

REPORT
OF
THE EIGHTEENTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

AHMEDABAD,

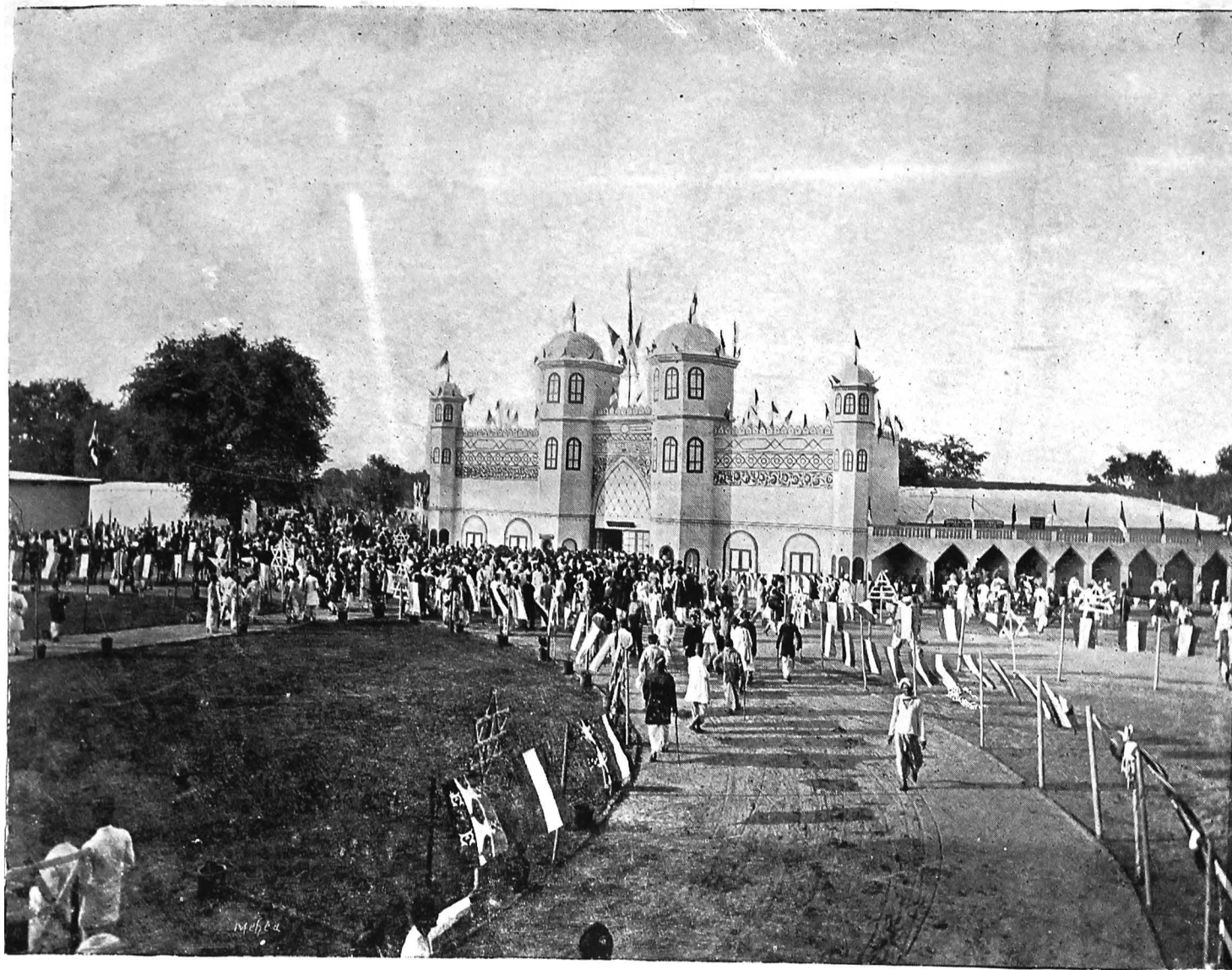
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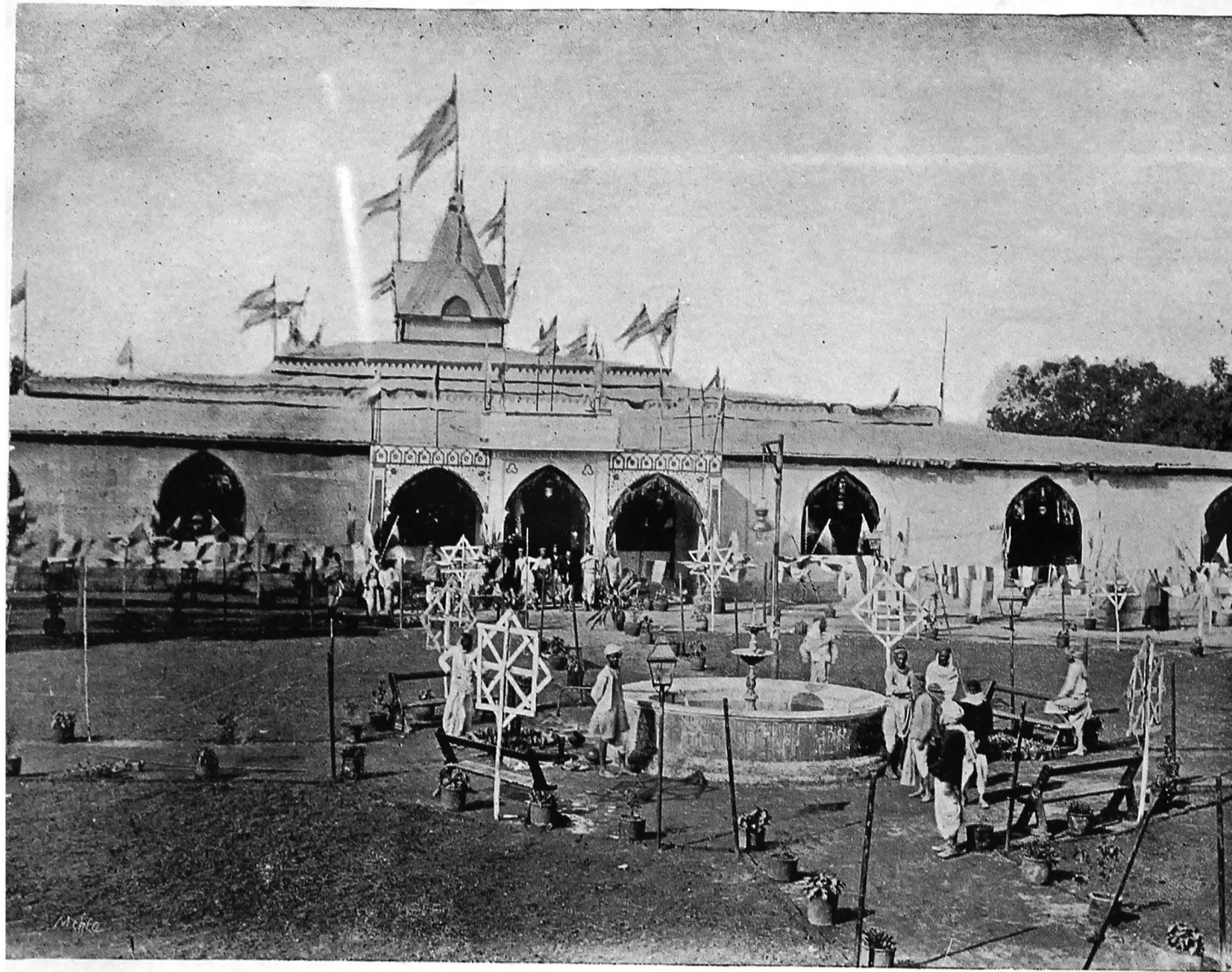


Entrance to the Exhibition Pavilion, Ahmedabad, 1902.

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Entrance to the Congress Pavilion, Ahmedabad, 1902.

INTRODUCTION.

The Eighteenth session of the Indian National Congress, which was held at Ahmedabad, on the 23rd December 1902 and the two following days may be fairly said to have marked an era in the annals of Gujerat. Rich and fertile, its population has long been known more for its keen pursuit after commerce and banking than for its political activity. But such is the growing influence of the national organisation that in its steady progress onward, it is able to widen the sphere of its utility and embrace within its fold localities which for some reason or another have lagged behind in interesting themselves in public affairs. There was the first faint glimmer of the political dawn when, thanks to the impetus Bombay gave, a Provincial Conference was held at Ahmedabad in 1893 under the presidency of that distinguished citizen, the late lamented Mr. R. M. Sayani. Ahmedabad woke from its torpor and was slowly becoming alive to its responsibility when, unfortunately, gaunt famine invaded Gujerat—a famine almost unknown for over a hundred years. The garden of the Western Presidency was severely smitten by the two severe droughts which overtook it at the very close of the nineteenth century. There was a most lamentable holocaust all over the district. The famished died in their thousands like flies, not to say aught of the decimation of agricultural cattle for want of fodder and water. It was indeed a terrible calamity through which Gujerat passed. But Nature smiled again and poured forth her bounty in abundance. The population began slowly to emerge from the dire effects of that awful visitation, and it bespeaks volumes in praise of the public spirit of Ahmedabad that its men of light and leading came forward, with the greatest alacrity and enthusiasm, to take their proper share in the national movement. Citizens of all classes in that city, now a fast rising seat of cotton manufacture, with its thirty factories, roaring and humming, employing thousands of people, and otherwise stimulating the production of wealth, so sadly needed for further industrial development,—citizens of all classes in Ahmedabad, the rich mill-owners and merchants, the thriving shroffs and bankers, the flourishing lawyers, doctors and engineers, and the enthusiastic general public, all vied with each other in making the Eighteenth session of the Congress a brilliant success, and marking an epoch for their great city. More, their enthusiasm knew no bounds by reason of the fact of the inauguration of an industrial exhibition in connexion with the Congress. The metropolitan city, as befitted its dignity, importance, and wealth, took the lead in 1901, and Ahmedabad, as the second industrial town in the Bombay Presidency, determined to follow in its

wake and surpass it. The enthusiasm was natural, having regard to the fact of the many indigenous small industries to be noticed all over Gujerat and Katyawar. But a successful Congress and a successful Exhibition meant a complete and well-ordered organisation. In this respect the accumulated experience of the previous seventeen sessions was a great help. Apart from the other beneficent and vivifying influences which owe their origin to the Congress, discipline and organisation have also received the greatest attention. Each year in this matter is an improvement over its predecessor. And thus, it may be said without fear of exaggeration, that the organising capacity of the Congress has now reached a state of fair perfection. The work in connexion with it, both administrative and executive, is now so well distributed among a number of most active, enlightened and public spirited workers, that, in reality, the machinery goes like clockwork, wherever the session may be held. In Ahmedabad, the workers were well chosen, according to their adaptability for the particular work entrusted to them. Two committees were formed, one for the work of the Congress proper, and one for the Industrial Exhibition. Each Committee then distributed the work. It was essential that for the purposes of the latter good ground, in an eligible and central locality, not far from the town, should be chosen. So the first work which engaged the attention was the securing of such land. Fortunately, it was found on the road leading to Shaibag. This preliminary but most important function having been discharged, the way was made easy. The Industrial Exhibition Committee then set about working in right earnest to scour the land of Gujerat and Katyawar for collecting all exhibits of importance. Active agents, well versed in business, were deputed to visit all centres whence an excellent collection could be made. Meanwhile the General Committee busily engaged itself in enlisting the sympathy of the many Native Princes and Chiefs in the Western Presidency. And it is a pleasure to state in this place that the appeal was most heartily responded to and by none more heartily than H. H. the Gaikwad of Baroda and the Maharana of Porebunder. Thus the Committee, at the very threshold of its arduous and responsible work found great encouragement. To enhance their gratification, it was soon announced that a deputation of some of the General Committee, along with Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. C. H. Setalvad, Mr. G. A. Patil and Mr. N. V. Gokhale of Bombay, had waited on H. H. the Gaikwad with the view of taking his consent to preside at the opening of the Exhibition. The consent was most cheerfully and heartily accorded. That was indeed expected from one of the most enlightened Princes of India who, perhaps, than any other of his brother chiefs, has

travelled much in Europe and most carefully observed the diverse industrial centres of England and the Continent. His views on the subject of the development of indigenous manufactures and industries were well known. Altogether, it was the second important achievement of the active Congress workers in their initial labours. Between July and October the agents in different localities were energetically engaged in selecting and collecting the necessary exhibits; while the Congress Committee proper was busy attending to its proper work. Thus each committee in its own sphere of activity, was putting forth its best efforts to achieve success. Only those who have undertaken the kind of work done can have a fair idea of its nature and the many difficulties that have to be overcome, difficulties more or less of details but of material importance towards the satisfactory achievement of the ultimate object. For instance, the registration of exhibits, their classification and arrangement, their watch and care, and all other details contributory to a good and well ordered show, had to be carefully considered. The erection of the necessary pavillion to receive the exhibits, and its internal arrangements were also a source of much consideration. However, as stated at the outset, the earnestness and indefatigable energy of all the workers, in their respective sphere of action, accomplished all that was needful; and thus many a lesson was learned in the art of organising the show at its very best. The Exhibition pavillion, in its simplicity, was really a thing of joy and beauty and many were the encomiums passed on the designer of the structure and all others who had anything to do with it. By the first week of December almost all exhibits were duly arranged in their respective places. Only finishing touches here and there remained. But the unflagging energy and perseverance of the Working Committee was able to inaugurate the Exhibition on the appointed day, namely, the Fifteenth of December. In view of the counter attraction of the great scenic pageant at Delhi—the Durbar and the Arts Exhibition—it was wisely resolved that the local Exhibition should be no longer delayed beyond that date, while the day of the holding of the Congress itself, in response to the suggestions made from many a quarter, was also fixed earlier than the 26th, the orthodox date. The Exhibition had no doubt attracted all classes of persons from far and near, and Ahmedabad presented during the last two weeks of December a sight rarely witnessed there. Business and pleasure seemed to have been combined. Young and old, rich and poor, men, women and children, were in a high state of enthusiasm; so that when the Gaikwad arrived early on the morning of the 15th December immense concourse of these crowded the approaches of the station and the streets through which his Highness was to pass. There was no limit to the enthusiasm when he entered his carri-

age, and, in the simplest of simple dress, received the cordial welcome of the sight-seers on the line of route. It gave immense satisfaction to the populace while the Maharaja himself was highly gratified at his reception.

The proceedings of the opening of the Exhibition were, of course, carried out in the larger pavillion intended for the Congress. It was well designed, and due attention seemed to have been paid not only to light and shade, but to ventilation. It was gaily decorated in all parts, while the dais itself looked quite a picture in its elegant simplicity. The hall was filled long before the hour fixed for the proceeding. Every seat was occupied and yet such were the orderly arrangements that there was no confusion and no bungle. It is estimated that fully five thousand persons must have been in attendance. But all was quiet and the greatest harmony prevailed. The scene as presented to the spectator from the dais was indeed most picturesque and only a master in word painting can describe its imposing effect. It was acknowledged on all hands that never before in the capital city of Gujerat was such a unique assemblage and withal so crowded. On the dais were the members of the Reception Committee and many distinguished guests, including the Hon'ble Mr. Lely C. S. I., the Commissioner, and other high officials of State who all through had displayed the greatest interest in the success of the Exhibition and rendered the Committee every assistance. This sympathetic support vastly enhanced the importance of the occasion and the officials were convinced as to what potentialities of organisation were inherent in the Congress. There was ample evidence to inform the unbiassed spectator that given the needed official sympathy and support, the Congress as a political organisation could immensely work for the greater good of the people and the State. That under such a happy combination of conditions there might be a vast improvement in the administration, not to say of a better and more cordial understanding between the rulers and the ruled is undeniable. That the officials who graced the assembly with their presence must have been thoroughly convinced of it may be reasonably presumed. It was indeed an auspicious event that brought them on the same platform as the leaders of the National party which the Government of India itself had openly recognised in its official letter to Mr. Hume as back as 1890 as the "advanced Liberal party" of India, the party of progress and reform on constitutinal lines.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, the Chairman of the Working Committee of the Exhibition opened the proceedings in a brilliant speech, with his accustomed eloquence which was as felicitous as it was full of sound reflections. He cordially bade welcome to the President and invited him to take the chair. The speech, which will be found recorded *in extenso* in

another part of this report, was well received, specially that part of it where the honourable gentleman took the opportunity to vindicate the educated classes from the ignorant and prejudiced criticism of their official critics.

He began by eulogising H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda, saying that it was the good fortune of the assembled to have him for their President, "a prince whom all have learned to regard with esteem, affection, admiration, not only in the Presidency of Bombay but throughout the whole of India." He also referred in terms of the highest praise to the hearty co-operation and support given to the Exhibition by Mr. Lely, the Commissioner, and the other officials. "We are all grateful to him for the help, support and encouragement which he has given to this enterprise for the industrial progress of this country." Mr. Mehta fully appreciated the sentiment publicly expressed by Mr. Lely, namely, that "we can hope for everything if all classes and parties unite in common co-operation for the good of the country." Continuing, Mr. Mehta further observed that in this matter there has been something more than "official good-will." Not only Mr. Lely has shown his good-will but "given us his active support and encouragement." This sentiment was cheered to the echo by the vast assemblage which clearly demonstrated how the people appreciated fullhearted official co-operation. It was also a matter of extreme gratification to know that that encouragement had the cordial sympathy and support of His Excellency Lord Northcote. The honourable gentlemen then observed that he would add a few more words with regard to the attitude of the educated classes and the Government with respect to the important subject of industrial progress and industrial education. "I am ready to confess that they have many sins to answer for. There are many short-comings and many drawbacks in them and Mr. Lely added only one more to those drawbacks when he said that we did no work to encourage the establishment of village banks. However sinful we may be in this respect, I venture to say, that with regard to the industrial education, industrial progress and technical education, the educated classes are not so much to be blamed as some men believe them to be. It is not recently, but it was years ago, that they could realise the high value of industrial progress with regard to the prosperity of this country." After recounting some instances, Mr. Mehta referred to what the educated classes did on the eve of the retirement of the popular and well beloved Lord Ripon. It was superfluous to mention the great Town Hall meeting in December 1884 when a large sum, nearly two lakhs, was subscribed to commemorate his beneficent administration. It was resolved thereat to establish a Technical Institute which, since has taken body and form, with many other donations, and with the substantial aid of Government, under the auspices of that enlightened

statesman, Lord Reay, late Governor of Bombay. It was thus owing to the exertions of the educated classes in the first instance that Bombay boasts to-day of that useful institute known as the Victoria Technical Institute, the finest in all India. Again the establishment of the Kala Bhavan at Baroda is owing to the generosity of H. H. the Gaikwad, at the instance of Professor Gajar who drew up a scheme. "If I may respectfully venture to say so," said Mr. Mehta, "I claim his Highness as one of the princely and one of the educated classes of the country." Thus the educated classes have been to the fore in the matter of industrial education for many a year past, and it was "a matter of congratulation that now the official classes insist upon the educated classes to realise the value and importance of industrial progress for the country." But having said so much, the honourable gentleman reminded the meeting that when everything was conceded to industrial regeneration, he would not consider it as a panacea for all the evils to which this country is subject. "I will not profess to say that the industrial progress will be a solution of that big question of agricultural indebtedness with which we all face to face in this country, but I do venture to say that the progress of arts and industries of this country will go far, will go considerably towards ameliorating the condition of the people of this country."

After this inspiring harangue, his Highness the Gaikwad rose to deliver his address. Aware of the high abilities of the enlightened Maharaja and his independence of thought and freedom of expression, the assembled meeting was no doubt keenly waiting to hear from his lips what he had to say on so interesting a subject as an industrial exhibition in the very capital of Gujerat, which is still the seat of many a hand industry, notably of rich silk fabrics for which there is a demand from far and near. The moment, therefore, he rose from his chair, the expectation had reached a climax which immediately found vent in a burst of applause and deafening cheers as were, perhaps, seldom heard in that historic town since the advent of the British. The enthusiasm of the audience knew no bounds and it went on cheering for some minutes before the Gaikwad could commence his well prepared address. The ovation overpowered him and seemed to have given him the greatest satisfaction. In reality, it was the index of the great esteem and regard in which his countrymen in all parts of India, specially of Gujerat, held him. After having gracefully bowed to the audience and having prefaced his remarks by returning thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta for the eulogistic terms in which he had spoken about him, the Maharaja commenced reading his address which, it is needless to say, was delivered in faultless accent and with a grace which completely captivated the vast assemblage. He was not afraid to "face publicly," as he observed at the very outset, "the tremendous question

of our times and to give my solution of a problem on which no two people agree, except that it is urgent." In the opinion of the Gaikwad this economic problem—how to bring back prosperity to the masses by revival of industries and manufactures, almost wholly killed by the selfish policy of the early rulers of British India themselves—was the "last ordeal" which would test the people. In other words, in the degree the problem was solved will the people be judged, how far they were, as a self sufficient people, capable of organisation and enterprise and capable of succeeding therein. As he said, it was their "last chance." Whether the economic problem was the only test may be a controversial question. But there was no doubt it was one means towards the end—namely, the future amelioration and prosperity of the people.

Having been a keen observer of more than one exhibition in Europe, specially the one held in Paris two years 'old, "which summed up in a striking manner the progress of a century of civilization, industry and commerce, he was seriously impressed by the moral which it conveyed to his Eastern mind, refined by the civilizing influences of the West where, more than any other Indian prince, he has frequently travelled and acquired no inconsiderable a lore in the matter of arts, trades and industries. In short the materialism of Europe has had for him an invaluable lesson and he wished to inculcate that lesson among his countrymen. Thus, the Gaikwad stood before all India, on that memorable day, as one of its foremost industrial reformers and preached his great sermon on industrialism in India, as the principal panacea for the many economic evils from which she is at present suffering.

Tracing the present causes of the economic condition he was of opinion that the political subjugation of India to England had greatly to account for it. India was prosperous in its trade before the East India Company became a territorial magnate and established monopolies and prohibitive tariffs. These destroyed industries and manufactures and the rest of the slow declination is perfectly intelligible—the declination which has now reduced it to a producer of raw material. "Once the manufacturing superiority of India had been transferred to England, it was impossible for the weaker country to recover its position without some measure of protection. Not only was the struggle in itself unequal but the spectacle of a mighty commerce, overshadowing and dominating ours, flooding our markets and taking away our produce for its own factories induced a profound dejection, hopelessness and inertia among our people." But it was no use quarrelling with the past. Lamentation was useless. How to take a new departure which shall induce a new evolution every way brighter and happier, that was the problem Indian leaders of thought had to solve.

The first requisite was for the country to liberate itself from "hampering customs and superstitions." Next there should be no resort to despair. Indians must put their own shoulders to the wheel. Their country is rich in its vegetable and mineral resources. They must delve into these incessantly with the aid of the sciences of the West, before the amelioration of the economic condition becomes visible on the horizon. "If we utilise to the best advantage what Nature has given us and advance in such manufactures as the country is fitted for, we shall have done no inconsiderable task. What is required is greater knowledge, a more earnest endeavour of the Government towards improvement and the provision of facilities, and more serious activity on the part of the people to take advantage of such facilities as already exist." This was the keynote of the address.

Entering into details his Highness dwelt at some length on the importance of agricultural progress and development of manufactures. The first was essential in order to obtain increased quantity and improved quality of the produce of the fields. The general deterioration of the soil, to which almost all who have paid any attention have borne general testimony was a great danger. The yield per acre of both food and non-food products was extremely poor, compared with that in other climes. It is even poorer than what it was prior to the advent of the British. In order to prevent not only further deterioration of the soil but to enrich it there should be a better class of ploughing implements. Next, manure which was now used almost wholly for fuel purposes, thanks to the stringency of the forest laws which deprive cultivators of the necessary fire wood they used to have for next to nothing, should be supplied in fairly sufficient quantities. Lastly, elementary agricultural education. The value of irrigation in this connexion can never be overlooked. From the days of Asoka of happy memory downwards the indigenous rulers of the country have from time to time paid the greatest attention to this important and most vital branch of agriculture and there are evidences scattered all over the empire to inform us of that fact. The numberless wells, tanks, reservoirs and so forth to be found to-day in a fair condition in the presidency of Madras alone inform us how much value was attached to irrigation. Not only irrigation works of a large character, like those in the Godavery district, are essential but the necessity of building small wells within the means of the cultivators. But along with these remedies the awakening of the agriculturist's mind was highly necessary. "Before we can hope that the ryot will try to employ measures which demand a high level of intelligence and scientific knowledge, we must awaken his curiosity and enlist his sympathy which can only be done by a good system of general education. Without it our best endeavours are bound to fail."

But it will not be enough, proceeded his Highness, to stimulate agricultural products and raw materials. We should work them up into manufactures. Many a raw material now produced in the country is exported to foreign countries whence they return in divers forms of manufacture. "Our endeavours should be to reduce this dependence upon foreign industries, and where the necessary facilities do not exist for such manufactures at home, we should so improve the quality of our raw material as to enable to hold its own in the foreign markets to which it is sent out." Again, manufactures need schools where the different industries might be taught. Technological institutions of a variety of character, well equipped with laboratories, must be found where the rising generation may learn the art so as to engage themselves in the practical business life of the day. In this respect, it was his Highness' opinion that Japan was a good model to follow. India must send a good many of its enthusiastic youths to Germany and the United States. The people must also take at first the aid of highly scientific teachers of the West.

Coming to economics his Highness observed that he was not afraid of being called a heretic if he advocated Protection for Indian Industries in order to enable these to reach their growth. Free trade was good but the loss of industrial status was bad, worse still, "the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat, national defence against alien industries was more important than the cheapness of a few articles." Hence, in the opinion of the Gaikwad, protection was needed for India's young industries.

Capital again was essential for developing the agricultural and industrial resources of the country. In the opinion of his Highness there was capital enough in the country. "We have more capital than we imagine to develop our resources, but we lack active foresight, always seeking the best investments." Again, "lack of confidence in ourselves and in one another" was a second defect. "Without self-confidence you can never do anything; you will never found an industry or build up a trade, for you have nothing to carry you through the first anxious years when the only dividend is Hope, and the best means are unfaltering courage and faith in oneself." Thus confidence is necessary. It is the basis of credit and co-operation. "Want of co-operation and material distrust must paralyse industry."

In conclusion his Highness observed that for all these purposes and undertakings it is imperative that there should be a thorough awakening in the country. "Understand what this means. *It means action*" There should be well organised activity all along the line. The dead inertia which now over-

hangs the material situation should be removed. It must give place to energy, energy living and intelligent. Once the necessary momentum was ensured the road will be easy. The difficulties lie in overcoming the existing inertia and inducing activity. People must wait no longer but strike home speedily. With this hortatory injunction his Highness concluded his brilliant and practical address in an earnest peroration which the reader will no doubt read with interest in the text.

Coming now to the Congress, it may be observed that, in response to the suggestion made from more than one quarter, to have an earlier day fixed for the opening of the session than the orthodox 26th December, in view of the imposing state pageantry of the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, it was notified that the Congress would be held on 23rd December and the following days, excepting Christmas Day. Meanwhile all Gujerat seemed to be on the *qui vive* to give not only a cordial but most enthusiastic welcome to the President-Elect of the Congress, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji. She had never heard his voice in her own district and was all eagerness to listen to his stirring oratory. Ahmedabad was, of course, as befitting the capital city and the place where the Congress was for the first time to hold its sittings, in a state of ferment. The citizens had made up their mind to give him a reception worthy of his name and fame as one of the ablest and staunchest leaders of the great national convention. They had firmly resolved that no expense and no efforts should be spared to give him the ovation he so richly deserved. Thus it happened that while bankers vied with merchants, men in other trades and industries, as well as in the professions, strove to surpass each other in their respective zeal and enthusiasm to honour so distinguished a countryman on the day of his arrival. One spirit pervaded all classes of the community, men, women and children. The city presented the gayest of gay appearance on the morning of the 22nd ; while thousands of people from a very early hour thronged the station, its approaches, and the route by which the President was to be conveyed to his residence in the spacious and well furnished bungalow of Mr. Sambhooprasad, son of the late Mr. Becherdas Ambaidas. The principal streets were decorated with a profusion of bunting. The big traders and shopkeepers hung up their rich silks and golden brocades. Others had other decorations according to their fancy. Everywhere the people moved about in large crowds in gala clothing as if it were some great festival or as if some Maharaja, Viceroy or Prince was to visit the historical city. Animated by this spirit, it soon became apparent that almost all Ahmedabad and its wife, in the literal sense, had turned out to give a most cordial reception to the President. By nine o'clock the principal streets were fully crowded and

it had become almost impossible either to walk or drive through them. The crowd, however, be it said to the credit of Ahmedabad, was most orderly. Not a single accident or disagreeable incident occurred to mar the demonstration. As soon as the train carrying the President steamed into the station the crowd surged forward to welcome him. It was with the greatest difficulty that way was made for him to retire to the spacious durbar tent pitched in the station compound, and take some excellent refreshments which the foresight of the Committee had abundantly provided. A large number of the members having been introduced, a procession was started to carry him and his friends to the bungalow specially reserved for him. The Captain of the Volunteers, Mr. Chimanlal Thakore, headed the procession followed by a band of Volunteers in excellent uniform and carrying red and green bannerets in their hands. Then followed a band, succeeded by another force of volunteers and another band. Thus arranged the procession began to move slowly. At intervals a few minutes' stay had to be made in order that enthusiastic photographers might have the satisfaction of taking snapshots of the distinguished gentleman and company on the line of route. Besides these there were at least a dozen halts at various important centres where special welcome was given. Garlands, bouquets, rosewater, and other perfumes were in requisition and the President was thus repeatedly garlanded, perfumed, and cheered till at last there was quite a little Ossa of flowers of variegated hues in the coach. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Surendra Nath literally bowed under the weight of the monster garlands which adorned him. To give anything like a vivid description of the scene all throughout the different roads is impossible. The streets were one vast swelling sea of heads with a variety of headgear in all the colours of the rainbow, the scarlet dominating as the true Hindu colour. Every vantage-ground was seized by the sight-seers—trees and towers, windows and roofs. Each window, all through the two and a half miles of the route was with its full complement of spectators, the fair sex in their rich *sarees* and bejewelled being most prominent and the bright little children next. All were intent gazing, as the President's coach drove past, for a few seconds at his face, so highly intellectual and beaming with smiles under the venerable looking beard which added so much dignity to it. Thus the procession wound along the entire course, almost at the pace of the snail while huzzahs and hurrahs and cheers, deafening in all respects, continued from thousands of throats till Kashmir Gate was reached. The President's residence was a stone's throw from it and the volunteers in the fever of their unbounded enthusiasm wished to unyoke the horses and drag the coach into the compound. And though the President, with his accustomed modesty declined this honour, he was eventually overpowered. He had to submit to being thus borne to his

residence midst thundering applause. When he was safely installed in his house, there was another demand made by the ecstatic volunteers. They were so anxious to hear his ringing voice, his rolling periods, and his graceful eloquence before they parted for the day. The orator gave them an earnest of what they were to expect on the following day. Delighted with the few words of cordial thanks he offered to them and the Reception Committee for the right royal welcome he received the volunteers retired.

Next day, precisely at 1-30 p. m., began the real earnest work of the Eighteenth session of the Congress. The magnificent pavillion was fully filled with delegates and spectators long before the hour; while the dais presented a most imposing appearance. Here were seated the elite of the town and the leading men of the Congress and some of the distinguished visitors. It is estimated that fully five thousand persons had assembled in the hall and yet there was no inconvenient crowding, no confusion as to seats, and no noise. All was harmony and perfect order which bespoke highly of the organisation. In point not only of light and ventilation but of acoustics no Congress pavillion hitherto erected has surpassed it. Every word spoken from the dais was heard at the farthest end and during the course of the delivery of the Presidential address this special acoustic property of the hall was made more than manifest.

Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Desai, who had distinguished himself in the service of the Baroda State in various capacities and had finally acted as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court there before his retirement, opened the proceedings in his capacity as the Chairman of the Reception Committee by welcoming the delegates. A distinguished alumnus of the Bombay University and a contemporary of the late Mr. Justice Telang, the Dewan Bahadur had been well known for his extensive knowledge and culture. That knowledge had ripened by the long experience he was able to acquire while in the service of the Gaikwad. And he brought all that experience to bear in his exceedingly able and well reasoned out address, specially in connexion with the economic condition of Gujerat after the two severe famines which hit it so hard.

Referring to the disastrous effects of famine the Dewan Bahadur observed that "we have lost nearly 25 lakhs out of our population of less than a crore. Trainloads of grain came every day and yet men died like flies, on the roadside all over the land, and this in spite of the admirable arrangements made by the Government and by private citizens for the saving of life, in spite of the huge funds expended by private charity and of generous subscriptions. These poor men died of sheer starvation, not because there was

no grain to be had, but because they had no money to buy it with. They were mostly villagers, whose huts now lie desolate." A more mournful picture could not have been given of the distressful condition of the poor ryots, and yet the description cannot but be acknowledged to be faithful. And let the reader cogitate on that one remark so pregnant with meaning! The people died of sheer starvation not because there was no food but because there was no money to buy it with! This one pregnant sentence lays open a vast vista in our investigation of the economic problem. The same fact had struck forcibly the Famine Union which did its best, under the presidency of Mr. Leonard Courtney to impress it on the British people. Even the Secretary of State, who was till then a disbeliever of that crucial fact, was compelled to admit it, such was the teaching of the Famine Union. Next Mr. Ambalal embraced in his purview the severity of the revenue enhancements in Gujerat, quoting in support Sir Antony MacDonell, the President of the Famine Commission of 1900-1. "The assessment was a full one" which is of course, "an euphemistic way of confirming the popular view that it is oppressive." Mr. Ambalal characterised the system of collecting the land tax as "unduly rigorous." The village people "have long felt this but their complaints for long failed to reach the authorities or were unheeded. During the famine the revenue authorities would not suspend the collections after individual inquiries regarding the means of each cultivator had been made. Public men pointed out to Government in the press and on the public platform the impracticability of individual inquiries and the mischief resulting from the Government policy. But the revenue authorities turned a deaf ear. A considerable amount of oppression was practised for the collection of revenue and the conduct of certain officials of Broach had to be made the subject of an official inquiry, which proved that in the collection of revenue the village servants there had resorted to very illegal and discreditable methods."

Animadverting next on Congress agitation Mr. Ambalal had many a wise word to say and which were greatly cheered by the assembled delegates. "We agitate for a simultaneous reform of the administration in various directions and for a change even in the system of Government, but the basal idea that underlies and runs through all our actions—the idea which is as it were one of the axioms and postulates of our political geometry—is that it is for our benefit that the British power should continue to be supreme in our land. This is the foundation stone of our edifice on which the whole superstructure of our actions and methods rests. Loyalty to the British Government is the dominant sentiment of every Congressman. Ours is a loyalty based on an intelligent appreciation of our own vital and permanent interests. It is a reasoned sentiment and not a mere blind attachment * *

A system of government founded a hundred years ago has ceased to be suitable to our altered state. We naturally wish that the methods of government should be altered to suit the changed surroundings." These sentiments have been often expressed before; but such is their importance that so long as the principal reforms on which the Congress puts forth its voice from year to year remain unattended, they will and must be reiterated from many a platform in a variety of ways. These must remain to guide the conduct of every educated Indian. Other principles and propositions must be propagated, discussed and resolved on constitutional lines year in and year out. Said the Dewan Bahadur: "By the very essence of our compact we have bound ourselves to proceed upon constitutional lines and adopt lawful methods of procedure * * The great mass of the British people are very ignorant about India and Indian matters and the average member of Parliament does not concern himself about us. We have therefore to educate the English elector and bring him to see and acknowledge the justice and expediency of our demands." The main function of the British Congress Committee in London, it is superfluous to say, consists in thus educating the British elector and qualifying him to judge of Indian questions from the Indian point of view. And it is in reference to the identical object that the Committee is striving every nerve to extend the circulation of "India," which as our organ in London presents these views week after week to the British nation and the governing authorities.

In conclusion, Mr. Ambalal expressed his deep conviction that "success, complete success," will certainly crown the efforts of the Congress. "It is my faith," and, it may be observed, it is the faith of every true son of India, be he a Congressman or a non-Congressman, "in your genuine love of your country and devotion to its interests that makes me feel so sanguine. It is the record of the solid work of this Congress during the last seventeen years that makes me indulge in such youthful hopes * * It is the sincere friendship and active assistance of philanthropic Englishmen like Mr. A. O. Hume (cheers), Sir W. Wedderburn (cheers), Mr. W. S. Caine (cheers), Mr. Digby (cheers), and several others that make me take such a cheerful view of the future. It is the constant accession of gentlemen, of new genuine friends, like Sir H. Cotton (cheers) and Mr. Thorburn (hear, hear) from the ranks of distinguished Indian administrators that makes me believe that we are destined to succeed. It is the existence among us of noble patriots like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers), Mr. W. C. Bonnerji (cheers), Mr. R. C. Dutt (cheers) and others whom I would fain name, patriots of whom any country may be proud that makes me cling to my fond hope for the regeneration of this our great and historic country * * Finally I have faith in the moral

revolution of the world and the eternal laws of right and wrong. No just and true cause was in the moral history of the world failed of success. It will be a bright day when a succeeding generation or perhaps succeeding generations will reap the fruits of what you are at present sowing. That day will redound to the lasting glory of all who have patiently and moderately but at the same time patriotically worked for the welfare of this country. It will be a memorable day in the annals of the British empire, and the British Crown will shine the brighter by the increased prosperity of its brightest jewel—the Indian Empire (hear, hear and applause). Thus concluded Mr. Ambalal his most well reasoned, elegantly expressed and inspiring address.

The formal election of the President was then proceeded with. The Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, C. I. E. moved that the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji of Calcutta be elected President. In a brief but felicitously worded speech he recounted the services of Mr. Surendra Nath to the Congress and the country. "It is in the peculiar fitness of things that this Congress should be called the 'Coronation Congress'." The Congress is the work of the educated classes and it is "from the educated classes that the feeling of loyalty has descended and has filtered down to the less efficiently educated classes who are known as the masses of the people." The Coronation Congress requires a President who will represent Congress views and put forward the feelings of Congressmen with eloquence, with statesmanship, with ability and with force! Who could better discharge these duties than Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji, "*the* man who has devoted his life to the cause of the Congress, who has never swerved from his duty to the people's cause and who has always been ready to undertake any work for those that come to him?"

The President, having been duly proposed, seconded, and installed in the chair, delivered a most eloquent address which was as comprehensive and all embracing for the many important questions handled as it was full of practical statesmanship. After paying the well merited compliment to Ahmedabad, "the great industrial centre" of Gujerat, for its labour and its enthusiasm and for the Exhibition it had so successfully organised, Mr. Surendra Nath touched on the new movement which received its first impetus at the Seventeenth Congress in Calcutta. "The industrial movement is flowing deep, fraught with national ideals. It partakes of the character of the parent movement. It follows in its footsteps with a truly filial piety * * Our infant industries need protection. But the Government, wedded to the traditions of free trade, will not grant them protection * * Has not

the time come when the scattered national impulses may be focussed into an organic and organised whole for a supreme effort for the promotion of our industries. It is of the essence of protection to incur present pecuniary sacrifice in view of future gain; and our national industries, placed on a sound and satisfactory footing, under a moral protection, evoked by a lofty spirit of patriotism, will, in their own good time, bring in an abundant harvest of gold." These words derive great emphasis at the present hour when the foundations of Free Trade are openly challenged and the protectionist organs of opinion of the day vociferate for preferential tariffs and reciprocity if not retaliation. But this is a subject not germane to the Congress though it must be heard of later. Meanwhile the President called the Industrial Exhibition "a magnificent success" and spoke of H. H. the Gaikwad who presided at it as "a Prince whose enlightenment and culture, whose broad and statesmanlike views and deep sympathy with all high endeavours for the public good have not only placed him in the fore-front among the Sovereign Princes of India, but have won for him the unstinted homage and admiration of the educated community of India who are proud to reckon him as one of themselves."

The great Imperial show at Delhi was in every body's mouth. After the Coronation of his gracious Majesty in August last, the talk in India was all about the Durbar. The Press talked nothing but Durbar arrangements daily and hourly. So, too, the upper strata of society, European and Indian. It was the subject of every club and coterie. It was talked of at lectures and societies, at libraries and other public places. Go where you will, the word "Durbar" greeted your ear at every turn till it was sickening to hear of it any more. At the date of the holding of the Congress, the great event was only nine days remote. It was only natural that the Congress President should refer to it and express his own views on that show to which all the world and its wife was invited at poor India's expense, and that, too, while thousands were still obtaining relief from the public funds. Thus the Durbar found a fitting subject in the Presidential address. "To the people of India, the Coronation was an event of unique importance," observed Mr. Surendra Nath. "For the first time in the history of our relations with Britain, a King of England was crowned Emperor of Hindustan. For the first time in the history of our relations with Britain, Indian representatives were present at the Coronation of an English King, though, if the truth is to be told, it must be said that the representation of the educated community was most inadequate." After stating that the Durbar has been viewed by various people from various points of view, Mr. Surendra Nath remarked that it was of no use commenting much upon that hollow albeit brilliant state pageantry

which was to be enacted at Delhi on New year's day. The rulers of India, however, "may learn a lesson and may take a warning from the statesmanship of the past. History has condemned with unequivocal emphasis the Delhi Durbar of 1877 as an expensive pageant of doubtful utility. The time has passed by when a mere pageant calculated to dazzle and to astonish, can leave an enduring impression upon the public mind of India. Thanks to the educational efforts of our rulers, to the wise, the sagacious and beneficent policy which they have followed, we have long since passed the stage of childhood and have entered upon a period of vigorous adolescence when we are able to discriminate the substance from the shadow * * The Durbar needs to be consecrated by the touch of a higher statesmanship. If it is to be a great historic event, as it is intended to be, it should form a land mark in our annals—it should be commemorated by some boon which would remind us and our children for all time to come of the occasion and of the principal actors therein." The Durbar and all its pomp and glitter will pass away like the baseless fabric of a vision. The historic recollection will retain no trace of it. "But the popular concession which enlarges the sphere of a people's rights and enhances their self respect, or which exalts the purity of the system under which justice is administered and improves its quality or which once again commemorates the grand old precept that righteousness exalteth a nation will constitute an enduring monument of the ceremonial, worthy of the highest traditions of British statesmanship in India." Thus spoke Mr. Surendra Nath. He echoed the voice of his countrymen in all parts of the empire when he said that some permanent royal boon should be conferred on the people which they might cherish with regard and gratitude. He rightly observed that "to the people of India it would be a grievous disappointment if on the first and the greatest ceremonial occasion in connexion with the new reign, the traditional policy of the British Government, consecrated by illustrious names and followed with unvarying consistency for nearly half a century, were to be departed from."

But the burning problem of Higher Education looms largely before the Indian public. In comparison with its paramount importance, the Durbar may be said to sink into utter insignificance. Hence the President, himself a practical conductor of Higher Education for years past, one who has been constantly bending the youthful mind and leading them to higher and nobler ideals by means of a liberal education, could not but make the subject the principal part of his eloquent address. "The report of the Universities Commission was till lately the one all absorbing topic of discussion." It excited a measure of interest such as no other public question within living memory has done. "Within recollection of his own life-time he has not known of

another question which has more profoundly stirred the hearts of the Indian community, or has caused deeper alarm, or evoked more strenuous opposition than the Report of the Universities Commission." All classes of the community have condemned that report and protested against its main recommendations—so fatal as they are to their educational interests in the future. In an unforeseen and unexpected fashion this vital question has brought Hindus and Mahomedans into closer alliance upon the same platform and linked them together in a common cause. The boon of higher education so fairly granted by the liberal statesmen of the past is invaluable. It is that education which has made Local self Government a practical success. It is the same which has elevated the tone of the Vernacular Press and made it an influence for good in the country. It is the same education "which has overcome the barriers of race, religion, and language, has dissipated the prejudices and misunderstandings of ages and has created those unifying influences which find a long expression in this vast, this stupendous, this majestic organisation of the National Congress. Could the educated community submit to the curtailment of the boon—to the restriction of its beneficent area?" It is a matter of thankfulness that Lord Curzon has kept his mind open on the subject of the principal recommendations embodied in the Report. It is good that he has in this instance frankly listened to the voice of public opinion. Mr. Surendra Nath then entered into a long examination of the fallacies involved in the Report as to the constitution of the Senate, the efficiency of collegiate institutions, the fixing of a minimum rate of college fees, the abolition of second grade colleges, and the extraction of all private law schools. In common with the rest of educated India he condemned those recommendations observing that each and all "involve the direct discouragement of private effort which has done so much to stimulate the spread of High English Education, and they are in entire conflict with the educational policy of the past, the policy embodied in the Educational Despatch of 1854, which the Indians rightly call the Charter of Education as much as they call the gracious Proclamation of 1858 by Queen Victoria their Magna Charta, and the Report of the Education Commission of 1882 so nobly instituted by Lord Ripon and so ably presided over by the late Sir William Hunter. The fallacies have been so fully exposed in the leading Indian press that it would be needless to encumber these pages by recapitulating them. Suffice to say, the President looked forward with hope to the final pronouncement of the Government of Lord Curzon on this Report. The question is: "Are they to have their present educational system strengthened, invigorated and adopted to modern requirements, combining height with surface, the steady expansion of the educational area with the gradual advancement of learning, or are they to have an emasculated system, shorn of the

principle of growth and expansion, confined to an infinitesimal section of the people, without influence on the life of the community and without power to mould it for the highest purposes of human progress?" That is the question and it remains to be seen in what way the statesmanship of Lord Curzon finally disposes of it.

The President then fixed the attention of the delegates to the burning economic problem, the amelioration of the indigent peasantry, steadily sinking in the mire of indebtedness. He was surprised that while the mass of agriculturists had scarcely emerged from the effects of the calamities brought by the two severe famines of recent years, while they were still unable to stand on their legs, despite the "clean slate" offered to them, the Finance Minister should raise the cry of prosperity and point to his huge currency surpluses as evidence thereof! "Is the country poorer day by day?" Why this question might have been set at rest by an open and exhaustive inquiry such as was wisely recommended by the Famine Union which, in case of the investigation being agreed to, offered to co-operate with the Government in that great task of introspection. There have been half a dozen Commissions on this, that and the other topic. Then why is Government fighting shy of appointing an independent and impartial Commission on the most important problem which has been staring it in the face these many years? The enquiry, if instituted, will either prove or disprove the allegation that the country is becoming poorer under British rule. "The tale of India's growing poverty does not indeed rest upon any syllogistic formula, or upon calculations which though made from official sources are now repudiated by official authority—it is supported by facts, the significance of which it is impossible to overlook, and by the testimony of high authorities, official and non-official." Mr. Surendra Nath then quotes strong authorities in support of his contention. More or less they are all extracts from the answers of officials in connexion with the departmental enquiry made during the last days of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty. The extracts are telling and make out an overwhelming case as to the impoverishment of the masses. But if the condition was so bad in 1888, how infinitely worse must it be to-day, seeing the havoc the two famines have played with the cattle and other agricultural capital of the ryot. The situation, observed the President, was very grave at present, and measures should be at once adopted which could contribute to a material elevation of the present condition of the masses. "Let not the words 'too late' be written upon British policy in India. In the physical and in the moral world, Nature takes her revenge upon the dilatory who neglect their opportunities or misread her clear unerring intimations." Remedial measures of a satisfactory and radical character were essential. Palliatives have been

tried and found utterly wanting. A whole hearted policy of construction was essential if there is to be a steady material improvement in the present impoverished condition of the country. He recommended the following measures: (1) The revival of old industries and the creation of new ones, (2) moderate assessment of the land tax, (3) the remission of taxes which press heavily on the poor, (4) the stoppage of the annual drain to England and the adoption of the necessary administrative measures in that behalf. On all these topics the reader must be referred to the text of the address, specially the question of the economic drain and the wider employment of the people in the higher offices of the administration.

As to the separation of judicial and executive functions, the Congress, said the President, may fairly claim to have brought it within the range of practical politics. The question is now pending the final decision of the Government of India, and so is the report of the Police Commission. It was a matter of profound regret that the unfortunate condition of Indians in South Africa and the degrading disabilities to which they are subjected have undergone no change for the better despite the repeated appeals to the Government of India, the Secretary of State and Parliament. "It is melancholy," remarked the President, "to have to reflect that South African legislators should have so little knowledge of India and the circumstances of Indian life as to confound the coolie with the cultured Indian, the aboriginal inhabitant with the representative of civilisation, older than any which the memory of man can recall, and in comparison to which the civilisation and culture of Europe are but of yesterday."

We pass over the subject of the Congress and its mission now so familiar as to need very little justification. No doubt its progress in recent years has been somewhat arrested by the insane Imperialism which has overtaken our rulers both here and on the other side. "Imperialism blocks the way. What its latent possibilities are it is impossible to say." British Imperialism has reduced Indians to "Uitlanders" in the land of their birth. It is false Imperialism—a mere bastard thing and as much differs as sterling gold or Britannia metal from brummagem. "I would welcome an Imperialism which would draw us nearer to Britain by the ties of a common citizenship and which would enhance our self-respect, by making us feel that we are participators in the priceless heritage of British freedom. But we are as yet very far from this blessed consummation. In India Imperialism has accentuated the forces of reaction and has engendered a love of pomp and show which is apt to encourage extravagance and to withdraw attention from the graver issues of domestic reform. Mr. Gladstone's sound liberalism, with

its strenuous persistency in the matter of domestic reform, with its thorough recognition of England's grave responsibilities in relation to India, would be to us far more acceptable than the Imperialism which indulges in expensive pageants, but which turns a deaf ear to the cry of the coolies in the tea gardens of Assam, which often subordinates our interests to other interests and which relies for the justification of imperial rule upon the pomp and circumstances of imperial grandeur rather than upon the solid and enduring basis of truly imperial achievements."

In conclusion the President dilated at some length on the present constitutional struggle for constitutional liberty. Englishmen, Mr. Surendra Nath justly remarked, must accept the consequences of their own policy—they must cheerfully face the results which are the outcome of their own beneficent administration. "They must gratify the ambitions which they have roused and adapt their administration to the altered conditions which are of their own creation." The present transition period must soon be brought to an end. The policy of retrogression and repression must give way to the older and statesmanlike policy of trust in the people, sympathy in their aspirations, and political justice without racial bias or prejudice. "All history proclaims the truth that autocratic power is devoid of the elements of permanence and that authority to be permanent must be planted deep in the affections of the people and derive its sustaining breath from the vitalising springs of enthusiasm." Having elaborated this argument in his magnificent and soul-stirring peroration, the President concluded his elaborate address midst the vociferous cheers and thundering applause of his admiring audience.

The Subjects Committee having been nominated, the Congress adjourned till noon of the next day.

On reassembling on the 24th December, the Congress discharged its duty to its new Sovereign by passing the following resolution by acclamation, the whole assembly rising to their feet: "That the Congress begs to tender its respectful homage to His Most Gracious Majesty King-Emperor Edward VII, on the occasion of the approaching Coronation Durbar to be held at Delhi on 1st January 1903, and humbly trusts that His Majesty's reign will be an era of peace, prosperity and contentment, throughout the empire and will be marked by the gradual but complete redemption of the pledges contained in her late Majesty's Proclamation and re-affirmed in His Majesty's gracious message to the Indian people." The President at the same time was authorised to despatch the Resolution by wire to His Excellency the Viceroy for transmission to His Majesty the King.

Two good men and true, one of them being ex-President, of the Congress had departed this life during the previous twelve months, namely, Mr. R. M. Sayani, of Bombay, and Mr. P. Ranga Naidu of Madras. And the Congress next passed in solemn silence a resolution recording their loss.

Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer of Madras moved the Third Resolution on the subject of the increasing poverty of the country and the divers remedies calculated to bring back an amelioration of the present economic condition of the people. In an exceedingly lucid, well reasoned and well informed speech Mr. Iyer surveyed the whole situation, and made many a telling point in terms the most incisive which, no doubt, were greatly appreciated by the intelligent audience. He contrasted the prosperous India of old with the impoverished India of British rule. He traced the origin of the declining prosperity which throughout was the consequence of the mischievous policy so robustly put into execution, first by the monopolists of the East India Company, and thereafter by its successors. He pointed out how prohibitive tariffs in the United Kingdom shut out India's profitable exports and how light duties on importations of English goods into India pushed indigenous manufactures out, specially piece-goods. Thus the industries were crushed and the artisans became agriculturists. Then the exceedingly greedy policy practised in the matter of land revenue assessments, and the continual deprivation of immemorial rights and privileges by means of arbitrary pieces of land legislation gradually impoverished the peasantry which is the backbone and pride of every prosperous country. Next he descanted on the want of capital and the enterprise needed to develop capital.

The Hon'ble Mr. Peraju seconded the resolution entering into specific instances of provinces where agricultural poverty has been most prominent. Mr. Manekji Patel of Bombay in a long harangue travelled over the ground so familiar to all readers. Then the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh of Ahmedabad and Bombay delivered a most well reasoned address in Gujerati for the benefit of those who were blissful of the English language. He confined himself entirely to the burden of land revenue enhancement in which he is an expert and has already established name and fame all through his own Presidency. He criticised the revenue policy by the light of the most recent events and official explanation, fully supported by details, and made out as strong a case as possible against the unreasoning persistency and unwisdom with which the Bombay Government still pursued its land revenue policy, even after the scathing condemnation of it by Sir Antony MacDonell's Commission. The speech went home to the heart of the audience and the speaker sat down amidst the plaudits of his appreciating audience.

Mr. G. Raghava Iyer of Madras moved the Fourth Resolution which recorded in grateful terms the efforts made by the Famine Union in England, specially by Sir William Wedderburn, to secure a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a number of typical villages. The resolution proceeded to say, in reply to the official despatch of the Government of India which threw cold water on the appeal of the Union, that "such an inquiry will in no way prove 'inquisitorial' as apprehended, but will be of the highest value for a proper understanding of the true condition of the Indian ryot and will clear many of the misapprehensions which prevail at present on the subject and which interfere with the adoption of the right remedial measures. That such an inquiry following the two severe famines is highly expedient inasmuch as it will enable the Government to be placed in possession of economic data of great utility for purposes of comparison. Mr. Iyer went into the history of the Famine Union and the action taken by it at different stages. After an able exposition of the facts he observed that "in requesting Government for their inquiries we do not commit them to any particular policy. We simply say find out the exact facts, find out what are the causes of this poverty, and, if possible, to remove them. Nothing could be more unreasonable than that this inquiry should be refused." There have been at least three inquiries before. The last was in 1888 but it was not a public one. Let this inquiry be an open and independent one. Let the truth be probed to the bottom and let the right remedies be thereafter applied. Mr. Peter Pillay of Madras seconded the resolution which was ably and spiritedly supported by Mr. V. R. Nattu of Belgaum. He fortified his arguments by some pertinent extracts which no doubt will be carefully studied as given in the text of the speech. He quoted from the report of Mr. Enthoven on the Bombay Census of 1901 that on account of competition people are going back to the only source of livelihood, namely, agriculture, which is not sufficient to maintain the increasing population. Mr. Bhaishunker Nanabhoy of Ahmedabad and Bombay followed the last speaker with a clear exposition of facts in reference to the resolution in Gujarati. He said that the economic drain was really making the country poorer and that it was poverty which led to famine in years of great drought like those which the country recently witnessed.

The South African Problem in connexion with the location of His Majesty's Indian subjects was the subject matter of the next resolution which was done ample justice to by Mr. D. P. Thakore of Surat. The pertinence of his remarks were greatly enhanced by the narration of facts which had come under that gentleman's personal observation and experience in South Africa. He prefaced his observations by saying that "the needs" he had

to impart were of a "doleful and gloomy character." They would "sadden" the spirit of the audience and "disturb" their temper. The atmosphere of South Africa as far as Indians were concerned was growing "foggy". "Statesmen, politicians and presidents of various political associations there are playing at blind man's buff. At every fresh turn obstacles crop up and collisions and conflicts are not unusual." Mr. Thakore then entered into a long but interesting disquisition on the condition of free and indentured Indians and concluded his address by an earnest exhortation never to rest till the crying evils of His Majesty's Indian subjects of both the classes in South Africa, were satisfactorily redressed. Mr. Krishna Iyer of Madras having seconded the resolution, three Mahomedan gentlemen, all returned from South Africa successively related their experiences and corroborated all that Mr. Thakore had to say. Each gave some humorous reminiscences but adorned with a pertinent moral which convinced the audience to what extent the Whites looked down on the Blacks and how intensely selfish the former were in all their agitations. The names of these three gentlemen are Mr. Gulam Husen Miakhan, Mr. Haji Suleman, and Mr. Haji Sumar.

Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thakarsey, of Bombay, a mill-owner who has given much thought to the exchange between India, China and Japan, reiterated the former protest of the Congress in the matter of the Currency Legislation of 1893, observing that the artificially enhanced Rupee had increased taxation 30 per cent in an unseen manner. No doubt the Sixteen-Pence Rupee gave the Government large surpluses but these affected most injuriously the interests of all producers, specially the agriculturists. He pointed out the mischief wrought by this Rupee on the Chinese exchange and how spinners were handicapped. "Over half of the capital sunk in this industry has already been lost to the investing public, and the remaining portion hardly earns any dividend." What a perilous condition for what was only a few short years since a most flourishing industry. All "natural advantages" which India enjoyed in this industry have been "more than neutralised by our unnatural Currency," so remarked Mr. Vithaldas. Japan had, in consequence, partially deprived India of its yarn trade and threatens to deprive it still more should this par of exchange between India and the Far East be not soon placed on a stable footing. Mr. Vithaldas, in very refreshing terms, inquired "at whose cost" the Government was now obtaining surplus of 8 crores per annum? "Some one must, of course, be out of pocket for the amount, so that the Government may gain it * * Government cannot by a stroke of legislation create wealth, and if it is in the power of the Government to create wealth without injury to anybody, why not raise the value of our Rupee to twenty pence and thus make a ^{he} _{audie} profit of a further eight crores

of Rupees." The argument went home to the Ahmedabadees who are nothing if not hard headed like the Scotch in fiscal and banking matters. So they roared with laughter at Mr. Vithaldas's hit whose whole speech was eminently practical and informing.

Him followed Mr. Subramanya Iyer of Madras who made his second speech of the day and for the second time spoke with a verve and nerve and a feeling which at once informed the assembly how bitterly he felt the impolicy of the State which had wrought those evils to the producer by its currency legislation to which the proposer of the resolution had so ably referred. Mr. Sorabji Karaka of Ahmedabad having related his own experience as a spinner and weaver of fine stuffs, the proposition was unanimously carried.

Mr. N. M. Samarth of Bombay ably put before the Congress the continued and growing burden of military expenditure and lucidly explained the history of the Amalgamation scheme of 1859 which was at the root of that expenditure. The resolution specifically prayed that India might, in all equity and conscience, be spared the proposed further burden of £ 786,000 in connexion with the increased pay of the British soldiers. It was a "grievous injustice to the Indian tax payer." The cost "in fairness" should be entirely defrayed by the British Exchequer. Mr. Samarth put the whole case of India in a nutshell with commendable brevity but with admirable precision and knowledge. He was greatly applauded.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shrinivas Rao of Madras seconded the resolution in another equally well informed and well argued speech in which he admirably made out the well known point that India was made a capital reserve ground for British seasoned soldiers and that at India's expense the unfairness of which was every where admitted. He hoped that the Secretary of State would remove the threatened burden from the shoulders of India.

Mr. Baikunth Nath Sen of Bengal supported the resolution in his usual calm, dignified and reasoned manner. He referred to the way in which 30,000 troops were added to the then existing garrison soon after the Penjdeh scare and in face of the report of the Simla Army Commission of the year before (1884). "If the idea of increasing the strength of the existing army is not abandoned altogether, then let the additional expenditure be wholly borne by the Imperial Exchequer." The Congress, after passing this important resolution adjourned its sitting till Friday the 26th December.

In opening the proceedings on the 26th December, the President informed the Congress, that he had received a telegram from Miss Ghosal, B.A., of Calcutta, making certain suggestions in connexion with her proposal

to ask the Congress to organise national sports. A kind of Olympic games should be instituted, and just as the Industrial Exhibition was made an adjunct of the Congress so should be this suggested institution of national games.

Mr. J. Chowdhary of Calcutta then moved the first resolution of the day, on the Report of the Universities Commission. While thanking the Government of India for its circular letter allaying popular apprehension on the ultimate disposal of the question of Higher Education, the resolution formulated the following objections to the Report :—

- (a) The abolition of all existing Second Grade Colleges except such as may be raised to the status of a first grade College, and the prohibition of the affiliation of new second grade Colleges.
- (b) The fixing by the Syndicate of minimum rates of fees for different Colleges.
- (c) The introduction of a rigidly uniform course of studies throughout the country irrespective of the lines on which the different Universities have so far progressed.
- (d) The monopoly of legal instruction by Central Law Colleges, one for each Province or Presidency.
- (e) The virtual licensing of all secondary education by making the existence of private schools dependent upon their recognition by the Director of Public Instruction.
- (f) And the officialisation of the Senate and the Syndicate and the practical conversion of the University into a department of Government.

