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India's Nation

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

CONTAINING

An Account of its Origin and Growth
Full Text of all the Presidential Addresses
Reprint of all the Congress Resolutions
Extracts from all the Welcome Addresses
Notable Utterances on the Movement
Portraits of all the Congress Presidents



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CONTENTS.

PART I.

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES.

	PAGE.
The Hon'ble Mr W, C. Bonnerji, Bombay—1885	.. 1
The Hon Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Calcutta—1886	.. 5
The Hon. Mr Budrudin Tyabji, Madras—1887	.. 24
Mr. George Yule, Allahabad—1888	... 36
Sir William Wedderburn, Bombay—1889	... 56
Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, Calcutta—1890	... 69
Mr P. Ananda Charlu, Nagpore—1891	.. 94
Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Allahabad—1892	... 113
Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., Lahore—1893	. 142
Mr. Alfred Webb, M. P., Madras—1894	.. 189
Hon. Surendranath Banerjee, Poona—1895	. 212
Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani, Calcutta—1896	... 304
Hon. Mr. C. Sankaran Nair, Amraoti—1897	. 374
Mr A. M Bose, Madras—1898	. 399
Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., Lucknow—1899	.. 461
Mr. N. G Chandavarkar, Lahore—1900	.. 503
Mr. D E Wacha, Calcutta—1901	... 532
Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Ahmedabad—1902	... 632
Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, Madras—1903	.. 739
Sir Henry Cotton, Bombay—1904	... 786
The Hon Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E. Benares—1905	... 816
Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Calcutta—1906	.. 854
The Hon Dr, Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E., Surat—1907	... 887
The Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E., Madras 1908	... 927

PART II.

Notable Utterances on the Congress Movement.

EXTRACTS FROM THE WELCOME ADDRESSES

	PAGE.
Dr Rajendra Lal Mitra	1
The Late Rajah Sir T. Madhava Row	1
The Late Pandit Ajoodia Nath	2
Sir P. M. Mehta	3
The Late Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose	3
The Late Mr. C. Narayanaswami Naidu	4
The Late Pandit Bishambhar Nath	4
The late Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia	4
The late Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu	5
Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide	5
The late Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter	6
Mr. G. S. Khaparde	7
Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu	7
Babu Bansu Lal Singh	8
Rai Kali Prasanna Roy Bahadur	8
Maharaj Bahadur Jogadendra Nath Roy of Natore	9
Dewan Bahadur Amba Lal Sakar Lal Desai	9
The Hon. Nawab Sayyid Mahomed	10
Sir Pherozeshah Mehta	11
The Hon. Munshi Madhav Lal	12
Dr. Rash Behari Ghose	12
Mr. Tribuvandas N. Malvi	13

MISCELLANEOUS UTTERANCES.

The late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee	14
Mr. Eardly Norton, <i>Bar-at-Law</i>	15
The late Sir William Wilson Hunter	17
Mr. Justin McCarthy, M. P.	20
Sir Charles W. Dilke, <i>Bar</i>	21
Mr. Herbert J. Gladstone, M. P.	22
Lord Randolph Churchill	23
The Government of India	23
Hon. Alfred Deakin, M. L. A.	23
The Right Hon. Sir Richard Garth, Q. C.	24
The late Mr. Robert Knight	25
Lord Cromer	26
The late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh	27
Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	30
The late Mr. Alfred Webb	30
The late Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu	31
The late Mr. Justice Tyabjee	31
Sir William Wedderburn	31
The Statesman	31
The Times (Indian Affairs)	32
The Daily Chronicle, (London),	32
Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Row, C.I.E.	33

PART III.

Congress Resolutions.

	PAGE.
First Congress, Bombay—1885	1
Second Congress, Calcutta—1886	3
Third Congress, Madras—1887	9
Fourth Congress, Allahabad—1888	12
Fifth Congress, Poona—1889	17
Sixth Congress, Calcutta—1890	23
Seventh Congress, Nagpur—1891	29
Eighth Congress, Allahabad—1892	36
Ninth Congress, Lahore—1893	44
Tenth Congress, Madras—1894	50
Eleventh Congress, Poona—1895	60
Twelfth Congress, Calcutta—1896	68
Thirteenth Congress, Amraoti—1897	76
Fourteenth Congress, Madras—1898	85
Fifteenth Congress, Lucknow—1899	96
Sixteenth Congress, Lahore—1900	105
Seventeenth Congress, Calcutta—1901	115
Eighteenth Congress, Ahmedabad—1902	126
Nineteenth Congress, Madras—1903	136
Twentieth Congress, Bombay—1904	144
Twenty-First Congress, Benares—1905	152
Twenty-Second Congress, Calcutta—1906	162
Twenty-Fourth Congress, Madras—1908	169

General information about the Congress for the years, 1885 to 1908 (both inclusive.)

