

Government like that of Bombay (*Laughter and cheers*)—I hope my Punjabi brethren will excuse me when I say this (*Loud laughter*)—"and made over to the Punjab." I refer to the non-regulation Punjab. (*Laughter*). That calamity was averted by our united efforts. But suppose one portion of Sind had been taken and given over to the Punjab. If we, as a whole, had gone over there would not have been that break of unity which is now the grievance of Bengal. Still we would have none of that under any circumstances. What would have been our feeling then, if one portion of Sind had been torn away from the other and attached to the Punjab? That very feeling which prevails among Bengalees in Eastern and Western Bengal would have prevailed there. It is impossible for a man outside Bengal to enter fully into the feelings which dominate the Bengalees in praying for a revocation of the Partition. But if you take into consideration a few salient facts I think you will understand the justice of the agitation that has been carried on. Bengal, as you all know, although it possesses merely a Lieutenant-Governor, is, in administration, a very advanced Province. It contains the finest orators, the best intellects and the best of journals. The first Indian daily papers were introduced in Calcutta. Public opinion is very strong and, intellectually, all along the line Calcutta rules the whole country. Now, with all that advanced administration, with all that intellectuality, if you separate a Province out of the whole of Bengal and relegate it to a backward administration, you can easily understand what the fate of the separated part will be. What better evidence could there be of the bitterness of the feeling in Bengal over the Partition than that the Bengalees should go into mourning once a year on the anniversary of that hateful day, just as the Muhammadans do during the Mohurram? (*Laughter*). You can gauge the intensity of the feeling from that fact alone. Has there in the history of any country ever occurred an incident for which the people go into mourning every year? You had evidence of that intensity of feeling to-day, when the greatest orator not only of Bengal but of the whole country while speaking on Lord Morley's Reforms could not contain himself but must drag in the Partition. (*Loud laughter*):—(Mr. Surendra Nath : "I admit. I admit"). He said "We shall not feel thankful to Lord Morley and Lord Minto, until the Partition is quite undone." I quite sympathise with him. He is perfectly right. In an interview which the representative of the *Times of India* had with Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Gokhale himself said that until this hateful Partition was revoked the feeling of gratefulness evoked by the reforms would not remain permanent. (Cries : "Sir Pheroze Shah said the same thing.") Ladies and Gentlemen, the best proof of this Partition being hateful is that its author, Lord Curzon himself, at the discussion in the House of Lords dropped it like a hot potato because it burnt his fingers. (*Loud and continued laughter*). And in this connection I might say that the white-washing which my friend Mr. Dharamdas Suri, the last speaker, gave to Lord Curzon is not at all justified. He said that Lord Curzon did not know that the Partition would be opposed. That is *not* true, because it was openly announced to Lord Curzon that the Partition did not meet with the wishes of the people and would be most hotly opposed, with the result that it was shelved for some time. As soon as His Lordship turned his back on the country, he left instructions that it should be carried out in his absence. You can judge from this of the conduct of Lord Curzon. He knew there would be opposition. But he thought the opposition would die away, that the Bengalees were cowards and they would gas away, and that the whole thing would end in smoke. He now finds that the result has been most far-reaching, that the whole discredit is falling upon him and that poor Lord Minto is reaping the storm where he had sown the whirlwind. Remember the words that both Lord Curzon and Lord Ampthill used in the House of Lords. "The credit is not mine," said Lord Curzon when he wanted to

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shirk the responsibility off his shoulders to those of Lord Ampthill, "but of Lord Ampthill." "No, no," rejoined Lord Ampthill, "you are paying me a compliment I never deserved. The credit of the Partition is not mine but yours." (*Laughter*). So much has been said in the Bengali press and so much has been spoken on this question from time to time, that I do not think anything I say more will have any freshness or novelty about it. (*Prolonged applause*).

The President then put the Resolution to the Congress and declared it carried.

Mr. DEEP NARRAIN SINGH, in moving the next Resolution, said :—Mr. President and Gentlemen, the Resolution that has been entrusted to me, reads as follows :—

VI. SWADESHI.

MR. DEEP
NARRAIN SINGH
SWADESHI.

"This Congress accords its most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of industries capable of development in the country and respond to the efforts of Indian producers by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice.

This Resolution is an ever green one and it is a distinctive resolution in many respects. It has no finality. The Partition of Bengal may be dropped to-morrow and the resolution goes out of the Congress programme to-morrow; but the Swadeshi Resolution shall ever appear in the Congress resolution till every man, woman and child has taken the Swadeshi vow and carried it to every nook and corner of the country. It is also different from other resolutions, in this, that you have not carried out your part of the work when you have given your vote one way or the other. It is not only a Resolution but a resolve, which you are expected to carry with you into the bosom of your families, to spread the spirit in your villages, and hamlets and continue to do work, week after week, month after month, year after year, and then come and renew the vow again in the Congress Pandal next year (*Hear, hear and cheers*). I wish, I could lay before you, facts and figures to show you the splendid success of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, Bombay and other parts of the country and in this I have to ask your indulgence for the shortness of time has prevented me from collecting facts and figures. I still hope that some of the speakers who follow me will lay before you interesting facts and figures, showing the glorious advance of Swadeshim within the last three years. But, gentleman, even to the common man in the street, to every Indian who looks about him with his eyes open, he can see Swadeshi shops, and Swadeshi stores springing up in all the towns and hamlets of India. I know, gentlemen, that in Bengal at least, the spirit has percolated even to the poorest artisan and to the peasantry of the country. (*Hear, hear*). The gilded youths of Calcutta who donned and displayed with pleasure and pride nothing but the fineries of the looms of Manchester will now think twice before they appear in public in attire not from Swadeshi looms. Gentlemen, once more I tell you, that there is this spirit and you must grant it, you and I, tens, twenties, hundreds of us, may not be able to practise it, perhaps, but, as long as you acknowledge the righteousness of the movement and courageously confess your weakness in not following it, no harm is done. And the vow, in all conscience, is elastic enough. It is "that I shall use the goods of my country as far as I am able." Certainly, we should use them to as great an extent as possible but if you are not able to use them, there is no humiliation

in confessing it. (A voice :—"Are you dressed in Swadeshi attire?"). Gentlemen, I confess that my own weakness prevents me from using it. Here I stand condemned before you as one of that type and I feel no humiliation in saying it. You will say, "It is the wisest resolution in the list of Congress resolutions, because, as far as I have studied, it shows it is purely an industrial and economic question." No, Sir, it has also a great political side in this way, that it supplies an enormous omission, a great omission, in the economic policy of the Government of India. If we had representative Government before this, if we had the direction of our own affairs in our own hands, is it possible that India should have remained a free trade country up to now? America or Germany or any country, dare not open their doors to free trade commerce. The economic policy of Great Britain towards India, I am constrained to say, is one in regard to which we have not one word of praise to give. In the days of John Company, the constituents of Lancashire and the people of England after having strangled the indigenous industries of Bengal and Masulipatam and other places, built up their own infant industries in their country and when they advanced to that great extent that they were above and beyond all competition, they threw open their doors to free trade. It is to supply this Legislative want that we appeal to you to take the Swadeshi vow and purchase indigenous goods even at a sacrifice so that in course of time, a time may come when patriotism, if not legislation, will build walls of protection round our industries (*Hear, hear and loud applause*). Gentlemen, there is another aspect of the question which I may specially address to my Madras brethren, and it is this. At first it seemed to me when I came here and I was very pleased and delighted to see that in Madras the Swadeshi spirit, at least the use of indigenous goods, existed long ago. It was more than what the Swadeshi spirit is in our parts but, even here, gentlemen, I feel, that the Swadeshi spirit is affecting the people. Because it is not merely the use of indigenous articles that constitutes the Swadeshi movement, it is not only the use of the articles, for I am convinced, Sir, it is the spirit in which you use them. Ten years ago Madras might have used Madras made cloths as a matter of habit but now they are used as an act of sacrifice, as a sacrificial offering, out of love for the country. Who can say that the motive is not a large part of the meaning of the word? Shortness of time obliges me to disappoint you with regard to facts and figures in regard to the number of mills which have sprung up all over the country. I had certainly hoped to collect them. I am just informed by a friend that in Bengal it was simply on account of the Swadeshi moment that the weavers, who are Mahammadans, have been able to resist the famine this year. I have, therefore, much pleasure in moving this Resolution for your acceptance (*Loud cheers*).

Mr. K. PERRAZU, of Cocanada, in seconding the Resolution said :— Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen. Not much is required from me to commend this Resolution to you. But as the previous speaker referred to facts and figures, I ask your forbearance to tell you that India exports raw materials worth Rs. 182·27 crores, and India imports 135·51 crores. India exports raw materials and imports manufactured articles and pays the cost of the manufactured articles by the value of the raw materials, that is to say that India is a debtor nation. India is running deeper and deeper into debt. We export from here raw cotton of the value of £1,482,000 and import cotton goods from the United Kingdom of the value of £24 millions. While we import from the United Kingdom £608 millions, we import from foreign countries £905 millions. How long can we go on at this rate? In the minds of Anglo-Indians there is a mistaken impression that Swadeshimism is the child of the Partition of Bengal. That is not so. Our best Indian thinkers and economists have long been pondering over this problem. Now there is a new spirit pervading all over the country that

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preference ought to be given to Indian made goods. One of the ablest and most advanced thinkers of the day, H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda, in opening the Industrial Conference in 1903 spoke very favourably of the Swadeshi movement. He said that the cheapness of foreign made articles is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat national defence against alien industrial inroads was more important than the cheapness of a few articles. Foreign made articles have strangled the whole vitality of the population and have rendered all the working classes helpless. Again in 1906 Mr. R. C. Dutt speaking very strongly in its favour said it was the duty of every Indian to prefer Indian goods to foreign made goods. In 1907 Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee spoke of Swadeshism as meaning Indian goods for the Indian people: and our worthy President said "what is there unnatural in the feeling that we should nurture our industries as well as our home made articles." As a leader of the Young India Party, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta has always been complaining that the past policy of the Government is responsible for the present degenerate condition of our once flourishing industries. Thus we have a concensus of opinion of the best thinkers and economists of the day. I can also quote various English opinions but time does not permit me to do so. I will only refer to Sir Edward Law who was strongly in favour of Swadeshism; while in Calcutta, Lord Minto, speaking of honest Swadeshism said that every true Englishman ought to nurture feelings of Swadeshism and help it as much as he can. There need, therefore, be no acrimony or heart-burning, so far as Swadeshism is concerned. It is not only the economic value but the self-discipline and the restraint as well as patriotism have to be taken into account. Swadeshism being strong in Bengal, all the weavers in Madras who were not able before to earn two annas a day are now making six annas a day. Many a weaver told me that he could not meet all the demands he had been getting from Bengal. Our helpless condition is simply unique. We cannot make even pin, or pen knife, we are entirely dependent on foreign made articles. If we nurture the feeling of Swadeshism, if we develop our industries, increase the working capacity of our people, India will hold her place among the nations of the world. In future, the wars will be industrial wars. All the western people are now not anxious to add to their territories but to gain more markets. Unless we are able to bring before the World's Markets a respectable quantum of manufactured goods, India can not have a respectable place among the nations of the world. In carrying out our object we should combine self-respect with loyalty. You can only be strong by being true to the Swadeshi spirit. This Resolution deserves to be written in the hearts of all. (*Cheers*).

MR. BABU
ISWARA SARAN.

MR. BABU ISWARA SARAN, of Allahabad in supporting the Resolution said:—
 Gentlemen, very few words of mine are necessary in support of a question which, happily, is creating enthusiasm, I might say ever-increasing enthusiasm, not only among men, but among women and children as well, not in one Province, but all over the country. I am glad to tell you this enthusiasm is not confined only to Hindus but it has extended even to Muhammadans. I have in my hand the verses composed by a gentleman in the United Provinces who is a Mahammadan and who held the post of District and Sessions Judge. I need not read these verses, excellent though they are because, I am afraid, most of you will not be able to understand them. (In response to cries of "read the verses" the speaker read the verses which were in Urdu). But to my mind this industrial Swadeshism, if I might call it so is only one aspect of the real and of the comprehensive Swadeshi spirit, which is another name for nationalism. It is only one aspect which is at present attracting so much attention, but to my mind this is part and parcel of a great wave of nationalism which is sweeping over many nations of Asia at the present day. We are told that there are considerations based in economic

grounds which are against the movement as it is being carried on in India, but I need hardly remind you of the answer given year before last in Calcutta by that Grand Old Man of India Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee (*Loud cheers*). You will kindly bear in mind that Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee is a free trader, but still, under the peculiar circumstances under which were placed in this country, Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee felt the necessity of lending the weight of his support to this movement. (At this stage the President sounded the gong to remind the speaker that his time limit was exhausted and the speaker retired instantly.) He was recalled, however, and asked to finish his speech, and on coming up on the platform again the speaker said. I have much pleasure in supporting this Resolution. (*Laughter and cheers*).

MR. G. K. CHITALE, of Bombay, in supporting the Resolution said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen. The Resolution has been read. I only wish to draw your attention and to request you to rivet your attention to some of the words in the Resolution. First of all, the Resolution speaks of the Swadeshi movement which, remember was first born in Poona, "the Queen of the Deccan". Those of us who know its history and can trace it out can attribute it to one gentleman who died long ago but whose memory is ever alive in connection with this Swadeshi movement. Remember that that gentleman in those good old days, as far back as 1878-79 had the courage of his conviction and then in his native rough dress, he had the courage of appearing at a Durbar called by Lord Lytton. (*Hear, hear*). That was the beginning, but this movement was not destined to thrive for some time. His name is what is familiarly known as Saroanwanjanik Kaka, surnamed Joshi. After that present impetus to the Swadeshi movement was given, remember by that bastard child, as it has been styled, the Partition. Ever since this question of Partition had been before the public remember, that though Bombay has been silent, though its leaders have been silent on this aspect of the question, please remember, please note, that many of the personages, who have been adorning this platform have been adorning the Directorates of many Swadeshi Companies (*cheers*). When I tell you and come to actual facts and figures, remember that though Bombay has not spoken and spoken glibly, of all Provinces the Bombay Presidency is on the van of this question. On the question of Banking institutions you are aware, that two banks have been started in the last two years having a Capital of about 3 crores. (*Hear, hear*). Two new Swadeshi Steamship Companies have also come into existence with a capital of about one crore, and match factories, loom factories, the Alembic Chemical Works, a unique institution of its kind in India; and all this credit is due to Bombay (*cheers*). I do not wish to extol that Presidency. The impetus which Bengal has given to this movement has also to be recognised. We have to foster it in such a way that we can show to the whole world that honest Swadeshism is bound to thrive and will ever thrive (*cheers*). The next words in the Resolution I have to draw attention to, are "respond to the calls of the Indian producer wherever practicable." You will remember that there was a fight with respect to these words. I do not wish to enter into that fight now as they have been introduced as a measure of practical politics. Remember your wants and capabilities and capacities. You will find that it is impossible and unless you want to be practical this proposition has no meaning. Remember that you import every year about 44 crores worth of cloth alone. Remember the capacity of your Mills and their production. You will find it impossible to supply the demand which will arise; so that the framers of this Resolution have been wise enough and have recognised a policy of prudence when they used the words "wherever practicable." In such circumstances it is but meet that this Congress, if it wants to be practical, should assert that the question must be solved in that particular practical way. Remember also that it is not going to

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encourage any loop-hole by which many of our men would like to escape as it recommends the Swadeshi movement even at a sacrifice which means that if you want to buy any commodity, if you find the price a little higher, the resolution appeals to your patriotism and requests you to prefer the commodity made in the country. The whole scheme is based on the economic law of demand and supply and protection. This is not the time for me to lecture further except to sing :—

We will raise the Swadeshi Standard high,
Beneath its shade we will work and die;
Though warning shrinks labours and scoffers sometime whine,
Still in Congress w'll hold Swadeshi banner high.

**MR. R. V.
MAHAJANI.**

MR. R. V. MAHAJANI, of Berar, in supporting the Resolution said:—Gentlemen, the Resolution which has been placed before you is a resolution of resolutions because, most of the resolutions which have preceded this concern our relations with the Government and deal with prayers that we have to ask of them, but the present resolution concerns ourselves in so far as it requires us to do our duty towards our fellow-subjects. If we desire that India should as a nation continue, our first duty is our duty as Swadeshis. It is from this point of view that the present resolution is a resolution of resolutions. This resolution is based not only on sentiment but also on reason. I do not ask you to become Swadeshis only from a sentimental point of view. Even English economists, like Mr. Marshall, have recently admitted that for India protection is necessary. If the State is not prepared to give that protection by imposing a protective tax, I would request you to impose that tax upon yourselves, voluntarily. It is from an economic point of view that I will support the Swadeshi resolution. Then the resolution does not require us to make self-denying ordinances, only because, as the President of the Industrial Conference has aptly said, mere self-denying ordinances would not serve the purpose—I would request you to mark the words in this Resolution—It is such “earnest and sustained efforts.” that should be made for the promotion of Swadeshism. Earnest sustained efforts consist not only in creating a demand but they consist in making efforts for supply also. I would, therefore, request you to be more economical and to curtail your wants and try to save money and utilize it for the encouragement of native industries. This is the more important work that has to be done for promoting Swadeshism. You will find that if you do this duty, you will do your duty by your poorer fellow-creatures. My predecessor said that in Bengal weavers were able to face the famine. I will give another instance. When I came to this City I went to Adyar and there I purchased a box prepared of card-board and gunny and learnt that it was prepared by a widow. It is said, there is an institution here which encourages widows in preparing such things, enabling them to lead an independent life. If these poor widows can be helped, you can similarly help poor weavers and other workmen in India, I would therefore request you to make earnest and sustained efforts in this direction, but the first thing you have to do is not only to pass resolutions here, but to translate them into action. I shall not be satisfied if you simply pass resolutions here nominally, but I want you to translate them into action. In the Bombay Presidency, as Mr. Chitale has said the movement commenced as far back as 1873. After that when I was in college in 1890 similar efforts were made. I am proud to say that I have been following the vow of Swadeshi from that time. (*Cheers*). Similarly, I request you to follow that vow and translate your resolve into action. (*Cheers*).

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

Mr. V. V. JOGIAH, of Berhampore, next moved the following Resolution :—

VII. IMPOSITION OF MILITARY CHARGES.

"This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the fresh burden of £300,000 which the British War Office has imposed on the Indian Exchequer for military charges on the recommendation of the Romer Committee, the proceedings of which, the Under-Secretary of State for India has refused to lay on the table of the House of Commons, in contravention of previous practice in such matters.

The Congress views with the deepest regret the repeated imposition of military charges by the British War Office on the Indian tax-payer from the date of the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, in regard to which imposition the Government of India has repeatedly remonstrated.

The Congress respectfully urges upon the attention of His Majesty's Government the necessity of revising the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 in the light of the experience of the last fifty years and the desirability of laying down a fair and reasonable principal which shall free the Indian Exchequer from unjust exactions of this character."

He said:—This subject is as old as the hills. It is at any rate much older than our Congresses and Conferences. It is the one subject in pressing which we can claim to have the support of the India Government at our back. In spite of the protests of both the Government and its people the demands of the British War Office have been unlimited, nay inexorable. The enormous growth of the military expenditure is mainly due to the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859. It introduced several charges under the heads of (1) Home-depots, (2) recruits, (3) non-effective services, (4) transport, and (5) short-service, which have proved ruinous to our country and which were rightly characterised by disinterested critics as a wanton outlay of public money. It has created a one-sided partnership between England and India. It has brought into existence a partnership between a giant and a dwarf, a partnership which like all unequal friendships, is disadvantageous to the weaker side. Expert opinion was against it at the time. Men of the eminence of Lord Canning, Sir Charles Balfour, Sir Charles Trevelyan and Mr. Fawcett condemned it in no measured terms. Mr. Fawcett stated :—"A few years after the abolition of the East India Company what is known as the Army Amalgamation Scheme was carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced Indian statesmen. India was thus, as it were, bound hand and foot, to our costly system of Army administration, without any regard apparently being had to the fact that various schemes of military organisation, which may be perfectly suited to a country so wealthy as England, may be altogether unsuited to a country, so poor as India. . . . A partnership has been established between England and India, and as one of these countries is extremely rich, and the other extremely poor, much of the same incongruity and many of the same inconveniences arise as if two individuals were to join in house-keeping, one of whom had £20,000 a year and the other only £1,000. An expenditure which might be quite appropriate to the one whose income is £20,000 would bring nothing but embarrassment to the one whose income is only £1,000. The money which is expended may be judiciously laid out, but if the man with the smaller income finds that he is gradually becoming embarrassed with debt because he has to live beyond his means, it is no compensation to him to be told that he is only called to contribute his proper share of the expenses. His position would be the more intolerable if like India, after having been compelled against his wish to join the partnership, he is forced to continue in it whether he desires to do so or not."

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As a result of this scheme, the cost of the British Garrison and its strength in India is not determined according to its own needs or requirements, but according to the exigencies and difficulties of the British War Office and the British Cabinet. A number of instances can be given to verify the truth of this statement. In the year 1885, at a time when there was no disturbance of internal peace and no fear of external aggression and when the Army was considered quite sufficient for the needs of the country and when the military expenditure was already high being 17 and odd crores, there came a mandate from the British War Office that an addition of 30,000 troops be made to the army. The India Government had to obey it though unwillingly and this cost us two millions sterling. In the year 1899, the India Government in a Despatch to the Secretary of State probably out of desperation very truly stated;—"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 people of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of the British Power in the East."

If this is so, is it not just, is it not right, is it not in consonance with the dictates of equity and good conscience that the British War Office should bear a proportionate share in these heavy military charges? Again in the year 1895, in an enclosure to a Despatch to the Secretary of State, the Government of India pointed out how 40 items of Army charges were saddled on the Indian Treasury either without consulting them or in direct opposition to their wishes. You may remember a few years ago, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the pay of the British soldier was raised in England, and this at once touched India. As a result of this there was an impost of £786,000 on the Indian Exchequer. You will remember only in 1905 we had to protest against the imposition of 10 millions sterling for the Army Reorganisation Scheme. Against these unjust and excessive impositions both the people and the Government complained bitterly but their protests were unheeded. The injustice of these charges becomes all the more flagrant when it is considered that the Colonies do not pay a single pie towards the Imperial military expenditure and that the Crown Colonies are never charged with a sixpence for the non-effective services, which is a very heavy item of Army expenditure. It is most remarkable that the British War Office does not demand a single farthing for the transport of the British troops to her foreign possessions in any part of the civilised world except India. We cannot therefore resist the feeling, as pointed out by the Simla Army Commission of 1879, that in introducing this system, the interests of India are entirely left out of consideration and we impress upon His Majesty's Government the absolute necessity of revising the Army Amalgamation Scheme which is at the root of all evils.

While all-India to a man has been denouncing this crushing burden it has been growing year after year by leaps and bounds. The increase within the last 50 years is most appalling.

In 1857	it was nearly	11 and odd crores
In 1884-85	"	17 and odd crores (before the addition of 2 millions sterling.)
In 1902-03	it was nearly	23 and odd crores
In 1906-07	"	32 and odd crores

Now, again, a fresh burden of £300,000 was added on the recommendation of the Romer Committee. It is said that Lord Morley made a good bargain in this matter and that the amount is only a fourth of what the War Office demanded. Even this imposition is not trivial. To-morrow it may be said that India has not paid her proper share and another sum of £300,000 may be imposed. Unless a guarantee of its finality is given there is no security

there is no hope, for this country. What is most remarkable is that the proceedings of the Romer Committee were not placed on the table of the House of Commons, in contravention of previous practice, in spite of repeated requests. The British public have no means at present of judging the merits of this imposition. There is no country in the world whose military charges are so high as India. India's military charges were 35 per cent. of its total expenditure in the year 1897. During the last 10 years these must have considerably risen. Within the last 50 years the expenditure has nearly trebled. It is higher than the total land revenue of this country. If India were rich, if it were a land overflowing with milk and honey, as it was once said to be, even then these recurring burdens would have been unbearable. But as it is, India is admittedly poor. Its taxes are heavy. Plague has taken a permanent abode in the country, Famines have become chronic. While India has been groaning beneath the weight of so many evils, the addition of £300,000 to the Military charges must surely be the veritable last straw that breaks the camel's neck. We thus stand in need of urgent relief, and we earnestly implore His Majesty's Government to lay down a principle, fair and reasonable, which shall free the Indian Exchequer from unjust exactions of this character. With these words I propose the Resolution entrusted to my care.

PANDIT RAMBHAJA DATT CHOUDHURI, in seconding the Resolution said:—
Gentlemen, I beg to second this Resolution, I do not think it is time either for me to make a speech or for you to hear one. Therefore, I beg to retire
(Laughter).

The Resolution was then put to the Congress and declared carried.
The Congress adjourned to 11-30 A. M., the next day.

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JOGIAH.

PANDIT R. D.
CHOUDHURI.

Third Day's Proceedings

Wednesday, 30th December 1908.

The Twenty-third Indian National Congress.

THE Congress re-assembled at 11-30 A. M. on Wednesday the 30th December, 1908.

The Hon'ble MR. D. A. KHARE said :

GENTLEMEN,

Before we begin the business of the day I am asked to announce that the Hon'ble the Raja of Kollengode gives a Garden Party this evening at 5-30, and invites all Delegates at the Cosmopolitan Club to honour him with their presence.

A telegram has been received by the President this morning from South Africa. It says this " Natal Indian Association wishes National gathering success ; trusts Congress will secure relief for Indians South Africa specially Transvaal Indians, nearly two thousand of whom have suffered imprisonment." (*Cries of shame*).

Gentlemen, as the business on the agenda before us is rather long I have to tell you that the President will enforce the time-limit and I have to request speakers not to put him to that disagreeable step and extreme measure. Every proposer of a resolution will have ten minutes and the seconder and other speakers will have 5 minutes each, and I have to request you again not to put him to that disagreeable necessity of stopping a speaker at the middle of a speech.

DR. SATISH CHANDRA BANERJI, of Allahabad, in moving the next proposition said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, My SISTERS AND My BROTHERS.

The Resolution which I have the privilege of placing before the House runs :—

VIII. SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

" This Congress records its satisfaction that the proposal for the separation of Executive and Judicial functions has received the sanction of the Government in some definite shape for the Province of Bengal ; but is at the same time of opinion that the scheme should also be extended throughout the country and that it will not succeed in its object unless and until the entire Judicial service be placed directly and absolutely under the High Court or Chief Court as the case may be, even in matters of promotion and transfer."

You are all familiar with the subject-matter of this Resolution. If I may adopt a phrase which was used by one of my predecessors on this platform yesterday, I may say that this subject is as old as the hills. The matter, viewed whether as an abstract question or with reference to concrete instances, has been threshed out threadbare ; and both in the East and the West, I believe, there is now among competent critics a unanimity of opinion

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upon the point. Neither upon the higher ground of principle nor I believe on the lower ground of practical convenience is the position defensible that the Prosecutor should be the Judge, that the catcher of thieves should also be the punisher of thieves, that the police, in form however exalted and under a name however disguised, should be allowed to weigh in the scales the delinquencies of frail humanity. Long years have rolled since our late distinguished countryman Mr. Mana Mohan (*cheers*) Ghose, who had made the subject his own, endeavoured to make quite plain to the lay mind the momentous issues involved in this rather technical controversy by investing with the charm of romance the sordid facts of a typical case which had come under his personal observation. And, I believe, it is only about two years ago that you, Sir, (turning to the President) in one of your classical Budget Speeches said what I hope I may without impertinence describe as the last word on the subject. It is, however, gratifying that since that last word was spoken, the silver lining in the cloud has been in evidence more than ever; and what was at one time scoffed at as a counsel of perfection we may now hope will at no distant date be eventually translated into action. The noble Lord who is at the helm of Indian affairs in England has spoken, and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, whose devotion to the grey and gaunt sisters Use and Wont is almost pathetic, have been told that even in this old-fashioned country the dead past should be left to bury its dead and that the established order of things must change. But in the East the inertia of stagnation is great. Things take a considerable time in getting under way. As the poet has put it, the sun climbs slow, how slowly! It is therefore not a matter of surprise that all that the authorities have yet seen their way to put before the country is what is after all a tentative scheme for an inconsiderable portion of the country. Well, it behoves us to be thankful even for small mercies. But the question is one of general importance, it is of supreme importance, and I deem it absolutely and imperatively necessary that the house should be put in order, not in a half-hearted, gingerly, hesitating fashion, but that reform should be whole-hearted, unstinted and complete. A civilian, who had held a high position in India, after he retired told us in one of the papers published in England—it is the way, as you know, with the modern competition-walla that after he has earned his pension and gone home he takes the world into his confidence in the public press—this gentlemen in one of the leading English magazines said that the time had not come in India when there could be reform in this direction in any place outside Bengal, that as a matter of fact reform was not wanted anywhere else. Now, my sisters and my brothers, I do not come from Bengal. I come from the United Provinces and I can speak from personal knowledge of what is going on daily there. I am prepared to affirm and affirm positively and confidently, that things could not be very much worse in any other part of the globe. I do not want to mention names. I do not want to give specific references, but we all know,—I mean lawyers as well as laymen who have had any thing to do with our Courts and the Police,—we know how no conviction, no promotion is the rule in every grade of service, of policemen, of Magistrates, and sometimes even of Judges. We all know how the District Magistrates issue private circulars to the Subordinate Magistrates and not unoften sends for them and given them specific instructions with reference to particular cases pending in their courts (*laughter and cheers*). We all know how when some of these subordinate Magistrates are not of the obliging species, cases are transferred from their files to those of other Subordinate Magistrates who are more obliging. We all know how a person who is not a *persona grata* with the Executive Officers has a foretaste of the purgatory before the call for him has come. We all know how orders and rulings of the High Court are set at nought, we all know how it is only exceptionally strong District and Sessions Judges who can withstand the Magistracy and the Police, and who can decide cases in the light of their own reason and conscience. In town

after town will you find, Sir, that the most powerful man is the *kotwal*, and I believe there is hardly a station in which the District Superintendent of Police is not the guide, philosopher and friend of his worship the '*Joint Sahib*.' No wonder that the Police may usually do just what they like. And then, Sir, the power that is vested in the District Magistrate is enormous. Recent cases have happened in the United Provinces which justify me in saying that if the District Magistrate does not like a man, any particular individual, he need not tell the reason why,—the reason may not stand telling—but if he does not like that man, probably that man will be run in and sent to the lock-up and left to rot there till his expiation is complete. If an application for bail is made, that will be indignantly refused, and if a Sessions Judge is indiscreet enough to grant the bail, there will be a motion in the High Court to have the order quashed. Such things have been! And when the time for trial comes after all, there is absolutely no evidence forthcoming against the accused and after weeks of suffering in the penitentiary he is ultimately let off, and becomes once more nominally, if not really, a free man. All this is a matter of common knowledge and I will not expatiate upon it.

There is another aspect of the question which should not be lost sight of. A conscientious Magistrate very often finds that his hands are so full of Executive work that he can hardly spare time for Judicial work. The result is that Judicial work is done in a perfunctory manner and at irregular intervals, and we know justice delayed is justice denied. The same disastrous result also occurs when the Magistrate is not conscientious. This man will prefer to go out in camp, to shoot and play, and in odd moments that he can spare out of more engaging pursuits he will hold a peripatetic Court in out-of-the-way-places. These also are things which everybody knows and consequently I need not expatiate upon them. But my point is that if the Judge was not over-burdened with Executive work, if the Judge was left to do only Judicial work, there could be no excuse for doing Judicial work in this unjudicial manner. I therefore say it is absolutely necessary that the Judge and the Prosecutor should not in future be the same individual, that the Judge should be made absolutely independent and accountable only to the highest Court of justice in the Province. That is why in this Resolution we say that the entire Judicial service should be placed entirely, directly and absolutely under the control of the Chief or the High Court, as the case may be, even in matters of promotion and transfer. The lawyer is said to be a hardened sinner, but I must ask your forgiveness for having talked shop outside the court-room. With these words I commend this Resolution for your acceptance and I have no doubt you will carry it with acclaim.

MR. R. SADAGOPACHARIAR (Madras) in seconding the Resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

With great pleasure I second this proposition. This proposition involves a very important administrative principle. It enjoins the severance of two inconsistent functions in one and the same individual which cannot but result in the undesirable miscarriage of justice. The strength of the British Raj lies not in its army and not in its long array of bayonets. The army may have been brilliantly disciplined and magnificently officered—this is not the real strength of England so far as India is concerned. Its strength consists in the warm loyalty of Her loyal subjects evoked by their sublime faith in the incorrupt and incorruptible purity of justice. The essential quality of every good Government and—the *sine qua non*—of a benevolent Government that I, with my countrymen believe and believe devoutly the British Raj is, is the unshakable faith in the purity of the administration of justice. Sufferings are borne with patience, nay, with cheerfulness if there is in the background the faith of the nation that the fountain of justice is pure and unsullied.

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The fusion in the same officer of the two incompatible functions—the Executive and the Judicial—has been condemned by Viceroys, Under-Secretaries, Chief Justices, Members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, experienced Courts and by persons of light and leading whose opinions are worth nothing.

This system had its advocates, had its day, was tried and was found wanting. The two functions are like ever-warring elements, one trying to oust and absorb the other. They are like two parceners clamouring for division. The elder son—the Executive—is accorded the privilege of domination according to the law of primogeniture,—the law of prestige and official usage, and the puisne son—the Judicial is overlooked. In cases of conflict, the Executive prevails over the Judicial and justice is sacrificed at times, for expediency. The system is doomed and is bound to die.

The proverbial thief-catcher, the informer, the prosecutor and the judge are combined in the same individual. This is opposed to the first principles of jurisprudence and the system ought to be wiped out.

The inconvenience to the suitors, in addition to grave miscarriages of justice, is indescribable. Who does not remember with pain the delays in the disposal of cases, the undesirable adjournments, at psychological stages of cross-examination, of witnesses and failures of justice in consequence of antagonism with some marked individuals who have been noted for their opposition to the mandates of the authorities in their Revenue and Executive capacities?

Lord Macaulay said about 50 years ago, what was true then and is painfully true now, also, that if a person gets into bad odour, as the phrase goes, and chances to incur the displeasure of the Executive authorities, the inferior service marks him and hounds him to death; cases spring up, evidence is forthcoming in all its circumstantial variety whose falsity can be detected only by those who are acquainted with the character of such witnesses and the victim is doomed not unfrequently. Cases might be multiplied to demonstrate such a position.

The position of subordination of the inferior Magistracy of District Magistrates and Collectors very often impairs the impartiality of their judgments, emasculates their decisions, fetters their liberty of action and culminates unfortunately in sad failure of justice. Many noteworthy cases of such a character have happened and one may be cited now by way of illustration.

A Magistrate who shall be nameless was going on with a case without his turband. The head-constable who was in charge of the case appeared—the Magistrate put his turban on, evidently labouring under excitement. The Police Inspector made his appearance on the scene which caused a tremor in the Magistrate. The appearance of the Superintendent of Police later on crowned his confusion and the questions of the Pleader were overruled. In many cases Subordinate Magistrates fear to run counter to the views of the Superintendents who have the ears of the District Magistrates.

The evil of the system of combination was never more clearly demonstrated than in cases which cropped up during the last two years of trouble. The people were filled with consternation. A gloom of depression and helpless despair overspread the land, except when there were short glimpses of sun-shine afforded by the judicial pronouncements of some sturdy and independent Judges of a few High Courts, which dispelled the gloom and reconciled the desponding public to their hardships in their faith that, after all, there was a Court of Justice which was a balsam to their grievances and was a reliable panacea against Official vagaries and high-handedness. The

system has been proved to be a failure and it must end. The principle of severance has been recognised and the soundness of the view of its extirpation has been felt and the measure of reform has been partially introduced in one Province,—in Bengal. If the system advocated and found beneficial is good for one part of the Empire, why is it not good as to the other parts as well? What arguments in the name of reason and justice can be advanced to justify its partial adoption? The Congress was voicing forth its grievance from 1884, though it was a cry in the wilderness at first. It evoked no reply. In 1899 a powerful memorial signed by men of learning and ripe experience put their veto on the existing system and cried it down in no equivocal terms and recommended the adoption of the system advocated throughout India.

The only possible objection against its universal adoption is the cost of it. What is the cost in consideration of purity of administration of justice? Does not this plea come with a bad grace from the advocates of economy? It is invalid and unsustainable. Has not the Indian exchequer been found capacious enough for other purposes, less weighty and beneficial? Was it not indented on for the construction of a scientific frontier? Is it not going to be invaded for the new military impost of 15 lakhs in spite of the protest of our popular and vigilant Viceroy? The argument of cost has been successfully refuted elsewhere.

This year of grace is one full of graceful and hopeful promises. This is marked by two memorable documents. The one emanating from His Britannic Majesty in November 1908 reaffirming the pledges given by our beloved Queen in Her Charter of 1858, vitalizing them and restoring our faith in their inviolability. The other is the generous Reform Proposals of our Secretary of State, prompted by high-soled Statesmanship, marked by a magnanimity and calculated to regenerate India. We, Indians, have expressed our genuine gratitude to him by our one-voiced Resolution. The names of our beloved Morley and Minto are to go down to posterity with an undying fame and are to be indelibly associated with the list of Indian benefactors.

May we not press this all important reform on Lord Morley's consideration? Will not this crown his reforms? The time is auspicious. Let us press this with earnestness and we are bound to succeed.

With these few remarks I second the proposition.

BABU BISHUNPADA CHATTERJEE in supporting the resolution said :

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

An India Office clerk of long standing, but by no means an *amateur litterateur*, said with a sigh, "my bone has entered into the desk and the desk has entered into my bone." The same may be said of the Resolution I hold in my hand—the Resolution as to the separation of the Judicial and the Executive functions of the Magistrates. As sure as the point of the compass points to the North the Resolution points me out as one of its supporters. Even the consumption of the promotion seeds, would not and did not alter the fatality here in Madras. My Madras friends will understand the point in a second and so I am once more before you, with my five-minutes' life, but not without a sigh as the Fates would have it—I shall explain my position I think more clearly.

Well, in previous years, it was the custom of the mover, seconder or the supporter of this Resolution generally to give a short history of the scheme, the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions of the Magistrates and the practice depending thereon; some entertaining anecdotes of the failures of justice in regard to the combination of the two functions in a Magistrate, to

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quote some eminent authorities as to their sayings in regard to the administration of justice in this connection; to show that the separation could be effected without undergoing any very heavy or any expense at all as formulated by several eminent men, both Congress men and non-Congress men alike, in the several schemes prepared separately by them; and finally to ask the Government the Supreme Government of the country to give effect to the Congress resolution without further delay. This was the custom as I have stated and was being religiously observed from the very beginning of the Congress to its break up at Surat on the banks of the Tapti when and where it had its place in the draft Resolutions.

Now, gentlemen, momentous changes have been effected during the period of the suspended animation, if I may use the term, of the Congress. Sanction was obtained in March 1908 of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, now Lord Morley, for the separation of the said two functions of the Magistrates. In consequence of this sanction, the Bengal Government, of course with the sanction of the Government of India, has introduced the scheme in one or two Districts of Bengal, notably, if I mistake not, in the 24-Pergannahs and Midnapore. The little tiny star of the separation of the two functions of the District Officers, in both the Districts, have been engulfed by the bright effulgent rays of the executive. However that might be, we must be grateful for what we have got and hope and trust that the scheme might be extended not only to other Districts of Bengal but to other Provinces of India, including Madras. It should be extended in the same spirit in which the reforms of Lord Morley have been proposed. The authorities know how to make the scheme effective and how to spoil it by playing with its mere shadow. I shall tell you a story to explain my point. In a certain section of Calcutta, there are vendors of prepared meat. They keep ready roasted sticks of meat and grael, etc. A poor Mohammedan, who had purchased the bread had nothing wherewith to purchase the cooked flesh. He indulged in a bit of diplomacy. Putting his nose directly over the *deckchi*, he began taking bites of the bread, under cover of the sheet concealing his mouth, with the help of the fleshy flavour that assailed his nostrils. To keep suspicion away of his real doing, he kept putting questions to the vendor of the cooked food, as to the rate of this and that article in the shop. Bread finished, he broke away with a note of dissent as to the proposed rates. A minute later, the shopkeeper with a brisk jump from his shop was by the side of the diplomat. He caught him by the hand and politely asked the diplomat to open his purse-strings for the price of the flavour of the flesh used in taking the bread. Thus surprised but not being a bit ruffled at the conduct of the lynx-eyed shopkeeper he the diplomat, calmly and quietly opened his purse-strings took a rupee out of it, placed it on his thumb and with a jerk of the right thumb gave a ring of the rupee to the shopkeeper, the then open-mouthed shopkeeper, and ceremoniously put the rupee in his purse again, adding at the same time "I have given you enough."