So much has been said on the several matters above referred to that it is superfluous to refer here at any length to the many excellent speeches made at the Congress. Both the proposer and the seconder, Mr. D. G. Padhye of Bombay, ably discussed the salient points of the report. The latter was not only logical but most learned while the former, gave some of his personal experience of the University of Oxford. Mr. N. B. Ranade of Bombay and Mr. G. M. Tripathi of Nadiad supported the resolution, each bringing out some new points in further support of the resolution. Mr. Tripathi's harangue was in Gujarati and somewhat archaic but was delivered in such pure accents and with such elegant diction that it greatly delighted the Gujarati speaking portion of the assemblage.

Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer of Madras for the third time appeared on the Congress platform and was greatly cheered for his standing sponsor to the important resolution which referred to Mr. Tata's Research Institute and exhorted the Government to have many such institutions established all over the country. Mr. Iyer complained of the dilatoriness of Government in settling the scheme of Mr. Tata which had been before it for four years. He observed that in carrying out the scheme the greatest financial burden rested on the back of a single patriotic philanthropist. "The State has not been called upon to make any great sacrifice in carrying out this scheme; the project only awaits the smile of Government. What is Rs. 40,000 to 50,000 a year to Government? It is not even the hundredth portion of the sums that are wasted away and spent on fanciful projects by Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Governors General. Government must be prepared to spend more money if they want to make technical, industrial and scientific education something more than mere talk. If the professions of Government in regard to the spread of education are true and sincere, they must come forward with a large sum of money to prove their earnestness and willingness to advance the professional education." Mr. Krishna Nair of Madras having seconded the resolution, Mr. Pandit M. M. Malavya of Allahabad supported it in an able speech with all the earnestness and the command of English he possessed. He observed that "there can be no possibility of our achieving anything worth the name in that direction unless education of the requisite kind is imparted to our youth." He hoped that the apprehension of some "secret forces at work" to throw cold water over the scheme were unfounded, and that after the delay that has already occurred Government would "come forward with eagerness to help it."

Mr. S. Sinha of Allahabad was entrusted with the resolution regarding Police reform. It is needless to say he tackled this delicate topic with his customary eloquence and felicity of argument. He observed that men of adequate qualification for superior posts are wanted. These officers should be recruited from the class of educated Indians. The position and prospects of investigating and inspecting officers should be improved so as to attract better class of men in the service. And lastly, the District officer who is District Magistrate and head of the Police should be relieved of his Judicial powers and of all control over the Magistracy. Mr. Krishnamachari of Madras seconded the resolution in a brief speech controverting the irrational plea that a native is not competent to take up the superior service of the Police.

Mr. N. N. Mitra of Bengal supported the resolution expanding some of the points already urged, and so did Mr. M. K. Padhya of the Central Provinces and Mr. S. B. Bhagvat of Dharwar. In fact there was not a province which did not send its representative to speak on the question.

Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal of Ahmedabad then dilated on the thrice threshed question of the separation of Judicial and executive functions. It was a pleasure to hear the Dewan Bahadur who had spent his lifetime in Baroda, a greater portion of it in administering justice. From his standpoint it was not so difficult or costly a task this much needed reform. As a matter of fact it was there in the Baroda State. He gave his own experience of it. "Our first step was to put all the Mamlatdars and Tahasildars as subordinates to the Deputy Magistrates and the District Judge. All appeals from their decisions lay before the District Judge. The scheme has worked very well." As to the cost of the reform in Baroda the Dewan Bahadur said he had worked out figures. It did not exceed Rs. 1,000. "At that rate it ought not to be more than 2 lacs for Bombay, perhaps 5 lacs for Bengal and 3 lacs for Madras and so on. In all it would be about 20 lacs. I assure you," concluded Mr. Ambalal, "that the scheme is perfectly feasible." At this confident expression of opinion the audience loudly cheered their speaker.

Mr. Ambika Charan Majmudar of Bengal, who for fervid and earnest oratory as for his innate modesty is so familiar to old Congressmen, ably seconded the resolution in a convincing speech of great arguments and facts. He related his own experience to convince his hearers how necessary it was to carry out the reform without further procrastination. Mr. Rustom K. R. Kama of Bombay and Mr. K. P. Kavyabisharad of Bengal supported the resolution, both referring to specific instances and suggestions already made as to how the reform may be carried out.

The next few resolutions referred to the present recruitment of district judges, to the necessity of reducing the enhanced duty of eight annas on salt, the needed extensive employment of educated natives in the higher offices of the State, the necessity of recruitment of Indians in the important departments of Railway administration, the repeal of the Excise duty on Indian manufactured piece-goods, the old resolution touching the military medical service, and the recent creation of the cadet corps, all these were ably proposed, seconded and supported by the respective speakers, namely Mr. Jogendra Nath Dinkerji, Mr. A. M. Advani, Mr. Hardevram Nanabhoy Haridas, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. J. V. Desai, Mr. A. K. Setna, Mr. Abdul Kassim, Mr. Govindrao A. Patel, Mr. S. M. Patel, Mr. M. K. Patel, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. Mangaldas Girdhardas, Dr. Solomon Erulker, Dr. Joseph Benjamin, and Mr. N. K. Kelker. Each of them rendered ample justice to the subject to which they were requested to speak. Their most excellent and well reasoned out speeches should be carefully read in the text. Of course, it goes without saying that the omnibus resolution had its innings as usual from the Presidential chair. The usual formal resolutions being moved and

seconded and the Reception Committee and other officers of the organisation having been thanked, a vote of most cordial thanks to the President was proposed by Mr. Varajlal Sakerlal of Ahmedabad. He said : "By his eloquence he has succeeded in instilling in the minds of us Gujeratis the sense of national duty and patriotism which are so conspicuous in him. The services rendered by our President are a legion," and after once more offering the cordial thanks of the assembly to him the proceedings were brought to a close.

There remained the concluding address of the President, before the Congress was finally dissolved. That address was wistfully waited for by the entire assembly. Gujerat was specially on the *qui vive* to hear his ringing voice once more. Enthusiasm again prevailed and as he rose, after having been ovated with a perfect shower of flowers, to offer his thanks and wind up the Eighteenth Session of the Congress, which had every way proved a brilliant success, there was such an overpowering round of cheers, deafening in their volume, that it was some minutes before the President could open his lips. The ovation was unprecedented as it was spontaneous. Gujerat knew that it was a rare occasion and she therefore seized the rare opportunity to do its utmost to honour their patriotic President. At last the cheers subsided. There reigned absolute serenity in the hall. All were eager to hear every word, nay, every syllable that was about to fall from his lips. It looked as if even a needle might be heard falling, such was the silence which pervaded the hall which was cram full to its length and breadth and which, in the golden rays of the setting sun, presented an appearance which is almost indescribable. It was impossible that he should proceed to deliver his brief valedictory utterances without acknowledging the warmth and sincerity of the oration. Slowly, but solemnly, did he begin his thanks-giving in that sonorous voice which is now so familiar to the ears of Congressmen. The sentences began to roll in their own measured music like the organ in a cathedral. "There are moments," he observed with a dignity and grace which were perceived in all parts of the hall, "in the lifetime of man when the resources of language fail him to give adequate expression to the sentiments which are uppermost in his mind. One of those moments has now arrived for me. I confess, I do not know how adequately to express to you the deepseated feeling of gratitude which has inspired me at this moment for your abounding kindness to me during my stay at Ahmedabad, for the kind speeches which you have made, and the kind vote which has just been passed and the deep underlying feeling which is behind that vote." Then warming with his subject and recalling the brilliant scenes on the day of his reception he observed that "from the moment I set my foot upon your soil, I have been a recipient of favours the memory of which will not be effaced so long as life and breath endure * * I am not so foolish or vain as to imagine for one

moment that the honour was a personal demonstration. The honour was to the representative of the Congress. In honouring the President you make your salutations to the Genius of the Congress; I took upon the demonstration in that light and no other. You have proclaimed to the people of India with the trumpet blast that the one creed and the one object of your worship in the political field is the creed of the Congress. I had ventured to express the hope in my Presidential speech that this session of the Congress would be one of the most successful that has ever been held. In that hope and in that confidence we have been abundantly justified. This marvellous success has been achieved in the face of enormous difficulties, despite the attractions of the Delhi Durbar, despite the remoteness of the place, despite the raising of the delegation fee and despite adverse local circumstances." But there was another most gratifying feature which could not be omitted to be referred to, seeing that it also was greatly contributory to that marvellous success. Nothing could have been more praiseworthy than the attitude of the local authorities, from the amiable Commissioner downwards. Throughout Mr. Lely and his assistants were sympathetic and helpful. Observed the President: "To the respected Commissioner the gratitude of the Congress is due, not only for his attitude of benevolent neutrality, not only for his firm determination not to throw any obstacles in our way, but also for his equally firm determination to do all that lay in his power to help forward the success of the Industrial Exhibition which is an adjunct of the National Congress." It is to be devoutly hoped that that official sympathy and helpfulness may be now a permanent feature of the Congress. May it be its good fortune to see at no distant day the highest authorities in the realm not only gracing the national assembly with their presence but encouraging the workers and directing the officials in the administration to heartily co-operate with it, remembering that the aim and object of the Congress is to help Government in promoting the further progress and welfare of the people rather than to obstruct it. With a better understanding and appreciation of the wants and wishes and the inmost sentiments of the people, administrative and other reforms would be quicker and based on sound principles leading to the larger contentment and happiness of the masses.

The President also had some wise words for Gujerat. It was "not a factor in the political history of the country." Till of late "Gujerat had its mills, and was absorbed in the pleasant occupation of minting money. Gujerat has now been roused from the torpor of ages. The pulsations of a new life are being felt by the people of Gujerat." It is to be hoped that Gujerat and its enlightened leaders of thought will see that the new life induced in it by the "Genius of the Congress" will not flicker away, but burn with greater strength and brighter flame in the future. That it owed much of its success

to the organisers may be freely acknowledged. But behind the organisers were the young men who voluntarily undertook to carry out all the multifarious and fatiguing but necessary details. The volunteers of the Congress everywhere are in a way the pioneers of the political movement of their own advanced generation. And it is indeed a most satisfactory feature that everywhere these workers of the future in the cause of the Congress are multiplying and actively helping in the right spirit. They are the future hope of the Congress and as such deserve every encouragement. Every President in turn has recognised their services and Mr. Surendra Nath was not behind his predecessors in the Congress chair in exhorting them to the obvious duty which lay before them in the future. "Young men have always played a most important part in the political history of all countries in the world and I am glad that history has repeated itself in the province of Gujerat, and that it is given to these young men to lead forward the great movement of the National Congress." Here again the assembly broke out in loud cheers.

The President then followed up this subject with the one of workers. "Will not our young men develop themselves into the workers of the Congress? Will they not take up the work which we leave to them as a legacy for them to amplify and add to? We want them to carry forward this work to its triumphant issue. I will continue to appeal to the young men of my country rally round the banner of the Congress, to hold it aloft and to carry it from town to town, from district to district, and from province to province, spreading broadcast from one end of the country to the other the saving lessons of the Congress." It is to be hoped that this solemn exhortation from so distinguished a Congress veteran will not fall on deaf ears, but that everywhere the young men, now rising, will deem it their first duty to imitate and follow the example of those who, by their unflinching patriotism, singleness of purpose, and unflagging perseverance have been able to advance the national cause. Every important city and town must need and have its own band of workers actuated by the same spirit and love of the country. Nowhere can progress be achieved without incessant work. Work is the law of life. It is the law of God and all those who in obedience to that law exert themselves may be said to be good workers for the glory of Him who has given them life. India needs yet many hundred workers. For in the strength that such are found and in the degree that each works for his country in the spirit of disinterestedness and sterling patriotism will the great consummation be reached, the consummation for which the Indian National Congress has been putting forth its best strength these last eighteen years.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

EIGHTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT AHMEDABAD

on the 23rd, 24th & 26th December 1902.

Resolution I.

That the Congress begs to tender its respectful homage to His Most Gracious Majesty, King-Emperor Edward VII, on the occasion of the approaching Coronation Durbar to be held at Delhi on 1st January 1903, and humbly trusts that His Majesty's reign will be an era of peace, prosperity and contentment throughout the Empire and will be marked by the gradual but complete redemption of the pledges contained in Her late Majesty's Proclamation and reaffirmed in His Majesty's Gracious Message to the Indian people.

Resolution II.

That this Congress wishes to place on record its great regret at the death of Mr. R. M. Sayani, one of its past Presidents, and of Mr. P. Rangia Naidu, who did valuable services in various capacities to the interests of this country.

Resolution III.

That the Congress earnestly desires to draw the attention of the Government of India to the great poverty of the Indian people, which, in the opinion of the Congress, is mainly due to the decline of indigenous arts and manufactures, to the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years, and to excessive taxation and over assessment of land which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity large numbers are forced to throw themselves on State help. And the Congress recommends the following amongst other remedial measures :—

- (1) That practical steps in the shape of State encouragement be taken for the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures and for the introduction of new industries.

- (2) That Government be pleased to establish technical schools and colleges at important centres throughout the country.
- ✓ (3) That the permanent settlement be extended to such parts of the country, as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India's Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that reduction of and judicial restrictions on over-assessments, be imposed in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the permanent settlement.
- (4) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped at least in part by a much wider employment of the children of the soil in the higher branches of the public service.
- (5) That Agricultural Banks be established for the better organization of rural credit and for enabling solvent agriculturists to obtain loans on comparatively easy terms.

Resolution IV.

That this Congress desires to place on record its grateful appreciation of the efforts which the Famine Union in England is making to secure a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a number of typical villages in India. In the opinion of this Congress such an inquiry will in no way prove inquisitorial as apprehended, but will be of the highest value for a proper understanding of the true condition of the Indian Rayat and will clear many of the mis-apprehensions which prevail at present on the subject and which interfere with the adoption of the right remedial measures. That the Congress is of opinion that such an inquiry following the two severe famines is highly expedient inasmuch as it will enable the Government to be placed in possession of economic data of great utility for purposes of comparison. And the Congress hopes that the Secretary of State for India will be pleased to reconsider his decision in the matter.

In this connection the Congress would respectfully urge that the Government of India should be pleased to publish the results of the official inquiries which have been held in the past on this subject, notably the inquiry instituted during the time of Lord Dufferin, extracts from which alone have been published.

Resolution V.

That this Congress once more urges upon the attention of the Government of India the serious grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa

and regrets to observe that the Imperialistic spirit of the British Colonies, instead of mitigating the anti-Indian legislation, threatens to impose further disabilities and hardships on His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects there. In view of the admitted loyalty of these Indian settlers and the help rendered by them during the late war, as well as the invaluable help rendered by India to the British Empire at a most critical time, the Congress fervently prays that the Government of India will be pleased to take the necessary practical steps to secure a just, equitable and liberal treatment of the Indian settlers in South Africa.

In this connection the Congress notes with satisfaction the assurance recently given by the Secretary of State for India, to a deputation that interviewed him on the subject, that early steps are contemplated to relax the stringency of the restrictions at present enforced against the Indian settlers in the territories lately conquered from the Boer Government.

Resolution VI.

That this Congress strongly reiterates its protest against the currency legislation of 1893 which has artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by more than 30 per cent, which indirectly enhances all taxation to that extent and which, whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year, affects most injuriously the interests of the agriculturists and other producers of this country.

Resolution VII.

That this Congress enters its most emphatic protest against the fresh permanent burden of £786,000 per annum, which the increase, made during the course of the year in the pay of the British soldier, would impose on the revenues of India, and views with alarm the recent announcement of the Secretary of State for India hinting at a possible increase in the near future of the strength of the British troops in the country. In view of the fact that during the last three years large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety been withdrawn for service in South Africa and China, the proposal to increase the strength of the existing British garrison manifestly involves a grievous injustice to the Indian tax payer, and the Congress earnestly trusts that the proposal will either be abandoned or else be carried out at the cost of the British Exchequer, which, in fairness, should bear not only the cost of any additional British troops that may be employed but also a reasonable proportion of the cost of the existing garrison.

Resolution VIII.

That this Congress desires to tender its respectful thanks to the Government of India for the Circular letter recently addressed by them to Local Governments on the subject of the Universities' Commissions Report—so far as it relates to the proposals for the abolition of Second Grade Colleges and Law classes—which has partially allayed the apprehension in the public mind that due weight might not be attached to public opinion, in taking action on the recommendations of the Commission. That this Congress views with the gravest alarm many of the Commission's recommendations, the acceptance of which will, in its opinion, reverse the policy steadily pursued during the last half a century by the British Government in the matter of higher education, by checking its spread and restricting its scope, and by virtually destroying such limited independence as the Universities at present enjoy.

That in particular the Congress objects most strongly to the following recommendations of the Commission :—

- (a) The abolition of all existing Second Grade Colleges except such as may be raised to the status of a First Grade College, and the prohibition of the affiliation of new Second Grade Colleges.
- (b) The fixing by the Syndicate of minimum rates of fees for different Colleges.
- (c) The introduction of a rigidly uniform course of studies throughout the country, irrespective of the lines on which the different Universities have so far progressed.
- (d) The monopoly of legal instruction by Central Law Colleges, one for each Province or Presidency.
- (e) The virtual licensing of all secondary education by making the existence of private schools dependent upon their recognition by the Director of Public Instruction.
- (f) And the officialization of the Senate and the Syndicate and the practical conversion of the University into a Department of Government.

Resolution IX.

That this Congress considers that the Institute of Research, which the private beneficence of Mr. Tata proposes to establish, should receive adequate support from Government, and the Congress is strongly of opinion that similar institutions should be founded in different parts of the country.

Resolution X.

That this Congress records its sense of regret at the inadequacy of the representation on the Police Commission of Indian gentlemen of experience on the subject and at the limited scope of reference as indicated in the Resolution of the Government of India and in the opening speech of the President.

This Congress further records its deliberate conviction that the Police will not be rendered efficient unless the following among other reforms are carried out :—

- (1) That men of adequate qualification are secured for superior offices in the Police service.
- (2) That educated Indians are largely employed in the superior offices in the Police service.
- (3) That the position and prospects of investigating and inspecting officers are improved so as to attract educated men to the service.
- (4) That the District Officer, who is District Magistrate and head of the Police, is relieved of his judicial powers and of all control over the Magistracy.

Resolution XI.

That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take early practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of judicial and executive functions in the administration of criminal justice, the desirability of which has been frequently admitted on behalf of Government. In this connection, the Congress regrets to notice that the trend of recent legislation is not only to deprive the judiciary of its salutary and wholesome power of check and restraint over the executive but to invest the executive with greater and uncontrolled powers.

Resolution XII.

That this Congress is of opinion that the present system, under which a very large proportion of the District Judgeships, Joint-Judgeships and Assistant Judgeships, are filled by Covenanted Civilians without any special legal training, and without adequate guarantee of the knowledge of law necessary for the satisfactory discharge of the very important and responsible judicial duties entrusted to them, is injurious to the best interests of efficient

judicial administration in the mofussil and that it is urgently necessary to devise means to ensure a higher standard of efficiency in the administration of law by securing the services of trained lawyers for the said posts.

Resolution XIII.

That the Congress strongly protests against the present high duty on salt, and in view of the fact that the prevalence and spread of many diseases are now traced to the insufficiency of salt consumed by the Indian masses and that the accounts of the Government of India have now been showing large surpluses year after year, the Congress urges that Government should be pleased to reduce the salt tax by at least the amount of its enhancement in 1888.

Resolution XIV.

That the Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and is strongly of opinion that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893, in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Services, *i. e.*, Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest and Accounts, both in England and in India. That the policy of the Government of India in regard to minor Civil Services practically excludes the Natives of India from higher appointments in them and is therefore opposed not only to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission but to Royal and Viceregal pledges given to the Indian people from time to time.

Resolution XV.

That in view of the fact that the Railway administration forms an important branch of the P. W. Department of the Government, the Congress notices with regret that the Natives of India are practically excluded from higher appointments such as Traffic Inspectors, District Traffic Superintendents, Accountants, &c., on State as well as on Guaranteed Railways and appointments of Rs. 200 and above are as a rule bestowed only on Europeans. That the exclusive employment of Europeans in the higher posts results in heavy working charges, the burden of which falls on the Indian taxpayers at whose expense the State Railways have been constructed and who have to bear the ultimate liability of deficits on the Guaranteed Railways. The Congress, therefore, deems it its duty to urge in the interests of economical railway administration, as also for the purpose of removing a legitimate grievance, that

Government will be pleased to direct the employment of qualified Indians in the higher branches of the Railway service.

Resolution XVI.

That having regard to the fact that while the cloth manufactured by means of power looms in this country in no way competes with the piece-goods imported from Lancashire, the imposition of the Excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. thereon, apart from its tendency to arrest the free growth of the weaving industry, continues to operate as a great injustice to the manufacturers, and imposes serious hardship on the masses of the people who consume the coarser indigenous products. This Congress earnestly prays that the Government will be pleased to take the matter into its favourable consideration and repeal the duty at an early date.

Resolution XVII.

That this Congress is of opinion that in the interests of the public, the medical science and the profession, as well as to secure economy of administration it is necessary

- (1) That there should be only one military Medical Service with two branches—one for the European army and the other for the Native troops, graduates of Indian colleges being employed to the latter with greater economy, and efficiency to the State, and
- (2) That the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical service wholly detached from its present military connection and recruited from the open profession of medicine in India and elsewhere, due regard being had to the utilization of indigenous talent. That this Congress while gratefully acknowledging what has been done to improve the position and prospects of the subordinate Medical Service, is of opinion that the grievances of assistant surgeons and hospital assistants, compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the public service, require thorough redress.

Resolution XVIII.

That while thanking the Government of Lord Curzon for opening a military career to a few scions of noble families by the creation of the Cadet Corps, this Congress urges that in view of the loyalty and splendid services rendered by the Indian troops to the British Empire in the late Chinese war and in other wars, Government will be pleased to throw open to the

natives of India higher posts in the military services and to establish military colleges at which Indians may be trained for a military career as commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army.

Resolution XIX.

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

- (a) That with a view that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may enjoy greater respect and confidence it is necessary to reconstitute it on a broader basis and that the time is ripe for the appointment of Indian lawyers of eminence as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the decision of Indian appeals.
- (b) That the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government should be discontinued.
- (c) That the rules under the Arms Act should be modified so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in or visitors to India, without distinction of creed, caste or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure revocably only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.
- (d) That a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain should be introduced amongst the people of India.
- (e) That a High Court of Judicature be established in the Punjab.
- (f) That inasmuch as the scheme of reorganization of the Education Service is calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, the scheme should be recast so as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.
- (g) That the act of the Secretary of State of India in fixing the limit at two posts beyond which natives of India cannot compete in the

Cooper's Hill College is opposed to the plain words of Act I of 1833 and to her late Majesty's Gracious Proclamation.

- (h) That the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.
- (i) That it is desirable that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons who are natives of India the right of claiming in trials by jury before the High Court and in trials with the aid of assessors that not less than half the number of jurors or of the assessors shall be natives of India.
- (j) That the existing rules framed by the different Provincial Governments in the matter of the Forest Department are opposed to the Resolution of the Government of India made in 1894, with the object of enunciating the objects of forest conservancy and that an amendment of the rules in conformity with the above resolution is urgently called for in the interests of the inhabitants of rural India.

Resolution XX.

That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee, as at present constituted and the journal *India* as published by it, be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance with the following scheme :—

That a circulation of 4,000 copies of *India* be secured by allotting 1,500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras, 200 copies to the North-West Provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar and the Central Provinces and 1,000 copies to Bombay; the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8.

That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due for the copies of *India* assigned to their respective circles; and the money be paid in advance in two half-year instalments :—

BENGAL	{	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
		„ Bupendra Nath Basu.
		„ Baikunta Nath Sen.

BOMBAY	{	Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta. Mr. D. E. Wacha. Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.
MADRAS	{	Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Rao. Mr. Vijay Raghava Chariar. Mr. V. Ryrü Nambier. Mr. G. Subramaniya Iyer.
BERAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES		Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
N.-W. PROVINCES AND OUDH	{	Mr. M. M. Malavya. Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma. Mr. S. Sinha. Mr. A. Nundy.
CAWNPORE PUNJAB		Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit. Lala Harakissen Lal.

That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of *India* and the British Committee a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902.

Resolution XXI.

That this Congress tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and the other Members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year.

Resolution XXII.

That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B. to be General Secretary and Mr. D. E. Wacha to be Joint-General Secretary for the ensuing year.

Resolution XXIII.

That the 19th Indian National Congress do assemble after Christmas, 1903 at Madras.

Eighteenth Indian National Congress

HELD AT
AHMEDABAD.

First day's proceedings—23rd December 1902.

The Eighteenth Session of the Indian National Congress opened at Ahmedabad on Tuesday the 23rd December 1902 at 1-30 p.m. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal Desai, M.A., LL.B., Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the chair.

The proceedings commenced with the following Congress Anthem which was sung by Mrs. Ramanbhai Mahipatram B.A. and Mrs. Sumant Batukram B.A., assisted by some lady friends.

NATIONAL CONGRESS ANTHEM.

(English Translation.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHORUS.

O Land of righteous Rama !
Karnatak ! Coorga ! Sindh !
O Land of five great rivers !
O Malwa ! heart of Hind !

O Land of Central India !
 Bengal and Burmâ fair !
 O glorious Land of Goorjars !
 With whom shall I compare ?
 Madrâs ! Mâ (hâ) râstra ! Sorath !
 And Râjputânâ great !
 Ye all have done your duty,
 In lifting national weight.

CHORUS.

Ye Hindu ! Jain ! and Moslem !
 Ye Parsi ! Jew ! Buddhist !
 Ye Christian ! Sikh ! and Brahmo !
 Ye children of the East !
 Stretch forth your arms in friendship,
 And greet your countrymen,
 For 'tis the blood of India
 That runs through every vein.

CHORUS.

But lo ! our dear old India
 How sunken is her state !
 Her children die by thousands—
 O what a horrible fate !
 Be up ! ye sons of India !
 And pray for help to God ;
 Perform your yearly Yâtrâ
 To National Synod.

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

CHORUS.

Arise ! ye sons of India !
 ' Be just and fear naught,'
 Stand up and serve your country
 And glorious is your lot—
 For so proclaim the ' Shâstras '
 ' Where Duty is the goal,
 There victory must follow
 To crown the glorious soul.'

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

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

CHORUS. (Cheers).

CHORUS.

केम डरो लीर ! करो साहस आश्रय

यतो धर्मस्ततो जय

छिन्नमिन्न हीनमद ऐक्यथी पामशुं अदः

भोतायुष उन्नयन कर्येथी शुं लय ?

CHORUS.

CHORUS.

केम डरो भीरु ! करो साहस आश्रय,

“यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः”

छिन्नमिन्न हीनवल ऐक्यथी पामशुं वल,

मातामुख उज्ज्वल कर्येथी शुं भय ?

CHORUS.

Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal, Chairman of the Reception Committee who was received with loud applause in welcoming the delegates. said :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The gentlemen who have organized the arrangements for the 18th Indian National Congress have conferred upon me the inestimable honour of according to you a warm and hearty welcome to this historic city, the Capital of Guzerat (cheers). I consider this as one of the proudest privileges of my life (cheers). It is one to which the sons and successors of the recipients may always point with peculiar satisfaction. On behalf of the Reception Committee, of the people of Guzerat and of Bombay, I offer you all a most hearty welcome (cheers). I dare say many of you have had the pleasure of having attended the previous Congresses, which were held either in the Presidency towns, or in towns which are at one time of the year or another the seat of a local Government. Our humble town may fairly claim the honour of being the first Zillah town in the whole of India that has spontaneously undertaken the duty of inviting this grand national assembly (hear, hear). Though we are sensible of the distinction, it is not without misgivings that we have entered upon the performance of this patriotic duty (hear, hear). You are no doubt aware that we have passed through one of the most disastrous famines of the century and that the two years that followed the famine, have been years of great agricultural distress and commercial depression. Plague has been long raging in Bombay, Guzerat and the Deccan. It seemed doubtful whether under such circumstances, we could command the funds needed for the satisfactory discharge of our obligations. Moreover Guzerat has long been known to be a peace-loving and industrial province ; and we were not sure of enlisting for the active service of the Congress a sufficient number of young, energetic and public-spirited men to organize and carry to the finish all the preliminary arrangements which are essential to success. The temper and attitude of the Government officials was to us an unknown factor, and from the experience of other places it was deemed proper to pay due regard to this aspect of the matter. We are happy to say that all our misgivings have proved almost groundless (hear, hear). In spite of crippled resources and bad times subscriptions began to pour in liberally as soon as the work was begun, and to our surprise we discovered

among our educated men a degree of earnestness, public spirit, and devotion to the cause of the nation, which might have otherwise long remained latent (hear, hear). The temper and attitude of the officials, we are thankful to say, has been all that could be desired (hear, hear). They have observed towards the Congress work generally an attitude of benevolent neutrality (hear, hear) and towards one section of our operations *viz.* the Industrial Exhibition, they have shown a spirit of positive friendliness (hear, hear). The Hon. Mr. F. S. P. Lely, (loud cheers) the esteemed Commissioner of our Division, is one of its earliest supporters, and recently H. E. Lord Northcote, the Governor of Bombay, has kindly consented to be a patron. While all these circumstances have proved unexpectedly favourable, there are others inseparable from the area, position and character of our town which have presented difficulties not easily to be overcome. In spite of our best efforts to do everything in our power to provide for your accommodation and comfort, gentlemen, we are still apprehensive that we have not fully succeeded in making arrangements agreeable to the dignity and to the views and standards of our honoured guests—the delegates who hail from all parts of the country. For the shortcomings which we fear still exist we beseech your kind indulgence. Please accept our assurance that in the desire to serve you well and honourably, we yield to no other centre that has welcomed you in the past, or may invite you in the future. In writing to friends we Guzeratis often use a saying ગુજરાતી કાવળે (laughter) “accept our little performance as a complete one”. I humbly commend it to you for its sympathetic application to our case as a token of your kind-heartedness.

Guzerat and its people have long been well known for their patient and industrious habits and for their strong partiality for commercial pursuits. Nowhere perhaps throughout the whole country have the advantages of the abiding peace established by the strong arm of the British Government, and of the numerous other solid benefits conferred upon the people by the British rule more highly valued, or more vividly realized than by the peace-loving and trading population of Guzerat (hear, hear); and nowhere I may venture to say has the feeling of loyalty to the British Government been stronger than in this, once a favoured and flourishing land. For a long time we were content to devote our energies exclusively to agriculture, trade, and commerce. Money-making was our principal aim (laughter), and we quietly bore the deserved reproach that Guzerat was dead to the importance of political movements. The general progress of the country for the past two generations has produced a change even in the view-point of such a conservative and peaceable community (Hon. Mr. Mehta—“not a bad improvement”). Commercial men even of the old school were shrewd enough to know that it was for their advantage to have the ruling power on their side. The spread of education and enlightenment has gradually extended the range of vision of these as also of the generation that has succeeded them. Commercial Guzerat has begun to perceive that all the world over there is now raging a fierce trade competition and that in this struggle each of the leading nations of the Western world is naturally using all the political power at its command for the advancement of its own commercial benefit, and high protective barriers are raised by a majority of them for the exclusion of foreign products. This has been an

object lesson to the commercial classes. Internally the Currency Legislation of the Government of India, whatever its financial justification, has brought home to many an important trader and agriculturist the stern fact that very fertile sources of economic gain may be suddenly dried up or ruinously affected by a single political act of the State on its strictly financial side (cheers). The huge annual drain of 30 Crores of rupees which the present administrative arrangements of the British Government render necessary has to be made good by taxes supplied by the trade and industry of the country. The influx of foreign goods has been largely responsible for the annihilation of the indigenous industries of this province and this circumstance has contributed in no small degree to a vivid knowledge that trade is largely influenced by political conditions (hear, hear). You are perhaps aware, gentlemen, that the people of Guzerat emigrate in considerable numbers to Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and other portions of South Africa as labourers, artizans, traders and capitalists. The flagrantly unjust treatment they receive from the white settlers there, who are British subjects, is reported by the emigrants to their kinsmen here and a strong belief is gaining ground in the community that in their jealousy the white Britishers desire to take an undue advantage of their political position over us though we are fellow-subjects (cries of shame) and the conviction is forced upon us that to secure an equality of trading opportunities for all British subjects political agitation on sound and loyal basis is indispensable. You must have been struck, gentlemen, by the number of tall chimneys on either side of the Railway line as your train approached this town. These are our Spinning and Weaving Mills of which we are justly proud. Now every one of our cloth Mills has to pay the obnoxious excise duty imposed by the Government of India. As the shares of these Mills are held mostly by the people of the town, the iniquity of the duty is felt in almost every home; and this too has led us to understand that commercial pursuits to the total exclusion of political action are under the modern conditions of life highly suicidal. We have, gentlemen, as you are aware passed through the greatest famine of the century and have lost nearly twenty-five lacs out of our population of less than a crore. Train-loads of grain came every day and yet men died like flies; on the road-side all over the land and this in spite of the admirable arrangements made by the Government and by private citizens for the saving of life; in spite, gentlemen, of the huge funds expended by private and public charity, and of generous subscriptions sent by yourselves and all our wellwishers. These poor men died of sheer starvation, not because there was no grain to be had, but because they had no money to buy it with. They were mostly villagers, whose huts now lie desolate. These sad sights forced upon us, peace-loving and commercial men as we are, the inquiry—how is it our kinsmen are so poor? Various answers have been suggested. This is not the place to discriminate and decide which are correct. Our agriculturists had long been crying out that at each so-called revision of the land assessment by Government a great enhancement was made; that the system of revenue collections was most inelastic, and that the tillers of the soil were getting poorer and running into debt. Intelligent Indians who had travelled over Northern and Eastern India observed that in Guzerat, land is very heavily taxed. The late Mr. Javerilal Yajnik, one of our most honoured names, incessantly brought the oppressive nature of the land-tax in Guzerat to the notice of

the public. All this was of no avail. Then the famine Commission of Sir Antony MacDonnell deliberately made the statement that in Guzerat "the assessment was a full one" an euphemistic way of confirming the popular view that it is oppressive (laughter). The famine, therefore, has opened our eyes to the importance of keeping the land question perpetually before the public till it is satisfactorily settled. In the matter of collecting the land-tax here, the system is unduly rigorous. The village people have long felt this but their complaints for long failed to reach the authorities or were unheeded. During the famine the Revenue authorities would not suspend the collections until after individual inquiries regarding the means of each cultivator had been made. Public men pointed out to Government in the press and on the public platform the impracticability of individual inquiries and the mischief resulting from the Government policy. But the revenue authorities turned a deaf ear. A considerable amount of oppression was practised for the collection of revenue and the conduct of certain officials of Broach had to be made the subject of an official inquiry, which proved that in the collection of revenue the village servants there had resorted to very illegal and discreditable methods. This too led to no apparent change in the attitude of the Government. At last came the Famine Commission and they strongly disapproved of the policy of making inquiry as to individual means before granting a suspension of the land-tax in times of famine, as both impolitic and impracticable. Yet the Bombay Government made no change. It was announced quite recently that they had perceived the error of their ways, and that individual inquiry during famine times will be abandoned. Now, gentlemen, this is the last of the events which has persuaded us that a policy of political aloofness and indifference prolongs our grievances and that combined and concerted action for the sake of the great agricultural section of our community is as necessary as for any other.

Such are the considerations that have influenced and will continue to influence the practical trading people of this Province and day by day draw them nearer and nearer to the work which this great assembly has set before it. To men of light and leading who can study the drift of contemporary events and extend their ken to distant goals, the National Congress movement is the centre towards which their aims and aspirations converge, (hear, hear) the work to which they may subordinate all their personal aims, and dedicate all their physical and moral energy and the whole of the material and spiritual resources which they can command (hear, hear). The days are gone by when it was the custom of a section of the Anglo-Indian Press to revile the Congress as a seditious and disloyal organization. It was the language very often of ignorant and prejudiced people who refused to see things in their true light and correct proportions. Those Anglo-Indians who have always looked upon the Indian services as a preserve for their boys, joined in the abuse from selfish motives and unable to gauge the changes brought about by the progressive course of more than a generation were naturally alarmed and scented danger in the operations of the Congress. The storm of abuse for some time grew in volume and force. It eventually struck against the firm rock of loyalty to the British throne on which our foundations are laid, and spent itself (hear, hear). Our aims and motives have been vindicated by our consistent course

of action, during the last seventeen years by the moderation and sobriety of our methods, and by the assistance of honourable Englishmen who have from the first been our most trusted friends and guides. Naturally enough we agitate for a simultaneous reform of the administration in various directions and for a change even in the system of Government; but the basal idea that underlies and runs through all our actions, the idea which is as it were one of the axioms and postulates of our political geometry is that it is for our benefit that the British power should continue to be supreme in our land (hear, hear). This is the foundation-stone of our edifice on which the whole superstructure of our actions and methods rests. Loyalty to the British Government, gentlemen, is the dominant sentiment of every Congressman. Ours is a loyalty based on an intelligent appreciation of our own vital and permanent interests. It is a reasoned sentiment and not a mere blind attachment. This being our inmost feeling we can afford to tolerate, or to pass over in silent contempt the feeble cry of those who even after seventeen years of actual experience still persist in misrepresenting our aims and aspirations. It is because we are keenly anxious for the permanence of the British rule in India that we desire that the relations between England and India should be regulated by equitable principles mutually beneficial in all respects and especially so in financial matters (hear, hear). Taking our stand on such principles we earnestly desire that the British policy towards us Indians should be one of trust, not of limited trust or distrust. We maintain, gentlemen, and think it our duty to urge incessantly upon the British Government that the full benefits of the British rule cannot accrue to the Indian nation, unless and until Indians are more largely associated in the work of Government. We place before them the truism that just as there are two sides to every question, there is an Indian view of every administrative measure, and that it is necessary in the interests of both sides that this view must be adequately represented to the governing people, and sympathetically and patiently considered by them. The burden of performing this patriotic duty lies on the natural leaders and representatives of the people, upon you gentlemen, who represent the masses (hear, hear). It is for us to place Indian questions before the authorities at our annual meeting and to ventilate them throughout the year. There were days when the whole population was ignorant of the principles of the British rule and the Western methods of government and then the entire burden of the administration devolved upon the official hierarchy. The spread of education and liberal ideas has vastly changed the conditions of Indian society. Officials have no longer the monopoly of knowledge and wisdom that they once possessed. A system of government founded a hundred years ago has ceased to be suitable to our altered state. We naturally wish that the methods of government should be altered to suit the changed surroundings (hear, hear). The particular resolutions that have been passed by the previous Congresses are simply the corollaries and practical applications of the foregoing principles. As a step towards a policy of greater trust in the Indian people, we pray that the stringency of the Arms Act may be relaxed with discriminative leniency; that the higher posts in the military service of the country should be opened to qualified Indians; and that the question of Indian volunteering may be favourably considered. It is on the same ground that we base our demand for holding examinations in India for the Indian Civil Service and for the

medical and all other services. We wish that the principle of associating the people in the administration, may be further applied by extending the legislative councils, and widening the elective basis in local and Municipal boards; and also by an extension of the jury system. The combination of the duties of the tax Collector and the Judge in the same hands has outlived its necessity and now causes miscarriages of justice and stands in the way of further progress. We think it our duty to represent that the expenditure on Military establishments may be reduced, and that larger sums should be devoted to the spread of education of every description, primary, secondary and industrial. As a measure of financial justice we pray that the cost of the British troops stationed in India or a considerable portion of them should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, and that India should be relieved of them. Of course every question may be argued on more grounds than one, and most of the subjects to which we draw attention of the Government may be pressed on the sole ground of financial equity.

Such, gentlemen, are the principles and propositions which determine the attitude and guide the conduct of every educated Indian towards this grand national movement. They will be the principles of every Indian devoted to his creed and his country. Our programme is a large one and it embraces a variety of subjects, and it is certain that with the progress of our community, it may grow larger and larger. Those among us who expect its speedy fulfilment are, I fear, doomed to suffer grave disappointment. They have not read English history carefully or with advantage. By the very essence of our compact we have bound ourselves to proceed upon constitutional lines, and adopt lawful methods of procedure. The changes that we seek or may hereafter resolve upon, can only be brought about by the British Parliament and the British people (cheers). It so happens that the great mass of the British people are very ignorant about India and Indian matters and the average member of Parliament does not concern himself about us. We have therefore to educate the English elector and bring him to see and acknowledge the justice and expediency of our demands. This is no light or short work. The proper fulfilment of it will demand from us a sustained public spirit, a heavy sacrifice of time and money, and beyond these a spirit of combination for common ends to which as yet we are being gradually trained. It will require, gentlemen, patience and perseverance for a number of years, perhaps for more than one generation. More than that, we shall have to continue, even in circumstances of provocation, in that course of moderation and sobriety which have been our conspicuous characteristics from the commencement. I anticipate that it will be a long and arduous struggle along rugged and thorny paths that we must prepare ourselves to engage in. It will put a severe strain on our patriotism, on our devotion to our cause, on our loyalty and our spirit of self-sacrifice and in short the moral and spiritual fibre of each of us. There will be times perhaps when our prospects will look dismal and gloomy, and when timid prudence may suggest to us to desist from our course. As one on the shady side of life I cannot hope to witness the fruits of these patriotic labours. It may not be perhaps the good fortune of many much younger people who are present here to see that bright and auspicious day. But, gentlemen, I am a confirmed optimist. If there is one

thing of which I feel most confident, nay sanguine, it is this *vis.* that success, complete success, is certainly to be our reward (hear, hear). It is my faith, gentlemen, in your genuine love of our country and devotion to its interests that makes me feel so sanguine (hear, hear). It is the record of the solid work of this Congress during the last seventeen years that makes me indulge in such youthful hopes (hear, hear). I entertain this sanguine hope because I observe that the great wave of patriotism that has begun to flow in this land is spreading over ever-widening areas and embracing gradually the whole youth of the country. It is the sincere friendship and active assistance of philanthropic Englishmen like Mr. A. O. Hume (cheers), Sir W. Wedderburn (cheers), Mr. W. S. Caine (cheers), Mr. Digby (cheers), and several others that makes me take such a cheerful view of the future. It is the constant accession, gentlemen, of new genuine friends like Sir H. Cotton (cheers) and Mr. Thorburn (hear, hear) from the ranks of distinguished Indian administrators that makes me believe that we are destined to succeed. It is the existence among us of noble patriots like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers), Mr. W. C. Bonnerji (cheers), Mr. R. C. Dutt (cheers), and others whom I would fain name, patriots of whom any country may be proud that makes me cling to my fond hope for the regeneration of this our great and historic country. Further, I have an unbounded trust in the high moral aims, practical sagacity, and enlightened statesmanship of the great British nation to which our destinies have been confided by Providence (hear, hear). Finally, I have faith in the moral evolution of the world and the eternal laws of right and wrong (hear, hear). No just and true cause has in the moral history of the world failed of success. My hopes are based on these solid grounds (hear, hear). It will be a bright day when a succeeding generation or perhaps succeeding generations will reap the fruits of what you are at present sowing. That day will redound to the lasting glory of all who have patiently and moderately but at the same time patriotically worked for the welfare of this country. It will be a memorable day in the annals of the British Empire, and the British Crown will shine the brighter by the increased prosperity of its brightest jewel—the Indian Empire (hear, hear and applause).

I request you now to proceed to elect your President (loud and prolonged cheers).

The Chairman of the Reception Committee then called upon the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, C. I. E., to move the election of the President of the 18th Congress.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta then rose and said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is now our business to proceed to choose our President at this sitting of the 18th Indian National Congress. It is a formal function, gentlemen, which I have to perform, but it has always been a most interesting and important one. On this occasion it is even more interesting and more important than usual, because I venture to say that this Congress may be rightly denominated "the Coronation Congress" (cheers). Ladies and gentlemen, I may tell you why it is in the peculiar fitness of things that this Congress

should be called the "Coronation Congress." On this platform we have off and on said that the greatest boon which the British rule has conferred upon this country is the boon of education, and I claim the magnificent outbursts of loyalty—sincere, spontaneous, personal and palpitating with life and vigour, which were evoked on the occasion of the death of our late lamented Queen-Empress (cheers), and on the occasion of the accession of His present Imperial Majesty King Edward VII (renewed cheers), as the result of education and the work of the educated classes—the educated classes who have been sometimes denominated as "the microscopic minority" (laughter), who neither represent themselves nor the masses of the people. Gentlemen, I say that this is the work of the educated classes, and that it is from these educated classes that the feeling of loyalty has descended and has filtered down to the less efficiently educated classes who are known as the masses of the people (hear, hear). It is perfectly true that the soldier has been abroad in India maintaining and preserving peace and tranquillity throughout the country, but ladies and gentlemen, it is no less equally true that the school-master is also abroad in India (hear, hear), transforming the feelings of gratitude for the preservation and maintenance of peace and tranquillity (hear, hear) into sentiments of earnest, devoted and enlightened loyalty. Therefore, it is that I venture to dub this Congress as the "Coronation Congress" (hear, hear). Then, ladies and gentlemen, when we come to the question of choosing our President, whom shall we choose to represent our views and to put forward our feelings with eloquence, with statesmanship, with ability and with force? Whom can we select to perform this task except the gentleman whose name I venture to place before you, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee? (loud cheers) I am not going to sing his praises. Is it necessary in the assemblage of delegates of the Congress, in the assemblage of the educated classes of the country, to introduce Mr. Bannerjee's name to you? (cries of 'No, no') We know that Surendra Nath Bannerjee is a man who has devoted his life to the cause of the Congress, that is to say, the cause of the country (cheers), who has never swerved from his duty to the people's cause and who has been always ready to undertake any work connected with that cause. Ladies and gentlemen, if you take up the report of the Congress that was held at Poona, you will find there everything that you desire to know about him. I need not, therefore, go into details. With these few words, I will ask you to give your cordial and unanimous approbation to his selection as your President (cheers).

Hon'ble Mr. S. Nair (Madras) seconded the proposition. Mr. S. N. Pandit (Rajkot) having supported the proposition, it was carried by acclamation.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee having taken the Presidential chair amidst enthusiastic and prolonged cheers delivered the following address:—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank you with all my heart for the great honour which you have done me by electing me as President of this Congress. An honour, such as

this, is all the more gratifying to the recipient when he is reminded of the tenure by which he holds it, *viz.*, the love, the esteem, the confidence of his fellow-countrymen. For us Indians the highest earthly honours, no matter by whom conferred, pale before a distinction which bears upon it the stamp of the approbation and the unstinted confidence of united India. Whether I deserve the honour or not, this I will say that the sanction by which I hold it is the highest, much higher than most sanctions by which authority is exercised here or elsewhere *viz.*, the choice of my fellow-countrymen. Here, if anywhere, there is the right divine for the exercise of authority.

This is the second time that you have summoned me to this great office. When I received your mandate, I obeyed it, but not without hesitation. For however partial I might be to my own merits—and who is not—I could not shut my eyes to the fact that there were many distinguished men who by their great public services and by their still nobler self-abnegation in the national cause had fully established their claims to the honour of the Presidential office. But the choice lay not with me. An expression of your wishes, firmly and authoritatively conveyed to me by those who are entitled to speak in your name and on your behalf, is and has always been to me a command. I overcame my scruples. I bowed to the national will. I appealed to the sympathies of my friends, and I invoked the blessing of Almighty Providence to sanctify our work. And here I am to-day, ready to co-operate with you to bring to a successful issue the labours of the Eighteenth National Congress.

This is the first time that Congress is held at Ahmedabad. We knew your difficulties, and we admire the dauntless courage with which you faced them and the noble persistency with which you overcame them. Guzerat is but slowly emerging from the throes of one of the greatest calamities of the century. Since 1899 it was in the grip of a famine which, to use the words of the Viceroy, "has been the severest that India has ever known." The story is one of the darkest in Indian history, relieved only by the noble patience and fortitude of the sufferers and the strenuous efforts of the British Government to alleviate their distress. Your difficulties were realized by us, and now that you have overcome them and have held this session of the Congress, which bids fair to be one of the most successful, we applaud the public spirit which has been triumphant over obstacles so formidable and we hasten to offer you the felicitations of all India.

When the Congress was last invited to the Bombay Presidency, it was held at Poona. The capital of the Deccan, Poona is the intellectual centre of the Western Presidency. It is the focus and the starting-point of those forces which have shaped the aspirations and have determined the intellectual and political life of this Presidency. No longer the capital of the Peishwas, it aspires to a higher dominion—it seeks to assert its empire over the hearts and convictions of men. Along with this sovereignty is associated an honoured name, held in universal esteem throughout the length and breadth of this wide-wide continent. Who can speak of Poona or think of it without being reminded of Poona's greatest son, whose loss we all deplore, whose memory we cherish with a pious and reverential affection? The foremost

man of his generation, next to Ram Mohan Roy, the mightiest product of English education, the life, character and achievements of Mahadeo Govind Ranade constitute a national heritage, and if it be true, as indeed it is, that great men never die, he lives with us and amongst us with an immortality which is co-extensive with the life of the race—the inspirer of our noble achievements, our comforter amid distress, he speaks trumpet-tongued from amid the death-like silence of nothingness.

THE AHMEDABAD CONGRESS—ITS SPECIAL FEATURES.

The last Congress in the Bombay Presidency was held at Poona, a great intellectual centre. The Congress of this year is held at Ahmedabad, a great industrial centre. Having regard to the recent expansion of our programme, (I will not call it a departure) and to the interlinking in our minds of the industrial and the political movements, it seems to me that there is a special appropriateness in holding the present session of the Congress at Ahmedabad. It is an open declaration that we, the men of the Congress, regard the industrial and the political movements as indissolubly linked together—we hold that that they are interdependent and that they act and re-act upon each other and by their mutual interaction swell the volume of both. If we cannot claim to be the originators of the industrial movement, this at any rate may fairly be laid to our credit that we have stimulated those forces and deepened those impulses which have brought it about. When the human mind is roused in one particular direction, the impulse is felt along the entire sphere of human activities. The industrial movement was bound to follow in the wake of the political movement. The industrial precedes or follows the political movement. In England it preceded it. The Reform Bill of 1832 was the outcome of the enormous expansion of manufacturing industries which was witnessed during the close of the 18th century. In India the order has been different, but here again the intimate relationship between the two movements is illustrated, and the political movement preceding the industrial, we claim, that we have communicated the Promœthean spark which has vitalized the dying embers of Indian national life in all its spheres; we claim that we have fanned them forth into a living flame, full of warmth and brightness and radiance.

The industrial movement is flowing deep, fraught with national ideals. It partakes of the character of the parent movement. It follows in its footsteps with a truly filial piety. A widespread feeling has been roused in favour of the growth and expansion of indigenous arts and industries, and the distinguished men who organized the Industrial Exhibition in connection with the Calcutta Congress of last year have still further carried their high endeavours by opening a store-house for Indian goods. Our infant industries need protection. But the Government, wedded to the traditions of free trade, will not grant them protection. If however protection by legislative enactment is impossible, may we not, by the fiat of the national will, afford them such protection as may lie in our power, if we resolve in our heart of hearts to avail ourselves, wherever practicable, of indigenous articles in preference to foreign goods. Has not the time come when the scattered national impulses may be focussed into an organic and organized whole for a supreme effort for the

promotion of our industries? May we not obtain a complete and comprehensive list of Indian articles available for our varied requirements and seek to encourage their manufacture and stimulate their expansion? I quite agree that the process is expensive. But it is of the essence of protection to incur present pecuniary sacrifice in view of future gain; and our national industries, placed on a sound and satisfactory footing, under a moral protection, evoked by a lofty spirit of patriotism, will, in their own good time, bring in an abundant harvest of gold. All sacrifice, incurred for high national purposes and towards the attainment of great national ideals, is repaid with compound interest. Such is the ordering of nature, the dispensation of Divine Providence; and the sacrifices we now make to restore our lost industries and to establish new ones will compensate us a hundred-fold by enabling us to supply our own wants and to check in part at least that depletion of the national wealth which more than anything else has contributed to the appalling poverty of our people. Our industrial helplessness is even more deplorable than our political impotency. And if the Congress can do aught to stimulate the forces which would improve our industrial condition, it would add one more to the many titles which it already possesses to the enduring gratitude of the people of India. Nay more, it would render a great service to the Government. It would relieve the Government, in part at least, of those serious administrative difficulties which have their roots in the deplorably straitened conditions of Indian life. It is therefore with all thankfulness I note that the Industrial Exhibition has come to be regarded as a necessary adjunct to the National Congress. Your Exhibition has been a magnificent success. It has been opened under distinguished auspices by a Prince, whose enlightenment and culture, whose broad and statesmanlike views and deep sympathy with all high endeavours for the public good have not only placed him in the forefront among the Sovereign Princes of India, but have won for him the unstinted homage and admiration of the educated community of India who are proud to reckon him as one of themselves. It must be the heart-felt hope and prayer of every well-wisher of his country that the Industrial Exhibition which was opened by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda may still further stimulate the industries of this great town and that this session of the Congress may for ever be associated in the minds of the people of Guzerat with a new epoch of industrial development, tempered by deep and rational political convictions, prompted by unswerving loyalty to the British connection. Let it never be forgotten that political rights minister to material progress and that an unenfranchised people can never work out their industrial salvation.

THE DELHI DURBAR.

The one feeling which is predominant in the breast of every true Congressman, which shapes and colours his political convictions and might be said to constitute the key-note of his political creed, is love and reverence for his Sovereign and his Country. He loves his Sovereign, because he loves his country and because his Sovereign is the Head of the State and is the embodiment of those constitutional principles which it is his aim and endeavour and the aspiration of his life to introduce into the government of his own country

and which when recognized as principles of Indian administration he firmly believes will conduce to the prosperity of his native land and the permanence of British rule in India. Inspired by this feeling of love and reverence for the Head of the British constitution, our august Sovereign, we heard of His Majesty's illness with profound sorrow—we watched the progress of the disease with the utmost anxiety—and we rejoiced beyond measure on His Majesty's recovery, and from our temples and our mosques and our churches there went forth one great chorus of thanks-giving to the Great Giver of all Good, for his abounding mercy in sparing to us our Sovereign, the embodiment of all our hopes and with whose reign are identified the fulfilment of our most cherished aspirations and the redemption of the solemn promises contained in the Queen's Proclamation. The Coronation postponed by His Majesty's illness took place in August last. It was an event of imperial, of world-wide significance. The eyes of the civilized world were fixed upon it as upon an event which proclaimed to the nations of the earth the formal assumption of regal authority by the Sovereign of an Empire whose watchword is freedom and which has extended to the remotest corners of the world the blessing of constitutional liberty. To the people of India, the Coronation was an event of unique importance. For the first time in the history of our relations with Britain, a King of England was crowned Emperor of Hindustan. For the first time in the history of our relations with Britain, Indian representatives were present at the Coronation of an English King, though, if the truth is to be told, it must be said that the representation of the educated community was most inadequate. It is proposed to celebrate the Coronation by a great Durbar to be held at Delhi in the course of the next few days. The Durbar has been the subject of animated controversy both here and in England. It has been fiercely assailed by critics whose utterances are entitled to respectful attention. One of them has described it as "an act of uncalled-for extravagance," specially out of place at a time when the country is just emerging from the throes of a great famine, when despite the grateful rains which have done so much to improve the situation, there is still a large number of people who are in receipt of famine-relief and when it is proposed to saddle the Indian revenues with the charge of nearly a million sterling to meet the cost of the efficiency of the reformed British army in India. Of course there are others who have come forward to defend the Durbar. The *Times* has lent to it its thunderous support and has recorded a vigorous protest against the protestants. His Excellency the Viceroy has himself entered the arena, and in a speech conceived in his best style has defended the Durbar and the policy which it embodies. His Excellency has given us the assurance that the cost of the ceremonial "will be immeasurably less than the dimensions which a too tropical imagination has allowed it to assume and that a great State ceremonial will never have been conducted in India upon more economical lines." I am not here concerned to defend the possessors of "a too tropical imagination" among whom, be it observed, are several Anglo-Indian journalists of note, one of whom at least has not lived in the tropics for many a long year. They are well able to defend themselves and have done so. Despite their protests the Durbar will soon be an accomplished fact, and I do not know that it will serve any useful purpose to refer at length to a controversy which has not altered the course of events and now possesses more or less an academic

interest. It is fast receding into the past and will soon vanish out of the domain of contemporary politics. But the rulers of India may learn a lesson and may take a warning from the statesmanship of the past. History has condemned with unequivocal emphasis the Delhi Durbar of 1877 as an expensive pageant of doubtful utility. The time has passed by when a mere pageant, calculated to dazzle and to astonish, can leave an enduring impression upon the public mind of India. Thanks to the educational efforts of our rulers, to the wise, the sagacious and beneficent policy which they have followed, we have long since passed the stage of childhood and have entered upon a period of vigorous adolescence when we are able to discriminate the substance from the shadow. Let no one lay the flattering unction to his soul that the educational movement which has brought about this result is confined to a microscopic minority. The movement is becoming wider and deeper day by day, and while we are foolishly talking of a microscopic minority, the social forces, noiselessly but steadily working in the bosom of society, are developing results which promise to bring the entire community, the classes as well as the masses, within those educational influences which have leavened the upper ranks of the social system. The ideas of the educated few, says John Stuart Mill, are bound to filter downwards and become in the course of time the ideas of the uneducated many. The process is in vigorous operation in India, and let the rulers of the land take note of the fact. A mere pageant will not satisfy public opinion. It will emphasize the complaints that have been made. It is indeed an acceptable feature of the Durbar that there is to be an Industrial Exhibition in connection with it where the products of indigenous arts and industries will be displayed. We are grateful to His Excellency for his interest in the development of our national arts and industries, and we may be permitted to express the hope that it may lead to abiding results. But that is not enough. The Durbar needs to be consecrated by the touch of a higher statesmanship. If it is to be a great historic event, as it is intended to be, it should form a land-mark in our annals—it should be commemorated by some boon which would remind us and our children for all time to come of the occasion and of the principal actors therein. The pomp and glitter of the show, the fine dresses and equipages, even the Oriental magnificence of the scene, set off to the best advantage by the choicest rhetoric which the resources of the English language can supply, will not avail to rescue the Durbar from the corroding influence of time and oblivion. These things will be swept out of view amid the onward rush of events. They will be forgotten; the historic recollection will retain no trace of them; but the popular concession which enlarges the sphere of a people's rights and enhances their self-respect, or which exalts the purity of the system under which justice is administered and improves its quality, or which once again commemorates the grand old precept that righteousness exalteth a nation will constitute an enduring monument of the ceremonial, worthy of the highest traditions of British statesmanship in India. Such a concession would be in entire accord with precedent and the recognized policy of the British Government on similar occasions. When Her Gracious Majesty the late Queen assumed the direct government of India, a Durbar was held at Allahabad under the presidency of Lord Canning. A Proclamation was issued at that Durbar—it is the Proclamation of the 1st November 1858, the Magna Charta of our rights,

which has been affirmed by successive Viceroys and has been accepted by Lord Curzon as the golden rule of his conduct. It removed all racial disabilities and made merit the sole test of qualification for high office in India. It wiped out the badge of our political inferiority. It declared that whatever might have been the state of things in the days of the East India Company, a new regime had now dawned, and that under the direct government of the Crown there were to be no inequalities, based upon distinctions of race or creed, and that all British subjects in India were to enjoy equal rights and possess equal facilities for serving the State. The next ceremonial associated with the Sovereign was the great Durbar of 1877 at which Her late Majesty assumed the title of Empress of India. Lord Lytton presided at that ceremonial, and speaking as the representative of his Sovereign, he once again affirmed the principle of the Proclamation of the 1st November 1858. "But you the natives of India," said he, "whatever your race and whatever your creed have a recognized claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded on the highest justice. It has repeatedly been affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognized by the Government of India as binding on its honor and consistent with all the aims of its policy." This authoritative declaration of imperial policy, this solemn reaffirmation of the principle of equal treatment was followed by the creation of the Statutory Civil Service which sought to render partial justice to the claims of the children of the soil for high and responsible office in the service of their own country. Then came the Jubilee of Her late Majesty. It was celebrated by a great Durbar held in Calcutta in February 1887 just ten years after the Delhi Assemblage. Lord Dufferin presided at that celebration. Speaking as Viceroy and as the exponent of British policy in India, he foreshadowed the great boon which was soon to be bestowed and for which we hold his memory in grateful regard. He said in his Durbar speech:—"Glad and happy should I be, if during my sojourn among them (the people of India) circumstances permitted me to extend and to place upon a wider and more logical footing the political status which was so wisely given a generation ago by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements and the confidence of their fellow-countrymen were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils." This was said in 1887, and in 1892 the Legislative Councils were enlarged and reconstituted, and for the first time in the history of India were placed upon a partially representative basis.