Session.	Year.	Places of Meetings.	PRESIDENTS.	Chairmen of the Reception Committees.	Number of Delegates.
1	1885	Bombay.	Mr. W. C. Bonnerji		72
2	1886	Calcutta.	The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	Dr Rajendra Lal Mitra	436
3	1887	Madras.	Mr. Budrudin Tyabji	Sir T. Madhav Rao	607
4	1888	Allahabad.	George Yule, Esquire	Hon. Pandit Ajoodhianath	1,248
5	1889	Bombay.	Sir William Wedderburn, <i>Bart</i>	Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta	1,889
6	1890	Calcutta.	The Hon. Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta	Mr. Mano Mohun Ghose	677
7	1891	Nagpur.	The Hon. Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu.	Mr. C. Narayanswamy Naidoo	812
8	1892	Allahabad.	Mr. W. C. Bonnerji	Pandit Bishambhar Nath	625
9	1893	Lahore.	The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji M.P.	Sardar Dayalsingh Majithia	867
10	1894	Madras.	Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P.	Hon. P. Rangayya Naidoo	1,163
11	1895	Poona.	Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji	Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide	1,584
12	1896	Calcutta.	Hon. Rahimatulla M. Sayani	Sir Romesh Chandra Mittar	784
13	1897	Amraoti.	Mr. C. Sankaran Nair	Mr. G. S. Khaparde	692
14	1898	Madras.	Mr. A. M. Bose	Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu	614
15	1899	Lucknow.	Mr. K. C. Dutt	Babu Duns Lal Singh	739
16	1900	Lahore.	Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar	Rai Bahadur Kali Prasanna Roy	567
17	1901	Calcutta.	Mr. D. E. Wacha	Maharaj Bahadur Jogadendra Nath Roy of Natore	896
18	1902	Ahmedabad.	Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji	Dewan Bahadur Amba Lal Saker Lal	471
19	1903	Madras.	Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose	The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed	538
20	1904	Bombay.	Sir Henry Cotton	Sir P. M. Mehta	1,010
21	1905	Benares.	The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E.	The Hon. Munshi Madhav Lal	756
22	1906	Calcutta.	Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E.	1,663
23	1907	Surat.	Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E.	Mr. Thirbhuvandas, N. Malvi	1,200
24	1908	Madras.	Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E.	Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao,	617
TOTAL					20,527

"The British power cannot there and elsewhere rest securely unless it rests upon the willing consent of a sympathetic and contented people." (*Oxford*, 2-3-1901),

"It is only by the consent of the governed that the British Nation can govern." (*Plymouth*, 19-11-1901).

"What are these principles and facts? The virtues, the efficacy, the justice of self-government. That is one Liberal principle. The appreciation and encouragement of national sentiment. That is another Liberal principle. The recognition of the popular will constitutionally expressed through the people's representatives. That is another Liberal principle. That may do for principles." (*Leicester*, 19-2-1902).

"We Liberals are accustomed to freedom of thought and action. Freedom is the breath of our life . . . It possesses in two of its most sacred dogmas, the only solution of the chief problems which confront our country in Imperial policy and in regard to our domestic needs . . . It is the universal doctrine of government by assent—government with the consent of the governed . . . Why, there is but one cardinal condition, again, of Liberal principle—that of direct popular control by those concerned. Now, these are two of the beacons by which Liberal policy should be guided." (*National Liberal Club*, 5-3-1902).

"The principles of the Party (Liberal)—not any new-fangled principles, but the old ones which were as good to-day and as much required as they were two or three hundred years ago—were the only principles which could lead to the happiness of the people and to the development of the power and prosperity of the community," (*Skipton*, 10-12-1902).

"If it can be shown that poverty, whether it be material poverty or poverty of physique and of energy, is associated with economic conditions, which, though supported by the laws of the country, are, nevertheless, contrary to economic laws and to public policy, the State can intervene without fear of doing harm."