I therefore beg to point out that the administration of justice in this direction will fail, unless and until, the judicial service is placed solely and wholly under the High Courts, even in matters of promotion and transfers. With these words, I beg to support this Resolution.

**MR. GOVINDARAO
APAJI PATIL.**

MR. GOVINDARAO APAJI PATIL, of Bombay, in further supporting the Resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES.—This Resolution deals with the separation of Judicial from the Executive functions in a threefold aspect. *First*, the Congress says that the scheme has been extended to Bengal in some definite shape; *secondly* it asks that the scheme should therefore be

extended throughout the country ; and *thirdly* that the entire judicial service should be placed directly and absolutely under the High Court or Chief Court as the case may be, even in matters of promotion and transfer.

With regard to the first point touched in the Resolution, we are thankful to Government for its extension of the scheme to the Province of Bengal, but we are bound to say that the experiment which is being tried there is halting and imperfect. For the Judiciary has not been made totally independent of the Executive. With regard to the second point the Congress says that the system should be extended to other Provinces as well. By applying it to Bengal the Government have admitted the soundness of the principle that the Judicial and Executive functions should be separated. If the principle is sound so far as Bengal is concerned how can it become unsound for the other Provinces? We therefore urge that this reform should be extended to other Provinces also.

But the scheme would be hardly of any use unless the judiciary was absolutely independent of the Executive ; and that brings me to the third point dealt with in this Resolution. For you will find, particularly in my Province that the Collector is the head both of the Police and the Magistracy. The transfer and the promotion of Magistrates are largely in the Collector's hands and depend mostly upon his report and opinion. No justice can be expected and people would scarcely have confidence in the justice done in matters of Revenue, Abkari and Forest and in matters where the high Executive officials permit themselves wrongly to believe that a particular offence is of a political character. If there is a petty quarrel between two parties such as can be sufficiently dealt with by a small fine, but if the Collector should choose to look upon such a quarrel as something political, the accused would be done for, for the trying Magistrate who has to look to the Collector for promotion will punish them heavily indeed.

Gentlemen, even in Bengal you find as I said before that the Magistrates are not independent of the Executive. In Guzerat, which is my province there are Resident Magistrates subordinate to the Collector who in one instance, calls for a daily diary from such Magistrates as to what offences he has punished, and what punishments he has inflicted. In short, when these Magistrates are subordinate to the Collector who is himself the head of the Police and who is therefore himself the thief-catcher and the thief-trier, there can be no justice.

With these words I beg to support the Resolution.

The President then put the proposition to the Congress and the proposition was carried unanimously.

PUNDIT RAMBHAJA DUTT CHOUDHARI, of Lahore, in moving the next Resolution said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I am glad I have been put in charge of this Resolution which reads as follows:—

IX.—HIGHER CAREER TO INDIANS IN THE ARMY

" This Congress prays that the high recognition of the valour and fidelity of the Indian troops by His Majesty the King Emperor in his message to the Princes and People of India should include the throwing open to Indians of higher career in the Army from which, as this Congress has repeatedly pointed out, they have been hitherto excluded."

Gentlemen, I said I am glad I have been entrusted with this Resolution because I have thus publicly got to announce the fidelity, the loyalty and the devotion in my Province to the throne. Somewhere and by some people

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APAH PATIL.

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doubts have been thrown against our loyalty. You know, Sir, that we are no doubt a very backward Province, very poor in every possible way, but in one thing, we yield to none and that is the possession of common sense. (*Laughter*). It was in the year 1849 that we accepted, I say advisedly we accepted, the British Raj in the Punjab—and it was through that very common sense that we so decided. It was the very same common sense which made us come forward in the year 1857 and help the British in the year of their direst trouble. And to-day after 60 years of British Raj in the Punjab we are in a way told that we have lost that common sense. Could there be a greater condemnation, I would say, of the British administration than to say that their Raj of 60 years has deprived us of the highest and the best and the only real possession we had. So I say, Sir, that those, who have charged us with having lost the common sense which we then possessed, have condemned the British Raj and not us (*Laughter*). Our worthy President in his address said that those who deny our loyalty, they deny our sanity. I am not such a moderate of that kind. I would say to those who deny our loyalty, we deny their sanity (*Laughter and cheers*). Gentlemen, will you permit me to say that nothing can be more treacherous; more condemnable than to charge us with disloyalty, to deny the loyalty of the Punjab. Punjab in its sons possesses the worthiest of soldiers, the best in the world (*Cheers*). To deny us the possession of Dharma, of duty to the sword which we have taken from our Lord the officer—this is a great wrong, not a wrong dealt to us alone, but a wrong to the whole nation. Then, Sir, you must remember that in the question of army it is not a question of money. We go and fight our battles, we go and really strike the very death in its face, not for 6 Annas a day but for honour's sake, for duty's sake (*Cheers*). And I am sorry that by denying our loyalty, by doubting our loyalty, they have doubted our honour. We don't mind if we are not given the same privileges which you have been given in the way of High Courts, in the way of the Executive Councils, in the way even of the present reforms. The present reforms even don't give us as much as they give you, Sir, (turning to the President), but one thing, we will not allow anybody to take more than we take, and that is the possession of honour. We have certainly in almost every battle shown that we are better soldiers than the British troops. We have fought more bravely, more loyally than any soldiers anywhere on the face of the world. I will not only make mere statements. You know, Sir, this question is a rather delicate and a difficult question to day. To talk of the army is considered a very dangerous matter and yet I think the Congress will have failed in its duty to the country and the Government if it had not come forward with this proposition.

Now I enter into a few facts. When I am talking of the Punjab alone, gentlemen, do not think I have not got the highest possible regard for each and every individual soldier from whatever part of the country he may have come, who is in the British armies. But I talk of the Punjab because that constitutes mainly the Indian armies of to-day. It was in the year 1849, as I said before, that the Punjab was annexed. The next year the settlements came in and not a voice was raised against the assessment of Land Revenue. People who had never paid any pie of revenue to the Moghul Emperor, who never paid any revenue to the Maharaja Ranjit Sing, they were assessed and they gladly paid the general assessment. Eight years after came the Mutiny. Then we came forward, considering the whole situation and not like blind men to help the British Government and I do not think I need dwell upon the point as to what we did and how far we succeeded. Then in the year 1869, the Duke of Connaught came, and I would now say here, the whole country expressed a kind of regard for the King and the King's representative of course in the right sense, and it was accorded, admitted and acknowledged

In 1873 came HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, THE PRINCE OF WALES, now his Majesty the King Emperor Edward the Seventh. And you know, Sir, that about that time it was said that there was evoked a passionate outburst of loyalty never before known in the annals of British India—this I give from the latest *Imperial Gazetteer* Volume II, published last year. In 1877 was held the great Durbar when the Queen of England became the Empress of India and our loyalty was shown and admitted. Then in 1878-79 came the first Afghan War and in 1880 the second Afghan War. On both these occasions the Indian armies, I mean purely of Indians showed their loyalty and showed their valour and Lord Roberts admitted it freely and generously. Then in 1887 on the occasion of the Jubilee the fact was recognised publicly by Her Majesty the Queen Empress herself.

Well, Sir, then was the great battle of 1879, you know it was a whole years battle on the Afghan Frontiers. I have meanwhile left one important event the battle of 1835 and I think you will permit me inferring to it to quote a few words from the same Gazetteer:—"This incident evoked a great outburst of loyalty to the British power among the Princes and peoples of India. During the critical time when it seemed likely that the Russian attack on Afghanistan must lead to a declaration of war by Great Britain the Indian Princes vied with each other in the munificent offers of aid in money and men. Some of them placed their whole armies unreservedly at our disposal. Some pleaded earnestly that they might be allowed to maintain their troops at their own expense while fighting against the Russians; others offered to supply transport and commissariat materials while movements took place amongst the natives in some of the British Provinces with a view to the formation of bodies of volunteers." Of course, there was no necessity for their services on account of the Russians not pressing their march. In the year 1897 about this, the same authority says—(the speaker was about to quote from certain papers when the President drew his attention to the time-limit)—Sir, I am told to condense and I should say that in the year 1897—98 was fought perhaps the greatest battle in the Frontiers of India and there are no words which have not been used in praise of our valour, loyalty, our fidelity and our faithfulness. Now after all these, we find in the year 1906-07 that our loyalty was doubted and I should tell you that nothing could have given my Province and its worthy sons a greater joy than the recognition of the valour displayed by them and the fidelity of their Indian troops accompanied by substantial appreciation of their merit.

We are poor as I said before; we cannot live upon 6 Annas a day, but at the same time we are not mercenaries that must be clearly understood. The simple fact of increasing our salaries or pays or wages will not satisfy us (*Hear, hear*). You know, Sir, before the Mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence had said, had pressed and insisted that the higher careers in the army should be opened to Indians and this same Gazetteer said that at the time of the Mutiny they were very sorry they had not done so. But in spite of that, nothing has been done till now and I submit that nothing will please us more than to open every possible post of trust and responsibility in the army to the Indians (*Cheers*). I would say one word more that young men should also be brought up in Military Colleges and that Military Colleges should be established where Industrial Colleges are to be established, to fit them to higher posts in the army and I think that trust begets trust, and confidence begets confidence, the Government must trust in us and we will certainly be trustworthy to them (*Cheers*).

MR. P. NARAYANA MENON, of Calicut, in seconding the Resolution said:—
MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

I have very great pleasure in seconding the proposition so eloquently and ably moved and put before you by Pandit Chaudhuri. It need not be

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mentioned to you that in the Indian Military Service, Indians can aspire at the most only to the post of the Subadar-major carrying a salary of Rs. 200, per mensem. This total exclusion of all Indians from the superior Military Service of their country will therefore be seen to be quite unique and I assert is quite unjustifiable. It will be seen that the question of admission of Indians to the superior grades of Indian Military Services involves a question of capacity, of confidence and of cost—capacity on the part of Indians to discharge the onerous duties of the responsible Offices, confidence on the part of the British Government to entrust Indians with the discharge of such responsible duties and the cost of admitting Indians into the superior services. Now as to the last two, that of confidence in Indians and of the cost of their admission there is no necessity for any one to dilate upon. If the prayer that we now make is to be granted, its operation will certainly be the substitution of a certain number of the superior posts by Indians in place of Europeans. The result of that will certainly be a reduction of the total expenditure on account of the army service and it will never be an increase. So on the score of cost, the prayer is certainly reasonable and beneficial. One of the crying grievances of this country is the recurring addition to the Military expenditure of the country. To grant this prayer would be one of the best modes of redressing that grievance. As to the confidence that could be placed in us, there is no person from His Majesty the King Emperor downwards who occupies any responsible position, that would entertain any serious doubt, and if I were to adduce reasons why it should not be doubted perhaps, my friend Pandit Chaudhuri will be inclined to question my sanity also. So without attempting to run that risk I would take it as granted that nobody seriously questions, the loyalty of the people or has misgivings about the confidence that will have to be placed in appointing Indians to responsible posts.

The only question that remains to be considered is the question of capacity and in this connection the question that at once strikes one is that if Indians are found to be capable of discharging the duties of higher offices in all other departments of Government, what good reason can there possibly be to doubt their capacity to discharge similar duties in this one particular department. Apart from this *apriori* conclusion, experience also tends to the same result. Wherever Indians have been enlisted into the Indian army and wherever Indian troops have been sent to serve in the battlefields, they have only achieved glory and won the highest of opinions from all persons concerned. (*Cheers*). Within this country itself, and beyond it, in China, Africa, and Trans-Frontier Provinces their achievements have been a glorious record of triumph, faithfulness and fidelity. Now, therefore, there can be no good reason for doubting the capacity. There is one important fact in this connection to be considered. The triumphs of science and the accumulation of the number and variety of destructive weapons and machinery invented in connection with the art of war, have rendered the qualifications of a successful military career to be mostly those of the intellect. It is not so much muscles as brains that is required now for the proper discharge of the duties of higher responsible offices in the army. Gentlemen, for these reasons and for many more which must be left unsaid now, because there is no time to do so I have very great pleasure to support this Resolution. (*Cheers*).

MR. GOVINDA
 SHAI SHARMA.

MR. GOVINDA SHAI SHARMA, of Agra, in supporting the Resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I am standing here to give an illustration of the way in which, according to one of the old British officials, promises have been made to the ears and broken to the hearts. In this particular case which deals with the higher career for Indians in our armies I think you are all aware of the fact that about ten or twelve years ago, there was a great deal of agitation among our Indian ruling

princes, their chiefs and others who belonged to the old military caste and classes ; and on account of that agitation some British Statesman thought that it would be advisable to form a cadet corps which would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the military classes amongst the Indian peoples. It was after tea, that Lord Curzon created the Imperial Cadet Corps whose headquarters are at present at Dhera-Dun. A definite promise was made by Lord Curzon to these Native Princes and their Chiefs and others who belonged to the military classes that direct commissions would be given to them after they had received a certain training. That proposal was thankfully accepted by the ruling princes, their chiefs and others. They thought that there would be a career for their chiefs, nobles and other Indians and it was after that serious promise that they promised to join the Cadet Corps and allowed others who were in a way related to them to join it. It was only after a few years that, to their greatest disappointment, they found out that Lord Curzon according to his habits had made a false promise just as he had created different kinds of aspirations in different classes of Indian people—it was in that usual fashion that he created that aspiration among certain classes and it was in his usual way that he disappointed these classes.

They found out that it was with the intention of making them follow like ordinary body-guards during Durbar times and without giving them any commission. Yesterday, we were passing one of our most important Resolutions thanking the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India for doing something which would satisfy the legitimate ambitions and aspirations of the educated classes in India. I beg to submit to this House, will it not be a right thing for the authorities not only to satisfy the ambition of the old military classes of India but also of the educated classes to open high careers for some of our educated men as well as others in our armies? (*Hear, hear*). If the question which British Statesmen have to answer is this, that they have to satisfy the legitimate ambitions and aspirations of the Indians, then I think they should look to this proposition as well.

With these few words I have very great pleasure in commending this proposition to your acceptance.

The proposition was then put to the Congress and declared carried unanimously.

MR. SYED HUSSAIN IMAM, of Bankipore, in moving the next Resolution said:—

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This Resolution concerning the improper detention of British citizens in this land has been entrusted to my care to be proposed before you for your acceptance.

The Resolution as it runs is this:—

X.—REPEAL OF REGULATIONS RELATING TO DEPORTATION
AND THE RECENT DEPORTATIONS.

“ Having regard to the recent deportations in Bengal and the grave risk of injustice involved in Government action based upon *ex-parte* and untested information and having regard to the penal laws of the country, this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and similar Regulations in other Provinces of India ; and it respectfully prays that the persons recently deported be given an opportunity of exculpating themselves or for meeting any charges that may be against them, or be set at liberty.”

I need hardly say that this is a Resolution that requires but little of speech-making on it. I have no doubt that you have, every single one of you in this

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assembly made up your mind that this Resolution should be carried and that the Government be asked earnestly, and should be asked with all the strength we can command, to repeal the enactment which has in it every essence of impropriety (*Hear, hear and cheers*). Gentlemen, this Regulation III of 1818 concerns the Presidency of Bengal from which I have the honour to come. But there are similar enactments, Regulation of 1819 which concerns the Presidency of Madras, and the Regulation of 1827 which concerns the Presidency of Bombay. We have got a very loud and an earnest protest to raise against these Regulations in any manner remaining in the future on the statute book, disfiguring the pages of the statute book, of a civilized Government (*Hear, hear*).

Gentlemen, these Regulations were framed as the dates of their births will tell you in the early days of British settlement in this country. The circumstances of the country in those days were vastly different from the circumstances that now happily prevail and we, as a people after receiving English education and having come into contact with Western methods of thought and Western methods of life, maintain that we have made that progress which we ought to have made in the course of so many years, nearly approaching a century. I say, that after all these years of strenuous labour on the part of every one of us to improve our condition and of every individual member of our society, and thereby improved the condition of the whole country, we maintain that such Regulations ought not any longer to remain in force. We maintain we have made the necessary progress for better and more civilized laws (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, these three Regulations are to be respected merely on account of their age, for, reason they possess none. They have no doubt the sanctity of age, but they want the sanction of reason. I submit that these Regulations have been raked up from a mouldering heap of useless enactments, and they have been brought into present use merely because there is, on occasions executive irresponsibility rampant in the land. (*Hear, hear*).

Gentlemen, I have to ask you, in regard to the second portion of this Resolution, to give your attention to the deportations in Bengal. Before, however, I refer to those incidents which have recently induced the Government to adopt an attitude of putting peaceful and peaceable citizens under restraint, I have to ask you to consider what is the preamble of any of these three Regulations that are at present still in force. The preamble to one of these Regulations runs thus :—"Whereas reasons of state embracing a due maintenance of the alliances formed by British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native princes entitled to its protection, and the security of British dominions from foreign hostilities and from internal commotion occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings or when such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case or may for other reasons be inadvisable or improper." Gentlemen, this preamble embodies certain conditions which, in the existing state of affairs in this country, we find are wholly absent and there is nothing to justify the Government in adopting the attitude they have taken. There is no fear whatsoever of a foreign invasion and were there such a fear of an invasion, I have got no doubt that I am echoing the sentiments of every one of us present here, that we would be standing shoulder to shoulder with the British against the foreign invader and in support of British rule. Thus it is just as well that we make the declaration to Government and to the ruling authorities in the land so that their fear, if any, be completely dissipated. Then, gentlemen, as to the next item, there is no apprehension whatsoever from the people of their casting any doubt as to the desirability of the protected princes in this land

being maintained in their integrity. There remains now the third question with regard to internal commotion. I may well submit that there is no internal commotion justifying any active operation of this law. Gentlemen, none of these Regulations was intended to be used for the purpose of putting peaceful and law abiding British citizens under restraint. The object was to cast out of the land such undesirable strangers or foreigners who by their presence might cause internal commotion here. Therefore it is quite clear that in no manner was it intended that these Regulations should have effect in peaceful times.

Gentlemen, I now come to the deportations in Bengal. I do not stand here as the defender or any particular individual. But I maintain for the sake of principle that the Regulations should be either completely repealed or so modified as to give a chance to those who have been deported to defend themselves in one form or another. There are no less than nine gentlemen of Bengal who have been recently deported. With regard to them nothing is yet known as to the cause of their deportation. We are not aware as to what is the offence that is alleged against them nor have we been told how they have merited this compulsory exile from their home. Some of them occupy certainly in the estimation of the people positions which most of us would value for ourselves (*Hear, hear*). The voice of the people, they say, is the voice of God and voice of Bengal declares Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter, Aswin Kumar Dut and Professor Satischendra Chatterji as good men. These gentlemen in the estimation of their people are perfectly peaceful citizens (*Hear, hear*). These unfortunate men have been taken away from their hearts and their homes and placed under restraint without a charge, against which we all protest. Had there been anything alleged against them to show that they really had departed in their action from those rules, those laws that have been laid down for the maintenance of peace and good Government in their country, I have no doubt their detention under the orders of Government would have been justifiable. But as they are, we understand them to have been peaceful citizens and it is only meet and proper that the reason of this detention should be explained. I submit that we are all entitled to personal immunity from improper restraint and improper detention. As citizens of the land, we are entitled to know why these detentions have been caused. At present no suggestion has been given as to why these detentions have been made. We have got instances in this land of wrong deportations, you have got the instance of Lala Lajpat Rai (*Cheers*) against whom we do not know what the charges were, but against whom an order of deportation had been passed and he had been taken away. I may say even ruthlessly, not merely from his home but as well from the people who loved him. Well, gentlemen, he was detained for a certain period and then released. Had he really been such a dangerous character as to have deserved the detention, do you not think that the Government would have either insisted on taking from him a guarantee that he would be of a better behaviour if his behaviour had been objectionable? Does it not suggest that his detention was unlawful? Therefore, where you have one important instance of a wrongful detention of which the Government themselves afterwards seemed to be ashamed, or at least they regretted the detention and the Government enlarged him, I ask you, do you not think that there are chances of a repetition of the error in respect of others who undergo subsequent arrest, deportation and detention (*Hear, hear*)? Gentlemen, I do not stand here as the defender of any of these deported men. I stand for a principle. Take for instance the case of Babu Krishna Kumara Mitter—he is a man working earnestly in a religious cause, the cause of the Brahma Samaj which has, for its peaceful attitude towards the people of the country and towards the Government, deservedly acquired a name. Krishna Kumar Mitter is the biographer of Buddha.

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Gentlemen, one who is the author of the life of Buddha that Prince of peace would surely not be the one to indulge either in riotous conduct himself or encourage others to indulge in riotous conduct. He will not be worthy of being the biographer of Buddha if he in himself possessed any of those tendencies that would go to disturb the peace of any land. Gentlemen, besides these, he has in public and in private my friend tells me he is also the author of a life of our gracious Queen Victoria the Good (*Cheers*). In his public professions and in his private conversations with his friends, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter has always deprecated extremist views and always held that the progress of the country depends on peaceful methods and constitutional agitation. He has been a subscriber to the Convention under which we all meet here. I ask, does a man of that character deserve to be deported? If he has really been guilty of anything improper in his conduct, at least the people do not know he has committed such an offence as to draw on him this incarceration. Gentlemen, for the Government there is a higher duty than merely enforcing the law; they owe a duty to the people whose confidence they must not lose, whose faith in the justice of British rule they must not violate. It is the undoubted right of the people to know why some amongst them are violently torn away from their homes. Unexplained deportations shakes the faith of the most loyal in the justice of a law that hides its proceedings from public gaze.

With these words I beg to move this Resolution.

BABU BHUPENDRANATH BASU who on rising to second the Resolution was received with loud cheers, said:—

GENTLEMEN,

I pray you not to make my position more difficult than it is. I do not deserve the cheers that you have been so good to accord to me. Remember, gentlemen, that I who now stand before you to speak on this Resolution am a close personal friend of some of the men deported. I feel like one under a blow, like one newly risen from sleep who is seeking unsuccessfully to grasp the strands of thought that lie scattered in the chambers of the brain. Gentlemen, to me this privilege that has been accorded of seconding this Resolution is a sad and solemn duty. As I have said some of the deported have been my friends for many years, I and they have been linked in bonds which have been consecrated by common sorrows, by common defeats cheerfully borne, by common struggle fighting under the same standard: I and they have together looked forward, have strained our eyes to catch a vision of the promised land. That vision, gentlemen, I believe is about to be realised, but alas, where are the comrades in arms? where are you incarcerated, that from your sight is barred the vision of the promised land? Gentlemen, they are imprisoned some of them in places we know not where without any charges being formulated against them; that brings me to the real issue, are we British citizens, whose heritage is the right of British citizenship, are we to be imprisoned, are we to be deported, are we to be arrested without being given even an opportunity of explaining our conduct of clearing away the mist and the cob-webs that may have been fabricated round our actions, is that to be so? That is the question to which we have got to give a reply. That is a question to which, gentlemen, we have got a right to ask the Government to give a reply. The Government, indeed no less a personage than Lord Morley, has given the reply. He has said that circumstances which surround the Government of India are so uncommon, so mysterious, and so impenetrable. These are the words he has used—that the retention of powers like those conferred upon Government by these obsolete Regulations are still considered to be necessary. Gentlemen, words coming from such a high authority are entitled to the highest consideration

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from all concerned but it is permissible for us to say that the answer which the Secretary of State has given is not convincing that the answer has been put into his mouth by the bureaucracy in India.

Gentlemen, the previous speaker very pertinently recalled the circumstances under which the Regulation III of 1818 was passed. That Regulation and the Regulations in the sister Presidencies were enacted to meet a particular condition of society. Does that condition still exist? Have we got any fears, of foreign aggression, are we not in peace with the Governments of Russia, of Japan, and of Afghanistan? Where then is the fear of foreign aggression? You will remember that in 1818 only lately the attempt of Napoleon to invade India has failed. You will remember that the British power was not then securely established in this country. You will remember that large tracts of country were under the dominion of Indian Princes viewing with suspicion the gradual spread of British power. You will remember that foreign emissaries were seeking to create discontent. You will remember that there were men in the British territory itself who were seeking to regain the liberty and to re-possess the licence which they had lately enjoyed. Does any of these conditions now prevail? As I have said there is no fear of foreign aggression. If there is, all I can say, all that you men in the Congress would say is, then your treaties are shams, you no more believe in them than you believe in the man in the moon.

Gentlemen, as regards the Native Princes, they who have contributed to the imperial service troops, they who followed the procession of Lord Curzon on mounted elephants, they who have sworn fealty on various platforms and on diverse occasions, they who have written long letters to the *Times* are they really the men whose territories require to be protected against any mischief-making, are they the men from whom you apprehend any danger? Then remains the only other ground, the fear of internal commotion. Gentlemen, my breath is taken away when I feel that must be the ground upon which the Government has recently acted, that the Government must feel that the maintenance of internal tranquillity of British India requires that these helpless individuals should be suddenly swooped down upon and quietly removed. Gentlemen, our worthy President said only the other day that there is no doubt a class of young men, impatient Utopians as he called them who are seeking blindly and foolishly to commit outrages, God only knows for what purpose, let us take it for the purpose of terrorising and intimidating the British Government. But does the Government for a moment believe—these deportations would clearly indicate to the contrary—does the Government for a moment believe that the vast masses of Indian population living under its benign sway have ever given countenance to these outrages, to these vain attempts to create disturbance of the public peace? Have not assurances of loyalty been offered to the representatives of the Crown in India from all the Provinces and all the Presidencies? Gentlemen, there is no doubt, the Government can be under no manner of doubt that we all feel, that the presence of Great Britain in India is a matter of divine dispensation, I have always believed it, I have always felt it. British rule has given to us a common medium of expression and I have the privilege to-day to address you, my Telugu and Tamil friends, in a language which we can all speak and understand, a privilege which was denied to our ancestors half a century ago. We have been brought close together, men of the South and men of the North under the influence of British administration; there can be no denial that our tottering steps have been supported, that the path to progress and to Indian nationality has been considerably shortened and greatly accelerated by the presence of the English in this country.

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Gentlemen, there need be no disgrace for us, Indians, to live under a form of Government which let us hope at no distant date will be like the Government of the great Self-government Colonies of England, inspired by common interests, fighting for common protection and owning allegiance to a common sovereign. (*Cheers*). Is that a position which has ever been denied, is that a position which has ever been misunderstood? If that is so, if there is no fear of foreign aggression, if there is no risk of any disturbances in the Protected States, if there is no fear of internal commotion and these are the grounds upon which these Regulations were expressly based, where are the grounds, I ask you, for a recourse to an obsolete law like the one which has recently been resorted to. Gentlemen, I for one, would be the last person to say a word to embarrass the Government, I for one would be the last person to ascribe *mala-fides* to the action of Government. I believe, we all believe, that the Government must have been misled and therein lies our grievance. Our Resolution says that "having regard to the grave risk of injustice," and I believe that in having recourse to an action of this nature which is hid behind the public gaze, which is screened from public scrutiny there is always the gravest risk of injustice and I am quite sure the Government feels just as much as we feel that in an irresponsible action like this the utmost care should be taken to see that no injustice is done. Gentlemen, that injustice is possible, that human measures are fallible, that being misled is very likely is a proposition which can be very easily demonstrated. From your minds cannot be absent the recent experience of some Bengali gentlemen in connection with the Midnapore trial. There, gentlemen, we had the spectacle of some of the highest in the land, elderly men occupying high ranks in India Society, and high positions, elderly men who had guided the counsels of the Executive authorities in these Districts, men who had a substantial stake in the country; we had the spectacle of these men being thrown into prison upon information which the Government certainly must have believed to be true. We are aware that the sources of Government information are very unreliable. I will not say anything against the Police—my duty here does not entail upon me the abuse of any particular institution or of any particular body of individuals, I will assume and I will admit notwithstanding our experience to the contrary, that the police must have been very careful in the matter of the Midnapore trial, that they must have very closely examined them upon which they were proceeding and that when proceedings were begun they must have felt that they had *prima facie* a good case. But what was the result? What was the information which came out at the trial upon which the Police had proceeded? The whole prosecution under which the men were subjected to indescribable ignominy was based upon the information of a drunken debauchee picked up in the streets of Midnapore. (*Cries of "shame"*). It was said at one time that the information which the Police had could be corroborated by the testimony of at least 200 witnesses, where did they go, these witnesses who would corroborate? The Police did not even take the trouble to read the statement of this unfortunate informer who had written on the pages of his statements that what he said was untrue. I say without casting any aspersion upon anybody that the recent example, the experience of Government in the Midnapore trial is sufficient to demonstrate the grave risk the Government incurs in proceeding upon *ex-parte* untested statements. As soon as these were laid before a trained lawyer they melted away, they vanished like the halls of the Armida palace leaving only a smell of sulphur behind the work of the evil one.

Gentlemen, I have shown, and I hope satisfactorily, that the circumstances of India at the present day do not require, do not justify the existence of statutes like this. I have shown the grave risk to which the Government exposed itself and exposes its subjects by a recourse to these proceedings

And now, gentlemen, you will expect from me, a Bengal man some statement as to the character, the position, the attainments of the men who have been deported. I will not detain you long, my testimony may be impeached as that of a partial witness, but God is my witness if in one word that I tell before you I over-state my case. I will take first of all the case of Krishna Kumar Mitter with whom I have been associated for many, many years in common work and in common labour. I have not known, I do not exaggerate by a single iota—I have not known a man who has lived a purer life than Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter, I have not known a man association with whom was a privilege to the same extent as with Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter. Simple in habits, pure in life in deed and in thought, permeated by the highest religious ideals, by the fervour which belongs to a man who strives to attain the unattainable in the ideals of human action, he has been amongst us the one great moral force dominating the student community of Calcutta (*Cheer*). To us he has been an esteemed and valued colleague, to the student population he has been the idol of their worship. I cannot sufficiently restrain myself when I think of him deported, arrested, snatched away from the bosom of his family without a word of explanation. I will not describe to you the subterfuge by which he was decoyed from his home to the Thanna to attest a search list and there arrested and taken into custody. (*Cries of shame*). Gentlemen, you do not know, you cannot realise what I feel and my colleagues feel at the loss of such a man as Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter.

Gentlemen, I will speak again of an humbler man, a young man Sachindra Prosad Bose, a youth of 22, a mere lad, he was working under the direction and the inspiration of my friend Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter: whom my friend Babu Surendranath Banerjee knew very well and whom we had often employed to go amongst the students and to tell them and to impress upon them the danger of cutting themselves away from moral moorings: while at Chittagong working in the Sawadeshi cause he heard of the outrages at Muzafferpur and immediately wrote to Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter deploring and condemning these outrages. Gentlemen, when shortly after, the house of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter was searched a post card from this very Prosad Bose condemning these outrages was discovered by the Police and my friends, the Police, were not anxious to carry that Post card away (*laughter*). Eventually as my friend says, be it said, to our lasting shame and to the lasting glory of the British race that whereas the Native Inspector was unwilling to take away that post card the European Superintendent readily agreed to take it away (*Hear, hear*). Such was the character of this young man, Sachindra Prosad Bose, a man who had undertaken the vow of purity, of celibacy, a man who had undertaken the vow of poverty and the vow of service to the country, a man against whom not a single word had been said, a man who had made himself unpopular with a certain section of the students because of his violent opposition to their methods of outrage and he has been deported (*Shame*). Gentlemen, my friend the mover of this Resolution has referred to the work of Krishna Kumar Mitter in the Literary field. He was the writer of the life not only of Buddha and of Queen Victoria but he wrote the lives of Sree Krishna, Chaitanya and Mahomed and in all the arguments that he used towards the students to dissuade them from courses of violence he brought into requisition the precepts of religion and morality, the dictates of humanity and the argument of common sense.

From these two men, my mind travels to the wildernesses of Bengal, to that annually submerged area which supplies the teeming millions of Bengal with their daily food, to the rice-fields of Barisal; my mind travels onward to that anchorite, Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt (*Cries of hurah, hurah*), the uncrowned King of Eastern Bengal (*Cheers*), a man

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who consecrated his whole life to the service of the cause he espoused, a man who devoted all the resources which he could command, and none higher than the, resources of his mind—to the success of the Swadeshi cause to which, as I have said, he had dedicated his life. A man possessed of rare gifts, highly educated, a man who could have made, his mark in the field of law, who could, if he had wished, have occupied the same position which our esteemed President to-day occupies, but who because he felt the promptings of a higher call set his back upon the allurements and the temptations of the world, upon the allurements and temptations of that most dangerous profession, the legal profession, chose a voluntary life of poverty, started a School for the education of the young and there devoted the best years of his life to the service of the country, in the upbringing of the young. (*Cheers*). He was one of those who at Surat had expressed his profound disappointment and regret at the unseemly scenes which I shall not venture to recall : he it was whose heart was always with us, he it was who always denounced anarchy and violence and who always advocated recourse to constitutional methods of agitation. He was a power in the land and of him it was said that he wielded greater power in his native District of Barisal than the Commissioner or the Magistrate himself, because his power, his influence were based upon love, whereas the power of the Executive authorities was based upon fear. Who will believe from the wilds of Assam to the borders of the United Provinces between which stretches my fair and beautiful Province, who will believe there that Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt could have been guilty in thought or in deed of anything that would tend to subvert or weaken the authority of British rule—not they who knew him and take it from me, brother-delegates, take it from that small band of Bengal Delegates to present here to-day, take it from the President who guides the deliberations of this Congress, take it from the great orator who, I hope for many years yet to come, will continue to charm and inspire audiences of Indian peoples with his unequalled eloquence, take it from us, each of us and all of us, that these are men as incapable of harboring the least thought of injuring British power in India as the Viceroy and his Executive Council.

Gentlemen, I am afraid I have detained you too long (*Cries of no, no*). Gentlemen, I honestly say that I do not dare to speak more not, I tell you, for the fear of deportation, but because I feel that I will not be able after all my effort and after all my endeavour to lay before you a true picture of what we feel in Bengal. To-day when all-India is rejoicing at the prospect of an emancipated, of a liberated, of a free and self-governing India, to-day when all India is rejoicing at the first step to that glorious goal, shall we in Bengal be in sorrow and in lamentation? Far from Bengal her dearest children have been snatched away and she will not be comforted. Gentlemen, we in Bengal, have tried to do our duty manfully, hiding the great sorrow in our bosom, the great sorrow which has severed us, cut us in twain, which has made my friend who sits over there, delegate from Chittagong Babu Jatra Mohhan Sen and myself, residents of two different Provinces with divergent aims and different ideals—we have hidden that great sorrow in our bosom, we have also hidden that nearer grief, the grief, of separation from those whom we held dear, whom we esteemed and whom we loved and we are manfully struggling against the pain and the sorrow, against the misery which these measures involve. We waited in deputation upon His Excellency the Viceroy to convey to His Majesty our gratitude for the reform scheme just now enunciated. We have joined you, brother-delegates from the different Provinces, in expressing our acknowledgments in this Congress for the great boon which we all believe has been conferred upon us, we have even refrained—we delegates from Bengal—we know that the means—you will have no idea—you cannot realise,

what it means—we have even refrained from urging upon your attention the great resolution of Calcutta, the Boycott of British goods in reference to the question of Partition (*Cheers*). I ask you, brother-delegates from the Punjab, brother-delegates from all parts of India, I ask you sisters who are gracefully adorning this Congress with your presence to join me and your brethren from Bengal to join the widowed wives to join the unfathered children of my friends in exile and raise your voices to the Most High praying to Him that He may grant grace unto our rulers to set these men at liberty at no distant date (*Cheers*).

MR. P. L. RAJ PAL, of Amritsar, in supporting the Resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I do not think you will require me to speak long when in your ears the words of Babu Bupendra Nath Bose are still ringing. I will only say that I beg to support the proposition and will ask you to be constantly agitating for the doing away with the deportation law and for the release of the gentlemen who have been put under restraint. (*Cheers*).

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, of Allahabad, in further supporting the Resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

After the able, exhaustive and touching speeches of my learned predecessors, I do not think I shall be justified in detaining you long. I wish, however, with your permission to make a few observations. At the first blush, it might seem that in pressing this Resolution before you we are not well-advised, but I submit, Sir, with due respect and with great confidence that that is not the right view to take of our position. It is not that we do not realise that the situation is one which calls for anxious thought and careful and effective action both on the part of the Government and the people alike, but because we think and are deeply convinced that the true solution of this difficulty does not lie in resorting to what was happily described by the worthy President the other day as "lawless law." Gentlemen, the time when this Act was passed was essentially different from the times in which we are living. British power in those days had just emerged out of the Nepal war and the echoes of the Mahratta war had not died altogether. No comprehensive Codes had been promulgated, no law of evidence had been passed and the whole Civil and Criminal administration of the country was in a state of fluidity. The Empire has since been consolidated and, thanks to the genius of British Jurists, we have got comprehensive laws in force in the country at present. It would thus seem that the very existence of this Act upon the statute book is an anachronism, more particularly when you remember that in no parts of the British Empire other than India, does there exist upon the statute book of any country a statute like the one the repeal of which we are pressing for before you. The spirit of the whole statute, I submit, is against the very first principles of English jurisprudence and it is opposed to all the traditions of English constitution. I would go further and say that it constitutes a very great menace to our liberty. It stands hanging over our heads like the sword of Damocles. Gentlemen, you will remember the gravity of our situation when you bear in mind that deportation under our regulation is an act of state and as was held by the Calcutta High Court in the great Wahabi case in which a Mahomedan was deported you cannot question an act of State in a Municipal Court. So it comes to this that while on the one hand you have no remedy in a Municipal Court, you cannot on the other hand press the Executive Government to record its reasons for resorting to this or formulate charges or give us the nature of the evidence upon which it has proceeded. It is really an act on the part of the State of a

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DEPORTATIONS
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PENDRANATH
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most arbitrary character leaving us no room for arriving at the real truth. Gentlemen, it would thus appear that in pressing this resolution before the Congress we are not taking any ill-advised step, we think we are discharging a duty to ourselves and a duty to the Government. The prayer which this resolution embodies is an eminently practical one and as my friend Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar an eminent Congress-man whose absence we all deplore, said from his place on this platform 20 years ago "as the harp responds to the harper's touch so does the great deep heart of England respond to any reasonable prayer for freedom and justice." Might we not in the hopeful mood in which we have been conducting our proceedings still hope that this eminently reasonable prayer for freedom and justice will be accepted by the Secretary of State, who has conferred upon us the boon of these reforms. With these few words, I beg to support this Resolution.

PRESIDENT.

The President then said:—I ought to point out that the two words "in Bengal" in the first line of the resolution should be struck out of that line and added after the word "deported" in the sixth line. The alteration is a purely verbal one.

The Resolution runs as follows:—"Having regard to the recent deportations and the grave risk of injustice involved in Government action based upon *ex-parte* and untested information and having regard to the Penal laws of the country, this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and similar Regulations in other Provinces of India; and it respectfully prays that the persons recently deported in Bengal be given an opportunity of exculpating themselves for meeting any charges that may be against them or be set at liberty."

The Resolution was then put to the Congress and declared carried unanimously.

The President, I now call upon Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar to move the eleventh Resolution on the paper.

**MR. P. R.
SUNDARA AIYAR.**

MR. P. R. SUNDARA AIYAR, of Madras, said:—Mr. President, I have much pleasure in moving the resolution that stands opposite to my name which is as follows:—

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"This Congress deplores the circumstances that have led to the passing of Act VII of 1908, Act XIV of 1908, but having regard to their drastic character and to the fact that a sudden emergency can alone afford any justification for such exceptional legislation, this Congress expresses its earnest hope that these enactments will have only a temporary existence in the Indian Statute Book."