Thus since the direct assumption of the Government by the Crown, every ceremonial held in connection with the Sovereign and commemorative of her grace has been signalized by a substantial concession to the people. This has been the uniform, the invariable, the traditional policy of the British Government in India for a period of nearly half a century. It is associated with great and illustrious names and has been consistently followed, irrespective of party considerations, whether the Viceroy was Liberal or Conservative. And if one party more than another was pledged to this policy, one might say that it was the Conservative party that was so pledged; for all these Durbars were held and all these boons were conferred while a Conserva-

tive Ministry was in power, as if the great repositories of Conservative traditions wanted to proclaim to the people of India their firm and unalterable conviction that a policy of cautious but continuous progress was essential for the highest purposes of Imperial conservation. Having regard to the traditional policy of the British Government, the people of India look forward with confidence to the bestowal of some boon, the concession of some popular right, as commemorative of the occasion and of the affectionate interest which His Majesty feels in the welfare of his Indian subjects. To the people of India it would be a grievous disappointment if, on this the first and the greatest ceremonial occasion in connection with the new reign, the traditional policy of the British Government, consecrated by illustrious names and followed with unvarying consistency for nearly half a century, were to be departed from. The traditional policy of the British Government in this matter is in entire keeping with the immemorial usage of the East where royal celebrations, especially those which commemorate the assumption of sovereign authority, are proclaimed to the people by beneficent gifts which evoke their gratitude, strengthen their loyalty and secure their attachment to the new Sovereign. It is therefore with all confidence that we would appeal to Lord Curzon to follow precedent and the immemorial usage of the East and convert what, it has been so confidently predicted, would be a mere pageant, into a great historical event which will excite the love and reverence of the people, cement their loyalty, draw them closer to Britain and strengthen those ties of attachment between the two countries, upon which the greatness of the British Empire and the prosperity of India alike depend.

THE UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION.

Brother-delegates, it is useless to disguise from ourselves the fact that the question which of all others looms largely on the view, which has more or less thrown into the shade all other considerations and before which even the attractions of the Delhi Durbar seem to fade from view is the question of University Education. The report of the Universities Commission was till lately the one all-absorbing topic of discussion. It excited a measure of interest such as no other public question within living memory has done. I am old enough to remember the controversies of the last quarter of a century. I have in my own humble way been associated with them. My contributions to them were indeed insignificant; but my interest in them was deep and abiding; and this I will say that I do not remember any proposal, emanating from responsible authority, which has more profoundly stirred the hearts of the Indian community, or has caused deeper alarm, or evoked more strenuous opposition than the Report of the Universities Commission. The opposition to the Vernacular Press Act, to the Calcutta Municipal Bill, the Bombay Land Revenue Bill or even the Sedition Bill pales before the agitation which the Report of the Universities Commission gave rise to. There was a sense of alarm, deep, genuine, all-pervading, felt by all sections of the educated community throughout India, by Hindoos and Mussulmans alike. Retired servants of Government, whom the Government delighted to honour, whom they have loaded with titles and distinctions and who have led their quiet lives, away from the storm and stress of political agitation, felt themselves constrained under a sense of overwhelming duty and in response to the

general feeling of their community, to emerge from the seclusion of their quiet lives and place themselves in a line with those who condemned the Report. Old men, bent down with the weight of years, the representatives of an older school of thought and culture, the products of our pre-University system, came tottering to the Town Hall meeting to place on record their protest against the recommendations of the Commission. Professional men who had never before spoken at a public meeting and who had never identified themselves with any movement of any kind, but had earned their laurels in the quiet and undisturbed pursuit of their own professions, which were far too remunerative to permit them to think of anything else, for the moment forgot their professions and their profits and joined the general community in the universal protest against the recommendations of the Commission. The Mahomedan community, unhappily for themselves, unhappily for us, have been somewhat backward in our public movements. They have been most forward in condemning the Report. They have promptly disavowed the representative character of the only Mahomedan member of the Commission and denounced him for signing a Report which they rightly believed would be fatal to the educational interests of their community. And if out of evil cometh good, it may truly be said that the Report of the Commission has furthered in an unforeseen and unexpected fashion the general interests of the community, by bringing Hindoos and Mahomedans upon the same platform and linking them together by association in a common cause. It has thus helped to promote that solidarity between the two communities which it has ever been the steadfast aim of the Congress to secure and upon which the interests of both the communities and the prospects of Indian advancement so largely depend. The feeling of alarm was genuine, widespread and universal, and well might it be; for the noblest gift which British rule has conferred upon India is the boon of high education. It lies at the root of all our progress. It is the main-spring, the motive-power, the germinal source of all those forces which make for progress. The three great boons which we have received from the British Government are High Education, the gift of a Free Press and Local Self-Government, supplemented by the reform and expansion of the Councils. But high education is the most-prized, the most dearly-cherished of them all. It is high education which has made Local Self-Government the success that it is admitted to be. It is again high education which has elevated the tone of the Indian Press, has made it a power and has rendered it possible for us to look forward to the time when in the words of Lord Ripon it will become, as in Europe it is, "the irresistible and the unresisted master of the Government." It is English education which has produced a splendid galaxy of distinguished men who have done incalculable service to morals and manners, who have ennobled the literature of their country and have made it a rich vehicle for the expression of the noblest sentiments, of the most abstruse reasonings in philosophy and science and of the varied and complicated requirements of modern life. It is English education which has overcome the barriers of race, religion and language, has dissipated the prejudices and misunderstandings of ages and has created those unifying influences which find a living expression in this vast, this stupendous, this majestic organization of the National Congress. Could the educated community submit to the curtailment of this boon—to the

restriction of its beneficent area? They are naturally anxious that nothing should be done to check the spread of that system of education which has produced such splendid results in the past and which is fraught with infinite possibilities of progress for future generations. English education is a precious boon which has come down to us as a heritage from the past. If we cannot extend and broaden it, it ought at any rate to be our most sacred concern to safe-guard it against encroachment and limitation, and so transmit it, with its beneficent area undiminished, to those who coming after us will bear our names. These are the feelings which inspired the agitation, intensified its volume and impressed upon it its distinctive tone and character. In our anxiety we appealed to Lord Curzon. It was united India which preferred its appeal to the Viceroy. Every province took part in it. Every section of the educated community was represented in it. Whatever differences of opinion may exist with regard to the merits of Lord Curzon's administration—and the time has not yet come for the final judgment—all will agree, even those who see nothing good in it, that His Excellency is keenly responsive to the intimations of public opinion, and we felt convinced that His Excellency would not ignore the public opinion of educated India, expressed with singular unanimity and unequalled emphasis and upon a question which to them was a question of life and death. In this hope we have not been disappointed. His Excellency has recognized the truth, in the letter of Government to which I shall presently call attention, that no reform can be successful without the sympathetic co-operation of the community concerned, and that any reform, forced upon an unwilling community, no matter how promising it might be, no matter how influentially supported it might be, is doomed, foredoomed to failure. We desire to offer our congratulations to His Excellency, upon his circular letter upon the Report of the Universities Commission. We may not be able to agree with all the suggestions of the Viceroy, but it is a frank and straight-forward recognition of public opinion—it is a praiseworthy attempt at compromise and conciliation; and effective compromise which ensures steady progress along the line of least resistance and which conciliates and enlists the social forces on behalf of Government is, to my mind, the highest function of statesmanship. His Excellency has always felt a personal interest in the educational problem. Himself a distinguished University man, His Excellency has told us that the instinct of the educationist is deep down in his nature. The educational problem is one of his twelve chosen problems, and His Excellency has applied himself with characteristic ardour to its solution. So far back as the summer of 1901 a conference was held at Simla to which some European educational experts were invited. The proceedings of that Conference have not been published. I fail to understand why they should be withheld from publication. If there is one class of considerations more than another in regard to which the public should be taken into confidence it is those who relate to the problem of education. Here if any where, popular sympathy and co-operation is necessary. No useful purpose is served by investing educational problems with a *quasi*-political character and raising them to the dignity of State-secrets. A suspicious public, barred out of the confidence of the authorities, naturally interpret their proceedings in their own way and ascribe to them a sense and a significance which they perhaps will not bear, and thus between them and the Government there arises a mis-

understanding when their mutual sympathy and co-operation is needed for the satisfactory solution of the educational problem. I can quote no higher authority against this policy of concealment in educational matters than that of His Excellency the Viceroy. Thus did His Excellency denounce the policy of secrecy, in educational matters at the Conference whose proceedings have been withheld from publication :—“ Concealment has been no part of my policy since I have been in India and the education of the people is assuredly the last subject to which I should think of applying any such canon.”

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION.

The Conference was followed by the appointment in January 1902 of the Universities Commission. The Commission was appointed “to enquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities established in British India ; to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be, made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend to the Governor-General in Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning.” The Report of the Commission has long been before the public ; and the views of the Government thereon have recently been published. His Excellency the Viceroy, while according a general support to the Report of the Commission, has not been able to accept all its conclusions. If there is one quality more than another which distinguishes the Viceroy, it is that he is the keeper of his own conscience, that he does not surrender his judgment or his convictions to the authority of names, however distinguished. I am bound to say that the constitution of the Commission was such, its method of procedure was such, that it was impossible that its recommendations could command the general approval of the public or the unqualified assent of the Government. The Commission originally consisted of six members, with the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, as President. Not a single representative of the great Hindoo community who had the largest stake in the educational problems under consideration was included among the Commissioners as originally nominated. Let us however thankfully note that when attention was called to this omission in the columns of the public prints, His Excellency was graciously pleased to nominate the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Guru Dass Banerjee as a member of the Commission. The appointment of Mr. Justice Banerjee was received with universal approbation. One of the most brilliant graduates of the Calcutta University, he is long been honourably associated with the work of the University. He was twice appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University, and he was among the most distinguished of our Vice-Chancellors, regarding his office not as an ornamental adjunct to the high position which he held, but a new field of activity and usefulness, and setting an example of unflinching devotion to duty and of statesmanlike concern in the interests of the University, of which he was so fine a product. Who will say that the Calcutta University has been a failure or has not fulfilled the high ends of its existence when it has produced men like Mr. Justice Guru Dass Banerjee ? The Commission, as now constituted, consisted of seven members, of whom five were officials, the sixth was a missionary gentleman, and the last but not the least was the Mahomedan member of the Viceroy's Council, whose

experience of educational matters is confined to the Nizam's Dominions. His representative character has been disavowed by his community, and he has been described by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta and his colleagues of the Bombay Presidency Association in their memorial to the Viceroy as being disqualified to represent the views and feelings of the educated community, by reason of the avowedly hostile attitude he has taken towards them in his public writings and speeches.

A CONTRAST BETWEEN THE EDUCATION COMMISSION OF 1882 AND THE UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION OF 1902.

In our Presidency, private effort covers a large area of the field of education. The total number of colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University is 78. Out of these, so many as 59 are Private unaided colleges which were founded and are now maintained by Indian gentlemen. It is unfortunate that the interests of the unaided colleges were not represented on the Commission; and the omission is all the more regrettable in view of the recommendations of the Commission, some of which so seriously affect their position and status. The Government educational interest and those of the missionary bodies were represented on the Commission but not those of the unaided colleges. The conclusion is forced upon us that the constitution of the Commission was defective, and this view is emphasized by a reference to the *personnel* of the Education Commission of 1882. On that Commission, to use the words of Mr. Buckland, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, were "departmental and executive officers of Government and representatives of the educated community of each province (except Burma to which the enquiry was not extended)" (Buckland's Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors, Vol. II, page 766). No such principle has been followed in determining the constitution of the Universities Commission; and yet it must be admitted that if the representatives of the educated community were qualified to advise the Government in framing its educational policy in 1882 they must be presumed to be far more qualified for the task in 1902. To hold, otherwise would be to assume that in the twenty years which have since elapsed, the educated community have retrograded, despite the earnest efforts of the Government to stimulate their progress. Such an astounding assumption has not been made even by our worst detractors. We are justified therefore in holding that the non-inclusion of provincial representatives of that community among the members of the Universities Commission was a departure from the policy followed by the Government of India in 1882, and it was a departure which, I have no hesitation in saying, is largely responsible for a Report which has caused so much stir and dissatisfaction. I will even go further and add that the policy followed in this case is in entire conflict with the principle laid down by His Excellency the Viceroy in the constitution of Commissions and Committees appointed by the Government. Referring to the difficulties attending the constitution of Indian Commissions, His Excellency in his Budget-speech of March last observed:—"There is the reference to be drawn up, involving long and anxious study, the Secretary of State to be consulted, the consent of his Council obtained, the members to be selected by a careful balance of the interests, and merits, not merely of individuals, but of provinces, races, and even of creeds." Where, may I ask, was

the careful balancing of interests in the constitution of the Universities Commission, not only as regards individuals, but also as regards provinces, races and creeds? I am well aware that at each University centre a local member was attached to the Commission for the purpose of the enquiry at that centre. But these gentlemen did not sign the Report, and as the Commissioners themselves say, "they are in no way responsible for the substance of the Report."

Nor is this the only point of difference between the two Commissions—the Education Commission of 1882 and the Universities Commission of 1902. The care and deliberation which the Education Commission brought to bear upon their task are in striking contrast with the hurry, and I was going to add, the precipitancy with which the Universities Commission finished their work. The Universities Commission was constituted on the 27th January 1902; Dr. Guru Dass Banerjee's name was added on the 12th February, so that we may fairly assume that, barring perhaps the settlement of preliminaries, no work had been done till the 12th February, and the Report was submitted on the 9th June. Thus the work of "enquiry into the condition and prospects of the Universities established in British India (of which there are five), the consideration of proposals for improving their constitution and working and the recommendations calculated to elevate the standard of University-teaching and promote the advancement of learning" were all finished in four months' time! Now contrast this hurried work with the prolonged and careful enquiry of the Education Commission. The Commission was appointed in February 1882. They submitted their Report in September 1883. They took nearly eighteen months to finish their work. The Universities Commission submitted their Report in less than one-fourth the time taken up by the Education Commission. There is yet another point of comparison which cannot escape observation. The Education Commission, like most other Commissions, drew up questions which had been carefully thought out, and which were sent to the witnesses for them to consider and draw up their answers. The Universities Commission did no such thing. No questions were drawn up by them; but in Bengal a Note was circulated (and I presume the same procedure was followed elsewhere) calling attention to the points upon which the witnesses were to be interrogated, and it is remarkable that in the Bengal Note not the smallest reference was made to some of the proposals which gave rise to so much controversy, such as for instance the abolition of the 2nd grade Colleges and the Law Classes; and not one of the witnesses, so far as I am ware, was asked to give an opinion regarding these proposals. Here again I must confess to a sense of disappointment that the evidence of the witnesses who were examined before the Commission has not yet been published. The public ought surely to know whether the drastic recommendations of the Commission are supported by evidence, and if so, what the nature of the evidence is. Nothing is gained by secrecy in a matter of this kind. Trust begets trust, and great as are the difficulties which surround the educational problem, they are aggravated by a policy of half-confidence which is apt to create suspicion and mistrust. I am not one of those who believe that any sinister political motive lies veiled behind the Report of the Commission. I do not regard the Report as a political manifesto in an

academic guise ; but I am bound to say that if any such feeling is entertained in any quarter, the hesitating policy of half trust and half mistrust is mainly responsible for it. Liberalism has been defined by Mr. Gladstone as trust in the people tempered by discretion. I am afraid the policy followed in this case must be described as one of mistrust, tempered by discretion. I rejoice to find that the letter of Government on the Report of the Commission sounds a different note. Here a genuine attempt is made to take the public into confidence.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

In approaching the consideration of the Report of the Commission it will at once be conceded that the University system in India is not perfect, any more than any other human institution is ; and a cautious and well-devised scheme of reform, calculated to promote the advancement of learning without interfering with the spread of high education, would be welcomed by the educated community ; for they realize the truth that their future progress largely depends upon a sound system of education which would qualify them for the hard and increasingly difficult competition of modern life. As His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda has observed with great truth in his admirable article in *East and West*, education will be the watchword of the twentieth century and the diffusion of education, the great object upon which will be concentrated the energies and the statesmanship of the century. Could we persuade ourselves to believe that the recommendations of the Commission would secure the advancement of learning without restricting its area and that it would combine height with surface, there would go forth a mighty voice from educated India, supporting the Report of the Commission and offering to the Commissioners our cordial congratulations. But the Commissioners themselves admit—and the scope of their Report leaves no doubt on the subject—that the effect of their proposals would be to narrow the popular basis of higher education and to restrict its area. It is against the policy and the recommendations which lead to it that we desire to record our respectful but emphatic protest. We cannot accept a policy which would deprive our great middle-class who are far from being well off, from whom come our intellectual classes who, with their keen hereditary instincts, have from time immemorial furnished the intellectual leaders of the community, to be deprived of some of those opportunities of high education which they now enjoy. The recommendations of the Commission which embody this policy may be summarized as follows :—(1) The fixing of a minimum rate of college-fees by the Syndicate ; (2) the abolition of the 2nd grade colleges and (3) the abolition of the Law Classes. All these proposals involve the direct discouragement of private effort which has done so much to stimulate the spread of high English education, and they are in entire conflict with the educational policy of the past. That policy is embodied in the great Education Despatch of 1854 which has been followed with unvarying consistency by the Government of India for the last fifty years. The cardinal features of that policy may be described as the extension of “the means of acquiring general European knowledge” and the encouragement of private effort by a system of grants-in-aid, wherever necessary. Let us here gratefully acknowledge that the Government of India in their circular letter on the Report of the Universities Commission emphatically

disclaim any intention of receding from the policy of 1854 ; and as a necessary corollary they do not support some of the proposals of the Commission which must seriously impede the sustained movement of private effort. The Government recognize that the second grade colleges occupy a definite place in our educational machinery and perform a useful function. Again in the matter of legal education, the Government claim no monopoly, though they are inclined to support the establishment of a Central College at each University centre which would serve as a model. Both as regards the Law Classes and the second grade colleges, so long as efficiency is maintained, the Government of India are not inclined to interfere with them. Thus in regard to two very important questions which elicited the unanimous protest of the educated community, the Government of India make a definite concession to popular opinion, for which we are truly grateful. The Government indeed declare their firm adhesion to the policy of the Education Despatch in regard to the encouragement of private effort, but object to the qualification that "the sole condition upon which private enterprise can be encouraged is that the education which it offers is reasonably efficient." Evidently the Government of India are of opinion that the time has come when private effort should be restrained rather than stimulated, when its exuberance should be pruned down rather than that it should be encouraged to shoot forth into a vigorous growth. Far different was the spirit in which the Government of India approached the consideration of this question in 1882. They deprecated any uniform system of education which would, in their felicitous language, "cast the youth of the country in the same official mould," and they went on to observe that "it is not in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, a healthy symptom that all the youth of the country should be cast as it were in the same official mould * * * The Government is ready, therefore, to do all that it can to foster such a spirit of independence and self-help. It is willing to hand over any of its own colleges and schools in suitable cases to bodies of native gentlemen who will undertake to manage them satisfactorily as aided institutions. All that the Government will insist upon being that provision is made for efficient management and extended usefulness."

It will be seen that the method of enunciation of the same policy is substantially different, and the spirit is different. While in 1882, the Government was anxious to do all that it could to foster a spirit of independence and self-help, in 1902 it lays special stress upon the need of restraining the efforts of private enterprise. In 1882, the Government did not ignore considerations of efficiency ; in 1902 it dwells upon them with great emphasis. We are at one with the Government in insisting upon a standard of efficiency. But it should not be of the ideal order. It should be fixed with reference to the circumstances of a people who are notoriously poor. The Government indeed recognize the fact "that the standard of efficiency which it is proper and possible to enforce in India is admittedly not so high as that which is attained in more advanced countries." Public opinion will support the Government in all reasonable efforts to check the growth of institutions which are both cheap and worthless ; but do not the results of the University examinations afford a good test of efficiency, and is there not the self-acting principle, inexorable in its operation, that things nasty and cheap must disappear from a

world where the survival of the fittest is the universal law? The process may be slow, but it is sure, and moving as it does along the line of least resistance, it is attended with the minimum of disturbance. There seems to be an idea in official quarters that the aided, and in a still larger measure, the unaided colleges are not as efficient as they might be. But what about the Government colleges? Are they always models of excellence and efficiency? Do we not occasionally hear in connection with them of serious breaches of discipline and of drastic measures enforced to ensure respect for authority? If there is to be a standard of efficiency, let it be of uniform application, and not judged solely by reference to external appliances, such as libraries and laboratories, but by the larger, though perhaps more impalpable moral results, which, it is the aim and the end of all education to secure. The efficiency of the affiliated colleges is tested by the annual examinations of the University. It is to their interest that their students should be successful and occupy high places at the examinations. They have thus to study efficiency from the point of view of self-interest, and efficiency is best ensured when it is associated with a motive which so powerfully appeals to our strongest impulses.

I may say that I attach considerable importance to the University Examinations as a test of efficiency. They are now practically the sole test upon which the Universities rely. They were deemed sufficient by the founders of the Universities and those who inheriting their traditions worked upon their lines. Are they not an exceedingly efficient test, if the examinations are properly conducted and suitable question-papers are set? If the tests which are now applied were tests of general intellectual capacity rather than of memory, then we should hear less of the inefficiency of our Universities. But the general impression is that the examination-papers are not what they should be; and no one has been more eloquent or more incisive in their denunciation than His Excellency the Viceroy. Yet through the whole of the Report of the Universities Commission we look in vain for a single suggestion or a single definite recommendation, by which the system of University Examinations might be improved.

THE RATE OF COLLEGE-FEES.

It is considerations of efficiency which have determined the attitude of the Government in regard to the question of college-fees. On this question the Government are apparently inclined to support the recommendation of the Commission. Efficiency, they say, is difficult to measure, its estimation is open to dispute, and the principle that with a fee-scale below a certain limit, efficiency in a college without considerable endowments or subscriptions is impossible is one for which there is much to be said. But if the scale is so fixed as to substantially reduce the number of students, the increase in the rate of fees would defeat its object and diminish the total receipts of the college from that source. Further, the raising of the fees would throw difficulties in the way of the higher education of the deserving poor. The diffusion of education among the people, including the deserving poor, has been the steadfast concern of Governments in the past. This policy has received the sanction of the high authority of His Excellency the Viceroy. "Care must

be taken," said the Government of India in the Resolution on the Report of the Education Commission of 1882, "that no unnecessary obstacles are thrown in the way of the upward progress of really deserving students of the poorer classes. The Governor-General in Council has no wish to close the doors of high education to all but the wealthiest members of the native community." His Excellency Lord Curzon emphatically endorses this policy and says in the letter of Government that nothing can be further from the wishes of the Government of India than "to initiate a policy which would make education the monopoly of the rich." But if heavy fees are levied, higher education must necessarily become the privilege of the few. If the fees are now adequate, any addition to them would operate in the nature of a restriction imposed upon the proper sections of the community who supply the bulk of our students. The whole problem therefore resolves itself into this—is the present scale of fees adequate or not? The question was carefully considered by the Education Commission of 1882, and they were of opinion that the rates then levied were generally adequate, regard being had to the fact that the majority of the college-students belong to the struggling middle class. They did not indeed write without chapter and verse; for they observed:— "The great landed proprietors are scarcely, if at all, represented (in our colleges). In Bengal the income of more than half the parents is assessed at sums varying from £20 to £200 a year." If the college-fees were adequate in 1882, having regard to the then condition of the middle class, they cannot now be considered as being inadequate or insufficiently low. The condition of the middle class has not improved, while the prices of provisions and of the necessary articles of life have risen. If anything, the condition of the middle class has become worse. They are for the most part either lawyers or servants of the Government. The salaries of Government servants are fixed, and the Indian servants of Government receive no exchange compensation allowance. The income of lawyers in 1902, is, I am afraid, much less than what it was in 1882. There is thus no reason to assume that the fees paid in 1902 which are slightly higher than those paid in 1882 are insufficient or inadequately low; and if not, any attempt to raise them must necessarily restrict the area of high education. There is indeed an upward trend in the direction of fees, and the movement may be left to itself without the stimulus of external pressure. Scholarships and endowments may indeed help the poorer students. But scholarships must be available only to a few of the deserving poor, and they will also be open to the deserving rich.

And where are the private endowments in aid of education? Nature is not rich in her choicest productions; and a Tata and a Carnegie and a Wadia who divests himself of his all for the benefit of mankind, are as rare as they are the noblest types of their race. I very much fear endowments would not be forthcoming for educational purposes, unless a movement in their favour were started under such distinguished auspices as have crowned the Victoria Memorial and the Lady Dufferin Fund with success.

Educated opinion is in entire accord with Dr. Guru Dass Banerjee's view of the question, *viz.*, "that the minimum rate of college-fees should be left to adjust itself according to the circumstances of each province, and the

Universities should not interfere in determining it unless there are very strong reasons for doing so." We are naturally anxious that nothing should be done to interfere with the diffusion of high education among the great middle class community. The noblest products of English education have all come from this class, the deserving poor if you like. Iswar Chandra Vidya-sagar, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Kristo Dass Pal, Dadabhai Naoroji, and others too numerous to be mentioned here, were all sprung from the middle-class. Their education made them the benefactors of their country. They were an honour to the educational system under which they were brought up. Are the doors of high education to be closed against men of this class by the imposition of prohibitive fees? As the *Statesman* newspaper which has done yeoman's service in this controversy and to which the grateful acknowledgments of the Indian community are due, says with great force : "if a certain standard of efficiency is insisted on, what need is there for the Government to go behind that condition and concern itself about the cost and the way in which it is defrayed." We trust that His Excellency the Viceroy, whose attitude throughout this controversy has been so eminently conciliatory, will be graciously pleased to accept the views of Mr. Justice Banerjee who, by reason of his knowledge of local conditions and intimate touch with the middle-class, of which he is so bright an ornament, was really far more competent to advise the Government on this matter than any other member of the Commission. I can only express my surprise that Mr. Syed Hossain, Belgrami should not have associated himself with Mr. Justice Banerjee in this part of his Note of dissent, for the community from which he comes is far less able than almost any other community in India to pay a high rate of fees. The replies given by the Secretary of State to the questions put by Mr. Caine in the House of Commons will have a re-assuring effect on the public mind, for Lord George Hamilton said that he had no doubt that the interests of the poorer students would not be ignored by the Government.

HOW EFFICIENCY IS BEST SECURED.

Efficiency is the keynote of the letter of Government. We should be false to ourselves if we did not cordially co-operate with the Government in securing the efficiency of our educational institutions, consistently with the pecuniary circumstances of our people and the diffusion of high education. But it seems to me that no great forward stride towards educational efficiency is possible without a distinct improvement in the efficiency of the professoriate. "What is vital for the highest function of a University," says Mr. Sidney Webb, "is the professoriate and its environment." The late Dr. Thring, one of the greatest educationists that England has produced, remarked (and the remark is quoted with approbation by His Excellency the Viceroy) "that education is the transmission of life from the living through the living to the living." But I am afraid that in many cases the professors here have no life to communicate, no generous impulse, no noble enthusiasm, no soul-stirring ardour for truth and freedom to impart to those who sit at their feet and derive from them the pulsations of their intellectual and moral life. Is there a nobler profession than that of the teacher? To them are entrusted the destinies of youth. They are the up-builders and the architects of the future. They make or mar the fortunes of a country. But how many teachers are

there among us who realize their grave responsibilities or rise to the height of their truly divine mission? Raise the status of the teacher—dignify and elevate his calling—draw to the professoriate of the countrymen who will embrace it, not as a mere bread-earning profession, but a high calling, a heaven-appointed task, a self-dedication to a sacred purpose, and you will not need Commissions and Committees, Reports and Resolutions to secure the efficiency of our Universities and the advancement of learning. The names of great teachers form land-marks in the educational history of this country. They have done more for the cause of education than all the Resolutions, all the Regulations, all the fine maxims and even all the pious aspirations which have emanated from responsible authority. DeRozio, the Eurasian youth, who fired with apostolic fervour communicated a new life and a strange impulse to the youth of Bengal in the early days of British rule; Pyari Churn Sircar who loved his students almost as dearly as he loved his children; Ramtanu Lahiri, and in a lesser sense, Rajnarain Bose, who led them onwards and upwards to a higher and diviner life, have rendered a service to the cause of learning and of morals which will be remembered as long as the history of English education in India is treasured up in our minds. In Bombay, you had your great Dr. Wordsworth and Sir Alexander Grant; in other Presidencies there are familiar names. We want men like them to leaven the professoriate and the cause of education and the advancement of learning will be secured. But the Report and, I regret to say, the letter of Government are silent about this most important consideration. Not even the semblance of a suggestion is thrown out for the improvement of the professoriate, without which educational efficiency would be all but unattainable. For this purpose the improvement of the status of the Educational Service is necessary; and nowhere is such improvement more urgently required than in the subordinate branches of the Service, where the pay is small and the duties grave and responsible.

For purposes of efficiency I maintain that the diffusion of education is necessary; for an appropriate environment must be created. Height is only possible where the foundations are broad and deep, suitable to the noble edifice that is sought to be raised thereon. Advancement of learning is best secured and under conditions which guarantee permanence where the general culture of the community is maintained on a high level. A cultured public opinion, sustaining and stimulating the advancement of learning, is a more effective ally of knowledge than all the artificial pressure which the most enlightened Government, aided by the resources of unlimited power, may exert. But the formation of such opinion presupposes the wide diffusion of knowledge. Let there be efficiency, but let it never be forgotten that efficiency involves, not the restriction, but the expansion of the educational area—it is a double movement, combining height with surface. Writing on the lines on which the London University should be organized, Mr. Sidney Webb, a high educational authority to whom I have already referred, thus comments on the importance of the spread of education among the general community :—

Being us regards its undergraduate class, essentially a university for the sons and daughters of households of limited means and strenuous lives, it will not, like Oxford and Cambridge, set itself to skim from the surface of society the topmost layer of rich men's sons and scholarship winners. Wisely organised and adequately endowed, it must dive deep down through every stratum of its seven millions of constituents, selecting by the tests of personal ambition

and endurance, of talent and "grit," for all the brain-working professions and for scientific research, every capable recruit that London rears. Hence it must stand ready to enrol in its under-graduate ranks not hundreds a year but thousands. If we remember that Paris and Berlin drawing from much smaller local populations and exposed each to the competition of a score of other universities in their own countries have each actually twelve thousand university students, we can see that any equally effective London University might easily number twenty thousand.

CRAM.

I am in strong sympathy with those who wish to discourage cram. I do not indeed believe that little learning is a dangerous thing. To me it seems that it is much more dangerous to the community that the rulers of men should be the victim of such a mischievous hallucination. Little learning is certainly better than no learning, as well-digested knowledge which strengthens the judgment and invigorates the understanding is infinitely preferable to the ill-assimilated stuff which is not incorporated into the intellectual system and does not strengthen its fibre or enrich its texture. In the discipline of the mind, the cultivation of the memory is of course not to be neglected. The memory is the hand-maid of the understanding and often supplies to it the materials upon which its pronouncements are based. But the understanding is the sovereign faculty in the intellectual system, and it should not be sacrificed for the sake of a subordinate power. But how is cram to be discouraged and the understanding strengthened? I regret to have to say that the Report of the Universities Commission supplies no answer to the question. It is the multiplicity of books and the multiplicity of subjects which produce a bewildering confusion and tempt the student to rely upon his memory rather than upon his understanding. He must anyhow pass the examination. The subjects and the books are too many and the time is too short to permit him to master them and to assimilate into his intellectual system the food which they supply. If the subjects and books were fewer, he would have leisure for careful study, and would reap those great intellectual benefits which careful study confers. As it is, he races through his books and subjects at railway speed—and like the carrier, glad to be relieved of his burden, he flings them away as soon as the destined goal of the examination is reached, rejoicing that he has at last obtained his release, vowing that he will not come within a measurable distance of the examination-hall, or of his books or his studies, if he can possibly help it. To anticipate that under such a system there could grow that generous enthusiasm for knowledge, that craving for learning for learning's sake, which it is the object of all education to foster and promote is to indulge in the wildest dream. Often under the strain, the unhappy student breaks down, physically and mentally—a complete wreck in every sense of the term. What is to be the remedy? Reduce the number of books; reduce the number of subjects; give more breathing-time to the teacher and the taught; let them rejoice in the company of the celestials of the earth; let the company of the celestials be to them a pleasure and not an infliction; let them drink deep their spirit, and the sovereign remedy against cram will have been found and the highest ends of education served.

But the Commission, instead of reducing the already heavy burden on the student, proposes a sensible addition by recommending an additional subject for the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. In the Calcutta University it was after a hard fight that the number of subjects for the B.A.

Examination was reduced from four to three by the almost unanimous vote of the Senate. A Teachers' Conference which recently sat in Calcutta unanimously protested against the proposed increase in the number of subjects for the B.A. Examination. There is too great a disposition in some quarters to forget that a wide area of surface in academic instruction often involves a sacrifice of depth. The practical teacher is confronted with this difficulty every moment of his life, but the *doctrinaire*, safe in his ignorance, is apt to overlook a consideration, so simple and yet so imperative. And here I must be permitted to deprecate the application of the same hard-and-fast system to all the Indian Universities, such as the University Commission apparently contemplates. It is very obvious that a uniform system applied to a whole continent, to populations in varying stages of progress and separated by wide differences in condition and circumstances, in intellectual capacity and aspirations, must end in failure. The Commission seemed to have ignored this obvious consideration and have framed a scheme of educational reform, which takes no cognizance of local needs and circumstances and the widely divergent conditions which prevail in the different provinces of India. Surely the question as to what should be the right curriculum for the B.A. Degree Examination in the different Universities is a matter which might be left to the Universities themselves to decide and to determine.

Mr. Syed Hossein Belgrami has signed the Report, but another Mr. Belgrami, (Mr. Syed Ali Belgrami) makes the very complaint which I have here ventured to urge. Mr. Belgrami institutes a comparison between the courses of study in the English Universities and those of the Universities here. He finds that from the Entrance Examination to the end of his course, the student in India has to study more subjects than the English student. Not only has the English student to pass in a smaller range of subjects to enter a University; but after he passes he is allowed to specialise, and if the English University has an intermediate examination, it is rather designed to serve as a guide to his special aptitude, as a preparation for his pass examination than as a test for his general knowledge. As the *Pioneer* observes the Indian student has to spend his time and industry over many subjects and in the words of Seneca he learns merely to speak with others and not with himself. Despite these facts we are told that our degrees are cheap, and that educated India is interested in keeping them cheap. Never was a more unfounded calumny uttered, and the marvel is that it should have been given currency to by so well-informed and so responsible an organ of public opinion as the *Times* newspaper.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH.

The Commission attaches considerable importance to the teaching of English. Considering that English is to us the key to the learning and culture of the West, I may say that I am in sympathy with this view. But it must be observed that the methods suggested by the Commission admit of considerable differences of opinion. They are (1) that candidates must obtain forty per cent. of the marks for English in order to pass the Entrance Examination, (2) that it is undesirable that text-books should be prescribed in English at the Entrance Examination. As regards the first of these recom-

recommendations, I am well aware that it has been unanimously recommended by a Committee of the Calcutta University, consisting of distinguished educational experts whose views are entitled to the highest respect. Will it raise the standard of knowledge of English, possessed by candidates for the Matriculation generally? It will certainly reduce the number and percentage of successful candidates, but it will not raise the knowledge of English of the candidates generally. That must depend upon the teaching and upon the general efficiency of our schools. Here again the supreme importance of an efficient tutorial and professorial staff forces itself upon the attention.

As regards the proposal for the abolition of text-books for the Entrance Examination, I understand there are no text-books for the Matriculation at Madras and Bombay. In Calcutta the system was tried some years back and was abandoned. It seems to me that the best means of teaching English at the stage of progress at which the candidate has arrived when he prepares himself for the Entrance Examination is to prescribe for him suitable text-books. They should be limited in their number and he should be well-grounded in them. He should have time to read them over and over again, so that he may be in a position to master the vocabulary, the idioms, the grammar and appreciate and admire, not only the literary beauties, but the pregnant moral lessons which may abound in his text-books. To leave him without text-books at this stage of his progress is to leave him without rudder and compass—it is to leave him to the unknown and unknowable chapter of accidents in the arduous task to master one of the most difficult languages in the world. The questions set at the examination need not be confined to the text-book. They should be a test, not of memory, but of his real knowledge of the language.

TEACHING UNIVERSITIES.

The Commission, in the opening words of their summary of recommendations, say :—“The legal powers of the older Universities should be enlarged so that all the Universities may be organized as teaching bodies. The Commissioners devote a few paragraphs of their Report to the consideration of the question of Teaching Universities. They recommend “that the Universities may justify their existence as teaching bodies by making further and better provision for advanced courses of study.” They suggest that the Universities should appoint their lecturers and provide libraries and laboratories, the Colleges being required to contribute, by means of scholarships or otherwise, to the maintenance of those students who take advantage of the University courses. One of the advantages of this plan, says the Report, is that it can be worked out gradually and without the great initial expense which the creation of a complete professoriate would involve. I fail to understand why the Government should not take the entire responsibility of maintaining at each University centre a central school of advanced study which would draw to it the best graduates of the University, animated by a thirst of knowledge and eager for the pursuit of more advanced courses of study. Such a central school would stimulate the pursuit of higher knowledge and exercise a healthy influence upon our educational system. There is no reason why the Presidency College in Calcutta should not at once be converted into a University College of this kind, dealing exclusively with post-graduate courses of study. The

State is deeply interested in the higher education of the community, and the State must find the means for providing facilities for such education. The Tokio University, maintained by the Japanese Government, is a teaching University. Surely the British Indian Government is not going to proclaim to the world that it is unequal to the educational responsibilities which the Japanese Government has assumed. The question is one of finance, but when our Government is as rich as the richest in the world in the readiness with which it adds to the military expenditure of the Empire, we have a right to expect at least an equal measure of generosity in dealing with a problem which so intimately affects the happiness and the progress of the people. The Government in its letter on the Report of the Universities Commission recognises the fact that the whole question of University reform is one of finance ; and the foremost of these reforms, for which no expense should be grudged, is that which relates to the provision for University teaching for the higher courses of knowledge. Here indeed is a splendid field for private liberality ; but Government must set the example, and private liberality, in this country at any rate, flows with added impetus under the fostering care of Government.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

There is no part of the Report of the Universities Commission which has elicited a stronger protest or evoked more widespread dissent than that which deals with the constitution of the Universities. The cry has been raised—and there is abundant justification for it—that if the recommendations of the Commission in this respect were to be accepted, the Universities would be reduced to so many Departments of the State. A correspondent writing to the *Times* from India (and the *Times* gave special prominence to his letter) says that a popularly controlled University is anomalous and impracticable, and State-control can alone ensure efficiency ; and he has the hardihood to assure the British public that the tentative policy of placing the Universities, under more or less popular control, has nowhere given satisfaction and has in many instances led to results which may be described as scandalous. A more malignant libel has never been uttered against our Universities. I am not here to defend the Universities, but we should like to have chapter and verse. We should like to have a categorical enumeration of the alleged scandals which the present system has given rise to. Let the indictment be framed—if indeed it can be framed—and we shall know how to meet it. In the meantime, I will take leave to record my personal protest against the condemnation of our Universities by an appeal to calumnies which will not stand a moment's scrutiny. But whatever the irresponsible writer in the *Times* may say and whatever support the *Times* may accord to him, it is very evident that His Excellency the Viceroy attaches considerable importance to the public protest which this part of the Report has elicited. His Excellency does not apparently accept the proposal of the Commission that the Director of Public Instruction should be *ex-officio* Vice-Chairman of the Syndicate. The Senate will continue to be the final authority in the matter of the recognition of schools. The elective principle will be definitely recognized in the constitution of the Senate. May we not appeal to

His Excellency to continue and broaden the policy of the past and till further popularize the University by providing that at least one-half of the members of the Senate should be elected by the graduates of the University of a certain standing. The graduates have a permanent and an affectionate interest in their Universities, and in all that conduces to their credit and reputation. Their participation in the affairs of their Universities would inspire them with a sense of responsibility and would enlist on behalf of educational reforms the sympathy and support of the educated community. There is no desire on the part of any one to divest the Universities of State-control. Such control, however, should be in the nature of general supervision rather than of direct and active participation in the every-day work of the University.

The letter of the Government of India embodying their suggestions has been circulated among the Provincial Governments for their opinions. I have no doubt that the Universities and the various recognized Associations of the country will be consulted. The educated community throughout India will watch the further progress of this controversy with the keenest interest. To them the issues raised are of supreme importance. The whole of their future might be said to be at stake. Are they to have their present educational system strengthened, invigorated and adapted to modern requirements, combining height with surface, the steady expansion of the educational area with the gradual advancement of learning, or are they to have an emasculated system, shorn of the principle of growth and expansion, confined to an infinitesimal section of the people, without influence on the life of the community and without power to mould it for the highest purposes of human progress? We have made our choice—we have proclaimed it with all the emphasis that we could command—and the latest official pronouncement seems to convey the assurance that the sympathies of the Government of India are with us.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

Next in importance to the educational problem is the question of the economic condition of the people. The educational problem does not usually occupy a large place in our discussions in this Congress. Not that its importance is overlooked, but we are content to rely with implicit confidence upon the slow and steady expansion of those educational efforts which have never been interrupted and which form a permanent feature of British policy in India. Circumstances, to which I have already referred, have given to the educational problem the prominence which it now possesses. But the statesmanlike attitude of the Viceroy gives us the assurance that the grave issues which have been raised will be settled ere-long, and they will be settled in a manner which will reconcile conflicting schools and divergent interests and ensure the diffusion as well as the advancement of learning. The economic problem is a more contentious one and affords ground for wider differences of opinion, coloured, I am afraid, by official and party bias. Here we enter upon an altogether more difficult sphere, where the atmosphere is surcharged with the heat of partisan controversy and where the combatants have already taken up definite sides, to which they are attached by interests

and passions which must seriously interfere with the impartial consideration of the problem. On the one hand, we have the Government and the adherents of the Government, who, jubilant over the fat surpluses of the last few years, invite an admiring world to congratulate them on their work. On the other, we have Mr. Digby and his friends who shake their heads in stolid incredulity and producing their facts and figures from official sources, challenge the optimism of the opposite school. They maintain, not upon "a plausible syllogistic formula" (whatever that may mean), but upon data supplied by official authority that India has undergone steady material retrogression under British rule, and they appeal to the Secretary of State for "a searching examination" of their position. Your President is not called upon to act as an arbiter in this controversy. He does not indeed feel himself qualified for the task. He has responsibilities sufficiently grave to think of adding one more to them. But the controversy is one in which this Congress must feel the deepest interest. Is it the case—we ask—that the country is getting poorer day by day? The question is so momentous that Lord George Hamilton was forced to admit that if it should be answered in the affirmative British rule must stand self-condemned and Britain must be relieved of her imperial responsibilities in relation to India. I am not prepared to admit the soundness of the inference which the Secretary of State derives, as necessarily following from the acceptance of the position of the pessimist school. Admitting that there has been steady material retrogression under British rule, it would involve the condemnation of the policy which has hitherto been followed in the Government of this country—it would be a plea, not for the severance of British connection, but rather the strengthening of it by a new bond—by the inauguration of a beneficent departure which has been insisted on by some of the greatest of Anglo-Indian administrators, by men like Munro and Bentinck and Elphinstone, and the soundness of which, at least in theory, has never been disputed. The pessimist school, I use the term in no offensive sense, do not indeed call for the withdrawal of British rule, but for the reversal of that policy which has impoverished the country and has been attended with disastrous economic results. India is under British rule, and they insist upon a policy which, in its spirit and in its temper, in its sacred regard for justice and fairplay, in its deep anxiety for the extension of British freedom along with the British flag, should be truly reflective of the beneficence of British greatness. It is no exaggeration to say that behind the economic controversy lies veiled the entire problem of Indian administration. Is the country to be governed for the benefit of the people, for the development of their industries, the accumulation and the husbanding of their resources, or is it to be administered in accordance with those principles which have brought about the terrible impoverishment of the people and all that it implies? Thus with the economic problem lie wrapped up the gravest administrative issues.

Is the country getting poorer day by day? The question can be set at rest by an open enquiry, started under the auspices of the Government. Why is not such an enquiry held? Ours indeed has been a Government of Commissions and Committees. We have had Commissions of all sorts. One more Commission to enquire into the economic condition of the country

would not seriously aggravate the situation or dislocate the administrative machinery. The Famine Union in England which include public men of all parties and which have an economic rather than a political object in view, have been pressing for an enquiry into some typical villages. It is in no hostile spirit that they approach this question. Their object is not to find fault, but to get at the truth. The Union desire an answer to the question whether it is true that the cultivator has been sinking deeper and deeper into poverty during recent years. But the Government will not give an answer. The Government will not hold an enquiry. Why does the Government decline to institute an enquiry for the settlement of what may justly be regarded as the problem of problems? Has it any reasons to believe that such an enquiry would be fatal to its optimistic creed? It cannot indeed be said that the Government is without any information on the subject, or that it ignores the gravity of the problem. On two separate occasions it held two separate and confidential enquiries. There was an enquiry held in 1880-81 by Lord Ripon. Sir David Barbour was entrusted with it. There was again an enquiry held during the viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin. Now these enquiries either prove or disprove the allegation that the country is becoming poorer under British rule. If they disprove the allegation, nothing would be more natural than that the rulers of India should hasten, by their publication, to refute a charge which involves so serious a reflection upon their own administration. If these enquiries do not disprove the charge, nothing would be more natural than that they should keep back the evidence, of which they are in possession. To withhold from the public the results of these enquiries and the evidence on which they are based, raises a presumption against the roseate view of the economic situation. The presumption is strengthened by the steady refusal to hold an open enquiry, and it assumes more or less the complexion of definite proof, in view of facts, the significance of which cannot be overlooked.

FAMINES.

The great, broad fact of recurring famines which grew in frequency and intensity during the last quarter of the last century stands out in striking prominence as the infallible index which powerfully appeals to the popular imagination of the growing impoverishment of the people. The story is a dismal one. By a moderate calculation the Famines of 1877 and 1878, of 1889 and 1892, of 1897 and 1900 have carried off fifteen millions of people. Another calculation estimates the mortality at 26 millions. If this terrible mortality had taken place in any European country, the conscience of mankind would have received a shock from which it would not have recovered, until the means to prevent so fearful a calamity had been found and applied. If the Mahomedan rulers of European Turkey had permitted such a record of mortality to swell, and that from a preventible cause, in any of the European Provinces, subject to their rule, their expulsion from Europe bag baggage would have been insisted upon with passionate vehemence, and no punishment would have been deemed too great for them. But India is beyond the pale of civilized opinion, and her calamities do not apparently stir the conscience of even the great nation into whose hands her destinies have been consigned by

an all-wise Providence. But the record of our famine-mortality is even gloomier than what the above figures imply. Let us, for the purposes of this enquiry, divide the century into four periods of 25 years each. During the first period, there were five famines with an estimated mortality of one million. During the second period, there were two famines with an estimated mortality of 500,000. In the third period, there were six famines with a recorded mortality of five millions; and as we come to the fourth and the last period, we notice the increasing gravity of the situation and the terribly high record of mortality. There were eighteen famines during this period with an estimated mortality of twenty-six millions; and the last famine of the last quarter of the expiring century was, in the words of so high an authority as the Viceroy himself, the severest that the country had ever known. It will thus be seen that famine was an ever-constant calamity during the whole of the century, that it counted its victims by millions and that as the century drew near to its close, it became more frequent in its recurrence and more severe in its incidence. Will anybody explain to me why the famines of the last half of the century were severer and more frequent than those of the first half—why the famines of the last quarter were severer and more frequent than those of the preceding quarters—and why the last famine of the last year of the expiring century was the severest of them all? Do they not point to the growing impoverishment of the people? Let alone the carefully-drawn calculations, determining the income per head of the population which, though based upon official figures, the Secretary of State now repudiates as conjectural. Is it possible to overlook the significance of these famines, with their increasing severity and frequency and the silent but conclusive testimony which they bear to the material retrogression of the people? The public have not the time to verify intricate calculations, and they cannot be expected to follow the writer on Indian economics through the mazes of his figures, but these famines with their ever-increasing severity and recurrence leave a most painful impression on the public mind and point, with convincing force, to the soundness of the position of those who hold that the country is steadily retrograding in material prosperity.

But we are told that famines are due to drought; to the operation of natural causes, and Governments and human institutions are powerless to avert them. We ask—is drought confined to India? Nature is impartial in her dispensations—in the distribution of her favours and disfavours. Other countries suffer from drought; but they do not suffer from famine. We must therefore look deeper for the causes of Indian famine. Drought alone will not account for it. Destitution is the root-cause of Indian famine. If the people were comparatively prosperous, if they did not suffer from chronic poverty, they would, in the event of a local failure of crops, make their purchases in the markets of the neighbouring provinces, or they would have a reserve stock upon which they might fall back. But they are absolutely resourceless, sunk in the deepest depths of poverty, living from hand to mouth, often starving upon one meal a day, and they die in their thousands and hundreds of thousands upon the first stress of scarcity, and as the situation deepens they die in their millions and tens of millions, despite the efforts of a benevolent Government to save them.

Nor will it avail to seek for an explanation of Indian poverty in the increase of our population or in the spendthrift habits of our people. The census returns of 1901 disclose the fact that practically there has been no increase of population and that the increase in certain areas has been counter-balanced by decrease in other parts of the country. It is a well-ascertained fact that the population has not increased in India at the rate it has done in England and some other European countries. As for the alleged spend-thrift habits of the people, I will say this—that there is not a more abstemious or a more frugal race of people on earth than the peasantry of India. Their sobriety, their strong family affections, their deep concern for their children are the best preservatives of those thrifty habits which are all the more assured when they have their roots in impulse rather than in interest and when the combined operation of both impart to them an added strength. If they occasionally indulge in an extravagant *shradh* or an expensive marriage, they live from day to day, from month to month, and through the recurring years with a rigid parsimony which is but the reflex of their ascetic instincts. Have they not thus lived in the ages past and gone? Empires have come and gone; dynasties have been overthrown; the face of external nature itself has been changed, but the deep-seated habits of our people have remained the same—unchanged and unchangeable amid the vicissitudes of time and fortune. But they were not thus famine-stricken in those days, despite their expensive marriages and *shradhs*. Why are they famine-stricken now? Oh no—this theory of the alleged extravagance of the Indian peasantry will not do. It will not stand the test of scrutiny. Upon a closer examination, it disappears like the baseless fabric of a vision.

The effect of recent currency legislation has been still further to depreciate the condition of the agricultural classes. I am not here discussing its general effect and with adequate regard for all interests; but the artificial fixity of the exchange has entailed heavy loss on the cultivators. The extent of this loss can be calculated with some approximation to facts. The value of the raw produce of the soil, such as grain and pulse, seeds, raw jute and cotton, the proceeds of which directly benefit the cultivators, was in 1901-2, Rs. 61.30 crores. (p. 10 of Mr. O'Connor's Review of Trade.) The equivalent of this at 1s. 4d. per rupee is £40,860,000, which is paid by the importers. If the exchange value of the rupee were 1s. 2d. at the present day, the cultivators would have received, as the equivalent of this sterling amount Rs. 70,04,57,000, or Rs. 8,74,57,000 more than what they now receive. The cultivators therefore annually incur a loss of about 8¾ crores as the result of the recent currency operations.

The tale of India's growing poverty does not indeed rest upon any syllogistic formula, or upon calculations which though made from official sources are now repudiated by official authority—it is supported by facts, the significance of which it is impossible to overlook, and by the testimony of high authorities, official and non-official. What explanation is there of the fact that in 1886-87 the consumption of salt per head of the population was 13.9lbs. and that in 1899-1900 the consumption had gone down and was 12.7lbs. per head of the population? How again do you explain the shrinking of the deposits in the Postal Savings Banks which in 1889-90 amounted to

Rs. 164 and in 1899-1900 to Rs. 125 per head of the population? Do not these facts bear eloquent testimony to the steady material retrogression of the people? The evidence of competent authorities is equally conclusive on the subject. I will make three extracts from a Government Resolution, dated the 19th October 1888, which will throw considerable light on the economic condition of the people in some of the great Provinces in India :—

BEHAR—“The picture which I have drawn does not, however, show any great prosperity, and shows that the lower classes, which, including the weaving class, amounting to 25 p. c. of the population, have little chance of improving their position and that they would have no resources to fall back upon in times of scarcity.....The conclusion to be drawn is that of the agricultural population, a large proportion, say 40 p. c. are insufficiently fed, to say nothing of clothing and housing. They have enough food to support life and to enable them to work; but they have to undergo long fasts, having for a considerable part of the year to satisfy themselves with one full meal in the day.”

N.-W. P. “The Commissioner of Allahabad remarks in a general way that there is very little between the poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation; and the Collector of Banda writes that a very large number of the lower classes of the population clearly demonstrate by their poor physique that either they are habitually half-starved or have been in their early years exposed to the trials and severities of a famine.”

“Mr. Holderness, writing of the Filibhit District, says that the landless labourer's condition is not all that could be desired. The united earnings of a man, his wife and two children cannot be put at more than Rs. 3 per month. When prices of food-grains are moderate, work regular, and the health of the house-hold good, this income will enable their family to have one good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their head, to buy cheap cotton clothing and occasionally a thin blanket. The small cultivator is slightly better off, but he has not always enough to eat, or sufficiently warm clothes.”

BOMBAY—“Poverty amongst the labouring classes of the mofussil most certainly exists, but not only does it exist, but represents the normal condition of these classes. Their houses are poor, their belongings are poor, their food is poor, their clothing very poor. ‘Poverty,’ however, and ‘want,’ at any rate in India are two very different things, and after many years’ residence amongst the people of the country, I have no hesitation in saying that while poverty is the rule (I still speak of the lower classes) actual want is the exception.”

CENTRAL PROVINCES—“Mr. Tawney shows that the ordinary cost of food for a man, his wife and one child is $7\frac{1}{2}$ pice a day and if broken rice (kanki) be substituted for rice, the cost can be reduced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ pice a day. This sum will provide the family with $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of grain and a small quantity of pulse, leaving $1\frac{1}{2}$ pice over for salt, vegetables and firewood.” Mr. Mackenzie's general conclusion on the whole enquiry is that—“there is no doubt in these provinces a great deal of poverty, but there is very little distress. The people are well-fed, and the only section of them who can be said to be hard pressed for bare subsistence are the hill tribes, who are but little more provident than the beasts of the forests and have to undergo similar vicissitudes in daily food.”

These extracts are remarkable. They throw a flood of light upon the economic condition of the people. It is no critic of the Government, but the Government and the officers of Government who speak. And what do they say? In Behar 40 p. c. of the people are insufficiently fed. They have to undergo long fasts and for a considerable part of the year have to satisfy themselves with one full meal in the day. In the Allahabad Division, says the Commissioner, “there is very little between the poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation.” In Bombay poverty amongst the labouring classes is their normal condition. As regards the Central Provinces, we are told on the authority of Mr. Mackenzie, Chief Commissioner, than whom there was not a greater optimist in financial matters, that there is a great deal of poverty, though very little distress. This was the state of things in 1888. Has there been any improvement since then? There has been no change for the better. On the contrary, the economic condition of the people has become much worse, seeing that since then Bombay and the Central Provinces have passed through famines which have been described as the severest of the century, and the North-Western Provinces have suffered from widespread distress. Having regard to the appalling poverty of the people, as disclosed

in the Resolution of Government from which I have quoted, it was only to be expected that they would succumb on the first appearance of scarcity, and it is no wonder that they died in their millions when they were overwhelmed by the greatest famine of the century. Their poverty added to the intensity of the famine-conditions and swelled the record of famine-mortality. As the century expires, the picture becomes even deeper in its sombre hue. The Famine Commission of 1901 say in their Report :—

On the extent of the indebtedness of the Bombay cultivators no precise official information, we believe exists ; but there are materials for a probable estimate. We know that the Deccan Ryots Commission of 1876 found that "about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the occupants of Government land are embarrassed with debt ; that their debts average about 18 times their assessment ; and that nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the debt is secured by mortgage of the land." We also know that the money-lenders, in the villages, visited by the Commission paid about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole land-revenue—their property having been acquired within the preceding 20, and for the most part the preceding 10, years—while it was notorious, that the private transfers of land were, in most cases, not recorded. The Commission of 1891 found that within the preceding 8 years, land paying 10 p. c. of the revenue in the districts which they visited, had been sold, $\frac{2}{3}$ ths going to the money-lenders : while lands paying 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the revenue had been mortgaged, $\frac{1}{4}$ th going to the sowcars. In his evidence before us, the Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government said that 28 p. c. of the land in Broach had passed into the possession of the money-lending classes ; and from a report of the Collector of Ahmedabad it appears that in his district expropriation of the old owners has also made considerable way. Taking all these statements into account, and comparing them with the evidence we have recorded, we think it probable that at least $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the cultivators in the Bombay Presidency have lost possession of their lands ; that less than a fifth are free from debt ; and that the remainder are indebted to a greater or less extent."

It will be seen from the above that in the opinion of the Famine Commission, and they consisted of some of the highest officers of the Government, one-fourth of the cultivators in the Bombay Presidency have lost possession of their lands, that more than four-fifths are indebted to a greater or less extent and that only one-fifth of the population are free from debt. Non-official opinion entirely supports this dismal tale of the growing impoverishment of the people. No one will suspect the *Pioneer* of being prejudiced against the Government. Commenting on Mr. Grierson's statement regarding the economic condition of the various sections of the population in Gaya, the *Pioneer* remarks :—

"Briefly, it is that all the persons of the labouring classes, and ten per cent. of the cultivating and artisan classes or forty-five per cent. of the total population, are insufficiently clothed, or insufficiently fed, or both. In Gaya district this would give about a million persons without sufficient means of support. If we assume that the circumstances of Gaya are not exceptional—and there is no reason for thinking otherwise—it follows that nearly one hundred millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty."

Thus according to one of the accredited organs of Anglo-Indian opinion which often is the exponent of official policy and measures, and is generally their staunch supporter, nearly one hundred millions of people in India are living in extreme poverty. This was said in 1893 ; in 1901, an Indian publicist of great experience and knowledge describing the state of things in India says :—"The poverty and suffering of the people are such as to defy description. In fact for nearly 15 years there has been a continuous famine in India." Is it necessary to produce further evidence in support of the growing impoverishment of the country ? Lord George Hamilton himself says that India "is poor—very very poor." If this is the official admission, we have a right to expect that it shall be followed by corresponding official action. Statesmanship can address itself to no higher function. It has no more sacred calling than the devising of measures which would reclaim a great people from the depths of poverty and the physical misery and the intellectual and moral degradation which follow in its train. And if it is true that the great-

ness of the British Empire, the position of England among the nations of the earth, is largely due to her Indian overlordship, then the obligation to save India from her present critical situation assumes the character of a great national duty—of a truly imperial function—emphasized by considerations of mutual interest and the consciousness of past obligations. We desire to co-operate with the Government in the performance of this duty. We wish to associate ourselves with the rulers of India as co-adjutors, if they will accept our help in the spirit in which it is offered. For we feel that in this matter the Government needs and is entitled to the sympathetic co-operation of the community. It is in this spirit and with no desire to criticise and to find fault that we would venture to suggest some of the remedial measures which the Government may with advantage adopt. The situation is so grave that the adoption of these measures can no longer be postponed with safety to the best interests of the country. Let not the words “too late” be written upon British policy in India. As in the case of the stricken-down patient, so in the case of the afflicted country, there comes a time when remedial measures, however promising, may be too late to be applied with advantage. In the physical as well as in the moral world, nature takes her revenge upon the dilatory who neglect their opportunities or misread her clear unerring intimations. The remedial measures which should be adopted in view of the steady material retrogression of the country may be summarized as follows :—

- (1) The revival of our old industries and the creation of new ones,
- (2) the moderate assessment of the land-tax, (3) the remission of taxes which press heavily upon the poor, (4) the stoppage of the drain and the adoption of the necessary administrative measures in that behalf.

THE INDUSTRIES.