(*Newport*, 30-11-1903)

"What is the Liberal Policy? . . . We stand for liberty. Our policy is the policy of freedom. It is the policy of freedom in

all things that affect the life of the people, freedom of conscience
 . . . freedom from class ascendancy " . . .

(*Norwich*, 26-10-1904).

"John Bull had many weak points no doubt, but he had one good point above all others—that he liked that which was straightforward and open and candid, and honest and above-board both in language and in action." (*National Liberal Club*, 1-6-1905).

Now, I say, if there is any man who is a true John Bull in respect of straightforwardness etc, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is one. I prove with extracts from his utterances —

"Our principles, . . . and one of those principles, let me tell you, is that the interests of persons, classes and sections must yield to the general interests of the community."

(*Portsmouth*, 16-11-1905)

"Good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves" (*Stirling*, 23-11-1905)

"Ladies and gentlemen, so much for peace, so much for economy—two cardinal Liberal principles But here is another—self-government and popular control and we believe in that principle, not only on grounds of justice and on the grounds of effective administration, but on this other ground—that it exercises a wholesome influence on the character of the people who enjoy the privilege." (*Albert Hall*, 21-12-1905).

"Sir, in all these subjects on which I have been touching, what is the aim to be kept in view, what is the star which we ought to keep our eyes upon, to see that we are moving in the right direction? It is that we should promote the welfare and happiness and interests, not of any particular class or section of the community but of the nation at large. That is the work of true patriotism, these are the foundations upon which a solid empire may be built."

(*Albert Hall*, 15-12-1905).

"The new government had, he verily believed, the public conscience, the public sense of right, the public love of equity. With these they would win." (*Liverpool*, 9-1-1906)

"The present government would set themselves to apply the old Liberal principles to legislation and administration, the princi-

ples of freedom, of equal treatment of all sections of the community in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. They will include the principle of self-government, the idea that people knew best about their own affairs and would give up the old idea that, there should be some superior people in the country who were to tell their neighbours what was good for them."

. (*Stirling Burgh—Culross*, 12-1-1906).

"The policy and spirit, which would govern the action of the present Government, would be based on justice and liberty, not on privilege and monopoly." (*Glasgow*, 15-1-1906).

"And the third is the belief that, in Ireland, as in every other country throughout the King's dominions, self-government is the best and safest and healthiest basis on which a community can rest." (*Inverness*, 18-1-1906).

"We, lovers of our country, lovers of our constitution, lovers of our public traditions and lovers of plain dealing . . . I am proud and glad and relieved to see a revival of the old political spirit . . . the spirit which made Liberalism a moral force, a force making for justice sustained by a belief in mankind, and anxious to better the condition of our common life . . . It was a great uprising against a doctrine, a habit of thought and practice in public life, a method of government abhorrent to the conscience and heart of the nation." (*National Liberal Club*, 14-2-1906).

DECLARATIONS OF THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY

"Imperialism by all means, if it means mercy, if it means humanity, if it means justice, but if it means your own demoralization, if it means lowering your own standard of civilization and humanity, then, in the name of all you hold precious, beware of it and resist it." (*Sydney*, 25-5-1899).

"When he (Mr. Gladstone) died, Lord Salisbury said of him that he was a great Christian. Yes, and I would add, that he was not a Christian for nothing. I think he must often have used to himself the language of Wordsworth "Earth is sick and heaven is weary of the swollen words that States and Kingdoms utter, when they talk of truth and justice." He, at all events, in face of all the demands of practical politics, did his best to bring those considerations of truth and justice into the minds and hearts of his

countrymen. . . But, I do say that Mr. Gladstone, when he saw the nations going on a wrong path, saw high in the heavens the flash of the uplifted sword and the gleam of the arm of the Avenging Angel" (*Manchester,—Unveiling of Statue*, 10-10-1901).

"It is this policy of passing measures for Ireland, without reference to the Irish themselves, that is responsible for most of the mischief and misgovernment, from which Ireland has so long suffered . . . From observation of Irish Government, from experience of Irish Government, from responsibility of Irish Government, I say to you, gentlemen, face to face, it is a bad Government, it is a Government which no nation, no set of people can be expected to endure in peace, and it is a Government which we in our conscience ought to do our very best, when the time comes, when opportunity presents itself, to put right, as we have put so many other evils in our own system of Government, right."

(*Manchester*, 12-3-1902).

With how much more force do these words apply to India! Then again.