The object of this Resolution is to get repealed as early as possible the two Statutes that have been recently passed to provide for an emergency and the obvious ground for such repeal is that the only justification for the Statutes have been an emergency, they should be repealed as soon as the emergency has passed. Statutes of this kind are not passed in normal times. They are passed when, owing to exceptional excitement caused, it may be by some grave administrative blunder, or by serious misunderstanding between the rulers and ruled, people of ill-balanced mind lose their self-control and commit detestable acts which shock every person who is sane. Gentlemen, the Government is naturally alarmed on such occasions as to how far the consequences may extend. They have to depend for their action upon untested information coming from, what we generally regard as, a tainted source, a source which the Government unfortunately cannot help resorting to, *viz.*, the police. I do not want to condemn the police. We will

accept the testimony of the President of the Police Commission, Sir Andrew Fraser, as to how far police information, specially in this country, is reliable. Sir Harvey Adamson in June 1908 when the first of these Acts, Act VII of 1908, was passed, bore high testimony to the excellent work that was done by the police. Some fresh light however has been thrown on the nature of their work at the Midnapore trial. Gentlemen, we are not now concerned with the justice or otherwise of the passing of these Acts ; we only want that they should not remain in the Statute Book one minute longer than is absolutely necessary. The first of these Statutes Act VII of 1908 is the Newspaper Prevention of Crimes Act. The second was passed only the other day ; it was thought necessary to pass it before the Reform proposals were announced. It was partly to provide a summary method for trying some of the offences and partly to put down unlawful associations. Gentlemen, I cannot help thinking that Statutes of this kind are often conceived in anger as a result of the prejudiced alarmist utterances of Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce, planting communities and newspaper editors. The dry light of reasoning is not allowed to illumine the provisions of these Bills. Standing Orders have to be suspended ; and what is the result ? Their authors speak apologetically and say that if they had more time they could have done better. Their sponsors would rather say as little as possible about them. But the people of the country are called upon to accept them and to say nothing against them on account of the emergency. We fully recognise the necessity which emergency imposes. In justification of the proposal that they should be repealed as soon as possible. I would just ask you to look at the provisions of the Act VII of 1908 for a minute. It provides for the summary attachment of newspaper presses. There is to be no appeal against that. The whole press may go to pieces before the charge of incitement to murder or violence against any person is inquired into. His means of livelihood may be altogether cut off. No appeals lie to the High Court against the order. Coming to the punishment for this offence, there is only one punishment. Neither the Magistrate nor the High Court can impose any other than the one punishment of confiscation of the Press. No fine or anything short of this one punishment will do. No man can be let off with a warning. Could we believe that if the Executive had more time, if they had the calmness necessary to consider adequately the provisions of the Bill they would have retained all these ? There are other objectionable provisions in the Acts which I will not ask you to consider now.

Take again the other Act, Act XIV of 1908. There, in addition to other provisions, any person, who subscribes for an association which is condemned may be punished. A small amendment was suggested by, I think, our distinguished President urging that the word "knowingly" should be inserted but a very hateful word it was supposed to be. I am sure if the word had been inserted, Judges would have had no difficulty in saying that every man must be presumed to know the nature of the Association for which he pays ; yet the word "knowingly" was objected to. Could we believe that people acting otherwise than on an emergency, an emergency which deprives them of their ordinary powers of judging calmly would object to a word like that ? Could it be contended that even if a person unknowingly subscribed to the association he should be punished ? Is it not possible that a man may subscribe to an association-not *speaking* seditious mind—so without knowing exactly the nature of the association ? Now that shows the kind of legislation which is passed in an emergency. I do not blame the Executive very much for it. In an emergency, the reason is clouded somewhat ; the thing is done in a hurry. But all this is a reason why such statutes should not remain unrepealed. They ought to have been passed only for a short

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time and they ought to be removed from the statute book as soon as the emergency is over. If a fresh emergency arises and if a fresh Act has to be passed, Government would benefit by the experience of the working of the Act during the previous emergency. Why work with an Act which is found unsatisfactory in some respects, when a new Act can be passed? Why not pass an Act quite suited to the exact nature of the occasion rather than use one which has been found unsatisfactory. A standing Act of this nature is a standing menace to our liberty, I will quote to you the example of the procedure adopted in Britain. The Irish Crimes Act was passed for a pretty long time because disturbances were, I believe, expected to continue for some time. Still it was passed for only three years. The Irish Coercion Act was passed for six months; what is then known as the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act is passed only for one year at a time. If there is any necessity for renewing it, renewed it must be every year so that there might be opportunity for fresh criticism. Lord Minto, when Act VII of 1908 was passed, recognised this difficulty. He was asked "why not pass an ordinance?" "Why suspend standing orders, why not pass an Ordinance which would be in force for six months." He said it was better to pass an Act because it would give an opportunity to Government to explain its position; it would also give an opportunity to the people, to their representatives to give their opinion upon the Act. The very ground stated by the Viceroy shows that the Act being passed in haste, permanently, it should not be in the statute book.

There is one matter which arrested my attention only to-day, the matter being brought to my notice by a very shrewd lawyer friend of mine. I mean that in this later Act the offence of sedition is not to be tried summarily. Sedition is omitted in the Schedule; our idea was that the principle object of the Act was to try the offence of sedition. Sections 124-A and 153-A are not in the schedule while you have a host of other sections. They don't want a summary procedure for sedition trial. Why? It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the proposition any longer. I am sure you all feel that it is absolutely inconsistent with modern administrative methods that Acts like these should be passed so as to be in force longer than is absolutely necessary. Fresh occasions may come; we may have fresh legislation. *Cessante ratione legis, Cessante lex ipse* is eminently applicable to emergent legislation of this kind.

MR. S. SINHA.**MR. S. SINHA OF ALLAHABAD, said:—**

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been placed before you by Mr. Sundara Aiyar in such able and eloquent terms. I feel sure that the resolution does not at all demand any lengthy exposition on my part. I shall try to supplement by only one or two observations the remarks of my able leader. In the first place in this resolution we all deplore the circumstances which had led to the passing of these Acts. I am sure I shall be expressing the opinion of every one when I say that we do sincerely trust and hope that these circumstances will soon pass away from our country. Secondly, we point out that these Acts are of a very drastic character and, for that, I think it is quite sufficient to remind you of what my leader has said, *viz.*, that they were passed under suspension of ordinary rules of procedure. That itself shows their drastic character. There is one other fact which I would bring to your notice, *i.e.*, that these Coercive Acts are modelled on the Irish Crimes Act. I have taken the trouble to look into the Irish Act and find that whereas it was incumbent under that Act that the Judges should be unanimous before a man could be convicted, the Indian Act is silent on the point. It is possible in India therefore that a man who is held to be guilty by only

two of the judges, the third judge dissentient, will be convicted. That shows that our Act here is certainly more stringent and drastic than the Irish Act. That being so, I think that it is all the more necessary that these Acts should be repealed as soon as circumstance will permit. We have got also the precedent that the Irish Acts were repealed as soon as it was possible for the Government to do so. We know that Mr. Gladstone repealed the Irish Coercion Acts. We sincerely hope that as soon as circumstances allow, Government will repeal the Indian Coercion Acts. Keeping them on the statute book is a menace to liberty. With these observations I support the resolution.

MR. MATHURADAS RAMCHUND of Sindh in supporting, said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The reasons for this proposal are so apparent that it does not require any further argument from me to make it acceptable to you. You will remember that during the last 100 years that the British Government have been carried on in this country there has been no occasion for an Act like this. This Act has been conceived in a moment of Anger and confusion. It should not therefore remain on the Statute book after the present state of things disappears. Not only this, but if it remains on the Statute book, it will be a temptation to the Executive officers to use it whether there was necessity for it or not, or whether the occasion demanded it or not. It is always dangerous to retain it on the Statute Book unnecessarily. With these remarks I support the resolution.

The Resolution was put to the Congress and carried amidst acclamation.

The President :—I have been entrusted with the duty of moving the Resolution No. XII from the Chair. You have got copies of the resolution and I need not therefore read it. The resolution runs as follows :—

XII.—LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

“This Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of—

- (i) placing in regard to legislative and administrative matters the Province of Berar on the same footing as the Provinces included in British India, and
- (ii) establishing a Legislative Council for the combined territory of the Central Provinces and Berar.”

The Resolution was carried unanimously amidst loud cheers.

Mr. C. KARUNAKARA MENON, of Madras, moved the following Resolution :—

XIII.—HIGH PRICES OF FOOD-STUFFS.

“This Congress is of opinion that having regard to the high prices of food-stuffs for the past several years and the hardships to which the middle and poorer classes are put thereby, an enquiry should be instituted by Government into the causes of such high prices with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedies such causes could be removed.”

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution which I am asked to move is a very small one. It is non-contentious. It is non-political. It merely makes an appeal to the Government to order an enquiry into the causes of high prices with a view to ascertain how far and by what means such causes can be removed. The problem is a very serious one. It is daily becoming more acute. The rise which has been occurring of late, is not of that ordinary kind which results from the advance of civilisation, from the increasing facilities of transport from increase of population or a higher

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standard of living. It is not due to any of those familiar causes, such as failure of the season or general blight, but to some vague, indefinite, imperceptible cause or causes which cannot be ascertained unless an effort is made to find them out, and when they are ascertained, it will be possible for Government to apply the suitable remedy. The Government have arrived at no conclusion. The Director of Commerce is unable to suggest any reason. Two different causes have been assigned by men entitled to be regarded as authorities on any public question. Mr. Gokhale has, with his usual lucidity and keen analytical faculty, argued in a very convincing way that the rise of prices is due, at least in part, to redundancy of currency. I for one would absolutely accept Mr. Gokhale's high authority, but that another high authority has held an opinion, as regards the effect of restriction on the free coinage of silver imposed by the Coinage Act of 1893, which is different from Mr. Gokhale's contention. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has explained, elaborated and affirmed the view that, among the other hardships which the closure of the mints has inflicted upon the people, is the grave injury done to the Indian producer who, by reason of the restriction of currency, is made to part with more of his produce than before for a rupee. The difference which he indicates is something like 40 per cent. Gentlemen, I will not undertake to judge between these two high authorities. The task is difficult ; and to me it seems almost impossible, unless we have the clearest and most irrefutable evidence before us, establishing the correctness of one or the other view. Such evidence has to be gathered by enquiry.

Another reason assigned for the rise of prices is that there has been a shrinkage of the area of food-grain cultivation. This has been affirmed by my friend Rao Bahadur Mudholkar in his Presidential Address at the Industrial Conference. But on a reference to the Agricultural statistics published under the authority of the Government of India, I find that there has been no actual shrinkage of the area of food grain cultivation. On the other hand, there has been an appreciable increase in the area of cultivation within the past five years as far as the principal food-grains are concerned. The area of rice cultivation has increased by $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of acres, wheat by 4 millions, barley by 1 million, gram by $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, other pulses by $\frac{3}{4}$ million. The reduction is found in the case of cholam by 1 million, cumbu by $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, ragi and maize by 1 million. But I must point out that this reduction means only a reduction as regards them and not as regards food-grains generally, for the reduction is brought about by the conversion of dry into wet lands. In other words, the lands on which these grains were cultivated have become, by the provision of irrigation, wet lands, and paddy is cultivated on them, so that the theory that the rise of prices is due to the shrinkage of the area of food-grain cultivation does not stand. Such non-food production as there has been has not affected food-grain cultivation.

A third cause, which I am inclined to consider to be correct one, is that the free export of food-grains to foreign countries diminishes the local supply. Export of the principal food-grains, particularly rice and wheat, has increased largely, and rice, I am told, is largely employed in the manufacture of malt. How far the free export of food-grains has contributed to the rise in prices is also a matter for enquiry ; and if the enquiry establishes the fact, which I consider to be correct, then the remedy will be clear. It will consist in the imposition of an export duty sufficiently high to retain in the country a sufficient supply of food-grains. I know Englishmen are devotees of the free trade deity, but the principle of personal liberty, of freedom of public meeting, and of freedom of the press is as sacred to Englishmen as free trade. But exceptional necessity has reconciled them in India to the infringement of every one of

these principles, and I hold that the economic problem created by the abnormal rise in prices is by no means less grave than any political problem which has confronted the Government. If it has become necessary to deport men without charge or trial, to prohibit public meetings without assigning reasons, to suppress newspapers by a special enactment, I fail to see why the English conscience should be shocked if a small departure is made in India from the principle of free trade in view of a similar necessity. In any case the Government must deem it to be imperative to ascertain the cause of this economic phenomenon and to discover the remedy. That is what our Resolution asks them to do. If the situation continues as now it is apt to become grave beyond conception. Prices are still steadily rising, and a grave and difficult problem is sure to arise. To avert it by foresight and prompt action is the object of the Resolution, which I place before you for your acceptance. (Cheers.)

PROFESSOR LIMAYE of Poona in seconding said :—Gentlemen, the Resolution which I have to second is a very important one. It does not concern so much the high salaried officials, the big landlords or the rich merchants, but it affects most injuriously the men with small fixed salaries and the poor labourers in the fields and in the factories and it is on this account, especially, that I would urge on your attention the importance of this Resolution. It is sometimes said that the class of small agriculturists has benefited by the rise in the price of food-stuffs, but you will note that the increased price of labour, the increased cost of living of the agriculturist himself and the increasing assessment of land take away all the benefits that the poor agricultural ryot is likely to receive from this rise. But there is something else which you have to consider, and that is, the position of the industries of the country. The industrial development of the country is likely to have a very baneful effect produced upon it by this increase in the price of food-stuffs. This rise means increased cost of labour, which means again increased cost of production and consequent increased prices. And in these days of keen industrial rivalry the smallest increase in the price of a manufactured article is likely to seriously handicap our industrial development. In addition to these large issues, as to the causes of this rise in price of food-stuffs there is also a very pronounced difference of opinion. I will, therefore, propose that there should be a Committee appointed by the Government of India to go into this question and I would suggest that in addition to the members who would naturally represent the Government of India and the European mercantile community there should be two other members to represent the interests of Indian commerce and of the Indian public generally.

Gentlemen, I have told you how very important this question is : I want to tell you how very acute is the difference of opinion on this point. Firstly there are those who say that the rise in prices is confined to food-stuffs only and that there is no general rise of prices. The position of these men would seem to be rather unsound because they cannot show that the production of food-stuffs has not kept pace with the purchasing power of the people. As long as they have not done this so long, I think, mere-showing that in exceptional years the yield of food-crops is not sufficient, or that in other years there is a shrinkage in the area under food crops, will not be of material use for argument. In addition to that we have every day to pay high prices for all articles of consumption except salt. So in view of this experience you will see that it would not be very wise to say that this rise in prices is confined to food-stuffs only. When we turn to the question of the general rise in prices, we are confronted by two theories ; the first is that there is a rise in prices not only in India but all over the world ; the second theory is that this rise in prices is confined to India only. The rise in prices all over the world will have something to do with the large production of gold

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in recent years. This would afford some sort of explanation for the redundancy of currency in this country ; but any enquiry which might be instituted into the causes of the rise in prices in India will be complete if it did not go into the currency legislation of the Government of India. You all know what the effect of that legislation has been. For these *reasons* I beg to say that you should support this Resolution for an enquiry.

MR. A. C. PARTHASARATHI NAIDU (Madras) in supporting the Resolution said :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I am glad to find that, at the instance of the mover of this Resolution, this subject concerning the poorer and middle class people has been given a place in the Congress Agenda.

The consideration and adoption of this Resolution will, doubtless, entitle this assembly to the unbounded gratitude of the people at large. The worthy Chairman of the Reception Committee in his welcome address, observed that out of the several causes for the existence of discontent, rise in the price of food-stuffs was one.

Other causes might appertain to other Provinces but the real cause for discontent or clamour in this Province is chiefly due to the rise in the price of food-stuffs all round.

All along, we have been meeting year after year, in some centre or other, discussing and passing Resolutions on subjects touching the welfare of the A. B. C., knowing men, but not, I respectfully submit, of our poor fellow-beings at large.

Of what avail is it to the poor man whether the Legislative Councils are expanded, or the judicial and executive functions, are separated, or the Council of Notables thrown out, or the Official majority is maintained or minimised, if the wolf is at the door. It is quite immaterial with poor people whether these reforms are effected or not.

Any measure calculated to keep the poor fellow-beings above starvation would be hailed with unbounded joy.

It was said yesterday by one of the speakers that the good-will of the people was " a more valuable asset than all the armies. "

Gentlemen, good-will, like a woman, is a flexible and variable commodity, akin to aspen shade. It is dependent upon one's humour.

Whereas, the contentment of the people, resultant of the thought that their stomachs are not pinched, and that they are above want, so far as the necessaries of life are concerned, will dispense with the questionable necessity of increasing the Military expenditure.

Though, *Drona* and *Bhisma* were convinced with the righteousness of the *Pandavas'* cause, yet they raised their hands, against them because they thought they owed a debt of duty to the *Kouravas*.

And similarly, if contentment is produced in the minds of the masses by keeping them above starvation, there can be no doubt of their raising against anybody threatening to overthrow the British Government, though not against any foreign nation, but at least, for the present against the Anarchist and the Bomb-thrower. Such contentment and gratitude must be secured and to achieve this end, the real remedy is to keep poorer people above the keen pangs of appetite and starvation.

Every commodity is sold at a very high price. Rice, some years ago was sold at 16 measures a Rupee, ghee a Rupee per viss, firewood a cart-load for a Rupee; dholls and curry-stuffs obtained at very cheap rates. Now the price of everything has risen to such an extent as to drive people to dire distress and madness.

A man with a paltry sum, was able to maintain a family comfortably; whereas it is not so now. Gentlemen, it is no egotism, when I say, we are a nation famous throughout the world for plain living and high thinking. In simplicity of life, we are second to none, and, yet, our people now find it very difficult to keep body and soul together, owing to the famine rates now prevailing. The present rise is so great that the Government were obliged to revise the Famine Code, so far as famine rates and measures are concerned. And further, realising this situation, Government has been pleased to grant allowances to their low-paid servants only. They have not, however, come to the rescue of the poor people.

What are the causes for the present abnormal rise in the price of food-stuffs is a question not only worthy of the consideration of this assembly but also of the Government.

Is it because that the commercial products such as oil seeds, jute, cotton, and sugar-cane find a ready market, that the ryots take to the cultivation of these more extensively in some parts; or, is it because that capitalists monopolise the produce before or at the harvest time, by large advances to cultivators—sorely in need of money to meet the Circar kist, collected under the most inelastic and rigid system; or is it because that the ryots do not care to improve their lands and make them more fecundative, on the ground they are deprived of the benefit of such improvements by the enhanced assessments imposed; or, is it because that the cultivators fall into the grip of the greedy sowcars, who take large quantities in kind for the small advances made, in times of need and necessity; or is it because that some unsympathetic men, by greedily over-stocking, do not let into the market all the produce for the consumption of the people; or, is it because capitalists largely export the monopolised produce to other countries; or, is it because that the producers themselves keep the produce in stock, in anticipation of making large profits; are questions worthy of inquiry by the benign Government.

To save the ryots from the baits of the capitalists and sowcars, and the poorer people and the middle classes from starvation, it is only right and proper that Government should cause this subject to be thoroughly inquired into and means devised to avert the present pitiable situation.

The imposition of an export duty on commercial products; or the prevention of overstocking; or forbidding the export of food-grains, reported to have been ordered by the Amir of Kabul, or any other measure, calculated to improve the present deplorable plight must be forthwith adopted to check the growing evil.

Gentlemen, while requesting the Government to institute an enquiry and commending for their consideration, suggestions, and until such steps are taken by the benign Government to save poor people and the middle classes from falling victims to starvation, we, I mean such of us, as can afford, have a duty to discharge, towards our fellow-beings.

We must ungrudgingly and sympathetically extend our help to those that are in distress. We are not to suppose that, if God has given us more than enough, it is for our enjoyment only. Unless we are free from this selfishness, and until, we begin to feel for the woe of our fellow-beings and unless we weep, like one of the speakers on another subject, for the miserable and heart-rending condition of those that are subjected to the pangs of starvation,

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**HIGH PRICES OF
FOOD-STUFFS.**

**MR. A. C.
PARTHASARATHI
NAIDU.**

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FOOD-STUFFS.****MR. A. C.
PARTHASARATHI
NAIDU.****MR. A. CHAU-
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which induced an old woman, bent down with age and sorrow, keenly feeling the rise of the price of food-stuffs, to crawl up, the other day to the gates of this pavilion, to solicit from the Sons of India redress of the poor peoples' grievances, we cannot boast of possessing human eyes, but that of a wolf.

The Resolution was then put to the Congress and declared carried.
(*The Congress adjourned at 3 p. m.*)

On reassembling Mr. A. Chaudhuri of Bengal said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in proposing the Resolution entrusted to me which is in these words :—

XIV EDUCATION

"This Congress is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps,

(a) to make Primary Education free at once and gradually compulsory throughout the country,

(b) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes),

(c) to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces having regard to local requirements, and

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

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

I said I have much pleasure in proposing this Resolution. I consider it a privilege to be able to move this proposition. Why it is a privilege I shall tell you later on. With regard to the Resolution itself, I do not think it is necessary for me to refer to the first four clauses. These are self-evident—Primary Education, Secondary and Higher Education, advance of Technical Education and Professional Education, and fourthly a Board of Education—all these are practically admitted to be necessary. The whole question is as to how they are going to be accomplished and when they are going to be accomplished. In this connection I will place before you, from the latest report of the Government on Educational matters as to what our local Government has been saying in respect of them. The Government says this : They find that in Bengal out of a student population of 82 lakhs there are only 30 per cent. now attending school and that the expenditure on that head, per head of population is less than Rs. 3. They think that that is an enormous amount. It is an enormous amount from one point of view. It comes, on calculation, to something like Rs. 124 lakhs, but if you distribute that over the whole area you find that it is absolutely inadequate. I am only quoting to you what the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal himself said. He says this :—

"In face of the dearth of funds which threatens to increase *pari passu* with the increase in the number of educational objects for which funds are wanted it is worth considering whether a reduction is not possible in the number of Colleges directly maintained by Government. It may be remarked, in conclusion, with regard to the Government Colleges, that while much has been proposed for their improvement, comparatively little has been

actually done. Progress demands that the expenditure of any large sum of money will have to be provided for men, buildings and equipment, before it can be possible to rest content on the assurance that a lead has been given and an example set to the private Colleges in Bengal. The difficulty here (in secondary education), as elsewhere, lies in the adequate provision of funds. But as the improvement of Secondary Education is a necessary corollary to University reform, it is hoped that the Government of India which was largely responsible for the latter will see its way to give the necessary assistance to provincial revenues."

Gentlemen, when we find one hand put out to receive the money, from the other hand, both hands belonging to the same organism—we may have some hope that the money will be forthcoming, although we have not heard anything about the pocket from which the money is to come. I call your special attention to one passage in that report and it is this. The Government is thinking, whether a reduction is not possible in the number of Colleges directly maintained by the Government. Now, with regard to that I say this. It may not be necessary to keep up a large number of Government Colleges in the Districts of Bengal, because some of these Districts have now been connected by railways but, to my mind, the most important thing so far as Bengal is concerned, is this, that there ought to be high grade Colleges, Colleges as they used to be in the old days in Bengal, in several of our Districts. I will only refer to a few matters which have happened within my knowledge. I was educated in this country and I graduated here before I graduated in England. I claim to know something about how things have gone on in this country. When we were students in the Krishnagar College there was an English Principal, three English Professors, and even the Headmaster of the collegiate school was an Englishman. Professor Umesh Chunder Dutt was the second teacher. Professor Umesh Chunder Dutt used to get Rs. 300—but on his promotion as Head-master he got 500 a month, and the Principal used to get I believe between Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 1,500—; the rest accordingly. Necessity for economy apparently arose and this large staff of teachers was removed from the Krishnagar College, that being one of the biggest Colleges in Bengal in those days. Within a short time the Head-master of the Institution became the Principal of the College. We had as Principal, Professor Umesh Chunder Dutt, one of the most distinguished teachers that Bengal had ever produced and we had nothing to complain, but the other incumbents with a much depreciated pay, were not of the same standard. The same stamp of men could not be had and the school and college both suffered. The result of that was that students who were being educated at Krishnagar, gradually began leaving the College to find education elsewhere. This was the result not only at Krishnagar, but also in other Colleges in the Bengal district. The students gradually began to concentrate in the Presidency Town, and we have got in Calcutta, now an enormous student population, I believe, a population numbering between 6,000 and 7,000. Now with regard to these young men, who are trying to qualify themselves for the University, they say that we have been producing too many graduates, and even malaria in Bengal does not kill our graduates quick enough (*Laughter*) The number is still going on increasing. Some method has therefore to be devised to sterilize a too fecund University. But we have not to go too far for it. The method is ready at hand. I am referring to the recent University Regulations. I understand you in Bombay and Madras are much better placed than we are in Bengal. I do not think it is necessary for me to dilate upon the matter, but, gentlemen, we have this curious spectacle in Calcutta, that students who are anxious to get University education and have read up to a high standard are finding it difficult to proceed further. Colleges are being disaffiliated in regard to particular subjects of study, because they are not able to find separate Professors for separate subjects. They cannot find

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sufficient superficial area for the students to sit. I believe they want 10 feet square for every single student in Calcutta. (*Laughter*). The result is that a large number of young men is absolutely in the streets of Calcutta. Are you now surprised that the student problem is the keenest problem in Bengal? I believe it is the keenest problem everywhere in India. We feel it most, so far as we are concerned, in Bengal. I do not quarrel with the University Regulations. They are beyond our power to cure. We have an Indian gentleman as the Executive head of our University, and we have been keeping on hoping for good things to come probably they are gradually coming (*Laughter*). We here are not concerned with the Executive of the Calcutta University. What I say is this, that the recent rules will certainly reduce the number of students who are going up for the matriculation. In the year 1880, I believe, my friends will correct me if I am wrong, we had only about 2000 students matriculating. In 1907, I think as many as 6000 went up for the matriculation. The result of the new rules may be that we shall not be sending up, at any rate, we do not hope to get through the examination, more than 1400 or 1500. What is going to happen to the rest of them? Gentlemen, are you surprised, there is seething discontent among the students in Bengal? (*A Voice "No"*). How is it possible for them to work? Where are they to work? What are they to do? I appeal to you and every one of you to help us in this matter. It is a matter with regard to which, the remedy is in our hands. So far as our students are concerned, if they are in the streets, is it not our duty to go among them, and to be with them? We are one of them, we cannot be severed from them. Are we not to help them in this crisis in their lives? I beg of you to consider, if it is humanly possible for us to stand apart, because some of the students have gone astray. If some of them have gone astray, we are sorry for them. May God be with them! May their destinies be controlled by Providence! But, so far as the others are concerned, who have not yet gone astray, but may go astray, at any moment, is it not our duty to go amongst them, to take them by their hand and so lead them so that they may keep on the right track? (*Cheers*). Is that work, work which, we are prepared to do? It is not perhaps work which it is possible for the present University to do. It is work which each of us can do. I say the man who shuns this responsibility is a coward. I say it is the duty of all honest-minded men not to shirk a responsibility of this character. I know that there are difficulties and dangers; we are unfortunately experiencing a great many in carrying on this work. We may be subjected to suspicion, unfounded and unjust, but we ought to go on with the work we have started and, with the help of Providence, we hope to succeed—work, which is to supplement, not to supplant. They are after all our boys—and we may justly claim to know their wants and make them fit for the strenuous life which is before them. Let us be at their side and help them on. It is a privilege to be able to do that work, it is a privilege to be associated with endeavours in that direction, and I consider it a privilege to be able to commend this Resolution for your acceptance (*Cheers*).

**RAO BAHADUR
K. G. DESAI.**

RAO BAHADUR KHANDUBHAI G. DESAI, of Bombay, in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution which has been so ably put before you by Mr. Chowdhury. He has gone over the question of University education in a very able manner and I need not take up your time any more with that question. In fact, I want to devote the time at my disposal principally in dealing with the primary and industrial education of the masses, so that the poor agriculturists, who at present can hardly make two ends meet, may be able to earn something more and to look after their own interests in a better manner. In this way the question of the poverty of the agriculturists can be solved to a certain extent. Now, it has been proposed in the first part, that the Government should introduce free education and,

of course, there it is meant to the agriculturists; and the second part is, that it should be made gradually compulsory. We all know that the income of these people on an average is probably not even Rs. 15 per head, per annum, and out of this small sum they cannot be expected to pay any fees, but at the same time, we have got to consider the position of Government and, although, it would be desirable to make the education free, and especially if it is to be compulsory, necessarily free, we have also to see how the vast problem of primary education can be solved. We know there are 50 lakhs of villages in the whole of British India. Now, if a school were provided for each of these 50 lakhs of villages with adequate staff, we shall find that a sum of not less than 10 crores of rupees per annum will be required to establish all these schools. Under the circumstances although we might ask that education should be made free, still, to a certain extent, some other way of doing it should also be suggested. For that purpose I go on to the last para. in the Resolution :— “ In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the public all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government, by organising for themselves an independent system of literary, scientific, technical and industrial education, suited to the conditions of the different Provinces in the country.”

I pass over all the other parts and shall take up only the question of primary education of the masses of the agriculturists and their industrial education. Now to do this, I would suggest that in every village a *punch* might be appointed, or rather the people of the village should form themselves into an Association with a *punch* as Working Committee and they might themselves voluntarily subscribe towards the funds for maintaining the school. When I said people are very poor it applied not to all the 20 crores of agriculturists but, perhaps, to about 10 crores and, in every village, although more than half the number is poor there are some people who are well able to assist their poorer brethren. In this way if we can get the influential people in every village to join together and establish a school for themselves they can then go to Government for an additional grant and, in this way, make possible what would otherwise seem to be quite impossible. Now, Sir, in observing the consequences of Primary Education it has been found that in the case of the son of an agriculturist, or the son of a person who has been ordinarily a workman, soon as he has learnt the three R's, he begins to despise his father's profession and looks forward to something in the clerical line. It is quite right that everybody should aspire to improve his condition but it is not necessary that he should look down upon the honest means of supporting himself by the work of his hands. Therefore, I would propose that to every school the Committee of the Village should attach a farm large enough to employ the boys all the year round in some sort of work and that the boys should be sent to the farm, for say, three to four hours every day and the literary part of education ought not to extend to more than three hours and, perhaps, in the higher standards four hours a day. In this way we shall give adequate time for the boys to learn, first of all reading and then Arithmetic and afterwards to acquire a certain amount of general knowledge which is necessary. Then they are old enough to understand something more of the sciences, they may be taught portions of Biology Physiology and a little Chemistry, (only elementary,) so that they might understand the terms and their meanings and then they should be given a fairly good education in scientific agriculture. They will have been all the time having a practical knowledge by working on the farm, and in this way the industrial problem for the agriculturist might be easily solved.

It may be objected that the farm will be costly, and that the cost of maintenance of such a school will be very heavy. I may say that even a little boy

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can do a large amount of useful work and if the Managers are able men, who can turn everything to proper account, instead of the farm being a loss to the Committee, it can well pay the expenses of maintaining the school itself. Later on, when the boys get older, it will be possible to give the boys a small wage so that parents will not be obliged to remove them from school as soon as they are found capable of work, but will be induced to keep them there and, in this way, their higher education until they are 16 can be attended to. Instead of being ignorant people, quite incapable of understanding simple problems of agriculture, they will be turned into a number of useful citizens. Thus the question of the poverty of the masses would be solved to a certain extent.

The poor village people themselves cannot be expected to organise such Committees and I, therefore, appeal to every one of the gentlemen present here, whether as delegates or visitors, to try and go to villages nearest his habitation, take an interest in the matter, explain and give such help as he is able and see if he cannot organize such a school. There is another reason why I should like the people to do it themselves. It is an idea, which though it might have occurred to Government, has been thought, to be quite impracticable. Anyway, we know it has not been done anywhere. Consequently, if you want to prove, that the work can be done, you will have first of all to show that it has been successfully done. If a few schools all over the country can be shown to be successfully worked, Government may take up the question and introduce it elsewhere also. In this connection I may state that other organizations also are required in each village. If the nucleus of such a Committee be formed the organization will be useful for obtaining the necessary amount of money required for annual agricultural operations and credit societies may be then established. Then, if Government is pleased to accord a *punch* under the decentralisation scheme to each village, you will have at hand an organisation to work the scheme in a proper manner. In fact, under the decentralisation scheme I expect, provision and management of education well probably form the first duty of such a *punch*, then sanitation and, perhaps other matters of a similar thing. Therefore, if we ourselves try to create these *punches* for the purpose of providing education, we shall have done the work advance what Government will do later. With these remarks I place this Resolution before you (*Cheers*).

MR. PARAMESHWAR LALL.

Mr. PARAMESHWAR LALL, of Behar, in supporting the Resolution said:— Mr. President and Fellow-delegates, the proposition that I have to support and which has been so ably moved by Mr. A. Chaudhuri and supported by that veteran, Mr. Desai, does not require many words from me to commend it to your approval. Gentlemen, this Resolution may be divided roughly into two parts, one part is the part that refers to the aid of Government in continuing the work of education and the other part—and that I regard as more important—is the work that we ourselves can do in improving the condition of our countrymen. Gentlemen, the new University Act that has just begun to come into force in the Province of Bengal—and that applies to the whole of the two Provinces—is beginning to show the way in which it is curtailing the progress of higher education. (*Hear, hear*). You must have heard that in Bengal the new scheme of regulations under it, were framed a little while ago and have just been brought into force. The result has been that while formerly there were about 1,200 students studying the Science course for the B. A. Degree Examination, the number of students now has fallen to about 125 on the whole of the Bengal Presidency. I am sure you will agree with me in regarding this as a real calamity for the future of Bengal, and the future of the whole of India depends upon the spread of scientific education amongst us, and scientific education has been considerably handicapped by the new

rules introduced under the University Act. In what particular way we can change the rules or make some new rules for ourselves to meet the deficiency created by the coming in force of the New Act, this Resolution puts before you. We can supplement the scientific education which the Colleges and Universities supported by Government give us, by starting Colleges and Schools for imparting scientific education ourselves. Gentlemen of Bengal have not been lax in this matter. They have already started what is called a National University; Colleges and Schools have been founded and other institutions have been rising up all over Bengal for imparting scientific education in a much cheaper and, I understand, a much more effective way than scientific education is imparted in Government Colleges. Things of this kind should be taken up in other parts of the country and, there, too, we must have what we have got in Bengal, scientific education given by the people themselves to the younger generation. There is another way in which the new University education is hampering the spread of sound, liberal ideas and all those things that we associate with the advance of education in this country. This Indian National Congress which is now meeting for its 24th Session is very largely due to the spread of the knowledge of the history of England among us. The result of this is not visible yet. The teaching of the History of England had been given up in the Schools under the Calcutta University.—I do not know what the matter is in other parts of India but that in Bengal a knowledge of the history of England is necessary for what we call the Entrance Examination, or what you in other parts of the country call the Matriculation.—Those who are entitled to speak with authority on the subject tell us that with the ignorance of English history, liberal aspirations and a desire to have a voice in the administration of our country will be markedly checked. If it is so, gentlemen, this would be a disaster of the first order, and in this, too, National Universities and Schools should come to the rescue of the people. All that concerns Bengal, all that concerns education, all that concerns the future of that very important class of young men and boys who will, at no distant day, be the nation—all that concerns them, concerns every one of us vitally. In this matter we should be even more serious than in the other political questions that affect the country, as it is a matter of the utmost importance. Upon a sound education depends not merely one or two or three political questions but the entire question of the political regeneration of the country. Gentlemen, in this matter the lines that have been adopted in Bengal can be commendably adopted by other parts of the country as well. I will not detain you any longer as a very eminent gentleman of Calcutta Dr. Nil Ratan Cirkar is going to address you on the subject. He is a gentleman intimately connected with the National Education Scheme and he will be able to throw more light on the subject than I could. With these remarks I support the proposition. (*Cheers*).

MR. UTAMLAL TRIVEDI, of Bombay, in supporting the Resolution said :—
Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am much obliged to you, Sir, for having given me this opportunity of associating myself with the Resolution on education which is one of those questions about which there exists some difference of opinion among the two parties of political workers in this country. The Resolution is, in effect, a re-affirmation of the Resolution which passed at Calcutta on National Education and, although, some of the words have been changed and alterations have been made here and there, the nett effect of the Resolution is that the educational progress of the country should be, as far as possible, extended to the lowest strata of society, as also in the highest measure that we can obtain. Having regard to this, the Resolution goes on :—“In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical and Industrial education suited to the conditions of the different Provinces in the country.”

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**MR. UTAMLAL
TREVEDI.**

The gentlemen who preceded me have addressed you at some length on some of the aspects of the Resolution. I shall not detain you long, except in so far as to emphasise the literary side of the education that this Resolution calls upon us to take in our hands. You are aware that at one time in the history of our educational system private enterprise was encouraged by Government. In the evolution of that educational system, during the regime of that masterful Viceroy Lord Curzon, that same private enterprise was discouraged and, so, we have now the officialised University and a new Educational system has been brought into effect. The natural tendency of this method has been that there has been a natural reaction, in our own educational ideas. Whereas the Government desire to stint education, we desire to promote it by every means in our power. Education, gentlemen, is both a quasi-public and a quasi-private function and, however good or wise a Government might be, it is essential for parents of students to consider what sort of education their children should receive and where, and how, they receive it. I therefore accord my hearty support to the last clause of this Resolution and, with these words, I commend the Resolution to your acceptance. (*Cheers*).

**DR. NIL RATAN
CIRCAR.**

DR. NIL RATAN CIRCAR, of Bengal, in supporting the Resolution said :—Ladies and Gentlemen,—Brought up in the bosom of the Calcutta University it is always painful for one to have to criticise the worthiness of his *alma mater* ; but, sometimes, one is placed in that position and there is no way out of it. You all know, gentlemen, that recently in our attempt to secure the height of the standard of the education imparted by our University we have sacrificed the base so much that not more than 50 per cent. of those aspiring to University education in Bengal shall have the opportunity of entering the University. As Mr. Chowdhury has already told you, in the last 30 years the number of such students aspiring to enter the University has trebled. In another 30 years, if things go on at the same rate, we may expect the same increase and by that time also, we have no right to expect a better state of things in the University if the present regulations continue. Now what are we to do with this vast multitude of our young men, a highly intellectual race of young men, who are good for anything and who can be trained for anything and who are going to suffer for no sins of their own? Now, gentlemen, the University Regulations are defective in various other ways. My friend Mr. Parameswar Lal has already alluded to the restrictions that have been imposed upon scientific education in the University of Calcutta. Here, we ought to remember that upon this branch of study depends, in a great way, the future of Bengal. Of course, I am entitled to speak for Bengal only. Then, Sir, as regards Agricultural and Commercial education these are names not to be heard within the precincts of the Calcutta University ; and, last of all, technical education, which has been introduced in most Universities recently established in Great Britain, Europe and also America, finds no place in the Calendar of the Calcutta University. There are those vast natural resources in our raw products all wasting for want of manufacture. There are thousands of young men, possessing the keenest of intellect and eager to receive technical training for the purpose of converting them into manufactured products. The University does not pay any heed to their cry and does not undertake technical education in any shape or form. Now as regards the dons of the University, it is all very well to show a symmetry on paper by stiffening the examination rules and making the students of Colleges and the number of Colleges proportionate ; but, gentlemen, as guardians and educationists, you have a higher duty and you have to think what you are to do with these thousands of our young men. The question is one of necessity and it is not one day too soon that the question has been taken up in Bengal. Gentlemen, in these matters, in Germany in America and other countries it is a sort of selfish utilitarianism that was at the bottom of the gigantic development of technical and scientific education,

I appeal, to-day, not only to your altruistic spirit but also to your veriest spirit of self-preservation to devote your attention, energy and resources to the cause of educating your children and children's children (*Hear, hear.*) If the University disappointed us, have we any reason to expect better things from the Government? There are many institutions outside the University that are conducted by the Government in different parts of India and, is there any reason why we may expect the Bengal Government to conduct such institutions, as for instance, trade schools, professional schools, technical schools or other schools of that nature? My friend Mr. Chaudhuri has already given you the answer that the Bengal Government would give because, it is after all a question of funds. The Government of Bengal cannot set apart more than Rs. 40 lakhs for the education of 7 crores of Bengalees. Then, when we look to the Government of India, we find that though they spend 255 millions of Rupees in the Military Department, they do not spend more than 45 Millions on the education of the whole of India, giving an average of not more than 2 annas 6 pies per head of population in India. (*"Shame"*). In Bengal, recently Government has been so very busy with the police that the whole of their money is about to be absorbed by that Department. But, education is such an important matter that, I think, you could not and should not wait for the help that we get from others. I think it is your duty at once to take up that question and solve it in the best way you can. And the way we ought to attempt it is given in the fourth paragraph of the Resolution which I need not repeat to you.

In connection with this matter I will just speak one or two words more before I conclude. There is a serious responsibility attached to this business. If we take up the education of our young men on independent lines we must remember that that independence must mean only financial independence but not an independence of responsibility. There is a serious responsibility attached to this affair and we must always remember that, when conducting education on these lines that it is a sacred trust not only from the people of India on one side, but also from Government on the other. We should be worthy of it before we take it up. As regards these schools and institutions, their number, no doubt, is very few. So far as Bengal is concerned we know that the Government is looking rather askance at some of them but, as time wears out, we are confident that Government will come to know their real object, that it is not with a spirit of opposition or with a spirit of rivalry, but simply with the idea of supplementing the efforts of the Government, that these schools have been brought into existence and that if they live sufficiently long, they will be recognised by Government as only part of the scheme fulfilled by the Government itself and as useful organisations in the land worthy of their support and worthy of their approbation. (*Cheers*).