All will admit that the expansion of agriculture at the expense of manufacturing industry is a serious economic evil, for which, so far it prevails in British India, British rule is largely responsible. “No one who considers the economic condition of India,” said Lord Dufferin, at the opening of the Exhibition of Industrial Arts in Calcutta, “can doubt that one of its greatest evils is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people of the country are dependent almost exclusively on the cultivation of the soil.” This was not the state of things in the past. It was the manufactures of India which drew European nations to the shores of India. The European traders were first attracted, not by our raw produce, but by our manufactured ware. The fame of the fine muslins of Bengal, her rich silks and brocades had spread far and wide in Asia as well as in Europe. Where are they now? They have practically disappeared. “The arts of spinning and weaving,” says Sir Henry Cotton, “which for ages afforded employment to a numerous and industrious population have now become extinct. Families which formerly were in a state of affluence have been reduced to penury.” “There is no class of men,” exclaims Sir James Caird, “whom our rule has pressed harder upon than the Indian weaver and artisan.” What was it that brought about the extinction of our manufactures? What destructive force was in operation to produce this dire result? I will not answer the question myself, but will allow an English-

man to speak ; and he shall be no other than the distinguished Orientalist, whose knowledge of Eastern countries in general and of India in particular, was so unique. "The British manufacturer," said Horace Hayman Wilson, "employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." It was the fixed policy of the British Government and of the East India Company in the early days of British rule to discourage Indian manufactures and to encourage the growth of Indian raw produce. "This policy," says Mr. Dutt, in his *Economic History of British India*, "was followed with unwavering resolution and fatal success. Orders were sent out to force Indian artisans to work in the Company's factories ; commercial residents were legally vested with extensive powers over villages and communities of weavers. Prohibitive tariffs excluded Indian silk and cotton goods from England. English goods were admitted into India free of duty, or, on payment of nominal duty." These measures produced a disastrous effect on Indian manufactures. Let us look at the figures. In 1794 India imported from England only £ 156 worth of cotton goods ; in 1800 the imports had swelled to £ 19,595 ; in 1806 they had increased to £ 48,525 ; and in 1812 to £ 107,306. Cotton goods and silk goods were the national manufactures of India. They were subjected to a heavy tariff. British cotton goods paid a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on being imported into India ; Indian cotton goods paid a duty of 10 per cent. on being imported into England. British silk goods paid an import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in India ; Indian silk goods paid an import duty of 20 per cent. in England. This was the state of things in 1840. Our cotton manufactures had then practically died out. The import of Indian goods into England had dwindled to one-fourth in twenty-one years (from 1814 to 1835) from 12 lakhs of pieces to 3 lakhs of pieces, while the import of British cotton goods into India had increased fifty times within the same period, *viz.*, from less than a million yards to over fifty million yards. But Indian silk goods still maintained their footing, and, though heavily weighted, carried on an unequal competition. But even this was not to be. In vain did Mr. Larpent, Chairman of the East India Company, plead in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1840 for the reduction of the duty on silk goods to save it from the fate which had overtaken Indian cotton goods. It had been the settled policy of England in India, ever since her rise in political power, to convert India into a land of raw produce for the benefit of the manufacturers and operatives of England. And one of the members of the Select Committee, Mr. Brocklehurst, openly avowed this policy when he said :— "It would be more desirable perhaps that India should produce the raw material, and this country show its skill in perfecting that raw material." "The course of things in India," replied Mr. Larpent, "is leading to that. * * But I submit that as this is *the last of the expiring manufactures of India*, the only one where there is a chance of introducing the native manufactures, at least let it have a fair chance." The chance was not given. British silk goods and Indian silk goods were both imported into France. In fair and open competition, the Indian silk goods commanded a wider sale at the French market. The jealous susceptibilities of the British manufacturers were roused. The importation of Indian silk goods into France was prohibited, "and British goods had in consequence a preference with French buyers." But as soon as

the prohibition was taken off, the British trade to France was practically annihilated. This was too much for the British manufacturers. They would not stand it. They were resolved to drive Indian silk goods from the only foreign market that was open to them. The prohibition was renewed, and the last of the expiring manufactures of India was crushed out of existence. Could there be a more melancholy tale of unfeeling selfishness and cruel injustice which destroyed our manufactures and drove the great mass of our population upon the soil, to wring from it a bare subsistence when they could and to die in their millions when they could not. I am free to admit that the application of steam to the development of manufactures completed the downfall of our industries. But selfishness rather than science is responsible for our industrial ruin. Can it even now be said that this policy has received its last *quietus*, with the growth of progressive and imperial ideas and the closer relationship between the two countries? The old jealousy is still dominant in the counsels of our rulers. Or else how are we to account for the excise duty levied upon Indian cotton fabrics which handicaps them in competition with other countries? Is it too much to hope that the Delhi Durbar will mark the inauguration of a new era of equal justice, pervading every branch of the administration? Are we not indeed entitled to this paltry boon of equal justice, seeing how greatly indebted England is to India for her commercial and industrial expansion? Not to speak of the market which India offers for English goods, it is Indian wealth which towards the close of the eighteenth century communicated an extraordinary impulse to the growth and development of British commerce and manufactures. Thus writes Mr. Brooks Adams in his *Law of Civilization and Decay*, a book written with no political object in view:—

The influx of the Indian treasure, by adding considerably to the nation's cash capital, not only increased its stock of energy, but added much to its flexibility and the rapidity of its movement. * * * * *

'Plassey was fought in 1757, and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760 the flying-shuttle appeared, and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, in 1779 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the power-loom, and chief of all, in 1769 Watt matured the steam-engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralising energy. But though these machines served as outlets for the accelerating movement of the time, they did not cause that acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded, but in motion.' * * * * *

'From 1694 to Plassey the growth had been relatively slow. For more than sixty years after the foundation of the Bank of England, its smallest note had been for £20, a note too large to circulate freely, and which rarely travelled far from Lombard Street. Writing in 1790 Burke mentioned that when he came to England in 1750 there were not "twelve bankers' shops" in the provinces, though then, he said, they were in every market town. Thus the arrival of the Bengal silver not only increased the mass of money, but stimulated its movement; for at once, in 1759, the bank issued £10 and £15 notes, and in the country private firms poured forth a flood of paper.'

Having regard to the past policy of the Government, we feel that we are entitled, both by reason of that policy (for wrong must be redressed) and the substantial help which England derived from India in establishing her industrial pre-eminence, to claim a sympathetic treatment of the industrial problem. England destroyed our manufactures by prohibitive tariffs and by the pursuit of an industrial policy which all fair-minded Englishmen must condemn. England has benefited enormously from Indian wealth and commerce. Will she not lend us a helping hand and co-operate with us in the

blessed task of working out our industrial salvation? If we had a potential voice in the Government of our country, there would be no question as to what policy we should follow. We would unhesitatingly adopt a policy of protection. That was indeed the policy of England before her industries attained their maturity. England reared her manufacturing power by protection; and then she turned a free-trader and invited other nations to accept free-trade principles. The other nations, including the British Colonies, knew better, and are now rearing their manufacturing power by protection. "But in India," says Mr. Dutt, "the manufacturing power of the people was stamped out by protection against her industries; and then free-trade was forced on her to prevent a revival." But we fear protection is out of the question. May we not at least hope for a fair and equitable treatment of our industries, without reference to other interests than our own and without their being handicapped by duties which must interfere with their expansion? We have heard a great deal in these days about State-encouragement of our arts and industries—about technical institutes which are to minister to our industries. But where is the technical institute maintained by Government which serves this great purpose? The mining industry in Bengal has made great progress. A mining college would be serviceable to the industry. The proposal was actually made last year in Congress. But the Government as yet shows no signs of moving in the matter. There is a proposal to organize a Commercial Department. Will it help the national industries and guide them along a beneficent channel? Will it call forth and develop a spirit of enterprise among our people? We know not—but this we do know that we have a solemn duty in this matter. We have a high commission which we cannot ignore. As the guides and the instructors of our people, we have to tell them what is best for them. If the Government will not listen to our appeals, they at any rate will not turn a deaf ear to our words of counsel and advice; and we desire to tell them in all seriousness and with all the emphasis that we can command that if they wish well to themselves and to their country, they must turn their thoughts to commercial enterprise and the development of the marvellous resources of their country. The bread-problem is the problem of problems and must be solved. The professions are crowded. The services cannot provide a place for all of us. Agriculture will not save our people from the terrible visitations of famine. The masses are starving, and when famine comes they die in their millions; the middle classes are carrying on an arduous struggle to maintain body and soul together. Everywhere poverty and destitution stare us in the face. What is to be the solution? The gorgeous India was the fable-land of wealth. Are we alone to be excluded from the rich treasures of untold wealth which our mother-earth shelters in her bosom and which she has sheltered through the ages past, so that her children in their own good time may reap the fruits thereof? Who has ever been deprived of a mother's choicest gifts? If the country is to be saved, we must leave the beaten track of the services and the professions, and be the pioneers and organizers of a vast industrial movement, which will secure to us the possession of that wealth which nature has ordained for us, and which, when so secured, will lead to the final and the satisfactory solution of the industrial problem. Let us guide the public mind of India along this beneficent channel.

THE LAND-REVENUE ASSESSMENT.

In an agricultural country the land-tax is necessarily a question of great importance. The success of agricultural operations largely depends upon fixity of tenure and fixity of assessment—upon the assurance given to the cultivator that he will be permitted to enjoy the fruits of his labour and of his improvements. It is the Permanent Settlement which lies at the root of the great prosperity of Bengal, and if we cannot have a Permanent Settlement in other parts of India, we should at least have a moderate land-tax fixed for a reasonably long period. The question has been the subject of keen controversy and has elicited an authoritative pronouncement from the Government of India. In non-permanently settled estates where the land-tax is paid by the landlord, Lord Curzon has practically limited the state-demand to one-half the actual rent; but where the land-tax is paid by the cultivator, no clear limitation of his kind has been imposed. Nor does Lord Curzon accept the principle of Lord Ripon's Government that an enhancement of the state-demand at periodical revisions is only to take place when there has been a rise in the price of crops. In the older provinces His Excellency would fix thirty years as the limit during which an assessment would be in force. Some of these concessions are in accordance with the Memorial which was submitted to the Secretary of State on the 20th December 1900 by some distinguished men who had long served Government in high and responsible offices. Among the signatories were Sir Richard Grath, Sir John Jardine, Mr. Garstin, Mr. Reynolds, Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. R. C. Dutt. They advocated, among other things, that where the land-revenue is paid directly by the cultivators, as in most parts of Madras and Bombay, the Government demand should be limited to 50 per cent. of the value of the nett produce, after deducting charges of cultivation. They recommended that a limit should be fixed in each province beyond which it may not be possible to surcharge the land-tax with local cesses. These local cesses, I understand, are a heavy burden on landlords in the North-Western Provinces. I fear that in the existing state of official opinion it is impossible for us to obtain a Permanent Settlement for all India, however much we may wish it and however much we may be justified in making such a demand, having regard to the past pledges of the Government. Three Governors-General under the East India Company, three Viceroys under the Crown, men like Lord Canning, Lord Lawrence and Lord Ripon, exerted their great influence with a view to impose a permanent limitation on the land-tax in India. But they were over-ruled by the authorities in England. It is not likely that any appeal which we might make for the extension of the Permanent Settlement would command greater attention. But a moderate land-tax, fixed for a reasonably long period, is absolutely essential to the prosperity of our agricultural population, and we must insist upon it, in season and out of season, alike in the interests of the Government and of the people; and it seems to me that the wisest course for us to follow would be to take our stand upon the Memorial of the distinguished men, to which I have referred, and appeal to the Government for the very moderate concessions which they suggest. Such an appeal, urged with moderation and persistency, is bound to bear fruit, even in the near future.

REMISSION OF TAXATION.

Among the remedial measures which I have suggested is the remission of taxation. An unanswerable case was made out in its favour by Mr. Gokhale in his Budget speech which has won for him the gratitude and the admiration of his countrymen. An overflowing treasury with a starving population is an anomaly which will strike every one. The conclusion is inevitable that more is taken from the tax-payer than what may fairly be required of him, and when the tax-payer, as he usually is in India, the starving ryot, the remission of taxation becomes a matter of paramount obligation on the part of the rulers of the land. For many long years we have patiently submitted to a heavy burden; and now that since 1898-99, despite frontier wars and heavy famine expenditure we have had years of uninterrupted surpluses, we are entitled to look forward to the remission of taxation. Since 1884-85 we have had a number of new taxes imposed upon us, yielding, roughly speaking, an annual revenue of 9 crores of rupees. Since 1884-85, we have had 12 years of surpluses amounting to over 28 crores and 7 years of deficits amounting to about 14½ crores, and since 1898-99, our surpluses have not been interrupted. Thanks to the statesmanlike policy of Lord Curzon, the prospects of peace on the frontiers have become more assured, and thanks to the bounty of nature which has been somewhat deferred, the grim spectre of famine does not darken the view. The currency has been steadied, though by the adoption of a policy which has given rise to serious differences of opinion, and the fluctuating rupee no longer frightens the rulers of India or robs them of their peace. From all sides therefore we have indications which justify the hope—the very reasonable hope—that the strain on our finances is at an end and that our surpluses will be continued (leave alone the question as to whether they have been under-estimated or not). May we not therefore plead for relief—for the mitigation of that burden which has pressed upon us so heavily and must press with crushing weight upon our starving peasantry? We are grateful for the remission of the arrears of land-revenue in the famine-stricken areas. But it is not enough: it does not go to the root of the matter. What is wanted is not temporary alleviation, but permanent relief. If the Government, for the benefit of its European servants, could initiate a policy of granting exchange compensation allowance at a time of deficit—if in 1893-94, it could pay 62 lakhs of rupees* as exchange

*EXCHANGE COMPENSATION ALLOWANCE.

EXPENDITURE ON EXCHANGE ALLOWANCE SINCE 1893-94.

Rs.		Rs.	
1893-94	62,44,110	1898-99	48,59,430
1894-95	1,24,95,910	1899-1900	48,29,370
1895-96	1,33,81,630	1900-1	46,00,930
1896-97	94,33,250	1901-2	} Figures not available but 46 lakhs may be taken for each year or 92 lakhs in all.
1897-98	69,39,749	1902-3	

The deficit of the year 1893-94, when the E. C. A. was granted, was Rs. 1,54,70,000, of which Rs. 62,44,110 was due to E. C. A. The ordinary deficit which would have occurred, if E. C. A. was not granted was Rs. 92,26,000 in round numbers. This deficit was anticipated at the time when the E. C. A. was recommended by the Government of India to the Secretary of States, as the following extract from a despatch will show:—

"We have considered carefully the effect of granting these concessions upon our financial position. Apart from the expenditure now proposed (i.e., expenditure on E. C. A.) the deficit of the year will amount to 57 lakhs. Including the cost of giving effect to our present recommendations the total deficit will, therefore, amount to 100 lakhs. This deficit we propose to accept *without taking any special steps to meet it*. We have not overlooked the very grave objections to accepting, and more especially to adding to, the deficit of the current year (1893-94). But after very carefully weighing all the issues involved, we have come to the conclusion that the circumstances are so special as to justify a departure from the ordinary rule of sound finance which requires that measures should be taken to remove a deficit as soon as its occurrence is seen to be probable."

(The Government of India did not take any special measures during the year to avoid the public reproach of granting E. C. A. to the high-paid officers by resorting to taxation. The deficit of the year 1893-94 was accordingly allowed to appear in the accounts. This deficit, which would have recurred with increasing effect in 1894-95 owing to the expenditure of 14 crores on E. C. A. against 62 lakhs in 1893-94 was wiped off and converted into a surplus by the imposition of customs duties affecting the general mass of the population.)

compensation allowance when its deficit was a crore and a half—the Government might surely, for the benefit of a half-famished people, remit taxes which press heavily upon them, and at a time when it has a large surplus and when it may be reasonably hoped that its financial embarrassments are at an end.

I have heard a great deal about India being the most lightly-taxed country in the world. Even in the domain of romance there is not a prettier picture, but the illusion quickly disappears when the search-light of scrutiny is turned upon it, when the stern and grim figures which reveal their own tale are marshalled in their proper places and are permitted to bear their silent but eloquent testimony. Lawyers say that circumstances cannot lie. The financier says that figures are even more veracious witnesses. Let us for a moment turn to the testimony of figures. In India the total pressure of taxation is about 85 crores* which distributed among a population of 232 millions gives an incidence of Rs. 3-10-6 per head, or a percentage of 12.29 on the average income. The total taxation income in the United Kingdom in 1898-99 (the normal year before the War) was 90 millions sterling. The population being 41½ millions, the incidence of taxation is £2-3s. per head. Now the average income per head is £36 and the pressure of taxation on the income of an Englishman is therefore only 6 per cent. against 12.2 per cent. in the case of the native of India. These figures disprove the oft-repeated declaration of the Government that "India is the most lightly-taxed country in the world." It is, of course, true that the amount of taxation, *per se* is light; but if taxation means pressure on the income, India is more heavily taxed than England, or perhaps any other country in the world.

But if taxation is to be remitted, the practical question to consider is what is the tax which should have a preferential consideration? I have no hesitation in saying that the duty on salt is the first that should be dealt with. It is one of the primary canons of taxation that the necessities of life should not be taxed. But salt is a prime necessary of life, and it is taxed. Nay more: the duty on salt has been enhanced, and when it was enhanced in 1888, Lord Cross, then Secretary of State, declared in a despatch to the Government of India that the increase in the salt duty should be looked upon as temporary, and that no effort should be spared to reduce the general duty as speedily as possible to the former rate. Lord George Hamilton took the same view of the matter in his Budget speech in the House of Commons in 1895 when he emphasized the necessity of reducing the salt duty as early as possible. Lord George Hamilton in his recent speech on the Budget in the House of Commons expressed the opinion that it was the enhanced duty which interfered with the consumption of salt. The reduction of the duty therefore is an obligation which the rulers of the land cannot ignore.

I find that an agitation has been set on foot for the total repeal of the income-tax. I cannot say that I am in sympathy with this agitation. In a general scheme for the remission of taxes, the salt-tax must have the first

* This figure is calculated on the supposition that the cultivator actually pays more as land-tax than what reaches the coffers of Government. This represents the pressure of land-tax on the ryots which is much in excess of the total land-revenue of about 30½ crores.

place; and if the Government is able to proceed still further with the reduction of taxation, the minimum of taxable income for the income-tax should be raised. The minimum is now fixed at the sum of 500 rupees a year. It should be raised to 1,000 rupees a year, or if you like to a still higher figure. The poor man must claim our first consideration, not because he is a poor man, but because the measure of sacrifice must be even, and society has no right to call upon him to make a heavier sacrifice for the general purposes of the State than what is required of the rich man. The necessaries of life and the income necessary for the bare maintenance of the bread-winner and his family must be relieved of all taxation. In England the minimum of taxable income is £150 a year. The requirements of the Englishman are no doubt more numerous; his standard of living is higher. But on the other hand, it is to be borne in mind that the Englishman lives for himself and his wife and children; whereas the Indian, under the operation of the joint-family system, has a large number of relatives to feed and support. In any case I trust the minimum of taxable income will be raised.

In this connection I desire to call the attention of the Government to a special appropriation of the income-tax which was made when the income-tax was first levied. The income-tax law of 1860 set apart one per cent. of the proceeds of the tax for expenditure locally on public works. In the five years during which the Act was in force, the sum which accrued from this source to local public works funds amounted to £1,611,410 or 161 lakhs of rupees.* Why should not such a course be followed now—why should the income-tax be entirely merged in the general revenues of the Empire? How many useful and beneficent public works which are now starved or are abandoned would, if such a policy were in force, be carried out for the general benefit of the country?

The only objection that I can think of the remission of taxation is the possible increase of the military expenditure of the Empire. There are two proposals before us—one is the addition of nearly a million sterling to our military expenditure to meet the cost of the efficiency of the reformed British army in India. The other is in the nature of a suggestion thrown out by the Secretary of State in the course of his Budget speech to the effect that there might be an addition to the European army in India. Against both these proposals, we ought to record our emphatic protest. Lord Curzon will not consent to the withdrawal of a single European soldier from India. But will His Excellency permit the Home Government to trust upon the Indian taxpayer the burden of a bloated army, far in excess of his requirements? Recent events have demonstrated the fact that our army even as now maintained is

* I cannot recommend the absolute surrender of any part of the general revenues. I regard them as all Imperial alike..... To this I would make only one exception; namely, that I would give up one fourth of whatever income-tax might be raised to the Local Governments for public improvement according to the principal establishment by Mr. James Wilson (Financial Member) in 1860.

[Sir Richard Temple's Minute dated 7th November 1868.]

The following is the main outline of Mr. Wilson's proposal in his own words:—

"On incomes above 500 rupees we propose a tax at the rate of 3 p. c. for the public treasury and 1 p. c. to be appropriated strictly to local purposes, and in regard to the appropriation of which where municipalities exist, they will have a voice; the charge may be very small and the good to be derived from such a contribution may be very great. In the United States which boast of the freest Government in the world, a property-tax is collected by the Government of each State, of a considerable amount, and applied in part to general, and in part to local and municipal purposes."

really in excess of what the country needs and that it is maintained on a footing which more or less serves the purpose of an imperial reserve. We could spare 20,000 British troops for the recent military operations without risk to our interests. It is not the case of the loan of a watch-dog, as pithily put by His Excellency the Viceroy. The watch-dog was lent for such a long period and was so long absent that we did not miss him at all, and we felt that we could do without him. There cannot be the smallest objection to the location of British troops in India to serve as an imperial reserve; but it is only equitable that the cost should be borne by the British Treasury.

I contend that the incidence of the military expenditure is heavier in India than it is in the United Kingdom, and we are therefore entitled, if not to relief, at any rate, to exemption from the imposition of further burdens. If the taxable wealth of a country is determined by the proceeds of the income-tax then we find that for every rupee of such tax the Government of India spends 14 Rs. upon the army; whereas the British Government for every pound of such tax spends about £4. The total cost of the defence of India is as follows:—

Army	...	...	...	26·50 crores
Military works	...	...	...	1·20 crores
Marine	...	...	...	·75 crore
<hr/>				
Total Rs. ...				28·45 crores

The expenditure of the United Kingdom on the Army and Navy is about 60 millions. In India the revenue from income-tax is about two crores of rupees. In the United Kingdom the revenue from the income-tax on the basis of a 6*d.* rate (corresponding to the 2½ p. c. rate in India) is about 15 millions. The proportion therefore of income-tax to expenditure on the defence of the country is as 1 to 4 in the United Kingdom. In India it is as 1 to 14. If moreover we deduct the greater portion of the charges for the Navy which is maintained for the defence of the colonial possessions of the Empire, the proportion for the United Kingdom will be much less. Thus India pays proportionately to her national wealth 3½ times more than what the United Kingdom pays towards the cost of the country's defence.

However that may be, we ought to record our strong protest against any further expansion of our military expenditure. "Millions of money have been spent," wrote the Government of India in their despatch of the 25th March 1890, "on armament and fortification to provide for the security of India, not against domestic enemies or to prevent the incursion of warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East." They urged that "in the maintenance of the British forces in this country, a just and even liberal view should be taken of the charges which should legitimately be made against the Indian revenues." We press the same view. A small instalment of justice has been done by the very paltry relief which has been afforded to the Indian exchequer by the annual grant from the British exchequer of about £250,000 a year in accordance with the recommendations of the Welby Commission. But that is not enough, and we appeal

to the Government of India to press upon the Home Government the statesmanlike views which it urged in 1890. Let it not be said that because we the people of India "have no voice in the matter," "an excessive military tribute" is demanded from us. In asking for an equitable adjustment of the military charges we have the high authority of the Government of India behind us; and our claim founded upon the highest justice is strengthened by the magnificent services which India rendered to the Empire during the recent wars and to which no one has borne more eloquent testimony than His Excellency the Viceroy. We appeal for financial justice, and I am sure we do not appeal in vain.

THE DRAIN.

One of the chief causes which have contributed to the impoverishment of the people is the annual drain which, says a writer on Indian economics, "has tapped India's very heart-blood." Lord Salisbury has himself observed that "much of the revenue of India is exported without a direct equivalent." The drain of the last thirty years of the 19th century has been estimated at £ 900,000,000 without interest, at the rate of £ 30,000,000 a year. This drain represents a distinct loss of national wealth and resources. As Sir George Wingate has observed :—

"The taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another.....In this case, they constitute no mere transfer of one portion of the national income from one set of citizens to another, but are an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount drawn from the taxed country."

What is to be the remedy? It is simple enough, if the Government will only adopt it. The revival of old and the introduction of new industries, the wider employment of the people in the higher offices of State, a more equitable adjustment of charges between England and India in matters in which both countries are interested, would go a long way to check the drain and the material exhaustion consequent thereon. British rule represents the Government of India by one of the most civilized nations of the world. It is a proud and glorious record. In point of culture and enlightenment and in its ideals of Government, it is far removed from most Governments which preceded it. But the conquerors of old soon made the conquered country their own, and returned to the people the money which they had wrung from the people. They thus stimulated the springs of domestic industry and contributed to the material prosperity of the people. Might we not ask the English rulers of India, whose proud mission it is to govern India for the benefit of India, to return to the people the people's wealth and thus lay broad and deep the foundations of our material prosperity?

THE REMEDY.

What are to be the means for enforcing the remedial measures for checking the growing impoverishment of the country? How is economy to be enforced—how are the taxes to be imposed without hampering the springs of industry—how are the sources of national wealth to be deepened and widened—how is agriculture to be improved and the arts and manufactures stimulated? The sovereign remedy is to be found in the practice of the British constitution. Give the people a potential voice over the control

of the public expenditure, and economy will follow as surely as the night follows the day. When people spend their own money, the strongest motives of self-interest enforce economy. When they spend other people's money and are responsible only to their consciences, they soon make the discovery that they can satisfy their consciences somehow—that the divine monitor within is keenly responsive to the promptings of interest and passion—and so they grow careless and extravagant. The British constitution has recognized this truth and has embalmed it in the constitutional usage of the land. The British constitution, one of the finest products of human wisdom and genius, has always shown the utmost solicitude to ensure to the representatives of the people and to them alone the full and absolute control over the public purse. A money bill becomes law when it has passed the House of Commons, and without reference to the House of Lords and without the assent of the Sovereign. It seems to me that the time has come when a definite, forward step should be taken towards the recognition of a similar principle in the Government of India, subject to such checks as circumstances may suggest. It is worthy of consideration whether a further expansion of the Legislative Councils should not take place, with representatives from each District in the local Councils, armed with the power of control over the public expenditure, and whether an expansion of the Imperial Council upon similar lines may not with advantage be introduced. It is thus and thus only will economy be ensured, the burden of taxation lightened, the material prosperity of the people stimulated, and the financial position of the Government placed upon a sound and satisfactory footing.

THE WIDER EMPLOYMENT OF OUR PEOPLE.

I have referred to the question of the economic drain, and from year to year we have appealed to the Government from this platform to stop it, or if in the present relations between England and India this cannot be done, to curtail its volume. From a return ordered by the House of Commons, it appears that the salaries, allowances and pensions to Europeans in India drawing £100 a year or more were £10,274,246 in 1889-90. It must be much more now, as exchange compensation allowance has since been added. The bulk of this vast sum of money is necessarily spent out of India. The employment of a costly foreign agency for Government of a country is, in the best of circumstances, a heavy financial burden and often a financial loss; in the case of India, it is among the primary causes of her growing impoverishment. The wider employment of the people in the public service of their own country is one of the chief remedial measures which will naturally suggest itself. Racial disqualifications have long been abolished. Merit is the sole test of qualification for public employment. This principle has again and again been affirmed; but there is as yet very wide divergence between principle and practice. The noble principle of equality affirmed by the Queen's Proclamation has been accepted with unhesitating assent by a long line of distinguished Viceroys. Lord Curzon has declared it to be the golden rule of his conduct. We have for many long years looked forward to the complete redemption of pledges, so solemnly given, by authorities so distinguished, and associated with the honoured name of a Sovereign whose memory is cherished with grateful affection by the people of India. But as yet we are far removed

from this blessed consummation. The Resolution of the House of Commons of the second of June 1893, affirming the principle of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Services, remains a dead letter. The appeal of the Indian Association praying for the wider employment of natives of India in the minor Civil Services has practically been rejected. The guaranteed appointments in the Rurki College are withheld from natives of India, coming from the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. The appointments in Cooper's Hill are no longer thrown open to the unrestricted competition of Indian candidates. We are excluded from the competitive examinations held in London for recruitment to the higher offices in the Police service. Are not all these distinct breaches of the Queen's Proclamation, open violations of that mandate which she laid upon her Ministers by her royal command? Those who bring about the indefinite postponement of the redemption of solemn pledges and seek to quibble away the gracious promises, enshrined in historic documents, to which the national faith is pledged, have no conception of the irreparable injury they do to the British Government in India; for in the words of the Viceroy, addressed to the Talukdars of Oudh, it is English veracity rather than English valour or intelligence which has built up and consolidated this vast Empire. Those who shake the confidence of the people in the pledges of the Government weaken the foundations of imperial rule. In the phrenzy of power they may seek to trifle with the moral laws; but the mandate of the Almighty has made them paramount, and none can defy them with impunity.

As regards the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil service, the prospects of Indian candidates have sensibly diminished; and well they may. The marks in Sanscrit and Arabic are 500; in Greek and Latin they are 750. Roman and Greek History, each of which carries 400 marks, Roman Law and Political Science to each of which 500 marks are attached, are subjects which Indian students may take up; but they are handicapped by the nature of the questions set. In all these subjects, extracts from the Latin and Greek authors are placed before the students, and to be able to answer them they must know these classical languages. Is a knowledge of the classical languages necessary for the thorough mastery of political science which is altogether a modern branch of knowledge, or even of Roman or Greek History? So many Latin and Greek passages and quotations are introduced in the question-papers on these subjects that I think it would be no exaggeration to say that no candidate, not knowing Latin and Greek, could hope to gain even half the maximum marks in these subjects. What is most inexcusable is the free quotation from Greek authors in the paper on Political Science. It is therefore practically impossible for an Indian student to take up these subjects. Thus an English candidate has for his Latin 750+400 marks and for his Greek 750+400 marks, or a total of 2,300 marks against 500 marks only in Sanscrit or Arabic for Indian student. Or if the Indian student is exceptionally clever, he may take up both Sanscrit and Arabic, and in that case there will be his 1,000 marks against the 2,300 marks of the English candidate. But latter's knowledge of Greek and Latin gives him an enormous advantage over the Indian candidate; for it enables him to take up Roman Law and Political Science, each of which carries 500 marks. Thus it

will be seen that Indian students, whose education is not classical, are placed at a serious disadvantage at the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service, and I very much fear that their failure is largely due to the conditions of the examination to which I have called attention. There is no reason why Indian History, like English, Roman or Greek History, or why Persian, the most beautiful among the living languages of the East to which modern Urdu is largely indebted for its vocabulary, should not be included among the subjects of examination? From an educational point of view, is Indian history less interesting or useful than the History of Rome or Greece—or is Persian a less effective discipline of the mind than French, German or Italian? The considerations to which I have referred call for definite action on our part. The British Committee may be invited to initiate the necessary measures in this behalf.

In regard to this question, if we have not altogether lost ground, we have at any rate not made much progress. For the present we are confronted with the forces of reaction, and we must bide our time. But when that time comes, and there are already signs of the bursting of the new dawn, let us bear in mind that the first duty which we owe to ourselves and to the distinguished man who has worked so long, and so unselfishly for India's welfare—India's Grand Old Man—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, is to apply ourselves to the fulfilment of the Resolution of the House of Commons with which he was so prominently associated. We must insist upon the practical affirmation of the principle of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Services; and if we insist upon it in season and out of season, our rulers will, I have no doubt, yield to the importunity of our demand what they have denied to the justice of our cause. In the long and glorious history of national triumphs, I have not yet known of the failure of a cause such as ours is, based upon the highest justice and the plainest considerations of expediency; and if we do fail, the fault will be ours.

THE MILITARY SERVICE.

As a part of the question of the wider employment of our people in the public service, it is impossible not to refer to the exclusion of our countrymen from the commissioned ranks in the army. The bravest native soldier, a born warrior, possessed, it may be, of military instincts which he has inherited from a long line of ancestors, cannot in these days rise beyond the rank of a Subadar-Major or a Ressaldar-Major in the British army. The youngest British subaltern who was not born when the veteran won his spurs is his superior military officer, whose orders he must carry out and whose higher rank he must recognize by the tribute of the military salute. A more unnatural state of things does not perhaps prevail in any other country; and to imagine that the proud Sikh or the intrepid Gurkha warrior does not feel the anomaly and the humiliation which it implies is to hold that he is something better or worse than human. It was not thus that Roman rule was consolidated in the most distant parts of Rome's world-wide Empire. It was not thus that the Mahomedan rulers of India established their sovereignty among hostile and alien races. It is not thus that Russia upholds her great

Empire in Central Asia. Trust is the secret of successful imperial rule. Mistrust is the weapon of the weak and the suspicious, not of the brave and the generous. Caution carried to the verge of timidity is a feeble instrument of Government. A wise step has indeed been taken which represents a departure from the policy of the past. We desire to express our gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy for the organization of the *Imperial Cadet Corps*. We hope it represents the inauguration of a new and beneficent policy. Might we not appeal to His Excellency to follow it up by throwing open the commissioned ranks in the Indian army to the representatives of the military races in India and to those who, by an adequate training and test, prove their fitness for military command? It would be a substantial recognition of their loyalty which would be more acceptable to them than all the honours which titular distinctions may confer. There is no name more honoured in Indian history than that of Henry Lawrence who died in the performance of his duty. Thus wrote Henry Lawrence in the early fifties :—
 “If Asiatics and Africans can obtain honourable position in the Armies of Russia and France, surely Indians, after a tried service of a century under England's banner, are entitled to the same boon, nay justice.”

THE SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

Among the reforms which have occupied a prominent place in our programme is the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions in the administration of criminal justice. We claim to have brought it within the range of practical politics, and the question is now pending for final decision by the Government of India. A memorial was presented, by Lord Hobhouse and several other distinguished men, praying for the speedy introduction of this reform. The memorial has been forwarded to the Government of India; but no orders have yet been passed. It is with some little disappointment we notice that this question has not been included among the twelve administrative problems which Lord Curzon has selected for solution; but if it is true that justice is the bulwark of thrones and States, then there can be no more urgent or pressing consideration than a proposal which seek to improve the administration of justice in India and to relieve it of the scandals which are inseparable from the present system. The soundness of the principle which underlies the reform is admitted, but the practical difficulties in the way of giving effect to it are said to be great. In the early stages of the controversy, the reform was objected to, on the ground of expense. But Mr. Perozeshaw Metha and Mr. Dutt have satisfactorily disposed of the objections which have been raised on this score. Let me ask—has the British Government in India been ever deterred from the pursuit of any scheme upon which it set its heart, on the ground of want of funds? In a year of deficit it paid exchange compensation allowance of 62 lakhs of rupees to its European servants. In the face of heavy deficits, it kept up a military expenditure which was out of all proportion to its resources. If the security of the country against foreign invasion and domestic dissensions is a matter of supreme concern to the Government, hardly less so is the efficiency and the purity of the system under which justice is administered. But the

financial objection is manifestly untenable in these years of overflowing surpluses. For the purposes of an experiment in selected areas, it never was tenable. In Bengal the administration of justice brings in clear profit of nearly 25 lakhs of rupees a year. In the natural order of things the necessary expenditure for the improvement of the system of justice would be the first charge upon this surplus. The proposed reform is admittedly an improvement, whatever might be the executive reasons which stand in the way of its adoption. A portion of the surplus might surely be applied towards the inauguration of this experiment. But the truth is that it is not financial reasons which block the way. There are, we are told, considerations of administrative expediency—whatever that may mean—which render the separation of executive and judicial functions undesirable; and there is the fetish of prestige, to which due worship must be rendered. But prestige which is divorced from justice—which perpetuates a system which often defeats the ends of justice—is not true prestige and can never conduce to the strength or stability of Governments. The prestige theory however, though influentially supported, vanishes on the slightest examination. Commissioners of Divisions, Secretaries to Government, Members of the Board of Revenue exercise no judicial functions, and yet their prestige is much higher than that of District officers. It is altogether an irrational sentiment, the remnant of an ancient prejudice, which stands in the way of this reform. We have destroyed the outer barriers; the citadel will soon fall. Reason and equity and the conscience of the community are with us. It is the unreasoning clamour of an exclusive bureaucracy, jealously guarding its powers and its privileges, which for the moment has silenced the voice of reason. But the last word in the controversy has yet to be pronounced by the Viceroy, and we know that His Excellency is the keeper of his own conscience.

THE POLICE.

The reform of the Police is one of Lord Curzon's twelve chosen problems. His Excellency has rightly accorded to this question the prominence which it occupies. The Police is the one department of State which is in constant touch with the people, and the attitude of the people in relation to the Government is largely determined by the character of the Police. Its efficiency therefore is a matter of supreme importance. At the present moment, a Commission is sitting and is collecting evidence with a view to suggest measures for the reform of the Police. For the President of the Commission I have great respect. His conscientiousness, his sympathy with the people over whom he is placed in authority and his desire to serve them have won for him their respect and esteem. At the same time, it must freely be admitted that the representation of the Indian community on the Commission is inadequate, and the Commission evidently has not been constituted in accordance with the broad and salutary principle laid down by Lord Curzon himself. In accordance with that principle, the selection of members should have been regulated "by a careful balance of the interests and merits, not merely of individuals but of provinces, races and even of creeds." In the selection of members of the Police Commission, it is evident there has been no such careful balancing of the interests and merits of individuals and of provinces and of races and creeds, as laid down by His Excellency. However

that may be, I am quite sure there is no desire on the part of the educated community to add to the difficulties of the task which lies before the Commission by entering upon a criticism of its constitution. We desire to help the Commission, and I have no doubt your deliberations, conceived in a spirit of genuine friendliness and with a real desire to co-operate with the Commission, will be found useful by that body. The inefficiency of the Police is notorious. It is the weakest department of the Government, as the Post Office is the strongest. How to render it more efficient, introduce into it a higher sense of purity and invest it with greater dignity, so that to be a policeman would be regarded as a mark of social honour rather than of social stigma, is the problem, to which the country and the Government have applied themselves for a solution. The problem is not one which is beyond the capacity of Anglo-Indian statesmanship, aided by the experience and knowledge of a sympathetic community. Similar problems have been dealt with in the past and satisfactorily solved. There was a time, at least in Bengal, when the Subordinate Executive and Judicial Services were not as remarkable for their efficiency or integrity as they now are. But the purity of the members of these Services and their ability and devotion now place them in the front-rank among our public servants. They are an honour to themselves, to the country and the Services which they adorn. The Government of Bengal has recently recognized their worth and the quality of their services by a substantial increase of their emoluments and by the improvement of their status by the promotion of selected members to offices, reserved for the Imperial Civil Service. What has brought about this change—what is the secret of this marvellous transformation? The secret is easily learnt. It is not one of the abstruse mysteries of statesmanship. The improvement was brought about by the introduction into these Services of educated men—the products of our University, upon suitable pay and assured prospects. Follow the same principle in the reorganization of the Police, and the same results will follow. The reform will be expensive; but it must be faced with statesmanlike resolution. As the late Sir John Woodburn, whose death all Bengal mourns for his many good qualities of head and heart, said from his place in the Imperial Council, money is the crux of the whole question. The pay and prospects of the Police, especially of the investigating officers, the Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors, must be substantially improved. The supervision must be more effective. It is no exaggeration to say that the supervision now exercised by the class of officers, known as District Superintendents, is inadequate and ineffective, and the Police will continue to be open to the reproach of inefficiency, so long as the higher offices in the department are filled by Europeans, imperfectly acquainted with the language and the people and having an inadequate knowledge of law and procedure. So long as these conditions are in force, the superior officers must be pliant tools in the hands of their subordinates whom they are expected to guide and control. The subordinate police-officers, subject to little or no real supervision, wield the authority of their superiors, without any sense of their responsibilities. Far better it would be, if the office of District Superintendent was altogether abolished and the Magistrate made in reality as in name he is, the Head of the Police. Let him be relieved of his judicial work, and let him have one or two personal assistants for his Police work. Thus a common measure

of reform would add to the efficiency of the Police and bring about the separation of judicial and executive functions. From the utterances of an influential Anglo-Indian newspaper I am inclined to believe that such a reform would commend itself to both Europeans and Indians. But if the office of District Superintendent is at all to be retained, let it not be the monopoly of the incapables of influential Anglo-Indian families—the haven of their rest. Detection of crime is the principal duty of the Police—and detection in the long run means prevention. The Indian Police is notoriously wanting in detective ability, owing mainly to the higher offices in the Police being manned by Europeans, imperfectly acquainted with the language and the habits of the people. For the efficiency of the Police, therefore, it is a matter of the first importance that there should be a substantial leaven of the Indian element in the higher ranks of the Police. But here again we have to repeat the old complaint of the monopoly of the governing race and the exclusion of the children of the soil. In Bengal out of 80 District and Assistant Superintendents of Police, only 6 are natives of Bengal. For the whole of India, out of 471 Assistant and District Superintendents, only 25 are Indians and 446 are Europeans. This exclusion of our countrymen from the higher offices in the Police was never contemplated by the Public Service Commission who recommended that the recruitment for the grade of District Superintendent should be by—

(a) Limited competition amongst candidates selected in England for such portion of the appointments in each Province as the Government of India may decide to be necessary ;

(b) Limited competition amongst candidates selected in India, such candidates being carefully chosen on grounds of good physique, the knowledge of the vernacular languages prescribed for the Provincial Service, and high educational qualifications of an English kind.

(c) Promotion from the grade of Inspectors for exceptional merit and ability shown in active service.

(1) That both the competitive examinations, referred to in the foregoing recommendation, should be conducted in accordance with rules approved by the Government of India ; and

(2) That appointments to Inspectorships should, as a rule, be made from the lower grades of the force, and that in no case should outsiders be appointed to Inspectorships merely as a training-ground for the higher offices.

From both the competitive examinations, the one in India and the other in London, natives of India are excluded, though the Public Service Commission made no recommendation to that effect. We have protested against this exclusion, but all in vain. It institutes an irritating racial distinction, in conflict with the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and the avowed policy of the British Government in India. We look forward to the abolition of this distinction as one of the fruits of the labours of the Police Commission. Let there be an open competitive examination for admission to the superior Police service, subject to such rules regulating intellectual, moral and physical qualifications as may be deemed necessary, but let us not be excluded from it, because forsooth we are Indians !

BRITISH INDIANS IN NATAL.

I feel that this presidential address would not be complete, without a reference to the position of our countrymen in South Africa. They are fighting a noble battle for the removal of their disabilities in which they claim and are entitled in full measure to our sympathies. We had hoped that after their splendid behaviour in the South African War—they would be treated

with that consideration and sympathy which would be the just reward of their distinguished services. On the eve of the Boer War, we were told by Lord Lansdowne, then Secretary of State for War, that one of the reasons of the War was the unjust treatment of British Indians by the Boer Republics. The war is over; the Indians manfully did their part; never was their loyalty or their self-sacrificing devotion more conspicuous; but their disabilities continue, and the generous recognition of their services seems to be a remote, if not an uncertain prospect. The inventory of their disabilities is a melancholy record, galling to their self-respect and unworthy of those who permit them. No Indian can enter the Orange River Colony, except as a domestic servant. In the Transvaal, he is treated as an outcaste, one whom society barely tolerates, and every circumstance of his life is so ordained by a beneficent administration that he is reminded at each stage, in almost every function of his daily life, that he is the representative of an inferior race, and that on no account should he be oblivious of the artificial status, thus forced upon him by superior authority. He cannot by law walk on the footpaths or travel first or second class on the Railways. He must live in locations set apart for him, and must possess no property except in these locations. As if the measure of his degradation was not full, he must carry a pass, and finally in the spirit of the Curfew Regulations of William the Conqueror, he must not be out after 9 o'clock in the evening. Never was there a more complete code of sanitary and moral regulations than what the late Transvaal Government devised for the benefit of British Indians. It has come to the British rulers of the Transvaal as a legacy; and it is allowed to blot the statute-book and sully the fair fame of British administration. The state of things in Natal is not much better. Nothing is more repugnant to the spirit of British laws or the genius of British institutions than irrigating distinctions, founded upon race or colour. Yet such distinctions are ruthlessly enforced against British Indians in Natal, under the colour of British laws administered by British officers. Indian youths are debarred from the Government schools in Natal. British Indians cannot enter Natal, unless they have a knowledge of one of the European languages. A recent measure imposes on the minor children of indentured Indians a tax of £3 per year, unless they return to India on the termination of their parents' indentures. It is useless to pile up the list. It is a goodly catalogue of disabilities; and all Indians, be they coolies or be they Princes, are treated with the same impartial justice—the same status for all—the same disabilities operative in the case of all, working with the persistency and uniformity of the dispensations of nature. It is melancholy to have to reflect that the South African legislators should have so little knowledge of India and the circumstances of Indian life as to confound the coolie with the cultured Indian, the aboriginal inhabitant, with the representative of a civilization, older than any which the memory of man can recall, and in comparison to which the civilization and culture of Europe are but of yesterday. But the darkest cloud has its silver lining. The firm attitude of the Secretary of State inspires us with the hope and the confidence that he will not permit the perpetuation of disabilities which he regards with strong disapproval and just indignation. The stoppage of the importation of Indian labour would seriously handicap the trade and industries of South Africa.

Such a step is not lightly to be thought of; nor is it to be regarded as being altogether beyond the domain of practical politics. A supreme necessity may call for a supreme remedy. The Secretary of State is in the place of the Great Moghal, with powers and responsibilities far greater than ever belonged to the most illustrious of that race. The welfare of India and the honour of the Indian peoples are entrusted to his care and keeping, and I am sure he will not permit them to be treated as worse than helots, on a par with African sages, when, by the exercise of his undoubted constitutional authority, he can ensure to them a better and more considerate treatment. We also look forward to the very best results from Mr. Chamberlain's visit to South Africa, for as Mr. John Morley has truly observed that no one is more qualified by genius and temperament to reconcile conflicting interests, to heal the animosities engendered by racial strife and to lay broad and deep the foundations of a new political structure in South Africa, where equal rights and equal privileges shall be the heritage of all British subjects.

THE CONGRESS—ITS MISSION.

To-day we begin our work for the 18th Session of the Congress. The mind is spontaneously carried back to the past—to the trials we have endured, the labours we have undergone, the disappointments we have suffered and the triumphs we have achieved. The time has not yet arrived for the final judgment, for the authoritative pronouncement of history, on the work of the Congress. We are yet in the midst of our journey, our long long journey, through the dreary wilderness, which is to carry us to the Promised Land. Many will not enter Cannan. Some choice spirits have already fallen in the grand march. Many more will yet fall before the journey is accomplished and the darkness of night gives place to the dawning of the new day. Some of us who cannot promise to ourselves length of days can only anticipate with the eye of hope and faith the blessings of the Promised Land. But the faith that is in us is strong and the hope that inspires us is proof against all disappointments—all reverses. We have an undying faith, as strong as ever inspired a prophet or a priest, that the cause to which we are pledged, will, in the ordering of Providence, triumph over all difficulties, outlive all prejudices, leading us onward and upward, inspiring at each stage a loftier devotion, and developing a truer manhood, until the regenerated man claims and asserts his political franchise as at once his birth-right and the just tribute of his higher nature. For myself, I believe the Congress has a divine mission. It is a dispensation of Almighty God for the unification of our peoples and the permanence of British rule in India. Thus we are gathered together under the ægis of an organization, political in its character and in its scope, but drawing its strength and its inspiration from those ever-living fountains which flow from the footsteps of the throne of the Supreme. Shreekrishna—the divinely-inspired Shreekrishna—who has his shrine at Dwarika in the Province of Guzerat, in his memorable admonition to Arjuna on the battle-field of *Kurukshetra*, said *Karma is Dharma* (good deeds constitute religion). Is there a holier *Dharma*, a nobler religion, a diviner mandate than that which enjoins that our most sacred duty which has a paramouncy over all others, is the duty which we owe to the land of our birth.

What are trials—what are delays, what are disappointments—what is even the cankering worry of vexation in the presence of this consecrated task? They are the necessary incidents of the struggle in which we are engaged—the ordeal of fire through which we must pass—the purificatory stage which must qualify us for the rich blessings that are in store for us. They will strengthen our fibre, develop our manhood, ennoble our nature and call forth whatever is good and great in us. The chastening discipline of adverse circumstances is the necessary apprenticeship for the splendid heritage to which we aspire. We ought to thank God on our knees that the discipline is so mild—the sacrifice entailed so insignificant. Read the ensanguined pages of history—note the trail of blood and the hecatombs of mangled corpses, with all their attendant horror and desolation, which mark the line along which victorious movements of reform have careered their triumphant way. We live in happier times, under more fortunate circumstances, under the beneficent protection of a rule which affords the widest tolerance for the widest differences of opinion and evinces the deepest sympathy for all constitutional struggles for constitutional liberty. Yet we have our trials and our disappointments. The forces of reaction are now in the ascendant. The cause of progress has met with a temporary check. For the moment we have been worsted. For the moment we have lost ground. But we Congress-men never confess to a defeat. We bide our time in the firm conviction that the turn in the tide will come and the forces which make for progress will once again assert their undisputed supremacy.

THE NEW IMPERIALISM.

Imperialism blocks the way. Imperialism is now the prevailing creed. Imperialism has always been synonymous with autocracy—the rule of the despotic monarch or of the victorious general who has made his way to sovereign power. In ancient Rome, as in modern France, Imperialism meant the supersession of popular authority and the establishment of one-man authority. British Imperialism does not indeed imply the extinction of British democracy. It means self-government for Great Britain and her Colonies, autocracy for the rest of the British Empire. What its latent possibilities are it is impossible to say. Whether in its further developments, it will lead to the curtailment of democratic power is one of those secrets, hidden deep in the bosom of time, regarding which even the most confident predictions may prove futile. But all history bears record that the extension of territory and power over subject-races is fatal to popular Government. Let us not however speculate about the future. British Imperialism implies the closer union—the more intimate federation between the English-speaking subjects of His Majesty. We stand outside the pale of federation. We are not admitted into this inner sanctuary of freedom. We are not permitted to enter the threshold of the Holy of Holies. We are privileged only to serve and to admire from a distance. As a part of the Empire, we sent out troops to South Africa, and they saved Natal. As a part of the Empire, we sent out troops to China, and our Indian soldiery planted the imperial standard on the walls of Peking. Our loyalty is admittedly so genuine, so deep and so intensely realistic that even the Secretary of State had no conception of it. All the same, we are not the children of the Empire,

entitled to its great constitutional privileges. We are Utilanders in the land of our birth, worse than helots in the British Colonies. Our countrymen in Natal, whose splendid behaviour during the late war was the subject of unstinted praise, are still exposed to a degrading treatment which is galling to their self-respect and discreditable to those who permit it. British Imperialism which is so sedulous in exalting British greatness is not equally sedulous in opening up to us the possibilities of our greatness. British Imperialism which seeks to draw closer the bonds of union between the mother-country and the Colonies has literally done nothing to cement the loyalty or deepen the gratitude of the Indian people. I would welcome an Imperialism which would draw us nearer to Britain by the ties of a common citizenship and which would enhance our self-respect, by making us feel that we are participators in the priceless heritage of British freedom. But we are as yet very far from this blessed consummation. In India Imperialism has accentuated the forces of reaction and has engendered a love of pomp and show which is apt to encourage extravagance and to withdraw attention from the graver issues of domestic reform. We are not therefore prepared to welcome the new Imperialism in the form and garb in which it appears to us. Mr. Gladstone's sound Liberalism, with its strenuous persistency in the matter of domestic reform, with its thorough recognition of England's grave responsibilities in relation to India, would be to us far more acceptable than the Imperialism which indulges in expensive pageants, but which turns a deaf ear to the cry of the coolies in the tea-gardens of Assam, which often subordinates our interests to other interests and which relies for the justification of imperial rule upon the pomp and circumstances of imperial grandeur rather than upon the solid and enduring basis of truly imperial achievements.

A DESPONDING VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

I have no doubt that the new Imperialism is a passing phrenzy which the robust common sense of the English people will ere long discountenance and that it will soon pass away, like so many of the varying fashions of the hour. But whether that be so or not, we must be sleepless in our vigilance and unremitting in our efforts to stem the tide and roll it back. We have no reasons to be discouraged. The past ought to stimulate us and to stir us into new enthusiasm. Ours is a brilliant record. I claim for the Congress that it has never taken up a question which it has not brought within the range of practical politics. You took up the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions. The matter is awaiting consideration by the Government of India. You agitated for the reform of the Police. A Police Commission is now sitting to elaborate a scheme of Police reform. You insisted in season and out of season upon the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service. The Public Service Commission was appointed; and though much remains to be done, the impetus you communicated to the movement will produce enduring results. Last but not least, your crowning triumph was the introduction of the representative principle into the Government of the country. But your moral achievements, though less palpable and obtrusive, are a yet more enduring monument of your public spirit and your self-sacrificing devotion. You have created a new spirit and have infused a new life into our people. You have brought together the varied

and multitudinous races and peoples of India upon the same common platform and have inspired them with a lofty sense of patriotism. You have established a new bond of sympathy among them and their leaders and have taught them the value of organized effort, with all the infinite possibilities of good attendant thereon.

Yet there are those who take a desponding view of the situation—who say that our methods are faulty, that we have wasted our time and our breath, or that at any rate the results achieved have not been commensurate to the sacrifices incurred or the efforts put forth. There are moments of despondency which cast their shadows over the noblest and most unselfish natures, when the spirit appalled at the sacrifices made shrinks back at the contemplation of the disproportioned achievement. In the anguish of disappointment, the question is asked—what is the good of persevering in methods and in sacrifices, when the outturn of them all is so insignificant? I confess I have nothing but respect for those who, with the utmost good-will for the Congress and ceaseless in their endeavours for the public weal, are sometimes apt to indulge in these sombre reflections. But I ask—has the time come for the final judgment? I ask—are the results inadequate? Even if they were—what are 20 years in the lifetime of a nation? The triumphs of liberty are not won in a day. Liberty is a jealous goddess, exacting in her worship and claiming from her votaries prolonged and assiduous devotion. Read history. Learn from it the inestimable lesson of patience and fortitude and the self-sacrificing devotion which a constitutional struggle for constitutional liberty involves. Need I impress these lessons upon a people who have presented to the world the noblest examples of these virtues? Every page of Indian history is resplendent with the touch of self-abnegation. In seasons of doubt and despair when darkness thickens upon us, when the journey before us seems to be long and weary and the soul sinks under the accumulating pressure of adverse circumstances, may we not turn for inspiration and guidance to those great teachers of our race—those master-spirits—who, with their hearts aglow with the divine enthusiasm, triumphed over the failing spirit, faced disappointment and persecution with the serenity of a higher faith and lived to witness the complete realization of their ideals? Chaitanya and Nanak, Tukaram and Ram Das lift the mind high up to the sublimer eminence of the divine ideal. India of the past is rich in these examples. May we not hope for their successors in the India of the present, in the India of the Congress, in the India under British rule, with all the stirring influences of Western life and civilization? The responsibilities of the present, the hopes of the future, the glories of the past ought all to inspire us with the noblest enthusiasm to serve our country. Is there a land more worthy of service and sacrifice? Where is a land more interesting, more venerated in antiquity, more rich in historic traditions, in the wealth of religious, ethical and spiritual conceptions which have left an enduring impress on the civilization of mankind? India is the cradle of two religions. It is the holy land of the East. Here knowledge first lit her torch. Here, in the morning of the world, the Vedic Rishis sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the divine ideal. Here was developed a literature and a language which still excites the admiration of mankind—a philosophy which pondered deep over the problems of life and evolved

solutions which satisfied the highest yearnings of the loftiest minds. Here, man first essayed to solve the mystery of life, and the solution wrapped in the rich colours of the poetic imagination, and clothed with the deeper significance of a higher spiritual idea, bids fair, thanks to the genius of the greatest Hindoo scientist of the age, to be accepted by the world of science. From our shores went forth those missionaries who fired with apostolic fervour traversed the wilds of Asia and established the ascendancy of that faith which is the law and the religion of the nations of the far East. Japan is our spiritual pupil. China and Siberia and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago turn with reverend eyes to the land where was born the prophet of their faith. Our pupils have out-distanced us; and where are we, hesitating, doubting, calculating, casting up moral results to satisfy ourselves that our gains have been commensurate to our sacrifices. Such indeed has not been the royal road to political enfranchisement. The triumphs of liberty have not thus been won. Japan is an object-lesson which thrusts itself upon the view. Read her history; note her wonderful self-sacrifice, her marvellous power of adaptation, her patience, her fortitude, her indomitable energy and persistency, and let the most ancient of Eastern nations derive inspiration and guidance from the youngest which has solved the riddle of Asiatic life and has harmonized the conservatism of the East with the progressive forces of the West.

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.

In the constitutional struggle in which we are engaged, we need the co-operation of Englishmen the sympathies of civilized mankind. It is England which has created in us those political aspirations, the fruition of which we now claim. Our minds are steeped in the literature of the West. Our souls have been stirred by the great models of public virtue which the pages of English history so freely present. Where shall we find the like of them? Their sobriety, their moderation, their lofty enthusiasm for the public good, their scrupulous regard for constitutional principles, even amid the fervour and heat of revolutionary agitation, place them in the front-rank of political leaders for all times and all countries. Englishmen must accept the consequences of their own policy—they must cheerfully face the results which are the outcome of their own beneficent administration. They must gratify the ambitions which they have roused and adapt their administration to the altered conditions which are of their own creation. They have taught us the principle of adaptation to the environments of our situation, and they must not complain, if we, as their apt pupils, invite them to reduce to practice what they enforce by precept. We have no higher aspiration than that we should be admitted into the great confederacy of self-governing states, of which England is the august mother. We recognize that the journey towards the destined goal must necessarily be slow and that the blessed consummation can only be attained after prolonged preparation and laborious apprenticeship. But a beginning has to be made, and there seems to me no more suitable time for inaugurating this new departure, for commemorating the new epoch which is to mark the birth of an emancipated people than the commencement of the new reign. The Victorian epoch, memorable in its achievements, is still more

memorable in the generous impulse to human freedom which it communicated in all parts of the world. We shared in full measure the beneficent influences of that epoch. Our disabilities were removed, our rights were extended, higher ideals of Government were recognized and a loftier conception of imperial duty enforced. A succession of illustrious Viceroys imparted an impetus to this beneficent movement. To the new Sovereign, to whom on his Coronation we offer our respectful salutations, we appeal to commemorate his glorious reign by the still further expansion of those great traditions of government which have been consecrated by the example of his illustrious mother and which more than British arms have contributed to the solidarity of the British Empire. We have a special claim upon His Majesty's sympathetic consideration. The recollections of his Indian tour are to us a grateful memory. We know him. He knows us. His Majesty's feelings in relation to us are those of personal good-will. Our feelings in relation to him are those of personal attachment and devotion, emphasized by the recollections of his general warmth, his truly kingly benignity, his royal condescension, his generous concern for all placed under his authority. The words of the Proclamation are still ringing in our ears, consecrated by the breath of his illustrious mother, our late Sovereign. We have His Majesty's assurance that he proposes to follow the traditions of his great mother, that the happiness of the Princes and the people of India would be to him matters of the highest concern and that he would endeavour to promote the general well-being of all classes of his Indian subjects and thus merit their loyalty and affection. We appeal to His Majesty to enthrone himself in the hearts of his people and to lay broad and deep the foundations of his Empire, by the practical recognition of the claims of the people of India to a just and adequate representation in the Government of their country, by the gradual extension to them of that system of Self-Government which has been the invariable accompaniment of British power and civilization and which, wherever it has been granted, has been the strongest bulwark of imperial rule and has evoked the affectionate gratitude of the people. Under the beneficent influences of Self-Government, alien races, hostile to the British connection, have been transformed into loyal and devoted subjects of the Crown. We need no such transformation. We are already sufficiently loyal, sufficiently attached to the British connection. But we are anxious for the permanence of British rule—for our permanent incorporation into the great confederacy of the British Empire. The present system of Government necessarily represents a transition. All history proclaims the truth that autocratic power is devoid of the elements of permanence and that authority to be permanent must be planted deep in the affections of the people and derive its sustaining breath from the vitalizing springs of popular enthusiasm. The voice of the people is the voice of God; and the right divine to rule is based on the unchangeable foundations of the love, the gratitude, the devotion of a people, evoked by the consciousness that they share with their rulers the responsibilities of Government. Despotism represents a stage of transition, the period of which should not be unnecessarily prolonged. But transition must give place to permanence. All signs point to the conclusion that the period of reconstruction has now arrived. The forces are there; the materials are there; they lie in shapeless masses. Where is the man of genius who will communicate to them the vital sparks

and transform them into a new and a higher and a grander organization, suited to our present requirements and fraught with the hopes of a higher life for us and a nobler era for British rule in India? The statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain, bent upon the work of reconstruction and consolidation in South Africa, will pale before the splendour of this crowning achievement. We plead for the permanence of British rule in India. We plead for the gradual reconstruction of that ancient and venerated system which has given to India, law and order and the elements of stable peace. We plead for justice and liberty—for equal rights and enlarged privileges—for our participation in the citizenship of the Empire; and I am sure we do not plead in vain; for the Empire, thus reconstituted and reorganized, will be stronger, nobler, richer, far in the love, the gratitude, the enthusiastic devotion of a happy and contented people, rejoicing in their indissoluble union with England and glorying in the rich promises of steady and uninterrupted progress towards their high destinies, under the protection and guidance of that great people, to whom in the counsels of Providence has been assigned the high mission and the consecrated task of disseminating among the nations of the earth, the great, the priceless, the inestimable blessing of constitutional liberty (loud and prolonged cheers).

The President informed the Delegates that the next business was to select their representatives for the Subjects Committee. Their names should be sent up to the Secretary.

The delegates representing each of the Congress circles then handed in slips, bearing the names of delegates chosen by them to represent the respective circles on the Subjects Committee, which were read out by Mr. J. Ghosal.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

The following are the names of the members of the Subjects Committee and the Congress circles they represent, which were approved by the Congress unanimously.

EX-OFFICIO.