"We are going to have, I suppose—well, we may have a proposal to suspend the constitution of Cape Colony. Just picture the scene in the House of Commons. The motion is made to protest against the suspension of Parliamentary Institutions in the Cape Colony. We then all get up, and we all make eloquent, passionate, argumentative speeches in favour of the right of the Colonies to govern themselves. The next day, Mr. Redmond makes a motion in favour of giving Self-Government in one shape or another, to Ireland. We then all pick out a new set of arguments. What was on Monday unanswerable, on Tuesday, becomes not worth mentioning. What was on Monday a sacred principle of Self-Government, becomes, on Tuesday, mere moonshine and clap-trap. That is a comedy in which, I, at least, do not propose to take part. The Boers are to have Self-Government in order to make them loyal. The Irish are not to have it, because they are disloyal."

(*Edinburgh*, 7-6-1902).

What a true picture of the way in which India is treated!

"We are citizens, common citizens of a grand country; we are the heirs of a noble tradition; we believe that human progress

can only be won by human effort—and that effort, I hope, all of us in our different degrees, ages and situations, will pursue with determination, with unselfishness and with a resolute directness and simplicity that must in the end win a crowning victory.”

(National Liberal Federation, Annual Meeting, 13-5-1904).

He was for liberty wherever they could get it.

“He looked forward to a vigorous, progressive, pacific, rational policy. The new Government, he hoped, would realise that courage in large politics was the true common sense and he looked forward to the true progressive movement.

“Last Session, the whole Liberal Party in the House of Commons voted in favour of Mr. Redmond’s Amendment, which stated that the present system of Government in Ireland was in opposition to the will of the Irish People, and gave them no voice in the management of their affairs, was extravagantly costly and did not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, was productive of universal discontent and unrest, and had been proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.

“Surely then, it was incredible that a Party, which supported an indictment so damning, should have no policy for dealing with such a state of affairs.

“He would recall the fact that, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Leader of the Liberal Party, who had stuck to his guns and had saved his party, said, speaking on that very amendment

“What was the principle at the root of the policy? It was the right of the Irish people to the management of their own domestic affairs. The successive plans, by which this was to be given to them, failed to satisfy the country; but the principle of Self-Government, the principle of an elective element that shall be the governing element in Irish affairs still remains.”

(Forfar, 20-10-1905)

“But whatever the schemes and wisdom of a statesman might be, he should know that all the glittering adventures of imperial pride were vain and empty, were delusive and guilty, if he did not constantly have before him the aim of mitigating the lot of the

great masses of men, women and children who were always very near hunger and nakedness " (*Wallhamstow*, 20-11-1905).

DECLARATIONS OF THE RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

"The Liberal Party is—as it always has been—the standing enemy of unjustified privileges and of unequal laws . . . The spirit of Liberalism is a strong and a vital factor—is as strong and as vital, as it ever was—in moulding the conceptions and the ideals of the British people " (*Kilmarnock*, 5-10-1879).

"No one in this country—no British Liberal at any rate—can contemplate with satisfaction, a system, under which numbers of our own countrymen are denied some of those civil and political rights, which we are accustomed to regard, as the necessary equipment of a civilized social community " (*Leven*, 2-9-1899)

"We call ourselves Liberals. We are proud of the name. We are prepared to maintain our title to it against all comers. . . . But how do we stand? What has been in days gone by, the essence of the Liberal creed and the spirit of Liberal work? I think, I may say, and you will agree with me, that for the first sixty or seventy years of the present century, the chief mission of Liberalism was the mission of emancipation. It waged war with religious disabilities that offended the conscience and blocked the road to talent . . . more important than either it was the Liberalism of that time which laid the foundations of Democratic Government in a Society which had never been swept and levelled by the tornado of revolution If we look beyond these shores to the Greater Britain of which we have become Trustees, I think, we see there again, equally clear ground for the application of old principles to new problems. We are proud of the British Empire. There is no distinction on that point between one party in the State and the other But Empire is a blessing or a curse according to the spirit in which its responsibilities are approached and handled . . .

According to what I believe to be the liberal conception of Empire, it is something, vastly greater and higher than this There are,—I believe, I am speaking your sense, as well as my own—in the judgment of us, Liberals, two tests of a standing or falling Empire. We ask in the first place, does it in all its parts make

the standard, not merely of material life, but of all that goes to enrich civilization and humanity, higher and more deeply founded, more securely safeguarded? We ask next, does its unity arise, not from compulsory acquisition of subject races, but from the conscious and willing co-operation of living and self-determining members? Does it rest not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights?"