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

THE PRESIDENT :—I have been entrusted with the duty of proposing the next Resolution No. 15, which I need not read to you because copies of it have already been supplied to you. Those in favour will please hold up your hands. The Resolution was as follows :—

XV. LAND TAX.

"This Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on land, and it regrets that Lord Curzon in his Land Resolution of 1902 failed to recognise the necessity of any such limitation and declined to accept the suggestions of Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists in the matter.

"This Congress holds that in Provinces where the Permanent Settlement does not now exist, a reasonable and definite limitation of the State demand

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and the introduction of Permanent settlement or a settlement for a period of not less than sixty years are the only true remedies for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population.

"This Congress emphatically protests against the view that the land revenue in India is not a tax but is in the nature of rent."

It was unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next Resolution, No. 16, on the paper is also to be moved from the chair—"This Congress records its sense of the great loss"—I think I ought to read this Resolution because the order in which the names have been put down in the paper has been slightly altered, we have adopted the chronological order. The Resolution is as follows:—

**RECORD OF
 GREAT LOSS TO
 THE COUNTRY.**

XVI. "This Congress records its sense of the great loss which the country has sustained in the death of

- I. Babu Kalicharan Banerjea.
- II. Pandit Bisshumbar Nath.
- III. Mr. Alfred Webb.
- IV. Babu Bunsilal Singh and
- V. Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu."

Those in favour of it will kindly hold up their hands.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

**THE HON'BLE
 MR. G. K.
 GOKHALE.**

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. GOKHALE, who on rising to speak received an enthusiastic ovation, said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg to submit for your acceptance the following Resolution:—

**MESSAGE OF
 CONGRATULA-
 TIONS.**

XVII. MESSAGE TO MR. HUME, CONGRATULATIONS TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN BART AND THANKS TO THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS

That the following message be addressed by the Congress to Mr. A. O. Hume.

(a) "This Congress sends you its cordial greetings and congratulations. The reforms announced by Lord Morley are a partial fruition of the efforts made by the Congress during the last twenty-three years and we are gratified to think that to you as its father and founder they must be a source of great and sincere satisfaction.

(b) "This Congress offers its sincere congratulations to Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, on his recent recovery from a serious illness and takes this opportunity to give expression to its deep gratitude for the unflagging zeal and devotion and the love, patience and singleness of purpose with which he has laboured for the Indian cause during the last twenty years and which has been largely instrumental in securing for Congress' views and representations the favourable consideration which they have received in England.

(c) "This Congress desires to convey to the members of the British Committee its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services in the cause of India's political advancement."

It has been the usual practice of this Congress year after year to record before the close of its proceeding its appreciation of the work which the British Committee has been doing for us in England. This year, however, in addition to that usual vote of thanks to the British Committee we propose to have two other Resolutions, one addressed to Mr. Hume and the other addressed to Sir William Wedderburn. As regards the Committee I do

not think I need say very much. The Committee has done during this year the same useful work that it has been doing in the past. It is true that during this year it has had to work under certain disadvantages. In the first place it was deprived of the assistance and the watchful care which it received in the past from Dhadabhai Naoroji, the foremost Indian of our time (*hear, hear*), the man without stain, our aged chief who bears on his head the snow of years but carries in his heart the fire of youth. (*Cheers*). Then, gentlemen, Sir William Wedderburn who has been the heart and soul of the British Committee since its formation, was prevented from giving that close and personal attention to the affairs of the Committee which he gave in the past owing to serious illness, and his place as Chairman was temporarily occupied by Sir Henry Cotton, and the work of the Committee was carried on by Sir Henry and the other members as usual. Our first duty, therefore, in this Congress is to tender our thanks to the Committee for the vigour and the vigilance with which they have pushed on the Indian cause, in England. Having done that, we turn to those two Englishmen, our foremost friends in England. The first clause is about Mr. Hume. Now we all know that Mr. Hume founded this Congress. (*Cheers*). We all know with what loving care he watched over it in the early years of its growth, and when he was later prevented by declining health from taking the same active interest in its development in this country; we know how he worked for this movement in England. Mr. Hume's interest in this movement has continued unflagging to this day. Mr. Hume has placed his wise guidance, his sage counsel, at our disposal whenever the need for such guidance and for such counsel has arisen. During the long re-actionary period through which we have recently passed, no man was more keenly disappointed over the apparent failure of the work of the Congress than Mr. Hume. No one was filled with more bitter grief and concern than Mr. Hume when last year the disaster which we all know so well overtook the Congress at Surat. I know, again, from personal knowledge and experience that when during the last few months anxious deliberations were going on in London in connection with the reforms just now announced, when our prospects now appeared darker and now appeared brighter, no man was following these developments with more anxious interest than Mr. Hume, and now when the gloom seems to be dissipating and the first streaks of a new dawn are visible no one has a greater right to be gladdened than the founder and the father of the Congress. In sending this message to Mr. Hume, therefore, we are only performing what I call a filial duty. Mr. Hume is past eighty, and we are happy to think that this comfort has been vouchsafed to him in the evening of his life, and we all fervently hope he will long be spared to observe and watch the progress which we hope to make in the new path.

Then the third clause is about Sir William. Sir William, as you all know, has just passed through a very serious illness and a serious illness at seventy-five is a very serious matter indeed. But a merciful providence has spared Sir William to us, and it is but fitting and proper that we should express our joy at his recovery on this occasion. Gentlemen, only those who have seen Sir William's work for us in England, can adequately realise how much, how very much we owe to this high souled Englishman. During the last three years I have had to pay three visits to England in connection with this work and during all that time I was working in most intimate association with him and under his affectionate guidance; and I can lay claim to speak with some authority on this point. And I say this, that there has never been another Englishman who has laboured for us as Sir William has done. There have been great Englishmen, men occupying distinguished positions in the public life of England, who have befriended the cause of India in the past. The honoured names of Bright, Fawcett and Bradlaugh will always be cherished

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with love and reverence. But for them India was not the only subject occupying their time. They had other interests, they had other work, there were other claims upon their attention. With Sir William the whole thing has been different. India has been since his return twenty years ago his single interest, it has been his sole absorption, his one passion. During these twenty years, Sir William has placed at our disposal all his time all his energies and a large part of his own personal resources ungrudgingly. (*Cheers*). For us he has done much; through good report and through evil report, through sunshine and through storm this high souled Englishman has stood by us. He sought entrance into the House of Commons for our sake, he gave up a Parliamentary career when he found the demands made by his constituents inconsistent with the performance of his self-imposed task. For us he was prepared to lose caste with his countrymen in this land. He has joyed with us in our joys, he has sorrowed with us in our sorrows, he was filled with anxiety but he never gave way to despair, when we were all filled with despair. Now that a new morn is greeting us, I am sure new friends will come to cheer us; but Sir William has kept vigil by our side during the night. I therefore propose that the best thanks of this Congress should be tendered to Sir William on this occasion because I firmly believe, and I am sure those who know how much Sir William has done will also believe, that he has been largely instrumental in pushing the Indian question to the front in England and securing for it that favourable consideration which it is receiving there to-day.

Having said so much about the personal portion of this Resolution, I will if you will permit me, make a few observations on one sentence in the first part of this Resolution. That sentence is this. In our message to Mr. Hume we say "the reforms announced by Lord Morley are a practical fruition of the efforts made by the Congress during the last twenty-three years." I think it would not be irrelevant and it would not be inappropriate if I examine briefly how the new reforms that have been announced constitute what has been described here as a partial fruition of the efforts made by the Congress during the last twenty-three years. For this purpose you must briefly glance in the first instance at the efforts made by the Congress during the last twenty-three years, and secondly you must glance at the reforms that have been announced, taking with them the other measures which have gone before the present announcement and other measures which are likely to come in the near future.

So far as the Congress is concerned, briefly you may say that it has sought three objects during the last twenty-three years. The first may be called a social object, the Congress, has sought to promote greater unity among the different elements in this country, and the Congress has sought to promote a greater feeling of nationality throughout the land. Speaking of uniting even here on this platform after the unhappy separation which we all deplore, speaking here I may say that to-day the feeling of unity in the country, taking the divergent elements of the country into consideration, is stronger, deeper and more real than it was twenty-three years ago. (*Cheers*). The same is true of the feeling of nationality. From one end of the country to the other there is a new impulse, a new feeling, a new vibration; and everybody who is interested in the progress of India must rejoice that feeling of nationality as a true, a deep and a real one in the land to-day. That part however of the work of the Congress we must put aside for the present. But there were two others and those were objects we had in view, special reference to the influence we sought to exercise on the Government. One was pressing on the attention of the Government, specific measures either for improvement or for the redress of grievances,—numerous measures to which I am not going to make any reference just now. But the second object underlying all those measures we advocated and urged by us

side by side with them, was to modify as largely as possible the bureaucratic character of the present administration. Now in some respects the most important part of the work of the Congress during these twenty-three years has been the energy expended by it on modifying the bureaucratic administration. And so far as that is concerned, I think we may fairly say that the new measures that have been announced go a long way to effect the modification. What are those measures?

I would like to glance at these measures comprehensively and then see how far this claim is justified. For that I want you to take the appointment of two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council with the reforms, also again the measures that will come next year as a result of the Decentralisation Commission's Report—all these three hang together, they are part of one whole. And what do they amount to? For that you must compare the position that we shall occupy, have after these Reforms come with what it was last year. You may compare the whole administration to an edifice. At the base you have rural and urban Self-government; in the centre the general every-day Administration, Legislation and Finance, and at the summit you have the Bodies exercising supreme power, the Executive and the Secretary of State's Council, the seat of final authority where policies are determined and important questions really settled. That being the summit and the other being the centre, and Local Self-government being the base I want you to consider where we were till last year and where we shall be after these Reforms are fully carried out.

So far as Local Self-government is concerned we have a little Local Self-government just now. Of course, the name is Local Self-government. I was for four years at the head of a Municipal Administration, we know what we possess and how much it is—I know it is not much. That is the present position so far as Local Self-government is concerned. Then about the centre, we have opportunities of expressing our views about Finance once a year; in discussing the Budget and on Legislation whenever a new measure is in contemplation. About the general every-day administration from top to bottom there is absolutely no opportunity of placing our views in a responsible manner before those who are in authority over us. And as regards the summit, *viz.*, those bodies where policies are determined well, we have no access to these bodies whatever to-day. Now, what will be the position under the new arrangement? At the base we shall have full control over and management of our local affairs, the fabric of Local Self-government started by Lord Ripon is to be carried to a proper and fitting completion—that itself is a most important thing, Local Self-government has been described by many and very properly, as a training ground, a school of political education for our people. We shall have as much scope there for political education as we choose to have. Then as regards the centre the position will be so largely modified as to amount to almost a revolution. At the present moment in regard to administration it is all confidential reports from subordinate officers to the highest till at last the top is reached, and we know nothing till the final decision is arrived at and announced, and even if the decision is unfavourable to us or we do not like it, we can only express our regret in our own way and keep still. Under the new arrangement, all questions affecting every-day administration which involve matters of public importance can be brought in a responsible manner before those in authority in the Legislative Councils of the Provinces. In these Councils, again, a non-official majority has been provided for. This non-official majority with the power of raising administrative questions is really an exceedingly important step, and I am quite sure it will very largely modify the bureaucratic character of the existing administration. Then, in regard to Finance our control will be greater. The full extent of the control over Finance will not be realised until the larger scheme of Provincial Decentralisation is carried out,

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but that will be known only when orders are passed on the Decentralisation Commission's Report. But it is expected, and this is a matter of public knowledge, that as a result of that Commission's labour the Provincial Governments will be largely freed from the control which the Government of India exercises over them at present and in place of the control so removed the control of the Legislative Councils will be substituted—the control of discussion and criticism. Lastly as regards the seats of the highest power and authority, the Executive Councils, Indians are to be admitted to these Councils. They are already on the Secretary of State's Council, and we know what good work is being done by them there. They are to be admitted to the Indian Executive Councils, which means in formulating policies and determining large questions, racial considerations will recede in the background. The mere presence of Indians will prevent that, again the Indian view of questions will be available there, and I expect nothing but good from the appointment of Indians to these Councils. Thus we shall have reasonable access to the highest seats of authority, we shall have fair opportunities of exercising influence in matters of Finance and Administration by means of debate, and we shall have got full management of the local affairs. More than this a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils really means preventive control over Provincial Legislation. We cannot, of course, pass any law we please because there is the veto of the Government, but the Government cannot pass any law it pleases without our consent because we have the majority and this means we have secured preventive control over Provincial legislation. In regard to the Supreme Legislature the position is somewhat different. But under this new scheme the Government of India will recede more and more in the background and the Provincial Government will come more to the front and look larger in eyes, and we shall have all the opportunities we require for influencing the course of Provincial administration. There was a disposition yesterday to complain that for the Supreme Council as Secretary of State's scheme is really less favourable to us than that proposed by the Government of India, and there was also a disposition to complain that the scheme of electoral Colleges and the scheme of proportional representation would emphasise the importance of class representation too much. I think, gentlemen, in regard to both these points it would be well if you went away from the Congress with clear and definite ideas (*Hear, hear*). So far as the Supreme Council is concerned, the constitution proposed is part of a whole scheme. What the Government of India proposed was that in the eight Councils, one Imperial and seven Provincial, there was to be a standing official majority. In regard to the Imperial Council, owing to the long distance of Calcutta from the Provinces from which official members had to come, it was provided by the Government of India that that majority should not always be present there, but that it should be called into existence whenever it was required. For all practical purposes the majority was there, whereas in regard to Provincial Councils also there was to be an official majority. The Secretary of State has taken a momentous step in advance of these proposals; instead of having an official majority in all these Councils he has freed seven Councils out of eight from this official majority. Of course, there must be a reserve of power kept somewhere, because, at the present stage of our progress, it is not reasonable to expect that the British Government will give control over Legislation and Administration to us; but by concentrating an official majority. In the Supreme Council, Provincial Legislature have all been freed from the shackles of official majority and in so far as the Government of India will recede into the background and as this official majority is mainly a reserve power, as practical men we should be satisfied with the scheme, we must gratefully accept this scheme as it stands, because it must be accepted or rejected as a whole.

Then about the Electoral Colleges and the representation of class interests, it is all very well to say that the end we have in view is absolute unity in the country, union among all different elements. We have many other ends in view in life, and the followers of a certain religion expect the millenium one day, but we have to deal with the existing facts as they are. There are acute class differences in the country to-day, and any scheme of representation which secures to important classes, proper representation by means of election, representation by men in whom they have confidence, any scheme of this description which secures this really, in my opinion promotes the true interest of unity in the country ; it removes the causes of bickering, the sourness of feeling, that otherwise would exist there. Speaking of the Mahomedan community, among whom I have most valued friends, I may say this that when this scheme is found to be working in practice—the scheme of proportional representation, and when they find themselves adequately represented by men elected by themselves and having their confidence, they will be disabused of a certain fear which they have unjustly entertained, namely, that they would be swamped by Hindus and they would be encouraged to throw in their lot with us in the great National work. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I have explained in the few observations I have made how things are to-day and what our position will be when the whole of this scheme is carried into effect. I now come to a few concluding remarks.

Stated in one sentence I may describe the change thus, hitherto we have been engaged in agitation from outside ; from now we shall be engaged in what might be called responsible association with the administration. It is still not control over administration, it is still not any large share of administration, but it is association and responsible association in administration. There is plenty of scope for growth here, and as we grow and discharge the responsibilities that devolve on us properly, I am sure there will be progress further and further towards our having what may be called responsible administration. From agitation to responsible association and from responsible association—a long and weary step—but the step will have to come to responsible administration (Cheers). Now these large and generous concessions which have been made by the Government and the Secretary of State must receive at our hands that response which they require. They impose upon us two responsibilities in particular ; the first is that a spirit of co-operation with the Government must now be evoked amongst us instead of mere criticism of Government. The scheme will fail of its purpose and will prove absolutely useless in practice if our attitude is one of constant antagonism. Therefore the first responsibility that rests upon us is that the scheme should evoke in us a spirit of co-operation with Government. The second is that the new powers should be exercised with moderation and with restraint, and they should be solely used for the promotion of the interests of the masses of the people. (Hear, hear.) There are so many questions awaiting solution, but under the existing system somehow the officials do not find sufficient time for their proper consideration. There is the question of mass education, there is the question of sanitation, there is the question of the indebtedness of the peasantry, there is the question of technical education and so forth. I do not deny a good deal is being done, but I say much more can be done when the Government has the co-operation of the Councils. I am sure much more will be done in the future in these directions than the past. Therefore these new powers must be exercised with moderation and restraint, and they must exercise in the interest of the masses of the people. If this is done, I really have no fear about the future. Gentlemen, let us not talk so much of that veto which Government have reserved to themselves as some of my friends have been doing. To attack the veto or to expect or hope that the veto would be done away with in the near future is not to understand constitutional government anywhere in the world.

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Even at present the House of Commons works under what may be called a double veto, namely, the practical veto of the House of Lords and the theoretical veto of the Sovereign. They are a self-governing people, and yet bear all the inconveniences of this double veto. Let us grow to the full bounds of the new opportunities and it will be time enough to talk of circumscribing the veto which is vested in the Government.

One word more and I have done. We are most of us in India, Hindus Mahomedans and Parsees a somewhat dreamy race. Of course, the Hindus are most so. I do not deny their dreams occasionally are a source of pleasure, even if they effect nothing else. Moreover, I admit the importance of dreams in shaping our aspirations for the future, but in practical matters we have to be practical men and have to remember two things. Life is not like writing on a clean slate. We have to take the words existing on the slate and add other words so as to make complete sentences and produce a harmonious meaning. Secondly, whatever you may ask for, that is not the same thing as what you will get or will be qualified to get or in practice maintain if you get. Let us therefore not go in pursuit of more idle dreams and neglect the opportunities which the present offers to us. On the manner in which we, especially the younger section of our countrymen, grow to the height of the new opportunities will demand the future of the country. None of us want to be satisfied with the things as they are. But first we must prove that we can bear these responsibilities before we can ask for any more. I have often said, and I repeat here again, that I do not want any limits, any restrictions, on the growth which should be open to our people. I want the people of our country, men and women, to be able to rise to the full height of their stature as men and women of other countries do so. But our growth can only be through the discharge of responsibilities; they must first be well discharged before we can think of further responsibilities. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for the manner in which you have listened to me and for the way in which you have received me (*Cheers*).

The Chairman remarked that after the brilliant speech of Mr. Gokhale the Resolution did not require to be seconded or supported. It was therefore put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

DR. CLARK of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress then said:—

RESPONSE OF
DR. C. B. CLARK.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

On behalf of the Committee I rise to thank you for the vote that you have now passed and to associate myself with the words of my friend Mr. Gokhale. I am glad to tell you that so far as Mr. Hume is concerned, when I saw him a month ago he was as active and as enthusiastic as I have ever seen him (*Cheers*). He will be glad to receive this message from you, it will help, if ever he required anything to stimulate him, to work all the harder for you. I regret also that my friend Sir William is to receive this from you because of his illness. I have enjoyed his friendship for over quarter of a century and I can assure you that no man has worked harder or has done more for the interest of the people of India than Sir William (*Cheers*). Since he retired from the Indian Service and came home, both in the House of Commons and in every other department he has made as his life's work the interest of the people of India. I do hope and trust that the winter he is spending in the South of France will remove that troublesome bronchile affection from which he has been suffering and be able to do some more work for you and be able to see the fruition of his work.

On behalf of the Committee generally I may tell you that it is now stronger than ever it was. Nearly all the old members of your Civil Service who

are politicians are in it and work in it and there are a number of other Committees other than this Congress Committee working similarly. There is one in the House of Commons, members of the Indian Committee to look after Indian interest. In many of our Clubs and especially in the most active and youngest of Liberal Clubs, the New Reform Club there is a special Indian Committee of which Sir William is the Chairman. That Committee is sending lecturers round the country to educate the people upon the Indian questions. (*Cheers*) So far as associations and organizations are concerned they are growing and becoming more efficient for your political work. In addition to that the newer and the more active organizations throughout Great Britain are very friendly to you. We are having great changes there. For the first time at the last election the labour men of our country became politicians. In our great trade-unions where there are a million members, the one thing which had been excluded in the past was politics. Now the great trade-unions are becoming great politicians promoting political work. The Court of Appeal in the House of Lords has decided that they cannot spend so much as they have been doing. They will have a set back but probably that law will be soon modified, because there are 62 members there who are very powerful, much more than ordinary members. In addition to that the great Socialistic movement is thoroughly in sympathy with you. Not only labour leaders like Mr. Keir Hardie (*Cheers*) who when coming on a voyage for the purpose of his health ran the risk of coming to see India and has since his return been talking as much upon India as upon anything else; Mr. Hyndman, who has been for many years an active politician—his association with the Social democratic party and they are strongly in sympathy with you—I think from every standpoint, things at home are looking very well as far as Indian Reform is concerned.

I have an idea that you can do more than you are doing now. What we want to see is at least a dozen Indian candidates for seats in parliament (*Cheers*). I know the difficulty and I know how some of the Indians who have been fighting, have been treated. They have gone through the whips. Mr. Mullick, they sent him to St. George's Hanover Square—they might have sent him to the moon. A liberal has as much chance of being elected in St. George's Hanover Square as he has at the the Calton Club. But there are seats to be got apart from the whips and a man with new ideas who should freely be in the company of the labour men will be able to find a seat for himself. I hope and trust that you will never again have a Parliament without there being in it one or two, if not half-a-dozen, Indians as members. I was very pleased last year to meet two Malays and two Phillipins from the Phillipine Islands, members of the American Parliament and to meet a Spaniard from Porto Rico these are representatives in the Congress and are able to express themselves. Constitutionally we cannot have you from India at the present time until we have a really Imperial Parliament. I hope before long we will have one representing all sections of the Empire and that Indian members will take their seats in that great Imperial Parliament of the future. I know it is a very difficult thing to do and the greatest difficulty is to money. I have had forty years of public life and I can assure you as a keen reformer all my days—because I was fortunate enough to have a reforming and radical father and I have been going in his footsteps. I can tell you that during that time never have I been pleased to see things as they are now in our country, have had little doubt regarding the permanencé of the liberal party and the liberal Government for the next year. Well now I do not doubt they will live all next year and live to pass this great liberal measure for India. I am not in the confidence of the Cabinet, but I have been able very often during the last forty years to make very accurate forecasts of what will take place. I anticipate there will be a general election in January after next year. I do not think you will have it next year. I tell you, why, because political parties always look after their own interests, it is the interest of the liberal party to

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have an election with a new register. It is the interest of the Conservative Party to have their election on an old register so that political grounds will make them postpone the election till January; and they have work to do which must be done before that—the fiscal and other administrative work of great importance, bills that must be carried out. I do not think they will carry out all the programme they have pledged themselves so far this Session. I believe, in the next Session of Parliament the only work taken up will be several non-contentious measures, the budget, the great Reform Bill to reform the House of Commons and to reform the House of Lords. It will reform the House of Commons by limiting its period of action, it will reform the House of Lords by limiting its powers. That and that only, I think, will be the work of the Session and after that is done, there will be a fight on two grounds—fiscal and as to the powers of the House of Lords. I do not know what the result may be—probably the result will be that the Liberal Party will come back into power. It will depend upon whether they will come to terms with the labour men. If they come to terms I think the progressive element will be there and will again be powerful in the next Parliament. And I hope that between now and January, during the next 12 months, there will be a dozen candidates and at least half-a-dozen sitting. Indian interest will then be able to be brought before the House of Commons by men of India who know the wants of India and who will represent the interests of India. (*Cheers.*)

The President then announced under Art. XV of the constitution :—

ALL-INDIA
CONGRESS
COMMITTEE.

XVIII.—THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The following gentlemen are appointed members of the All-India Congress Committee :—

MADRAS

Elected:—1. The Hon. Mr. Nawab Syed Mahomed, 2. The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.; 3. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 4. Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L., 5. Mr. C. Karunakara Menon, B.A., 6. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastrial, B.A., L.T., 7. The Hon. Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L., 8. The Hon. Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 9. Mr. W. L. Venkataramiah, B.A., B.L., 10. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 11. Mr. G. A. Gulam Hussain Saib Bahadur, 12. Mr. G. A. Natesan, B.A., 13. Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai, B.A., 14. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyar, B.A., B.L., 15. Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu.

BOMBAY

Elected:—1. The Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh, B.A., LL.B., 2. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B., (Ahmedabad) 3. Sir Balachandra Krishna Bhatavadekar, Kt., L.M., 4. The Hon. Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, B.A., LL.B., 5. The Hon. Mr. Hari Sitaram Dikshit, B.A., LL. B., 6. Rao Bahadur Khandubhai Gulabhbhai Desai, L.C.E., Surat, 7. Mr. Narayan Madhav Samarth, B.A., LL.B., 8. Mr. Harchandari Vishindas Bharwani., 9. Mr. Mathuradas Ramchand Javabri B.A., LL.B., Hyderabad, (Sind). 10. The Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume, M.A., D.D., (Ahmednagar), 11. Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law, 12. Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Bar-at-Law, 13. Mr. Hormusji A. Wadya. (Bar-at-Law) Rajkot, Kathiawad, 14. Mr. Damodar Ganesh Padhye, M.A., 15. Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.

Ex-Officio Members:—15. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, 17. The Hon. Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, K.C.I.E., M.A., 18 Mr. D. E. Wacha, 19 The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., B.A., 22. The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.

UNITED BENGAL

Ex-Officio Members :—1. Babu Surendranath Banerjea; 2. Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., 3. Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, 4. Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, D.L., C.I.E.

Elected :—5. Babu Baikuntanath Sen, Esq. 3. Babu Ambikacharen Muzumdar, 7. Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri, 8. Babu Ananda Chandra Ray, 9. Babu Jatra Mohan Sen, 10. Aswani Kumar Dutt, 11. Babu Bishunpada Chatterjee, 12. Babu Maulvi Abul Casim, 13. Mr. A. Chaudhuri, 14. Mr. J. Ghosal, 15. Babu Heramba Chandra Mitra, 16. Babu Jogehdranath Mukerjea, 17. Dr. Nil Ratan Circar, 18. Mr. J. Chaudhuri, 12. Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter, 20. Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray, 21. Moulvi Dadar Bux, 22. Babu Pramathanath Banerjea, 23. Babu Bhupendranath Bose, 24. Babu Satyananda Bose.

UNITED PROVINCES

Elected :—1. Pandit Moti Lal, Nehru, 2. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 3. Mr. Sachidanand Sinha, 4. Dr. Tejbahadur Sapru, 5. Dr. Satishchandra Banerjea, 6. Babu Iswar Saran, 7. Mr. Govind Sahai Sharma, 8. Mr. Preetanath Banerjea, 9. Dr. Manohar Lal, 10. Munshi Gangaprasath, Varma, 11. Pandit Gokaram Natha Misra, 12. Pandit Izbai Narain Masaldan, 13. Babu Ramchandra, 14. Mr. Sheikh Mushir Husain Kidwai, 15. Mr. A.P. Sen.

PUNJAB

Elected :—1. The Hon. Lala Harkishan Lal, 2. Mr. Lala Lijpatrai, 3. Mr. Lala Gaupat Rai, 5. Mr. Lala Dharm Das Surai, 5. Moulvi Moharrun Ali Chroty, 6. Mr. Lala Bhana Ram, 7. Mr. Lala Mukand Lal, 8. Mr. Alfred Nundy, 9. Mr. L. L. Bhatia, 10. Mr. Lala Sangam Lal, 11. Pandit Rambhaja Dutt Chaudhuri.

BEHAR

Elected :—Mr. Syed Hasan Imam. (Patna), 4. Mr. Syed Mazhurul Huq, (Patna), 4. Mr. Parmeshur Lall, (Gaya), 4. Mr. Syed Najmul Huda. (Bankipur), 5. Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, (Bhagalpur.)

BERAR

Elected :—1. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, 2. Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinakak, 3. Mr. M. V. Joshi, 4. Mr. R. G. Mundle, 5. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

BURMA

Elected :—1. Dr. U. L. Desai, M. D. 2. Mr. Halkar.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

Elected :—1. Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, Esq., C.I.E., 2. Rao Bahadur Waman Rao M. Kolhatkar, 3. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, 4. Rao Bahadur Bapurao Dada, 5. Mr. Mahadeva Krishna Padhye, B.A., LL.B., 6. Mr. Damodar Nilkanth Khare, B.A., LL.B. 7. Mr. V. R. Dixit.

In proposing the next Resolution, also from the chair, the President said :—

In proposing the Resolution it is a most agreeable duty that I perform. ought to read this Resolution :—

XIX. This Congress accords its most hearty thanks for the hospitality with which the Reception Committee has received the delegates and the perfection of the arrangements made for their comfort during their stay in Madras. The Congress also thanks the Captain, Lieutenants and Members

Third Day.

ALL-INDIA
CONGRESS
COMMITTEE.

THE PRESIDENT.

THANKS TO THE
RECEPTION
COMMITTEE.

Third Day.**THANKS TO THE
CONGRESS
CORPS.**

of the Congress Corps for the trouble they have taken in looking after the comforts of the delegates and in being very diligent in preserving order throughout the Session.

This was carried with acclamation and three cheers were accorded to the members of the Congress Corps.

The next Resolution was also put from the chair and it ran as follows:—

THE PRESIDENT**APPOINTMENT
OF GENERAL
SECRETARIES.****THE HON'BLE
LALA
HARIKISHEN LAL**

XX. That Mr. D. E. Wacha, and the Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare be appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

It was then put to the Congress and declared carried unanimously.

The Hon'ble LALA HARIKISHEN LAL, of Lahore, in inviting the next Congress to Lahore said:—

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates,

The delegates from Punjab have entrusted to me a pleasant duty—but I do not think it is quite such a troublesome one. The duty is that I should invite you for the next year to grace the Punjab by meeting there for the purpose of holding the Congress. You know we have not had that privilege for several years, the last was in 1900 and after nine years I think it is quite time you should show us the favour of coming to Lahore of taking a little of our hospitality (*Cheers*).

The President then moved:—

This Congress resolves that the next Congress assemble at Lahore.

The Resolution was put to the Congress and carried amidst cheers.

**THE HON'BLE
MR. V. KRISHNA-
SWAMY AIYAR****THANKS TO THE
PRESIDENT.**

The Hon'ble Mr. V. KRISHNASWAMY AIYAR who on rising was received with cheers proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Rash Behary Ghose in these terms:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been put to me that on behalf of the Distinguished assembly I should tender to the President, the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, your thanks for his conduct in the Chair (*hear, hear, and cheers*), and I do so in all humility and with the greatest pleasure. Gentlemen, he has done most signal service to us at a critical time in the history of the Congress and in the history of this country. (*Cheers*). He has told us that he is not the hero of a hundred platforms (*Cheers*) but his brilliant achievements at the Bar and in the Council Chamber of H. E. the Viceroy, his modesty will not deny. (*Cheers*.) But these achievements pale before the splendid political deliverances which he has made ever since he left the cloistered seclusion of his study, to measure swords with that most talented of Viceroys in recent times. Not the least magnificent of his performances is the address which he delivered to us, every line of which is marked with a simplicity and force of language, virility of thought and sobriety of judgment, the parallel to which it is difficult to find. (*Applause*.) Gentlemen, he came to the rescue of the Provincial Congress Committee of Madras when some 20 to 30 men, whose resources were not equal to the burden of this Congress, resolved amongst themselves that the Congress should meet at Madras. Birds of evil omen uttered maledictions over the forthcoming Congress; but whom should we invite to preside over the deliberations of this Congress but the man who after the schism at Surat manfully gathered together the delegates that had assembled there, formed them into a convention, and framed the constitution and the rules which have been the guiding principles of the action of the Congress that has been held during the last three days. (*Cheers*.) We felt that we should appeal to none with greater

freedom and with greater justice than to Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to interpret to us that constitution and those rules and to see their practical working in the conduct of the Congress over which we asked him to preside. Gentlemen, he responded to the invitation, to the invitation of the Provincial Congress Committee of Madras and the unanimous invitation of all the Congress Committees that have been formed in the country. It is not for me to describe the success that has attended the Congress over which he has presided. It is enough for me to say that if you feel that there has been any success, it is in no small measure due to the dignified presence of Dr. Ghose in the Chair which he graces so well. I ask you with one voice to thank the Hon'ble Dr. Ghose.

The whole audience rose to its feet and the hall rang with repeated rounds of applause and enthusiastic cheering.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

The President was then garlanded with a beautiful garland of roses and presented with a bouquet. He replied as follows:—

BROTHER-DELEGATES,—I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the vote of thanks so eloquently proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar and so kindly received by you. I have lost my voice but I would risk a great deal more than my voice in a cause like this.

Believe me, I am not uttering a mere commonplace when I say that a greater or a higher reward no Indian, however exalted, can ever hope to win (*Cheers*). You will, however, permit me to say that you have made one slight mistake. You have reversed the true position of things. Brother-delegates, it was for me to thank you and not for you to thank me. I am the debtor, and not you, and the debt is one which I can never hope to repay. When I was asked to preside at the present Session, I accepted the invitation only from a sense of duty, for I was conscious of my inability duly to discharge the arduous work which I knew would devolve upon me. Your hearty co-operation, however, smoothed all difficulties and made my task a very easy one. The written constitution under which the present Session has been held has also worked very satisfactorily, and our proceedings have throughout been distinguished by that harmony and that moderation which characterised them before those unhappy controversies arose which terminated in the rupture at Surat. Whether all our demands are likely to be granted by the authorities is more than I am able to affirm, but it has been well said that the best prophet of the future is the past. However this may be, I can assert without much temerity that no fair-minded man can say that our demands are absolutely unreasonable, and that in making them we are like children crying for the moon. Brother-delegates, I am sorry to say that since I addressed you on Monday last that we have heard of the gathering of ominous clouds in the political sky, and our enemies, did I say our enemies?—I ought to have said the enemies of the English people, the enemies of English rule in India, are trying to thwart Lord Morley's Reform scheme. It is therefore our duty to make organised efforts here as well as in England to counteract the mischievous action of mischievous bureaucrats, who, even in their retirement, in the very home of free institutions, have not lost their reactionary instincts. The leopard may change his spots, but there is no hope, take my word for it, for the sun-dried bureaucrat. The fetters are not taken off his mind even in the free atmosphere of England. Once a bureaucrat, always a bureaucrat. And this leads me to remark that it still remains for us to complete the organisation of District and Sub-District Congress Committees in the different Provinces, not only for the immediate purposes of the National Congress, but for the purpose of assisting the people in the proper discharge of the

Third Day.

THANKS TO THE
PRESIDENT.

THE HON'BLE
MR. V. KRISHNA-
SWAMY AIYAR.

PRESIDENT'S
CONCLUDING
ADDRESS.

Third Day.
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THE
PRESIDENT'S
CONCLUDING
ADDRESS.
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duties which would now devolve on them, especially in connection with Local Self-government. The Standing Congress Committees, too, must do their work, not intermittently, but continuously. In this respect we cannot do better than follow the example of Madras, which holds up a flaming torch to light us, of the benighted Provinces, on our way. Pray do not forget that we are on our trial, and that on the success of the new experiment is staked the future welfare of the country.

Brother-delegates, we all know the immense difficulties which the Madras Reception Committee had to meet when it invited the Congress to hold its present Session in their historic city. But our friends never faltered or lost heart, not even for a single moment, and they are entitled, if ever anybody was so entitled, to our lasting gratitude for the heroic courage with which they faced every obstacle. They are also entitled to our most cordial gratitude for the warmth of their welcome and their generous hospitality. Our best thanks are also due to the young gentlemen who have so cheerfully volunteered their services and been so unremitting in their attention to the delegates. Of them it may be truly said that they too serve who wait. The Twenty-third Session of the Congress is dissolved, but before we part I call upon you to give three lusty cheers for His Gracious Majesty our Emperor.

The proceedings were brought to a close with cheers for the King-Emperor, Lord Morley, Lord Minto, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the President.

MADRAS, }
The New Years' Day, 1909. }

D. E. WACHA,
 DAJI ABAJI KAHARE,
General Secretaries,
 THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Presidential Address intended to be delivered at Surat in December 1907.

(By Dr. RASH BEHARY GHOSE, M.A., D.L., C.I.E.)

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—My first duty is to tender you my thanks for the signal honour you have done me in asking me to take the chair. Believe me, I am more than grateful for the distinction you have conferred on me, unsought and unsolicited—a proud distinction, the proudest in your power to confer, but a distinction which carries with it a very heavy responsibility. For the position which I am occupying so unworthily is full of anxiety and was never more so than at the present juncture when heavy clouds have floated into the political sky ; and in standing before you to-day I feel as if I was summoned to drive the chariot of the Sun ; and if I am spared the fate of Phæton, I shall owe my good fortune only to your forbearance and indulgent kindness on which I am confident I can safely rely. I can rely, too, with confidence on your willing co-operation; for are we not all animated by one common purpose and do we not know that co-operation is the very life of concerted action which can never thrive in an atmosphere of continuous strife and difference ?

Every one must admit that we are passing through a sad and eventful period—a period of stress and storm—and if ever there was a time when we ought to close up our ranks and present a firm, serried and united front, that time is this ; for the situation is of more than ordinary gravity. It is full of difficulty and full of peril, and unless we are imbued with a strong sense of discipline and of responsibility, the vessel of the Congress may be steered direct upon the rocks. It would be idle to deny, and I do not deny, that domestic dissensions have raised angry storms which are now sweeping across some parts of the country ; but there is no real occasion for pessimism or despair, though the incidents which recently occurred at Nagpur might well fill some minds with misgivings. There is, however, every reason to think that these disturbances were mainly the work of some misguided young men who had been carried off their feet by the wild talk of irresponsible persons. Of one thing, however, I am certain; those who have compelled us to change our place of meeting have no right to be proud of their achievement.

And here, on behalf of the assembled delegates, I must gratefully acknowledge the readiness and alacrity with which the people of Surat invited us to hold our sittings in their historic city. In offering their hospitality to the Congress they have only acted in accordance with their traditional generosity ; for they are citizens of no mean city. Surat, as history tells us, was the queen of Western India, a busy and famous mart before the lake-village of Llyndyn was staked out and long, long before Venice rose from the sea. But, perhaps, her greatest distinction, it is certainly her best title to our gratitude, is that Surat was the first resting place on Indian soil—where dissent was never suppressed by the sword, the gibbet or the stake—of the Parsi pilgrim fathers who cheerfully left

home and kindred for the sake of conscience and whose descendants have inherited the virtues with the blood of their ancestors and repaid their debt a thousandfold to India ; for I make bold to say that there is no community whose love for the country is greater than that to which so many of our leaders belong, and which has given to us our "Grand Old Man."

I am glad to see in this assembly almost all our prominent leaders—men whose names are as household words and who have already taken an abiding place in the minds of the people. But I miss some well-known faces. Kali Churn Banerjee is no longer amongst us. A pious Christian, an accomplished scholar, an eloquent speaker and an ardent patriot, he was an ideal leader, respected by every community in the country. A most strenuous and earnest worker, his whole heart was in the Congress and his love for it was strong even in death. For who does not remember how he left a sick bed to attend our last meeting in Calcutta ? Who does not remember how, though overcome by the heat and warned by the doctors, he refused to leave the assembly till he fell into a swoon and had to be carried out of the pandal ? He died only a few days afterwards and when we think of the lonely Scotch cemetery in Koraya, where his remains were laid, we cannot help feeling how much learning, how much modest and unassuming simplicity, how much piety, how much winsome tenderness and how much patriotism lie buried in the grave of Kali Churn Banerjee. That hand which everybody was glad to touch is vanished. That voice which everybody was glad to hear is still. But if to live in the hearts and memories of those whom we leave behind is not to die, Kali Churn is not dead but is still alive. True he no longer lives in his own person but he lives in us and will live on in those who succeed us, enjoying an immortality which is not given to all the sons of men. Pandit Biswambharnath, too, of Allahabad has been gathered to his fathers and we shall miss his mellow patriarchal wisdom in our councils. But though his work on earth has been done, in that high sense of duty which alone could have nerved him when, as President of the Reception Committee in 1892, he welcomed the delegates to Allahabad, though only three weeks before a paralytic seizure had brought him to the verge of the grave, he has left an example which will continue to inspire generations of his countrymen. The Pandit was in many ways a most remarkable man, and it will be long before there arises among us another jurist, scholar and patriot who can make us forget the loss of Biswambharnath.