Hon. Surendranath Bannerjee—*President.*

Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerial—*Chairman of the Reception Committee.*

Mr. Govindrao A. Patil—*General Secretary, Reception Committee.*

(1) Calcutta.

Calcutta 1 Mr. J. Ghosal.

„ 2 „ Choudhury.

24 Pergunnas Pandit Kaliprasanna Kavyabishrad.

Burdwan 1 Mr. Mohini Mohan Mitter.

„ 2 „ Moulvee Abool Kasim.

„ 3 „ Upendranath Sen.

„ 4 „ Sanat Kumar Choudhury.

„ 5 „ Bepin Behari Ghose.

„ 6 „ Sarat Chandra Bose.

(2) Bhagalpore.

- 1 Mr. Rash Behari Lal Mandal.
- 2 „ Amrit Nath Mitter.
- 3 „ Ramoni Mohan Sen.

(3) Purneah.

Mr. Jagendra Nath Mukerji.

(4) Faridpore.

Mr. Ambicacharan Mazumdar.

(5) Berhampore.

The Hon'ble Mr. Baikuntha Nath Sen.

(6) Dinajpur district.

Mr. Madhoo Sudan Roy.

(7) Chota Nagpore.

Mr. Jagendra Nath Ghose.

(8) Barisal.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Guha.

(9) Madras.

Madras 1 The Hon'ble Mr. Sankaran Nair.

„ 2 The Hon. Mr. K. Perraju.

„ 3 „ „ „ G. Shrinivasrao.

„ 4 „ „ „ L. A. Govindraghava Iyer.

„ 5 Mr. Paul Piter Pillai.

„ 6 „ C. Y. Chintamani.

„ 7 „ A. Krishnamacheri.

„ 8 „ B. Krishnaswami Iyengar.

„ 9 „ K. Venkatappiah.

(10) Tanjore.

Mr. G. Subramani Iyer.

(11) Southern Malbar.

Mr. M. Krishnan Nair.

(12) United province.

Allahabad 1 Mr. S. Sinha.

„ 2 „ The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya.

(13) Oudh.

Babu Gangaprasad Varma.

(14) Central Provinces.

- Nagpur 1 Rao Bahadur Rajaram Sitaram Dikshit.
 „ 2 Ra. Ra. Krishnarao Fatak.
 „ 3 „ „ Rajji Kashinath Gokhle.
 „ 4 „ „ M. K. Padhye.
 „ 5 The Hon. Mr. H. S. Dikshit.

(15) Berar Circle.

- 1 Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagwat.
 2 Mr. V. M. Mahajani.
 3 „ R. V. Mahajani.

(16) Poona.

- 1 The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhle.
 2 Mr. N. C. Kelkar.
 3 „ V. K. Bhagwat.

(17) Ichalkaranji.

- 1 Mr. V. K. Mainker.
 2 „ A. V. Patwardhan.
 3 „ G. R. Abhyanker.

(18) Dharwar.

Mr. S. B. Bhagwat.

(19) Belgaum.

Mr. V. R. Natu.

(20) Sholapur.

Mr. V. R. Lele.

(21) Bombay.

- 1 The Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta, C.I.E.
 2 Mr. D. E. Wacha.
 3 The Hon. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.
 4 The Hon. Mr. Goculdass Kahandass Parekh.
 5 Mr. C. H. Setalvad.
 6 „ Rustum K. R. Kama.
 7 „ Vithaldass Damodar Thakersy.

- 8 Mr. Vasanjee Khimjee.
- 9 „ Narandass Purshotamdass.
- 10 „ Lallubhai Samaldass.
- 11 „ Mansuklal M. Munshi.
- 12 „ S. D. Khote.
- 13 „ V. M. Gadgil.
- 14 „ N. M. Samarth.
- 15 „ R. B. Mazumdar.
- 16 „ M. K. Patel.
- 17 „ Dinshaw J. Vakil.
- 18 „ D. G. Padhye.
- 19 „ K. M. Javeri.
- 20 „ Jamiatram N. Haridass.
- 21 „ M. N. Thakur.
- 22 „ N. B. Ranade.
- 23 „ Bhaishanker Nanabhai.
- 24 „ Madhavjee Virjee.
- 25 „ V. M. Pakvasa.
- 26 „ B. N. Bhajeker.
- 27 „ V. S. Pimpurkar.
- 28 „ D. V. Belvi.

(22) Sindh.

Mr. A. M. Advani.

(23) Surat.

- 1 Mr. Hardeoram Nanabhai Haridass.
- 2 „ Chunital Maneklal Gandhi.
- 3 „ Chhanmukharam K. Mehta.
- 4 „ Markand Nandshanker Mehta.
- 5 „ Manoobhai Nanabhai Haridass.
- 6 „ Prasannavadan Motabhai Desai.
- 7 „ Navalvadan K. Mehta.
- 8 „ Girdharlal H. Desai.
- 9 „ Dahyabhai D. Dave.
- 10 „ Pranlal T. Choksi.

(24) Ahmedabad.

- 1 Nagarsheth Chimanlal Lalbhai.
- 2 Sheth Mansukbhai Bhagoobhai.
- 3 Sheth Jeysingbhai Hathising.

- 4 Mr. P. M. Hathising.
- 5 Sheth Virchund Dipchund, C. I. E.
- 6 ,, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai.
- 7 R. B. Motilal Lalbhai.
- 8 ,, ,, Keshavlal Hiralal.
- 9 Sheth Mangaldass Girdhardass.
- 10 Mr. Shivabhai M. Patel.
- 11 ,, R. M. Nilkanth.
- 12 ,, C. N. Thakore.
- 13 ,, Dahyabhai Ijatram.
- 14 ,, C. L. Patel.
- 15 ,, Navalshanker N. Shukal.
- 16 ,, Mulchund A. Shah.
- 17 ,, Navnidhrai N. Mehta.
- 18 ,, C. K. Shah.
- 19 ,, Thakorlal H. Desai.
- 20 ,, Gopalrao R. Dabholker.
- 21 Dr. Joseph Benjamin.
- 22 ,, Solomon A. Erulkar.
- 23 ,, Uttamram K. Trivedi.
- 24 ,, L. A. Shah.
- 25 ,, J. V. Desai.
- 26 Sheth Abdul Tayeb Ismaljee Siamvala.
- 27 Mr. Chandabhai Miyakhan.
- 28 ,, Gulam Husen Miyakhan.
- 29 Sheth Abdul Latiff Saffre.
- 30 Mr. P. K. Karanjawala.
- 31 ,, D. D. Kadaka.
- 32 ,, J. D. Mehta.
- 33 Dr. Jamnadass Premchund.
- 34 Sheth Chimanbhai Nagindass.
- 35 Mr. D. P. Derasari.
- 36 ,, Maganbhai Chaturbhai.
- 37 ,, J. B. Patel.
- 38 ,, Verajrai Sakerlal.
- 39 ,, C. P. Broker.
- 40 ,, A. K. Sethna.
- 41 ,, G. H. Mehta.
- 42 ,, James Graham.
- 43 ,, John Taylor.
- 44 ,, John Hutton.

- 45 Mr. S. Tong.
 46 „ John J. Hill.
 47 „ S. N. Pandit.
 48 „ D. B. Shukla.
 49 „ H. B. Shukla.
 50 „ M. M. Doshi.
 51 „ Madhorai R. Baxi.
 52 „ A. R. Baxi.
 53 „ K. M. Dave.
 54 „ G. M. Tripathi.
 55 „ Tansukhram Mansukhram.
 56 „ G. D. Talati.
 57 „ Krishnalal Lallubhai.
 58 „ Punjabhai Someshwar.
 59 „ Nathubhai Motichund.
 60 „ Sorabjee D. Kadaka.

The President then adjourned the Meeting to 12 noon of the following day. The Subjects Committee were requested to meet in the Congress Pavillion in the evening at 5-30 p.m. for the purpose of arranging the business for the next day.

(Second day Wednesday, 24th December 1902).

After the President had taken his seat, the Congress Anthem was sung by Mrs. Ramanbhai Nilkanth and friends. Mr. Ghosal having read out the usual rules of procedure for the conduct of the business, the President moved the First Resolution as follows :—

Gentlemen, the first resolution I have the honor to move from the chair does not need many words from me to commend it to your unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance (cheers). It appears the solemn duty which we owe to the throne as a symbol of our National unity (cheers)—and the embodiment of our hopes and aspirations (hear, hear). The resolution is expressive of the deep-seated loyalty, which pervades the educated communities (cheers). It is the efforts of those communities and of the Congress, which have done so much to stimulate it (cheers). It constitutes the strongest and the most powerful bulwark of the Imperial rule in British India (hear, hear). I will not say one word more, but will proceed to read the resolution. I trust that in carrying this resolution you will signify your assent to it by standing up as a special mark of honour to the Gracious Sovereign, under whose rule and protection we live (cheers). I read the resolution which runs as follows :—

“ That the Congress begs to tender its respectful homage to His Most Gracious Majesty, King-Emperor Edward VII, on the occasion of the approaching Coronation Durbar to be held at Delhi on 1st January 1903, and humbly trusts that His Majesty's reign will be an era of peace, prosperity and

contentment throughout the Empire and will be marked by the gradual but complete redemption of the pledges contained in Her late Majesty's Proclamation and reaffirmed in His Majesty's Gracious Message to the Indian people."

(The resolution was passed by acclamation, the whole assembly rising to their feet).

The President then declared the resolution carried (cheers). When three empire cheers to His Majesty the King-Emperor were given the President said :—

I think I anticipate your wishes when I say that we will give the Joint General Secretaries authority to send a telegram of this resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy. (Unanimous cry from the Hall : Yes.)

The President—You do authorize ?

Again a cry from the hall : Yes.

The President : The next resolution which is to be put from the chair runs as follows :—

"That this Congress wishes to place on record its great regret at the death of Mr. R. M. Sayani one of its past Presidents and of Mr. Ranga Naidu of Madras who did valuable services in various capacities to the interests of this country" (cheers).

I take it that this resolution also meets with your unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance. The resolution is carried unanimously. I think that you will also authorize the Secretaries to convey this resolution to the members of the families of the gentlemen. I now call upon Mr. G. Subramaniya Iyer of Madras to move the Third Resolution (cheers).

Mr. Subramaniya Iyer (Madras) in moving the Third Resolution said :—

GEN

Third Resolution.

"That the Congress earnestly desires to draw the attention of the Government of India to the great poverty of the Indian people, which, in the opinion of the Congress, is mainly due to the decline of indigenous arts and manufactures, to the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years, and to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity large numbers are forced to throw themselves on State help. And the Congress recommends the following amongst other remedial measures :—

- (1) That practical steps in the shape of State encouragement be taken for the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures and for the introduction of new industries.
- (2) That Government be pleased to establish technical schools and colleges at important centres throughout the country.
- (3) That the permanent settlement be extended to such parts of the country, as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India's Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that reduction of and judicial restrictions on over-assessments, be imposed in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the permanent settlement.
- (4) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped at least in part by a much wider employment of the children of the soil in the higher branches of the public service.
- (5) That Agricultural Banks be established for the better organization of rural credit and for enabling solvent agriculturists to obtain loans on comparatively easy terms."

other lines. It is a most unfortunate event that a country like India, which ought to be one of the richest countries in this world, happens to be one of the poorest. Not only with regard to its natural circumstances, the fertility of its soil, its climate, and the quality of the people, but in regard to other circumstances also, this country ought to be one of the richest countries in the world ; because no other country possesses the peculiar combination of the circumstances I have referred to. There are countries in the world, which are occupied by new colonies or settlements of people. There the soil is virgin and as only a handful of people go and settle there for the first time, naturally their first industry is that of agriculture. But they have no market where the large quantities of their agricultural produce can be absorbed, and they have necessarily to export them to other countries. Even in America and Prussia, this is the case. In Canada, from time immemorial, there have been such natural and other facilities for the enormous production of their agricultural wealth. Let us manufacture all the articles of import, and consume them within the four corners of our land. There is such a large population in our country, of various tastes and requirements for luxuries that whatever you produce in our country may be sold away in our own country. An Australian visitor once said that in India, there was not one requirement of man which could not be produced in the country and sold in the country. Ladies and Gentlemen, there is one great difficulty that embarrasses us, and that is the difficulty about money. You know very well that it is our sincere conviction and belief that India has not been always so poor as she is now. There was a time when the population of India was in such a prosperous condition as to rouse the envy and admiration of foreign visitors, and there was also a time, when in India the arts and manufactures of various kinds were in a highly prosperous condition ; but now that condition is just the reverse, and naturally to all thoughtful people it occurs to inquire how it is that that change has taken place. The History of India during the past two hundred years says that mostly this unfortunate change has been due to the political causes which have operated in our country. I need not say what took place in the earliest years of the administration of India by the East India Company.....How from the very beginning it had been its policy to use its political powers for the advancement of commercial interests of the ruling country, and how it was laid down at the very beginning that it ought to be the policy of the representatives of that Company here, to discourage as much as possible the manufacturing industries of India and to encourage as much as possible her agricultural industry. That was a policy from which it was expected that India would find raw material for the manufacturing industries of England, and that is a policy which, being continued to-day, has led to the extinction of the indigenous industries and arts of this country. Gentlemen, you will excuse me if I observe that that policy now stands in the way of the Government of India taking prompt and adequate steps to alter the state of things that is brought about. What we want is that the Government of India, in order that India may become prosperous once more, should reverse their policy which has gone on for over two hundred years, and adopt a policy by which the resources of this country may be utilized not only to supply the necessaries of the people, but also to supply their luxuries and comforts. The resources of the country should be utilized not for

the benefit of foreign countries but for the benefit of the people of this country itself. (hear, hear). This resolution prays that on the score of industrial economies, our people should be allowed, with their own capital and their own means, to supply the wants of the people of the country by using its own raw material. When people talk of the industrial development of the country, I think they mean the revival and the development of its indigenous arts and manufactures. There are some who may attach a different meaning to that term. . . . Some may mean by it the improvement of the mechanical arts, and so forth. We have to see where our necessities are the most pressing, in what direction the reform will produce the best results, and how we are going to bring about, within the nearest possible time, a change for the better in the present deplorable condition of our country. Some people say "Let us make our labourers more skilful workers." Other people say "Improve the mechanical arts and industries of the country." Others again say "You must begin higher; you must establish colleges and political schools, where people will receive the highest political and special training that may be possibly given." . . . Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not propose to decide which of these is the more preferable course. There are industries ready to hand, in the country which are being carried on by aliens, with alien capital, and with alien skill. We have not the means, the requisite knowledge and the requisite experience to carry on those industries. If you only train about a dozen of our young men, if you only send them to foreign countries, and if they study the arts and industries that are already in existence there, a great quantity of useful work can be done. In the Kolar school there are classes readily equipped, which are ready to take the Indian students if only sufficient help is given to them. In regard to the coal-mining industry, I know that the coal-miners regret that there are no Indian gentlemen, qualified to be employed as engineers, for if they could get such men they could make a saving in the high salaries now paid to their European employes. We have the capacity, and there is nothing to prevent the establishment of an institution, where our young men can be trained in this mining industry. I need not say anything about the weaving industry, which affords an enormously wide scope to the hopes and aspirations of many of our young men. There are several industries springing up by the exploitation of European capital and European skill; each one of these industries will prove far more profitable to us, if our young men can be employed therein—Government think they are doing very great service, in fact the only thing that can be done for the benefit of India—by placing every possible temptation in the way of foreign capital being invested in this country to develop its industries. The question is put point-blank to them "What earthly good are these industries doing us?" They say "Look at the vast number of coolies engaged in those industries." I have carefully calculated the number of these coolies, which is two millions. Take the gold mines of Kolar, which are being worked with European capital during the last twenty years. They are working these mines day and night, and they bring out twenty crores rupees worth of gold every year. And what do they do with this gold? It is bodily transported to another country. It does not remain here; it is not allowed to remain here. At this rate, in another twenty or thirty years, they would bring out of the womb of the earth of this country,

all the gold that is obtainable therein and carry it bodily to a distant country ; and then what will remain to the people of Mysore will be nothing except stones and broken chatties (hear, hear). As a free country we should be given chances for obtaining improved training, so that we may at least join our European capitalists, and take a share of the wealth which by right belongs to our own and not to other people. (hear, hear). The Government are our guardians, and have no right to allow others to interfere in our industries. It is their duty to keep them intact for us till we become fit to enjoy and improve them. But that policy does not commend itself to the State. Therefore we pray that the State should encourage the revival of the Indian industries and give us industrial education. Let them give us scientific and skilful training, so that we can go forth in the factories directly as expert managers and advisors and take part in the production of manufactured articles here instead of exporting raw material to foreign countries and importing articles manufactured out of that raw material. Ladies and Gentlemen, as the question of exploitation the first step is taken by that great philanthropist, Mr. J. N. Tata (loud cheers), whose singularly munificent donation has been hanging fire for four years. Government ought to welcome Mr. Tata's enterprise with great pleasure and thoughtfulness (hear, hear), so as to bring it to fruition at an early day. I would not detain you much longer. There is one thing however that I would like to speak about here. It is not proper to deny that there is capital in the country. The difference between this and other countries is that our capital lies scattered in small amounts all over the country in 20s, 30s and 100s of rupees in the hands of thousands of people. There are savings in the hands of these people which are not absolutely necessary. If this capital can be made available for commercial and industrial puposes, the question of capital is half solved—you can therefrom provide funds for the banking facilities of our people. It is not the case that our country is wanting in such bankers. At least the people of Guzerat can answer this question favourably. But there is some difference in the European system of banking and our system of banking. Gentlemen, the difference in the European and our systems of banking is this : The Europeans combine together and get up capital by means of contributions from a large number of shareholders. Their capital is money belonging to a large number of people. And they conduct their business on the joint-stock principle. We, in this country have individual bankers who deal in money on their own account more or less, and when a particular banker has got no money for a particular important purpose for which money is badly wanted he has to go without it. We should, therefore, induce our bankers to place their resources under an organized system, and so a large amount of money will be available for industrial purposes. That will be an excellent reform indeed, and it is not hard to bring it about. It is only a question of effort. Our bankers belong to the intelligent classes and if they can be persuaded to put their capital together (hear, hear), the great banking question will be solved. As regards the agricultural banks we want them for agricultural as well as for industrial purposes. We want them for the benefit of the agricultural classes as also for that of the industrial classes, for funds are sometimes required for special industrial purposes also. With these words, Ladies and Gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your acceptance (cheers).

The Hon. Mr. Perraju (Madras), in seconding the above resolution said : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, in seconding the resolution which has been so ably put forward before you, I will confine myself to one aspect of the problem and one aspect only. The policy that had been followed mercilessly during the days of the East India Company has compelled the people of the land to fall entirely upon the land alone. At present the land tilled and occupied by our peasant proprietors, exceeds 262 millions. The whole land in Bengal, permanently settled, pays on an average the land revenue of two-thirds of a Rupee and that of the North-West Provinces, one rupee twelve annas per rupee. In Madras land temporarily settled pays the land revenue which exceeds Rs. 2 per acre while the land revenue upon periodically settled land ranges from 12 to 30 years. Taking the more recent example in the Madras Presidency, in Malabar, in the 3 settlements, the land revenue was raised to 125% (shame).

In the Central Provinces the first settlement was made in 1860 when 50% of the land revenue was demanded as public revenue; at the time of the resettlement 75% was demanded as Government land revenue. Even in the famine-stricken areas the rent was enhanced from 25% to 105%. In Bombay the land revenue was very high, exceeding 25 or 30%. Sir Antony MacDonnel's Commission says that the land revenue in Bombay is high—certainly higher than it was under the Moguls. In 1874 the Government of Madras laid its claim to half of the economic rents but recent enhancements show that in Madras and in Bombay the whole of the economic grant has been stopped. When Lord Curzon gave us an assurance to do something on this subject the whole of India was on the tip-toe of expectation but our hopes are considerably chilled, as apart from certain generalizations and platitudes in superb language, no settled policy has come out of his resolutions. In the despatches of 1862 and 1867 the Home Government had dealt with this subject in a most statesmanlike manner and promised settlement in perpetuity in those districts where the necessary conditions were fulfilled. Since the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown there have been no less than seven famines, and Commission after Commission sat and the outcome of all these Commissions is a Famine Code which is nothing less than a Drill Book as to what the Government Officers have to do after a Famine occurs. But a permanent deterrent of famine has neither been conceived nor worked out (shame). It is not the Famine Codes that are wanted by the starving cultivators but it is the settled policy of Government which is wanted to stave off the cultivators' dire distress during adverse seasons. As regards the general poverty and indebtedness of the large mass of the cultivating population, Lord Curzon in his speech on the Punjab Land Revenue Bill said that the poverty of India is in its chronic condition, and that the Government had hitherto only dealt with the fringe of the problem. The theory that the poverty of India is due to over-population has been exploded by the recent census. It was also exploded by the Deccan Ryots' Commission twenty-five years ago which assigned, as the cause of the poverty of the masses, their indebtedness and the enhanced assessment by the State. What is wanted is that the whole of the Revenue policy should be so modified as to enable the cultivator to freely employ his capital and labour. Otherwise the vast mass of the agriculturists will be permanently injured (cheers).

Mr. M. K. Patel (Bombay) in supporting the resolution said :—
 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the evidences of India's slow industrial exhaustion are increasing day by day and if no evidences of a perfectly reliable nature existed, the recurrence of famine every year in India would be an unrefutable piece of such evidence. The famines in India are more money-famines than food-famines (cheers). It is not quite true to say that the great famines in India have been caused by drought. Only one instance will suffice to prove that fact. During the American War of 1861-5, Lancashire had to purchase its raw cotton at a high price in India. There was unexampled prosperity everywhere, and yet it is remarkable that those years, three or four of them, were years of exceedingly short rainfall. A glance at the history of India shows that ever since the country has passed into the hands of the British the famines in India have become more frequent and more widespread. An English gentleman gives the following heart-rending description of the ravages caused by the famine of 1876-78 :—

“ The moneylenders already impoverished withheld the advances necessary for the existence of the agriculturists and their families. These sold everything they had. The last bangle went to the mint. The cattle died by tens of thousands. Half a million of human beings died or disappeared in Bombay alone. Plagues of locusts and plagues of rats afterwards devastated the forsaken fields. It was pitiable to see the peoples' sufferings. I myself have seen men, women and children gaunt with starvation, disputing with crows and kites the grains of undigested corn in the refuse of the streets of Sholapore ! But I do not wish to dwell on these scenes. I for one will never forget them, and I can safely aver that no Englishman lives but will support any remedy that can be shown to be even possibly effectual to avert the repetition of such horrors as were then of daily occurrence.” It is necessary to inquire how it is that the Indian peasantry is unable to withstand a year's drought. Short rainfall or no rainfall at all for a year or two is not a calamity for which India alone is marked out by Providence. What are the causes of this poverty ? We lack the necessary data to determine them with accuracy. Sir Louis Mellett, who was for a long time Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, says in a minute :—“ If there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts.” Sir Richard Temple, possessing thirty years' Indian experience, went so far as to declare in reference to the figures published by the Indian authorities, that they were simply tabular statements of particular theories, and were in fact shams, delusions and snares. British rule in India is maintained by an administration which is exceedingly costly (cheers). From a Parliamentary return issued in 1891 it appears that there were then 28,000 Europeans holding posts worth Rs. 1,000 or upwards a year, their emoluments amounting to no less than 15½ crores of Rupees a year. Large remittances have also to be made to Europe from the Indian revenue for the pensions of the European employes of Government. Then again large remittances have also to be made to pay for interest on debt which India has been made to contract in England. The annual drain due to these and other causes is considerable. This drain has actually been impoverishing the people. Mr. Frederick John Shore of the

Bengal Civil Service, writing in 1837, says : "The English Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and the people to an extent almost unparalleled in the history of the world." Mr. Saville Marriot, who was for some time one of the Commissioners of Revenue in the Deccan says : "It will be difficult to satisfy the mind that any country in the world could bear such a drain upon its resources without sustaining serious injury." Besides this enormous drain upon the resources of India another very fruitful cause of her gradual impoverishment is the complete extinction of indigenous industries. English Industrialism under the British rule has ruined the indigenous industries of India. The hand-made manufactures of India could not compete with the machine-made manufactures of England. The progress of Natural Science in the Western world has effected a revolution in industrial methods. In the beginning of the 18th century India exported to England piece goods worth more than a million and a half pounds ; in 1892 we *imported* more than 28 millions worth of manufactured cotton ! Agriculture is everywhere expanding at the expense of the manufacturing industry. Nearly 90% of our population is now dependent for subsistence directly or indirectly upon agriculture. The Indian artizans have been swelling the ranks of the agriculturists. Industrial occupations engage but the smallest fraction of the population of India. The average annual income of an Indian has been estimated to be Rs. 17½, 20, 27½ and 37½ by Mr. William Digby, Mr. Dadabhoj Navroji, Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon respectively. Even accepting the highest figure of Lord Curzon the average monthly income of the native of India is Rs. 3-2-0. One cause of this extreme poverty is that India depends almost wholly upon agriculture. Such was not the case a century ago. In 1787, 50 lakhs of Rupees worth of cloths were entered at the Customs House of only one town—Dacca—for export to foreign countries. While the East has retrograded as regards her manufactures, the West has advanced in that direction by gigantic strides. The Indian Railways have also contributed to some extent to the extinction of the indigenous industries. They have enabled the European manufacturers to send cheaply and expeditiously their manufactures into the very homes, as it were, of the Indians, thus creating a demand for their wares even in the most distant villages. We are now dependent upon Europe for almost all the necessaries of life except food. The cloths we use come from Manchester, the ploughs with which we till our lands and the axes with which we cut our trees are made of English iron ; knives, scissors, cooking utensils, matches, in fact, most of our household requisites are of European manufacture. One of the so-called benefits which have been conferred upon India is Free Trade. But the absence of a Protective Tariff has helped to kill the indigenous industries of India. The Indian Railways and Free Trade have between themselves ruined our artizan classes. Sir Henry Cotton says : "The country is too poor to pay for its elaborate railway system, and irrigation projects, and being compelled to borrow in England has incurred an ever-accumulating debt at, what has unfortunately proved to be, an ever-increasing rate of interest." He also observes : "Another suggestion of even more practical character is that the Government of this country should afford assistance to indigenous industries by 'Protection.' Free Trade in the case of India simply means the exploitation of India by European adventures." While on the one hand any solitary Italian, French-

man or German may come and explore our country, on the other hand in the English Colonies in South Africa the Indians have never been allowed to enjoy the rights of British subjects! Thus we see that the chief causes of the poverty of India are : 1. The costliness, wastefulness and extravagance of British administration. 2. The large annual remittances in the shape of pensions &c., made to Europe. 3. The introduction into India of cheap machine-made goods in unrestricted competition with the Indian handicrafts. 4. The relegation of the Indian population almost wholly to agriculture in order to give the Manchester people plenty of cotton. 5. The increasing pressure upon land owing to the undesirable expansion of agriculture at the expense of the manufacturing industries. 6. The mechanical inventions of modern Europe and the inability of the Indians to keep pace with the times. 7. The rigid expansion of the Railway system which has helped to destroy some of the indigenous industries by the introduction of cheap machine-made goods into all the parts of India. 8. The absence of a Protective Tariff of any sort. 9. The unfruitfulness of the education system in India which makes no adequate provision for proper scientific and industrial training to the Indian youth. Perhaps it will be contended that India has always been poor and that it has not become poorer under the British rule. But what are the facts? Sebastian Maurique who travelled about 1612 mentions the magnificent cotton fabrics of Bengal exported to all the countries of the East. Mandeslo, a German, who travelled in India about 1638, found Broach to be a populous city, almost filled with weavers who manufactured the finest cotton cloth in the province of Guzerat. From Broach he went to Ahmedabad and he was much struck with its splendour and beauty. Its chief manufactures were of silk and cotton. Bernier who resided for sometime in India about the middle of the 17th century writes : "India is like an abyss, in which all the gold and silver of the world are swallowed up and lost. Such vast quantities are continually imported thither out of Europe, while none ever returns." In the 17 years ending 1809, the annual average of the cotton manufactures imported into England from India was £1,639,478. It was only towards the close of the 18th century that the spinning wheel was first introduced into England. But England soon made rapid strides towards the industrial progress while India remained stationary. If India had her own way, she would probably have protected her industries, as England had protected hers in the 18th century, and as most civilized countries protect theirs at the present day. But India could not have her own way, and a Protective Tariff was not to be thought of. Thus the first effect of the industrial expansion of England in the beginning of the 19th century was the ruin of the artizan population of India. It was not till the middle of the 19th century that the mechanical skill of modern Europe was transported to India and a small number of mills and factories were started in India by Englishmen. The European proprietors of the mills and factories not being settled in the country their profits, instead of benefitting the Indian community only, swell the annual drain to Europe. It is painful to state that modern Industrialism has not yet penetrated into Indian Society to any appreciable degree. The first Railway line due to purely Indian enterprise was opened only about five years back. It runs between Terakeswar and Magra in Bengal, a distance of 31 miles. Although the Indians, in their

competition with Europeans, have two distinct advantages : 1. Cheap labour, and 2. Abundant local knowledge ; these are more than counter-balanced by the disadvantages of (1) want of capital, and (2) want of mechanical and scientific knowledge. The facts that the education which the Indians have hitherto received is not of a scientific character also explains to a great extent their want of industrial enterprise. In the education of the Indians there is nothing which might induce a taste for industrial pursuits. Natives of India cannot develop the resources of their country, unless they are taught in technical and industrial schools and workshops, specially established for the purpose, what those resources are and how they can be developed. The cry for Technical Education hints the alarm beginning to be felt at purely literary education proving insufficient to keep alive the industries in India. I would like to draw your attention to some words in a resolution of the Government of India on this subject published early in July 1888 : "The second class of considerations which have forced this question of Technical Education into prominence is concerned with the need of industrial occupation for a population rapidly outgrowing the means of support supplied by a too conservative system of agriculture. In the matter of Industrial Reform the Congress and the Government appear to agree that there should be a regular system of Technical Education. But Technical Education cannot beget industries, and without them it is useless. To talk of Technical Education as likely to encourage industry in India is to seek an excuse for doing nothing. Technical Education is indeed a red herring trailed across the path of industrial reform by Government in order to divert public attention from the real chase. (hear, hear). Technical Education is in the West a very useful and indeed indispensable means of maintaining industry at a high standard of efficiency. We must have industries first, and then Technical Education to perfect them. Sir W. W. Hunter points to the Bombay cotton mills as the nucleus of India's future manufacturing prosperity, but the mill industry of India is not the industry in the true sense of the word. Our mills only employ what is called unskilled labour. Moreover, there are circumstances that so limit the production of our mills as to render any further extension of our mill industry highly improbable. Industrialism, by taking a large number of poor persons from unprofitable agricultural occupation, and making them independent of the vicissitudes of the weather, will distinctly be a measure of famine insurance. Industrialism is the provider of employment to millions. It is the one reliable safeguard against famines. It is the only salvation of India. The past history of India shows that India is the one country best fitted for industry. Her stores of natural resources are the best and her labour is cheap, docile and teachable. An industrial era for India is not only possible but most urgently wanted. Industrial expansion is the only remedy for the ever-increasing poverty of the Indians. Government service can offer only a few drops of water among thirsty millions. The only remedy that is likely to be of very wide application and to afford substantial relief to all classes of our people is the development of our industries. It is industry alone that can relieve the distress of the masses of the people by lightening the pressure on land. It is industry alone that can relieve the distress of our middle classes by affording them openings other than clerkships. There is no reason why

the Indian cannot make all the articles he requires. The iron industry in India has a promising future before it. Within the last 25 years many new industries, conducted entirely by Indian agencies on modern methods have been started by Indians, but many more require to be started, fostered and developed. The subject of Technical Education has been attracting greater attention every year during the last decade. But there are many whose idea of Technical Education does not soar above petty industries, others there are who want art-work, a third class, more sensible than the rest, yearns for the large manufacturing industries. Not a little confusion is frequently caused by jumbling all these together. Every sensible person would admit that there is not much room for expansion at present in the petty industries such as tailoring, shoe-making, carpentry, etc. Our wants in these directions are well enough supplied at present. As regards art-work the extinction of art industries would be no great loss to such a poor country as India. These are the days of rapid and cheap production. Considering the present wants of India it is apparent that in this country the utmost attention should be paid to the development of manufacturing industries because while the art industries deal with the beautiful rather than the useful, the manufacturing industries deal exclusively with the useful, and increase the wealth of the country. (hear, hear). The principal means by which industrial development may be effected are joint-Stock organisations and Technical Education. The kind of Technical Education that is being imparted now in Bombay is not the one that we want; it is a sham. It is merely an apology from Government for doing nothing in the matter of industrial reform. India is a very poor country, still by joint-Stock organisation sufficient capital could be raised for the successful starting of many large industries. A few companies on joint-Stock principle have already been formed but for the wants of India there must be hundreds, if not thousands, of such companies started. In some cases there may be failures but it is better to face a few failures than to make no endeavour to establish such companies. India's first and best stand-by in the preservation of her industrial hopes is the dexterous aptitude for all kinds of arts and handicrafts inherited by her children. The half-taught labour of Indian artisans is excellent beyond belief. They learn quickly and thoroughly and never forget. It cannot be too often reiterated that in India there is little or no demand for costly art production. Now and then some European "globe-trotter" or an Indian Maharajah or a mighty nabob or a wealthy magnate might patronise high class Indian art. But such patrons being very small in number there is little wonder that the Indian art has languished. Our chief want now is the manufacture on an extensive scale of cheap articles of daily house-hold use. Utility and not beauty must be given preference. It is a lamentable fact that Lord Curzon has entirely boycotted from the Delhi Durbar Exhibition specimens of manufacturing industries in India. His reasons for so doing it is difficult to imagine. To our cheap labour and raw material if we add pluck and energy we can aspire to the revival of our industries. Owing to the hostile intentions of the English manufacturers England has failed to do justice to India as regards her industrial reform but the last great famine in India has opened the eyes of the Indians to the necessity of industrial expansion in this country. With these words I beg to support the above resolution (cheers).

The following is in substance the English of the speech which the Hon'ble Mr. Goculdas K. Parekh made in further support of the Resolution :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,

I have been desired by the President to address you on the subject of this Resolution in Gujarati for the benefit of those of the delegates and the visitors who are not conversant with English. The Resolution that has been submitted for your adoption is divided under several heads, and it will be impossible for me within the few minutes that are allowed to a speaker to do justice to all of them. I, therefore, propose to confine my remarks to the Land Revenue Policy of the Government. You will remember that some months ago the Government of India issued a Resolution in which they attempted to shew that their land revenue assessments were not excessive but moderate. As an appendix to that Resolution is a memorandum under the signature of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay in which that functionary tries to prove that the pitch of assessments in this Presidency is not too high. If, however, the arguments, whereby the present pitch of assessments is defended, is applied to any particular part of the Presidency, say, for instance to Gujerat, it will be very easily seen that the assessments are in no way moderate. There are four tests adopted by the Bombay Government to demonstrate their theory of moderate assessments. The first of these, is that there has been an increase in the occupied culturable area. For the purpose of this test Government compare the area under cultivation in 1895-6, the year immediately preceding the bad years which culminated in the famine, with the occupied area of 1855-6. Now it is not proper to make any comparison with the condition of things as they existed in 1855-6 as in that year the agricultural depression was at its worst, moreover, in most places the survey was not introduced till several years after. The proper test would be to compare the occupied areas of 1895-6 with those of 1865-6 and 1875-6. Now applying the test, it would be seen that in the Ahmedabad District the area under cultivation in 1895-6 was about 3500 acres *less* than what it was in 1865-6, and about 6800 acres *less* than what it was in 1875-6. In the District of Kaira there is no doubt an increase of 12500 acres in the cultivated area over what it was in 1865-6 ; but this increase is more than accounted for by the fact that since 1865-6 twenty-four villages have been transferred to this District, seven only of these twenty-four villages covering an area of over 9000 acres. In the District of Broach the increase in cultivation between 1875-6 and 1895-6 was only of 2700 acres equal to about $\frac{1}{2}$ a per cent. of the total culturable area of the District ; while the increase in the population was considerably longer during this period. In connection with this point there is another fact which is noticeable ; in most of the Talukas of Gujerat it would be observed that when there is agricultural depression or a few unfavourable seasons following one another thousands of acres of occupied land are thrown up and relinquished. This fact indicates that on some lands the burden of assessments is so heavy that they leave a margin of profit after the payment of Government dues and the cost of cultivation only when the seasons are good and the prices high but not otherwise. Coupled with this it will be noted that during the last 3 or 4

years considerable areas of lands in all parts of Gujerat were relinquished or suffered to be forfeited for non-payment of Government dues. In this way the first test, namely, the extension of cultivation, altogether fails to prove that the assessments are moderate. The second point on which Government rely for proving the moderation of their demands is that the collections of the revenue are made without difficulty. On this point, after the disclosures that were made during the inquiry recently held by Mr. Maconochie, it is hardly competent for Government to claim that the State dues are collected without difficulty. The inquiry further shewed that the statement of the numbers of coercive processes of distraints, forfeitures in sales given in the Commissioner's Jamabandi Reports and the Administration Reports do not agree with facts, and these processes are far in excess of what are shewn therein; and that it is not unusual for revenue officials to make use of methods other than those mentioned in the land revenue code, such as the sealing up of defaulters' houses, personal maltreatment, for forcing the payment of the Government demand. But according to the figures that appear in the Government reports, it will be found that in all the districts of Gujerat they had to resort to an unusual number of compulsory processes, and great difficulty was experienced in collecting the Government revenue between 1870 and 1879. During recent years since 1895-6 the numbers of coercive processes for the recovery of Government revenue have been unusually large; and forfeitures of extensive areas have been made in the Districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Surat. Under these circumstances it would be impossible to say that the land revenue in Gujerat has been collected without difficulty, and thus the second ground put forward by the Government of Bombay for shewing that their assessments are moderate fails. The third ground upon which the Government of Bombay justify their assessments is that the assessments bear a proper ratio to the value of lands as shewn by rents secured by leases and by the amounts of mortgage advances and sale prices. These are no tests in Districts where there are large areas of waste lands which are available for cultivation but which are not taken up. The rent figures again are not sufficiently large or sufficiently typical to shew average rents in a village or taluka. The figures are not taken from all leases that are given of agricultural lands in a village or taluka, but only from such leases as are registered in the sub-registrar's office. Agricultural leases are not ordinarily registered. It is only under some exceptional circumstances that they are. Then the large variations of the rents per acre and of the ratios between the the rents and assessment the highest being often 30, 40 or 50 times the lowest indicate that the rent figures on which Government rely can form no proper test for determining the proper average rents of the Taluka. In the same way the sale prices could also be no proper criterion for determining whether the assessments are moderate or not. If all lands were to be regarded as valuable assets; why should so much fail to find any occupants. There are so many factors effecting the prices of lands that the sale prices do not necessarily indicate whether the lands have been highly or moderately assessed. Building sites which have no agricultural value are often purchased for very high prices. Again in compact villages lands are not easily available and persons desirous of acquiring them have often to pay immoderately high prices. In connection with the sale and mortgage values the prices are again as-

certained from documents submitted for registration. It is not shown in these statements whether the lands have wells sunk in them or whether they have been improved at the occupants' cost and therefore these statements are not fair guides for determining the fairness of assessment. In the case of mortgage values it should further be remembered that in a majority of cases they do not represent the actual advances, but renewals swollen by interest of which the actual advances would form only a small part. The other test relied on by Government is that the assessments bear a proper ratio with the actual outturn. Government themselves admit that on comparison of the assessments with the outturn the assessments in Gujerat are full; but on a comparison of the average outturn with the assessments the ratios are much higher than are mentioned in the Secretary's memorandum. Again it is urged on behalf of Government that the assessments in Gujerat are much higher as per acre than in other parts; because larger profit is left to the cultivators; but in Gujerat the numbers of small holdings of 5 acres and under preponderate. In the Kaira Collectorate such holdings are 55 per cent., in the Surat Collectorate they are 47 per cent., in the Broach Collectorate they are 38 per cent. and in the Ahmedabad Collectorate they are 34 per cent. of the total holdings of the respective districts. Taking the average outturn and the average prices it is not possible that the occupants of these small holdings would have enough left to them for their maintenance after the payment of Government dues. Therefore on the application of this test too the assessments in Gujerat are not moderate. There is one fact that would easily bring to your mind the gradual but continuous deterioration that is going on in the condition of the Gujerat agriculturists. The property that they have other than land mostly consists of cattle and we find that in 1875 the number of cattle in the Districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Surat and Broach was over 12 lacs, and it was reduced to under 8 lacs 80 thousand in 1895 a decrease of 27 per cent. Since then there has been a great reduction in the number of cattle during the famine and other bad years that followed, I am afraid that unless the burden of land taxation is appreciably lightened it would be difficult to rehabilitate the Gujerat ryot in the condition in which he was thirty years back.

The first necessity therefore is a reduction of assessment. The other matter in connection with the land revenue Policy of this Presidency which is very objectionable is that revisions of assessments take place every thirty years, and most of these revisions end in a large increase in the ryots burdens. In most cases there are really no good grounds for the increase and in many cases the grounds put forward to justify the increase are very ridiculous. In most talukas one revision has already taken place; I should wish that after the assessments have reduced as low as they ought to be there should be left no powers to increase them except when the lands have increased in value and productiveness in consequence of outlays made by Government. These briefly are my remarks, gentlemen. I wish to detain you no longer and ask you to pass unanimously the Resolution that has been so ably moved by Mr. Iyer (cheers).

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

Mr. G. Raghava Iyar (Madras) moved the Fourth Resolution. He said :

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

The resolution which I have been asked to propose for your acceptance runs as follows :—

That this Congress desires to place on record its grateful appreciation of the efforts which the Famine Union in England is making to secure a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a number of typical villages in India. In the opinion of this Congress such an inquiry will in no way prove inquisitorial as apprehended, but will be of the highest value for a proper understanding of the true condition of the Indian Rayat and will clear many of the misapprehensions which prevail at present on the subject and which interfere with the adoption of the right remedial measures. That the Congress is of opinion that such an inquiry following the two severe famines is highly expedient inasmuch as it will enable the Government to be placed in possession of economic data of great utility for purposes of comparison. And the Congress hopes that the Secretary of State for India will be pleased to reconsider his decision in the matter.

In this connection the Congress would respectfully urge that the Government of India should be pleased to publish the results of the official inquiries which have been held in the past on this subject, notably the inquiry instituted during the time of Lord Dufferin, extracts from which alone have been published.

You will agree with me, Gentlemen, that we have a grateful duty to discharge, and that is to recognise in all thankfulness the efforts that have been made by the Indian Famine Union (cheers) to have an economic inquiry into the condition of the Indian villager. We have to express our regret that Government has been indifferent to a consideration of the efforts of the Famine Union in the light in which those efforts deserve to be considered, and we have to request that the Government will be pleased to reconsider the decision that the Secretary of State has already arrived at in the matter. We have also to request the Government to publish, for our information, the results of the different inquiries that they have already held. Gentlemen, that there has been poverty in the land cannot be denied, and that fact has been admitted by a very high authority. Lord George Hamilton, in the recent speech that he delivered on the Indian Budget, admitted that the vast millions of people of India are poor and that the agriculturists are heavily indebted and that it is necessary to find out a remedy to remove the evil. Now, the question is what should be the remedy and what are the facts from which that remedy should be found? That is what the Indian Famine Union wants to elicit, and for that purpose in the summer of 1901 they sent a memorial to the Secretary of State for India requesting him to hold economic inquiries into the condition of certain villages which may be considered to be typical in the famine areas. At first Lord George Hamilton also promised to receive a deputation that the Union offered to send him to explain what was exactly the scope of the inquiry that they sought to have and what were exactly the methods that they

proposed to suggest. But later on his Lordship declined to receive the deputation which he had twice promised to receive and then there was held a meeting of the Famine Union in which a petition to Parliament was adopted and a copy of that petition was submitted to the Secretary of State. That petition contained a prayer that Parliament will be pleased to institute an inquiry into the economic condition of typical villages in famine areas. Lord George Hamilton sent that petition for consideration to the Government of India with a letter, a copy of which he sent to the Famine Union. In it he said that there was no necessity whatever for holding such an inquiry as requested. The Government of India took the cue from him and in their reply stated that they were satisfied that the view taken by the Secretary of State was correct. You will observe that the Famine Union did not undertake to say that the cause of poverty was one or the other. Those who asked for the economic inquiry belong to no particular party in England. They are men actuated by a sincere desire to simply probe the problem of the Indian famines and to see how far to avert them, to see how far it is possible for them to consider the methods which would serve to prevent future famines. They did not commit themselves to suggest any particular measure. They have been prepared to approach the matter from an altogether non-party standpoint. It was with this principle before them that they approached the Secretary of State. The fact that there is indebtedness prevalent to a very large extent in India is sought to be explained by (1) Over population (2) Land assessment, (3) Want of thrift in respect of marriage and funeral expenses. Different schools ascribe different causes to the poverty in the land. The Famine Union wants to determine whether any or all of these causes are sufficient or whether it is necessary to know what exactly the facts are, and so they wanted that there should be an inquiry instituted into the condition of typical villages taken in certain areas. The reasons for which the Government of India says that this proposal of the Union should be rejected are these : That the inquiry is unnecessary ; that the inquiry, if allowed will lead to mischievous results ; that they have got necessary facts before them on the subject ; that they have got a Department of Land Records and Agriculture ; that they have also inquiries made during the time of settlement operations ; that they have got census figures in fact they have got enough material on which they can decide the condition of a particular agricultural village population. With respect to those figures that are supplied by the Department of Land Records and Agricultural you will observe that the conclusions that have been formed by no less an authority than Lord Curzon and Lord George Hamilton are that they are hypothetical in their character and based merely upon supposition. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons Sir Howard Vincent (*Vide "India"* dated 14th March 1902) said "I believe that the House will consider that a more probable explanation of the difficulty is that the data on which the estimate is formed are totally fallacious ; that it is not supported by any single certain figure and that throughout the whole calculation the only positive element is the unwavering malignance with which Mr. Digby distorts evidence to the discredit of his countrymen". You will observe that the figures, so far available, are not the figures from which you can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion and that they are not sufficient for the purpose in view. None of the available materials is sufficient for the purpose of the Famine

Union's efforts, namely, to find out the causes of the poverty of the Indian ryot. The Union suggest that in making inquiries into the economic condition of the ryot, Government should be willing to undertake some additional expense although it may lead to no further results than the available data lead to. But Government say that the inquiry is not merely unnecessary but it is positively harmful. The Government of India's reply was "It is only because we are convinced that its results would not merely disappoint the expectations that might have been formed in advance, but would be misleading and even harmful that we are unable to accord to it our support". The Government say that there is no reason to suppose that you can have typical villages in famine areas and that there is no reason why you should fix the typical villages in famine areas and not in other quarters. We have no objection to extend the scope of the inquiries. We have no objection to include in the inquiries non-famine and famine areas. You will observe that the object of the Famine Union to have typical villages in certain areas is that there should be no difficulty in determining what is exactly the nature of the soil &c. The next argument is that it is likely that the inquiry will prove misleading. I will ask you, Gentlemen, whether from your experience you can say that the inquiry of this sort is likely to be misunderstood by the people, and whether the people will not be willing to recognise that the efforts are made in the right direction to see what or exactly the causes of their poverty and whether they will not help Government to find out the remedy. Every one's experience is that this inquiry instead of creating distrust will be possibly hailed by the people. We find that Mr. Thorburn instituted something like this inquiry in 742 villages. Then it is said that the inquiry is likely to lead to overwork the officials. Well, Gentlemen, we are prepared to recognise that the officials are already very much overworked, but we have not the slightest objection to provide for an increased element of native officials (cheers). I have not the slightest doubt that if Government take this hint they will find that they can employ more men at the cost of least amount of money. If Government have got money for the large number of Commissions—Lord Curzon's regime has been distinguished by the appointment of a large number of Commissions—then they have no reason to say that they have got no money for other useful purposes. It does not seem to me that the inquiry suggested by the Famine Union will cost much, because the inquiry instituted by Mr. Thorburn in 742 villages has cost only £300. So that, you will find that there is not after all a serious difficulty in instituting the inquiry as prayed for by the Famine Union. But then it is said that by instituting such an inquiry "you are likely to raise hopes in the minds of the people—hopes which you may not be able to satisfy" (laughter). Now, Gentlemen, that appears to me to be the chief difficulty. If the Government is assured that it is not connected in any way with the causes of this poverty and that the people have themselves to thank for their poverty, then I submit that there could not be the slightest misgiving on the part of Government to have this inquiry. We do not blame Government, we simply ask them to reverse, if necessary, the policy that has been pursued. Responsible men like Lord George Hamilton have said that if it is found that it was due to the British administration that there has been an increased poverty in the land that would be sufficient to condemn the administration. Government are prepared, if necessary, to adopt progressive measures for the purpose of removing the poverty. It is merely a

matter of ascertaining what exactly the poverty is due to, and we simply ask that necessary inquiries may be made so that we may have satisfactory results. In requesting Government for these inquiries we do not commit them to any particular policy. But we simply say find out the exact facts, find out what are the causes of this poverty and, if possible, try to remove them (cheers). Nothing could be more unreasonable, than that this inquiry should be refused. We ask Lord George Hamilton now to reconsider his decision in the matter, and grant the inquiry. It is perfectly true, as one paper says, that the Famine Union is composed of eminent statesmen, but it is very possible that when it is found that the Union is backed up by the united voice of India, or here I may say, the united voice of the Congress, the Secretary of State may reconsider his decision. Then, there is another view of the matter, that we want that the inquiry be instituted not by the people among themselves but by Government because we can't get accurate and satisfactory figures. Then, we make a very moderate request to Government to publish the results of the inquiries that they have made from time to time. During the time of Lord Ripon in 1882 Sir David Barbour instituted certain inquiries. Lord George Hamilton says that the facts then elicited are now 20 or 30 years old. Fortunately for us there was an inquiry held by Lord Dufferin. Between 1882 and 1890-91 there have been three inquiries instituted, leading up to certain results, and if you have these three sets of results you can see whether you have made a progressive or taken a retrograde step. So that, you will observe that we want information which is 20 or 30 years old for the purpose of comparing it with the information which is 12 or 13 years old and the latter with the information that is three years old. We also request Government to publish the result of the inquiry instituted by Lord Dufferin and also to publish the result of Mr. Thorburn's inquiry. With these few words I beg to commend this resolution to your unanimous acceptance (cheers).

Mr. Peter Paul Pillay (Madras) in seconding the above proposition said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Experienced men like Sir William Weddurburn who take the most prominent part in representing our grievances to the Government, have brought to the notice of that authority that the agricultural and industrial condition of India is in a state of collapse. They have referred to the destitution caused in India by the two famines of 1876 and 1897, and in justice to humanity, made a most reasonable request to the Secretary of State for India that an inquiry into the causes of the poverty of the Indian ryot should be made. I think if the Parliament grants this request it is fit to rule India. Yesterday our President said that if such things were allowed in Turkey the result would be that the United Kingdom and the whole of Europe would turn Turkey bag and baggage out of Europe. Only three and a half months ago I returned from Turkey. While there, I made close observations and during my enquiries found that during the last 50 years there have been no famines in Turkey, (hear, hear) whereas this country had no less than 34 famines, and again last year there was drought. I think the people in England who interest themselves in Indian questions indirectly admit that the famine in India is due to the poverty of the people. In his remarkable speech

made two years ago a member of Parliament said that the poverty of India is not due to the fault of the British rule but to the fault of drought, drought, drought. I remember to have read in the minute of Sir Edmund Manley written 80 years ago that if there is drought there is only scarcity and not famine. Lord George Hamilton has indirectly admitted that the famine in India is due to poverty. According to the usage of the Hindoo Rajahs during the famine period the first question for each of them would be "how are my subjects faring?" We therefore all hope that Lord George Hamilton will grant this inquiry and remove the grievances of our poverty-stricken people (cheers).

Mr. V. R. Natu (Belgaum), in supporting the above resolution, made the following observations :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The gentleman who moved this proposition has given you a short history of the question which was raised by the Famine Union, how the matter was taken before Lord George Hamilton, what answer was received from him and ultimately how the question was referred to the Government of India and how they replied to it. I will only touch one or two points which were left out by him. Before doing that I will take up one parable by way of explanation, because on the eve of the Christmas Day we must follow in the footsteps of Lord Jesus and deal with parables. I will explain to you the position taken up by the Government of India and the answer they have given. Suppose a patient in Bombay goes one morning to Sir Bhalchandra and requests him to diagnose his case. He is suffering from a disease from the nature of which Sir Bhalchandra says "It is not necessary, you are to die" (laughter). The patient says "never mind, locate the disease. Make some inquiries, make perfect diagnosis, use the Rontgen apparatus, if necessary, and find out the place where the disease is located." Sir Bhalchandra says "It is not necessary, you are sure to die (laughter)." Like Sir Bhalchandra, the Government says to us "Never mind the inquiry, it does not matter, because the poverty must exist in India" (laughter). If that is the position taken by Lord George Hamilton, then we have no remedy and we have simply to deplore the attitude of Government. But I submit that one thing should be taken into consideration, namely, that if the Secretary of State was kind enough to admit that a deep mass of poverty does exist in India it is his duty to find out the causes of that poverty and also to find out the remedy. The task is not very difficult one for him. He is unwilling to grant the inquiry on account of the answers received from the Government of India. I believe one of these answers is that the inquiry would be misleading and even harmful. Wonderful! yes, harmful to the reputation of those who are responsible for the administration, and misleading to those who have hitherto been made to believe that India is really prospering under the British rule (hear, hear). The inquiry must be misleading to those who think that there is prosperity in India by simply reading the reports from time to time issued by the Government of India and believing them with their eyes shut. The second objection raised by the Government of India was that the inquiry would be impossible. I will give you some concrete examples showing that the inquiry would not

be impossible. In the first place such an inquiry was conducted successfully in England by Messrs. Booth and Rountree. We have also an example of the kind in India. As a matter of fact the Government of India have themselves made these inquiries. There was an inquiry conducted by Mr. Thorburn the results of which, however, we do not know; then we have an example of a careful inquiry being made in this Presidency by private agency by Mr. E. in village only ten miles distant from Poona in 1820. Some of the remarks which have been made in the report of that inquiry are very pertinent. One passage from that report is particularly instructive.

“ It is said that the cultivators were in the state of comparative prosperity under the Peishwa previous to Bajirao's time, of which there are traces. In those times the Government collected its revenues through its own agents; the maximum of the land-tax was fixed, and only charge on lands actually under cultivation, while remissions were made in bad seasons and sums of money without, or on a moderate interest, granted in cases of great distress. The revenues, therefore, fluctuated according to the actual prosperity of the country. Soon after Bajirao became the Peishwa this system alike beneficial to the Government and the people, when not abused, was laid aside, and that of farming the revenues from year to year to the highest bidder was adopted in its stead. All intercourse was now closed between the Government and the cultivators, who fell into the hands of a set of avaricious and unprincipled contractors. The consequences were certain; the farmers naturally made the most of their leases by every temporary experiment; the husbandmen were urged to cultivate beyond their means and taxed for lands not even cultivated; and remissions were not made in times of calamity. The people became loud in their complaints against the prince who thus abandoned them, and ultimately there were frequent defalcations of revenue from the farmers being unable to realize their rents from the impoverished country. The township came under the dominion of the British Government on the beginning of last year (1818), which was hailed as a happy event by all the cultivators, and the abolition of the farming system which followed, and the liberal remissions of revenue in consequences of the losses by the war, confirmed the high expectations that had been formed of our justice and liberality. The inviolable respect which has since been shown for the prejudices and ancient customs of the people, and the arrangements in progress for the further improvement of their condition, by the enlightened and able statesman under whose administration our late conquests in the Deccan have fortunately fallen, will, if followed up, not only secure a permanence to this feeling, but substantial happiness and prosperity. If we may form an opinion, however, from the result of our Government in many of our old possessions this perhaps is too much to expect. With the best possible intentions, our revenue and judicial systems have not always had the effect of making the most of the fair resources of the country and unfortunately have not tended to improve the morals of the people. We still have a great deal to learn regarding the institutions and peculiar ways of thinking of our Indian subjects; and in any attempt to improve their happiness and condition innovations and theorizing cannot too carefully be avoided, and particularly European notions, which are totally incompatible with those of the Asiatics in their present state of civilization. The only means, perhaps, of

making the conditions of the ryots really comfortable is permanently to lower the land-tax and to look to an increase of revenue from other sources; but this is not to be done without making considerable sacrifices, at least for a time. The revenues at present are almost wholly derived from the soil, which is so taxed as barely to leave the cultivator the means of subsistence, while merchants, bankers and the moneyed part of the community scarcely contribute in any shape to the wants of the Government".

If we take this passage into consideration it will be found that at present there are most numerous reasons why the present inquiry should be conducted. If that was the state of affairs in 1820 has not the time come after a century of the British rule to ascertain whether the position is changed in the 20th century whether the material condition of the masses is improved? If the Government make the inquiry they will find that in the Presidency of Bombay alone there are 11,000 small and large educational institutions, but at the same time there are 12,000 liquor shops (laughter and cries of shame). I submit that it is high time that this inquiry should be made, because in this Coronation Year the new Sovereign should take stock of the estate left to him by the old Sovereign and find out a system by which to improve those estates. If he finds that the system inaugurated during his predecessor's time did not prove successful than he must adopt a new system and therefore it is necessary that this inquiry should be conducted (hear, hear). Another reason given by the Government of India is that if the inquiry is made it will create hopes which it would be very difficult to realise! That is a very significant remark. My next point is that in the census report of the Bombay Presidency (third vol., second report). Mr. Enthoven has drawn certain conclusions from particular increase in the number of the agriculturists in this Presidency. He says that the number of agriculturists has risen within the period of 10 years of famine. His conclusions are that on account of competition people are going back to the only one resource of livelihood and that is agriculture, which is not sufficient to maintain the growing population of this country. The land is not sufficient to maintain the increasing population. He, therefore, suggests that new means must be found out such as those industries which employ the largest number and which make the largest profits (cheers).

Mr. Bhaishankar Nanabhai (Bombay) in supporting the above resolution addressed the Meeting in Gujarati of which the following is the purport :—

MR. PRESIDENT, DELEGATES FROM DIFFERENT PLACES AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution which has been laid before you is not applicable to the educated classes only but also to the uneducated. I speak in Gujarati for the benefit of those people who are here and do not understand English. There are merchants and agriculturists here who are called upon to vote upon this proposition but who do not understand English, and it is for their benefit that I speak in Gujarati to enable them to understand the question well. Some experienced gentlemen in England who know something about the administration of India have formed themselves into a body called the Famine Union and presented a petition to the Secretary of State for India to make an inquiry into the economic condition of typical villages in famine areas but their prayer has not been granted. Mr. Natu

Fifth Resolution.

“That this Congress once more urges upon the attention of the Government of India the serious grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa, and regrets to observe that the Imperialistic spirit of the British Colonies, instead of mitigating the anti-Indian legislation, threatens to impose further disabilities and hardships on His Majesty’s loyal Indian subjects there. In view of the admitted loyalty of these Indian settlers and the help rendered by them during the late war, as well as the invaluable help rendered by India to the British Empire at a most critical time, the Congress fervently prays that the Government of India will be pleased to take the necessary practical steps to secure a just, equitable and liberal treatment of the Indian settlers in South Africa.

In this connection the Congress notes with satisfaction the assurance recently given by the Secretary of State for India, to a deputation that interviewed him on the subject, that early steps are contemplated to relax the stringency of the restrictions at present enforced against the Indian settlers in the territories lately conquered from the Boer Government.”

who preceded me has told you the reasons why Government think it unnecessary to make the inquiries. I fully agree with the remarks of Mr. Natu. One of the reasons of the Government is that the inquiry would be harmful and misleading. Surely, it would not be misleading and harmful to us, though it would be misleading to those who are under a wrong impression about the prosperity in India by reading Government reports. It is some times said that the Indians are not poor. If they were not then in famine lakhs of them would not have died. I fully agree with the remarks of our President made yesterday that in this country there is ample food. Lakhs of *kandies* of food we see are being annually exported. In famine our poor people die because they have no money wherewith to buy that food. Therefore, it is necessary to ascertain whether India is poor or not. It is admitted by the authorities in England that we have to depend upon agriculture. Then we have ample quantity of raw material which we send out of the country and get it back converted into articles done in a perfect condition for which we have again to pay lakhs of Rupees. All this money is also taken away from our country. It is owing to this drain that there is poverty in the country. Hence the inquiry is necessary into the conditions of our agriculturists, and it is also therefore our duty to back up the Englishmen in England who take a sympathetic interest in our affairs and who as Indian Famine Union have petitioned the Secretary of State for India to grant the inquiry. I strongly hope that the Government will reduce taxation in this country on the auspicious day of the Durbar at Delhi. With these words I beg to support this resolution and hope that you will carry it unanimously (cheers).