(*Edinburgh*, 10-1-1900).

I pause here a little. We, Indians also, had the good fortune in sharing in the glorious work of the Liberal statesmen of the thirties of the last century. We also had our emancipation by the Act of 1833. What a glorious and truly noble and liberal work was that at that time! I have already touched upon that subject. Had that Act been honourably, loyally and sincerely carried out what a glorious Empire would, by this time, the British Empire have become, and how truly and nobly would the two tests laid down, have been fulfilled! The present grand revival of Liberalism, with its irresistible power, is just the opportune moment, to accomplish, by a bold effort, the redemption of the past failure of duty, conscience, humanity and honour.

"Liberty and Justice, the touchstone of policy of the Empire and its external arrangements. . . . In these methods lay the only hope for the future honour of our Empire."

(*Oxford*, 24-2-1900).

"Liberty was the best antidote or medicine for discontent and disloyalty."

(*Tayport*, 14-9-1900).

"It is the work of statesmanship in this country, to make the Empire worth living in, as well as worth dying for. In the long run, every society is judged, and every society survives, according to the material and moral minimum which it prescribes to its members."

(*Hotel Cecil*, 19-7-1901).

"You should aim from the very beginning, at such a progressive development in self-government, as will in time, ripen into the full autonomy of Australia or Canada. That policy ought to commend itself, not only to the Liberal Party, but to the whole country."

(*Hanley*, 14-1-1902)

"The great experience of Canada, where, by the granting of free institutions, races, which, seventy years ago, were flying at one another's throats, were now sitting down side by side, in harmony and contentment." (That will be the case in India).

(*St. Leonards*, 14-3-1902).

"Mr. Asquith proceeded to set forth the Liberal ideal. This, he said, implied self-government and self-development in fiscal, as in all other matters. An excellent example was to be found in the history of Canada, where internal dissensions and external revolt against the Empire had been quelled by self-government. So that the French and British portions of the population had worked out an ideal for themselves resulting in prosperity."

(*Morley*, 2-2-1906).

"If they gave the new Liberal Government, a strong, strenuous, independent working majority, they would find many directions, in which arrears had to be made up, reactionary steps retraced, and lost ground recovered. They would do what they could, both to set right the past and to give the country a new and vigorous start for the future." (*St Monans*, 13-1-1906).

"In all this, there was a lesson which ought to be taken to heart, namely, that in English politics, it was the straightforward, the direct, the plain policy which in the long run paid."

(*Hanley*, 18-1-1906).

"This country, by carrying out the great Liberal principle of confidence in the people and allowing them to manage their own affairs, would have our imperial unity on the broadest, soundest and most stable foundation. It was in this spirit that the new Government hoped to attack other problems of legislation and administration which lay before them." (*East Fife*, 20-1-1906).

I conclude these declarations by two more of one who, though dead, is still living in our hearts and minds, and whom, Mr Morley himself, has given his immortality in this world.

Mr. Gladstone says.—"It has been providentially allotted to this favoured isle, that it should show to all the world how freedom and authority, in their due and wise developments, not only may co-exist in the same body, but may, instead of impairing, sustain and strengthen one another. I am deeply convinced that among

us, all systems, whether religious or political, which rest on a principle of absolutism, must, of necessity, be not indeed tyrannical, but feeble and ineffective systems and that methodically to enlist the members of a community, with due regard to their several capacities in the performance of public duties, is the way to make that community powerful and healthful, to give a firm seat to its rulers and to engender a warm and intelligent devotion to those beneath their sway." *(Daily News, 5-5-1905)*

The following was one of Mr Gladstone's last utterances on the occasion of one of the greatest achievements of his life—Home Rule for Ireland. He said —

"It is the predominance of that moral force, for which I heartily pray in the deliberations of this House and the conduct of our whole Public Policy . . . There can be no more melancholy, and in the last result, no more degrading spectacle upon earth than the spectacle of oppression or of wrong in whatever form inflicted by the deliberate act of a nation upon another nation.