GENTLEMEN,—The year that is now fast drawing to a close has seen the country convulsed to its depths and has truly been a dramatic year. The first act opened with the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and of Ajit Singh. This was followed by the Ordinance against public meetings, the Rawalpindi trial, and the Press prosecutions in the Punjab and in Bengal, and the curtain dropped on what, it is to be hoped, was the last scene in the Council Chamber at Simla, when the Public Meetings Act was passed.

It has been said in defence of the resurrection of Regulation III of 1818, that it is a standing law. It is not a standing law but a standing negation of all law ; not a standing law but a standing menace to our liberty, a standing reproach in our Statute Book. A prosecution, we have been gravely told, attracts public attention and a trial for sedition is, therefore, not always desirable. This is the good old rule, the simple plan, which used to be followed in an ancient Scotch border town which also possessed a standing law, though even in Jedburgh the formality of a trial was not wholly dispensed with, only it took place after the execution. It may be a mere weakness in a lawyer ; but I confess I cannot congratulate the Indian

Government on their use of a weapon which is as obsolete in civilized jurisprudence as the rack or the screw. Their action in deporting a man for reasons which they dared not disclose was "illegal," "unconstitutional," "tyrannical," "arbitrary," "impudently absurd" and "preposterous." None of these epithets are mine. They have all been taken by me from Hansard and were used by a staunch Liberal on a memorable occasion. And was not Mr. Morley's answer in the House of Commons the most outrageous and indefensible answer ever given since Simon de Montfort invented Parliament? But it seems that what is true under one degree of longitude is not true under another. What is true in Cape Town is not true in the Punjab.

Who but must laugh, if such a man there be,

Who would not weep if Morlieus were he?

And who was the first victim selected for the exercise of this arbitrary power? An earnest, religious and social reformer, a man whose character was above all reproach, a man who lived not for himself but for others—the idol of the Punjab. Such a man is suddenly discovered by the secret police to be a revolutionary and political enthusiast animated by an insane hatred of the British Government and secretly plotting its forcible subversion. If Lala Lajpat Rai had been put on his trial he could have triumphantly vindicated his innocence and shown that even strong Lieutenant-Governors are not infallible. He could have triumphantly shown that the garbled extracts in the *Wafadar* gave a most untruthful version of his speech. He could have triumphantly shown that all his aims and methods had been strictly constitutional and that he had always set his face against agitation which tended to sedition or disorder. But this privilege, which may be claimed by the meanest criminal, was denied to one of our foremost men; and if Lala Lajpat Rai is now regarded as a martyr by his countrymen generally, it is the Government and the Government alone that have elevated him to that position and placed that priceless crown of thorns upon his head. If the Fort of Mandalay is now regarded as a holy place, as I know it is by some of my countrymen, it is the Government and the Government alone that have invested it with that holiness.

In Etawah, too, a similar tragedy would have taken place had it not been averted by the good sense of Sir John Hewett who was able to see through the disgraceful conspiracy which had been so cunningly planned. But the spectre of an impending mutiny had obscured the vision of the Punjab officials and they saw in a mob riot a deep-laid scheme for the overthrow of the British rule. The result was the Rawalpindi prosecution which has thrown a lurid light on the methods of sedition hunters. Men occupying the highest position in society and looked up to as their leaders by the people in the Punjab were placed in the dock as felons who had by their seditious speeches incited violent riots. For six long months these men were detained in prison, as bail was refused on the ground that they could not, with safety to the State, be allowed to be at large. But what was the end of this prosecution? A complete vindication of their innocence and a most scathing exposure of the case for the Crown. The judgment of the Special Magistrate shows that panic had magnified into rebellion a perfectly lawful agitation against very substantial grievances. The evidence on which the six lawyers had been kept in prison for months was "suspicious if not fabricated" and there was not the shadow of a shade of evidence to establish any sort of complicity on their part with any conspiracy against the British Crown.

And this leads me to remark that the situation in the Punjab was succinctly summed up by Lala Lajpat Rai in a letter which was written by him.

only a few hours before his arrest. The discontent he said was due to several causes which he set forth in chronological order.

(a) The letters and articles that appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* some time in July and August last year under the heading "Signs of the Times."

(b) The prosecution of the *Punjabee* coupled with the refusal of the Government to take similar action against the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

(c) The Colonisation Bill.

(d) The Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill.

(e) The increase of the Canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal.

(f) The abnormal increase of Land Revenue in the Rawalpindi District.

(g) The appalling mortality from plague which had made the people sullen and labour scarce, and raised the wages abnormally.

This diagnosis was perfectly correct, for as soon as the most pressing grievances were removed the Punjab became quiet. Though the bureaucracy will probably persuade themselves that this happy result was entirely due to the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and of Ajit Singh, and that another mutiny had been averted solely by their foresight and timely precautions.

The Press prosecutions, too, which were entered upon so lightly by the Government did not show much wisdom. In some instances the Crown failed to secure a conviction and a defeat in such cases must always cover the Government with humiliation. Then, again, the prosecutions in Calcutta showed unmistakably the new spirit with which the people are prepared to face all attempts at coercion. In many of these cases the defendants refused to plead and cheerfully went to prison and they must be blind indeed who cannot see in it a new consciousness of nationality which at the present day inspires Young India and has penetrated even the seclusion of the zenana. When the Editor of the *Yugantar* was sent to jail, there was a crowded meeting of Indian ladies in Calcutta, not to condole but to present a congratulatory address to his mother, and what did the old lady say in her reply? "Bupin's useful career has just begun," she said, "with his recent incarceration and his example will do more good than his mere presence as a humble worker in the midst of his countrymen." Again, at the Barisal Conference, which was forcibly dispersed, some ladies flung away their ornaments on witnessing the humiliation of their husbands and sons and took a vow to forego all luxuries till the men had learnt to assert their lawful rights. Not satisfied with these prosecutions the Government undertook a crusade against mere schoolboys and our young barbarians were either publicly flogged or condemned to hard labour. Is it a matter for wonder that all this should have called for the most intense indignation throughout the country? The official may not believe it but we can assure him the Indian has eyes and hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections and passions.

Is it a matter for wonder that the political movement should have waxed stronger and stronger, driving even many moderate men into active sympathy with those whom they had previously regarded as impracticable visionaries.

And this brings me to the unrest in Bengal, the partition of which has not only strained the loyalty of many people but has led to tragic results which ought to have been foreseen by the author of that measure. One of its objects was to strengthen the Mahomedan influence in East Bengal. That influence has been strengthened; but its strength has been manifested

in a peculiar way. I do not wish to dwell on the Mahomedan riots and the atrocities which occurred in English Bengal but this I am bound to say, that the local officials were lacking in that firmness and impartiality which are the best title of England to our allegiance. I wish to speak with moderation, but what are we to think when a Sessions Judge divides witnesses into two classes, Hindus and Mahomedans, and prefers the evidence of Mahomedans to Hindus, because they are Mahomedans. This avowed bias has naturally alienated Hindus who are burning with resentment.

Every one familiar with the recent history of Macedonia— and our officials are certainly familiar with it—knows that it is very difficult for a country to obtain autonomy when it is torn by religious and racial hatreds. To divide and rule, however, is a maxim which must be hateful to every Englishman and we should be sorry to charge any English official with such tactics. But the fact remains that, for the first time in Bengal, racial and religious hatreds have been surging in the new Province among communities who formerly lived on the most friendly terms. Lord Curzon, I find, protests against the notion that he meant to play off the Mahomedans against the Hindus, and we are bound to accept his Lordship's denial; but there is a well-known maxim in law that every man must be presumed to foresee the consequences of his own acts; though in the case of His Lordship, with his well-known foibles, we are not driven to rely upon this old legal saw.

The officials still fondly believe or pretend to believe that the Mahomedans were goaded to madness by the boycott movement of the Hindus; and that this was the real cause of the general lawlessness of the lower classes among the Mahomedans which burst into flame in East Bengal only a few months ago. It is, however, singular that this lawlessness did not reveal itself when the movement was at its height. Again, if the official view is correct, we have a remarkable instance of the innate perversity of the Oriental mind; for the boycott benefited the Mahomedans and not the Hindus, by reviving the weaving industry on which they had lived for generations. It is, however, unnecessary to discuss this question at length, because it has now been placed beyond all controversy by the solemn judgments pronounced not by Hindu but by English and Mahomedan Magistrates.

At Jamalpur, where the disturbances began in the Mymensingh District, the first information lodged at the Police Station contained no reference whatever to boycott or picketing. Mr. Beatson Bell, the trying Magistrate at Dewangunj, observed that boycott was not the cause of the disturbances. Another Special Magistrate at Dewangunj, himself a Mahomedan gentleman of culture, remarked: "There was not the least provocation for rioting; the common object of the rioters was evidently to molest the Hindus." In another case the same Magistrate observed: "The evidence adduced on the side of the prosecution shows that, on the date of the riot, the accused has read over a notice to a crowd of Mussalmans and had told them that the Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus. So, after the Kali's image was broken by the Mussalmans, the shops of the Hindu traders were also plundered." Again, Mr. Barnville, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Jamalpur, in his Report on the Melandahat riot said: "Some Mussalmans proclaimed by beat of drum that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus." And in the Hargilchar abduction case the same Magistrate remarked that the outrages were due to the announcement that the Government had permitted the Mahomedans to marry Hindu widows in *mikka* form.

The true explanation of the savage outbreak is to be found in the "red pamphlet" which was circulated so widely among the Mahomedans in East Bengal, and in which there is not a word about boycott or Hindu volunteers. "Ye Mussalmans," said the red pamphlet, "arise, awake, do not read in the same schools with Hindus. Do not buy anything from a Hindu shop. Do not touch any article manufactured by Hindu hands. Do not give any employment to a Hindu. Do not accept any degrading office under a Hindu. You are ignorant, but if you acquire knowledge you can at once send all Hindus to Jehannum (hell). You form the majority of the population of this Province. Among the cultivators also you form the majority. It is agriculture that is the source of wealth. The Hindu has no wealth of his own and has made himself rich only by despoiling you of your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened then the Hindus will starve and soon become Mahomedans." The man who preached this Jihad was only bound down to keep the peace for one year! You are probably surprised at such leniency. We in Bengal were not, or were only surprised to hear that the man had been bound down at all!

At the present moment there is undoubtedly a lull in East Bengal; but who knows that the Province may not be swept again by another violent storm of wild frenzy and brute ferocity? For the devil of religious jealousy and hatred may be easily evoked; it cannot be as easily dismissed.

The partition of Bengal is at the root of all these disorders and the discontent created by it has spread to other parts of the country. The result is a general unrest, and, in the opinion of the Government, the situation is becoming serious. But is not the solution of the problem within easy reach? You cannot govern India without the sympathy and confidence of the people. That sympathy and that confidence have been imperilled by Lord Curzon's autocratic measure and the only way to win back our sympathy and confidence is its reversal and not the Seditious Meetings Act which was passed on the 1st November last. Of that Act I find it difficult to speak with patience. But, as my honourable friend Mr. Gokhale said in the Council Chamber, even more dangerous than the Act itself is the policy that lies behind it—a policy which is unwise in the highest degree and which is bound to fail in India as it has failed everywhere else. It will burn into the minds of the people harsh memories which even time may be powerless to efface, and will, there is every reason to fear, enhance the very evil which it is intended to control.

We hope, however, that this new weapon with which the Executive have been armed will be very sparingly used. For the Prime Minister said only a few days ago that he was in favour of the free toleration of all agitation that is not directly and openly subversive of order. And I have no doubt that these principles of toleration will be loyally carried out by the Indian Government, when they recover from the panic which has seized them. All agitation is not subversive of order. Every agitator is not a rebel though he is labelled as such by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. A speech may be objectionable in expression and temper, but it ought not to be repressed merely because it might indirectly be subversive of order.

By a strange irony of fate, it was left to a sympathetic Viceroy and a Liberal Secretary of State to adopt a policy of repression which Lord Curzon never ceases to remind us he had no occasion to call in aid. But the responsibility for this new policy primarily rests upon His Lordship, not upon Mr. Morley or Lord Minto who did not come into a "haven of peace." Heavy

storms had broken out before the retirement of Lord Curzon, who left undone everything which he ought to have done and did everything which he ought not to have done. People for the first time began to distrust the good faith of their rulers, for His Lordship made no secret of his conviction that England's true mission was to govern India but not through the people or with their assistance. The commercial exploitation of the country and its administration by Englishmen were his ideal of imperialism. Indians were to be excluded from all offices of trust and responsibility and were to be denied even all opportunities of qualifying themselves for such offices, which were to be reserved exclusively for the ruling race. And in every department of the public service a large number of highly paid offices were created by him to be filled by his own countrymen.

We have, gentlemen, a long and heavy indictment to bring against Lord Curzon. We charge him with having arrested the progress of education. We charge him with having set back the dial of local self-government. We charge him with having deliberately sacrificed the interests of the Indian people in order to conciliate English exploiters and administrators. And, lastly, we charge him with having set Bengal in a blaze. It is Lord Curzon and Lord Curzon alone who is responsible for the rise of the new party, for he drove the people to despair and to madness. It is true Lord Curzon has retired, and yet the new party is growing in numbers. But we maintain that Lord Curzon is responsible for this growth, and if it is also growing in bitterness, Lord Curzon and Lord Curzon alone is responsible for it. Mr. Morley speaks of his duty to arrest the hand which would set the prairie on fire. Why did he not then, though in opposition, seek to arrest Lord Curzon's hand? He could not have rendered a greater service both to England and to India, for no Englishman has done more to undermine our loyalty than the Viceroy who sought to humiliate not only His Majesty's Indian subjects but also the great ruling chiefs. It is quite possible we have failed to appreciate His Lordship's good intentions, but the herald who recalled only the other day the virtues of Lord Clive may console himself with the reflection that justice may yet be done to him in the avenging pages of history—in the Greek Kalends.

If the Punjab is quiet, it is only because the grievances of the people have been redressed. If Bengal is still in a disturbed condition, it is only because the partition of Bengal is a festering sore which will not be healed. Let the Bengali-speaking people be placed under a Governor with an Executive Council, and you will see the winter of our discontent made glorious summer. Force is no remedy, and the best security for the peace of the country is the conviction that all real grievances will be redressed, not deportations or coercion Acts; and I have no hesitation in saying that timely concessions alone can arrest the progress of the discontent which, though at present is a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, may in time overshadow the whole land.

And this reminds me that Mr. Morley made a fatal mistake, fatal to his reputation as a Liberal and a statesman, when he refused to undo the partition of Bengal and sought shelter behind a settled fact. If he had only shown more courage Bengal would not have been convulsed and there would have been no excuse for the reactionary policy which has done so much to tarnish his fair fame as a Liberal statesman. And yet though unwilling to disturb the partition of Bengal, in his first Budget speech Mr. Morley spoke sympathetically of the new spirit which is abroad in India. The Indian system of government could not, he admitted, move in the old narrow groove

but called for improvement. Speaking of the Indian Congress, he said that there was no reason to be frightened at its demands, as it did not insist on any violent or startling new departures. Dissatisfaction with the administration, said the great disciple of Mill, is not disaffection. It is true he did not think that India should have universal suffrage or be placed on the same footing as the self-governing colonies, but he insisted upon the spirit, the temper, the principles and the maxims of English institutions being applied to the Government of India. Mr. Morley also said that a definite and deliberate move ought to be made with a view of giving competent and able Indians the same access to the higher posts in the administration that are given to their British fellow-subjects, and pointed out that the Proclamation of Queen Victoria should be construed in a liberal and generous sense and not refined away with the ingenuity of a quibbling attorney's clerk. "We should be untrue," said the friend and biographer of Gladstone, "to all the traditions of this Parliament and to those who, from time to time and from generation to generation, have been the leaders of the Liberal Party, if we were to show ourselves afraid of facing and recognising the new spirit with candour and consideration." We know how these professions have ended in deportations, ordinances, public prosecutions, punitive police, military constabulary and the Public Meetings Act.

On the last Budget debate this great Liberal Minister boldly said that he had no apology whatever to offer for the deportations in the Punjab and he recommended a policy of firmness which in India means repression. Now we are quite willing to believe in Mr. Morley's kindness, sympathy and love of justice, though it may cost us a painful mental effort, but when he says his anchor still holds, we are bound to remind him that his vessel has veered round with the tide. He will not probably admit that he has changed his ground, but he has certainly changed his front. It is not, however, at all difficult to account for this sad change in Mr. Morley's attitude. He has been evidently misled by his responsible advisers whose knowledge of the condition of the country is derived from secret police reports, and who told him of widespread sedition and the imminence not of a mere mutiny but of a revolt against the English rule with all its attendant horrors,—a rising of the women and children against the men. A large section of the English Press also sought to create enmity between the two races by stirring up the memory of the dark days of the Indian Mutiny, stained with so many crimes and so much carnage; and the *London Times*, true to its traditions, recounted the old story with embellishments in order to embitter our rulers against us. What wonder, then, if that apostle of freedom, to whom reasons of State are only the tyrant's plea, has been compelled to yield to the pressure put upon him by responsible advisers and by the Press. I will not say, with the Tory Press in England, that Mr. Morley has been translated, but we are painfully reminded of Ariel in the hateful bondage of Sycorax. The truth is politics, even in our day, is like pitch. You cannot touch it without being defiled, and the Secretary of State might have profited by the warning of Comte that a philosopher who holds up from his closet lofty ideals of conduct should not take an active part in the practical administration of a country like India where a liberal statesman must frequently stoop to arts which may be reconciled to the official conscience but not to the conscience of the plain man.

Mr. Morley, I repeat, has fallen under the spell of the bureaucracy. We are quite willing to believe he means well. Indeed, the India Office, like the floor of the House of Commons, is paved with good intentions. But

under the present system of administration it is impossible for any single man to do any real service to us. The Secretary of State has to take his facts from the Indian officials, and the only public opinion of which he knows anything is not the public opinion in India, but the public opinion in England, nourished upon the lies told by unscrupulous correspondents which are faithfully reproduced in the English Press.

The growth of a new party in India has also served as a very useful excuse for delaying all reforms. I am, however, bound to say that this party is not, at the present moment, at all dangerous. Every sensible man disapproves of its methods; if the Government can only rally the Moderates to their side by gradually preparing the country to take its position as a self-governing State or a federation of States united together under the supreme authority of England, they will extinguish the new party completely, and the ominous shadow which has projected itself over the future fortunes of the country will disappear. The bureaucracy, however, is unable to distinguish, or refuses to distinguish, between those who earnestly seek for reform and the irresponsible agitators who would have nothing to do with the Government. They are all tarred with the same brush. Those who demand a larger share in the administration of their country, as essential to the welfare and the stability of the British Government, are confounded with the pestilent demagogue who would drive the hated foreigner into the sea. Those who counsel their countrymen to have patience, confident that their rulers would in time give them all they can reasonably want, if they confine their agitation to constitutional methods, are confounded with those who assert that nothing good can come out of England, and that passive resistance if persisted in would compel the English to retire from the country. But is it not a serious blunder, which in politics we all know is worse than a crime, to denounce the whole of the educated classes as disloyal? Such denunciations have sometimes a fatal tendency to realise themselves.

Mr. Morley recently spoke of the "enemies of England," but who are these enemies? Not certainly the educated classes who represent the better mind of India. The real enemies of England are those Englishmen who lose no opportunity of showing their hatred and contempt for the people of this country. Flushed with the insolence of a ruling caste they treat them as an inferior race with whom friendly or sympathetic relations are impossible.

The danger of such an attitude was clearly discerned by Lord Salisbury, who, when he was Secretary of State for India, addressed this memorable warning to the Cooper's Hill College students more than thirty years ago.

"No system of government," he said, "can be permanently safe where there is a feeling of inferiority or of mortification affecting the relations between the governing and the governed. There is nothing I would more earnestly wish to impress upon all who leave this country for the purpose of governing India than that, if they choose to be so, they are the only enemies England has to fear. They are the persons who can, if they will, deal a blow of the deadliest character at the future rule of England." Since this warning was given, the relations between the two classes have grown worse and have given rise to racial hatred which is sure to cause serious trouble; for, as Mr. Morley said only the other day, bad and overbearing manners in India are a political crime.

The real enemies of England are those who talk of the lofty duty of England towards India but believe or pretend to believe, that this can only be discharged by a foreign bureaucracy and that, in the interest of the people-

themselves, they ought not to have any real share in the administration of the country. For, as Mr. Morley, the most tender, lofty, cheerful and delicately sober of all moralists, says, "the usual excuse of those who do evil to other people is that their object is to do them good."

The real enemies of England are those who try to stir up racial hatred in the Press by the most unblushing lies whenever reform is in the air. I am afraid to trust myself to speak of the conduct of these men who are a standing menace to British rule, and will only say that we deeply regret that at this critical period the Government of India should have selected a correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, to supply them with Indian news at an extravagant salary. Who does not know the achievements of that paper in all parts of the world,—in Africa, in China, and in India? Who does not remember the story of the "coronation" of Babu Surendranath Bannerji, of the reign of terror established in Eastern Bengal by the "National Volunteers," the "Barisal Scare," the incipient mutiny and last, though not least, the treasonable incitements of Mr. Keir Hardie? This is certainly not the way to restore the confidence of the people who are overcome by a sense of utter helplessness and despair.

Mr. Morley said in his last speech that he could not discover what we want our rulers to do which they are not slowly and gradually taking steps to accomplish, and seems to think that we were crying for the moon. But the National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it asks for the reduction of the military expenditure. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it protests against degrading Colonial Ordinances and demands for the Indian the ordinary rights of British citizenship in the Colonies. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it seeks the separation of Judicial from Executive functions or protests against the partition of Bengal. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it insists upon the extension of primary education or the limitation of the revenue on lands which belong to the State. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it insists upon a truly effective representation of the people in the Legislative Councils or upon their representation in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Madras and of Bombay.

We do not demand the immediate recall of Lord Kitchener or the disbandment of the Indian Army. We do not demand universal suffrage. And yet these were some of the red herrings Mr. Morley dragged across the path of English public opinion in his Abroath speech. What we do demand is that our rulers should introduce reforms as steps towards giving us that self-government which is now the aspiration of a people educated for three generations in the political ideas of the West. Mr. Morley admits that the English are here not for their own interest but for the interest of the millions committed to their charge. Now, though this assertion has an unctious theological flavour about it, and must be taken with a few grains of Kurcutch salt, I take it no Englishman will deny that the supremacy of the English is not to last for ever and that their real object is to teach India to rule herself. I am confident that every true Englishman who has an inborn sense of freedom and justice has faith in self-government. And I can affirm with equal confidence that, however beneficent a foreign rule may be, no people in whom all manhood has not been killed out will ever willingly submit for ever to the yoke though it may be wreathed with flowers. This is a natural sentiment which must commend itself to every true-hearted Englishman. The "brightest jewel in the British Crown"

must not be regarded merely as a market for British goods or a field for the safe investment of British capital or as an opening a dignified career to "our boys." Now, can any one honestly say that England has done all that she might have done towards accomplishing her mission? What, I ask our rulers, have you done during the one-and-half centuries of your stewardship? Given increased material prosperity? Granted; though the people with oriental perversity still continue to die of famine. Given us high education? Granted; though here again in ways peculiar to the East where the law of cause and effect does not hold good that education has, according to you, led not to contentment but to disaffection. But if that education, as we assert, has with all its faults given you public servants as able and as loyal as their English brethren, has not the time come to give the educated classes a larger share in the administration of the country? We look at the achievements of Japan in less than fifty years. We look at Persia, we look at China, and our minds are filled with despair. We cannot any longer be fed with worn out platitudes; and when Mr. Morley deals in them he forgets that we too may claim to have kindled our modest rushlights at Burke and Mill's benignant lamps. We too know the painful journey that lies before us before we can be welded into the political unity of a nation. Long, long is the way, rugged is the ground and the weary steps must be trodden with bleeding feet, with bleeding knees and with bleeding hearts. But do not, we pray you, stand with a drawn sword to impede our journey.

I repeat that we are not crying for the moon. I repeat, that all we ask is that our country should take her rightful place among the nations under the ægis of England. We want in reality and not in mere name to be the sons of the Empire. Our ambition is to draw closer to England and to be absorbed in that Greater Britain in which we have now no place. The ideal after which we are striving is autonomy within the Empire, and not absolute independence. Let England help us in attaining our object and her name will continue to shine with undimmed glory, even when the New Zealander sits on the ruined arches of Westminster Bridge.

A new spirit is abroad in India which calls for an improvement in the Indian system of Government which has now become an anachronism. Men nurtured on Western ideals and literature must be animated by new aspirations which must be satisfied. The time that Macaulay foresaw—the most glorious day for England—has now arrived. With the growth of new ideas and new aspirations the Indians insist upon a greater share in the administration of their own affairs. This demand is resisted by an autocratic bureaucracy who are jealous of the slightest encroachment on the privileges of their order. It is admitted on all hands that the people of this country are most docile and law-abiding and yet portions of the country are in a state of ferment. This is due not only to the resistance to the demand of the people for a large share in the management of their own affairs, but also to the reactionary policy persistently followed in recent years by the Government, and their contempt for public opinion and the legitimate aspirations of the people. Political life is stirring in India which must be faced in a considerate spirit; but there has been, as yet, no serious attempt to do so by the Government. The result is general discontent. The bureaucrats are certainly wise in their generation. They defer all reforms till the discontent gathers in volume and leads to seditious movements, when they readily seize on them as a pretext for repression and for indefinitely postponing any experiment in self-government. The Spanish matador, as we all know, maddens the bull with his muleta and then plunges his sword into its neck.

The supreme necessity of the hour is sympathy. We wish to see less and less of the strong hand, and more and more of the strong nerve, the strong head and the kind heart. As the Prime Minister recently said, the Indian Administration should be brought into closer contact with the Indian people, and that it is only by an honest, courageous and persistent attempt to do so that England would discharge her momentous trust,—the most momentous trust that was ever committed to a great State. And there never was a time when sympathy was more needed; for India is truly a country of many sorrows and is stricken sorely by plague and famine.

And this brings me to the reforms which Mr. Morley shadowed forth towards the end of his speech on the last Indian Budget debate. These were, in addition to a Royal Commission to enquire into the evils of over-centralisation, (first) the institution of an Advisory Council of Notables, (second) the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, (third) the fuller discussion of the Budget in the Viceroy's Council, and, (fourth) the nomination of one or two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council in London.

It would be premature to express any opinion on the work of the Decentralisation Commission. We have, however, every reason to think that it will strengthen the elective element on Municipal and Local Boards and that the representatives of the people will be associated with the District officer in the work of local administration. I know that most people distrust Commissions, though Lord Curzon was free from any such weakness. But we trust that the Decentralisation Commission will prove an exception to the general rule and lead to great improvements in the administration, as the terms of reference are wide enough to include proposals for advancing the cause of local self-government by strengthening and developing Municipal and Local Boards and by decentralising District Administration. The distribution of power between the Supreme and Provincial Governments is a matter of secondary importance to us. But to what extent our control of local affairs in Municipalities and District and Local Boards is real—also to what extent the administration of a district by the Collector and District Magistrate is influenced directly and indirectly by the opinion of the people of the district—these are matters of supreme importance. Though we may not be yet in a position to make a correct forecast of the result of the labours of the Commission, our best men must direct their energies towards making these labours fruitful, and this can only be effected by our coming forward in sufficient numbers to give evidence before it. Of course, only such persons should come forward for the purpose as have a fair grasp of these questions and some personal acquaintance with either local self-government or district administration. The present disposition which, I fear, is general all over the country to leave the Commission alone is most unfortunate and will only do us harm. We should insist that the composition of Municipal and District and Local Boards should now be entirely or almost entirely elective. We should also insist that the resources at their disposal should be larger than at present. And we should lastly insist that the control of Government over local bodies should be similar to that of the Local Government Board in England, and, as there, it should be exercised only in the interests of efficiency and purity of administration, and that, subject to this control, local bodies should be free to manage local affairs and spend local resources as they deem best. Then, and then only, would they feel a real sense of responsibility in the matter of local self-government which can never be developed under the present system of constant and harassing interference on the part of officials. As regards district administration, everybody

will admit that the Collector and District Magistrate should be emancipated from the present excessive Secretariat control, and, in place of it, every head of a district should have associated with him a Board composed of elected and nominated members, which may at first be entirely or almost entirely advisory, but which, in course of time, should be entrusted with definite and gradually expanding powers of control. All important administrative matters concerning a district, except such as may have to be treated as strictly confidential, should be laid before this Board for advice, which the Collector and District Magistrate should not be at liberty to set aside except for reasons to be recorded in writing. If the experiment succeeds, as it is bound to do, the Board should be empowered to exercise substantial control over most matters of district administration like the administration of excise and forest rules, famine and plague administration.

The first three reforms adumbrated by Mr. Morley are now embodied in what is known as the Simla scheme, and I propose to deal with these reforms very briefly. The idea of a Council of Notables is not quite new. A similar measure was tried by Lord Lytton in 1877, but, as Mr. Morley admits, it was a complete failure; and I fear that unless the scheme is considerably modified, the proposed reform will share the same fate. For the Council is sure to be a reactionary body,—an Indian House of Lords, with this difference, that the English House of Lords contains many able and accomplished men who have been trained in politics from their earliest youth and who are in a large measure in touch with the general trend of public opinion. I do not, however, deny that the proposed Council, if it is properly constituted and its functions enlarged, may be a useful institution. But the present scheme is open to a variety of objections. In the first place, though Ruling Princes may well be invited to a Council which has to deal with matters touching the welfare of their States or their relations to the paramount power, British subjects alone should be eligible as members of a Council which will have to deal exclusively with questions relating to administration in British India on which ruling chiefs are not likely to be able to give much useful advice.

The proposed Council is also open to objection on the ground that the Councillors are not to be consulted collectively but only individually. Then again, it is absolutely necessary, in order to create confidence and to secure in some measure popular representation, that a certain proportion of the members should be elected by the different Provinces. The Council should also meet at stated times, and whenever any proposed measure is not accepted by a majority of the members it should be dropped, or, at any rate, postponed, for further consideration. You cannot invite opinions only to flout them.

The proposed reform of the Viceroy's Legislative Council is also open to very serious objections, if indeed it is not a step backwards. It has been almost universally condemned, as the proposal to allow the local Councils to return only seven out of fifty-four Members would seriously reduce the influence of the educated community, who, notwithstanding the sneers at intellectuals, lawyers, and schoolmasters, are the real leaders of public opinion. Distrust, we all know, breeds distrust, and the Government ought not to be surprised if my countrymen regard their proposals with the same suspicion with which the Trojans regarded the friendly gifts of the Greeks.

The functions of the Council should also be enlarged and the debate on the Budget ought to be made a reality instead of a mere academic exercise. This can only be done by allowing the members to divide on any question on

which there may be a difference of opinion on any head in the Budget. The Council should also be given an opportunity of discussing, under proper safeguards, questions relating to administration on which there is a strong public feeling.

The Provincial Councils should also be expanded on the same lines and every district should be allowed to return a member. And the Advisory Boards for assisting local Governors in carrying on the administration should be constituted on the model of the Council of Notables. All important matters connected with local administration should be referred to these Boards for opinion before any action is taken. This is the only way to bring the administration into touch with the people.

I would ask you to consider the reform scheme carefully, for I am sure the Government will give due weight to any recommendations which may be made by you. It has been put forward before the public for criticism and it is our duty to suggest such additions and alterations as would, in our opinion, improve the scheme. It would certainly not be wise to reject the proposals simply because they do not go far enough in a petulant spirit. On the other hand, the government have no right to be surprised if, in their present mood, my countrymen refuse to be consoled by these rather doubtful concessions for the deportation of British subjects without a trial or the partition of Bengal.

It remains only to add with regard to the fourth proposal of Mr. Morley that it has already been carried out. It is no doubt a great step forwards but its usefulness will entirely depend on the careful selection of the members. But the selections which have been made, have not commanded general approval. Such approval can only be secured by giving the people a voice in the selection. We must, therefore, ask that whenever an Indian has to be appointed all elected members of the several Legislative Councils should be invited to submit three names to the Secretary of State, who should then select one out of the three.

I will now pass on to the present position of the National Congress. GENTLEMEN, it has been said that there is a hopeless division in our ranks and that we have now come to the parting of ways. It has been said that we are divided into two parties,—those who place their faith in constitutional methods and those who have lost all faith in them—and that it is impossible for the two parties any longer to act together. Now in a vast organisation like the Indian Congress, which embraces every section of the community, differences of opinion must be inevitable though they cannot be allowed to reach a point which would paralyse our action. Quarrels when they stop short of this only prove not the weakness but the strength of our combination. They show the vigour or life and not the languor of decay. One thing, however, we must not forget. We must not forget that the National Congress is definitely committed only to constitutional methods of agitation to which it is fast moored, and if the new party does not approve of such methods and cannot work harmoniously with the old, every body must admit it has no place within the pale of the Congress. Session, therefore, is the only course open to it. But I most fervently hope and trust that nothing of the kind will happen, for are we not all soldiers fighting in the same cause and under the same flag marching together to the golden trumpet note sounded by Dadabhai Naoroji last year for the great battle of *Swaraj*? Are we not all inspired with the same ideas, the same thoughts, the same desires and the same aspirations? The Congress exists to draw us together and not to divide us. It stands pledged as ever to the larger

employment of the people of this country in the public services so as to gradually dispense with the present expensive administration. It stands pledged as ever to our larger representation in the Legislative Councils. It stands pledged as ever to the reduction of the enormous military expenditure and to a more equal division of the burden between England and India. It stands pledged as ever to the limitation of the land revenue. It stands pledged as ever to the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. It stands pledged as ever to the *Swadeshi* movement. It stands pledged as ever to the resolution that the boycott movement in Bengal inaugurated by way of protest against the partition of the Province is a legitimate movement. It stands pledged as ever to the reunion of the people of Bengal under one administration. And, lastly, it stands pledged as ever to win gradually for the country by all constitutional means that autonomy which England has so wisely granted to her Colonies.

We all recognise the supreme need of unity and of patriotic sacrifice. We are all agreed that nations are made by themselves. We are all agreed on the necessity of education on national lines and the general elevation of the masses so essential to the attainment of a higher political life. We are all agreed on the necessity of industrial development. For even deeper than political reform, before mere forms of Government, lies the great question of the industrial regeneration of the country. Let us stand by the *Swadeshi* movement which is founded not on hatred but on love—love of our own country, not hatred of the foreigner. Our creed is short and consists in the development of India for ourselves; but *Swadeshi* within the limits of the law. It is a patriotic sentiment which involves no disloyalty. We are determined not to use foreign goods so far as practicable, and no amount of repression will deter us from carrying out our resolution. We cannot protect our industries by tariff legislation, but we can show our love for the country by our sympathy for the masses who are now steeped in unspeakable poverty. The Anglo-Indian community, however, have taken fright at this movement and the Government too have been infected by it. They draw a sharp distinction between *Swadeshi* and boycott; but unless boycott is accompanied by violence is there any real difference between the two?

I confess I see no reason why we should not still be able to work in harmony. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and we must be on our guard against the deadly peril of disunion. The race may not always be to the swift nor the battle to the strong, but depend upon it, without patient discipline and self-control, without courage and determination, without a sense of loyalty, of order and of duty, our enterprise is bound to fail. The citadel of bureaucracy is much stronger than the walls of Jericho. BROTHER-DELEGATES, the night is dark and tempestuous. Let us hold together and wait in patience for the dawn, not resting till the bright morning comes, fearless in our faith and strong in our hopes. But this I am painfully compelled to say, that unless wiser counsels prevail, there is bound to be a cleavage when we must part company and the Congress left free to follow the path of constitutional agitation marked out by its founders,—the only path which promises a successful issue.

The new party seems to have persuaded itself that it is hopeless to expect any concessions from our rulers and that political agitation on the lines of the National Congress are a delusion and a snare. The true bureaucrat, it says does not appreciate moderation and always treats the constitutional reformer with secret contempt. Like the Sin Fein party in Ireland, it has lost all faith in constitutional movements but it must be said to its credit that it has also no faith in physical force; nor does it advise the people not to pay taxes

with the object of embarrassing the Government. I am of course speaking of the leaders. All its hopes are centred in passive resistance of a most comprehensive kind, derived, I presume, from the modern history of Hungary, the pacific boycott of all things English. If I understand its programme aright, we must refuse to serve Government in any capacity either as paid servants or as members of Legislative Councils, Local Boards or Municipalities. British Courts of Justice too should be placed under a ban and courts of arbitration substituted for them—a proposal, by the way, which shows that the agitation is not the work of hungry lawyers. All schools and colleges maintained by the Government should also be boycotted. In a word, we must get rid of our habit of leaning on the Government and create in its place a habit of thinking and acting as if the Government were not. All this, however, is to be effected not by physical force but by social pressure ; for there has as yet arisen no party to counsel violence or any other breach of the law.

Now it seems to me, to put it mildly, that this is a counsel of despair which may appeal to "the impatient idealist," but which is foredoomed to failure. I speak not in anger but in sorrow, for it is quite possible to sympathise with this new phase of patriotism, this yearning for an unattainable ideal. But we must look facts in the face. We must recognise them loyally, and if it is true that no man is ever good for much who has not in his youth been carried off his feet by fiery enthusiasm, it is equally true it needs the bit and the bridle. For enthusiasm, unless controlled by sound judgment, frequently ends in ghastly tragedies.

You all know the story of the city with the three gates with their inscriptions ; the first said, "Be bold," the second "Be bold and ever more be bold," while the third and last inscription which the horseman read was "Be not too bold." You forget that rashness is not courage. You forget that hasty maxims drawn from the history of other nations and other times are extremely dangerous, as the conditions are never the same, and action which produces a certain result in one country at one time may lead to a directly opposite result in another country and at another time. You forget that there is no doctrine so universal and comprehensive that you are bound to act upon it at all hazards. You forget, it may be a cynical remark, but it is perfectly true, that though a martyr may be worshipped for his sufferings and his sacrifices, he is not always counted among the wisest of men and his example is more frequently admired than followed. I need not go far afield to seek for illustrations. You pride yourselves on the idea that you alone have the courage of your convictions and that the Moderate party are disloyal to their country and would betray her with a kiss. But you forget that there is a faith, and, perhaps, as has been rightly said, a deeper faith which knows how to stand still and wait patiently till the fruit is ripe and may be gathered without violence. Your aims may be generous but do not drag the country into perils which you do not foresee but which are sure to follow on your methods. The millennium surely will not arrive when all Government colleges and schools are closed, when all Municipal and District Boards are abolished and elected members refuse to sit in the Legislative Councils of the Empire. Petulance is not manliness. It is easy to revile authority in season and out of season, but not so easy to build up a nation. Of one thing I am sure. One thing I know. Mere rant, however full of fire, will not help us. What we want is action, leadership and discipline. What we want is earnest work in co-operation with the Government, if possible, but in any case in conformity with moral and constitutional methods. Temporary failures must not discourage us. Hopes deferred must not sicken us. We must pursue our course with that courage which inspires the soldier in

a forlorn hope with heart for any fate, conscious of our integrity and conscious of the nobleness of our cause.

I implore you not to persevere in your present course. Do not be beguiled by mere phantoms. You cannot put an end to British rule by boycotting the administration. Your only chance under the present circumstances of gaining your object lies in co-operation with the Government in every measure which is likely to hasten our political emancipation; for so long as we do not show ourselves worthy of it, rely upon it England will maintain her rule, and if you really want self-government, you must show that you are fit for such responsibility. Then and then only will the English retire from India, their task completely accomplished, and their duty done.

But suppose your movement is successful and the English retire from the country, leaving the people to stew in their own juice. Imagine the chaos and disorder into which the whole country would be immediately plunged. I really cannot—I hope to be forgiven for this remark—take the members of the new party seriously; I believe they are at present only in a sulky mood, because constitutional and peaceful methods have failed. They say that the National Congress has been for years only ploughing the sands of the sea-shore, that all prospects of reasonable concessions are more and more receding into the distance and that we are deluding ourselves and our countrymen in persevering in our mendicant policy. Arguments, they say, are of no avail nor supplications however humble. They are always met by insult and by contempt. Now I venture to think that this mood betrays an impatience which the history of every reform shows to be in the highest degree unreasonable—a sullen and angry mood which may readily slide into a temper which would be a menace to law and order and would furnish our enemies with the plea that public tranquillity can only be secured by repression. You may deny it, but I fear you are in danger of slowly but surely drifting into treason.