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

Mr. D. P. Thakore (Surat and South Africa) in moving the Fifth Resolution said :—

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

I appear before you on behalf of our countrymen and brethren across the sea. I mean those who have left their hearths, homes, and all to seek a living, if not a fortune, among strangers. I beg your pardon. Must I call the English settlers of the colonies strangers? Have we not cast our lot with theirs, and does not there exist a common cause between them and us? Are we not members of one united Empire? Can England deny us the sacred tie of fellowship or can we on our part disown it? Then why call them strangers? No, they are our friends, our brethren, and our relatives, and we stand or fall together (hear, hear).

I am particularly proud of the mission I am charged with here, because the news I have to impart to you is of a doleful and gloomy character. It will sadden your spirit and disturb your temper.

The political atmosphere in South Africa, as far as the Indians are concerned, is gradually becoming foggy. Statesmen, politicians, and presidents of various political associations there, are playing at blind man's buff (laughter). At every turn fresh obstacles crop up and collisions and conflicts are not unusual. Each one who thinks he has a politician's head on his shoul-

ders, (laughter) sits at the table with his arms akimbo, meditating on the question of Indian politics, but his meditation yields no satisfactory solution. It is not unusual to hear of extraordinary schemes calculated to dispel the cloudy mist, but all ends in what? The statesmen and politicians of that land are still groping in the dark and cannot find the right answer to this great conundrum. I must give them credit for attempting a solution. But unhappily all their efforts and endeavours to lessen the evil only augment the miseries of those whom the question affects mostly. Everyone that meets the other wears an inquiring look as if he wants to know if the other has solved the problem, and forthwith a stream of suggestions is poured out. The great art of political career is empiricism and experience confirms its truth, rather than its untruth. That the Indian question is daily becoming more and more complex nobody can deny. Those who have studied it, know that, that is so. That the Indians are labouring under various legal disabilities and unfavourable conditions, is a well attested fact (hear, hear).

The Indian population in South Africa is divided under two heads. The indentured and the free. In the first place, let us consider who are these indentured Indians, what is their position, and what are their prospects? It is an unquestionable fact that most of them are abjectly poor and ignorant. In their houses they are so hard pressed by hunger and its attendant train of evils that they at last consent to be sold. Then the son is torn away from his father, and the husband from his wife and carried over thousands of miles to work on solitary and dreary land or in some dark and deep mines. There they are quite isolated from the civilized world and they usually live in tin-barracks or huts, quite over-crowded on account of want of enough space. The sanitary condition is hardly, if at all, conducive to health. Under such unnatural conditions our poor brethren have to work from six in the morning till six in the evening. They are ill clad and ill fed. Nay, that is not all. The roll, in some cases, is called at 4 o'clock in the morning and that tends to deprive the over worked human brute of nature's sweet balmy sleep. The unfortunate man cannot leave the precincts of the farm or the estate he is working on, without the consent of his so-called 'Boss'. He considers himself lucky when he gets that privilege of leave, but in most cases that kind of indulgence is not encouraged. If he gets "fagged" *i. e.* over-exhausted and is prostrate with fever, he is generally left to the care of mother nature to recover his lost energy; for medical help is a luxury that none but the 'Boss' can enjoy. If, again, he is thought slow in the execution of his work he is at times subject to that generous process called "Flogging" (shame). If the victim escapes in order to seek protection under the law his word is hardly believed as against that of his white employer, and thus instead of getting redress he earns perhaps a further chastisement. The unfortunate man, in the first place, cannot speak, much less can understand English, and so he has to leave the issues of his case in the hands of Providence. You know, gentlemen, that Providence helps only those that help themselves, and as that man cannot help himself he must quietly submit to the higher forces which is the right of might.

We still honour the immortal name of William Wilberforce (hear, hear) who abolished slavery and we still thank the pioneers of civilization for the

amount of progress they have helped us to make, but when we learn to look beneath the things as they are we generally find that no real progress is made. The ugly evil is still there ; only in these days it makes its appearance under a new suit of clothes.

This is how the poor indentured Indian is situated. He is ignorant ; he feels but he cannot express his feelings. What are his prospects? He sells himself and gives the best years of his life for the benefit of his buyer or so-called employer. And what recompense does he get for it? A few shillings every month and a daily allowance of rice and dall ; and when his term of service is over he is cast away as useless lumber fit to be exported at once to the land of his birth (shame).

If he refuse to return to his native land and wish to remain in the colony he must consent to undergo a further term of slavery, or else he must pay a yearly price of £3 to remain in the country. Not only that, but he must also pay the price for his wife, his grown up sons and his daughters.

Now, I shall give you some account of the rights enjoyed by the so called "Free Indians". Suppose one of us here wants to go to South Africa. On his arrival there the law requires that he must be able to read and write one of the European languages. If he cannot do that he must at least produce a residential pass or a certificate of domicile. Failing that he must go back to India. Well, that is the law and we must abide by it. But that is not enough ; the real trouble begins when you are landed there. You are a stranger in the country, and so you go to the nearest hotel and ask for rooms. You are refused, you commence to argue with the proprietor and he tells you his reason. You are a black man, an Indian, a coolie, and your patronage is not needed (loud cries of shame). If he is not in one of his happy moods, he is very seldom in that mood, he may sneer at you and say "you have a hard neck." I am really surprised at your impudence (shame, shame). Remonstrance is useless because it is a question of black and white. It is the fashion of the white to treat the black in that way. Nay, it has been quite a custom among them (shame).

Then, perhaps, you would desire a ride in a rickshaw. You jump in the first one you meet and while you are thanking Providence for this special indulgence a gentleman in uniform stops the rickshaw turns round to you and requests you to get down. At first you don't understand what he means, and he repeats his request. You dismount and he directs your attention to a kind of board superscribed "For Europeans only" (shame). You stand stupified for a moment, then quietly turn round and walk up the street. Now as you are going along, perhaps, you get thirsty, you espy at a distance a restaurant or a cafe. You hurry up as much as possible, walk in, and gently drop yourself upon a chair. Instantly and unwillingly you become an object of loathsome surprise and attract attention of every creature present in the room. Men and women look at you as if you were some animal of curiosity. Some one turns the tip of his nose, some stare and some sneer at you. You wonder what on earth could be the matter with these people. However, you take no notice of all this gross stupidity and call for a cup of tea or hot coffee.

Then maids don't seem to listen to you, but they are chuckling among themselves. At last you become a little nervous, perhaps irritated, and call out a little louder. The proprietor approaches you from a corner behind the counter and asks you to walk out. Here, also, remonstrance is useless. Argument may lead to your forcible expulsion (shame). You are a sensible man and do not wish to create a scene in a public place, and so you quietly stalk out of the room. All this takes place, gentlemen, not because you refuse to pay or because you desire to pay less than the charges fixed; no, no, it is because you are an Indian, a coloured man, a coolie (shame). There is no place for you among the white Angels. There, the people believe that you are in this world only to wait upon them (shame.)

Then you know, gentlemen, you cannot even cast an admiring glance on a fair young lady. It is considered almost sacrilegious to do that and for this violation of etiquette you are liable to be put in gaol (laughter). Intending passengers for South Africa will kindly take note of this. Not very long ago, a coloured merchant endowed by nature with a keen perception of what is ugly and beautiful happened to look at a young lady of great personal charms, and what do you think was the result? She strongly objected to the black man's stare, and her father immediately called a policeman and handed that black man into custody, where he remained over night and was tried before a magistrate next morning. Justice of course decided in his favour, and black man, though he was, he was let off. You may say very lucky, but wait. He sued the father of the girl for defamation, but the case was reviewed and dismissed by the Chief Justice. This is all that I know about the case. Now let us suppose you are travelling by a train, you have a second class ticket and are seated in a compartment with one of our native friends. It so happens that all seats are fully occupied and a couple of European gentlemen are unable to obtain seats. The guard or a railway staff officer approaches you and asks you to get out, and on your so doing your seats are given to the aforesaid gentlemen. Then you are led to a third class carriage, and if you refuse to enter it you are left behind and the train steams out of the station. Then, again, you are denied the right of taking your lunch or dinner at the railway refreshment rooms, specially established for the convenience of travellers on long journeys. The reason is that you are a black man, a coolie, an Indian (shame). Moreover, you even cannot get your sons and daughters admitted into schools where European boys and girls are educated. No, those black looking sons of yours are not fit companions for the fairy-like sons and daughters of whitemen. They must be brought up in special schools which are established for them. Besides all this, the son of an indentured Indian cannot be allowed to appear at the Civil Service Examination of the Colony (A voice: why not?) you may ask "Why not" I say I know not, I only know such is the law. I may yet speak of another law. It requires that all Indians except the free shall carry with them a pass day and night. Now, suppose, that you are promenading on the boulevard and a gentleman in uniform, approaching from the opposite direction, demands your pass. You tell him you are a free Indian. He does not know whether you are so or not, and so he takes you straight to the Police Station. Then you are brought before the Magistrate and on your proving before that tribunal that you are

really a free Indian, you are released. Then, perhaps you plume yourself up on the successful adventure; but may I ask what about the waste of time, and the humiliation of being taken to the Police Station, and placed before the Magistrate? Oh, that's merely a sentiment. There is nothing in that (laughter). Such indeed is the position of affairs in South Africa. The Indian is hated and insulted both in public and private life. His presence is greatly annoying to the colonists and he is looked upon as a parasite (shame). The colonists have pronounced him as an undesirable immigrant and are busy getting up all sorts of laws to prevent him from entering into the colonies. Even our newly acquired colony of the Transvaal is strongly voting against the Indians, (shame) and proposals of administration to establish separate bazaars for the Asiatics and to enforce their segregations are already being made (shame). In all this they are influenced by a kind of false prejudice and mistaken views. I am strongly of opinion that the colony of Natal owes its past and present prosperity to the much despised Indians (hear, hear). In support of this statement allow me to read a portion of the last report on the Indian Immigrants.

It says:—

“Owing to the utter unreliability and scarcity of native labour for agricultural and other purposes, both on the coast and in the upcountry districts, the demand for indentured Indians during the year has been infinitely greater than it ever has been. This demand will be greater every year. Native labour for farming purposes, or, in fact for any other industry in the colony, must be looked upon as a thing of the past; consequently the employers of coloured labour generally throughout the colony have now realised the fact that without Indians they can absolutely do nothing, and it is pleasing to note that notwithstanding the hue and cry made against the introduction of Indians a few years ago by certain sections of the community, the majority of these people are now actually employing Indians themselves, either as household servants, general labourers, hospital attendants, &c. There is no getting out of the fact that if by any reason the Indians were unhappily withdrawn from the colony, or if even their introduction therein is discontinued for a short time the whole of the industries of the country would at once be simply paralyzed. Not only would this be the case in regard to any private enterprise, but every public institution of the colony would suffer more or less. At the close of the previous years there remained an unsupplied balance of 7,347 men to come forward from India to complete the indents on hand. The men and women are generally unequalled as field or agricultural labourers and as house servants. The younger members of their families, especially the colonial born-boys, find ready employment as waiters in the hotels, in the refreshment rooms and as general or domestic servants. Their quickness and intelligence makes them valuable in these positions”.

Thus you see the future welfare of the colony, not unlike the past, depends upon the Indians, and that the colonies cannot without severe loss to themselves, dispense with the Indian Immigrants. Now, therefore, in conclusion and on behalf of the Indians residing in South Africa I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, that steps may be taken to redress their existing grievances. Formulate your demands. Ask and ye shall receive them. Be positive, not passive. That is the grand psychological truth. Apathy and levity are evils

that must be overcome. To obtain redress of the evils, facts must be brought to the notice of our kind Indian Government and its co-operation and intervention must be earnestly solicited. Finally the whole of the Indian law of the colonies must necessarily be revised, transformed and recast (applause).

Mr. Krishna Iyer (Madras) in seconding the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution which has been so lucidly placed before you by Mr. Thakore does not require that I should make any very lengthy remarks in seconding it. The united voice of India expressed on this occasion will go a great way in supporting the cause of the Indians residing in South Africa. There are several restrictions placed in their way : they cannot travel with Europeans and must safeguard themselves with a necessary pass if they want to move about at night lest they should be arrested by policeman. They are treated as if they are bare coolies. You remember how the Indians served the British in the Boer War, in the battlefield carrying the wounded to the hospital. You also remember the noble service rendered to the British by the Indian contingent in the same war. Having regard to all these things I think the British Government would not allow our fellow brethren in South Africa to be so badly treated on account of the difference in colour between the Indians and the Europeans. I hope you will carry this resolution unanimously (cheers).

Mr. Gulam Husen Miakhan (South Africa) supported the above resolution with the following remarks. (He addressed the meeting in Gujarati and the following is the gist of his speech :)

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You have just now heard Mr. Thakore with whose observations I fully agree, I returned here from South Africa about a month ago in the steam-ship Sirsa. When I embarked on board the ship a respectable Mahomedan gentleman came to see me and the other passengers off; but it so happened that another steamer was lying along side the Sirsa, so he could not come to us easily. In the mean while a European constable came up and stopped him from coming to us. He appealed to be permitted to come near us but without avail. The constable would not grant his request, but began to laugh at him as if to enjoy his disappointment, and when the Mahomedan gentleman tried to force his way towards us he was maltreated by the constable (cries of shame). My poor friend's finger was cut (renewed cries of shame). The European constable was requested to help him but he turned his back towards him. The case was represented to the authorities through a well known vakil but I do not know the result of the representation. I have been in Natal since 1882 and in Cape Colony since 1883 and my experience is that in Cape Colony the Indians are not so badly treated as in Natal, but I am afraid that even there the Indians will have the misfortune to face bad treatment hereafter. As our children are not allowed to attend the school I have put my five boys in the school at Cairo. I have visited America, Australia and Russia but nowhere was any evidence of a different treatment being given to me on account of my colour. In

Russia they only require a pass-port from the traveller but they don't question his colour. We pray that in South Africa the British Government will prohibit the raising of the question of colour (cheers).

Mr. Haji Suleman (South Africa) also supported the above resolution with a short speech in Gujarati of which the following is the substance :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I entirely concur in the speeches of the three gentlemen who have spoken on this resolution. The ill-treatment accorded to the Indians in South Africa is indeed very great and undeserved. They are all loyal and faithful and yet they are treated in the manner described by the speakers who have preceded me, and therefore feel it very much. No distinction is made between the educated and the uneducated, all are treated like dogs (shame). They look to the *Sirkar* as their *Mabap* and therefore pray to them not to observe the distinction of colour between the two subject races (cheers).

Mr. Haji Sumar (South Africa) in further supporting the above resolution made a few observations in Gujarati of which the following is the summary :—

MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The previous speakers on this resolution have given you the exact description of the position of our poor fellow brethren in South Africa. In standing before you it is not my purpose to speak anything against the British Government because they have allowed the Indians in South Africa to be treated on a different footing from that of the European residents there. Mr. Gandhi (loud cheers) who had come to India has published a pamphlet embodying all the grievances of the Indians in South Africa. When he returned there from India he was greatly maltreated (shame). Perhaps you know, Gentlemen, that we have there the Indian Congress (hear, hear). Even though we are so badly treated there, when the British in the Boer War were attacked by the enemy we, Indians, 650 men, offered to help the British free of charge at our own expense, and yet after the War we are insulted as before and denied our rights. When the British were hard pressed by the pursuit of the enemy not five men from Natal were forthcoming to help them free of charge, while we 650 Indians, came forward free of charge (cheers) and travelled 20 miles in the sun living on biscuits. Of course, in doing this we did not do anything extraordinary. We served the British Government, we did our duty to our *Mabap Sirkar* (cheers). At Ladysmith the cost of living was excessive—a pound of potatoes being sold at £ 1. We had to bear the cost of this expensive living ourselves. One night General White asked his men “is there not any man who is prepared to go up half the road in advance and watch and report the movements of the enemy”? A man from among us cooly came forward and said “I am prepared to sacrifice my life for the country” (loud cheers). He then ascended a tree while General White's men took shelter in the caves (laughter). As soon as the Boers appeared with their guns this man on the tree used to draw a rope and then General White's men used to conceal themselves in the caves. At last, when the Boers went away General White and

his men came out of the caves (laughter). We claim the victory but the British have not acknowledged our claim to it. We had great hopes after the battle that Sir Alfred Milner would recognise our rights but unfortunately for us when he came into contact with our European fellow subjects in Transvaal he forgot us. Now Mr. Chamberlain has gone to Natal. Let us hope he will restore us our rights (cheers). I have received a letter from my Manager stating that he had presented a petition to Sir A. Milner but didn't get a satisfactory reply. I have got large property there and I am doing business there for the last 15 years. When I took my family I could not secure tickets on a British steamer! I therefore went by a German boat. The officers in the British steamer office winced when I asked for tickets to Natal (cheers).

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

Mr. Vithaldas Damodardas Thakarsey moved the following resolution:—

“That this Congress strongly reiterates its protest against the Currency legislation of 1893 which has artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by more than 30 per cent., which indirectly enhances all taxation to that extent, and which whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year, affects most injuriously the interests of the agriculturists and other producers of this country.”

I have great pleasure in placing before you this resolution, the subject matter of which is of paramount importance to all classes of producers in India. Gentlemen, the currency policy of the Government of India has been in existence for the last ten years, a period sufficiently long to enable us to judge correctly of its effects on the industrial progress of India and the welfare of its inhabitants. The classes principally affected by this policy may be said to be the agriculturists and the manufacturers, on whom the prosperity of the country mainly depends. The former form the bulk of our population, and as such they deserve our best consideration. Owing to the artificial enhancement of the value of our rupee the cultivator receives nearly 30 % less for his produce than he otherwise would with an open mint. His produce is sold in the European markets in competition with the produce of Europe, United States, Canada and other countries, and its price is therefore regulated by those governing markets. No rise or fall in the gold value of our rupee can have any material effect on prices ruling in those markets; and if the gold value of our rupee is artificially enhanced, the unfortunate producer has to choose between the two evils; either to receive less number of rupees or to be without those markets altogether. This, gentlemen, is the enormous loss to the cultivator on account of our sixteen-pence rupee. But this is not all. While on the one hand the producer is compelled to receive nearly 30% less than what is due to him under natural currency, he has on the other hand to pay a fixed land revenue in the now appreciated rupee. Is it a matter of surprise, therefore, that our agricultural population has come to such a pitch that even the first signs of famine drive them to relief works? Gentlemen, the recurrence of famines during recent years and the abject poverty of our agricultural population have been vividly dwelt upon by our learned President in his inaugural address and I believe, you must have seen from my foregoing remarks that Currency legislation is principally at the bottom of all this mischief.

The case of the mill-owners is in no better plight. Most of you are undoubtedly aware, that the spinning industry of the country has been for the last several years, passing through a terrible crisis—thanks of course to our artificial currency. Over half of the capital sunk in this industry has already been lost to the investing public, and the remaining portion hardly earns any dividend. Before the Currency legislation of 1893, Indian manufacturers with the natural advantage of having cotton on the spot had practically the monopoly of the yarn market of China. Nay, we exported our yarn even to Japan itself, who now threatens to drive us away from the Chinese market. All these natural advantages have been more than neutralized by our unnatural currency. The enhancement of the value of our rupee has brought about a serious fall in exchange with silver-using China which has the effect of bringing in our hands less number of rupees than before, while the Japanese has not to encounter the evil to the same extent, since the value of his Yen is fixed at very nearly its natural price. The result is that to-day Japan is able to meet more than one-third of China's demand, and I would not be surprized, if the day comes when Japan would hold the market all to itself as India once did. During the last four years, I have spoken and written so much upon this, to us an all-absorbing subject, that I fear to tire the patience of those who either disagree with the views I have expressed or who care not to study the subject at all. But let me tell you, gentlemen, that the more deeply I go into the subject, the more deeply am I convinced of the correctness of my conclusions. It is this bounty of Rs. 20 per bale to our competitors in the Far East, that has contributed so materially to the ruin of our spinning industry, an industry, the like of which, any country in the world would be proud to possess. The object of the Government in closing the mints to the free coinage of silver was to reduce the loss in exchange for remitting Home Charges and this object, no doubt, they have completely gained. They are thus saving nearly eight crores of rupees per annum, but the question is "at whose cost"? Some one, of course, must be out of pocket for that amount, so that the Government may gain it. It is impossible to believe that the Government, can, by a stroke of legislation create wealth, and if it is in the power of the Government, to create wealth without injury to any body, why not raise the value of our rupee to twenty pence and thus make an extra profit of a further eight crores (laughter). But no, somebody must be bled and who could be better bled than the producer.

This policy of Government has levied an indirect tax on production to the extent of nearly 30% and I am not exaggerating when I say, that this unseen gain to the Government costs the country many times over and over such profit. On this point I cannot do better than place before you an extract from the minute of Messrs. Campbell and Muir, two of the most practical members of Currency Commission of 1898. It runs thus :—

"To deny that arbitrary enhancement of the currency is a tax, to argue that the producer is no worse off in the long run and that wages and other charges must in time adjust themselves to its altered value, is to maintain the dangerous principle that the Government may lighten its liabilities without injury to any body by a step of this kind. Such a step is undoubtedly a tax on production and if the Government plead that in the absence of any other available source

of revenue, trade must bear it, it is unwise to throw the whole of it on one side of trade, the side which it is least expedient to tax, and to penalise production while giving a bounty to foreign imports." I am sure, gentlemen, this will be sufficient authority to convince you of the reasonableness of our demand. It often happens that the people do not care to examine too closely into the causes of their prosperity, but is it possible that there are persons who would not inquire into the causes of their adversity, nay, even refuse to see those causes when placed before their eyes? Lord Curzon has once said that India is a land of surprises, and he may truly add this to the list of those surprises, that the ruined merchants, mill-owners, agriculturists, and all connected with the Indian products, who have suffered so heavily from the effects of the Currency legislation, should have sat with folded hands and followed a do-nothing policy—an attitude most disastrous to their interests and one that would mislead Government as to the real nature of their hardships. But I am glad to say that Bombay, though late, has at last been awakened to its sense of duty (hear, hear). The Indian Currency Reform League has been established there with the object of assisting Government to put the Indian currency on a sound and natural basis. The circular letter from the League has been published, from which it will be seen that the demand of the League is not unjustifiable. The present ratio of 1s. 4d. is not permanently fixed and in the words of Sir David Barbour, it is to be decided "in the light of future expedients." Gentlemen, I take this opportunity of inviting your co-operation by joining the League and thereby strengthening the hands of those working in this useful direction. I firmly believe that the time has now come when by continued agitation the eyes of Government should be opened. If Government is not satisfied with our arguments, the proper course for them is to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to minutely study the effects of the Currency legislation on the different industries of India, and to suggest an appropriate remedy (cheers).

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras) in seconding the above resolution said :—

Gentlemen, the passing of the Currency legislation has given the Government immense advantage over the taxpayer. The Government deliberately proposed this indirect tax so that the people may not know it. They knew that if the people became aware of this tax it would be fraught with political danger to the country. As a matter of fact you know, Gentlemen, very well that the Government of India has to remit to the Secretary of State in England 18 millions sterling every year to meet his expenses. They have to remit the amount in gold—the sovereign—whereas the Government of India collect their rent here in Rupees—silver—and have therefore to change the silver coin into the gold coin before it can be utilized in England. Unfortunately 20 years ago there was a fall in the value of silver and consequently more rupees had to be spent in exchange for one sovereign than was the case previously. Then came a question before the Government of India whether more taxation should be placed upon the people to collect more revenue in silver in order to meet the additional expenditure, or to give artificial value to the rupee thereby avoiding the difficulty of having to propose further taxation. They, therefore, adopted the plan of taxing the people in such a manner that they

could not detect it and fixed the value of the rupee at one and one-third. Now, formerly the Indian ryot, by selling his produce to the English export merchant could get more money. Before 1893 if he sold his produce for one sovereign he could get between Rs. 20 to Rs. 22, while since that year for the last 10 years the ryot gets by selling his certain measure of produce for one sovereign only Rs. 15, that is, he has now to bear the loss of thirty per cent. in his transaction. Gentlemen, there is an element of political significance in the situation.

There is no economic problem connected with India in which the political element is not involved (hear, hear). The ryot knows that if he does not sell his produce even at such a loss as this he will have no money to pay the Government tax, and the result will be that all his land and all his produce will be attached by Government. He is not like the producer in other countries. In India he must sell his produce without waiting for better prices. It is for this reason that the English export merchants have an advantage over the Indian sellers. Whatever the price offered by the foreign exporter the ryot is obliged to sell his produce at that price, and is, therefore, at a great disadvantage. With these few words I beg to second this resolution (cheers).

Mr. Sorabji Karaka (Ahmedabad) supported the above resolution, observing that the Currency legislation had literally killed the mill-industry in this country, as he could speak from his own experience as a mill-agent of one of the weaving mills in Ahmedabad (cheers).

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

Mr. N. M. Samarath (Bombay) moved the Seventh Resolution which ran as follows :—

“That this Congress enters its most emphatic protest against the fresh permanent burden of £ 7,86,000 per annum, which the increase made during the course of the year in the pay of the British soldier, would impose on the revenues of India, and views with alarm the recent announcement of the Secretary of State for India hinting at a possible increase in the near future of the strength of the British troops in the country. In view of the fact that during the last three year, large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety been withdrawn for service in South Africa and China, the proposal to increase the strength of the existing British garrison manifestly involves a grievous injustice to the Indian taxpayer, and the Congress earnestly trusts that the proposal will either be abandoned or else be carried out at the cost of the British Exchequer, which, in fairness, should bear not only the cost of any additional British troops that may be employed but also a reasonable proportion of the cost of the existing garrison.”

In dealing with this subject permit me for one moment to give you its early history and subsequent developments. After the Sepoy Mutiny, as it was called, of 1857, had been suppressed and order and tranquillity had been restored and the Government of India had been transferred from the East Indian Company to the Crown, a Parliamentary Commission was appointed to inquire into the question of ‘Army Organization’ in India, and one of the questions before

that Commission was whether it would be desirable to amalgamate the British army in India with the British army in England which was called the Troops of the Line, and whether, if it was considered to be advantageous to do so, the cost of the whole scheme should be thrown on the British treasury or on the Indian treasury. As a matter of fact a good deal of evidence was taken and most of the authoritative opinions were given against the proposed amalgamation. Many of those whose opinion was entitled to consideration strenuously advocated the continuance of the old system, namely, the Local Army Force for India and not an amalgamation of the Troops of the Line. The majority, however, took a different view, but the minority was composed of men who were far-sighted and who perfectly well appreciated the real situation. Ultimately, the question having gone before the India Council and the Parliament the Secretary of State proposed the Amalgamation Scheme and the necessary change took place. This was in 1859. Twenty years afterwards the Government of India appointed another Army Commission to take stock of what had happened after the Amalgamation Scheme was passed—whether it had proved beneficial or detrimental to the interest of India. The report of that Commission produced a great impression upon a former Viceroy whose name, I have no doubt, you will receive most enthusiastically—I mean Lord Ripon (loud applause)—that good and righteous statesman whose one aim was to see the wrong righted, grievances redressed and the welfare of the population promoted (hear, hear). In one of his despatches to the Secretary of State for India he pointed out that the Amalgamation Scheme had been very mischievous to the financial position of India, that it was unfair to India and that England ought to come to the rescue of poor India. He said also that it was not an act of courtesy that was wanted but an act of financial justice to this country. His Lordship further pointed out that, as a matter of fact, the Army Amalgamation Scheme had resulted in doing good to the British army at the expense of poor India in matters with which India had absolutely no direct concern, and hoped and trusted that at any rate the relationship between England and India would be so adjusted that there would be a fair proportion of charges debited to the Indian treasury for expenses connected with the British army. I do not know that it availed anything; I do not think that the appeal was listened to. Then 20 years afterwards there came the Welby Commission before which the cause of the Indian people was adequately represented. That Commission could not go into the policy which was responsible for some of the Military expenditure, because that was not the point to be considered by them, but they came to the conclusion that the charges imposed upon India were really unfair, unreasonable and too heavy. They, therefore, suggested that half the expenses should be borne by the British Treasury. Their ultimate suggestion was that £ Two Hundred and ninety thousand should be given every year to the Indian treasury by the British Government. Now to our great disappointment the Secretary of State for India has imposed an additional burden permanently of £786,000 on the Indian treasury by raising the pay of the British soldier. The Government of India is unable to bear this burden consistently with its manifold duties to the people of India. We therefore submit that all this expense should be borne by the British treasury and that a breathing time be given to the Indian treasury in the interest of the most pressing problems which are awaiting solution at the hands of our beneficent Government (cheers).

The Hon. Mr. Srinivas Rao (Madras) in seconding the above resolution said :—

In seconding this resolution I beg to place before you the opinions of Government and English officials showing that the Government are not justified in raising the number of the army. The opinions were not expressed yesterday or to-day, but they have been expressed during the last 30 or 40 years. They have proved that the existing force is sufficient for the purpose of the peace in the country, and is also sufficient for the purpose of keeping the enemy off the country. Therefore we, in this resolution, appeal to the Government not to increase the pay of the army and not to increase the number of the army in India. In 1861 the British and the Indian army was amalgamated in India. I refer to the words of no less a personage than the late Mr. Fawcett. He characterized the system of the Military expenditure as an instance of unjust and unfair partnership. A few years after the abolition of the East India Company he wrote : "What is known as the Army Amalgamation Scheme was carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced Indian statesmen" Lord Salisbury himself said in 1867: "I do not like India to be looked upon as an English barrack in the Oriental seas, from which we may draw any number of troops without paying for them. It is bad for England, because it is always bad for us not to have a check upon the temptation to engage in little wars which can only be controlled by the necessity of paying for them. If the garrison which we keep in India is, as all authorities assure us, necessary for maintaining the country in security and peace, that garrison ought not to be rashly diminished. If, on the other hand, it is too large, and if India can for any length of time conveniently spare these troops, then the Indian population ought not to be so unnecessarily taxed." The Duke of Argyll characterized the military charges imposed upon the Government of India as "an unjust and illegal tribute to England." In May 1893, Lord Northbrook raised a debate in the House of Lords on the question of the settlement of the Army charges between the British and Indian treasuries, and helped by other Members of the House, who had had a share in the Government of India, he thoroughly exposed the high handed injustice of the War Office and its political as well as financial results in India. Lord Ripon, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley joined Lord Northbrook in the debate, and strong opinions were expressed. Lord Kimberley, who was then the Secretary of State for India observed: "The reasons why proposals that must throw fresh burdens on the Government of India are so frequently made in the House of Commons is, that those that make them know that their own pocket will not suffer in the desire to make things comfortable and agreeable. The tax-payers of the country exercise no check upon such proposals, and the consequence is that charges are sometimes imposed upon the Government of India which that Government thinks unjust and unnecessary." In a despatch dated March 1890 the Government of India sum up the whole case as regards the division of the military charges as follows: "That India and its army should not be treated by the War Office as if it belonged to a separate Empire; that as India has had to pay largely for changes introduced into the British Service, without the consent of those responsible for the revenues of this country, liberality should be exercised in dealing with the charges for the supply and maintenance of

British troops in India ; that India should be considered as affording a training ground for the officers and men of the British army ; that the relative financial capacity of the two countries should be considered, and the whole matter adjusted on broad and statesmanlike views of public policy ; and lastly, that it should be recollected how great a reserve of military strength the army of India affords to the Empire generally without the smallest charge on English revenues." Lord Cross, who was several times Secretary of State for India under Conservative Governments, pointed out the political result of such a feeling as described by the Duke of Argyll taking a firm hold on the Indian mind. He said: "I am certain that in the course of a few years the Indian people will force us to do them justice." If for the last 30 years these officials say that the army, as it exists, is sufficient for the purpose of Indian administration—when they say that it is unnecessary to increase either the pay or the strength of the army—is it proper that the Secretary of State for India should not only propose to increase its pay but also to increase its strength? The Welby Commission has made the British treasury pay £230,000 to the Indian treasury on account of the military charges, but the proposed increased pay of the army will take away from our treasury three times that amount. Naturally the question arises "why should there be an increase in the strength of the army when during the last three years 30,000 of our troops have been spared for service in China and South Africa?" It is a matter of great regret that the Government always turn a deaf ear to our prayers. We have just now heard from the lips of three Mahomedan gentlemen how our fellow-brethren in South Africa are treated, and I am afraid, that if the authorities go on disregarding our requests, our own position will, in course of time, be no better than that of our African brethren. The Government of India are making a mistake if they accept the proposals of the Secretary of State to increase the pay and strength of the Indian army without a protest. If they do not correct that mistake in time then they will do harm to the country which it would be very difficult afterwards to make amends for (cheers).

Mr. Baikunth Nath Sen (Bengal) in supporting the above resolution said :—

The whole gist of this resolution consists of three problems. The first is that we are protesting against a permanent burden of £780,000 for increased pay to the existing army ; secondly, the apprehension of an increase in the strength of the present garrison, and, thirdly, in view of the past events, the fairness of the British Exchequer coming forward to contribute to the payment to the existing garrison. A reference has been made by one of the previous speakers on this resolution to certain Commissions and Inquiries. I will refer to the Army Commission which was composed of military experts who recommended that 50,000 to 60,000 British soldiers would be quite sufficient for the defence of India against Russia or Afghanistan. During Lord Dufferin's administration 10,000 more soldiers were added to the old strength. Now, we all know that during the last three years 30,000 troops were despatched from India to foreign countries for military purposes—they were sent to take part in the wars in China and South Africa. When they were sent out of India the Secretary of State expressed the fear that India was running some risk, but subsequent events showed that no risk was run (cheers.) If Russia wanted to invade

India she would have taken that opportunity because she knew that India was weakened by 30,000 soldiers. The attack of Russia on India is, therefore, a matter of pure imagination with some people. In the absence of her 30,000 soldiers India was perfectly safe, and such being the case the first question that presents itself for our consideration is whether there is a necessity for an increase in the strength of the army. In considering this question we are not contending for a reduction in the army; we only contend for a contribution from the Imperial Exchequer for the maintenance of the Indian Army. In his speech during the debate on the Indian Budget the Secretary of State for India observed: "I cannot hold out any hope of reduction of expenses as regards our army; I hope the increase may not be very substantial; I think it is not improbable that we may have to add to a certain extent to the number of white troops in India". No reason has been given by his Lordship for this increase; he has not condescended to give any reason, but later on in his speech he says: "We have been fortunate during the last three years in obtaining large sums from the Imperial Government. We ran some risk in diminishing our force in India but we have been benefited financially. We have received from the Imperial Exchequer two millions three hundred thousand pounds". According to Mr. Caine's figures we see that the British Exchequer paid in this way in 1900 three millions, nine hundred and nine thousand pounds; in 1901 three millions, eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds and in 1902 one million and six thousand pounds. During the last three years the British Government paid close upon ten millions for the hire of Indian troops. We find, therefore, that there is no reason given by his Lordship why there should be an increase in our army. If during the last three years India could do without thirty thousand soldiers we see no reason why there should be an increase in her existing army. If the British Exchequer has paid ten million pounds for our thirty thousand soldiers who served abroad during the last three years we can fairly expect it to contribute at least three million pounds annually for the support of the existing army. We object, in the first place, to the permanent burden which has been imposed upon us by the increase which has been given to the British soldier in his pay and which amounts to £786,000. Next we object to the increase in the strength of the army. We further urge that if the idea of increasing the strength of the existing army is not abandoned altogether then let the additional expenditure be wholly borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Besides, as our past experience shows that there is no necessity for maintaining thirty thousand troops in India a fair contribution towards their maintenance might also be made from the British Exchequer. It is evident that in India a much larger force is being maintained for Imperial purposes. When an army is required in China or for Boer war they draw upon India. Similarly they may draw upon the Indian army to serve in war in any of the parts of the world. For this reason, there cannot be any difficulty in the way of the British Exchequer contributing towards the expenses of the British army in India (cheers).

The congress was adjourned at this stage, till Friday (the day after) the 26th instant at 11-30 A. M.

Thrd day, Friday, 26th December 1902.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS.

In opening the proceedings of the day the President said : —

Gentlemen, we must begin our proceedings at once, and I am afraid, it will be necessary for me to remind such of you, as have to speak on the different resolutions, of the limitation of time, this being the last day of the Congress. We must finish our programme to-day. Before we begin our work I have just to make one important statement and that is that Miss Ghosal B.A. has sent me a telegram making certain suggestions in connection with her proposal to ask the Congress to organize National Sports in connection with the Congress (cheers), in the same way as the Industrial Exhibition which has been organized in connection with the Congress. The matter is one of great importance, but we have no time to consider it now. But I have not the slightest doubt that the next Congress wherever it is held will give the subject the attention which its importance deserves (cheers).

Mr. J. Chowdhary (Calcutta) moved the Eighth Resolution which was as follows :—

“That this Congress desires to tender its respectful thanks to the Government of India for the Circular Letter recently addressed by them to Local Governments on the subject of the Universities' Commission's Report—so far as it relates to the proposals for the abolition of Second Grade Colleges and Law classes—which has partially allayed the apprehension in the public mind that due weight might not be attached to public opinion in taking action on the recommendations of the Commission. That this Congress views with the gravest alarm many of the Commission's recommendations, the acceptance of which will, in its opinion, reverse the policy steadily pursued during the last half a century by the British Government in the matter of higher education, by checking its spread and restricting its scope, and by virtually destroying such limited independence as the Universities at present enjoy.

That in particular the Congress objects most strongly to the following recommendations of the Commission :—

- (a) The abolition of all existing Second Grade Colleges except such as may be raised to the status of a First Grade College, and the prohibition of the affiliation of new Second Grade Colleges.
- (b) The fixing by the Syndicate of minimum rates of fees for different Colleges.
- (c) The introduction of a rigidly uniform course of studies throughout the country, irrespective of the lines on which the different Universities have so far progressed.
- (d) The monopoly of legal instruction by Central Law Colleges, one for each Province or Presidency.

- (e) The virtual licensing of all secondary education by making the existence of private schools dependent upon their recognition by the Director of Public Instruction.
- (f) And the officialization of the Senate and the Syndicate and the practical conversion of the University into a Department of Government".

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I do not know how far to congratulate ourselves on the solicitude of the Indian Government to reform our Universities on the lines proposed by the Commission appointed by Lord Curzon. I have carefully gone through the literature connected with the Scheme of University Reform and I must say that the net result of the impression left on my mind, after a careful perusal of everything that has appeared in connection with this scheme, is one of disappointment (cheers). Of course, there are a great many things in the scheme, such as the proposal to found a Teaching University, etc., but there is a spirit pervading the scheme which must be regretted by every one present in this august assembly. As to the object of the University Reform Lord Curzon, speaking at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, protested against the people ascribing motives before judging, before they had carefully considered the whole of the scheme, and he practically animadverted upon the spirit of our journalists in ascribing motives to Government where none existed. I am not going to ascribe any motive to the Indian Government in general or to Lord Curzon in particular, but I would point out one thing very palpable with regard to this scheme about which the Government of India makes no secret at all. Even if you read the last Circular Letter that has been issued by the Government of India in this connection you will find that the scheme of University Reform consists of improving the University teaching by a negative process, and that negative process consists of discouraging cheap instruction. The Government of India says that a large number of institutions have cropped up, especially in Bengal, and it has got an impression that many of those institutions are not well qualified for imparting University instruction. Gentlemen, you will remember that the Government of India spends very little on education. From the facts and figures published by the Government on this subject you will find that it hardly spends two annas per head of population on education in this country, whereas in other countries, in Genoa for instance, they spend a large proportion of their revenue on education. America and the British Colonies spend a large amount on education. If the Government of India was prepared to spend more money then we could understand its earnestness with regard to the question of University Reform but if it cannot make adequate provision for our education it has no right to interfere with the attempts made by the people themselves, by way of private enterprise, to try to teach our younger generation. For want of means they may employ teachers or professors on small pay. I do not think that the opinion of the Government, that cheap education is undesirable and that these institutions must either rise to a certain standard or should exist at all, is conceived in a right spirit. By discouraging cheap education Government must take away

from the field of education a class of people who are a majority but who cannot pay large fees. They are barred from getting University education. Government further says that they shall restrict the number of free studentships. Why should Government interfere in these matters? They have tried the experiment in Madras and found that it failed. Why should they now try another experiment in Bengal or in any other University? It is for the Colleges to find the money and to have qualified teachers and professors. The University should only look to the efficient teaching. The colleges should be left to husband their own resources. The Commission in their report say that the free studentships should be limited to three per cent. Supposing proprietors of colleges or organizers of colleges find that some deserving students cannot carry on their studies unless they are given certain facilities. They might be inclined to give such free studentships. Under these circumstances what business has the University or the Government to interfere with the discretion of the college proprietors or with the opportunities offered to poor and deserving students to pursue higher education? Then, there is another restriction imposed by the Commission. It relates to the affiliation of new institutions. In the Bombay Presidency considerable difficulty exists already with regard to the affiliation of new institutions. In Bengal there are 78 colleges, of which 40 are first grade colleges. Of these 78, about 50 are unaided, while the rest are aided or Government institutions. It seems to be the aim of this scheme of University Reform to abolish these unaided colleges. If the Government were prepared to take them up or to found scholarships or establish separate institutions then we should be only too glad to see this part of the scheme carried out. But instead of spreading education Government is only putting restrictions on the growth of the colleges or educational institutions, and, therefore, we cannot consider that their policy is either sound or advantageous to the country. The next point is that the Circular Letter of the Government of India says that the Syndicate will have power to decide as to the affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges, that the Senate will have no voice in the matter and that the decision of the Syndicate will be final subject to the decision of the Chancellor of the University who is always either the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or the Governor-General himself. There is no reason for this restriction. I have got experience not only of the Calcutta University but also of the other Universities where Lord Curzon and the President of the Universities Commission, the Hon. Mr. Raleigh, have studied, and I can tell you that the education that is received in our Universities is by no means inferior to that received by the graduates of the Oxford or Cambridge Universities (hear, hear). I find one strange statement in the Report of the Commission, emanating, no doubt, from Lord Curzon, namely, the roseate view with regard to the employment of the Indians. His Lordship says: 'Be fit and you will be employed'. But I may tell you that there are many of our Graduates who are far better fitted for the Government posts than the ordinary Graduates of the Oxford University (hear, hear). Our 'first class' men are very superior to the Oxford men; even our 'passed' men are superior to the average 'passed' men either of Oxford or Cambridge (cheers). I can say that from my personal experience. What we want is not any scheme for University Reform, but opportunities and right (cheers). As a witness before the Universities Commission I told them 'give us opportunities and see whether

we cannot fill with credit any position in life in which you propose to place us (cheers), give us opportunities and see whether we succeed or fail' (cheers).

Mr. D. G. Padhye (Bombay) in seconding the above resolution said :—
 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will observe that the resolution asks you not to condemn this part or that part of the recommendations of the Universities Commission, but to pronounce almost the whole condemnation upon the tendency of all recommendations of the Universities Commission and I think that it tells you to do so very rightly. Our learned President has dwelt at length upon the very imperfect and one-sided representation on that Commission itself. I need not repeat his arguments, but the question as to who are the gentlemen who constitute a particular Commission becomes practically of extreme importance when we have to consider the fact that the recommendations made by these gentlemen are such as to command the confidence of the people and to stand the test of reason. No Commission has ever been so largely represented by Government representatives as the Indian Universities Commission, because it was interested in the particular question of University Reform. I believe I shall be echoing the sentiments of all those who have read the Commission's Report that that Report has been very meagre, very poor and devoid of what we call argument and reasoning, and so does not appeal to the rational faculty of man. It is also poor in language and poor in diction. The Commission expressly say: "we are going not to consider any of the proposals put forward before us; we are going to consider what we think to be the best thing for the well-being of India" (laughter). The recommendations of the Commission are extremely numerous and cover a large ground—they deal with the question of fees, of the second grade Colleges and how the Professors should correct the students' exercises, &c. (laughter). It would be impossible to deal here at length with any one of the Commission's recommendations so as to do it justice. Suffice it to say that the general spirit and the general tendency of the Report is such as to disappoint the public. It would be impossible to attribute any motive to Government in trying to diagnose the reason with which these proposals of the Commission have been conceived. It seems that the scheme of University Reform was conceived at the sinister advice of some one who is determined to narrow the sphere of education in India. If a new machinery has been created for the purpose of this reform and if that machinery had conceived scheme to carry out that reform then that would have been a different thing. Here a harmful change is determined upon. The change recommended as regards the reconstruction of the Senate and the Syndicate amounts, in reality, to an arbitrary proceeding on the part of the Commission. The object is to have an official majority on the two bodies. There was no reason to curtail the rights of the Fellows and Faculties. These restrictions could be resorted to only in times of great danger or great revolution. The despatch of 1854 expressly condemns interference with the system of education. The Universities Commission say that they take the words of the despatch of 1854 to mean 'education to be imparted should be of a practical nature'. In the curriculum of the Indian Universities Commission's recommendations education is not of a practical nature (laughter). For the B.A. examination they recommend not 'History and Political Economy' but 'Philosophy' (laughter). Even in ancient times our old kings were

always patrons of learning (hear, hear); for instance you know the solicitude of Sambhaji Maharajah, Raja Bhoj and also some of the Mahomedan Emperors to look after the education of their people even in troublous times. They were powerful because they were distinguished for their love of learning (cheers). The British Government also prided itself upon being anxious to take care of the education of the people. We, therefore, hope that they will not carry out the mischievous recommendations of the Universities Commission (cheers).

Mr. N.B. Ranade (Bombay) supported the above resolution with the following observations:—

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

I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution which protests against the restrictive policy of the Government of India in the matter of higher education in India, as indicated in the recommendations of the Universities Commission—recommendations which are in the opinion of public bodies entirely prejudicial to the true interests of higher education in this country, and recommendations which cast an unmerited slur upon the self-sacrificing spirit, the high attainments and ripe scholarship of some of the best products of our Indian Universities, who are engaged in teaching in the different private colleges in India. The first recommendation of the Commission to which we should object is about the teaching of History and Political Economy. Those that have studied the history of Hindu civilization in this country have come to the conclusion that the genesis of our civilization is entirely speculative up to this time, and many of those who have studied the problem of education for India have come to the conclusion that History and Science must find the first place in the curriculum appointed for any examination in the Indian Universities. But the Commission recommend that History and Political Economy should be made optional subjects only in the final degree examination for B.A. In the Bombay University History is a necessary subject for the Intermediate course and so it is in the Madras University. In other Universities there is a choice given between History and some other subjects. Now, all the friends of Indian education and all the friends of progress in India require that History should not be abolished from the Intermediate course, but should be made compulsory for that examination and also for the final examination for the degree. With regard to Political Economy a suggestion has been made that it should be taught with special regard to the economic condition of India. But on this occasion I have to make one suggestion from the platform of this Congress and that is that there should always be two professors for this subject of Political Economy in the different colleges. One should be an Englishman who has studied the economic condition of England and other European countries, and another should be a gentleman who has studied the economic condition of India, so that both may teach our students how to apply the principles of economy to the different economic questions that come before them. With regard to Science the Commission recommend that it should be abolished from the Entrance Examination. We are every day collecting funds for our students to learn Science in Japan, England and other parts of the world (cheers), and yet here the learned Commissioners recommend that Science should be abolished from the Entrance Examinations of all the Indian Universities! It is said that

little knowledge is a dangerous thing and possibly the Commission believe that little knowledge in Science in the Matriculation Examination may be dangerous thing. But, Gentlemen, their fear is not well-grounded. The knowledge of Science is of great benefit to our students preparing for the Entrance Examination, as it will qualify them better to learn the subject more thoroughly in their College course. With reference to the second grade Colleges it is strange that while the educational needs of the country are growing apace and we in the Bombay Presidency are thinking that instead of our ten colleges we must have ten more, just at this time Government should be recommended by the Commission to strike off a number of some of the existing Colleges because they are found to be ill-equipped. In this connection I would mention one fact with reference to the Engineering College in this Presidency. The whole of the Bombay Presidency has only one Engineering College and yet the Government of Bombay or the Educational Department of the Bombay Government have now laid down a numerical restriction on the number of annual admissions to that College. They admit only forty new students in that College every year. I fear a similar numerical restriction may be placed on the admission to the Medical College. It is a matter for wonder that so far from recommending that more Engineering Colleges should be established in the Presidency the Commission recommend a scheme for lessening the number of the existing Colleges with a view to narrow the scope of higher education in India! Having regard to the educational needs of the country Government should add five more professors to the Presidency College in order to practically show what they mean when they say that efficiency is their first and prominent object in disqualifying ill-equipped Colleges (cheers).

Mr. G.M. Tripathi (Nadiad) in supporting the above resolution made the following speech in Gujarati.

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

To such of you as are sent here by Gujarat but are unable to follow the English proceedings I am asked to explain in Gujarati the proposition just placed before you in English. The subject is long and I have only to seek to do it justice within a few minutes. Happily, its discussion has been full even in Gujarati papers and it will be enough for me if I can explain it in the language of the ideas familiar to our own ancestors, for that you can certainly understand the soonest and the best. This proposition relates to the recommendations of the University Commission and I shall take up only two or three points involved in it. In the first place that proposition proposes to offer our thanks to the Viceroy in the direction where he rightly answers them. We meet, not to scandalize or to abuse our Government, but to communicate to it. What our united hearts and minds feel; and where we feel grateful, let us not be backward in saying that we do so. Equally let us without fear say, without attributing motives, where the shoe pinches us. The report of the University Commission has filled most of us with alarm and we are bound to say why in plain truthful language. One of the points recommended by that Commission is for making Government take in hand, through their own officers, our curriculum or what our ancestors would have called the Svâdhyâyâ course of our nation.

Upto now the matter has been managed jointly by our countrymen and by officials in the various Senates according to local wants and aptitudes. The Senates represent our Rishies of the day; and if we rightly understand the Commission, it wishes the matter to pass from the hands of these our Rishies into those of the Kshatriyas at the helm of the State who can only see with political goggles. These Kshatriyas may justly claim to have a free hand in matters which appertain to their functions, but for very good and obvious reasons the sounder and safer course is that which is ingrained within Hindu hearts. It is the course which wishes our learning to be under the sole control of those who are learned and not of the Kshatriyas who may include a cricketer like Lord Harris or a military man like Lord Sandhurst, men whose ideals are at times the very opposite of what any university, whether Brahmanic or European, will hold dearest to its growth. We, therefore, propose to protest against what thus our hearts recoil from. The next, the last, and the most important point with which I shall conclude is that which refers to the proposal of the Commission about the College fees payable by our boys. To the Hindu heart the very idea of associating education with money matters is foreign to its ancestral ideals. The Dvijas or the three regular classes of old passed their days and years of study under the fatherly roofs of their Gurus, paying no wages to the Gurus and dreaming of no earthly gains as the end of their studies. Education from the Guru was as free as light and air; and it was only when the pupil left the Guru to return to his parents that he offered in gratefulness a Guru Dakshina, the teacher's honorarium, to remain with the Guru in memory of his former presence under his roof. And we are told of instances where the Guru chastised the pupil on the latter's proposing to pay more than he could or to measure the vastness of his attainments by any largeness of his gifts. The Guru Dakshina was only to be a parting gift, a memento, and no more. The ideal of making a free gift of learning is even now the living heritage of not a few among our Shashtris and Sanyasis, and it is often as touching as it is elevating to see them devoting the best of their time and energy to transferring their inner souls into those of their pupils without any material incentive. To them the gift of knowledge in consideration of money has presented itself as an unwholesome degrading thing. Those that sold knowledge were branded by them as being the Banyas who converted knowledge into an article of merchandise, and the purity and elevation of the real Guru was kept above the instincts of the Banya. We are now living in an age when Western civilization rules over us, and contaminates our Gurus with the instincts of the foreign Banya (hear hear). Our rulers pride themselves upon their business-like habits and import their mercantile instincts into our schools, colleges, and universities. Our modern Guru in all these sacred temples of learning is only a paid servant of the State and private bodies, and his pupil is the tax-payer from whose pockets the Guru's emoluments are eventually drawn. Our Guru in these places is now the paid priest of his pupils. He is the Banya and the pupils are his customers whom he pays no more than the value of their coins. Living under the rule and tuition of a race of business-like merchants, we cannot altogether avoid taking their favours in the ways they are familiar with. We cannot altogether avoid the fee system in our educational shops. When however the University Commission proposes to fix the minimum of fees without paying which our children cannot

have their education, we see a strong reason for protest against an undue extension of the shop keeping principle. If our Gurus fix a limit to the introduction of the Banya instincts in their colleges and choose to relent and teach for small fees only as their pupils can pay in the midst of their poverty, I fear Government would be treading on dangerous grounds if it would compel the Gurus to be relentless towards their pupils even when they see fit to relent. There are cases where one shop keeper prevails upon his neighbour not to undersell his shop-ware. But the extension of that principle into our educational system by fixing a minimum fee for the sale of education can only drive away our poorer boys from our academies because they could not afford to learn at such cost, while our richer boys would not pay the academies because they do not want to learn at any cost and for any purpose. The recommendation of the Commission, if accepted, would compel private colleges to be closed because the rich would not attend and the poor could not attend. The best names at our Universities are of those who were once our poorest boys, and we shall see no more of them in the future if the shops where our Gurus sell their commodities almost free were prohibited from selling a limit to the shop keeping principle. The religion of the land is charged with excluding the whole caste of Sudras from its academies. But the Sovereign of the land is now called upon by the Commission to exclude from its academies not only the caste of the Sudras who have neither money nor the mind to learn, but to shut the academies in this way against the whole race of our poor boys, while the fact is that it is the poor who wish to learn or have the brains to learn. (Applause). Intellectual gains, the only gains left to us to seek in these days, will thus disappear from our midst and on their disappearance we stand the chance of being converted from the Indians of India into the Indians of America if the University Commission's recommendation is accepted by our Government. I therefore support the proposition and ask you to do the same (applause).

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

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras) next proposed the Ninth Resolution which was as follows :—

“That this Congress considers that the Institute of Research which the private beneficence of Mr. Tata proposes to establish, should receive adequate support from Government, and the Congress is strongly of opinion that similar institutions should be founded in different parts of the country”.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution refers to the celebrated scheme of educational enterprise started by our distinguished Parsi fellow-countryman, the millionaire and philanthropist of Bombay, Mr. J. N. Tata (hear, hear). His singularly benevolent scheme has been before the Indian public for over four years. His more than magnificent benefaction towards educational purposes came as an agreeable surprise on our people giving rise to feelings of hopefulness and expectations. It, for the first time, opened their eyes to the urgent and supreme necessity of the educational energy being diverted from the present

ineffective literary course to one of practical utility, industrial and scientific activity. Mr. Tata went into his scheme thoroughly and investigated it in such manner as not to spare any pains to reduce it to a more definite, workable and practical shape. A committee of experts was appointed to fix the curriculum of instruction connected with the scheme. You remember, Gentlemen, that the celebrated English Professor, Mr. Ramsay, came to India, examined the scheme and made a report. A further important step was taken by sending several experts to ascertain what different stations in India would be most suitable for the location of this great institution, and it was decided that Bangalore would be the best place. Step after step and stage after stage public hopefulness was roused and every body thought that the education millennium was going to dawn (cheers). Every body thought that the problem of higher education was going to be solved as a practical step towards the practical consummation of the educational policy pursued for the last 50 years. But, alas! since then, we have not gone beyond that stage of hopefulness. We are still in that incipient stage of hopefulness. Events have occurred, great changes have taken place, several big schemes have been passed, and vast amounts of money have been spent in other directions, but this one scheme, on which so many hopes and expectations have been founded, is hanging fire for the last four years. In carrying out this scheme, gentlemen, the greatest financial burden rests on the back of a single philanthropist. The State has not been called upon to make any great sacrifice in carrying out this scheme; the project only awaits the smile of Government. The greatest portion of the cost has been undertaken by Mr. Tata, who has already set apart a large sum of 30 lacs for the purpose and who is also willing to set aside another sum of 10 lacs if necessary (cheers). Besides, H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore has come forward to bear a material portion of the cost of the institution in another way. He has undertaken to give a site for the building in Bangalore and to bear a portion of the annual cost (hear, hear). What more can a private purse do towards a great enterprise like this? We now only expect the Government to come forward and bear a portion of the cost of this undertaking. If they give a grant of money whose annual interest would amount to Rs. 40,000 or Rs. 50,000 the project of Mr. Tata will soon be an accomplished fact. What is Rs. 40,000 or Rs. 50,000 a year to Government? It is not even the hundredth portion of the sums that are wasted and spent away on fanciful projects by Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Governors-General. It is because the Government is unwilling to come forward with this money that Mr. Tata's scheme has not yet become an accomplished fact (hear, hear). It is not a great thing for Government to pay this contribution, for, into how many pits and holes do we see, the Government money sinks and disappears altogether? Having regard to the needs of the country not only do we want this scheme of Mr. Tata to be an accomplished fact, but we also want similar institutions started in other parts of the country (cheers). Government must be prepared to spend more money if they want to make technical, industrial and scientific education something more than mere talk (cheers). If the professions of Government in regard to the spread of education are true and sincere, they must come forward with a large sum of money to prove their earnestness and willingness to advance the professional education (cheers).

Mr. Krishna Nair (Madras) in seconding the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This resolution is of extreme importance in regard to the industrial education in this country. Mr. Tata's scheme is pregnant with happy results to India in the near future, as it will lead our young men to follow in the footsteps of Japan (cheers). It was only very recently within the last 50 or 60 years that Japan saw the necessity of educating her youth in industrial matters, and sent some of her students to America and various European countries for the purpose of learning that subject as also other subjects as naval, military, etc., which would be of great benefit to her. If Mr. Tata's scheme is carried out by the Government, in the near future there will be an opportunity for India to be able to follow at least partly in the footsteps of Japan (cheers).

Pandit Madan Mohan Malavaya (Allahabad) in supporting the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

After the very able speech of Mr. Subramania Iyer, and that of the young gentleman who seconded him, the task of any speaker who followed them to speak upon this resolution would be easy. The subject is one upon which one might be willing to ask your indulgence for a little while to consider this matter which affects the prosperity of millions of people of this country. Gentlemen, the resolution deals with two matters, first, it expresses the hopes that the Government of India will be pleased to see their way to make a substantial grant towards the Research Institute founded by Mr. Tata (cheers). It also expresses the hope that similar institutions will be established in other parts of the country. Gentlemen, we have been familiar with the reproach that is cast against us, educated Indians, by our critics, friendly and unfriendly, in the Press of this country and of England, namely, that we seek only literary pursuits and that we avoid practical pursuits, like the industrial, which would add to the material wealth of the country. We are also told that as long as our apathy in this direction exists we cannot reduce the poverty of the country of which we complain. Gentlemen, there can be no possibility of our achieving anything worth the name in that direction, unless education of the requisite kind is imparted to our youth (cheers). It is impossible for the Indians, however able and intelligent they may be, to compete with the Western nations in the matter of industrial reform, unless the requisite training has been given them. Now, gentlemen, how that training is to be given? We cannot afford to send hundreds of our young men out of the country to acquire the training in Europe, America and Japan. We cannot afford to do that. But here in this country if there were places where the instruction of that kind could be obtained, I am sure, hundreds, nay, thousands of our young men, from the Brahmin to the humblest class, would be willing and anxious to avail themselves of that education and to serve their country in that way (cheers). Gentlemen, the time has gone by when it could be said that this was a matter which eminently concerned the people and that none but the people ought to take it up. Every European nation has recognized

its duty towards imparting high instruction—in providing education of a high kind—in matters technical and industrial to the young men of its country. Even England has been roused to the importance of imparting high technical education to its youth. Very recently Sir John Gorst speaking about technical subjects said that the nation which would make use of the material resources of the earth would be the nation which would take the best care to train its youth in an effective manner. Germany has been successful and will continue to be successful in beating England in matters concerning technical education and industrial reform, because it has taken care to establish any number of seminaries and institutes where instruction of an advanced type is imparted. Japan is doing the same (cheers). Our neighbours in Java have started institution with a view to cultivate high education in Agricultural Chemistry (cheers). *Savants* from Germany have gone there to teach Botany and Agricultural Chemistry. While here three hundred millions of people have to be clothed and supplied with all the necessaries of life, even the humblest articles of daily life, by foreigners. We know that the raw material abounds in this country. If you had only the skill, knowledge and energy to turn, say the hides that are so largely exported out of the country to be imported again on being finished, into articles into which they are turned out of the country, why, the wealth of the country would increase in no time. Without a great industrial revival and without the provision of means to utilise the raw material in the country there seems to be no possibility to avoid the great enemy of mankind—Famine! Government must feel that every day of postponement of the foundation of such a useful scheme as that of Mr. Tata means the prolongation of the industrial darkness from which the people desire to emerge. You know, gentlemen, that Government always tell us that private benefactors should come forward to help these institutions. Here is an individual who is contributing Rs. 30,00,000 setting it apart for the benefit of high industrial education. I thought one would imagine that a few years back Government would have hailed with delight efforts like those of Mr. Tata, established similar institutions in other parts of the empire and expressed their gratitude to the benefactors who had set on foot such useful schemes. But four years are allowed to pass without any action being taken by Government in connection with this scheme. There is no reason for Government to do this, except the apprehension which some of us are inclined to entertain, namely, that there are other secret forces at work which are prejudicial to the scheme. I am sure, we should all hope that this apprehension is unfounded (cheers). After the delay that has been caused, in this matter, by Government failing to come forward with eagerness to help this scheme, the reproach of which I have spoken before, is most unjust and unjustifiable. Why does not the Government come forward in right earnest to carry out this scheme? Gentlemen, I am sorry I shall not be able to say much more on this subject. There is one other part of the resolution to which I would claim your attention for a moment. That refers to our prayer that similar institutions may be founded in other parts of India. Let us hope, gentlemen, that not only the Research Institute will receive the start that it needs, but let us hope that similar institutions, at any rate, Teaching Universities will be started in other centres of the empire also (cheers). I may tell you that I am an optimist. I do not despair because there has been some little delay on the part of Government in accepting the scheme (hear, hear). I

do not despair because we are told that money is not easily to be obtained. I hope and strongly and earnestly hope that we shall see the fruition of our hopes before long (hear, hear) and that some Teaching Universities, at least one for the whole of India, will be started to begin with before many years have passed (cheers). Gentlemen, if we have one Teaching University like that of Mr. Tata, imparting education of advanced type in industrial and technical matters—if you have at least one Teaching University where Indian young men, after completing their course in their colleges can come up to pursue their higher studies what a happy day would it be for India? (cheers). One of the previous speakers has referred to the despatch of 1854. In the drafting of that despatch the idea of a Teaching University was not lost sight of. You find reference to it therein. The idea was not entirely absent even from the minds of the Education Commission (cheers). Lord Curzon's present Universities Commission has also suggested that means should be provided for advanced type of education. There should be at least one Teaching University established in every province of the Indian Empire (cheers). The Universities Commission has dealt with this matter rather half-heartedly, and for this even the *Pioneer* has adversely criticised its action. It has said that the Commission has seriously trifled with a serious question in recommending the establishment of a Central School of High Teaching. It cannot be said that our young men are wanting in intelligence and competence. All our young men who have gone to England have distinguished themselves. It cannot also be said that the Indian youth have no desire to pursue learning for learning's sake. It would be a libel, it would be a false statement to make in this country where you find hundreds and thousands of persons, even at this moment, giving up the whole of their lives in pursuit of scientific subjects, whether in Grammar, or *Nyaya*, and whether in Poona or Satara or Benares or Nadiad (hear, hear). Similarly you will find another set of persons who have given up the whole of their lives to the study of Sanscrit or Logic. A third set of persons exists which has given up the whole of its life to the study of Theology or religious literature and so on. This is a land where the lamp of learning has been kept burning for so many thousand years past. It is not, therefore, right to say that the Indian youth will not come forward to avail themselves of the advanced teaching if it were provided. While the Government have provided us with the very best kind of service, while they have provided us with innumerable opportunities of learning, while they have provided us with the means of learning Science for our benefit in other fields, why should they hesitate to establish at least one centre where the young men of this country may resort for higher teaching. Has not India sufficiently advanced to claim at least one such centre? I hope Government will not be slow to provide at least one such centre for the purpose of having a Teaching University, equipped with the best professors and tutors and having a good number of fellowships and scholarships, where young men of bright talents in the country may pursue their studies after finishing their college career (cheers).