'But, on the other hand, there can be no nobler spectacle than that, which, we think, is now dawning upon us, the spectacle of a nation, deliberately set on the removal of injustice, deliberately determined to break—not through terror and not in haste, but under the sole influence of duty and honour—determined to break with whatever remains still existing of an evil tradition, and determined, in that way at once to pay a debt of justice and to consult, by a bold, wise and good act, its own interest and its own honour"

DECLARATIONS OF THE RIGHT HON. R. B. HALDANE

"It was their duty, to try to govern the Irish people in a sense which was more akin to their ideas and less entirely subordinate to our own . . . they recognised, it was a duty binding upon them, by every obligation of honour and policy, that they should strive to bring the administration of Ireland in harmony with the minds of her people and should endeavour by every means to convert the people of this country to a juster view of their obligations to that unhappy land and to a fuller recognition of their title to administer those things that were their own"

(North Berwick, 23-1-1906).

Now these sentiments and principles apply with manifold force to India to whom the British people are bound to give self-government, not only by rights of birth as British citizens, but also by a 'duty binding upon them (the British people) by every obligation of honour and policy,' by the most solemn pledges given several times before God and the world

At Darleton on 24-1 1906 he said —

"The breath to the nostrils of the Imperial Organisation was,
—FREEDOM"

I make no comments on these declarations as being the statesmen's own. Nobody can more realise their full scope, significance and application to India than themselves

All these declarations apply with manifold force to India under the peculiar circumstances of a foreign draining domination under which she is suffering—a circumstance which, in its very nature, cannot but be evil

APPENDIX—B.

Mr Brodrick, in his Budget Speech of June 1905, said that the exports from the United Kingdom to India which last year had grown to £40,000,000, equalled the whole of the exports from the United Kingdom to Australia, to Canada and to Cape Colony combined. The statement is misleading. The truth is this.

The true test of comparison of the exports of British and Irish produce to the four countries is what each received per head of population. Australia's population (1903) was 3,931,274. The exports to Australia in 1904 were £17,336,470 giving 88s 2d per head. Canada's population (1903) was 5,753,039. The exports to Canada in 1904 were £10,624,221, giving nearly 37 per head. Cape of Good Hope's population (1904) was 12,409,804. The exports to the Cape of Good Hope in 1904 were £12,048,778, giving 100 per head.

Now let us see what India has received of British and Irish goods. India's population (estimate for 1903) was nearly 300,000,000. The exports to India were the small amount of £40,641,277 giving a poor 2-8 per head. It must be remembered that these exports to India include what is received by land through

India by the countries beyond the borders. Allowing also for what is received in India for the consumption of Europeans and the small portion of well-to-do Indians, the British and Irish produce would hardly be 2 per head per annum, as received by the great mass of the people, who, as Lord Lawrence said, "lived on scanty subsistence." Perhaps millions never see a British article.

The Colonies within the short time of their development by self-government, are receiving British and Irish goods in spite of their protection against British goods, Canada 37 per head; Australia 88 12 per head and the Cape 100 per head, India takes the very small amount of 2 18 per head after 150 years of British rule and administration with free trade and with entire British control!

What an extraordinary loss this is to the industries, riches and trade of the United Kingdom! Had India been dealt with righteously with self-government like that of the Colonies and had she been able to receive British goods, even 20 per head (let alone 37, 88 and 100) the United Kingdom would have exported to India in 1904 not the poor £40,000,000 but $7\frac{1}{2}$ times £40,000,000, i. e., £300,000,000, as much as the United Kingdom had in 1904 exported to the whole world, which was £300,711,040. What a grand thing it would have been for the wealth, and industries and trade of the United Kingdom! This grand result would have happened if India had self-government, and will happen when India will be a self-governing country.

FINANCE.

From the financial point of view, the employment of Indians under self-government will naturally be on a lower scale of pay than the inordinate scale that exists at present for Europeans. Besides, as in the United Kingdom, all that is raised by taxation will go back to the people, the taxpayers by a hundred different channels.

The people of the United Kingdom pay at present for revenue about 67 shillings per head, per annum, while poor India under the present exhausting drain can pay hardly 6 shillings 6 pence per head, and that with much suffering. Now, with prosperity by self-government, if the people of India would be able to pay only 20 shillings even per head (let alone 67 which the people of the United Kingdom pay) what a growing revenue that of British India would be, viz. £240,000,000 instead of the present poor £78,000,000 exacted from a poverty-stricken people! What a market would the 300,000,000 of all India's prosperous people be for the United Kingdom, with free trade between England and India! India with such a revenue would be able to supply all her needs in abundance.