Do not, I beseech you, play the game of our enemies but be staunch to the Congress as ever and abide by the principles, and follow the chart laid down by its founders. Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the unjust disabilities under which we labour? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do our exclusion from our legitimate share in the administration of the country? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the annual drain which is impoverishing the country? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the burden of the military expenditure which arrests all progress and but for which the country would have been covered with a network of schools, with free primary education within the reach of the masses? Do you believe that we are not as determined as you are to work out our political emancipation?

But I ask you seriously if it would not be madness to give up constitutional agitation either here or in England, especially in England, where public opinion, not of the classes but of the great democracy, is now the dominating factor in politics. I do not invite you to supplicate with bated breath and whispering humbleness, but to demand of a nation, jealous of its honour, a fulfilment of the pledges which have been repeatedly given to us. What lies in our way is the utter ignorance of the English people about us. They have been led to believe that the administration of India is perfect; but if they were made acquainted with the real condition of the country, at the present day, they would gladly support such reforms as we demand; though we must be prepared for the opposition of those classes whose vested interests might be imperilled by any reform. We must, therefore, try to educate English public opinion. And that public opinion,

when well informed and not warped by lies, is sure to be essentially just. It is only by enlisting such opinion on our side that we can hope to achieve our objects. We must, therefore, endeavour to place our views before the people of England by every means in our power, by active agitation on the platform and in the Press. Remember that we have very powerful enemies, who try their best to mislead the nation, and we can only hope to meet them by creating a powerful body of opinion, in our favour, among the people who have been so recently emancipated and whose sympathy must always be with those who are only claiming the ordinary rights of British citizenship. This is now the task of the British Committee in London, whose services, however, have not received that recognition or support, which is undoubtedly due to them. Our friends in England have been unremitting in their exertions and if we have escaped more rigorous repressive measures, we owe it to them and to them alone. They have not only laboured to promote our welfare but have spent their own money for us, and I am not using the language of exaggeration when I say that they have poured out money like water in our cause.

I do not deny that we must rely on our own right hand to build up our national strength : but the only power that can control the bureaucracy now is to be found in England. Depend upon it, political agitation in England is not a mere waste of energy and of money. It is sure to improve the system of administration and to galvanize it into new life. Measures like free primary education, for instance, will appeal readily to the sympathies of the English people and will be forced on the bureaucracy, who, if left to themselves, would put it off indefinitely ; for they have studied one art in perfection, the art of writing minutes and of not doing anything. Then, again, the exposure of official wrong-doing is sure to have a sobering effect on the bureaucracy. Agitation, therefore, in England must be carried on actively and persistently, not apathetically or intermittently, and I would specially recommend this question to the attention of the Congress. But we must work with courage and determination, without expecting immediate results and confidently leave the issue to time. Above all, we must try to win back the confidence of the English nation which has been forfeited by the wild utterances of some irresponsible agitators and the lies and calumnies industriously spread by those who hate the people and would keep them in a state of perpetual tutelage. It is these men who led Mr. Morley and the Indian Government to believe that there was real danger of a conflagration, which, we know, never existed. It is these men who have deterred a Liberal Government from making any substantial concessions. It is these men who have induced the English people to distrust not only our loyalty but also our competency to manage our own affairs.

I repeat that though our progress may be slow, we must not lose heart ; no, not even if the dial is set back ; for such things are inevitable in the course of human affairs. But depend upon it, unless history is a record of lies, Englishmen love freedom as their most cherished possession ; but do not forget that the freedom they love is freedom broadening slowly from precedent to precedent. I repeat that our object can only be achieved by constitutional agitation and not by leaving Government severely alone. Visions may be sublime but they are not real ; and a universal boycott, which would make administration impossible, seems to be the figment of a disordered imagination. Privileges have to be manfully fought for and it would be puerile to turn away from the struggle, simply because our first attempts are not crowned by tangible immediate results. For my part, I have never despaired, and I refuse to despair.

APPENDIX B.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Indian National Congress Organisation

(Adopted at the Meeting of the Convention Committee held at Allahabad on the 18th and 19th of April 1908)

Objects

ARTICLE I—

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

ARTICLE II—

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

Sessions of the Congress

ARTICLE III—

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

Component Parts of the Organisation

ARTICLE IV—

The Indian National Congress Organisation will consist of:—

- (a) The Indian National Congress;
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees;
- (c) District Congress Committees or Associations affiliated to the Provincial Congress Committees;
- (d) Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Congress Committees or Associations ;

- (e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised as Electorates in accordance with clause (3) of Article XX;
- (f) The All-India Congress Committee ;
- (g) The British Committee of the Congress ; and
- (h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conferences or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

ARTICLE V—

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

Provincial Congress Committees

ARTICLE VI—

- (a) To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District Conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces :
I Madras ; II Bombay ; III United Bengal ; IV United Provinces ; V Punjab (including N.-W. Frontier Province) ; VI Central Provinces ; VII Behar ; VIII Berar and IX Burma.
- (b) The Provincial Sub-Committees of the Convention shall, in the first instance, form themselves into Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) The Secretaries of the Convention Committee shall take steps to form separate Provincial Congress Committees for Central Provinces, Behar and Burma.

ARTICLE VII—

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

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

ARTICLE VIII—

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

District or other Congress Committees or Associations

ARTICLE IX—

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

ARTICLE X—

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

ARTICLE XI—

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

ARTICLE XII—

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

The All-India Congress Committee

ARTICLE XIII—

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

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

Provided, as far as possible, that one-fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mahomedans.

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

ARTICLE XIV—

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

ARTICLE XV—

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

ARTICLE XVI—

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

ARTICLE XVII—

- (a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the dissolution of the Congress at which it comes into existence till the dissolution of the following Congress.
- (b) If any vacancy arises by death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining members of the Province in respect of which the vacancy has arisen shall be competent to fill it up for the remaining period.

ARTICLE XVIII—

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

ARTICLE XIX—

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

Electorates and Delegates

ARTICLE XX—

The right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest exclusively in (1) the British Committee of the Congress ; (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated as hereinabove laid down, and (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than three years'

standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs, provided that no such Political Association or Public Body shall be so recognised unless the said Political Association or Public Body, by a Resolution at a General Meeting of its members, expresses its acceptance of the principles embodied in Article I of this Constitution and makes the acceptance of the same a condition precedent to new membership.

ARTICLE XXI—

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

Reception Committee of the Congress

ARTICLE XXII—

- (a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Every one, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays a minimum contribution of Rs. 25, shall be eligible as a member of the Reception Committee.
- (b) No one who is only a member of the Reception Committee, but not a Delegate, shall be allowed to vote or take part in the debate at the Congress.
- (c) The Reception Committee shall be bound to provide the necessary funds for meeting all the expenses of the Congress as also the cost of preparing, printing, publishing and distributing the Report of the Congress.

Election of the President

ARTICLE XXIII—

- (a) In the month of June, the Reception Committee shall consult the several Provincial Congress Committees as to the selection of the President for the year's Congress. The Provincial Congress Committees shall make their recommendations by the end of July ; and in the month of August the Reception Committee shall meet to consider the recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to elect the President in the manner mentioned above, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final.
Provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.
- (b) There shall be no formal *election* of the President by or in the Congress, but merely the adoption [in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule 3, clause (b) of the " Rules " hereto appended] of a formal Resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

Subjects Committee

ARTICLE XXIV—

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

Not more than 15	representatives of Madras ;
" 15	" " Bombay ;
" 20	" " United Bengal ;
" 15	" " United Provinces ;
" 13	" " Punjab
	(including N.-W. F. Province) ;
" 7	" " Central Provinces ;
" 5	" " Behar ;
" 5	" " Berar ;
" 2	" " Burma ;
" 5	" " British Committee of the Congress ;

and additional 10 representatives of the Province in which the Congress is held ;

all the abovementioned representatives being elected, in accordance with Rule 9 of the "Rules" hereto appended, by the Delegates attending the Congress from the respective Provinces.

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

ARTICLE XXV—

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

Contentious Subjects and Interest of Minorities

ARTICLE XXVI—

- (a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number; and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped.
- (b) The President of the Congress for the year may nominate 5 Delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.
- (c) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

Voting at the Congress

ARTICLE XXVII—

Ordinarily, all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes as laid down in Rule 21 of the "Rules" hereto appended, but in

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

The British Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—

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

General Secretaries.

ARTICLE XXIX.—

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

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

Changes in the Constitution or Rules.

ARTICLE XXX.—

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

Transitory Provisions.

ARTICLE XXXI.—

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

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

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

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

RASHBEHARY GHOSE,
President, Convention Committee.

DINSHA EDULJI WACHA,
DAJI ABAI KHARE,
Hony. Secretaries, Convention Committee.

RULES

For the Conduct and Regulation

OF THE

Indian National Congress Meetings

(Adopted at the Meeting of the Convention Committee held at Allahabad on the 18th and 19th of April 1908).

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

(f) The adjournment of the Congress for the appointment of the Subjects Committee and the announcement by the President of the time and place of the meetings of the Delegates of the different Provinces for the election of the members of the Subjects Committee and also of the first meeting of the Subjects Committee.

4. No other business or motions in any form shall be allowed at the opening sitting of the Congress session.

5. The Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside over the assembly at the first sitting until the President takes the chair. The President of the Congress shall preside at all sittings of the Congress session as well as at all meetings of the Subjects Committee. In case of his absence and during such absence, any ex-President of the Congress present, who may be nominated by the President, and in case no ex-President is available, the Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside at the Congress sitting ; provided that the Subjects Committee may in such cases choose its own Chairman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29. The meetings of the Subjects-Committee shall be open only to the members of that Committee and the meeting of the Delegates of each Pro-

vince at divisions shall be open to the Delegates of that Province only, subject in either case to the provisions of Rule 27.

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

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

RASHBEHARY GHOSE,

President, Convention Committee.

DINSHA EDULJI WACHA.

DAJI ABAJI KHARE,

Hony. Secretaries, Convention Committee.

APPENDIX C.

List of Members of the Reception Committee

OF THE

Twenty-third Indian National Congress, Madras, (1908.)

1. Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, C.I.E., Madras.
2. The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur, Madras.
3. Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L., Rajahmundry
4. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
5. Rao Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah, Madras.
6. The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
7. Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramaniam, Bellary.
8. Mr. T. N. S. Theerthapathi, Zemindar of Singampatti.
9. The Hon. Rajah Vasudeva Rajah of Kollengode.
10. Mr. R. Swaminatha Vijaya Tevar, Zemindar of Papanad.
11. " V. Ryru Nambiar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
12. " C. Karunakara Menon, B.A., Madras.
13. " V. Masilamani Pillai, B.A., B.L., Madras.
14. " V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, B.A., L.T., of the Servants of India Society.
15. " A. S. Balasubrahmani Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
16. " P. Nagabhushanam Pantulu, M.A., B.L., Madras.
17. " P. N. Muthuswami Naidu, B.A., Saidapet.
18. " K. V. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Coimbatore.
19. Dr. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.D., Madras.
20. " U. Rama Rao, Madras.
21. Mr. W. Ramiah B.A., Madras.
22. " T. V. Venkataatama Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Nellore.
23. " V. V. Jogiah, Berhampore.
24. " G. A. Natesa Aiyar, B.A., Madras.
25. " C. Janakiram Reddiar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
26. " T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
27. " W. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Madras.
28. " C. R. Thiruvenkata Chariar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
29. " N. K. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Tanjore.
30. " K. N. Shama Rao, Madras.
31. " C. Selvaraja Mudaliar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
32. " S. Venkatanarasimha Rao, Kurnool.
33. " M. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madura.
34. " K. Ramachandra Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
35. " D. R. Nammalwar Chettiar, Madras.
36. " K. Lakshminarayana Chettiar, Madras.
37. " C. G. Balabadra Nayagar, Madras.
38. " V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
39. The Hon'ble Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarma, Vizagapatam.
40. " Hon'ble Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Tinnevely.
41. " Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesawa Pillai, Gooty.
42. Sir S. Subramania Aiyar, K.C.I.E., (LL.D).
43. Rao Bahadur T. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.

44. Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Rao, B.A., Madura.
45. Rai Bahadur P. M. Madooray Pillai, Rangoon.
46. Rao Bahadur P. Venkatappaya, Masulipatam.
47. The Hon'ble Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L., Calicut.
48. Rao Bahadur Govindoss Chathoorpuja Doss, Madras.
49. Mr. P. B. Krishnaswami Naidu, Madras.
50. „ C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A. B.L., Madras.
51. „ S. K. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L., do
52. „ T. V. Gopaldaswami Mudaliar, B.A. B.L., Madras.
53. „ K. Ekambara Aiyar, Nandyal.
54. „ T. R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
55. „ V. Sambandam Mudaliar, Madras.
56. „ P. Rajagopala Aiyar, Madras.
57. „ A. S. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., Nellore.
58. „ T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar B.A., B.L., Madras.
59. „ C. V. Ananthakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
60. „ P. R. Sundara Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
61. „ K. A. Veeraraghava Chariar, Madras.
62. „ S. R. M. M. Ramaswami Chettiar, Chidambaram.
63. „ P. M. A. Muthia Chettiar Madras.
64. „ P. Dooraiswami Mudaliar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
65. „ G. Venkataranga Rao, M.A., Madras.
66. „ Vengail K. Krishnan Nayanaar, Kuttoor.
67. „ K. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
68. „ S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
69. „ S. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
70. „ T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, B.A., B.L., Madras.
71. „ K. B. Ramanatha Aiyar, M.A., B.L., L.T., Madras.
72. „ S. Gopaldaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
73. „ S. Veeraraghavachariar, Madras.
74. „ C. K. Mahadeva Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
75. „ A. Doraisami Aiyar, Madras.
76. „ P. N. Raman Pillai, B.A., Madras.
77. „ C. Karunakara Menon, B.A., Madras.
78. „ T. Chidambara Rao, Kurnool.
79. „ T. V. Sanjiva Rao, Trichinopoly.
80. „ K. Narayana Sastri, B.A., B.L., Coimbatore.
81. „ V. Ramesam Pantulu, B.A., B.L., Madras.
82. „ V. Raglunatha Sastri, B.A., B.L., Madras.
83. Pandit D. Gopalachari, A. V. S., Madras.
84. Mr. Essa Abba Sait, Madras.
85. „ S. Abdul Latiff Sahib, Madras.
86. „ C. Venkata Subramiah, B.A., B.L., Madras.
87. „ V. Arunagiri Naidu, B.A., Madras.
88. „ G. E. Sampathu Chettiar, Madras.
89. „ P. Sambandam Mudaliar, Madras.
90. „ V. Desikachariar, Madras.
91. „ P. S. Subramania Sastri, Madras.
92. „ D. Sadasiva Rao, Madras.
93. „ K. Venkata Rao, Bellary
94. „ Y. Narayan, Madras.
95. „ E. S. W. Senathi Raja, LL.B., Bar-at-law, Trevandrum.
96. „ H. Subba Rao, Pundalur, (Nilgris).
97. „ R. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
98. „ S. M. Rajaram Rao, Srirangam.

99. Mr. P. Bashyacaraloo Naidu, Madras.
100. " T. Srinivasaraghavachariar, Madras .
101. " G. A. Vaidyarama Aiyar, B.A., Madras.
102. " M. Kolandaveloo, Madras.
103. " T. R. Ramachandra Aiyar, B.A. B.L., Madras.
104. " K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, B.A., B.L., Tanjore.
105. " A. Sundara Sastri, B.A., B.L. Tinnevely.
106. " M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Tinnevely.
107. " T. Desikachariar, B.A., B.L., Trichinopoly.
108. " K. Perraju Pantulu Garu, Cocanada.
109. " T. T. Veeraraghava Chariar, Chittoor.
110. " M. Hyath Batcha Sahib, Madras.
111. " M. Venkateswara Rao Pantulu Garu, Nuzwid.
112. " T. Rajagopala Rao, Elore.
113. " J. Krishna Rao, Trichinopoly.
114. " A. C. Parthasarthy Naidu, Madras.
115. " G. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., Madras
116. " T. S. Sivaswami Odayar, Kumbakonam.
117. " S. Gopalakrishna Aiyar, Karuthattangudy (Tanjore).
118. " G. C. Logonada Mudaliar, Madras.
119. " B. Venkatachala Mudaliar B.A., B.L., Coimbatore.
120. " C. Venkataranga Reddiar, B.A., B.L., Kurnool.
121. " M. G. Kuppaswami Aiyar B.A., B.L., Nellore.
122. " T. Sivasankaram, Penukonda.
123. " Ardeshir F. Khabardar, Madras.
124. " P. S. Muthoo Mudaliar, Madras.
125. " K. Audinarayana Reddiar, Allur (Nellore District).
126. " M. Venkataraghavaloo Reddiar, Striperamhadur (Conjeevaram Taluk).
127. " C. A. Mahadeva Sastri, Kumbakonam.
128. " C. V. Venkataramana Aiyangar B.A., B.L., Coimbatore.
129. " C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
130. " K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, B.A., Shiyali.
131. " R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Cuddalore.
132. " K. C. Desikachariar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
133. " B. V. Narasimha Iyah, B.A., B.L., Salem.
134. " M. Thiruvengkatachariar, Tirupapuliure.
135. " V. Venkatachariar, Conjeevaram.
136. " Dharamsey Kanji Asher, Madras.
137. " N. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Kumbakonam.
138. " C. M. Sivananda Mudaliar, Madras.
139. " T. Ramaswami Naidu, Madras.
140. " K. Kunjukuttan Thampan, Kuthiravattath Kottaram.
141. " K. P. Madhava Rao, Madras.
142. " P. V. Naganatha Sastri, Tanjore.
143. " T. Sambamurthi Rao, B.A., B.L., Tanjore.
144. " M. S. Natesa Aiyar, Mayavaram
145. " S. Krishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L. Kumbakonam
146. " A. R. Chakrapani Chettiar, Kumbakonam,
147. " Bhaskara Latchminarasappa, Kattacheruvu (Anantapur Dt).
148. " A. H. Sundara Gopala Aiyar, Madras.
149. " K. Gundu Rao, Cuddapah.
150. " T. Subramania Aiyar, Mayavaram.
151. " S. Kuppabhatta Aiyar, Mannargudy.
152. " V. Ramachandra Aiyar do

153. Mr. K. G. Srinivasa Mudaliar, Mannargudy.
154. " S. Panduranga, Mudaliar B.A., B.L., Cuddalore.
155. " T. K. Balasubramania Aiyar, B.A., Srirangam.
156. " P. Narayana Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madura.
157. " W. L. Venkataramiah B.A., B.L., Berhampore.
158. " K. J. Subramania Aiyar, Markapur (Kurnool District).
159. " B. S. Nataraja Sastrial, B.A. B.L., Negapatam.
160. " G. Raghava Rao, Berhampore.
161. " K. A. Srinivasa Rao, Madras.
162. " K. K. Ranga Rao, Bellary.
163. " R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A. B.L., Trichinopoly.
164. " S. Muthiah Mudaliar, B.A. B.L., Madras.
165. " V. Nagamaya, Retired Dewan Peshkar, Travancore.
166. " Y. Krishnama Chariar, Markapur (Kurnool Dt).
167. " P. L. Ramaswami Naikar, Salem.
168. " T. Varadappa Naikar, Madras.
169. " G. Kothandaramiah, M.A. Madras.
170. " Salla Guruswami Chettiar, B.A. B.L., Madras.
171. " C. Rajagopala Chetti, F. T. S., Madras.
172. " C. Nagappa, Dharmavaram.
173. " T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, B.A., B.L., Tirupur (Coimbatore District).
174. " N. Bhimasena Rao, Brahmanapalli (Anantapur District).
175. " P. Venkataramiah Pantulu Garu, Ichapuram (Ganjam District).
176. " Mocherla Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L. Ellore.
177. " A. V. Gopalachariar, M.A., B.L., Srirangam.
178. " C. Kuppuswami Mudaliar, Madras.
179. " C. Gopal Menon, Madras.
180. " V. Visvanatha Sastri, Madras.
181. " A. Ramachandra Aiyar, Madras.
182. " U. S. Venkatarama Iyah, B.A., B.L. Salem.
183. " K. Lakshmana Chettiar, Madras.
184. " A. Nanabhoy Davay, Madras.
185. " G. Vakulabarana Chettiar, Madras.
186. " T. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, Madras.
187. " P. R. Rama Aiyar, Madras.
188. " P. Ragaviah Chettiar, Madras.
189. " L. S. Veeraraghava Aiyar, Madras.
190. " K Venkatanarasaih Naidu, Chicacole.
191. " R. Sadagopachariar, B.A., B.L. Madras.
192. " T. Narasimha Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. Madras.
193. " D. Gopal Rao, Madras.
194. " P. Aiyanna Chettiar, Madras.
195. " C. Kannan Chettiar, Madras.
196. " K. Subramania Sastri, B. A., B.L. Madras.
197. " M. B. Varada Aiyangar, Kurnool.
198. " N. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Kurnool.
199. " T. Kothandaraina Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Tanjore.
200. " M. Lakshminarasimha Sastri, Pushpagiri.
201. " G. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. Madras.
202. " D. Krishnamacharlu, Bellary.
203. Babu Siva Naryan, Madras.
204. Mr. C. Thiruvengadathan Chettiar, Madras.
205. " K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Srirangam.

206. Mr. Jivraj Topan, Madras.
207. „ P. B. Sriramaloo Chettiar, Madras.
208. „ S. Krishnamachariar, B.A., B.L. Madras.
209. „ M. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, Madras.
210. „ C. V. Muthuram Chettiar, Madras.
211. „ M. C. Krishnavarma Rajah, Mankada (S. Malabar).
212. „ V. C. Seshachariar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
213. „ M. K. Ramaswami Aiyar, Madras.
214. „ Manali Saravana Mudaliar, Madras.
215. „ Manali Krishnaswami Mudaliar, Madras.
216. „ S. V. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Madras.
217. „ M. A. Thirunarayana Chariar, Advocate, Madras.
218. „ P. Krishnaswami Mudaliar, Madras.
219. „ T. L. Atmaram Rao, Madras.
220. „ N. R. K. Thathachariar B.A., B.L. Madras.
221. „ A. Subramania Aiyar, Madras.
222. „ T. S. Vasudeva Chettiar, Kumbakonam.

APPENDIX D

List of members of the Subjects Committee OF THE Twenty-third Indian National Congress, Madras, (1908.)

Ex-officio:—

1. The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur.
2. Dewan Bahadur K. Kristnaswami Rao, C. I. E.
3. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
4. Mr. V. Ryrü Nambiar, B.A., B.L.
5. „ C. Karunakara Menon, B.A.
6. „ V. Masilamoni Pillai B.A., B.L.
7. „ V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, B.A., L. T.
8. „ A. S. Balasubrahmani Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
9. The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
10. Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, B.A.
11. „ A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu.
12. „ P. N. Raman Pillai, B.A.
13. „ D. V. Hanumantha Rao.
14. The Hon. Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
15. Mr. M. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
16. „ B. S. Nataraja Sastri, B.A., B.L.
17. „ B. V. Narasimhayya, B.A., B.L.
18. „ K. V. Srinivasa Aiyar.
19. „ S. Venkatanarasimha Rao, B.A.
20. „ N. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.
21. „ T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A. B. L.
22. „ V. V. Jogiah,
23. „ Rama Doss.
24. „ S. Master.
25. „ K. Venkata Rao.
26. „ D. Krishnamacharlu.

Elected :—

27. Mr. W. L. Venkatarama Iyah, Berhampore.
28. The Hon. Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarmä, Vizagapatam.
29. Mr. K Venkatappiah, Guntur.
30. „ V. Venkatachari, Chinglepet.
31. „ C. Venkataraghava Aiyar, Chittoor.
32. „ T. M. Narasimhachari, Cuddapah.
33. The Hon. Mr. P. Kesawa Pillai, Gooty.
34. Mr. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Cuddalore.
35. „ A. V. Gopalacharair, Trichinopoly.
36. „ K. P. Achutha Menon, Palghat.
37. The Hon. Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, Calicut.
38. Rao Sahib N. Subba Rao, Mangalore.
39. Rao Bahadur P. Venkatappiah, Masulipatam.
40. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, Ellore.
41. „ K. Perraju Pantulu, Cocanada.
42. „ P. N. Muthuswami Naidu, Saidapet.

43. Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Rao, Madura.
44. Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachariar, Kumbakonam.
45. Mr. Ibrahim Noorudin Mukadam, South Africa.
46. " M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar, Tinnevelly.
47. " P. R. Sundara Aiyar, Madras.
48. " T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, Madras.
49. Rao Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah, Madras.
50. Mr. R. Sadagopachariar, Madras.
51. " G. Venkataranga Rao, Nellore.

Punjab.

1. The Hon. Lala Harkishan Lal.
2. Lala Ganpat Rai.
3. Mr. L. Dharm Doss Suri.
4. Pandit Rambhai Datta Choudari, B.A.
5. Pandit Kishori Lal.
6. Lala Purshotam Lal Rajpal.
7. Lala Mohan Lal Tandan.

Burmah.

Ex-officio :—

1. Dr. U. L. Dasai, M. D.

Elected :—

2. Mr. V. G. Bijaparkar, M. A.
3. " R. Rangaswami, B.A.,

Behar.

1. Mr. S. Hoosam Ismal.
2. " Parameswar Lal.
3. " Deep Narayan Singh.
4. " M. Nazmul Huda.
5. " Aasant Charan Simha.

United Provinces.

Ex-officio :—

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., LL.B.
2. Dr. Tejbahadur Sapru, M.A. LL. D.
3. Pandit Brag Narayan Gurtu, M.A., LL.B.
4. Babu Iswar Saran, B.A.,
5. Pandit Govind Sahae Sharma (Bar-at-Law).
6. Dr. Mandhar Lal.
7. Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.
8. Pandit Ikbāl Narain Masaldan (Bar-at-Law).
9. Pandit Gokram Nath Misra, M.A. LL.B.

Elected :—

10. Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee M.A., LL.D.
11. Babu Satya Chandra Mukerjee, M.A., B.L.
12. Pandit Rama Kant Malaviya, B.A., LL.B.
13. Babu Sarat Chandra Chandhsi, M.A., LL.D.
14. Pandit Balder Ram Dave.
15. Babu Hirdaya Nath Kanjen, B.A.
16. Babu Ayodiah Dass, B.A., (Bar-at-Law).
17. Babu Priyanath Banerjee.
18. Babu Nandkishore Kakkar (Bar-at-Law).

19. Mr. A. P. Sen (Bar-at-law).
20. Mushir Husain Qidwai (Bar-at-Law).
21. Pandit Basdeo Sahai Sharma.
22. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, B.A.

United Bengal.

Ex-officio:—

1. Babu Surendranath Banerjee.
2. Mr. A. Chaudhari.
3. Ambica Charan Muzamdar.
4. Mr. J. Chaudhari.
5. „ J. Ghoshal.
6. „ Brithivish Chandra Roy.
7. „ Bupendranath Bose.
8. „ Kisori Mohan Chaudhuri.
9. „ Bishanpada Chatterjee.
10. „ Surya Kumar Banerjee.
11. „ Abdul Kassim.
12. „ Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta.
13. „ Surendranath Mullick.
14. „ Satyananda Bose.
15. „ Surya Kumar Banerjee, Dacca.
16. „ Surendranath Mullick, 24 Pergannas.
17. „ Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Calcutta.

Elected:—

18. „ Basanta Kumar Bose, Dacca.
19. „ Matharanath Maetra, Faridpur.
20. „ Pulin Chandra Das, Chittagong.
21. „ S. N. Ray ... , Rajshahye.
22. „ S. R. Dass ... , Calcutta.
23. „ S. M. Bose, Mymensingh.
24. „ Nandalal Bhadari.
25. „ Saroj Ranjan Bose, M.A. B.L., Nadia.
26. „ Kaliprasanna Sen, Hoogly-Howrah.
27. „ Nafar Chandra Das Ray, Berhampur.
28. „ Pramathanath Banerjee, Calcutta.
29. „ Krishna Das Ray, Faridpur.
30. „ Ram Charan Saha, do.
31. „ Manmatha Kumar Bose, Krishnagar.
32. „ Manindra Nath Banerjee.
33. „ Sudhir Kumar Lahiri.
34. „ Surendra Nath Das Gupta.

Bombay.

Ex-officio:—

1. The Hon'ble Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta, K. C. I. E., M.A.,
2. Mr D. E. Wacha.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E.
4. The Hon'ble Mr. D. A. Khare.
5. Sir Balachandra Krishna, Kt.
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh.
7. The Hon'ble Mr. Chimantlal H. Setalvad.
8. The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit.
9. Mr. N. M. Samarth.
10. „ D. G. Padhye.
11. „ D. N. Bahadurji.
12. „ D. G. Dalvi.
13. „ M. A. Jinnah.

14. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai.
15. " Jehanjir B. Petit.
16. " G. K. Gadgil.
17. " Rustom K.R., Cama.
18. " Hansaraj Pragji Thackersey.
19. " Lallabhai A. Shah.
20. " S. R. Bakhale.
21. " Hari Narayan Apti.
22. The Rev. Dr. Hume.
23. Mr. G. K. Chitale.
24. " G. R. Abhyankar.
25. " G. B. Deval.
26. " S. D. Garud.
27. Rao Bahadur Khandubhai G. Desai.
28. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai.
29. Mr. Govindrao Appaji Patel.
30. " Shivabhai M. Patel.
31. " Ramanbhai Mahipatram.
32. " Harchandrai Vishimdas.
33. " Matharadas Ramachand Javahri.
34. " M. V. Lele.
35. " Chunilal M. Gandhi.
36. " Motabhai M. Desai.
37. " L. R. Gokhale.

Elected:—

38. Professor Hari Govind Limaye.
39. Mr. Vinayak Ramachandra Joshi.
40. " N. A. Dravid.
41. " B. R. Kotval.
42. " Deepchand T. Ojha.
43. " Lallubhai Samaldas.
44. " V. K. Bhatavadekar.
45. " K. Nataraj-n.
46. " B. N. Bhajekar.
47. " S. R. Bomanji.
48. " Mirza Ali Mahomedkhan.
49. " L. K. Joshi.
50. " J. R. Gharpure.
51. " C. S. Devle.
52. " P. L. Nagpurkar.

Central Provinces.

1. Mr. R. B. Rajaram Sitaram Dikshit.
2. " Vishvanath Govind Gaut.

Berar.

Ex-officio:—

1. Rao Bahadur R. N. Madholkar.
2. Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak.
3. Mr. M. V. Joshi.
4. " R. G. Mundle.
5. " C. Y. Chintamani.

Elected—

6. " R. V. Mahajani.
7. " B. A. Deshpande.
8. " Gunwant Rao Baji Rao.
9. " B. V. Dravid

British Committee of the Congress.

1. Dr. C. B. Clark

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates who attended the Twenty-third Indian National Congress,

Held at Madras, December 1908.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
1	Madras.	Madras Provincial Congress Committee	Mr. V. C. Sesha Chariar, B.A., B.L.,	... Vaishnava Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Vasanta Vilas, Mylapore.	At a Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on 20-12-08
2	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Kolandaveloo Mudaliar	... Hindu, Non-Brahman.	Proprietor, Dowden & Co., George Town.	do.
3	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. K. Mahadeva Iyer	... Brahman	... High Court Vakil, 308, Linga Chetty Street, George Town.	do.
4	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Narayanaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.	... do.	... High Court Vakil, c/o Dr. M. Krishnaswami Iyer, G. Town.	At a Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on 24-12-08
5	do. ...	do. ...	„ Ardeshir F. Khabardar	... Parsi	... Merchant, 8, Esplanade Row, Madras.	... do. do. on 20-12-08
6	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. Yajnanarayana, Adiga	... Brahman	... Pleader	... do.
7	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Baradwaja Mudaliar	... Vellala	... Zemindar	... do.
8	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Soundararaja Aiyangar, B.A.	... Vaishnava Brahman.	... Pleader	... do.
9	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.	... do.	... High Court Vakil, 87, China Bazaar Road, Madras.	do.
10	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Vaidyeswara Mudaliar	... Vellala	... Chekkoo Street, Colombo.	... do.

Serial No	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
11	Madras	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. S. Gopalaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., ...	Vaishnava Brahman.	High Court Vakil, 5, North Mada Street, Mylapore.	At a Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on 20-12-08.
12	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, North Mada Street, Mylapore.	do.
13	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Doraiswami Iyer ...	Brahman ...	Pleader, Thambu Chetty Street.	do.
14	do. ...	do. ...	„ D. Sadasiva Rao ...	do. ...	Dubash, Messrs. Volkart Bros.	do.
15	do. ...	do. ...	„ P. L. S. Shanmugam Chettiar ...	Vaishya ...	Landholder, Banker & Merchant, Cutcherry Road, Mylapore.	do.
16	do. ...	do. ...	Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachariar ...	Vaishnava Brahman.	Retired Govt. Servant ...	do.
17	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Dharamsey Kanji Asher ...	Guzarati ...	Agent, Cotton Mill, Royapuram.	do.
18	do. ...	do. ...	Rao Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah ...	Brahman ...	Retired Govt. Servant ...	do.
19	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Jivaraj Thopan ...	Guzarati Bhatia.	Agent, Messrs. Mooljee Jaitha & Co.	do.
20	do. ...	do. ...	„ R. Satagopachariar, B.A., B.L. ...	Vaishnava Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Madras. ...	do.
21	do. ...	do. ...	„ E. S. W. Senathi Raja, B.A., LL.B. ...	Non-Brahman ...	Barrister-at-Law, Trivandrum ...	do.
22	do. ...	do. ...	Dr. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.D. ...	Brahman ...	Medical Practitioner, Thambu Chetty St., G. Town.	do.
23	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. K.S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Pleader ...	do. do. 27-12-08
24	do. ...	do. ...	„ V. Viswanatha Sastrial, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, 282, Linga Chetty Street, G. Town ...	do. do. 20-12-08

25	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. C. Desikachariar, B.A., B.L.	...	Vaishnava Brahman.	Badriah Gardens	...	do.
26	do.	...	do.	...	„ V. Venkatachariar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	High Court Vakil, Triplicane	...	do.
27	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. Janakiram Reddiar, B.A., B.L.	...	Non-Brahman	do. Audiappa Naik St., G. Town.	...	do.
28	do.	...	do.	...	Dr: U. Rama Rao	...	Brahman	Medical Practitioner, Vepery	...	do.
29	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. V. Venkatachariar	...	Vaishnava Brahman.	Pleader, Conjeeveram	...	do.
30	do.	...	do.	...	„ V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	High Court Vakil, Madras	...	do.
31	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	High Court Vakil, Triplicane	...	do.
32	do.	...	do.	...	„ B. Sitharam Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Pleader	...	do.
33	do.	...	do.	...	„ V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, B.A., L.T.	...	do.	Servant of India	...	do.
34	do.	...	do.	...	„ V. Purushotama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,	...	do.	High Court Vakil	...	do.
35	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Somasundaram Pillai, B.A., B.L.	...	Vellala	High Court Vakil, Coral Merchant Street, Madras.	...	do.
36	do.	...	do.	...	Rao Bahadur Govindoss Chathurpujados	...	Guzarati	Banker, Sowcarpet, Madras	...	do.
37	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	High Court Vakil, Mylapore	...	do.
38	do.	...	do.	...	„ R. Kuppuswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	do.	...	do.
39	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. R. Sundara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	do. The Luz, Mylapore	...	do.
40	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. Arumainatha Pillai, B.A., B.L.	...	Vellala	do.	...	do.
41	do.	...	do.	...	„ V. Krishnaswami Aiyangar	...	Vaishnava Brahman	High Court Vakil, Triplicane	...	do.
42	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. Subramania Aiyar, B.A.	...	Brahman	Landholder and Pleader	...	do. do. 27-12-08.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
43	Madrās.	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. M. M. Kumaraswami Mudaliar	Non-Brahman	Landholder and Pleader	At a Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on 20-12-08.
44	do.	do.	„ A. Ramachandra Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahman	Pleader, 109, Ramaswami Street, George Town.	do.
45	do.	do.	„ P. S. Subrahmania Sastri	do.	Photographer	do.
46	do.	do.	„ Keshev Rao	do.	Pleader, Hyderabad	do.
47	do.	do.	„ T. S. Ramaswami Aiyar	do.	Dubash, Messrs. Best & Co.	do. do. 25-12-08.
48	do.	do.	„ G. Kothandaramiah, M.A.	do.	Editor, <i>Police Magazine</i>	do. do. 20-12-08.
49	do.	do.	„ Ebrahim Norodien Muqaddam	Mahomedan	of South Africa	do.
50	do.	The Madras Mahajana Sabha.	„ N. S. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Salem	At a Meeting of the Sabha held on 14-12-08.
51	do.	do.	„ V. Ryrū Nambiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	High Court Vakil, Egmore	do.
52	do.	do.	„ A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu	do.	Editor, <i>Andraprakasika</i> , Mount Road.	do.
53	do.	do.	„ T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahman	High Court Vakil, Egmore	do.
54	do.	do.	„ T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	do.	do. Purasawalkam.	do.
55	do.	do.	„ S. Muthiah Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	do. Mylapore	do.
56	do.	do.	„ P. Nagabhushanam Pantulu, M.A., B.L.	Brahman	do. do.	do.
57	do.	do.	„ G. A. Natesan, B.A.	do.	Editor, <i>Indian Review</i> , Esplanade Row.	do.
58	do.	do.	„ V. Masilamoni Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Vellala	High Court Vakil, Purasawalkam	do.

59	do.	...	do.	...	Rao Bahadur T. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahman	...	do.	Luz, Mylapore.	do.
60	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, B.A.	...	do.	...	Editor, <i>Swadesamitran</i> , Triplicane.	do.
61	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Veeraraghavachariar	...	do.	...	Asst: Cashier, Bank of Madras, Triplicane.	do.
62	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. V. Narayaniah, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Thamboo Chetty Street, George Town.	do.
63	do.	...	do.	...	„ G. A. Vaidyarama, Aiyar B.A.	...	do.	...	297, Thamboo Chetty Street, George Town.	do.
64	do.	...	do.	...	„ Salla Guruswami Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Non-Brahman	...	...	High Court Vakil, and Municipal Commissioner Madras.	do.
65	do.	...	do.	...	„ N. Srinivasa Varadachariar	Brahman	...	...	Pleader, Chittoor, North Arcot District.	do.
66	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. N. Raman Pillai, B.A.	Hindu	...	...	Editor, <i>Madras Standard</i> ...	do.
67	do.	...	do.	...	„ H. Subba Rau	Brahman	...	...	Agent, Nelliyalam Palace, Pundalur, Nilgiris.	do.
68	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Krishna Rau, B.A., L.T.	...	do.	...	Headmaster, National High School, Proddatur,	do.
69	do.	...	do.	...	„ J. H. B. Venkoba Rau	...	do.	...	Pleader, Proddatur	do.
70	do.	...	do.	...	„ A. Subbarayalu Reddiar	Hindu	...	...	Vakil and Municipal Chairman, Cuddalore.	do.
71	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. Karunakara Menon, B.A.	...	do.	...	Editor and Proprietor, <i>Indian Patriot</i> .	do.
72	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. Selvaraja Mudaliar	...	do.	...	Journalist, 331, Mint Street, Madras.	do.
73	do.	...	do.	...	„ N. Subba Rau Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	Brahman	...	...	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.	do.
74	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. B. Ramanatha Aiyar, M.A., B.L., L.T.	...	do.	...	Lecturer, Pachayappa's College, Madras.	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
75	Madras.	The Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu ...	High Court Vakil, Bangalore Villa, Poonamallee Road, Vepery.	At a meeting of the Sabha held on 14-12-1908.
76	do. ...	do. ...	„ V. Arunagiri Naidu, B.A. ...	Hindu ...	Merchant, Egmore ...	do.
77	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. Govindachariar ...	do. ...	Petroleum Inspector, Messrs. Best & Co., Madras.	do.
78	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. S. Natesa Sastriar, B.A., B.L., ...	Brahman ...	High Court Vakil, Thatha Muthiappan Street, George Town.	do.
79	do. ...	do. ...	Pandit D. Gopalacharlu, A. V. S. ...	do. ...	Ayurvedic Doctor, George Town.	do.
80	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. G. Venkataranga Rau, M.A. ...	do. ...	Secretary, Madras Landholders' Association.	do.
81	do. ...	do. ...	The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, Luz, Mylapore.	do.
82	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, 'The Grove' Teynampet.	do.
83	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. S. Balasubrahmani Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, 'Santa Vilas,' Mylapore.	do.
84	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. V. Gopaldaswami Mudaliar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu ...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore ...	do.
85	do. ...	do. ...	Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rau, C.I.E. ...	Brahman ...	Retired Dewan of Travancore, 'Ananta Vilas,' Triplicane.	do.
86	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. P. V. Vasudeva Row ...	do. ...	Citizen, 'Sankari Vilas,' Pudukkottah.	do.
87	do. ...	do. ...	„ G. C. Loganatha Mudaliar ...	Hindu ...	Senior Partner, "The Guardian Press," Mount Road.	do.