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried by acclamation.

Mr. S. Sinha (N.-W.P.) next proposed the Tenth Resolution which ran as follows :—

“ That this Congress records its sense of regret at the inadequacy of

the representation on the Police Commission of Indian gentlemen of experience on the subject and at the limited scope of reference as indicated in the Resolution of the Government of India and in the opening speech of the President.

This Congress further records its deliberate conviction that the Police will not be rendered efficient unless the following among other reforms are carried out :—

- (1) That men of adequate qualification are secured for superior offices in the Police service.
- (2) That educated Indians are largely employed in the superior offices in the Police service.
- (3) That the position and prospects of investigating and inspecting officers are improved so as to attract educated men to the service.
- (4) That the District Officer, who is District Magistrate and head of the Police, is relieved of his judicial powers and of all control over the Magistracy."

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

The resolution which I have just had the honour of moving for your acceptance covers a very large ground of subjects. Last year when addressing at the Calcutta Session of the Congress on this very subject I ventured to express the hope that by the time we met on this occasion we would be in a position to congratulate Lord Curzon on having devised a scheme of reform for the reorganization and the reconstitution of the Police. Although we are not in a position to congratulate the Government on initiating such a scheme of reform, though it was badly needed, still I think we should be grateful to the Government for appointing the Police Commission which is at present investigating the widely-agitated question of the reform of the Police in India in the different centres of this country. Unhappily so much depends upon the *personnel* of the members that compose the Commission that I shall speak a few words on this point. I should venture to say that on account of that *personnel* our expectations have not been fulfilled (hear, hear). Gentlemen, it is not a happy task, an agreeable duty to perform, to criticise the conduct of the Government in regard to matters in which we are greatly interested. Regard being had to the vast and varied interests at stake, I think, I shall be justified in saying that the representation on the Commission of Indian public opinion is very very inadequate indeed. It does not represent the vast and varied interests of the country that it should have represented (hear, hear). Who are the members representing us on the Commission? They all represent the Government excepting the two non-official members, namely Divan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, C. I. E. and the Maharajah of Darbhanga. The first named gentleman is from Madras, has held very high offices both under Government and in the Native States and, as pointed out by a leading Madras paper, has throughout his life made it his business to please Englishmen (laughter). Ten years ago this gentleman wrote to Government making a remarkable statement that the Madras Presidency

had, during the last 40 years, made the most marvellous progress economically and materially, whereas, as a matter of fact, he ought to have pointed out that the country had undergone considerable deterioration during the last 50 years. The other gentleman, the Maharajah of Darbhanga, is not a public man. His late brother, the late Maharajah of Darbhanga was one of our great patrons, was a public man (hear, hear) of whom the whole country was proud. We feel to-day the great loss that the country has sustained by his death. The present Maharajah of Darbhanga has not yet taken much part in public affairs, and we sincerely pray and hope that he will rise equal to the occasion and prove himself to be a worthy successor to the late Maharajah (hear, hear). But we can understand his difficulties as a Maharajah. We all know that a man who is a Maharajah has a very hard task before him (laughter). The Universities Commission had only two non-official members, one from Bengal and another from the North-West Provinces. But on the Police Commission there are no popular non-official members to represent the public opinion. Then, the scope of the Government Resolution appointing the Commission is very limited indeed. I do not know if you have all cared to peruse that Resolution, but there Government lay a special stress on the fact that 'there is absolute necessity of European control in district charges'. Even the *Englishman* newspaper is led to remark that 'in any case the native members of the Commission are apparently prevented from making proposals to reduce the number of Europeans in the Police, or from calling for evidence which might justify their European fellow-members in declaring that more natives should be admitted in the administrating grades. It is possible that a suggestion will be made that the Government has not acted fairly in thus limiting the functions of the Commission'. From the wording of the Resolution and from the remarks of the *Englishman* it is clear that the Resolution is seriously defective. You know, gentlemen, what those words in the Resolution mean. Ten years ago the House of Commons passed a resolution about the Civil Service Examination, but Lord Kimberly in transmitting the resolution to the Government of India introduced these self-same words that, so far as possible, there should be a European element in the Civil Service, and the result was that the Government of India, taking the cue from Lord Kimberly said that no such reform was needed in this country. Therefore, we are apprehensive that these words will result in creating a serious difficulty in the constitution of the Police, namely, the larger employment of our countrymen in the higher ranks of the Police will not come to pass. What do we want? The Hon. Mr. Fraser, the President of the Commission, has said in his opening address thus: 'We do not want invectives. We do not want long lists of the Policeman's misdeeds. We want a constructive scheme'. Now, gentlemen, what do these words mean? How can there possibly be a constructive scheme unless we have in the first place diagnosed the disease? (hear, hear). Unless the Commission get before them the real nature of the grievances against the conduct of the Police, and know what are the complaints against them as to the oppression of the people and so on, how can the Commission formulate a scheme which will satisfy public opinion in this country? I saw the Commission sitting at Allahabad. Who were the witnesses? The witnesses were such as not to inspire confidence in the middle classes—there were no journalists or criminal lawyers who have much experience of the

Police work. Until a few years back the higher ranks in the Police were reserved to the nominees of the Local Governments in this country, and they came from among the members of Anglo-Indian families; those who could not pass the Elementary Examinations in England were all worthy to be engaged in the Police Department (laughter). The state of affairs became so scandalous and notorious that the Government had no option left to them but to introduce the so-called system of Competitive Examination, which is nothing but a farce. Some men are chosen as officers in this department by no definite scheme, but partly by nomination and partly by competition. A large number of people are appointed because their fathers had pleased particular officials (laughter). We say there should be uniform system of appointment based, say, for instance, on the character of the applicant. Let the prospects of the department be improved by voluntary reorganization. In Bengal out of 80 officers in the higher ranks there are only six natives of India. The condition of affairs in the department will not be much bettered unless there is a fairly adequate representation of high class educated Indians in the higher ranks (cheers). The reform of the Police department is a question of more vital importance than even the question of removing the judicial powers from the District Officers—a subject which forms another part of the Resolution which I have moved (cheers).

Mr. Krishnamachari (Madras) in seconding the above resolution said :—

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

There is an apprehension in the minds of sensible people that the result of the Police Commission is not likely to be so favourable to the people as it ought to be, and the apprehension is caused by the result of the Universities Commission. One part of this resolution of the Congress is about the separation of judicial and executive functions. The argument that has been advanced by the Government and their apologists against the adoption of this suggestion may be summed up simply in one sentence : ' the native is not competent to take up the superior service of the Police Establishment'. In reply to this I would ask Government and their apologists whether we have been properly tried, whether we have been given a chance to show our abilities and whether we have been found wanting. If you look to the careers of some of those people who have been in charge of high offices in the Police, either in your Province or in the Province of Madras, you will find that they have conducted themselves with superior abilities and have done credit to their respective communities. You will find similar instances in other departments of the administration, such as the Civil and Judicial Services. You will also find that our people have shown superior talents in their administrative capacities in the Native States. The argument, therefore, that the natives are incompetent to take up superior service in the Police department is urged for argument's sake. Gentlemen, the duties that devolve upon the Police Officers as regards the detection of prisoners and investigation of crime necessarily require men of intelligence and superior working capacities, but what are the attractions for persons of such intelligence, competence and social standing to enter the Police Service? There are absolutely none; the prospects are dull. Superior abilities which the work of the department

requires are not properly remunerated. We earnestly hope that the Police Commission will remove this grievance without adding any fresh burden on the poor Indian taxpayer (cheers).

Mr. N. N. Mitra (Bengal) in supporting the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You will agree with me when I say that in our country no other service is in need of more urgent reform than the Police. There is no service in our country whose influence is so far-reaching in its consequences as the Police. Every nook of the remotest hamlet in this wide, wide country has to suffer from the precious effect of this influence; the remotest countryman who lives in squalid misery and in abject poverty suffers from that influence much more than we do. From year's end to year's end we cry down the oppression of the Police, which is sometimes of the grossest kind. In order that it may be remedied Government have now the chance of effecting reform in the Police department, but how is that reform to be carried out? Simply the appointment of a Commission to draw up a report will not do. The extremely perfunctory way in which the recently appointed Universities Commission has done its work does not allow us to entertain any very high hopes as to the result of the Police Commission, against the *personnel* of which there is a general complaint as being composed of purely official members of the European Service of Government. But now that the Commission has been appointed, is holding its sittings all over India and yet has not come to the end of its labours, it remains for us to point out the way in which we need reform in the Police Department. I dare say, we are clearly agreed as to what are the reforms which we need in this department. First, the status of the profession should be raised; secondly, the pay and prospects of the subordinate Police Officers should be so increased as to attract better class of men than those whom you now find in the department. The increased pay and prospects would prove a stimulus and an incentive to honest work. The next point is the introduction of Indians to the higher grades of the Service which should not be reserved for the never-do-well-children of the Anglo-Indian families. There is one thing which you can consider in this connection. There are educated Indians well qualified in all respects to perform the duties of District Superintendents of Police. At present Europeans of respectable families are given those posts, but I submit, that there are educated Indians of respectable families to boot. Why should they not be appointed to those posts? We have over and over again, in season and out of season, prayed for the larger employment of educated Indians in these higher grades of the Service, but the Government are wedded to a policy of later day Imperialism which looks down on the highest aspirations on the part of the people, and, therefore, they turn a deaf ear to our prayer. The third point of the resolution is about the abolition of the District Magistracy. The reason is, gentlemen, that the District Magistrate shields the wicked conduct of the Policemen in their career of oppression. Owing to the union of the District Magistrate and the Police such things are prevalent in our country. Manifold are the reforms which are needed in the Police Department, so much so, that a thorough readjustment, and reorgani-

zation of the department is necessary in order that it may justify its existence. With these words I beg to commend this resolution to your acceptance (cheers).

Mr. M. K. Padhya (Central Provinces) in supporting the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution just so ably put before you suggests some of the chief reforms that need be carried out before the Police could be entitled to the gratitude of the people for having protected their lives and properties. We are more directly interested than Government in the purification and bettering of the Police. We could have no interest in criticizing the conduct of the Police if they had been what they are intended to be. The appointment of the Police Commission itself and the speech of its President, the Hon. Mr. Fraser, may be taken to have been, in a way, an admission of the unsatisfactory condition of the Police, and, therefore, I would not unnecessarily abuse your indulgence by detailing an indictment against the Police. The remedies for effecting the Police reform have been proposed by men of experience like Mr. R. C. Dutt, once a President of this Assembly and for years a high Government functionary—a gentleman trusted by the people and Government alike (cheers). If I were to speak on one suggestion more than another I would touch the one which is proposed with a view that injustice may not be done to the people whenever the Police is concerned in the case, either as prosecutor or accused. All that is wanted is that the Magistrate may be able to look *equally* upon the complainant and the accused, whether the one or the other happens to be the Police, and that the Police may be as liable, I mean *practicably* liable, to punishment for their offences as any other private person (cheers). The natural *esprit de corps* of the Police and false notions about prestige at present prevent a Policeman from being brought to book, and his innocent victim from getting justice pure and simple. The higher Police Service, which is recruited from among the incapable relatives of the past capable officers and which, therefore, is not as efficient as the Covenanted Civil Service, tries to screen the offenders whenever they happen to be its subordinates. Its members also command the ear of their superior head belonging to the Civil Service, who has a direct control over the Magistracy as an executive officer, and the Magistracy, therefore, becomes incapable to render justice. Thus, not only the Police is corrupt and inefficient but the Magistracy also is practically impotent. We, therefore, suggest that the judicial Magistrates may be subordinate to their Appellate Courts and to those Courts alone. These Courts alone should be the arbiters of the prospects of the Magistrates because they are in a position to judge of the good or bad outturn of these Magistrates. If this suggestion is not approved of, the Government may use any other means to make the Magistrates really independent. I may conclude my remarks on this point by saying that unless you improve the quality of the men from the top to the bottom, howsoever ingenious a system you might devise, it is bound to be a failure (hear, hear). We, therefore, propose an increase of pay to attract better men to the Service, and our only prayer on this score is that the children of the soil be *fairly* treated. Admit all the British subjects—white or black—into

all the departments of the administration equally if they satisfy the same tests—physical, moral and intellectual (cheers). We want no favour. Those who complain about the constitution of the Police Commission will do well to remember that its President had advertised in the newspapers inviting people who took keen interest in the Police reform question to apply to the Secretary of the Commission who would send them a list of questions which the Commission is now considering, so that they may make their suggestions on those questions. You have thus an opportunity of presenting your views to the Commission, and if you fail to do that and if for want of evidence from the popular side the case is decided against us it is not the fault of the Commission or its President, than whom you will never have a more sympathetic officer. He will do all that is needed in this matter unless some higher mandate drops as a bolt from the blue. I think the Government has very little to gain by continuing the corrupt and unsatisfactory condition of the Police, and hope and trust that ere long we will find that our Police instead of being oppressors are the real protectors of life and property, and respecters of liberty (cheers).

Mr. S. B. Bhagvat (Dharwar) in supporting the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As the previous speakers have dealt with the details of this subject exhaustively I shall mainly dwell on the point of the inadequacy of the representation on that body of Indian gentlemen of experience. If such a gentleman were appointed on this Commission he would take proper care of the details of the important problem of Police Reform. It is true that the Commission, as at present constituted, has two notable Indian gentlemen as its members—the Maharajah of Durbhanga and Dewan Bahadur Shrinivasrao Iyengar—for whom we have the highest respect, but I cannot help saying that they are not exactly the sort of persons that ought to be on the Commission as our representatives (hear, hear), for, the delicate, though independent position of the one and the officially subordinate position of the other will very probably prevent them from giving a free expression to their opinions. But, gentlemen, what is of greater importance still is that none of these gentlemen has any experience of the Police Department. It will not do to say that the Police Reform, like law, is a matter of common sense only. The best thing that the Government would have done to carry out its best intentions in the matter of the appointment of the Commission would have been to put thereon an experienced native Barrister or a High Court Pleader, say of the experience and position of the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta of this Presidency. It was in regard to this fact that the Bombay Provincial Conference, which met at Sholapur in October last, passed a resolution expressly desiring the appointment of the hon'ble gentleman on the Commission, and a telegram to that effect was sent to the Viceroy, but unfortunately the prayer of the Conference went altogether unheeded. I think, however, it is not yet too late for the Government to amend its mistake, though the Commission has already commenced its work. A word also may be said as to the scope of the Commission without actually going into details. Protection of the people should be the main object, and suppression of crime a secondary one. Attempts

should be made to establish a cordial feeling between the people and the Police. Babu Romesh Chandra Dutta, who served as a District Magistrate for nearly a quarter of a century, is decidedly of opinion that District Magistrates do often interfere with the judicial independence of their subordinates in the administration of Criminal Justice. Big officers like Sir John Woodburn do say, therefore, that the union of the Police and Magistracy is a great defect. So, gentlemen, the separation of the Police and the Magistracy is an absolutely necessary thing for effecting the Police Reform. Gentlemen, I hope you will give your unanimous approbation to this resolution (cheers).

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

Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal (Ahmedabad) then proposed the Eleventh Resolution which ran as follows :—

“That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take early practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of judicial and executive functions in the administration of criminal justice, the desirability of which has been frequently admitted on behalf of Government. In this connection, the Congress regrets to notice that the trend of recent legislation is not only to deprive the judiciary of its salutary and wholesome power of check and restraint over the executive but to invest the executive with greater and uncontrolled powers.”

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I find that this subject has been amongst your subjects for the last 15 years and more, and that all that could be said against the present system has been said by very able speakers like Mr. Ghose (cheers) and others. I can only say that the connection of the judge and the executive officers is an unnatural connection (hear, hear), is, if anything, an unhallowed connection. It combines the duties of the judge and his *Nazir* in one hand they are essentially the duties of different characters. A judge, as you know, is required to be patient and deliberative; he is also required to be independent of all considerations except to weigh the evidence led before him, while the executive officer has other matters to look to. Despatch is one of the principal points in the work of the judge. The executive officer has always to carry out a certain policy, he is obliged to look to the wishes of his superiors. These circumstances make it very inexpedient that the two offices should be combined together. As a matter of fact, this union of offices has been productive of many evil consequences. In the first place, the executive officers, having other duties to attend to, cannot dispose of cases with due despatch. Often times the excuse is put forward for the delay of the Mamlatdar's work to the effect that they have to attend to the revenue work. There is another matter to be considered regarding the travelling officers. They ought to be placed in one place in order to be always accessible (hear, hear). A travelling Mamlatdar, Deputy Collector or Assistant Collector, being always on the move makes it very difficult for parties to follow him without incurring considerable expense. Sometimes the Vakils charge high fees for the purpose of travelling with a travelling officer, and that means a deal of expense to the parties. The highest

authorities who have served in India in judicial capacities have been unanimously of opinion that this union is utterly inexpedient (hear, hear). You are all aware, gentlemen, that a representation has been made by Sir Richard Garth (cheers), Sir Raymond West, Sir James Jardine and all the Judicial Commissioners and Chief Justices of the whole of India, to the authorities on this subject, and the only excuse now put forward to refuse to grant this reform is that the want of funds stands in the way. Well, that excuse has happily now ceased to exist. During the last four years the Government of India have had large surpluses, but there is a lurking suspicion in the mind of Government that the change, if carried out, will diminish the prestige and authority of the District Officers. That is at the bottom of the whole thing. As for prestige I will give you a concrete example. You know, gentlemen, that I had the honour of serving one of the most enlightened princes in India (cheers), I mean H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda (hear, hear), while there I had the privilege of carrying out, under His Highness's orders, a complete scheme for the separation of the executive and judicial offices (cheers). The late Rao Saheb Athlay whose name you know already (cheers) was one of my co-adjutors (cheers). In the course of a week we were able to place before His Highness a scheme which has practically been worked out during the last ten years (cheers). Our method was very simple. Our first step was to put all the Mamlatdars or Tahasildars or, as you call them in Bengal, Malguzars as subordinates to the Deputy Magistrates and the District Judge. All appeals from their decisions lay before the District Judge. As their work increased we went a step further, we created Special Magistrates with only judicial powers—they were only to try judicial cases. The scheme has worked very well. At first, the executive officers raised an alarm. You will be surprised to hear that the graduates were against us (laughter). We argued with them in this way: "Are the judicial and criminal powers necessary for your purpose or not? Do you use them for the purpose of your revenue claims or do you not? If you use them for your revenue claims you are acting illegally; if you are not using them for those claims then they are unnecessary" (laughter). There was no answer to this argument (cheers). Now, it may be asked: 'What will this change cost you'? For our purpose when we worked out the figures we found that for the whole of the city of Baroda the expense would not exceed Rs. 1,000. At that rate it ought not to be more than 2 lacs for Bombay, perhaps 5 lacs for Bengal and 3 lacs for Madras and so on. In all, it would be about 20 lacs. I assure you, gentlemen, that the scheme is perfectly feasible. With these words I beg to commend this resolution to your unanimous approval (cheers).

Mr. Ambika Charan Majmudar (Bengal) in seconding the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I rise to second the resolution which was so ably placed before you by Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal. The question of the separation of the judicial from the executive function in the criminal administration in this country is being discussed by the Congress for over 17 years. We cannot afford to be tired of discussing it as long as we are continued to be tired by

that system of administration. If we are tired by our long cry in the wilderness, we still mean to resound that wilderness with our cry only, like that inexorable woman in the story, but we cannot allow it to be shelved. It is a question which has been discussed threadbare both here and in England and its difficulties and inconveniences have been carefully weighed against urgency, and yet it has not been solved one way or the other. Every year the situation becomes graver than before. The Executive Officers, who at one time used to care not to interfere with the administration of justice have become accustomed to look at it with stolid indifference. The Commissioners, Magistrates, Inspectors-General and District Superintendents of Police, each in his own exalted sphere, whether singly or in evil conjunction, exercises a disastrous influence in shaping the course of justice. Gentlemen, in an evil hour the inspection by the High Courts was abolished and consequently the evidence of a salutary check upon the vagaries of the Magistrates has ceased to exist. Every authority in this country is subject to inspection; long explanations as to the discrepancy of even a pie are given to the Revenue Commissioner almost every six months and the Register of fines is carefully made up, but the improvement of the administration of justice, however much it is necessary, seems to be nobody's care. The necessary reform of system seems to attract nobody's attention. Why was the inspection of justice by the High Courts abolished? Well, Government have vouchsafed an answer, saying among other things that the system is perfect. Let us confine for a moment to consider how matters really stand under this perfect system. You are aware that there are three ways in which the criminal prosecutions are initiated in this country. First, by the complaints of private individuals; secondly, by the Police Reports, and thirdly, by the Magistrates on their own motion. With regard to the Magistrate who starts a prosecution on his own motion, you must remember that practically the judicial and executive functions are united in the same person, and, therefore, the accused person suffers at his hands on account of his suspicion and prejudice which are due to his personal knowledge of the accused. Generally such knowledge of the accused is obtained by the Magistrate in his executive capacity. Although nominally the case may be transferred to some other subordinate Magistrate that will make no difference to the accused, because that Magistrate is by the very nature of his office under the same District Magistrate. Take for instance, the scandalous cases of Jamalpur, Murshidabad, etc. As regards the second class of cases, namely, those initiated upon the Police Reports you will find an instance in the Salem Riot cases. A careful examination of the manner in which the Police cases are distributed among the subordinate officers would substantially prove how the files of the executive officers are kept. Sometimes an executive officer orders the subordinate that the accused should receive exemplary punishment if convicted; sometimes the subordinate is asked to try a case very carefully (laughter), and sometimes a case is transferred from the files of one Magistrate to those of another. Then, the Magistrates have got boundless revisionary powers which are sometimes freely indulged in without any regard for decency or self-respect. Owing to this rotten system we come across several cases of injustice at the hands of the Magistrates. In such cases the idiosyncrasies of the Magistrates are not so much responsible as the system itself. One of the Magistrate-witnesses giving his evidence before the Police Commission openly avowed that

in his own unbiased opinion there was not a single Police Sub-Inspector, not even one in a hundred, who was either corrupt or dishonest. Sir Henry Prinseps, who may be called the father of the Indian administrators, was against the relationship that existed between the Police and the Magistracy.

Gentlemen, the safe-guard of British prestige lies in its sense of justice, purity, independence and glory. We know, gentlemen, that Lord Curzon came out to this country with 12 propositions in his pocket (laughter). We hope he will include this question in his programme (cheers).

Mr. Rustum K. R. Cama (Bombay) in supporting the above resolution said :—

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

This subject of the separation of the executive and judicial functions has been before the last 18 sessions of the Congress, and the urgency and desirability of this reform has been recognized unanimously by the highest authorities both in India and in England, but it is opposed by that strong body of men—the Indian Civil Servants. They are unwilling that the Collector-Magistrates should be deprived of their judicial functions with the fear that their prestige may be affected. On account of their hostile attitude to this scheme the Government find it very difficult to carry it out. But Lord Curzon has now realized the importance of this question and said that he is not staggered by the opposition. We may, therefore, soon hope to see the realization of this much needed reform (cheers). It is a matter of great regret that a reform like this—of such far-reaching usefulness—should not form one of the 12 subjects which his Lordship has undertaken to solve. Gentlemen, this subject has been discussed threadbare in years past on the Congress platforms. This unholy combination of two offices does not exist in any other civilized country, and it is inconceivable how the people trained under the system of British tribunals can reconcile themselves to a system which in some cases combines the prosecutor and judge in one person and deprives the liberty and independence of a large portion of the judiciary. It is said that if the Collector-Magistrates are deprived of their judicial powers the collection of revenue would be hampered. No one who knows the arbitrary powers and the summary processes brought into use by revenue officers can admit that this is a tenable excuse (hear, hear). Another objection to this reform is that it cannot be effected, because the staff will have to be doubled and the expenses will be prohibitive. Now, it was admitted, gentlemen, by the late Mr. Nugent in the Legislative Council that the time occupied for doing judicial work by a Mamlatdar is less than one-eighth, while that occupied by an Assistant Collector is less than one-fourth. You all know, gentlemen, that the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta has in an able minute shown that this reform can be effected with very little, if any, additional cost (hear, hear). As regards the objection that, if this reform were granted, the prestige of the Government and the officers would be affected, there is no prestige to the Government as regards the question of 'justice'. There is only a high sounding name and fame of British justice, but justice there is not in reality. Those first-class administrators, who founded the British Empire in India had laid down a wise and statesmanlike policy of government here, realising the

fact that if one thing would ensure the permanence of the British rule in this country it was the conviction of the people that justice would be rendered firmly and impartially in India between subject and subject and also between the subjects and the Government. With a view to that policy they always refrained from doing any thing that would lead to the least resemblance to interference with the executive and judicial officers in India or from doing any thing which would curtail the independence of the judicial tribunals. Now, we see that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal interferes with the judgment of the Calcutta High Court by issuing his own Government Resolution! You remember, gentlemen, the notable case where the Government issued an order prohibiting a Political Officer to examine a witness on Commission when the High Court had directed that officer to examine the witness! We also see the efforts of the Government of India to curtail the revenue jurisdictions. Let us hope that Lord Curzon with his high abilities and strong desire to render justice to this country will solve this problem of the separation of the executive and judicial functions satisfactorily to us before he lays down the reins of his office (cheers).

Pandit K. P. Kavyabisharad (Bengal) in further supporting the above-resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution is an old one and I have very little to add to it. Although the Government has not seen its way to grant this reform in the interests of administration and expediency, yet we trust that Lord Curzon will grant it to us. People have no faith in this unholy alliance between these two functions (laughter). People have no faith either in the justice administered by the Magistrates where the Police are the prosecutors. I will give you a case in point. A woman was charged and confined for having committed abortion. She was confined in one jail for nine months for committing that crime, but when she was transferred to another jail the medical examination proved that she could not have conceivably committed abortion on that date as alleged—in February 1900 (laughter), as it was discovered that she was at the time of that medical examination big with child for more than 6 months. Was she let alone? No. Evidence was sought by the Police officers to prove her guilt, but a further medical examination was gone into and it was again found that she was really with child and could not have committed the alleged crime (laughter). Can people have faith in the administration of justice in this country after hearing this? Can they have faith in the administration of justice in this country when they know that persons who have never committed a crime, or persons who have confessed never to have committed a crime are being convicted? This is the result of combining the two offices of the executive and the judicial functionaries together. We can have no faith in the justice administered by such an officer. We, therefore, request Lord Curzon to grant our prayer (cheers).

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

At this stage the Congress adjourned for lunch for half an hour.

After the Congress had reassembled Mr. Jogendranath Mukerji (Bengal) moved the Twelfth Resolution which ran as follows:—

“That this Congress is of opinion that the present system, under which a very large proportion of the District Judgeships, Joint-Judgeships and Assistant Judgeships, are filled by Covenanted Civilians without any special legal training, and without adequate guarantee of the knowledge of law necessary for the satisfactory discharge of the very important and responsible judicial duties entrusted to them, is injurious to the best interests of efficient judicial administration in the mofussil and that it is urgently necessary to devise means to ensure a higher standard of efficiency in the administration of law by securing the services of trained lawyers for the said posts”.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This resolution is of the same importance as the last (cheers). You all know, gentlemen, that the District Judges, Joint-Judges and Assistant Judges are appointed to their posts after only seven years' experience and during these 5 or 7 years' experience they are called upon to pick up a great many things and spend a lot of time in acquiring the language of the country to which they are attached, and so the knowledge of the law which they acquire is necessarily perfunctory and the quality of justice which they administer is consequently good, bad or indifferent. I can cite an instance where a Judge having been called to sit in appeal on the judgment of a Subordinate Judge betrayed a very peculiar want of knowledge of the elements of law (laughter). In a District in Bengal, not far from Calcutta, there was once a Judge before whom came a case which involved the question of *res judicata*, which means as you all know, that when any suit or an issue in a suit has been once tried and finally decided in a former Court it cannot be tried over again. Now, when this case was heard before this Judge the opposite party to the Appellants raised the plea of 'res Judicata'. Well, that was enough for the Judge to be put in a fix. He did not know anything about the sense of the law on the point and therefore, said: 'If I pronounce my opinion on the 'res Judicata' how can I pronounce my opinion on the case itself' (laughter). That was, sir, the logic that the Judge applied to the case before him (renewed laughter). I will give you another case. That was a case between a landlord and a tenant. In the course of the examination-in-chief it was elicited from the tenant that he was a tenant of his landlord—he admitted that and certain other things. In the cross-examination the first question that was put to him was: 'Did you execute a *kabulayat* in favour of your landlord?' and he directly answered in the affirmative. The Judge at once called upon the Peshkar to read the contents of that document which was going to be proved! (laughter). Such was the knowledge of law on the part of the Judge! Need I place other instances of the kind before you? I think it is quite unnecessary to do so. You all have felt—all those who have anything to do with the administration of Justice must have felt—this disadvantage from the Judge's ignorance of law more than any body else here. I think that Government also know that the present system does not work well. Why then is this reform in this direction deferred? Why is it that the Government does not remove these defects? It is because we here have been suffering in silence. It is now for us, who have suffered for years

past, to make it clear to the authorities that there is a positive danger to the administration so long as this system is in continuance (cheers). It is your duty in this Congress assembled to make it clear to the Government with words as emphatic as you can command, that it should not defer the improvement and reform in this matter any longer (cheers). After having done your best in representing the views in an emphatic manner you can wait and see if the Government will come forward and do its duty by you (cheers).

Mr. A. M. Advani (Sindh) in seconding the above resolution said :—

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

In this resolution there is a request which we are making to Government and that request is a most reasonable one (cheers), and I have no doubt that the Government will be pleased to grant it at once (cheers), because you will find that we do not demand any new principle, any new departure or any new innovation. The reform we claim is one with regard to which there can be no difference of opinion. You are well aware that there is a legal fiction that you all know law (laughter), because laws are published for your information by the Legislature of India (laughter). Then, there is another legal fiction or rather a judicial fiction in the Executive Department of Government, and that is that as soon as a Civilian lands in India he not only knows the Indian law but is able to administer it at once (laughter). We pray in this resolution that Government should have Barrister-Judges instead of Civilian Judges (cheers). Can you expect that a new Civilian will understand all the complexities and all the innumerable technicalities of the Hindu, Mahomedan and the Parsi Laws? Can you also expect him to understand full well the technicalities of the Substantive Adjective Law of Procedure of the country? I think, you will all agree with me that it is not possible for him to form any opinion or to decide any case without his first learning the first general principles of law. What do you find here? We find that as soon as these gentlemen land they are placed under the Collectors, not to learn the laws but to learn the Revenue system. They are at once given First-Class and Second-Class powers, and after one or two years' experience placed in charge of Districts as District Judges. Now, I want to point out to you that the administration of Civil Justice is no doubt a blessing under the English Laws, but it is not a blessing at all if it is administered through an incompetent tribunal. You, perhaps, in this part of India do not feel, do not suffer, gentlemen, so much as we in Sindh suffer from the incompetence of the Judges (laughter). I can give you an instance. You will admit that for the administration of Civil Justice there should be a High Court composed of several Judges of eminence as you have it in Bombay, but we, in Sindh, have got a High Court composed of one Judge who is a Civilian, but of long standing. Civil Justice in your province is administered by First-Class judges who are native officials, whereas in our province it is administered by a District Judge who is a Civilian, and it is not possible for him at all to do full justice to any case. I will just read to you the disadvantages which arise from the incompetence of the judges, but before doing so I will simply relate to you one or two instances which will show you at once the incompetence of the judge. Once I had the misfortune to apply for the transfer of a certain case from the Subordinate Judge's Court. The

hearing of that case was fixed say, on the seventh, but upon my application an order was made of notice to issue to the other side, and the hearing of that application was fixed on the tenth, that is three days after the first-named date. On this I had to request the Judge to have the hearing taken on the seventh, because I said that the case was to be decided on the seventh and that the object of my application may not be frustrated I also asked him that the Court would be pleased to send for the records of the case or stay proceedings. He then asked his Shirastedar what the usual practice was, but as the Shirastedar was unable to point out anything the Judge said to me: 'It would be better if you apply to me for the stay of execution of the decree' (laughter). I said: I do not understand it'. He said: 'Why do you fear?' I said 'I fear simply because on the seventh the judge will decide the suit against me'. He said: 'If he passes a decree against you, you come here, and I will have the execution-decree stayed' (laughter). Gentlemen, what do you expect from a judge like that? There is another instance, in which a Subordinate Judge dismissed a suit and refused the prayer of the plaintiff for the amendment of plaint. Upon his order an appeal was made to the District Judge who happened to be quite a new man, and the result of the appeal was that on the day on which its preliminary hearing was fixed the pleader for the plaintiff or appellant having satisfied the Court that it was a proper case in which a notice should issue, the Judge said: 'I do not understand the plaint fully, let it be amended now, and then the notice will issue'! (laughter). I have found that in the Hyderabad District we have two Divisions but there is only one judge with an experience of only 4 months and 12 days in the Judicial Department. I want to point out to you the evils which arise from having incompetent Judges. First, the litigation is increased; secondly, just and unjust litigation have equal chances of success and premium is offered to reckless litigation; thirdly, there is an unnecessary long delay in the administration of justice.

There was decided by a Subordinate Judge of the first-class a case to try which and deliver judgment in which he was specially created—for that one single case simply—a Subordinate Judge of the first-class, but when he was an Assistant Judge for whole one year he was disqualified for that purpose! (laughter)

Mr. Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas (Surat) in supporting the above resolution said:—

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

If we can give any appellation to Lord Curzon's administration I should call it the administration of 'efficiencies' (laughter). In support of this resolution I take my stand on the question of efficiency only, and I am sure that when His Excellency, after the Coronation Pageant has passed away, reads the proceedings of the National Congress, he will take special notice of this resolution as it closely relates to 'efficiency'. I submit that the administration of justice by the District and Assistant Judges is a farce. When a similar proposition was brought before the Sholapur Conference last October a correspondent in the *Times of India* said that we native lawyers, native Vakils and native advocates were very willing to get all the loaves and fishes of the

service. Gentlemen, I plead guilty to the charge. Let us have the loaves and fishes if you find us efficient (cheers). We have studied law, we have practised law and we have experience of the administration of justice not only in England but also in India (cheers). We are more efficient than the Civilian Judges (cheers). As soon as we go down from the High Court to the Mofussil we have to change the nature of our address to the Judges. In the High Court we have recourse to logic and subjectives. In the Mofussil we have to deal with adjectives. Unless we argue our case with adjectives we cannot impress our argument upon the brains of Assistant Civilian Judges. I will explain. Supposing an application is made for adjournment and if there are arguments for adjournment what does the Judge do? He simply passes judgment saying: I do not see any grounds for adjournment, and so I dismiss the appeal! (laughter). I can give you many more instances of this sort. There cannot be faith in the administration of justice in this country unless the efficiency of Judges is ensured (cheers). If there is that efficiency the faith of the public in the administration of justice in British India cannot be shaken (cheers).

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Madras) next proposed the Thirteenth Resolution which ran as follows :—

“That the Congress strongly protests against the present high duty on salt, and in view of the fact that the prevalence and spread of many diseases are now traced to the insufficiency of salt consumed by the Indian masses and that the accounts of the Government of India have now been showing large surpluses year after year, the Congress urges that Government should be pleased to reduce the Salt Tax by at least the amount of its enhancement in 1888.”

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The request made to the Government in this resolution shows that we urge upon them to carry out this fiscal measure in the interest not of the educated Congress-men, but of those larger classes of the uneducated many whose representatives we claim to be (cheers). We ask Government to reduce the Salt Tax, and our reason for doing so is that within the last few years Government have had large surpluses—large and growing surpluses. In his speech in the House of Commons Lord George Hamilton said that during these three years the surpluses amounted to no less than £8,300,000, and if it is the duty of Government to take more money from the people because it is absolutely required for the benefit of the country, is it not also equally the duty of Government to remit taxation which was specially raised for the purpose of meeting exceptional emergencies? (cheers). The point was urged by Professor Gokhale in his great speech at Calcutta (cheers), and we have always held in the Congress meetings that these surpluses of the Government of India are merely fictitious surpluses—artificial surpluses. The Salt Tax was enhanced in 1888 by Lord Dufferin (hear, hear), not as a permanent fiscal measure, but only to meet a certain temporary emergency, and that emergency having now passed away it is the duty of the Government to give to the poor people of this country better opportunity for consuming more salt than they have been able to do during the last so many years. Gentlemen, at first hopes were given—

false hopes they turned out afterwards to be—that this tax would be remitted, but as soon as Lord Dufferin departed from these shores the financial policy of the Government was changed, and the Government finding themselves in hopeless embarrassment found it necessary to maintain the enhanced duty. Long after this increase, declarations were made by those who were responsible for the administration of the country, and those declarations were re-echoed by the Secretary of State as you are all aware and as you may find on a reference to the speeches of Sir James Westland and Lords Cross and Hamilton.

Then in 1895 Lord George Hamilton said: “An earlier occasion to remit taxation will be in the shape of the reduction of Salt Duty,” but when he found it possible for him to remit some taxation in 1896 he conveniently forgot his promise made in 1895 and preferred to reduce the Import Duty on cotton instead of reducing the Salt Duty. Time has, however, now come when the Government finds itself in possession of larger surpluses, and it is, therefore, its duty, as guardian of public exchequer, to reduce taxation on salt (cheers). Englishmen have set up an agitation for the total abolition of the Income Tax, and, therefore, it is our duty to say that that will not take place. If there is to be any concession given in the matter of Income Tax it should be only in the shape of raising the taxable minimum, but not in the shape of total abolition. We must say that there should be a reduction in taxation and that reduction should be in the reduction of the Salt Tax. In his speech Lord George Hamilton said that the complaint that is made against the Salt Tax by the people is not so great as that which has been made against other taxes. He also said that the Viceroy had informed him that he had never received one single petition appealing to him for the reduction of the Salt Tax. This shows that all the representations from this Congress and other representative bodies are put into the waste-paper basket! It is, therefore, our duty to persistently agitate upon this question (cheers). Lord George Hamilton also said that the reduction of the Salt Tax, if it should be effective, must be a large one, but that the finances of the Government of India may not permit of such a large reduction. We want a reduction of 8 annas per maund of Salt Tax, and this will, according to Prof. Gokhale, mean a sacrifice of the Government revenue of 176 lacs of rupees which the Government is not ready to bear. The commercial policy of the Government gives them much more money, and yet they say that they cannot sacrifice the revenue of 176 lacs. They want more money for the military octopus. The Government of India have often given pledges for the reduction of this tax, and we hope that, in the name of justice, they will propose its reduction without any loss of time (cheers).

Mr. J. V. Desai (Ahmedabad) in seconding the above resolution said :—

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

The fiscal military policy of the Government of India has led them to commit many sins of omission and commission. We have got several promises from the Government for the reduction of the Salt Tax, the last promise being made so late as the year 1895, but years have really passed by without that promise being fulfilled. Surpluses have been plentifully flowing but the taxation is not yet remitted. It has been medically established that a man requires 12lbs. of

salt every year. Now, the present Salt Duty cannot allow a man to use so much salt. It has been conclusively proved times out of number that according to the present use of salt the annual consumption is 10 lbs. per head. You will see, gentlemen, that this quantity tells against the constitution of the Indian rayat. Then, gentlemen, you know that the poor agriculturists require salt not only for their own use, but for the use of agricultural purposes. I propose to read to you a short extract from the speech of the noble Marquis of Ripon (cheers), who ruled 20 years ago, and the memory of whose rule we always cherish with the greatest admiration. He said: "I desire to express the difficulty which I feel in adopting the view which has been put forward by some of my Hon'ble friends in the course of this discussion, that this tax upon salt, which is a tax upon a necessary of life—which is a tax of many hundred per cent. upon the natural price of the article—which is paid, as I believe I am justified in saying, for or on behalf of every person in this country, of all the many millions gathered under the sceptre of our Queen Empress is not a tax which is felt by those who pay it; it is not a tax which it is desirable to reduce apart from the financial considerations which lead to its reduction, in order to confer a benefit upon the great mass of the population of this country. My Hon'ble friend Raja Siva Prasad has stated his opinion that this Salt Duty is felt by the people, that it does press upon them, and that they will obtain considerable relief by the reduction now proposed. I confess that I find it very difficult to suppose that that is not the case, and that a tax of this kind, paid by men whose annual income is as low, or nearly as low as the figure mentioned by my Hon'ble friend Major Baring, does not press heavily upon those who are least able to contribute to the necessities of the Government. Now it seems to me that, with respect to this salt tax we are in this position. If the salt tax does not press upon the people, if it is a tax which they do not feel at all and do not object to pay, then it does form, without doubt the best possible financial resource you can have, and, the lower you can bring it down, the greater is the security to the people of India against other forms of taxation. If, on the other hand, the salt tax does press upon the poorer classes of the country, then surely it is only right and just that the Government should give those—the poorest classes—a share of the prosperity which the country is enjoying at the present time, even although it may at some future period of financial difficulty and disaster be necessary to re-impose the duty temporarily, in order that we may recoup ourselves for the loss which such a condition of affairs would impose upon us. But, then, my Hon'ble friend says that all experience shows that this reduction does not reach the people. I can really add nothing to what my Hon'ble friend Major Baring said upon that subject. I cannot say what may be the experience of this country. I can only say that the experience of other countries is precisely the other way, and I am altogether unconvinced that large reductions of taxation will not ultimately reach the consumer, and will not be found here, as everywhere, to benefit the consumer at large." I will also refer you to the figures quoted by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his speech at the last budget as regards the increase of consumption of salt between the years 1882 and 1888.

From a recent representation to the Government of India the consumption of salt fell far shorter last year than what it was in years past. We ask

Government to reduce the salt tax to Rs. 2 only, the level that obtained between 1882 and 1888. As regards the cost of producing salt in Gujarat and in Kharagora the cost of producing salt is Re. 0-1-3 per maund, while we have to pay Rs. 2-8-0 per maund as duty! So the duty is 3000% more than the actual cost!

In Kathiawar there was no duty on salt where it was produced, but under the new rulings people were dragged before the Magistrate and convicted for using salt which, they said, was essential for digestion. Unless we have greater limit, greater relaxation and greater freedom to use more salt, I am sure we will not be benefitted in regard to our health. With these words I commend the resolution to your unanimous acceptance (cheers).

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

Mr. A. K. Setna (Ahmedabad) next proposed the Fourteenth Resolution which ran as follows:—

“That the Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and is strongly of opinion that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893, in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Services, *i. e.*, Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest and Accounts, both in England and in India. That the policy of the Government of India in regard to minor Civil Services practically excludes the Natives of India from higher appointments in them and is, therefore, opposed not only to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission but to Royal and Viceregal pledges given to the Indian people from time to time.”

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The question discussed in this resolution is one of the chief points of contention between those who are for the Congress and those who are against it. This indeed is a question, however, which, if examined in all its aspects, would require much more time than I can command at this moment. I will, therefore, speak only on the moral aspect of this question. You have heard a great deal of the material poverty of the country. I will just say one word on that point. When the high officers of Government, who have acquired large experience and ripe judgment here, leave this country, they leave it so much the poorer in point of intellect and in point of experience. I have no doubt that there are many men of ability and intellectual attainments among us, and I am sure, looking at this assembly, some of them are present here (cheers), I am sure, if there were men who have the administrative experience in this country in the service of the Government, the country would be all the richer for it (cheers). Those high officers on retiring from this country deserve their pensions, but if there was a class of men in this country who was appointed to the offices of these men on a smaller pay and if they were to retire in the country itself they would give us the benefit of their experience, judgment and position, they would become the leaders of the people and

would be looked to for guidance and instruction (cheers). They would become the true interpreters between the rulers and the ruled (cheers). That is one aspect of the question. As regards the progress of education in this country every one will admit that during the last 30 years it has advanced with leaps and bounds (cheers). As regards the Public Service Commission, it was appointed in October 1886 and it finished its deliberations in December 1887. The Government of India wrote their despatch in October 1888, and finally the Secretary of State gave his judgment in October 1889. After the 3 years' deliberation and mature consideration of this Commission there was only one substantial gain that we achieved from its appointment, and that was as regards the raising of the age limit for admission to the Civil Service—that limit was raised from 19 to 23 (cheers). I say that it was a substantial gain, because when the limit of age was only 19, hardly one or two Indians passed the portals of the Civil Service, but since the limit of age was raised, about 30 Indians have now entered the Civil Service. That was probably the only gain achieved from that Commission. But, along with this gain there was a loss sustained from that Commission and that was the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service. There are many men living—among them even those who did not quite regard the Statutory Service with favour—who would at once admit that the principle upon which that Service was founded was indeed a very correct principle, because it gave admission to the Indian Civil Service by another door (cheers), but unfortunately the rules under which that Service was worked were not good rules—they were not such as would be desirable. In fact, I may be permitted to say that they were rather wanting in common-sense (hear, hear). That Service was abolished and the Provincial Service was established in its stead, but the new Service was no great compensation for the one that was abolished. Had the Statutory Service remained, the Indian Civil Service would have been recruited to the extent of one-sixth of the total number by our countrymen, and possibly, in course of time, Government might have seen their way to raise the proportion to one-fifth and, perhaps, later on to one-fourth (cheers). But by the abolition of it we have lost the privilege. We should permanently secure 160 pots in that service. I have always observed that during the last 20 years or more the policy of the Government in this connection has been to open one door and close another. We are at present on the eve of the great Durbar at Delhi (cheers); you, sir, have referred to it and many other speakers have also referred to it. I hope we will receive a substantial boon from Government in connection with that Durbar (cheers). Gentlemen, whatever our hopes and aspirations, I am sure of one thing, and that is that we have at present at the helm of affairs a statesman of great ability and courage (cheers), and, I may say, also of great political sagacity (cheers), and that, therefore, something at least will be the outcome of next week's Durbar (cheers). In this connection, I would request you to refer to the speech of Lord Lytton delivered at the Delhi Assemblage in 1877 on this important subject.

Well, gentlemen, that speech of Lord Lytton was unique in itself. It said that either the Government desires sincerely to abide by its plighted statutes and charters or to cheat us (hear, hear). Now, after 25 years we cannot say that the policy therein laid down has been carried out to the full. But I am prepared to admit that it is not the fault of his Lordship, but that

of Lord Dufferin and his successors in office. With regard to the Cooper's Hill College I will just show you how the system has been worked by Government. I have said that it is now the policy of the Government to open one door and close another. In this way the Secretary of State for India has closed the doors of the Cooper's Hill College to the Indian students, because he now allows only one Indian student annually to join that institution as against two according to the previous rules. The reason given for this restriction is that up to this time two students have not joined the College together (laughter). That was a singular reason and one for which there was no necessity for closing the Service in this high handed manner (cheers).

Mr. Abdul Kasim (Bengal) in seconding the above resolution, said :—

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

The resolution that I have been called upon to second is one of the oldest in our programme; in fact the agitation for the Simultaneous Examination was set on foot long before the birth of the Congress. Time has gone by when an appeal to the Mahomedan opposition to this resolution used to be put forward (hear, hear). Our Anglo-Indian friends used to declare at the time of the birth of the Congress that it was simply inaugurated to come in the way of the Mahomedans in the Public Service and to put the Indian Administration into the hands of the Hindus, but unfortunately for the very Anglo-Indian friends, they were not supported in that view by the Mahomedan community itself (cheers). You, Mr. President, had charge of this resolution last year at the Calcutta Session, and in your admirable speech proved by facts and figures that the Mussalmans in India were unanimous in supporting this resolution (cheers). Now our friends have taken a different course. They now say: 'You are not intellectually inferior, and the question of the Simultaneous Examination does not interfere with your interests, but then, you must keep yourselves aloof from the Congress platform so that your interests will be safeguarded and you will receive a greater share of Government patronage—but my Mahomedan friends have not been deluded. It is said that there is a strong complaint from our community that the Hindus have a start over us and that they have monopolised all the high offices. My argument is that they are entitled to do so as long as we lag behind. But if you introduce the question of the Competitive Examination, not only for the Civil Service but for the minor appointments as well, then only there should be a minimum number of those appointments reserved for such Mahomedan gentlemen as have received Western education, say, 'Little—Go' &c. For my contention I will bring forward one example. You know, that in the Police Department certain appointments were given by nomination, and a majority of them were given to the Hindus because they were the persons who had a start over us. Some time ago the Government of Bengal decided to hold Competitive Examinations, and if you refer to the Civil List of Bengal you will find that the number of Mahomedans in the Police Department has since increased 200%. In this resolution you not only want the Simultaneous Examination for Civil Service to be held here, but you also refer to the appointments of minor subordinates. The Indian Association of Calcutta sent a strong memorial to the Government—a very well written one—

and the reply received shows that Lord Curzon, in referring in that reply to the inefficiency of the Natives, not only made an unfounded remark but one which was against the report of his own subordinate officials (cheers). For instance, the Government of India recently said, having regard to the deficit in the Opium Revenue and having regard to the failure of the experiment made in appointing European officers to manage the Opium Department in such a way as to remove the deficit, that the Bengal Opium Department ought to be placed in charge of a Native official (laughter), simply because he is the proper person to know the Native opium cultivators and to influence them (laughter continued). That being so, we pray to Lord Curzon to recognize our claims, as a matter of right, to be more largely included in that and other Government departments (cheers). The Resolution was then put to the vote and unanimously carried.

Mr. Govindrao Apaji Patil moved the Fifteenth Resolution—

“That in view of the fact that the Railway administration forms an important branch of the P. W. Department of the Government, the Congress notices with regret that the Natives of India are practically excluded from higher appointments such as Traffic Inspectors, District Traffic Superintendents, Accountants, &c., on State as well as on guaranteed railways and appointments of Rs. 200 and above are as a rule bestowed only on Europeans. That the exclusive employment of Europeans in the higher posts results in heavy working charges, the burden of which falls on the Indian tax-prayers at whose expense the State railways have been constructed and who have to bear the ultimate liability of deficits on the guaranteed railways. The Congress, therefore deems it its duty to urge in the interests of economical railway administration, as also for the purpose of removing a legitimate grievance, that Government will be pleased to direct the employment of qualified Indians in the higher branches of the Railway service”.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is an important resolution, because it affects us as tax-prayers. Out of eighty railways in our country, about thirty are state-railways and ten are guaranteed railways; and on account of these railways the Government have had to suffer a loss of forty-one crores of rupees upto 1900 as loss of interest on the capital invested in state-railways, and secondly, as the deficit in the guaranteed rate of interest which our Government had to make good to the shareholders of the guaranteed railways (hear, hear).

Forty-one crores of rupees have thus disappeared,—an enormous sum which would otherwise have gone to develop the resources of an already impoverished country. The question of questions on this point that naturally arises for solution is, “why should these have been so”? The answer is, because of an expensive railway-management, or heavy working charges consequent upon the employment of an expensive European agency. There are at present about twenty-five thousand miles of open line of railway, and an approximate calculation of officers working such an extensive line leads to the conclusion

that there are nearly 2650 *Officers* by which it is manned. Of this number, there are nearly 1500 officers drawing salaries ranging from Rs. 200 to 500 every month;

1000 Officers with salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to 1200 every month; &

150 Officers receiving Rs. 1,200 to 3,000 every month.

Total 2650 Officers

And these officers are almost all exclusively Europeans (hear, hear). There are the Traffic Inspectors who are paid from Rs. 200 to 350 every month and of whom ninety-eight per cent are Europeans. There are Assistant District Traffic Superintendents, from Rs. 300 to 450 per month, the Traffic Superintendents receiving Rs. 400 to 800 every month, the Loco-foremen who are paid Rs. 300 to 450, the Storekeepers with Rs. 500 to 1,000 per month, Loco-Superintendents on Rs. 2,000 and Executive Engineers on Rs. 800 to 1,200. To what nationality do you think, gentlemen, these officers to belong? They are *exclusively* Europeans. Would not Government have got equally capable Natives of India on these posts, on smaller pay? But neither the Government which has to be ultimately responsible for the money spent nor the railway-administrations concerned seem to have entertained such an intention. Moreover, no political considerations could possibly come in the way of capable natives of India being appointed to the posts above enumerated. As late as 1880, Lord Lytton's Government passed a resolution on the 10th of November 1879, which states: "It should be clearly understood that all posts in the Revenue Establishment of State-Railways are open to Natives of India, and as men in every respect qualified for the superior grades are found, the Government of India will be glad to receive from Local Administrations recommendations for their employment in suitable positions".

Yet what great divergence do we find between the principles embodied in this resolution and practice? The resolution has remained practically a dead letter, for only *two Natives* were appointed to the post of Assistant District Traffic Superintendents between 1879 and 1893!

There cannot be the least room for doubting the fact that if an efficient Native agency had been employed in place of this expensive European agency, the deficit of forty-one crores which the Government of India have had to pay out of their own pockets would have been considerably reduced, and it would have benefited the poor and overburdened tax-prayers of India (hear, hear). But the fates appear to have ruled it otherwise. Are we incapable to fill these appointments with honor to ourselves and to our country? Certainly not. We can become Assistant Collectors, Collectors, and even Commissioners of Revenue at times; we can be successful administrators and Dewans of Native states; but we need not aspire to be Traffic Inspectors, or Traffic Superintendents or Loco-foremen!

But, gentlemen, our title to these appointments does not merely rest upon efficiency and cheapness. I would base it on higher considerations.

We are sons of the soil, and as such we claim that we are entitled to these appointments in preference to Europeans. The resolution is thus important and I trust you will therefore carry it with acclamation (cheers).

Mr. S. M. Patel (Ahmedabad) seconded the resolution.

Mr. M. K. Patel (Bombay) in supporting the above resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The non-employment of qualified Indians in the higher branches of Railway Service is an old grievance of the Indian tax-payer. There is, perhaps, no grievance of the Indian tax-payer more valid, more legitimate or more justifiable than the one to which this resolution bears reference. The Indian Railways have contributed to impoverish India both directly and indirectly. There are three kinds of Railways in India—the State Railways, Guaranteed Railways and Subsidized Railways. For the Guaranteed and Subsidized Railways India has to remit to England a large amount as interest. The interest thus remitted every year is one of the contributory causes of the poverty of India. Sir Henry Cotton justly observes: 'The country is too poor to pay for its elaborate railway system, and, being compelled to borrow in England has incurred an ever-accumulating debt at, what has unfortunately proved to be, an ever-increasing rate of interest.' This does not represent the entire drain. The superior management of all the railways is in the hands of the British; the Traffic Inspectors, the Traffic Superintendents and all other superior railway officers are British. The Natives of India are practically excluded from all the higher appointments in the railway service. The Indians pay the interest for the Guaranteed and Subsidized Railways and yet the Europeans enjoy the monopoly of all the higher posts. Such a grievous state of affairs would not be tolerated for one moment in any civilized country of the world (hear, hear). Such a gross and palpable injustice is perpetrated by the British in broad daylight merely because the Natives of India are not very tenacious of their rights. It has often been contended by the Government and also by the Anglo-Indian Press that Indians, fit and worthy to fill the higher appointments in the railway service, are not to be found! This plea is ridiculous. Can it be contended, gentlemen, that a country that has produced a Ram Mohan Roy (cheers), a Kristodas Pal (cheers), a Dadabhoy Naoroji (cheers), a Ranade (cheers), and a host of other equally eminent persons, cannot produce men able to manage our railways, if they are given the necessary training? Such a plea is as monstrous as it is ridiculous (hear, hear). Of course, I do not mean to assert that the Indian can carry on the Railway administration without receiving European training for the purpose. But surely, natives qualified to fill at least some of the higher posts in the railway service can be easily found. In discussing the question of the Indian Railways it is always necessary to consider carefully the influence of the Indian Railways on the economic condition of India as they have been not unoften pointed at as indicating the material well-being of the country. The features which distinguish modern from the ancient civilization, which, in fact, constitute that civilization in the popular mind—the Railway, Tele-

graph and various other means of comfort and convenience of modern civilized life—have been introduced into India under the British rule. There is one conclusion sometimes drawn from the more striking among these features which is of a very fallacious nature. The rapid expansion of the railway system in recent times is frequently pointed at as indicating the progress of India. A moment's reflection will show that it does not do so in any way, as all the railways are managed by Englishmen, surveyed and built by English Engineers and have their machinery and other necessary plant required for their construction and maintenance supplied by England. The Indian Railways loudly proclaim the introduction of European civilization in this country, but they do not indicate the material well-being of the country in any way whatsoever. It is asserted that the Indian Railways are of great use in transporting food to the famine-stricken districts. In this connection it must be remembered that if they have thus helped to mitigate the horrors of famine they have at the same time tended to create famines by destroying the indigenous industries of India (cheers).

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

Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay) then moved the next Resolution which was the Sixteenth on the list and ran as follows:—

“That having regard to the fact that while the cloth manufactured by means of power looms in this country in no way competes with the piece-goods imported from Lancashire, the imposition of the Excise Duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent. thereon, apart from its tendency to arrest the free growth of the weaving industry, continues to operate as a great injustice to the manufacturers, and imposes serious hardship on the masses of the people who consume the coarser indigenous products. This Congress earnestly prays that the Government will be pleased to take the matter into its favourable consideration and repeal the duty at an early date.”