88	do.	...	Anantapur District Congress Committee.	The Hon. Mr. P. Kesawa Pillai	...	do.	Pleader and Member, Madras Legislative Council.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 20-12-1908.
89	do.	...	do.	Mr. Y. Seshappa	...	Brahman	Pleader and Landholder, Gooty.	do
90	do.	...	North Arcot District Congress Committee.	„ M. Arunachala Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Arni ...	At a meeting of the Committee held on 21-12-1908.
91	do.	...	do.	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	High Court Vakil, "Palm Grove," Mylapore.	do.
92	do.	...	do.	Mr. K. R. Arunachala Aiyar B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Pleader, Ranipet	do.
93	do.	...	do.	„ C. Duraiswami Aiyangar B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Chittoor	do.
94	do.	...	do.	„ V. C. Seshachariar	...	do.	Do. Do. Vellore ...	do. 24-12-1908.
95	do.	...	do.	„ M. Sundarachariar	...	do.	Do. Do. Tirupati ...	do. 23-12-1908.
96	do.	...	do.	„ G. Srinivasachariar B.A.	...	do.	Pleader, Chittoor.	do. 21-12-1908.
97	do.	...	do.	„ T. V. Rangachariar B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Chittoor.	do.
98	do.	...	do.	„ J. Swaminatha Aiyar B.A.	...	do.	Pleader, Ranipet	do.
99	do.	...	do.	„ V. Srinivasaraghavachariar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Chittoor.	do.
100	do.	...	do.	„ C. Varadachariar	...	do.	Do. do. Ranipet ...	do.
101	do.	...	do.	Mr. Lalapet Srinivasaraghava Aiyar	...	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Ranipet	do.
102	do.	...	do.	„ L.S.Veeraraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Landholder, "Palm Grove," Mylapore.	do.
103	do.	...	do.	„ T. K. Govinda Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	do. do. 23-12-08.
104	do.	...	do.	„ T. T. Veeraraghavachariar ...	...	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Chittoor.	do. do. 21-12-08.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
105	Madras ...	North Arcot Dt. Congress Committee.	Mr. L. Venkataraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman ...	High Court Vakil and Landholder, Chittoor.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 21-12-08.
106	do. ...	South Arcot District Congress Committee.	„ M. Thiruvkatachariar ...	do. ...	Pleader, Tirupapuliur ...	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 14-12-08.
107	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. E. Krishnamurthi Aiyangar, B. A. ...	do. ...	Pleader, Tindivanam ...	At a Special Meeting of the Committee held on 23-12-1908.
108	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. E. Shadagopachariar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Pleader, Cuddalore N. T. ...	do. do. 14-12-08.
109	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. R. Duraiswamy Mudaliar ...	Hindu, Sivite ...	do. ...	do.
110	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Seshagiri Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman ...	do. ...	do.
111	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. S. Bhashyam Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	do. ...	do.
112	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Subbarayalu Reddiar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu ...	High Court Vakil, Cuddalore ...	do.
113	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. V. Kuppasawmy Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman ...	First Grade Pleader, Cuddalore N. T. ...	do.
114	do. ...	do. ...	„ P.S. Chakravarthy Aiyangar, B.A. ...	do. ...	Pleader, Cuddalore N. T. ...	do.
115	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Arunagiri Mudaliar ...	Vellala ...	Merchant ...	do.
116	do. ...	do. ...	„ R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A. ...	Brahman ...	Pleader, Cuddalore N. T. ...	do.
117	do. ...	Bellary District Congress Committee.	„ T. Sankaralingam Pillai ...	Vellala ...	Pleader ...	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 13-12-1908.
118	do. ...	do. ...	„ H. Lakshman Rau, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman ...	Vakil and Municipal Councillor ...	do.

119	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu	...	High Court Vakil, District Board, Member and Municipal Councillor	do.
120	do.	...	do.	...	„ Y. Govinda Rau	...	Brahman	...	Pleader, Adoni	do.
121	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. Siva Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, and Municipal Councillor.	do.
122	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Anjaneyalu, B.A. B.L.	...	Seth Batya	...	Pleader, Bellary	do.
123	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. Hanumanth Goud	...	Brahman	...	Mirasidar, Hospet	do.
124	do.	...	do.	...	„ D. Krishnamacharu	...	do.	...	Pleader, Bellary	do.
125	do.	...	do.	...	„ N. Narayana Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do.	do.
126	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Venkata Rao	...	do.	...	Pleader, Ex-member of the Legislative Council, and Landholder.	do.
127	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. Rajagopal Naidu	...	Hindu	...	Merchant	do.
128	do.	...	South District Congress Committee.	Canara Congress Committee.	„ P. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	High Court Vakil, Mangalore	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 2-12-08.
129	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Lakshminarayana Rau, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do.	do.
130	do.	...	do.	...	„ Vallil Kunhi Raman Nair, B.A., B.L.	...	Nair	...	1st Grade Pleader, Mangalore	do.
131	do.	...	do.	...	„ U. C. Krishna Bhatta, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	High Court Vakil, Mangalore	do.
132	do.	...	do.	...	Rao Sahib Niampatti Subba Rao	...	Saraswat Brahman.	...	1st Grade Pleader and Chairman, Municipal Council.	do.
133	do.	...	Chingleput District Congress Committee.	...	Mr. A. Krishnamachariar	...	Brahman	...	Shrotriendar and Pleader, Tiruvallur.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 13-12-08.
134	do.	...	do.	...	„ N. Srinivasavaradachari	...	do.	...	Pleader, Conjeeveram	do.

Serial No	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
135	Madras ...	Chingleput District Congress Committee.	Mr. R. M. Rangachariar, B.A., B.L.	... Brahman ...	Pleader, Chingleput and Landholder, Utharamerur.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 13-12-08.
136	do. ...	do. ...	„ Sami Govinda Naidu	... Hindu ...	Landholder	do.
137	do. ...	do. ...	„ P. Natesa Chetty	... Vaishya ...	Merchant, Chingleput	do.
138	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. E. Kumara Venkatachariar..	... Brahman ...	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Councillor, Conjeeveram.	do.
139	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. N. Krishnamachariar	... do. ...	Dt. Court Pleader, Chingleput.	do.
140	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. Aruliah Naidu	... Roman Catholic Christian.	Landholder, Member of the Chingleput Dt. Board, Kilacheri.	do.
141	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Raghavachari	... Brahman ...	Merchant, Conjeeveram	do.
142	do. ...	Salem Dt. Association.	„ P. L. Ramaswami Naiker	... Hindu ...	Mittadar	At a Meeting of the Association held on 17-12-08.
143	do. ...	Saidapet Congress Committee.	„ P. N. Muthuswami Naidu, B.A.	... do. ...	Merchant, Pagadala Bagh, Saidapet.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 16-12-08.
144	do. ...	do. ...	„ P. Parthasaradhi Naidu	... do. ...	Proprietor, Paper Mills, Peralur, Perambur.	do.
145	do. ...	do. ...	„ G. Ponaragam Pillai	... do. ...	Contractor, Saidapet	do.
146	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Hyath Batcha Saib	... Mahomedan ...	Merchant, Pallavaram	do.
147	do. ...	Coimbatore Peoples' Association.	„ M. G. Arogyaswami Pillai, B.A.	... Native Christian.	Pleader and Landholder	At a Meeting of the Association held on 16-12-08.

148	do.	...	do.	...	" K. M. Muthurama Aiyar	...	Brahman	...	Vakil, Coimbatore	...	do.	do.	26-12-08.
149	do.	...	do.	...	" M. Venugopal Pillai, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu	...	1st Grade Pleader	...	do.	do.	24-12-08.
150	do.	...	do.	...	" C. R. Kalyanasundram Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	High Court Vakil and Landholder.	...	do.	do.	16-12-08.
151	do.	...	do.	...	" K. Narayana Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.		
152	do.	...	do.	...	" D. S. Krishna Rao	...	do.	...	Pleader	...	do.	do.	24-12-08.
153	do.	...	do.	...	" T. Sessa Aiyar	...	do.	...	Banker and Landholder, Raja Street, Coimbatore.	...	do.	do.	16-12-08.
154	do.	...	do.	...	" K. Lakshminarayana Chettiar of Darmapuram	...	Hindu	...	Landlord	...	do.	do.	24-12-08.
155	do.	...	do.	...	" T. Srinivasaraghavachariar, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	First Grade Pleader, Coimbatore.	...	do.	do.	16-12-08.
156	do.	...	do.	...	" T. Srinivasa Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	...	Vellala	...	do.	...	do.		
157	do.	...	do.	...	" S. Ratnasabapathy Mudaliar	...	do.	...	Banker and Landholder, Coimbatore.	...	do.		
158	do.	...	do.	...	" M. Sambanda Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil and Landholder, Coimbatore.	...	do.		
159	do.	...	do.	...	" N. R. Malayandy Chettiar	...	Devanga Chettiar.	...	Merchant, Udampet	...	do.	do.	24-12-08.
160	do.	...	do.	...	" T. V. Sanjiva Rao	...	Brahman	...	First Grade Pleader, Coimbatore	...	do.	do.	16-12-08.
161	do.	...	do.	...	" C. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil and Landholder, Coimbatore.	...	do.		
162	do.	...	do.	...	Rajah K. Ramaswami Chettiar	...	Vaishya	...	Merchant, Member Taluk Board, Erode; and President, Bank, Darmapuram.	...	do.	do.	24-12-08.
163	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. N. Kolandaveloo Pillai	...	Vellala	...	Merchant, Coimbatore	...	do.	do.	16-12-08.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
164	Madras ...	Coimbatore Peoples' Association.	Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Brahman ...	High Court Vakil and Landholder, Coimbatore.	At a Meeting of the Association held on 16-12-08.
165	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader and Landholder, Tirupur.	do.
166	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. V. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman ...	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor, Coimbatore.	do.
167	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A. ...	do. ...	Mirasidar, Kolinjivodi ...	do.
168	do. ...	do. ...	„ G. P. Venkatesa Aiyar ...	do. ...	Landholder, Union Chairman and Taluk Board Member, Gopichettipalayam.	do. do. 21-12 08.
169	do. ...	Cuddapah District Congress Committee.	„ T. M. Narasimha Charlu, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Pleader, Cuddapah ...	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 20-12-08.
170	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. Gundu Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, Cuddapah ...	do.
171	do. ...	do. ...	„ V. Pichaiya, B.A. ...	do. ...	First Grade Pleader, Cuddapah.	do.
172	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. Narasimhacharlu, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, Cuddappah ...	do.
173	do. ...	do. ...	„ G. Venkataramayya ...	do. ...	Second Grade Pleader, Proddatur	do.
174	do. ...	Ganjam District Association.	„ P. Venkataramaniah ...	do. ...	Ichapur Taluk Board Member ...	At a Meeting of the Association held on 7-12-08.
175	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. V. Subba Rao ...	do. ...	Berhampore ...	do.
176	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. V. Ranganadhaswami Pantulu ...	do. ...	Landlord, Berhampore ...	do.
177	do. ...	do. ...	„ Gade Raghava Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil and Municipal Chairman, Berhampore.	do.

178	do.	...	do.	...	„ V. V. Jogiah	...	do.	...	Pleader, Berhampore	...	do.
179	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. Venkatesvarlu Pantulu,	...	do.	...	First Grade Pleader, Berhampore.	...	do.
180	do.	...	do.	...	„ N. Ramanujaswami Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Wakil, Berhampore.	...	do.
181	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. V. Gopalakrishnama Pantulu, B.A.	...	do.	...	First Grade Pleader, Berhampore.	...	do.
182	do.	...	do.	...	„ W. L. Venkataramiah, B.A., B.L.	...	Native Christian.	...	High Court Wakil, Berhampore.	...	do.
183	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Ganapati Aiyar, B.A., L.T.	...	Brahman	...	Principal, Kallikote College, Berhampore.	...	do. do. 22-12-08.
184	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. Venkatakrishnaiya	...	do.	...	Pleader, Berhampur	...	do.
185	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. V. Narasinga Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	First Grade Pleader	...	do. do. 7-12-08.
186	do.	...	do.	...	„ J. Venkata Rao Pantulu, M.A. B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Wakil, Berhampore.	...	do.
187	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. Balakrishnama Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.
188	do.	...	do.	...	„ A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu	...	High Court Wakil, Member District and Taluk Boards, Municipal Councillor, and Landholder.	...	do. do. 22-12-08.
189	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. Krishnamurti Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	First Grade Pleader, Berhampore.	...	do. do. 7-12-08.
190	do.	...	do.	...	„ D. S. Dakshinamurti Sastri, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Wakil, Berhampore.	...	do. do.
191	do.	...	do.	...	„ G. Sitaramayya Pantulu	...	do.	...	Second Grade Pleader	...	do. do. 22-12-08.
192	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. Venkataramanayya Pantulu	...	do.	...	Landlord, Member, Dist. & Taluk Boards, Secy., Branch Agricultural Association, Ichapur.	...	do. do. 7-12-08.
193	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. Pattabhiramayya	...	do.	...	Pleader, Berhampur	...	do.
194	do.	...	do.	...	„ W. V. B. Ramalingam Pantulu	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.
195	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. V. Srinivasa Rao	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
196	Madras ...	Chicacole Divisional Association (Ganjam District.)	Mr. T. Visvanadha Sastri ...	Brahman. ...	Second Grade Pleader, Chicacole.	At a Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on 24-12-08.
197	do. ...	Sompeta Taluka Congress Committee (Ganjam District).	„ N. Satyanarayana Murti ...	do. ...	Second Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Sompeta.	At a Meeting of the Committee, held on 24-12-08.
198	do. ...	Aska Taluk Congress Committee (Ganjam District).	„ T. Venkata Mukyaprana Rao ...	do. ...	Malukdar, Aska.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 15-12-08
199	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. K. Ramalingam ...	do. ...	Second Grade Pleader, Aska ...	do.
200	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Thumbanadham Pantulu, B.A. ...	do. ...	Pleader, Aska ...	do.
201	do. ...	Godavari District Congress Committee.	„ K. Surianaravana Moorthy Naidu Garu ...	Telaga ...	Merchant, Cocanada ...	At a Meeting of the Committee. held on 20-12-08.
202	do. ...	do. ...	„ Nalam Padmanabham, B.A. ...	Vaishya ...	Merchant, Hon. Magistrate, and Municipal Councillor.	do.
203	do. ...	Rajahmundry Divisional Association.	„ A. Kanaka Raju ...	Brahman ...	First Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Rajahmundry.	At a Meeting of the Association held on 11-12-08.
204	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Bhimasankara Rao ...	do. ...	do. ...	do.
205	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.	do.
206	do. ...	Godavari District Congress Committee.	„ C. Rama Somayajulu Garu, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	First Grade Pleader, Cocanada.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 20-12-08.

207	do.	...	do.	...	„ Y. Kameswara Rau Pantulu Garu, B. A.	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.
208	do.	...	Rajahmundry Divisional Association.	...	„ D. V. Krishna Rau, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.	...	At a Meeting of the Association held on 11-12-08.
209	do.	...	Godavari District Congress Committee.	...	„ K. Perraju Pantulu Garu	...	do.	...	Landholder, Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Cocanada.	...	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 20-12-08.
210	do.	...	Ellore Divisional Association.	...	„ Kanchana Nagabhushanam Garu	...	Hindu	...	Landholder, Ponangi	...	At a Meeting of the Association held on 6-12-08.
211	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. Seshachala Rao, B.A.	...	Brahman	...	Pleader, Bezwada	...	do.
212	do.	...	do.	...	„ Valluri Rama Rau Garu	...	do.	...	Pleader, Ellore	...	do.
213	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. Suriaprakasa Rao	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.
214	do.	...	do.	...	„ Y. Sastrulingam, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	Pleader, Satyanarayanapuram	...	do.
215	do.	...	do.	...	„ Mocherla Ramachandra Rau Garu, B.A., B. L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Municipal Chairman, Ellore.	...	do.
216	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. S. Raghunatha Rau	...	do.	...	Pleader, Ellore.	...	do.
217	do.	...	do.	...	„ Suri Sundararama Sastri Garu	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.
218	do.	...	do.	...	„ Karma Venkata Reddi Naidu Garu, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu	...	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor, Ellore.	...	do.
219	do.	...	Guntur District Congress Committee.	...	„ Cheemakurti Basavayya Garu	...	Vaishya	...	Merchant and Secretary, The Indian Oil Mills Co., Ltd., &c.,	...	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 20-11-08.
220	do.	...	do.	...	„ Maddi Venkata Subbayya Garu	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.
221	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. V. Srinivasa Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	Vakil, Guntur	...	do.
222	do.	...	do.	...	„ Konda Venkatappayya, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.

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223	Madras ...	Guntur District Congress Committee.	Mr. G. Ramanadha Iyer ...	Brahman ...		At a Meeting of the Committee held on 16-12-08.
224	do. ...	Kistna District Congress Committee.	„ B. Pattabhisitaramaiah, B.A., M.B. & C.M. ...	Hindu ...	Medical Practitioner, Masulipatam ...	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 16-12-08.
225	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Kaleswara Rau Garu, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman ...	Vakil, Bezwada ...	do.
226	do. ...	do. ...	Rao Bahadur P. Venkatappayya Garu, B.A. ...	do. ...	Vakil, Dt. Court, Masulipatam...	do.
227	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. V. Ramadoss Garu, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	do. ...	do.
228	do. ...	Kurnool District Congress Association.	„ C. Narasinga Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Pleader, Kurnool ...	At a Meeting of the Association held on 29-11-08.
229	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Narasimhulu, B.A. B.L. ...	do. ...	do. ...	do.
230	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. Vencataranga Reddiar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu ...	do. ...	do.
231	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Vencataramayya, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman ...	High Court Vakil, Kurnool ...	do.
232	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. B. Varada Iyengar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader do. ...	do. 28-11-08.
233	do. ...	do. ...	„ R. Ayyakutti Iyengar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Pleader do. ...	do. 29-11-08.
234	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. Dakshinamurthi Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	do. do. ...	do. do.
235	do. ...	do. ...	„ N. Ramaswamiah, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader, do. ...	do. do.
236	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. Chidambara Rao, B.A. ...	do. ...	do. do. ...	do. do.
237	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. Vencatakrishna Rao Naidu, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Municipal Councillor, Kurnool.	do. do.

238	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Ekambara Aiyar, B.A.	...	Brahman	...	Pleader, Municipal Councillor &c., Nandyal.	do.	do.
239	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Venkatanarasimha Rao, B.A.	...	do.	...	Pleader, Municipal Chairman & Dt. Board Member, Kurnool.	do.	do.
240	do.	...	Madura District Congress Committee.	...	„ K. Rama Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Madura	...	At a meeting of the Committee held on 16-12-08.
241	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Gopalaswami Aiyangar, B.A.	...	do.	...	Vakil, Madura.	...	do.
242	do.	...	do.	...	„ Sri Seshadri Aiyangar	...	do.	...	Zemindar, Madura	...	do.
243	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. V. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	Vakil, do.	...	do.
244	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. M. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A.	...	do.	...	do. do.	...	do.
245	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. A. Venkatasubrahmaniam Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do. do.	...	do.
246	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M. R. A. S.	...	do.	...	Landlord do.	...	do.
247	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. N. Muthuswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Madura	...	do.
248	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. C. Sivarama Krishna Aiyar	...	do.	...	Maramat Superintendent, Lessee's office, Sivaganga.	...	do.
249	do.	...	do.	...	„ R. Narasimha Aiyangar,	...	do.	...	Vakil, Madura.	...	do.
250	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Madura	...	do.
251	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. Srinivasa Rao Sahib, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do. do.	...	do.
252	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. A. Aiyaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do. do.	...	do.
253	do.	...	do.	...	„ V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do. do.	...	do.
254	do.	...	do.	...	„ R. Lakshmana Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do. do.	...	do.
255	do.	...	do.	...	„ G. Somayaji Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do. do.	...	do.

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256	Madras ...	Madura District Congress Committee.	Mr. T. N. Sundararaja Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	At a meeting of the Dt. Congress Committee held on 16-12-08.
257	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	do. do. ...	do.
258	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	do. do. ...	do. 23-12-08.
259	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Muthusami Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	do. do. ...	do. 16-12-08.
260	do. ...	do. ...	„ V. Muthuramalingam Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Apprentice at Law. c/o Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.	do. do.
261	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Venkatarama Iyer, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	do. do.
262	do. ...	do. ...	„ E. S. Ramaswami Aiyar	do. ...	Vakil, Sivaganga ...	do. 23-12-08.
263	do. ...	do. ...	„ R. Rangaswami Aiyar, B.A.	do. ...	Vakil, Madura ...	do. 16-12-08.
264	do. ...	do. ...	„ L. K. Tulasiram, B.A., B.L. ...	do. Sowrashtra Brahman.	Vakil & Municipal Councillor ...	do. 23-12-08.
265	do. ...	do. ...	„ V. Manikkam Pillai, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu, Vellala ...	Vakil, Madura ...	do.
266	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. S. Venkatasubba Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. Brahman ...	High Court Vakil ...	do. 16-12-08.
267	do. ...	do. ...	„ P. Pondithoraisami Tevar	do. Sivite ...	Zemindar, Palvanatham, Ramnad.	do. 23-12-08.
268	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. P. Velayuda Menon, B.A., B.L. ...	do. Menon ...	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	do. 16-12-08.
269	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. RM. MA. Annamalai Chettiar	do. Nattu Kotai Chetti. ...	Banker and Merchant, Kanadukathan.	do. do.
270	do. ...	do. ...	„ G. Ramaswami Aiyangar	Hindu Brahman.	Landlord, Madura ...	do. do.
271	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Harihara Iyer, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Vakil, Madura ...	do. do.

272	do.	...	Tellicherry District Congress Committee.	..	C. V. Gopalan Nair, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Nair	...	Vakil and Landholder	...	At a meeting of the Telli-cherry District Congress Committee held on 15-12-08.
273	do.	...	Calicut Congress Committee.	..	V. K. Krishnan Nayanar	...	Hindu Nayanar.	...	District Board Member and Landlord, Kuttur, Taliparamba, Malabar North.	...	At a meeting of the Committee held on 6-12-08.
274	do.	...	do.	...	P. Narayana Menon, M.A., B.L.	...	Nair	...	High Court Vakil, Calicut	...	do. do.
275	do.	...	do.	...	The Hon. Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Nair	...	High Court Vakil, Calicut	...	do. do.
276	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. E. R. Warriar, L.M.S.	...	Hindu Warriar...	...	Medical Practitioner & Honorary Magistrate.	...	do. do.
277	do.	...	do.	...	M. Purushothaman Nambudri	...	Brahman	...	Landlord, Kuttipuram	...	do. do.
278	do.	...	do.	...	K. R. Ramaswami Aiyar	...	Brahman	...	1st Grade Pleader, Calicut	...	do. do.
279	do.	...	do.	...	C. Seshayya	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Merchant, Tarakad, Palghat	...	do. 19-12-08.
280	do.	...	Palghat Congress Committee.	..	Valia Konikkal Edom Cheriya Pangi Achan.	...	Hindu	...	Landlord, Proprietor and Manager of Kalpathi Devaswam.	...	At a meeting of the Committee held on 5-12-08.
281	do.	...	do.	...	R. Sekhara Menon, B.A., B.L.	...	do Menon	...	1st Grade Pleader, Palghat	...	do. do.
282	do.	...	do.	...	K. P. Achyntha Menon	...	do Nayar	...	do. do.	...	do. do.
283	do.	...	do.	...	Thirunillaya Lakshmana Pattar Swaminatha Iyer.	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Landholder & Banker, Thirunillaya, Palghat.	...	do. do.
284	do.	...	do.	...	M. P. Subramania Iyer, B.A., M.B. and C.M.	...	do.	...	Medical Practitioner, Palghat	...	do. do.
285	do.	...	do.	...	K. Damodara Menon, B. A., F. T. S.	...	do Nayar	...	1st Grade Pleader, Palghat	...	do. do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctiony.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
286	Madras.	Palghat Congress Committee.	Mr. Kunhikuttan Thampan ...	Hindu Samantha Kshatria.	Land owner ...	At a meeting of the Committee held on 5-12-08.
287	do. ...	Nellore District Congress Committee.	„ Katamareddy Panchala Reddy ...	Hindu ...	Land owner, Buchireddipalayam, Nellore District.	At a meeting of the Nellore District Congress Committee held on 14-12-08.
288	do. ...	do. ...	„ Yaragudipati Venkatachellam, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahman.	1st Grade Pleader, Rayaji Street, Nellore.	do. do.
289	do. ...	do. ...	„ Madubhushi Narasimhachary, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader, Rangayakulapet, Nellore.	do. do.
290	do. ...	do. —	„ Amancherla Subba Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	Vakil, Nellore ...	do. do.
291	do. ...	do. ...	„ V. Krishnaswami Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader ...	do. do.
292	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. V. Venkatarama Iyer, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, Nellore ...	do. do.
293	do. ...	do. ...	„ T. V. Ranaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader Nellore ...	do. do.
294	do. ...	do. ...	„ B. Annaswami Iyer, B.A. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader, Mungamari-vasi Street, Nellore.	do. do.
295	do. ...	do. ...	„ Pellate Panchalu Reddi ...	Capu ...	Mirasidar ...	do. do.
296	do. ...	do. ...	„ Vennalaganty Krishnaswami Row ...	Hindu Brahman.	Land owner, Kavali, Nellore Dt.	do. do.
297	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. G. Kuppuswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader, Nellore ...	do. do.
298	do. ...	do. ...	„ Rebala Subbarayudu, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	1st Grade Pleader, Nellore ...	do. do.
299	do. ...	do. ...	„ Dhurjaty Seshiah. B.A. ...	do. ...	2nd Grade Pleader, Nellore ...	do. do.

300	do.	...	do.	...	„ Katamreddi Adinarayana Reddi	...	Hindu Sudra	...	Land owner, Allur	...	do.	do.
301	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Srinivasa Chari	...	Hindu Brahman	...	Agent, "Best and Co." Srirangarajapuram, Nellore.	...	do.	do.
302	do.	...	Salem District Association.	...	„ R. Muthaiyan Chettiar	...	Hindu Sudra	...	Land-holder	...	At a meeting of the Association held on 17-12-08.	
303	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. R. Ganapathi Iyer	...	Hindu Brahman	...	Mittadar	...	do.	do.
304	do.	...	do.	...	„ Vangal T. Satagopa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Car Street Salem.	...	do.	do.
305	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. L. Venkata Rao, B.A. B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil	...	do.	do.
306	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Kanakasabhapathy Mudaliar, B.A.	...	Non Brahman	...	Mittadar, District Board Member & Municipal Councillor	...	do.	do.
307	do.	...	do.	...	„ D. B. Tirumala Row, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahman	...	District Court Pleader, Car street Salem.	...	do.	do.
308	do.	...	do.	...	„ A. Ramanadha Iyer, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Salem	...	do.	do.
309	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. V. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.	do.
310	do.	...	do.	...	„ B. V. Narasimha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do.	...	do.	do.
311	do.	...	do.	...	„ Ovalam Venkat Row, B.A.	...	do.	...	1st Grade Pleader (Dowlatabad), Krishnagiri (Salem District.)	...	do.	do.
312	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. Audinarayana Chettiar	...	Hindu Vaisa	...	Banker, and Hony. Magistrate, Salem.	...	do.	do.
313	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. V. Rama Row, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahman	...	First Grade Pleader, First Agharam, Salem.	...	do.	do.
314	do.	...	do.	...	„ U. S. Venkatarama Aiyar B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	First Grade Pleader, Inamdar, Car Street, Salem.	...	do.	do.
315	do.	...	Tanjore District Congress Committee.	...	„ E. Suryanarayna Iyer, B.A. B.L.	...	do.	...	Pleader, Tanjore	...	At a meeting of the Tanjore District Congress Committee held on 17-12-08.	

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed, or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
316	Madras.	Tanjore District Congress Committee.	Mr. K. P. Subrahmania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin,	Pleader, Tanjore.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 17-12-08.
317	do.	do.	„ A. Seturama Aiyar	do.	Mirasidar & Secretary Agricultural Bank, Needamangalam.	do. do.
318	do.	do.	„ R. Balaguru Chettiar, of Tranqubar, from Johannesburg.	Hindu	Merchant	do. 21-12-08.
319	do.	do.	„ N. K. Ramaswamiah B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin,	High Court Vakil, Tanjore,	do. 17-12-08.
320	do.	Mannargudi Taluk Congress Committee.	„ G. Aiyaswami Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin,	Land lord, 1st West Street Mannargudi,	At a meeting of the Committee, held on 20-12-08.
321	do.	do.	„ K. G. Srinivasa Mudaliar	Hindu Mudaliar,	Mirasidar, Vice President Taluk Board, Member District Board, Municipal Councillor, Mannargudi (Tanjore)	do.
322	do.	do.	„ K. R. Venkatachella Mudaliar	do.	Mirasidar, Mannargudi.	do. 22-12-08.
323	do.	do.	„ K. G. Rangaswami Mudaliar	do.	do.	do. do.
324	do.	do.	„ D. Kuppuswami Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin,	Mirasidar, 1st. Street, Mannargudi.	do. do.
325	do.	Mayavaram Congress Committee.	„ M. S. Natesa Iyer	do.	Landholder, Taluk and District Board member, Mayavaram.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 13-12-08.
326	do.	do.	„ P. Natesa Aiyar B.A.	do.	Vakil, Pattamangalam Street, Mayavaram	do. do.

327	do.	...	Kumbakonam Congress Committee.	...	" V. Ganapathi Aiyar B.A. B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin,	1st grade Pleader, Kamatshi Josier street, Kumbakonam.	At a meeting of the Kumbakonam Congress Committee held on 17-12-08.
328	do.	...	do.	...	" R. T. Varadaiyengar	...	do.	Pleader.	do. do.
329	do.	...	do.	...	" V. Rangaswami Thathachar	...	do.	do.	do. do.
330	do.	...	do.	...	" S. Sivagurunatha Chettiar B.A. B.L.	...	Hindu	High Court Vakil, and Land owner.	do. do.
331	do.	...	do.	...	" T. Krishnaswami Iyengar B.A., B.L.	...	do. Brahmin.	Landholder & High Court Vakil.	do. do.
332	do.	...	do.	...	" Venkatesam Chettiar	...	Vaisya.	Merchant, Big street, Kumbakonam.	do. do.
333	do.	...	do.	...	" Janaki V. Krishnasami Chettiar	...	HinduSourashtra.	Merchant.	do. do.
334	do.	...	do.	...	" N. Krishnaswami Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Land owner, & Dt. Board Member.	do. do.
335	do.	...	do.	...	" R. Swaminatha Moopnar	...	Hindu Sudra	Land Holder, and Taluk Board member.	do. do.
336	do.	...	do.	...	" T. A. Panchapakesa Sastri	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader & Landowner.	do. do.
337	do.	...	do.	...	" T. S. Sivaswami Odayar	...	Saivite	Landowner, Mun: Councillor & Dt. Board member.	do. do.
338	do.	...	do.	...	" C. R. Lakshmiwaraha Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Land Holder, & Pleader, Kumbakonam.	do. do.
339	do.	...	do.	...	" C. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor.	do. do.
340	do.	...	do.	...	" P. Balasubramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Kumbakonam	do. do.
341	do.	...	do.	...	" A. Vasudeva Rao	...	do.	Mirasidar, Reddi Row's Tank Street, Kumbakonam.	do. do.
342	do.	...	do.	...	" N. Srinivasa Iyengar	...	do.	Landowner	do. do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected
343	Madras	Kumbakonam Congress Committee.	Mr. K. R. Krishnaswami Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil & Landowner.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 17-12-08.
344	do.	Taluk Congress Committee, Shiyali.	„ K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar	Hindu Sivite	Member District and Taluk Boards.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 28-11-08.
345	do.	do.	„ T. R. Srinivasachari, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader	do. do.
346	do.	do.	„ S. Ramakrishna Pillai	Hindu Sivite	Land Holder, & Sriranganathapuram.	do. do.
347	do.	Negapatam Congress Committee.	„ K. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	First Grade Pleader, Negapatam.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 29-11-08.
348	do.	do.	„ C. R. Kunjithapatham Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	do.	First Grade Pleader, & District Board Member, Negapatam.	do. do.
349	do.	do.	„ B. S. Nataraja Sastrial, B.A., B.L.	do.	High Court Vakil and Landholder.	do. do.
350	do.	do.	„ V. Vaidyanatha Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	First Grade Pleader, Negapatam.	do. do.
351	do.	do.	„ K. S. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A.	do.	Chairman, Municipal Council Member of the District and Taluk Boards.	do. do.
352	do.	do.	„ T. A. Doraisami Pillai	Hindu Vellala	Pleader, Negapatam	do. do.
353	do.	do.	„ S. Kuppusami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil	do. do.
354	do.	Nannilam Taluk Congress Committee.	„ R. Vythinathaswami Aiyar	do.	Mirasidar, Mudikondan	At a meeting of the Committee held on 19-12-08.
355	do.	do.	„ V. Subramania Aiyar	do.	Landholder, Konerirajapuram (Tanjore District.)	do. 25-12-08,

356	do.	...	do.	...	„ V Mahadeva Iyer	...	do.	...	Mirasidar, Mudikondan, Tanjore District.	do.
357	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. A. Venkatarama Aiyar	...	do.	...	Hd. Master, Edward Secondary School, Mudikondan, Tanjore District.	do.
358	do.	...	do.	...	„ Abhiramidas Krishnaswami Aiyar	...	do.	...	Landholder, Pillur, Tanjore District.	do.
359	do.	...	Tiruturaipundi Taluq Congress Committee.	...	„ Mr. R. Arunachella Mudaliar	...	Hindu Mudaliar.	...	Mirasidar, Tiruturaipundi, Tanjore District	At a meeting of the Tiruturaipundi Taluq Congress Committee held on 12-12-08.
360	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. K. Athmanada Sastrial	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Pleader do.	do. do.
361	do.	...	do.	...	„ C. Sundaram Aiyar, B.A. B.L.	...	do.	...	Pleader, Mirasidar and Taluq Board Member	do. do.
362	do.	...	Tinnevely District Congress Committee.	...	„ A. K. Sundaram Aiyar, B.A. B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Wakil, Tinnevely Bridge.	At a meeting of the Tinnevely District Congress Committee held on 19-12-08.
363	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar	...	do.	...	do.	do.
364	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. S. Ponnuswami Pillai, B.A. B.L.	...	Vellala Christian.	...	do. Palamcotah	do. 7-12-08.
365	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A. B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Viraraghavapuram	do. do.
366	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B.A. B.L.	...	do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Tinnevely Bridge.	do. 19-12-08.
367	do.	...	do.	...	„ A. Ganapati Sastri, B.A. B.L.	...	do.	...	do. Viraraghavapuram	do. 7-12-08.
368	do.	...	do.	...	„ M. S. Sesa Aiyangar, B.A.	...	do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Satur	do. do.
369	do.	...	do.	...	„ N. V. Venkatachellam Pillai, B.A.	...	Hindu Vellala Sivite.	...	Pleader, Srivaikuntam.	do. 19-12-08.

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370	Madras.	Tinnevelly District Congress Committee.	Mr. C. Lakshminarayana Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Srivaikuntam ...	At a meeting of the Committee held on 19-12-08.
371	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Gopala Aiyar ...	do. ...	do. do. ...	do. do.
372	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. R. Krishnamachariar, B.A. ...	do. ...	Cashier, Madras Bank, Tellicherry	do. 7-12-08.
373	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Subramanya Nayanar ...	Hindu Vellala ...	Manager, Lower Secondary School, Satur	do. do.
374	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. R. Venkatarama Iyer, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Tuticorin ...	do. do.
375	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. Ramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	First Grade Pleader, Palamcottah	do. do.
376	do. ...	do. ...	The Hon. Mr. K. R. Curusami Aiyar, B.A. B.L. F. M. U. ...	do. ...	Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council, Member Tinnevelly District Board and Vice-President, Taluq Board.	do. do.
377	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Sadhu Ganapthi Pantulu, B.A. B.L. ...	do. ...	First Grade Pleader, Tinnevelly Bridge.	do. do.
378	do. ...	Trichinopoly District Congress Committee.	„ S. A. Subramania Pillai ...	Non-Brahman ...	Mirasdar Contractor, Sriranga Rajapuram, Bitchandar Kovil.	do. do.
379	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. V. Rangasami Aiyangar ...	Hindu Brahman.	Landholder, Srirangam ...	do. do.
380	do. ...	do. ...	„ A. V. Gopalachariar, M.A., B.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil, Trichinopoly.	do. do.
381	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. M. Rajaram Row ...	do. ...	Editor <i>Wednesday Review</i> Srirangam, Trichinopoly.	do. do.
382	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. R. Ragunatha Rao ...	do. ...	Trichinopoly ...	do. do.
383	do. ...	do. ...	„ K. Chinnaswami Odayar ...	Non-Brahman ...	Zemindar ...	do. do.

384	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. K. Rangasami Aiyangar	...	Brahman	...	Municipal Councillor, Trichinopoly.	do.	22-12-08.
385	do.	...	do.	...	„ S. R. Doraisami Aiyar B.A.	...	Brahman	...	Merchant	do.	do.
386	do.	...	do.	...	„ R. Krishnaswami Iyer B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil, Trichinopoly.	do.	do.
387	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. S. Ponnusami Tevar	...	Non-Brahman	...	Merchant and Mirasdar, Worriur, Trichy.	do.	7-12-08.
388	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. R. Rangasami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	High Court Vakil, Srirangam	do.	do.
389	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. S. Sambasiva Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	do. Trichinopoly...	do.	do.
390	do.	...	Kulitalai.	Congress	„ S. Lakshminarayana Aiyar, B.A.,	...	do.	...	Pleader	...	At a meeting of the Committee held on 19-12-08.
391	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Venkatarama Chettiar	...	Vaisya	...	Pleader, Kulitalai, and Member Taluk Board, Musiri.	do.	do.
392	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. V. E. Mahomed Ali Sahib	...	Mohamadan	...	Merchant, Lalapet, Mirasidar, Kadavur Zamindari, and Member Taluk Board, Musiri.	do.	do.
393	do.	...	do.	...	„ P. T. Rangaswami Aiyangar	...	Brahman	...	Pleader, Mirasidar, Union Chairman, Taluk Board Vice President, Member District Board, Kulitalai.	do.	do.
394	do.	...	Vizagapatam	District	„ Bhupatiraj Venkatapathi Raju, B.A., B.L.	...	Kshatriya	...	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam.	...	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 16-12-08.
395	do.	...	do.	...	„ D. Lakshmanamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	...	District Court Pleader, Vizagapatam.	do.	do.
396	do.	...	do.	...	„ T. V. N. Chakravarti Pantulu	...	do.	...	Proprietor, Deva Bhumi Estate, Aska.	do.	do.

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397	Madras.	Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	Mr. G. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu ...	Brahman ...	Second Grade Pleader and Landholder.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 16-12-08.
398	do. ...	do. ...	„ Manda Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	do. ...	First Grade Pleader, Chodavaram	do. do.
399	do. ...	do. ...	The Hon. Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarma Pantulu Garu. B.A., B.L.	do. ...	High Court Vakil ...	do. do.
400	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. V. Jagannatham Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L....	do. ...	District Court Pleader, Vizagapatam.	do. do.
401	do. ...	do. ...	„ D. Sriramasastri Garu, B.A., M.L. ...	do. ...	High Court Vakil ...	do. do.
402	do. ...	Divisional Congress Committee Parvatipur.	„ P. Vencata Rao Pantulu ...	do. ...	Mokhasadar, Second Grade Pleader, Parvatipur (Vizagapatam District.)	At a meeting of the committee held on 13-12-08.
403	do. ...	do. ...	„ Oopadrashta Venkata Jagannada Sastri...	do. ...	First Grade Pleader and Landholder, Parvatipur.	do. do.
404	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. Gangaraju Garu ...	do. ...		do. do.
405	Bombay ...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	„ Narayan Madhav Samarth, B.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu.	Hony. Secretary, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Vakil, High Court, Girgaon.	By the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held on 11-12-08.
406	do. ...	do. ...	„ Wamanrao Shamrao Welker ...	Hindu Pathare Prabhu.	Landed Proprietor, 102, Dadysitts Agiary Road, Bombay.	do. do.
407	do. ...	do. ...	„ Ganesh Raghunath Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Sangli (S. M. C.) ...	do. do.
408	do. ...	do. ...	„ Vinayak Krishna Mainkar, B.A., LL.B. ...	do. ...	do. ...	do. do.

409	do.	...	do.	...	„ Balakrishna Narayan Bhajekar, B.A. LL.B.	do.	...	Vakil, High Court, Angriawadi, Girgaum, Bombay.	do.	do.
410	do.	...	do.	...	„ Govind Ballal Deval	do.	...	Author and Dramatist, Sangli (S. M. C.)	do.	do.
411	do.	...	do.	...	The Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Vania	...	Additional Member of the Legislative Council, Bombay, Honorary Secretary, Bombay, Provincial Congress Committee, Vakil, High Court, Girgaum Bombay.	do.	do.
412	do.	...	do.	...	„ Uttamalal K. Trivedi, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Nagar Brahman.	...	Vakil, High Court, Khatwadi, Girgaum, Bombay.	do.	do.
413	do.	...	do.	...	„ Sadashiv Ramachandra Gokhale, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Brahman.	...	Vakil, High Court, No. 695, Girgaum, Bombay.	do.	do.
414	do.	...	do.	...	The Rev. R. A. Hume, M.A., D.D.	European Christian.	...	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar, Additional Member, Bombay Legislative Council.	do.	do.
415	do.	...	do.	...	The Hon. Hari Sitaram Dikshit, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Nagar Brahman.	...	Solicitor, Hummun Street, Fort, Bombay.	do.	do.
416	do.	...	do.	...	The Hon. Sir Pherozesha M. Mehta, K.C.I.E., M.A.	Parsi	...	Ex-President of the Congress, Ex-officio Member of the All-India Congress Committee President, Bombay Presidency Association, President, Provincial Congress Committee, Ordinary Fellow and Syndic, Bombay University, Member, Municipal Corporation, Nepean Seo Road, Bombay.	do.	do.
417	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. Lakshman R. Gokhale	Hindu Brahman.	...	Pleader, Poona City.	do.	do.
418	do.	...	do.	...	The Hon. Mr. Gopalkrishna Gokhale, B.A. C.I.E.	do.	...	Ex-President of the Congress, Ex-Officio Member of the All-India Congress Committee, Additional Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, First Member, Servants of India Society Poona City.	do.	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
419	Bombay ...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Kashinath R. Mitra ...	Hindu Sarasvat Brahman.	Editor "Nasik Manoranjan" Girgaum, Bombay.	By the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held on, 11-12-08.
420	do. ...	do. ...	„ Damodar Ganesh Padhye, M.A. ...	Hindu Brahman.	Fellow, Bombay University Editor, "Indu Prakash" Principal, G. T. High School, Girgaum, Bombay.	do. do.
421	do. ...	do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Chimanolal Harilal Setalvad, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Fellow and Syndic, Bombay Khatriya University, Additional Member, Bombay Legislative Council, Member, Municipal Corporation and Advocate, High Court, Bombay.	do. do.
422	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Rustom K. R. Cama, B.A., LL.B.	Parsi ...	Fellow, Bombay University and Solicitor, Esplanade, Fort, Bombay.	do. do.
423	do. ...	do. ...	The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Additional Member, Bombay Legislative Council, Fellow and Syndic, Bombay University, General Secretary of the Congress, Ex-officio Member of the All-India Congress Committee and Vakil, High Court, Bellasis Road, Byculla, Bombay.	do. do.
424	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Sadashiv Ramachandrar Bakhale, B.A., LL.B.	do. ...	Vakil, High Court, and Inamdar, near Kennedy Bridge, Grant Road Post, Bombay.	do. do.
425	do. ...	do. ...	„ Lalubhai Asharam Shah, M.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu ...	Vakil, High Court, 3rd Parsiwada, Girgaum, Bombay.	do. do.
426	do. ...	do. ...	„ Govind Kashinath Gadgil, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahman.	Member, All-India Congress Committee, Member Bombay Presidency Association, Member, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and Bar-at-Law, Girgaum, Bombay.	do. do.

427	do.	...	do.	...	„ Natesh Appaji Dravid, M.A.	...	do.	...	Editor "Dnyan Prakash." Member of the Servants of India Society, Poona City.	do.	do.
428	do.	...	db.	...	Sir Bhalachandra Krishna Bhatavadekar, <i>Kt.</i> , L.M.	...	do.	...	Fellow, Bombay University, Member, Municipal Corpora- tion, Medical Practitioner, Girgaum, Bombay.	do.	do.
429	do.	...	do.	...	„ Vishnu Krishna Bhatavadekar, B.A., LL.B.	...	do.	...	Vakil, High Court, Girgaum, Bombay.	do.	do.
430	do.	...	Ahmednagar Dis- trict Associa- tion.	...	„ G. R. Shrotria	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Ahmednagar.	At a meeting of the Asso- ciation held on	
431	do.	...	do.	...	„ Hari Keshav Patwardan, B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	High Court Pleader, Ahmed- nagar.	do.	17-11-08. 18-11-08.
432	do.	...	Provincial Con- gress Com- mittee.	...	Ganapati Krishna Chitale	...	do.	...	Honorary Secretary, High Court Pleader, Ahmednagar.	At a meeting of the Committee held on	
433	do.	...	Bombay Presi- dency Associa- tion.	...	„ Jehangir B. D. Petit	...	Parsi	...	Merchant, Malabar Hill, Bom- bay.	At a meeting of the Association held on	
434	do.	...	do.	...	Miss Hamabai Framji Petit	...	do.	...	Harkness Road, Bombay	do.	do.
435	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. V. F. Taraporvala	...	do.	...	Barrister	do.	do.
436	do.	...	do.	...	„ Shankar Abaji Bhisey	...	Hindu Chandra- seniya Kayas- tha Prabhu.	...	Scientist and Mechanical Inven- tor, Anantwadi, Kalbadevi Post, Bombay.	do.	do.
437	do.	...	do.	...	„ Moro Balvant Marathe B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Pleader, Belgaon	do.	do.
438	do.	...	do.	...	„ Ramdatt V. Desai, B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu	...	Vakil, High Court, Thakurduar.	do.	do.
439	do.	...	do.	...	„ Moreshuar Wishvanath Pradhan, B.A. LL.B.	...	do.	...	Vakil, High Court, 127, Old Hummun Lane, Kalbadevi Road.	do.	12-12-08.
440	do.	...	do.	...	The Hon. Sir Vithaldas D. Thakersey <i>Kt.</i>	...	do.	...	Merchant, Hummun Street, Fort, Bombay.	do.	9-12-08.
441	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. Govindji Madhowji	...	do.	...	do.	do.	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Elcetorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
442	Bombay ...	Bombay Presidency Association, do.	Presi-Associ- Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thakursi ...	Hindu ...	Mill Agent, Hummun Street, Fort, Bombay.	At the meeting of the Association held on 9-12-08.
443	do. ...	do. ...	„ Krishnaji Narayan Kulkarni ...	Hindu Brahman.	Landholder, Satti, Post Atham District, Belgaum.	do. do.
444	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. R. Bomanji ...	Parsi ...	Merchant, Forbes Street, Fort, Bombay.	do. do.
445	do. ...	do. ...	Dr. K. M. Dubash ...	do. ...	Medical Practitioner, opp. Canra Bag, Charni Road Girgaum.	do. do.
446	do. ...	do. ...	Lady Pherozesha M. Mehta ...	do. ...	.....	do. do.
447	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Dinsha Edulji Wacha ...	do. ...	Mill Owner, 84, Hornby Road, Bombay.	do. do.
448	do. ...	do. ...	„ D. B. Lam ...	do. ...	Merehant, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.	do. do.
449	do. ...	do. ...	Mrs. Jehangir B. D. Petit ...	do. ...		do. do.
450	do. ...	do. ...	Mrs. P. J. Padshah ...	do. ...	Noosari Buildings Hornby Row, Fort.	do. do.
451	do. ...	do. ...	„ P. J. Padshah ...	do. ...	Bar-at-Law, Noosari Buildings, Hornby Row, Fort, Bombay.	do. do.
452	do. ...	do. ...	Mrs. P. G. Padshah ...	do. ...		do. do.
453	do. ...	do. ...	„ D. F. Kama ...	do. ...	13, Hornby Row, Fort, Bombay.	do. do.
454	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. D. N. Bahadurji ...	do. ...	Bar-at-Law, Colaba. ...	do. 12-12-08.
455	do. ...	do. ...	Mrs. D. N. Bahadurji ...	Hindu Brahmo...	Colaba ...	do. 9-12-08.
456	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Chandrashekar Venkatesh Anikhendi ...	Hindu Brahman.	Merchant, Rabkavi, Via Kudchi (S.M.R.)	do. do.

457	do.	...	do.	...	„ Ratilal, B. Majumdar	...	Hindu	...	Bar-at-Law, Girgaum Back Road.	do.	do.
458	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., F.T.A.A. J.P., F.B.U.	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Manager, Swadeshi Life Assurance Co., Ltd., Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.	do.	do.
459	do.	...	do.	...	„ Lallubhai Samaldas	...	Hindu	...	Merchant, No. 99, Appollo Street, Fort, Bombay.	do.	do.
460	do.	...	do.	...	„ Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, B.A., LL.B.	...	Mahomedan	...	Solicitor, High Court, 19, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.	do.	do.
461	do.	...	do.	...	„ Bamonji J. Wadia	...	Parsi	...	Bar-at-Law, Malabar Hill, Bombay.	do.	do.
462	do.	...	do.	...	„ Dattaram Ganpat Dalvi, M.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu	...	Vakil, High Court, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay	do.	do.
463	do.	...	do.	...	„ K. Natarajan	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Journalist, Hummun Street, Fort, Bombay.	do.	do.
464	do.	...	do.	...	„ Bhulabhai J. Desai, M.A., LL.B.	...	do.	...	Advocate, High Court, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.	do.	do.
465	do.	...	do.	...	„ Gajanan Martand Gupte, B.A., LL.B.	...	do.	...	Advocate, High Court, Hill Road, Bandora.	do.	do.
466	do.	...	do.	...	„ Gopal Ramkrishna Tendle, B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu Daiwadya Brahman.	...	Vakil, High Court, Mandan Gopal Buildings, Ahmedabad.	do.	do.
467	do.	...	do.	...	„ Mahomed Ali Jeena	...	Mahomedan	...	Barrister, High Court, Bombay.	do.	do.
468	do.	...	do.	...	„ Pherozesha Bamanji Patil	...	Parsi	...	Merchant, Malabar Hill, Bombay.	do.	do.
469	do.	...	do.	...	„ Prabhakar Lakshman Nagpurkar	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Pleader, Sholapur	do.	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
470	Bombay ...	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Framroy Rustom M. Chichgur ...	Parsi ...	House Agent, Grant Road, ...	At the meeting of the Association held on 9-12-08.
471	do. ...	Guzerat Sabha, Ahmedabad.	„ Shivabhai Motibhai Patel, B.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader and Landholder, Ahmedabad.	At a meeting of the Guzerat Sabha held on 18-12-08.
472	Bombay ...	do. ...	Mr. Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel B.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
473	do. ...	do. ...	„ Govindrao Apaji Patil B.A., LL.B. ...	Deccani Brahman ...	Ahmedabad, Raipur, Honorary Secretary, Guzerat Sabha Pleader and Landholder, Ahmedabad.	do.
474	do. ...	do. ...	„ Bhulabhai Prayjibhai, Patel ...	Hindu ...	Merchant and Landholder, Khadia, Ahmedabad City.	do.
475	do. ...	do. ...	„ Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, BA., LL.B. ...	Hindu Nagar Brahman.	Pleader, Ahmedabad.	do.
476	do. ...	Hyderabad District Congress Committee.	„ Chuharmal Lalchand Advani ...	Hindu Lohana...	Zamindar and Landlord, Hyderabad (Sindh).	At a meeting of the Committee held on 6-12-08.
477	do. ...	do. ...	„ Hiranand Santokram Advani, B.A., LL.B. ...	do. ...	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sindh) ...	do.
478	do. ...	do. ...	„ Mathradas Ramchand Javehri, B.A., LL.B. ...	Bhatia Hindu ...	Pleader, Zamindar, Municipal Councillor, member of the District Local Board, Hyderabad (Sindh).	do.
479	do. ...	do. ...	„ M. V. Lele, B.A., I.C.E. ...	Hindu Brahman ...	Zamindar, Hyderabad (Sindh).	do.

480	do.	...	Karachi District Congress Committee.	...	„ Kaloomal Pahloomal Nasta, B.A., L.L.B.	...	Hindu Lohana	...	Pleader, Karachi	...	At a meeting of the Karachi District Congress Committee held on 30-11-08.
481	do.	...	do.	...	„ Shewaram Ch. Osha	...	Brahman	...	Physician, Karachi	...	do.
482	do.	...	do.	...	„ Lokamal Chelaram	...	Hindu Lohana	...	Merchant and Landlord, Karachi Bombay Bazaar.	...	do.
483	do.	...	do.	...	„ Deepchand T. Ojha	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Pleader, Karachi	...	do.
484	do.	...	do.	...	„ Harchandrai Vishinde, B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu Lohana	...	President, Sind Hindu Sabha ; President, Karachi District Congress Committee.	...	do.
485	do.	...	do.	...	„ Tikamji Purshotam	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Contractor, Napier Road, Karachi.	...	do.
486	do.	...	do.	...	„ Rewachand Fatehchand	...	Hindu Lohana	...	Landlord and Merchant	...	do.
487	do.	...	do.	...	„ Ratanchand Fatchchand	...	do.	...	Merchant and Landlord, Bunder Road, Karachi	...	do.
488	do.	...	The Khandesh District Congress Committee.	...	„ Baburao Ramchandra Ranasingh, B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu Aryan	...	Pleader, Dhulia, Khandesh	...	At a meeting of the Khandesh District Congress Committee held on 13-12-08.
489	do.	...	do.	...	„ Laxaman Narsingh Ranasingh	...	do.	...	Landholder and Pensioner, Dhulia, Khandesh.	...	do.
490	do.	...	do.	...	„ Shankar Narhar Velthanbar	...	do.	...	Pleader, Municipal Councillor, Dhulia.	...	do.
491	do.	...	do.	...	„ Sitaram Damodar Deshpande	...	do.	...	Money lender and Landlord, Dhulia, Khandesh.	...	do.
492	do.	...	do.	...	„ Balkrishna Ramchandra Kotwal	...	do.	...	Pleader do. do. ...	...	do.
493	do.	...	do.	...	„ Kashinath Mulchand	...	do.	...	Bench Magistrate, Municipal Councillor, Merchant, Dhulia.	...	do.
494	do.	...	do.	...	„ Ganesh Govind Garud	...	do.	...	Bench Magistrate, Member District and Local Board, and Landlord, Khotgalli, Dhulia.	...	do.

Serial No	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When how Elected
495	Bombay ...	The Khandesh District Congress Committee.	Mr. Yadav Balkrishna Bahalkar ...	Hindu Aryan ...	Editor, "The Khandesh Vai-bhav," Municipal Councillor, Member of District and Local Boards, Village Munsiff and Physician, Dhulia, Khandesh.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 13-12-08.
496	do. ...	do. ...	„ Sidhanath Dhondo Garud, B.A. ...	do. ...	Member of District and Local Boards, Pleader and Landlord, Dhulia.	do.
499	do. ...	The Kolabba District Congress Committee.	„ Chintaman Sakharam Devale, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahman.	Servant of India (Servants of India Society,) Poona City.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 6-12-08.
500	do. ...	do. ...	„ Gopal Chimnaji Bhate ...	do. ...	Pleader, Roha District, Kolaba.	do.
501	do. ...	do. ...	„ Krishnaji Keshav Joshi, B.A. ...	do. ...	Teacher, New English School, Poona, 387, Shanwarpett, Poona City.	do.
502	do. ...	The Poona District Congress Committee.	„ Vinayak Ramchandra Joshi, B.A. ...	do. ...	Editor "The Sudarak," Budhwarpet, Poona City.	At a general meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 13-12-08.
503	do. ...	do. ...	„ Kashinath Vasudev Gharpure ...	do. ...	Agent and Banker, Budhwarpet, Poona City.	do.
504	do. ...	do. ...	„ Vishvanath Govind Sant ...	do. ...	do.	do.
505	do. ...	do. ...	„ Govind Chintaman Bhat, M.A., LL.B. ...	do. ...	Landholder, 497, Budhwarpet, Poona City.	do.
506	do. ...	do. ...	„ Vaijanath Kashinath Rajawade, M.A. ...	do. ...	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona City.	do.
507	do. ...	do. ...	„ Shrikrishna Chintaman Chitnis ...	Hindu Prasthan Samaj.	Pleader, Shukrawarpet, 22, Poona City.	do.

508	do.	...	do.	...	„ Gopalakrishna Deodhar, M.A.	...	Hindu Brahman.	Servant of India, Servants of India Society, Poona City.	do.
509	do.	...	do.	...	„ Hari Govind Limaye, M.A.	...	do.	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona City.	do.
510	no.	...	do.	...	„ Upendra Chandra Chatterjee, B.A.	...	Bengalee Brahman.	Servant of India, Servants of India Society, Poona City.	do.
511	do.	...	do.	...	„ Shridhar Ganesh Vaze, B.A.	...	Hindu Brahman.	do.	do.
512	do.	...	do.	...	„ Laxman Vithal Kaikini, L. Ag.	...	do.	do.	do.
513	do.	...	do.	...	„ Vithal Hari Barve	...	do.	do.	do.
514	do.	...	do.	...	„ Keshav Ramachandra Kanitkar, B.S.C., M.A.	...	do.	Professor of Science, Ferguson College, Poona City.	do.
515	do.	...	do.	...	„ Amalya Kumar Basu	...	Bengali Kshatriya.	Servant of India, Servants of India Society, Poona City.	do.
516	do.	...	do.	...	„ Govind Chimnaji Bhate, M.A.	...	Hindu Brahman.	Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Ferguson College, Poona City.	do.
517	do.	...	do.	...	„ Raghunath Purushottam Paranjape, B. Sc. M.A.	...	do.	(Senior Wrangler, Cantab) Principal, Ferguson College, Poona City.	do.
518	do.	...	do.	...	„ Vaman Govind Kale, M.A.	...	do.	Professor do. do.	do.
519	do.	...	do.	...	„ Balkrishna Setaram Kamat, B.A.	...	do.	Contractor, Cantonment Poona City.	do.
520	do.	...	do.	...	„ N. S. Desai	...	do.	Pleader, Poona City	do.
521	do.	...	do.	...	„ H. K. Patwardhan of Ahmednagar	...	do.	do.	do.
522	do.	...	do.	...	„ Govind Huri Keskar	...	do.	Author of " Combined Introductory Astrology " Capitalist and astrologer, Budhwarpet, Poona City.	do.
523	do.	...	do.	...	„ Ananta Lakshman Despande	...	do.	Pleader, Poona City	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected
524	Bombay	The Poona District Congress Committee.	Mr. Hari Narayan Apte	Hindu Brahman.	Manager, Anandashram, Budwarpet, Poona City.	At a General Meeting of the Committee held on 13-12-08.
525	do.	Satara District, Congress Committee.	„ Lakshman Krishna Joshi	do.	Agent, New York Life Insurance Co.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 2-12-08.
526	do.	do.	„ Sitaram Ganesh Deodar, B.A.	do.	Superintendent, New English School, Satara.	do.
527	do.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	„ Jagannath R. Gharpure, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Angrias, Wadi, Girgaon, Bombay.	By the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at its Meeting held on 11-12-08.
528	do.	Surat District Congress Committee.	„ Chimanlal Chhabildas Chinoy.	Bania	Merchant, Nanavut, Surat	At a Meeting of the Surat District Association held on 19-11-08.
529	do.	do.	„ Ramachandra Chittoobhoy Desai	Brahman	Mechanical Engineer, Surat	do.
530	do.	do.	„ Maganlal Bhukhandas Sheth, B.A., LL.B.	Bania	Pleader, Rani Telad, Surat	do.
531	do.	do.	„ Amritlal, B. Hinglokvala, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, Wadifalia, Surat.	do.
532	do.	do.	„ Chhanmukhram Krishnamukhram Mehta.	Hindu	Pleader, Balaji Road, Surat	do.
533	do.	do.	„ Balvantras Tirupura Shankar Dave	Brahman	Pleader, Khapatia Chtrakla, Surat.	do.
534	do.	do.	„ Tribhuvandas Khandas	Bania	Landlord, and Engineer, Somfalia, Surat.	do.
535	do.	do.	„ Pranlal Abheram Parneria, B.A., LL.B.	Brahman	Pleader, Kotsafi	do.
536	do.	do.	„ Chunilal Maneklal Gandhe, B.A. LL.B.	Bania	— Pleader, Kinari Bazaar	do.

537	do.	...	do.	...	„ Motabhai Motilal Desai	...	Brahman	...	Pleader, Jagirdar, Gopipura, Surat.	do.
538	do.	...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	...	Rao Bahadur Khandubhai Gulabbhai Desai, L.C.E.	...	do.	...	Retired Executive Engineer, P. W. D, Saganpura, Surat.	At the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee meeting held on 11-12 08.
539	United Bengal.	...	Provincial Congress Committee.	...	Babu Bhupendranath Bose, M.A.	...	Hindu	...	Attorney-at-Law, 10, Hastings Street.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 18-12-08.
540	do.	...	do.	...	Dr. Nilratan Sarkar, M.A., M.D.	...	Brahman	...	Medical Practitioner, 61, Harrison Road.	do.
541	do.	...	do.	...	Babu Surendranath Benerjea, B.A.	...	Hindu	...	Journalist	do.
542	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. A. Chandhuri, M.A. (Cal.) B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.)	...	do.	...	Fellow of the Calcutta University. Bar-at-Law and Zamindar (Haripur: Pabna.)	do.
543	do.	...	do.	...	„ J. Chandhuri, M.A.	...	do.	...	Bar-at-Law	do.
544	do.	...	do.	...	Babu Surendranath Das Gupta	...	do.	...	Clerk	do.
545	do.	...	do.	...	„ Satyananda Bose, M.A., B.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil	do.
546	do.	...	do.	...	„ Bishesvarnath Misra	...	do.	...	Landholder, 183, Harrison Road	do. 23-12-08.
547	do.	...	do.	...	The Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, M.A., D.L.	...	do.	...	High Court Vakil	do. 18-12-08.
548	do.	...	do.	...	Babu Suchir Kumar Labiri	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Asst. Supdt., Bengal Technical Institute.	do.
549	do.	...	do.	...	„ Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta, M.A., B.L.	...	Hindu	...	High Court Vakil	do.
550	do.	...	do.	...	Moulvi Abul Kassim	...	Mussalman	...	Journalist and Aimadar	do.
551	do.	...	do.	...	Mr. S. R. Dass	...	Brahman	...	Bar-at-Law	do.
552	do.	...	do.	...	„ J. Ghoshal	...	Hindu	...	Zamindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
553	United Bengal.	Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Jatendranath Bose M.A.	Hindu	Attorney-at-Law, 14, Baloram Ghose's Street.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 18-12-08.
554	do.	do.	Mr. S. M. Bose	Brahmo	Bar-at-Law, 93, Upper Circular Road.	do.
555	do.	do.	Babu Surendranath Mullick, M.A., B.L.	Hindu	Pleader	do.
556	do.	The Burdwan Institute:	„ Bipinbihari Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Bengali, Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil High Court and Zamindar, Burdwan.	At a Meeting of the Institute held on 10 12 08.
557	do.	Chittagong Association.	„ Pulin Chandra Das	do.	Pleader, Chittagong.	At a Meeting of the Chittagong Association.
558	do.	do.	„ Jatra Mohan Sen	do.	Vakil and President, Chittagong Association.	do.
559	do.	Dacca People's Association.	„ Surjakanta Bannerjee. B.A., B.L.	Bengali Brahman	Pleader, Judge's Court, Dacca...	At a Meeting of the Association held on 21-12-08.
560	do.	do.	„ Basanti Kumar Bose, M.A., B.L.	do. Kayastha.	Landholder and High Court Vakil, Calcutta.	do.
561	do.	Faridpur District Association.	„ Ambika Charan Mazumdar, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Vaidya	Ex. Member, Bengal Legislative Council, Chairman, Faridpur Municipality, and President, Faridpur District Association, Zamindar and Pleader, Faridpur (Bengal).	do. do. 20-12 08.
562	do.	do.	„ Ramcharan Shaha, B.L.	do. Shaha	Member District Association, Pleader and Landholder, Faridpur (Bengal).	do. do.

563	do.	...	do.	...	„ Mathura Nath Maitra, B.L.	...	Hindu Brahman.	Secretary, Faridpur Dt. Association. Pleader, Faridpur (Bengal).	do.
564	do.	...	do.	...	„ Krishnadas Roy	...	do.	Member, District Association, Zamindar and Merchant, 17, Hurrochandra Mullick's lane, Hatkhola, Calcutta.	do.
565	do.	...	do.	...	„ Prithwish Chandra Roy	...	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar and Editor "Indian World"	do.
566	do.	...	Hugly and Howrah District Association.	...	„ Bishunpada Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	...	Hindu	Vakil, High Court	At a Meeting of the Hugly and Howrah District Association.
567	do.	...	do.	...	„ Kaliprasannath, B.L.	...	do.	Pleader, 89, Amherst Street, Calcutta.	do.
568	do.	...	Krishnagar Bar Association.	...	„ Nanda Gopal Bhaduri	...	Brahman	Landholder; Member, Sudder Local Board, Krishnagar, Chairman, The Krishnaganj Union Committee and Secretary to Majdia R. B. High English School, Landholder, Magdia, Kristnaganj P. O., Nadia Dt., Bengal.	At a Meeting of the Krishnagar Bar Association held on 18-12-08
569	do.	...	do.	...	„ Manindra Nath Chatterjee	...	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar and Merchant, Kristnagar	do.
570	do.	...	do.	...	„ Sarog Ranjan Bose, B.A., B.L.	...	do. Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Kristnagar, Nadia, Bengal.	do.
571	do.	...	do.	...	„ Monmotho Kumar Bose, B.A., B.L.	...	do.	Pensioner, Kristnagar, Nadia Bengal.	do.
572	do.	...	District Congress Committee, Murshidabad.	...	„ Nafor Das Roy	...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate, Secretary, Murshidabad Association, Gorabasar Berhampore, (Bengal).	At a Meeting of the Standing Committee held on, 20-12-08.
573	do.	...	Standing Congress Committee, Rajshahi.	...	Srijut Kishori Mohan Chudhuri, M.A., B.L.	...	Brahman	Pleader and Zamindar, Ghoramara, Rajshahi District.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 5-12-08.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
574	United Bengal.	Standing Congress Committee, Rajshahi.	Babu Surendra Nath Roy, B.A.	Brahman	Bar.-at-Law, Calcutta	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 20-12-08.
575	United Provinces.	United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, Allahabad.	„ Govind Sahai Sharma, B.A.	do.	Bar.-at-Law	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held at Allahabad on 19-12-08.
576	do.	do.	Pandit Basdeo Sahai Sharma	do.	Banker and Zamindar, Aligarh.	do.
577	do.	do.	Babu Preo Nath Banerji	do.	High Court Vakil and Honorary Magistrate, Bareilly.	do.
578	do.	do.	Babunand Kishore Kacker	Khatttri	Bar.-at-Law, Bareilly	do.
579	do.	do.	Dr. Leg Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Advocate, High Court	do. 12-12-08.
580	do.	do.	Mr. Rai Pandit Berajnarain Gurtu	do.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	do.
581	do.	do.	Babu Satya Chandra Mukurjee	Bengali Brahman	Vakil, High Court	do.
582	do.	do.	The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malariya.	Brahman	Vakil, High Court, Kucha Babormal, Allahabad.	do.
583	do.	do.	Pandit Ramakant Malaviya	do.	do.	do.
584	do.	do.	Babu Satish Chandra Banerjee, M.A., LL.D.	Bengali Brahman	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad	do.
585	do.	do.	„ Saratchandra Chandhri, M.A., LL.B.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	do. 19-12-08.
586	do.	do.	Pandit Kristna Prasadkoul, B.A.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Zamindari, Panni Gali, Agra	do.
587	do.	do.	Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave	Nagar Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, (N.W.P.)	do.
588	do.	do.	Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzroo, B.A., B.S.C.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Zamindari, Chili Int, Agra	do.
589	do.	do.	Mr. Manahar Lal	Buddhist	Medical Practitioner, Aligarh	do.

590	do.	...	Gorakhpur Congress Committee.	„ Ayodhya Das	...	Hindu	...	Bar.-at-Law	...	At a Meeting held in Gorakhpur.
591	do.	...	Allahabad District Congress Committee, Lucknow Dt. Congress Committee.	Babu Iswar Saran, B.A.	...	Kayastha	...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	...	At a Meeting of the Dt. Congress Committee held on 12-12-08.
592	do.	...	do.	Pandit Ikbal-Narayan Masaldan	...	Kashmiri Brahman	...	Bar.-at-Law, Lucknow	...	do. 22-12-08.
593	do.	...	do.	Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu Brahman.	...	Vakil, High Court, (N.W.P.) and Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Oudh.	...	do.
594	do.	...	do.	Babu Ganga Prasad Varma	...	Hindu Khattri...	...	Editor of the " Advocate " and the " Hindustani."	...	do.
595	do.	...	do.	Mr. A. P. Sen	...	Hindu Vaidya	...	Bar.-at-Law, Lucknow	...	do.
596	do.	...	do.	„ Mushir Husam Kidwai	...	Mussalman	...	do.	...	do. (and by the British Indian Association and Hamidia Islamic Society of Johannesburg.)
597	do.	...	do.	Babu Basanti Charan Sinha	...	Hindu	...	Vakil, Muzaffarpur	...	do.
598	Berar	...	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Kanji Jetha Jaiial	...	Kshatriya	...	Merchant and money lender	...	At a Meeting held on 13th December at Amraoti.
599	do.	...	do.	„ Durgadatt Bansidhar	...	Marwadi Agarwalla.	...	Merchant and money lender	...	do.
600	do.	...	do.	„ Ramachandra Vishnu Mahajanai B.A. LL.B.	...	Brahman	...	High Court Pleader, Akola	...	do.
601	do.	...	do.	„ Keshav V. Jamkhindikar	...	Maharashtra Brahman	...	2nd Asst. Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti (Berar)	...	do.
602	do.	...	do.	„ Ramachandra Annaji Deshpande	...	do.	...	Pleader, District Court, Amraoti (Berar)	...	do.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
603	Berar ...	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B. ...	Maharashtra Brahman.	Advocate, Landholder, Amraoti, (Berar)	At a Meeting held on 13th December at Amraoti.
604	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. Narsaya Tamba ...	Komti, Hindu ...	Izardar & Landholder, Yeotmal.	do.
605	do. ...	do. ...	„ B. V. Dravid ...	Brahman ...	Chairman, Cotton Market Committee, Factory owner and Cotton Merchant, Yeotmal.	do.
606	do. ...	do. ...	„ Gunwantras Baji Rao Lanke ...	do. ...	Secretary, Oil Mill Company, Akola (Berar)	do.
607	do. ...	do. ...	Rao Bahadur Doorao Vinayak ...	do. ...	High Court Pleader and Mill owner, Akola	do.
608	do. ...	do. ...	Mr. R. G. Mundle, B.A., LL.B. ...	do. ...	High Court Pleader, Member Dt. Board, Yeotmal (Berar)	do.
609	do. ...	do. ...	„ C. Y. Chintamani ...	do. ...	Asst Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti (Berar)	do.
610	do. ...	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	„ S. Husan Imam ...	Mussalman ...	Bar.-at-Law and Zamindar, Ban-kipur.	At a Meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee.
611	do. ...	do. ...	„ S. Najmul Huda ...	do. ...	do. ...	do.
612	do. ...	do. ...	„ Parmeshwar Lall, M.A. ...	Hindu ...	Bar.-at-Law, High Court Calcutta	do.
613	do. ...	do. ...	„ Sackchidananda Sinha ...	do. ...	Bar.-at-Law and Editor "The Hindustan Review"	do.
614	do. ...	Bhagulpore Dt. Committee.	„ Deep Narayan Singh ...	do. ...	Zamindar, Bhagulpur ...	At a Meeting of the Committee.

615	Punjab	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee	„ Ganpat Rai Berabha	...	Hindu	...	Municipal Commissioner and Vice-Chairman, Dt. Board.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 18-12-08.
616	do.	do.	The Hon'ble Lala Harikishen Lal, B.A.	...	Sikh	...	Bar-at-Law, Member, Legislative Council, Managing Director, People's Bank of India, etc., Lahore.	do. do.
617	do.	do.	Mr. Dharm Das Suri	...	Brahmo	...	Vakil, High Court (N. W. P.) and Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do. do.
618	do.	do.	Mr. M. L. Tandan	...	Shatri	...	Merchant, Circular Road, Lahore	do. do.
619	do.	do.	Pandit Kishore Lal, B.A., LL.B.	...	Kashmiri man.	Brah-	Pleader, Gujrat (Punjab)	do. do.
620	do.	do.	Pandit Rambhai Datta Choudhry, B.A.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Chief Court	do. do.
621	do.	do.	Mr. Parshotam Lal Rajpal, B.A.	...	Arora	...	Managing Agent, Swadeshi Weaving Coy., Ltd.	do. do.
622	Burma	Burma Provincial Congress Committee.	„ R. Rangaswami Aiyangar, B.A.	...	Brahman	Vaishnavite	Servant of India, Servants of India Society, Poona City	At a Meeting of the Committee held on the 26-11-08.
623	do.	do.	„ Syed Abdul Khadur Jeelani Sahib Bahadur	...	Mahomedan	...	Pleader, Rangoon	do. do.
624	do.	do.	„ Vasudeo Govind Bijapurkar, M.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Chief Court 3, Shagray Road, Mogul Street, Rangoon	do. do.
625	do.	do.	Dr. Umadran Lalbahi Desai, M. D., Bachelor of Surgery, L.R.C.P.L.R.C.S.L.M. (Edin) M. C.P.A. C. P. (London) Associate of Owen's Coliege, Menchester.	...	Brahman	...	Physician and Surgeon, Nerve Specialist	do. do.
626	Central Provinces	Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, Nagpur	Rao Bahadur Raja Ram Sitaram Dikshit	...	do.	...	Contractor, Nagpur	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 20-12-08.

APPENDIX F.

The Indian National Congress.

Organisations in the Province of Madras formed or recognised under the Constitution of the Congress.

With their Office-bearers.

1. The Madras Provincial Congress Committee—
President :—The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur.
Secretaries :—Mr. V. Rynu Nambiyar, B.A., B.L.
 ,, Dewan Bahadur, L.A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 ,, A. S. Balasubrahmani Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
2. The Madras Mahajana Sabha (recognised as an Electorate by the Madras Provincial Congress Committee.)
President :— The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur.
Vice-Presidents :—The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, C.I.E.
Secretaries :—Mr. V Rynu Nambiyar, B.A., B.L.
 ,, P. Nagabhushanam Pantulu Garu, M.A., B.L.

Affiliated Congress Committees or Associations.

3. Negapatam Congress Committee.
President :— Mr. V. P. Pakkiriswami Pillai.
Secretaries :— ,, B. S. Nataraja Sastrial, B.A., B.L.
 ,, V. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
4. Palghat Divisional Congress Committee.
Secretary :—Mr. K. P. Atchyutha Menon.
5. Tellicherry District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. K. Koppunni Nayar, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :— ,, C. V. Gopalan Nair, B.A., B.L.
6. Bellary District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. K. Venkata Rao.
Vice-President :—Rao Bahadur C. Hanumantha Gowd.
Secretary :—Mr. Sindigi Marisidappa.
7. Calicut District Congress Committee.
President :—The Hon'ble Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :—Mr. K. A. Sivarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 ,, P. Narayana Menon, B.A., B.L.
8. Madura District Congress Committee.
President :—Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Rao, B.A.
Secretaries :—Mr. C. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 ,, V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

9. Tinnevely District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :— „ T. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
10. Chingleput District Congress Committee, Conjeevaram.
President :—Mr. Srirangachariar, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :— „ V. Venkatachariar.
11. Kistna District Congress Committee, Masulipatam.
President :—Rao Bahadur Puranam Venkatappya Pantulu Garu, B.A.
Secretary :—Mr. K. Chidambara Rau., B.A.
12. Nellore District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 „ A. S. Krishna Rau Garu, B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :— „ V. Krishnaswami Rau Garu.
 „ Y. Venkatachallam Pantulu Garu.
13. Kurnool District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. T. Chidambara Rao Garu, B.A.
Secretaries :— „ S. Venkatanarasimha Rao Garu, B.A.
 „ N. Rangaswami Aiyangar, B.A.
14. South Arcot District Congress Committee, Cuddalore.
President :— Mr. A. Subrayalu Reddiar, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :— „ S. Panduranga Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :— „ R. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
15. Kumbakonam Congress Committee.
President :— Mr. N. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :— „ C. A. Mahadeva Sastrial.
Secretaries :— „ C. K. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.
 „ T. Ramaswami Sastri.
16. Ellore Divisional Association.
President :—Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :— „ P. Sambasiva Rao, B.A., B.L.
17. Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.
President :—The Hon'ble Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarma Garu,
B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :—Mr. B. Venkatapathi Raju Garu, B.A., B.L.
 „ V. Jagannatham Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
18. Cuddapah District Congress Committee.
Secretaries :—Mr. T. M. Muniswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 „ K. Gundu Row, B.A., B.L.
19. South Canara District Congress Committee.
President :— Rao Sahib N. Subba Rao.
Secretaries :—Mr. S. E. Rego.
 „ Madhava Rao.
20. Anantapur District Congress Committee.
President :—The Hon. Mr. P. Kesava Pillai.
Vice-Presidents :—Mr. P. Audinnurti Rau.
 „ T. Sivasankaram Pillai.
Secretaries :— „ L. Balaji Rau, B.A., B.L.
 „ Y. Seshappa.
21. Trichinopoly District Congress Committee.
President :— Mr. T. Desikachariar B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :— „ K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
Secretaries :— „ V. Subramania Aiyar.
 „ T. K. Balasubramania Aiyar.

22. Coimbatore Peoples Association.
President :—Rao Bahadur A. T. Thiruvengadaswami Mudaliar.
Vice-President :—Rao Bahadur C. Nagoji Rao.
Secretaries :—Mr. L. T. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.
 " N. Gurva Chettiar.
23. Ganjam District Association, Berhampore.
President :—Mr. B. G. Raghava Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :— " V. V. Jogiah Pantulu Garu.
 " K. Babu Row Naidu, B.A., B.L.
24. North Arcot District Congress Committee, Chittoor.
President :— Mr. T. T. Veeraraghavachariar.
Vice-President :— " N. Srinivasavarada Chariar.
Secretaries :— " L. Venkataraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 " T. K. Narasimha Chari, B.A., B.L.
25. Rajahmundry Divisional Association.
President :— Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :— " A. Rama Raju, B.A.
Secretary :— " S. Bhima Sankar Rao, B.A.
26. Godavari District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. K. Perraju Pantulu Garu.
Secretary :— " K. Kalianaswami, B.A., B.L.
27. Guntur District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :— " Pesa Venkatasawmy Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
28. Saidapet Congress Committee.
President :— Mr. P. N. Muthuswami Naidu, B.A.
Vice-President :— " M. Bashyaka Charlu.
Secretary :— " M. C. Venkata Charlu.
29. Salem District Association.
Secretaries :—Mr. C. V. Narasimha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 " T. Adinarayana Chettiar.
30. Tanjore District Congress Committee.
President :— Mr. P. Kothandarama Aiyangar, P.A., M.L.
Secretaries :— " T. Sadasiva Rao, B.A., B.L.
 " E. Suryanarayana Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
31. Parvatipur Divisional Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. O. V. Jaganadha Sastri.
Secretary :— " K. Appalanarasiah Pantulu Garu, B.A.

Sub-Divisional or Taluka Congress Committees

- (1) Manargudi Taluka Congress Committee.
- (4) Mayavaram Congress Committee.
- (3) Kulitalai Congress Committee.
- (4) Nannilam Taluk Congress Committee.
- (5) Shiyali Taluk Congress Committee.
- (6) Tirutaraipundi Taluk Congress Committee.
- (7) Aska Taluk Congress Committee.
- (8) Sompeta Taluk Congress Committee.