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This resolution requires no further commentary from me in moving it. It has been my privilege to speak on this subject and on this platform more than once since the Excise Duty was imposed and I have to refer you to some of the previous reports of the Congress wherein you will possibly find all the arguments and facts relating to our condemnation of this duty (cheers). When that duty was imposed the Bombay Mill Owners took great interest in the question and made a very strong remonstrance against its imposition (cheers). Mr. J. N. Tata (cheers), Mr. N. N. Wadia and Mr. Marshall, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, went as a deputation to Calcutta (cheers) and had an interview with Sir James Westland who having had the worst of the arguments on the Government side, gave a very curt and most unsatisfactory reply. In fact he was angry that the non-official experts should have cut to pieces the specious statements advanced by him on behalf of the Government (laughter). That was characteristic of Sir James Westland who brooked none near his financial throne, much less an enlightened Indian whose “new spirit” of legitimate and solvent criticism was to him as red rag is

to a bull (laughter). Since that eventful episode, this question has been more or less agitated continuously in the press. So lately as last year it was again agitated by the Millowners' Association itself (cheers), who had a great deal to say on the subject. Mr. Tata also had interviews with the Secretary of State in which he observed that both the Spinning and Weaving Industries in India were not in the same flourishing condition as before; that it was a mistake to suppose that they flourish while famine, plague and other internal and external factors have seriously affected them. Mr. Tata also said that according to his investigations the dividends during the decade came only to about 4% or 5%. Last week Mr. Tata published a pamphlet in which he has demonstrated that those statements were absolutely correct (cheers). I am glad to say that that answer of Mr. Tata has been endorsed by that very important personage, the editor of the *Times of India* (cheers). He distinctly stated in his Introduction to that pamphlet that the Excise Duty was imposed not for revenue purposes but to please those philistines—the Manchester manufacturers, because they have got something like 57 votes in the House of Commons (laughter). Gentlemen, as far as India is concerned, whichever Ministry is in power—whether Liberal or Conservative—they invariably sacrifice her interests for the benefit of the Manchester manufacturers, because their vote is so powerful (shame). The editor of the *Times of India* says that it is but right and proper that the English public should know what Indian public opinion is on this question (cheers), and how keenly the Indians feel the apparent injustice of this imposition (cheers). They say it is for 'protection'. But, "where is the 'protection'" we ask? We asked that question 8 years ago when the duty was imposed and we are still waiting for the answer. There are 30 crores worth of piece-goods annually imported from Lancashire, but against this quantity we have no such goods to compete, for practically all the Indian piece-goods are of coarser make. They belong to counts ranging from 1 to 20 or from 20 to 24, whereas all the goods that come here from Manchester are above 20 or what they call usually 32 medium, ranging from 24 to 36. As far as the average 32 medium is concerned India weaves very little of this quality. Our Monthly and Annual Trade Returns show that practically we have very little to manufacture of this sort. Therefore, we ask "where the 'protection' comes in when India does not weave the finer qualities of cloth which would compete with Manchester?" We also, therefore, ask 'What right has Manchester to impose on us this $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ duty?' Injustice has been done to us in the interests of Manchester, and we, therefore, once more ask the Government of India to remove that injustice (cheers). The revenue derived from this imposition amounts to about Rs. 17 Lakhs—a mere flea-bite. These Rs. 17 Lakhs have been taken annually as duty from the weaving mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad during the last 8 years. Practically it means that this amount of 1.36 crore has gone out of the pockets of the Indian tax-payers into the pockets of the Government of India for no purpose whatever! Let us however examine the difference between the amount of the duty and the amount of the profit from the outturn of our mills. Take 100 lbs. of cloth which sells on an average at 7 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas per lb. The total sale-proceeds on those 100 lbs. comes to—calculating at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas per lb.—750 annas, the duty on which, at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}\%$, amounts to 26 annas. Now, what is the profit on the same 100 lbs.? We will take, on an average,

$\frac{1}{2}$ anna profit on each lb; then on 100 lbs. the profit comes to 50 annas; so, against the profit of 50 annas the weaving industry of this country has to pay the duty of 26 annas, that is to say, the duty amounts to 50% of the profit! You can now understand the hardship which millowners have to bear. The Government puts its hand into the Weavers' pockets and takes away from them 8 annas for every Rupee! How do you feel that? (laughter) But worse still is that the duty has to be paid whether there is gain or loss. The incidence of the duty therefore is ten-fold worse than that of the income tax. For you pay no tax when you incur a loss. Again, it is said that the millowners do not suffer any loss because of this duty. It is urged that the duty is paid by the consumer. I can tell you that that is not a fact. The millowner cannot raise his price of the goods because his profits are reduced. He has to bear the duty himself. Inquiry will prove that most of the ordinary mills do not recoup the duty from the consumer. In the face of these facts, gentlemen, it is not necessary to dilate any further on this subject. I do hope that you will all agree that it is our bounden duty to agitate and agitate for the repeal of this iniquitous duty (cheers).

Seth Mangaldas Girdhardas (Ahmedabad) having seconded this resolution with a few words in Gujarati it was carried unanimously.

Dr. A. Erulker Solomon (Ahmedabad) next proposed the Seventeenth Resolution, which ran as follows:—

“That this Congress is of opinion that in the interest of the public, the medical science and the profession, as well as to secure economy of administration it is necessary:—

- (1) That there should be only one military Medical Service with two branches—one for the European army and the other for the Native troops, graduates of Indian colleges being employed to the latter with greater economy, and efficiency to the State, and (2) that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical service wholly detached from its present military connection and recruited from the open profession of medicine in India and elsewhere, due regard being had to the utilization of indigenous talent. That this Congress while gratefully acknowledging what has been done to improve the position and prospects of the subordinate Medical Service, is of opinion that the grievances of assistant surgeons and hospital assistants, compared with members of similar standing in other departments, of the public service, require thorough redress.”

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

I have very great pleasure in moving this proposition. In commending it to your acceptance, I shall not detain you by any very lengthy remarks but I shall only dwell upon the two salient points, that in my opinion form the keystone of the resolution. There is no gainsaying the fact that the two principal elements that distinguish successful statesman-

ship are efficiency and economy. In dealing with the question of efficiency we must first determine whether native talent is capable of grasping and imbibing the highest scientific truths or whether this capacity is the monopoly of our western brethren only. In commenting upon this phase of the question it will suffice to say that so long as India sends a Paranjpe (cheers) to snatch off the enviable laurels of the Cambridge University or a Bose (loud cheers) proclaims from his laboratory discoveries that astound the scientific world, there is but one conclusion, and that is that native talent will yield to none so far as intellectual pursuits are concerned (loud cheers). Endowed with intellectual attainments of a high order, with a dignified sense of duty, I maintain that orientals are by nature eminently fitted not only to compete with the occidentals on their own ground but to discharge with remarkable efficiency all responsible duties entrusted to them. If we address ourselves to the examination of the economic side of the question, it will be plain to us that no nation on the face of the earth is so simple in its habits and frugal in its modes of living as our own. I am aware of the fact that the contrary is often asserted of us but the statement is as unwarranted as it is mischievous. Native gentlemen—men of recognized abilities and experience—occupying high posts are often found to discharge their duties satisfactorily on a salary which would be considered inadequate even for a raw European recruit working in the same capacity. Not to speak of the injustice of a procedure of this kind, is it not a distinct gain from a purely economic point of view to make a new departure in favour of capable native intellect at least in cases where we can combine efficiency with economy? The fact that India is poor must force us to practise economy with unprecedented rigour and the more so when we know that it is our own purse that shall have in the long run to pay the penalty for our sins in this direction. For these reasons particularly I beg to move this proposition (cheers).

Doctor Joseph Benjamine in seconding the above proposition said :—

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

As I rise to second this resolution I cannot but recall to my mind the name of that great and true champion of the local medical profession, the late Dr. K. N. Bahadurji, who was the originator of this medical reform movement. It was he who moved the question from Congress and other platforms and though he is no more amongst us to plead our cause, his name shall always be associated with this movement, and we shall always remember it with gratitude (cheers). Gentlemen, the first prayer of the resolution is that the Civil and Military Branches of the Medical Service should be kept separate from each other. In the Military branch one portion should be reserved for I. M. S. men for European regiments, and the other should be filled by appointing graduates of our local colleges to Native regiments because in the latter the medical wants of sepoys can be efficiently met by these Assistant Surgeons as they know the people, their habits and their language better than their European brethren. This change would also cause a great saving in the administration. The second prayer of the resolution is that the Civil Branch of the profession should be recruited

from the open profession of medicine, due regard being had to the utilization of indigenous talents. Gentlemen, our men are found fit to the Executive Engineers, District Superintendents of Police, Collectors, Judges, Commissioners and even High Court Judges, but they are not considered fit to become Civil Surgeons though they have been found to discharge these very duties with satisfaction when they are in temporary charge of large Hospitals during the absence of the permanent incumbents. If some of our best graduates are selected for these posts, they will do the work with as much efficiency as the present incumbents with greater economy to the State and with more convenience to the patients. The third prayer of the resolution is that while we acknowledge with thanks what little has been recently done to improve the pay of Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants, their grievances require thorough redress (hear, hear).

Now as regards the improvement effected in the pay of Assistant Surgeons, I beg to state that their condition has not been materially improved. There are 51 appointments of Assistant Surgeons in the Bombay Presidency, out of which according to the new change Government have allotted three minor Civil Surgeons of Kaira and Alibag and Shikarpur, on a salary of Rs. 350 rising to Rs. 550 to the senior men in the service. But the first two of these places are in towns with a population of about 15,000 each. No senior Assistant Surgeon well situated would ever care to have these places. Because he would there be ostracised from the society of city life. I know the instance of the late Dr. Jamsedji of this place who declined to accept one of these posts. Drs. Dadina and Gonsalves also refused to take up these minor Civil Surgeons and preferred to remain where they were. Government have sanctioned 4 posts of senior Assistant Surgeons after 21 years of approved service. But, gentlemen, these are to be filled by selection and I leave it to you to judge what selection means. According to the old scale Assistant Surgeons got Rs. 200, 300 & 350 in the 3rd, 2nd & 1st grade respectively with allowances. Then the scale that followed gave them Rs. 120, 185 & 250 respectively. But even then every Assistant Surgeon was entitled to get his maximum pay of Rs. 250 after 14 years' service on his passing an examination. But under the new scale those only will be allowed to appear in the examination, who are considered fit by the Inspector General of Civil Hospital Assistants. Thus, many will have to rest content with Rs. 185 as their maximum salary. Such is the present state of the Assistant Surgeons. Gentlemen, had Sir Bhalchandra remained in that service, would he have ever obtained the position he now holds and the honours he enjoys?

In the Revenue Department a clerk on Rs. 12 can rise to be a Deputy Collector on Rs. 800, and in the Police Department a Constable can rise to be a District Superintendent of Police. But in the wretched service of Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants, the men must rest content with the fixed pay.

As regards the Civil Hospital Assistants their maximum pay has been raised to Rs. 70. Thus a few only will get Rs. 5 more than they were getting before. But under the old system a Hospital Assistant could claim as a matter of right Rs. 55 after 14 years' service on his passing the usual examination

but according to the new resolution a Hospital Assistant can only get Rs. 55 after 15 years' service, and then too that promotion will depend upon the sweet will of the Secretary to the Surgeon General or his chief clerk because the promotion is to be given by selection and not by examination. Now as regards the promotions offered, the Imperial funds will have to pay only Rs. 72 per annum so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned.

Gentlemen, it is these Hospital Assistants that had to bear the brunt of the medical duties at the time of famine plague, and it is they that popularise European Medical system in the mofussil. The case of Military Hospital Assistants also requires consideration. But compared with the pay and status of the Military Assistant Surgeon Class, who are selected from amongst the European and Eurasian youths their pay and status is miserable indeed. The former can rise from Rs. 50 to Rs. 750, with the rank of Honorary Major, but their brethren of the Hospital Assistant class who are in no way inferior to them in preliminary training are considered fit to receive only Rs. 100 as their maximum salary. Gentlemen, how can such a service remain contented under such a state of things. It is therefore the prayer of this resolution to improve their prospects in a thorough manner.

With these words I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution (cheers).

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Poona) next moved the Eighteenth Resolution which ran as follows:—

“That while thanking the Government of Lord Curzon for opening a military career to a few scions of noble families by the creation of the Cadet Corps, this Congress urges that in view of the loyalty and splendid services rendered by the Indian troops to the British Empire in the late Chinese war and in other wars, Government will be pleased to throw open to the natives of India higher posts in the military services and to establish Military Colleges at which Indians may be trained for a military career as commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You will observe that this is a very novel resolution that is now for the first time included in the Congress programme, and if anything it will indicate how far has the scope of the deliberations of this Congress been increased. For the last 16 years the Congress had political deliberations. Two years ago it entered for the first time, upon the industrial deliberations and now in the 18th year of its life, it is prepared to enter upon military deliberations (cheers).

The Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta: We had taken up the subject in Allahabad. Mr. Kelkar (continuing): Even supposing you had taken it up in Allahabad you seem to have forgotten it in the meanwhile (laughter). It is a good thing, however, that you have duly recognized its importance and taken it in hand (cheers). The resolution thanks the Government of Lord Curzon for opening the military career to some scions of noble families in India (cheers). We must remember that it was Lord Curzon who had, for the first time, recognized that the Native Princes ought to be treated as colleagues of the Viceroy in the ad-

ministration of the British Empire in India, and also that it was Lord Curzon who had, for the first time, provided a practical programme for the military education of Indian Princes. But I am not one of those who think that any substantial practical result will follow from the establishment of the Cadet Corps. The real efficient school for the military career is the battle-field and nowhere else. We all know what the Maharajah Scindia and other Indian Princes did in the recent Chinese War, but we have never heard that they had ever attended any Military School or College. In the same manner, unless the Indian Princes are entrusted with some command on the battle-field, all these attempts at forming the Cadet Corps will go for nothing (cheers). But we know that Government is not prepared to give any places of command to the Native Princes. I may tell you one instance. I tell you, subject to correction, I was told that some years ago there took place some controversy between the British Government and one of the Indian Princes. The point was this—round which the controversy turned: That Prince was called by the British Government to raise an Imperial Service troops Corps. He said that he would do so on one condition, namely, that his son or another relation should be allowed to hold the command of the Corps in the battle-field, but that condition was not agreed to by the British Government. Ultimately the proposal fell through, simply because that condition was not agreed to by Government. This instance will at least show you the spirit in which the Indian Princes are being treated, and therefore, once more I will repeat that the establishment of the Cadet Corps will be of no use to our Princes, so long as they are not entrusted with its command on the battle-field. We know, as a matter of fact, what are the prospects of the Mahrattas, the Punjabis and the Goorkhas in the military service. A native officer who has seen a dozen battles and has got 12 scars or medals must rest satisfied with the post of the Subedar-Major and must serve under a European officer who enters the service with the starting salary of Rs. 200 or Rs. 300. It is not the question of money that is my chief point. The important question is whether a native soldier can remain contented with such poor prospects. I am not speaking without the sense of responsibility, for, I will refer you to what Lieut.-Col. Hunter, a soldier organiser, has said on the subject.

The gallant Colonel is one of the best European officers who had an opportunity of knowing the feelings and sentiments of the native army. Then, I come to the 3rd part of this resolution. This uneducated Maharattas who enter the military service may be employed in the capacity of mere sepoy, but then take the case of the educated people who want to join the military career. They are proud to enter as mere sepoy but for their future prospects they have no military colleges where they can get military training. This absence of military colleges inflicts double injury on our people, *i. e.* it scatters the martial races from their military occupation and throws them upon uncongenial occupations. Government may think that to give military education to the educated people is only to facilitate or rather to arm those people with all the facilities for becoming disloyal. I should say from this platform that it is a libel upon the educated people of this country to say that, if they get military education, they will rebel (shame). With these words, I beg to commend this resolution to your unanimous approbation (cheers).

Dr. Joseph Benjamin (Ahmedabad) in seconding the above resolution said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I beg to second the resolution which has been moved by a gentleman from the capital of the Deccan, which is the centre of the Maratha population and which supplies a large number of soldiers to the native army. I hail you, gentlemen, from the capital of Gujarat, the population of which is known for its commercial pursuits. It will, therefore, appear strange that I should rise to second this resolution. But, gentlemen, I have a right to do so, belonging as I do to a community—Beni-Israel—that has supplied to the native army a large number of soldiers, many of whom have, by their abilities, risen to the highest ranks that the present system of Army Regulations could afford (cheers). But there is yet a greater reason why I am entitled to speak on this resolution. My family has supplied soldiers to the British Government to serve in the Indian Army (cheers). My father was a soldier and fought under the British flag; my three brothers and two cousins were also soldiers and fought for the British arms (cheers). In this resolution we thank Lord Curzon for the formation of a Cadet Corps, but the first credit of it must go to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, (cheers) who gave his first support to this movement years ago. Our thanks are due to Lord Curzon for sanctioning the proposal of His Royal Highness. The second part of the resolution, gentlemen, requests the Government of India to throw open to the natives of India higher military appointments, because at present no native gentleman, whatever his abilities, attainments, experience or bravery, can rise above the rank of a Subedar-Major or a Risaldar-Major, whereas a European youth, fresh from England and coming as an Ensign becomes his superior. You know, gentlemen, that the natives have distinguished themselves in the military line as well as they have done in the Civil Departments of the administration. I can give you a number of instances from among the members of my own community, for whom their commanding officers have testified in the highest terms (cheers). Many of them have won not only medals, but Orders of Merit and Orders of the British Empire. One gentleman of my community named Mr. Abraham Daniel had so distinguished himself in his military service that on his retirement he was promoted to the post of the Assistant District Superintendent of Police in Poona (cheers). About the abilities of another member of our community who served in Her Majesty's army his Regimental Officer said that he was "one in a thousand." I will give you another instance of a class-fellow of mine, Risaldar Bapat (cheers), who distinguished himself in the military line by his exceptional abilities, but could not rise above the rank of a Risaldar. Government have now, however, appointed him an Assistant Superintendent of Police. Gentlemen, instances of this kind can be easily multiplied, but I will not do so to tire your patience. Our memory, gentlemen, is yet quite green as regards the bravery with which the Indian troops distinguished themselves in the Tirah Expedition, the China War and many other battles. I am quite sure that if the natives are given an opportunity they will make their mark even in the higher appointments of the military service. The third prayer of this resolution is to request Government to establish Military Colleges in which the Indians may be trained as Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers. At present the native

sepoys in the army are many of them uneducated, so much so, that they find it difficult to pick up the technical words of command. If a College, such as is proposed in this resolution, is established, many educated young Indians will be willing to join the Military Service, and by taking education in such a College will become better fitted to discharge the duties of Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers. Take the case of the Congress Volunteers, many of whom are sitting in front of you. Gentlemen, see how soldier-like they look in their uniform, and how soldier-like they have been indefatigably working for the Congress and the Exhibition. If a Military College were to be established many educated men of the type of these young Volunteers would gladly take advantage of it and join the Military Service (cheers). The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President proposed from the chair the following (Nineteenth) Omnibus Resolution :—

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

- (a) That with a view that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may enjoy greater respect and confidence it is necessary to reconstitute it on a broader basis and that the time is ripe for the appointment of Indian lawyers of eminence as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the decision of Indian appeals.
- (b) That the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the nondomiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government should be discontinued.
- (c) That the rules under the Arms Act should be modified so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in or visitors to India, without distinction of creed, caste or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial Jurisdiction in which they are issued.
- (d) That a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain should be introduced among the people of India.
- (e) That a High Court of Judicature be established in the Punjab.
- (f) That in as much as the scheme of reorganization of the Education Service is calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, the scheme should be recast so as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

- (g) That the act of Secretary of State of India in fixing the limit at two posts beyond which natives of India cannot compete in the Cooper's Hill College is opposed to the plain words of Act I of 1833 and to her late Majesty's Gracious Proclamation.
- (h) That the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.
- (i) That it is desirable that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons who are natives of India the right of claiming in trials by jury before the High Court and in trials with the aid of assessors that not less than half the number of jurors or of the assessors shall be natives of India.
- (j) That the existing rules framed by the different Provincial Governments in the matter of the Forest Department are opposed to the Resolution of the Government of India made in 1894, with the object of enunciating the objects of forest conservancy and that an amendment of the rules in conformity with the above resolution is urgently called for in the interests of the inhabitants of rural India."

Carried by acclamation.

The President moved the following Twentieth Resolution from the chair:—

"That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee, as at present constituted and the journal *India* as published by it, be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance with the following scheme:—

That a circulation of 4,000 copies of *India* be secured by allotting 1,500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras, 200 copies to the North-West Provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar and the Central Provinces and 1,000 copies to Bombay; the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8.

That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due for the copies of *India* assigned to their respective circles; and the money be paid in advance in two half-yearly instalments:—

BENGAL	}	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
		Babu Bupendra Nath Basu.
		Babu Baikunta Nath Sen.
BOMBAY	}	Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta.
		Mr. D. E. Wacha.
		Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

MADRAS	} Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Rao. Mr. Vijay Raghava Chariar. Mr. V. Ryru Nambyar. Mr. G. Subramaniya Iyer.
BERAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES	} Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND OUDH	} Mr. M. M. Malavya. Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma. Mr. S. Sinha. Mr. A. Nundy.
CAWNPORE	Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit.
PUNJAB	Mr. Harakissen Lal.

That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of *India* and the British Committee a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902."

Carried by acclamation.

Mr. J. V. Desai (Ahmedabad) then moved the following Twenty-first Resolution which ran as follows:—

"That this Congress tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year."

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Our workers in England and their services are so well-known to you all that it is unnecessary for me to recount them here (cheers). You have heard the names of Sir William Wedderburn (cheers), Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji (cheers), Mr. Hume (cheers), and Mr. Caine (cheers). These gentlemen are so well-known to you that it is needless for me to recount their many services rendered to our country (cheers). Gentlemen, we must fight our battles not only in our own country, but we must fight it also in the land of our rulers, and, therefore, our eminent friends, who are fighting for us in that land with Government, deserve all our thanks and all our support, both moral and material, that we are in a position to give (cheers).

Mr. Jamietram Nanabhai Haridas seconded the above resolution with a brief speech and it was carried unanimously.

The President moved the following Twenty-second Resolution from the chair:—

"That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B. to be General Secretary and Mr. D. E. Wacha to be Joint-General Secretary for the ensuing year."

Carried by acclamation.

The President then moved the following Twenty-third Resolution from the chair :—

“That the 19th Indian National Congress do assemble, after Christmas 1903, at Madras.”

Carried by acclamation.

Mr. Varajlal Sakarlal (Ahmedabad) moved the following Twenty-fourth Resolution in Gujarati :—

“That the cordial thanks of this Congress are due to the President for the ability and courtesy with which he has conducted the duties of the chair.”

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have to perform a very pleasing duty in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to our worthy President for the arduous task he has performed with such zeal and patience. By consenting to preside on this occasion Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee has laid the province of Gujarat under a deep debt of gratitude. It is erudite learning, unsurpassable eloquence, and his single minded devotion to national duty at great personal sacrifice are too well known to require any mention from me. With what joy did we hail the nomination of Mr. Banerjee as the President of this year's Congress, and with what greater joy were we filled when we saw him in our midst a few days back! By his tact, he has harmoniously carried out the very onerous duties of his office. By his eloquence he has succeeded in instilling in the minds of us Gujaratis the sense of national duty, and patriotism which are so conspicuous in him. Who is there amongst us who is not familiar with the work that from time to time has been done by Mr. Banerjee? He it is who saved the country from the threatened ravages of the University Commission. Had he not raised his voice opportunely against the retrograde recommendations of the Commission, I am afraid they would have been embodied in some enactment. The services rendered by our President are a legion and I shall only stand unnecessarily between you and him were I to go on enumerating them.

I am afraid, sir, we have not been able to do all what we ought to have done to make your stay amongst us quite comfortable, but in what we have done we have been guided by the best of intentions, any omissions may be attributed to our ignorance. Our hearty good will ought to compensate for any deficiency in our acts.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The President and Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal were then garlanded amidst loud cheers and the President replying to the vote of thanks said :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES,

There are moments in the life-time of a man when the resources of language fail him to give adequate expression to the sentiments which are

uppermost in his mind (hear, hear). One of those moments has now arrived for me. I confess I do not know how adequately to express to you the deep-seated feeling of gratitude which has inspired me at this moment (hear, hear), for your abounding kindness to me during my stay at Ahmedabad, for the kind speeches which you have made, and the kind vote which has just been passed and the deep underlying feeling which is behind that vote. Grave as are the responsibilities of the President, and onerous as are his duties, they are more than recompensed by the abounding sympathy and generosity and the princely hospitality of those amongst whom he makes his temporary sojourn (hear, hear). From the moment I set my foot upon your soil, I have been a recipient of favours, the memory of which will not be effaced so long as life and breath endure (hear, hear). From the highest to the humblest, from the representative of the princely house of the Nagar Seth to the humblest inhabitant of this place, they have all vied with each other to honor me. Can I forget—is it possible for any one to forget—the splendour, the enthusiasm, the brilliancy and the universality of that demonstration with which you welcomed me on my arrival at Ahmedabad? A sovereign prince or a victorious general with his brow bedecked with laurels could not have been more honoured (hear, hear). Ahmedabad turned forth its thousands, and its tens of thousands, its men, women and children—the whole living population of the town—a vast mass of seething humanity—to welcome the President of the Congress (loud cheers). I am not so foolish or so vain as to imagine for one moment, that the honor was a personal demonstration (hear, hear) (cries in the pandal of 'Oh, yes, it was'). The honor was to the representative of the Congress. It was the visible symbol, the outward manifestation of the deep feeling of love and devotion to the Congress, which I represent and which is the political creed of Ahmedabad. In honouring the President you make your salutations to the Genius of the Congress; I look upon that demonstration in that light and no other. You have proclaimed to the people of India with the trumpet-blast that the one creed and the one object of your worship in the political field is the creed of the Congress. The demonstration was followed by the session of the Congress which is most remarkable in the annals of the Congress. I had ventured to express the hope in my Presidential speech that this session of the Congress would be one of the most successful that has ever been held. In that hope and in that confidence we have been abundantly justified (hear, hear). Nay, more, your success has outstripped the most sanguine anticipations of the most sanguine of the people of Ahmedabad, and this marvellous success has been achieved in the face of enormous difficulties, despite the attractions of the Delhi Durbar (hear, hear), despite the remoteness of the place, despite the raising of the delegation fee and despite adverse local circumstances. And what is the secret of this success? What influence was at work, what inspiration was transforming the scene into a successful achievement? The secret is easily learnt. There is a Divinity that shapes our end rough hew it as we may. We have not risen—the people of India have not yet risen—to the appreciation of the power of the people. We have not risen to the appreciation of the irresistible might of the Popular Will. Our fathers had a better conception of it. The Punch was with them a divine institution. Wherever five men were gathered together for a public purpose the Divine presence was felt (hear, hear). So thought our ancestors, and they embalmed their convic-

tions into the immemorial usage of the land. And here, sir, (addressing Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal) I must be permitted to repeat your eloquent words in connection with the attitude of the local authorities of this place (hear, hear), of the respected Commissioner of this Division (hear, hear). I hope my words will travel beyond these walls (cheers). To the respected Commissioner of this Division the gratitude of the Congress is due, not only for his attitude of benevolent neutrality, not only for his firm determination not to throw any obstacles in our way, but also for his equally firm determination to do all that lay in his power to help forward the success of the Industrial Exhibition (cheers), which is an adjunct of the National Congress (hear, hear). Brother-Delegates, in connection with movement of this kind I am not content with looking only upon its outward, tangible and visible results. I attach far greater importance to the indirect moral gain. The crowning achievement of the Ahmedabad Congress, which has placed it in the rank of a historical event—significant in our annals—is the re-awakening of the Province of Gujarat—the revival of the political life and political aspirations in the minds of the people of Gujarat. Gujarat has been sleeping for ages. Gujarat was not a factor in the political history of the country. Gujarat had its mills, and was absorbed in the pleasant occupation of minting money (laughter). Gujarat has now been roused from the torpor of ages. The pulsations of a new life are being felt by the people of Gujarat. The Congress was instrumental in producing so magnificent a result and, therefore, this Congress is entitled to be regarded as being amongst the most successful Congresses that have ever been held. To me the most significant fact is that those young men whom I see before me, have been prominently connected with this movement. These Volunteers (hear, hear), the hopes of the future—are the persons who are most prominently associated with this movement (hear, hear). ‘Suffer the little children to come to me’ were the words of the Divine Founder of Christianity uttered 1900 years ago. Young men have always played a most important part in the political history of all countries in the world (hear, hear), and I am glad that History has repeated itself in the Province of Gujarat, and that it is given to these young men to lead forward the great movement of the National Congress (hear, hear), and who are the captains of these young men? They are young Barristers—no longer students but who vie with students in the arduous task of making the Congress the success that it has been. It is altogether a new spectacle and a new departure. It is a tribute to the public spirit of the people of Gujarat (cheers). Gentlemen, I will not detain you much longer (cries of ‘go on, go on’). For the sake of safety and peace I will go on. Gentlemen, it is often said, and said with truth, that new workers are not coming to the field. Will not our young men develop themselves into the workers of the Congress? Will they not take up the work which we leave to them as a legacy for them to amplify and add to? Men like us are growing old (loud cries of ‘long live the old workers of the Congress’); we have grown grey in the service of the Congress (hear, hear). On some of us the shadows of Evening are deepening and our mantle will soon fall from us. We want these young men to take up this work consecrated by the devotion and public spirit of their predecessors (hear, hear). We want them to carry forward this work to its triumphant issue. You have created a new spirit in Gujarat, you have infused a new life, and it is for you to foster and guide the beginnings of this new-born public spirit and stimulate and lead

them on, so that in the fullness of time the great promises of the Congress may be fully realised by us and by our children. I know not how long it will be given to me to plead for the Congress, but so long as life and breath endure I will continue to plead for the Congress (hear, hear). I will continue to appeal to the young men of my country to rally round the banner of the Congress, to hold it aloft and to carry it from town to town (cheers), from district to district (cheers), and from province to province, spreading broadcast from one end of the country to the other the saving lessons of the Congress. I ask you to follow and to uphold the principles of the Congress, work for the Congress, suffer for the Congress and die in the certain and firm conviction that the cause to which you are pledged is bound to triumph and that sooner or later in the dispensations of Almighty Providence, the cause of constitutional liberty in India will be placed upon a sound, satisfactory and impregnable basis. Brother-Delegates, young and old, let us combine for the good of our country. There is no higher duty in this world than devotion to the sacred interest of Bharat-Varsh—the land of the Rishis, the land of our sires—the land consecrated by their glorious and illustrious deeds in the past. Let us remember the past which will stimulate us to the duty of our modern progress and civilization; let us take a solemn vow to work out the political enfranchisement of our country. Oh! let this vow lead to the glorious realization of our hopes in the future. Once more let me say farewell to you, gentlemen. Before I sit down it becomes my duty to thank the Reception Committee (cheers), and in thanking the Reception Committee whose name can I more prominently associate with that Committee than the name of (turning towards Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal) your worthy self, who have devoted yourself so heartily to the cause of the Congress (hear, hear). Let me also thank the workers, the Volunteers and the Engineer (cheers). I hold in my hand a list—I will call it a golden list. The thanks of the Congress and of the Delegates are due to the gentlemen whose names are contained in this list which I will now read out to you (cheers).

The President then read out the list, (see Appendix B) amidst loud cheers, which contained the names of the members of the Working Committee, and when he came to the last name in it he said :

Gentlemen, now, I come to the name of Mr. Patil which is last but not the least. You all know that as a General Secretary he has been the life and soul of this movement (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I now close the deliberations of the Congress. This session of the Congress is now at an end (loud and prolonged cheers).

After three hearty cheers were given for His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor the Meeting broke up.

Report of the opening of the Industrial Exhibition on the 15th December 1902 at Ahmedabad in connection with the Eighteenth Indian National Congress.

A most enthusiastic and crowded assemblage of gentlemen attended on the occasion of the opening of the Exhibition; nearly 4,000 persons were present in the Congress pavilion amongst whom may be mentioned—

H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda.
 H. H. the Maharana of Pore Bandar.
 The Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, C. I. E.
 The Hon'ble Mr. F. S. P. Lely, C. S. I., Commissioner, N. D.
 Mr. Vernon, I. C. S.
 Mr. Rendall, I. C. S.
 Lieut.-Colonel Anderson, I. M. S.
 Mr. R. P. Lambert.
 Mr. Mayne.
 Divan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal.
 Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha.
 Seth Mansukhbhai Bhagubhai.
 Seth Jeysingbhai Hathising.
 Seth Chinubhai Madhavlal.
 Seth Chimanlal Nagindas.
 The Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh.
 The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit.
 Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad.
 Nagarseth Chimanlal Lalbhai.
 Seth Lalbhai Dulputbhai.
 Rao Bahadur Motilal Lalbhai.
 Rao Bahadur Himatlal Dhirajram.
 Khan Bahadur Naoroji Pestanji Vakil.
 Rao Bahadur V. V. Venikar.
 Rao Bahadur Khasirao Jadav.
 Rao Bahadur Chhuganlal T. Modi.
 Rao Bahadur Manubhai N. Mehta.
 Rao Bahadur Ravji B. Patel.
 Khan Bahadur Furdunji K. Tarapurvala, C. I. E.
 Rao Bahadur Mansukhbhai Mulji.
 Rao Bahadur Chandulal Dolutjada.
 Mr. Vrajlal Sakerchand.
 Mr. and Mrs. L. M. Wadia.
 Mr. and Mrs. M. P. Modi.
 Mr. Rustum K. R. Cama.

Besides the above gentlemen most of the members of the Reception Committee were present.

Punctually at the hour fixed for the opening proceedings H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda arrived in the pavilion when the whole assembly rose till his Highness bowed his acknowledgments and took his seat on the dais.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, Chairman of the Working Committee of the Industrial Exhibition, opened the proceedings with the following interesting speech :—

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a piece of singular good fortune that we have succeeded in obtaining the consent of his Highness the Maharajah Gaekwad to preside on this interesting and important occasion. I will tell you later on—only a little later on, for I am not going to detain you long—why it is in the peculiar fitness of things that his Highness should preside on this occasion. I will only say that we are fortunate in having for our President, on this occasion, a prince whom we have learnt to regard with esteem, affection—(loud cries of hear, hear)—and admiration (hear, hear) not only in this Presidency of Bombay but, I can venture to say, throughout the whole of India (cheers). Ladies and gentlemen, this universal regard for his Highness is founded upon this circumstance, that he is in the foremost ranks of those Indian Princes who have gravely realized that their high position is a trust reposed in them for the advancement, welfare and prosperity of their subjects (hear, hear). We are proud of him for the high ideal which he has placed before all Indian Rulers, and we are prouder of him because he has brought to bear upon his reducing that ideal into practice the high talents and accomplishments with which his Highness is so liberally endowed. Ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry that at this particular moment my honourable friend Mr. Lely (cheers) is not present. He is a gentleman, as you all know, whom we have appreciated highly for the noble work which he did in connection with the disastrous times that recently swept over this province. If he had been here, he would have heard how grateful we were to him for the help, support and encouragement which he has given to this enterprise, upon which we have entered, for the industrial progress of this country (cheers). Gentlemen, we would have told him how grateful we are to him for the attitude described by himself in his admirable letter to the *Times of India* of 23rd September last when he said that he trusted “the forthcoming Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad will be a singular instance of what all classes and parties can do when they unite for the good of this country” (cheers). Gentlemen, never were words more truly spoken; for, so far as the future of this country is concerned, we can hope for nothing unless, and we can hope for everything if, all classes and parties unite in common co-operation for the good of the country (hear, hear). If Mr. Lely had been here I would have told him that with regard to this encouragement and support we are grateful to him not simply for—to borrow his own words—“official good-will” (hear, hear)—official good-will is an excellent thing, ladies and gentlemen, but it is a somewhat cold commodity (laughter). I am glad to be able to say that Mr. Lely has not been content with showing us simply ‘official good-will,’ but he has given us his active assistance, support and encouragement (hear, hear). But ladies and gentlemen, we must not forget that grateful as we are to Mr. Lely for his active support and encouragement, he could have effectively done so only with the sympathy and support of the Head of this Presidency, Lord Northcote (hear, hear). Gentlemen, you have had recently an opportunity of appreciating the liberal and sympathetic statesmanship which inspires the speeches which his Lordship made in his recent tour through Gujarat.

We have recognized that his hand is as free as his heart is large (louder cheers). It is a matter of no small gratification and satisfaction to us that the Head of Government has actively supported us not only by his official good-will but by active encouragement. Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer except that I wish to place before you in just a few words what is the attitude of the official classes, the educated classes and the Government in respect of industrial progress, industrial training and industrial education. (At this stage Mr. Lely arrived in the Hall and was received with enthusiastic cheers) Ladies and gentlemen, I have already told you about the noble work which Mr. Lely has done during the disastrous times through which this province has passed (cheers). You cheered loudly the mention of his name when I pointed out to you how he gave us not only his official good-will but his active support, encouragement and assistance in the work which we have undertaken in connection with this Exhibition (cheers). Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have to add a few more words with regard to the attitude of the educated classes and the Government with respect to this important subject of industrial progress and industrial education. Gentlemen, as one of the educated classes I am ready to confess that they have many sins to answer for (laughter). There are many shortcomings and many drawbacks in them, and Mr. Lely added only one more to those drawbacks (laughter) when he said that we had failed in doing our duty by Village Banks. However sinful we may be in this respect, I venture to say, ladies and gentlemen, that with regard to industrial education, industrial progress and technical education the educated classes are not so much to be blamed as some men believe them to be. It is not recently but it was years ago that they realized the high value of industrial progress with regard to the prosperity of this country. I will say frankly, ladies and gentlemen, that I do not believe that the industrial progress will be a panacea as is sometimes proclaimed for all the evils to which this country is subject, nor will I profess to say that industrial progress will be a solution of that big question of agricultural indebtedness with which we are face to face in this country, but I do venture to say that the progress of Arts and Industries in this country will go far, will go considerably, towards ameliorating the condition of the people. This was fully recognized by the educated classes years and years back. If I may not seem egotistical, I should like to state here one little episode on this question. In the seventy's in connection with some of my friends like the late lamented Mr. Justice Kashinath Trimbak Telang (loud cheers) I and others, who were keen in our newborn enthusiasm to promote the Industries and Arts of India, started a Soap Factory. We scrupulously attended every meeting of the Board of Directors, for we were on the Board of Directors to see that the concern was successful. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is only as a case of "self-sacrifice" that I mention it before Mr. Lely that we lost every pie of our money (laughter). I told you this, ladies and gentlemen, only for the purpose of showing that we have not been blind to the advantages of technical progress and industrial progress in this country (hear, hear). Later on,—I suppose, even here at Ahmedabad, they must have heard the echoes of the celebrations with which we received Lord Ripon (loud cheers)—on his departure from India (cheers). These educated classes convened a public meeting in his honour in the Town Hall and passed a Resolution that subscriptions should be raised in his honour and devoted

to the establishment of a Technical Institute (hear, hear). Gentlemen, that Resolution was passed as far back as 29th November 1884 and ran as follows :—

“That as an humble acknowledgment of his eminent services, His Excellency be requested to allow his name to be connected with a permanent institution in the shape of an Industrial School to be founded in Bombay, and with such other memorial as may hereafter be determined.”

From this you will see, ladies and gentlemen, that we gave precedence to technical education above all things. Immediately after this event we had the benefit of having over the head of the administration of this Presidency a statesman like Lord Reay (cheers). You all know the keen interest which he took in the subject of technical education but, gentlemen, let me tell you that it was the educated classes who first approached him upon the subject and roused his interest and activity in it (hear, hear). It was in consequence of the move which the Committee of the Ripon Fund made in approaching his Excellency to ask for a site and an amount equal to the amount of subscription that Lord Reay called together in the Secretariate a number of people to advise him on the subject. It was an important meeting as it laid the foundation of the establishment of what is now known as the Victoria Technical Institute in Bombay (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I told you that I would a little later on tell you why it is in the peculiar fitness of things that his Highness should preside on this occasion. If I may respectfully venture to say so, I claim his Highness, albeit a Prince, one of the educated classes of this country (hear, hear). It is in this capacity that I venture to ask your plaudits for what his Highness has done in the cause of technical and industrial education (hear, hear). Gentlemen, you remember that he got one of his officials, my friend Professor Gajjar, to draw up a scheme and that in pursuance of a part of that scheme his Highness has founded one of the best polytechnic institutes in India—the Kalabhavan at Baroda (hear, hear). Gentlemen, we have not been idle since then. But it is a matter of congratulation that now the official classes insist upon the educated classes to realize the value and importance of industrial progress for this country (cheers). Ladies and gentlemen, there are uncharitable people who say that this cry for industrial education has been taken up simply for the purpose of shifting aside the cry for political agitation. But these uncharitable people also used to say that the cry for social reform was taken up for the purpose of shifting aside political agitation. In public life it is wise not to go too deep into motives, but mainly to recognise and accept facts. If these cries were intended to divert activity from political agitation, the result any how is beneficial. It is a matter of congratulation that the official classes—and among them I may again venture to point out that Mr. Lely is one of the foremost (cheers)—should devote a great deal of attention to encouraging industrial progress. I beg to again quote from Mr. Lely's admirable letter to the *Times of India* of 23rd September last the following :—

“The Committee take a broad view of their position, and I trust the forthcoming Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad will be a signal instance of what all classes and parties can do when they unite for the good of their country.”

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a good augury that the official classes are trying to promote industrial progress and industrial education in this country. But you will permit me frankly to say that little will be achieved from any efforts in this direction unless the fiscal and the economical policies of Government are altered (hear, hear). Ladies and gentlemen, our present Secretary of State for India has referred to this subject in his last Budget speech in these terms :—

“But fair and majestic as the edifice of our rule in India appears, we must never forget that, from the nature of its structure and the composition of its materials, there must be always in it risks and difficulties and possibly dangers and menaces from outside. (Hear, hear.) I have spent the greater part of my official life in connexion with the India Office, and it is many years ago since I went there in a subordinate capacity. The result of my experience is that I believe that henceforth the most serious of the difficulties that will cross the path of the Indian Government will not be those which are inherent, not those which are connected with

the system of government, but those which we have by our own action created. We have been too prone in the past to assume that any idea which dominates our fiscal or industrial system and which produces good results here is a Heaven-born inspiration which, if transplanted anywhere, no matter under what conditions, would produce the same fruits as in these islands. The Government have had more than once to retrace their steps and, by legislation or otherwise, check or countercheck their consequences, which the light of after information had shown ought not to have been adopted. Therefore I would say to all who take an interest in India, whose numbers I believe are steadily increasing in this House—(hear, hear)—let us ever keep this experience before us and remember that it is incumbent upon us to see that our administration in India is based upon progress, reforms, and improvement, and that it is necessary for us to be fully cognisant of the traditions, instinct, and usages of those for whom these reforms and these improvements are intended."

Gentlemen, if the industrial progress is to do substantial benefit to this country, I say that the old policy will have to be reversed. I do not know if you all are aware of the old policy of the East India Company in regard to the Arts and Industries of this country. I will read to you a quotation from the big authority of Mill and Wilson's History of British India. It is as follows:—

"It was stated in evidence (1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case had not such prohibitory duties existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture, had Indian been independent, she would have retaliated; would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

Ladies and gentlemen, it was this policy which contributed to annihilate the old Arts and Industries of India. But let the past be past. I referred to this for this reason: that for the revival of our industries we have a special claim upon the British Government for encouragement, which alone can revive the industries which have been annihilated (cheers) by their past action. I say that protection for nascent industries is not consistent with the views of a confirmed free-trader, that I am; protection is not inconsistent with regard to the encouragement of nascent industries of this country, nor is it inconsistent with the true principles of free-trade. Protection we can ask upon this ground for the development of our nascent industries, (hear, hear) namely, that this country has higher claims for protection from the British Government as those claims are founded upon their past policy which has annihilated our once flourishing Arts and Industries. Ladies and gentlemen, I think I have been standing too long between your President and yourselves. I will therefore ask your Highness, in sincere gratitude for having consented to do so, to take the Presidential chair on this occasion (cheers).

H. H. Sir Sayajirao Maharajah, Gaikwad of Baroda having taken the Presidential chair of the Exhibition meeting delivered the following address:—

Ladies and gentlemen, before commencing my address of this evening I should just like to say at the outset a few words thanking Mr. Pheroze-shah Mehta for the kind words he has addressed to me. I am afraid those words were prompted more by his kindly heart than by my merits (Mr. Mehta: No, no). It is very kind of you to say so. However I shall try my best to deserve your remarks still more than I have tried to do up to this time (hear, hear). Mr. Pheroze-shah Mehta has given you some history of our Indian industries in eloquent words. Thanking you all again for your kind words I beg to read my address. As we are dealing with the question of economics I think it would be a saving of time if I skipped over some such points in my address as are touched by Mr. Pheroze-shah Mehta in his eloquent speech.

GENTLEMEN,

If I hesitated to accept your invitation to preside at the opening of this Exhibition, the importance of the occasion must be my excuse. You called me to step into the breach, to face publicly the most tremendous question of our times and to give you my solution of a problem on which no two people agree, except that it is urgent.

But I do not think that we realise how urgent it is. Famine, increasing poverty, wide-spread disease, all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another and a larger aspect of the matter and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. *It is our last chance.*

Fail there and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker, more dependent on foreign help; we must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as the hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master.

Solve that problem and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among the nations.

Two years ago I stood looking at the wonders of that great Exhibition at Paris which summed up in so striking a manner, the progress of a century in Civilization, Industry and Commerce. If I were asked what struck me most in that noble and artistic effort of a great nation, I should answer—the magnificent proportions and excellent management of the undertaking, so vast in conception and admirable in execution, the efficiency of the orderly and illuminating arrangement and careful accuracy of detail, and after that, the extraordinary ingenuity displayed in the educational section in methods and appliances; and not only the ingenuity but the thoroughness of these methods especially in the exhibits of Germany and America. But besides these two special exhibits, that which struck me most profoundly was the enormous difference between India and Europe to-day. Those vast halls crowded with shining steel work, the fruits of the combined industry and genius of a dozen nations: the amazing richness of texture and delicacy of design in the products of those machines; the vigorous life and aspiration which glowed in the Art, as well as the clear precision of the knowledge reflected in the Science, all this impressed me more than I can say. But beyond all this triumph of Man over Nature and her powers, one fact struck me with a curious emphasis,—the enormous gulf which separates the European and the Native of India, in their ideas of comfort.

There rose up before me the interior of a typical Indian home, and as I contrasted it with the truly surprising inventions around me, all devoted to that one object, refinement, our much boasted simplicity seemed bare and meagre beyond description. I contrasted those empty rooms,—without even a chair or a table,—with the luxury, the conveniences, which are the necessaries of a European cottage. My mind went back to the Bazaar in my own City of Baroda, the craftsmen working at their old isolated trades with the methods which have

sufficed them for centuries without a change, the low irregular houses, the dreamy life drifting between them, and then contrasted it all with this keen and merciless tide which was sweeping and eddying around me, drawing its needs from a thousand machines like these and gathering its comforts from the four quarters of the Globe. And with the contrast I had a vivid sense of the enormous gulf, which we have to bridge over, before India can be said to be on the same plane as the European Nations.

And yet, I thought, there *is* a change coming over India. The appearance of our houses is being altered by the revolution which is being made in their furniture. It is slow, for there are many who deplore it and speak of it in tones of regret as a process of denationalisation and a fall from simplicity to a burdensome and costly luxury. But the change is rather in the direction in which the money is spent. Our fathers made up by opulence of material for the poverty of convenience. The futility of such regrets is shown by the fact, that most of these eulogists of the past show in their own houses, even if only in a slight degree, the effects of the tendency which they deplore. I do not mean that we should dispense with simplicity; but let it be a wise moderation in the midst of plenty, not the fatalistic acceptance of poverty as a virtue in itself. And there can be no doubt that this tendency which is now in its initial stage, will grow in strength with the course of years, until with the necessary differences due to climate and other environments it brings us approximately near to the Western model of living.

But this model is a rich and costly model; to maintain it requires easy circumstances and a large diffusion of wealth. A poor country cannot meet its demands. A country without flourishing manufactures must always be a poor country. The future, therefore, imperatively claims this from us, that we shall cease to be a purely agricultural country and vindicate for ourselves some place at least among commercial and manufacturing nations. Otherwise we shall only establish for ourselves the unhappiness of unsatisfied cravings and the benumbing effects of an ideal to which we can make no approach. The cravings must be there, they are inevitable and essential, to progress. To attempt to discourage them for political reasons or from social or religious conservatism is unjust and unwise and must eventually prove futile. The true policy is to provide that the cravings shall find means of encouragement; in other words to encourage and assist the commercial development of the country and so put it on the only possible road to progress, opulence, and prosperity.

SUPPOSED INFERIORITY OF TROPICAL RACES.

There is a theory which affects to regard the races inhabiting the tropical and subtropical regions of the earth, as disinherited by some mysterious law of Nature from all hope of originality, enterprise and leadership. These things belong to the temperate regions; the tropics are to be for ever no more than the field for the energies of the superior races, to whom alone belong empire, civilization, trade and manufacture. We are to be restricted to a humble subordination, a servile imitation and the production of raw materials for their markets.

At first sight there seems to be some justification for this theory in existing facts. Our trade is in European hands, our industries are for the most part not our own, our Railways are built, owned and managed, by European energy and capital. The Government is European and it is from Europe that we imitate all that we call civilization. Our immobile and disorganized society compares ill with the enlightened energy and cohesion of Europe; even at our best we seem to be only the hands that execute, not the head that originates.

Yet even if we accept this picture of ourselves without the necessary modifications we need not accept this interpretation of inherent inferiority. For my part I demur to any such hasty generalisation; but however much of this be true be sure that there is no law of Nature which can prevent you from changing it. To suppose that any nation can be shut out from the operation of the law of Evolution is utterly unscientific, and, in the light of History, absurd.

Granted that originality among us is law, that enterprise is deficient, and that leadership has passed out of our hands; is there in the first place no qualification to the entire truth of the assertion? And in the second, is this state of things due to immutable causes and therefore of old existence, or is it the result of recent and removeable tendencies? It is true that such originality and power as we still possess has hitherto busied itself mostly in other paths than those of Industry and the Sciences which help Industry; it has worked chiefly on the lines of religion and philosophy which have always been the characteristic bent of the national mind, continuing through Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Keshav Chandra Sen, the long and unbroken line of great religious teachers from Goutama to Chaitanya and Kabir. It is true that teachings of fatalism and inactive detachment have depressed the vitality of the people. Yet there is no reason to believe that this depression and this limitation are not removeable and are constitutional.

But it is not only in Religion that we were great. We had amongst us brave soldiers like Shivaji, Hyderali, Madhaji Scindhia and Ranjitsing. Can we not again claim to have had an important share in the establishment of that mighty structure—the Indian Empire—erected indeed by the clear sighted energy and practical genius of England, but on the foundations of Indian patience, Indian blood and Indian capital?

It is not an insignificant symptom that considering how recent and meagre is Scientific Education in India, we should be able to show at least some names that are familiar to European Scientists, not to speak of others enjoying a deserved reputation among ourselves. Small as the circumstance may seem it is yet enough to overthrow the theory of constitutional incapacity. And if we consider classes rather than individuals, can it be denied that the Parsees are an enterprising and industrially capable race? Or can it be doubted that the community which could produce a leader in industry and philanthropy like Mr. Tata, will, as circumstances improve, take a leading place in the commercial world? Or can enterprise and commercial capacity be denied to classes like the Bhatias, Khojas, and the merchants of Sindh?

When we have individuals and classes like these in our midst we may well inquire, why is it that we stand so poorly in Industry and Commerce, without fearing that the answer, however ungrateful to our feelings, will lead us to despair.

But if this theory of the inferiority of the tropical races be untrue, if we find that in the past we had great men whose influence is with us even to-day, we must look for some other cause for the difference and ask what is it that India has not to-day, but which she had in that older stage of her history and which Europe has at the present day.

We have not far to seek; it is obviously that clear and practical examination of Life and Nature which men call Science, and its application to the needs of Life which men call Industry, in which we are deficient and in which Europe excels. And if we question the past we learn that this is exactly what has not come down to us through the ages along with our Religion and Philosophy.

Our early history is scanty and, in many respects, uncertain, but no uncertainty, no scantiness can do away with the fact that this was once a great commercial people. We see a very wealthy nation with organised guilds of artisans, a flourishing inland commerce, a large Export and Import trade. We hear of busy and flourishing ports through which the manufactures of India flowed out to Europe, to Arabia and Persia, and from which, in those early times we sent out our delicate cotton textures, our chintz and muslin, our silk cloth and silk thread, a fine quality of steel; indigo, sugar, spices and drugs; diamonds, ivory and gold. In return we received brass, tin and lead, coral, glass, antimony; woollen cloth and wines from Italy, and also specie and bullion.

All through the Middle Ages, our manufactures and industries were at a very high level. Every traveller attests the existence of large and flourishing towns (a sure index of industrial prosperity), and praises the skill and ingenuity of our workmen. It is on the Eastern trade that Venice builds her greatness, for then we were indeed the "Gorgeous East." Notice, that it is especially in the manufactures which required delicate work, originality of design, or instinctive taste that our products were famous; our carving, our inlaid work and our gossamer cloth.

Coming now to the earlier part of the last century what do we find? The carrying trade has passed from the Arabs to the East India Company and with it too, the control of nearly all our exports, especially those in indigo, Iron and Steel, and the newly imported industries in Tobacco, Tea and Coffee. But there is still a large body of trade in Indian hands; even then our manufactures held their own and were far superior to those of Europe; even then there were thousands of skilled artisans; we supplied our own wants and exported enormous quantities of goods to other countries. Where, then, has all this trade gone and what has caused our decline?

The most obvious answer is, as I have said, the difference between Europe and India in industrial methods and appliances. But this is not quite

sufficient to explain it. A deeper examination of the fact at our disposal shows that the life had left Indian Industry before Europe had brought her machines to any remarkable development, and long before those wonderful changes which the application of Chemistry and Electricity have more recently wrought in Industry. Nor can we ascribe it to a superiority which England possessed in Industrial and Technical Education for at that time there was no such training and England has never relied on it for commercial capacity. If we go a little deeper into the matter we find that there is a further reason which does not depend on the natural working of economic laws but which is political in its nature, the result of the acquisition of political power by the East India Company and the absorption of India into the growing British Empire.

As Mr. Dutt shows in his able Economic History of British India, this political change had the gravest effect on our economic life. In the first place we have the economic policy of the East India Company which, so far as its export trade was concerned, accepted manufactures indeed, but paid an equal, if not greater, attention to raw materials. Even our internal trade was taken from us by the policy of the East India Company; there were heavy transit dues on all inland commerce and there were commercial Residents in every part of the Company's possessions, who managed to control the work of the local artisans, and so thoroughly that outside their factories all manufacture came to an end.

On this came the protective policy of the British Government, which, despite the powerful interests of the East India Company, crushed Indian manufactures by prohibitive import duties; and then the application of steam to manufactures. It is scarcely to be wondered at then if with all this against us at home and abroad, our manufactures declined and with the great advance in the improvement in machinery and the initiation of a Free Trade Policy, this decline was hastened into ruin.

Moreover, a country not exporting manufactures is necessarily stagnant and commercial progress and self-adaptability cease. Once the manufacturing superiority of India had been transferred to England, it was impossible for the weaker country to recover its position without some measure of protection. Not only was the struggle in itself unequal but the spectacle of a mighty commerce, overshadowing and dominating ours, flooding our markets and taking away our produce for its own factories, induced a profound dejection, hopelessness and inertia among our people. Unable to re-act against that dominating force we came to believe that the inability was constitutional and inherent in ourselves; there is a tendency in fact to hypnotise ourselves into apathy by continual repetition of the formula that Indians, as a race, are lacking in enterprize, deficient in business faculties, barren in organizing power. If, therefore, I have dwelt upon our old manufactures and commerce and the way in which they were crushed, it is not with the unprofitable object of airing an old grievance, but in order to point out that there is no reason for this discouraging view of ourselves. We were a trading and manufacturing country from ancient times down to the present century and if our manufactures have fallen into decay, our commerce languished, it was under a burden which would have crushed the most flourishing industry of the most energetic people.

Our weakness lies in this that we have for many years lain prostrate under the fictitious sense of our own helplessness and made no adequate attempt to react against our circumstances. We have succumbed where we should have exhausted every possibility of resistance and remedy. We have allowed the homekeeping propensities and the out-of-date semi-religious prejudices, which have gathered round the institution of Caste, to prevent us from choosing the line of activity most consonant with our abilities, or from seeking other lands in search of fresh markets and the knowledge of new industries. The restriction against foreign travel is one of the most serious obstacles in the way of commercial success and must be utterly swept away, if we are not to go on stagnating. It is a pity that communities like the Bhatias should be restrained by an out-worn prejudice from going abroad and furthering that task of development for which they are so admirably fitted. The endeavours hitherto made have been, with few exceptions, sporadic, half-hearted and prematurely abandoned; and the support given to them by the public has been scanty, wanting in confidence and in personal and active interest. It is this state of things which must cease before we can hope to revive our old manufactures, to establish firmly and extend those, which exist; and to set on foot any new industries which our needs demand, and for which the conditions offer sufficient opportunity; then India may again be what she was in the past and what she is so admirably fitted by nature to be, a self-sufficing country, famous for artistic and useful industries; and to raise her again to this should be the ideal of every patriotic citizen. But in order that the ideal may be realised we need, first, knowledge of our possibilities, of the means and facilities necessary to success, and of the lines on which activity would be best repaid, and secondly, belief in ourselves and in each other so that our knowledge may not fail for want of co-operation.

If we get these, if we realise the progress of Science and Mechanical Invention and resolutely part with old and antiquated methods of work, if we liberate ourselves from hampering customs and superstitions, none of which are an essential part of our religion, if, instead of being dazed in imagination by the progress of Europe, we learn to examine it intelligently, and meet it with our own progress, there will be no reason for us to despair; but if we fail in this we must not hope to occupy a place in the civilized and progressive world.

To speak with any fulness on this subject is not possible within the short limit of time at my disposal. I shall, therefore, pass lightly over a few salient points; for, the lines of activity, open to us and calling for our energies, are unlimited in their extent, variety and promise. This country is not poor in its resources, but may rather be said to be blessed by Nature in many respects; its mineral wealth is anything but contemptible; its soil produces valuable and useful products in great variety and abundance; the provision of water power is also unstinted. We have an excess of cheap labour and we have hereditary artisans who are quick in hand and eye, and who only need to be properly trained to make them the equals, if not the superiors, of their rivals. If there are certain serious disadvantages and defects in its mineral wealth such as the inferiority of its coal

supplies, and in its vegetable products, such as the greater coarseness of its cotton and the difficulty of growing the finest silk, yet so great is the advance Science has made that we need not despair of meeting some of these difficulties at least in part. Nor is there any imperative necessity that we should always vie with other countries in producing the very best. If we utilise to the best advantage what nature has given us and advance in such manufactures as the country is fitted for, we shall have done no inconsiderable task. What is required is greater knowledge, a more earnest endeavour of the Government towards improvement and the provision of facilities, and more serious activity on the part of the people to take advantage of such facilities as already exist—improvement in Agriculture, facilities in Industries; for in a country like India, which produces or can produce the bulk of its own raw material, the agricultural question cannot be separated from the industrial.

AGRICULTURE.

Improvement in Agriculture is necessary to secure an increased quantity and improved quality of the produce of our fields. What Science can do for Agriculture the development of the Beet-sugar industry and the improvement of Cotton clearly show; and as Sugar and Cotton are two of the most important of our products and especially of our export trade I wish to call your attention to what has been done by our rivals.

Beet-sugar cultivation has been gradually developed by careful selection of the best roots and the application of Agricultural Chemistry, until the percentage of saccharine has been doubled and trebled. Here is the remedy for Indian sugar. We must not be ashamed to borrow our rivals' tactics, but strive hard to get the very best canes and take care to use nothing but the very best methods of cultivation and manufacture.

The same is true of Cotton. It is certain that the competition which Indian Cotton has to meet will be much intensified in the near future; and our only hope of meeting it successfully is to improve our indigenous varieties up to a point at which they can hold their own. I believe that we can do this, but it demands the most patient research, and above all, that when the best variety has been discovered the cultivator will really grow it.

Science is our great hope, but there is one great obstacle to be overcome before Science can help us, and that is the ignorance and apathy which is the general condition of the agricultural classes at present.

The failure of the old arts and crafts, and especially that of arms, has thrown vast numbers back on the soil and these classes are neither intelligent nor progressive. Many old professions are dying out and while those, who should have followed them, go back to the land, many of these professions are not such as to provide any hereditary capacity for Agriculture. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if our Indian cultivators, despite their traditional skill, are neither enterprising nor capable of undertaking improvements, which demand considerable energy and foresight. Their methods, despite Dr. Voelcker's high encomiums, are backward, their resources are very limited, and their implements, though they may be those best suited to their

narrow means and small holdings, are old and economically wasteful. But their most serious drawback is their helplessness. There is a general complaint that the soil is deteriorating, but that they can do nothing to remedy it; and in times of scarcity and famine they seem incapable of doing anything to help themselves. This is a most serious question and one which demands all our attention.

In the first place this deterioration of the soil is a very real danger. Do you know that the average product per acre has in some parts of the country diminished by 50 per cent. since the middle of the seventeenth century, when the *Ain-i-Akbari* was compiled? Is it any wonder that the peasant grows poorer, and that his resources diminish?

Improvement.

Our remedies must fall under two heads:—

- (1) The improvement of methods, implements and general conditions and
- (2) Education.

In the first place the attempts to introduce new implements have nearly all failed. Iron flails and thrashing machines have been tried at one time or another but the ryot will have none of them. At the same time this does not mean that the old implements are the very best that the wit of man can devise, or that we are to suppose that failure is conclusive.

Implements.

Another matter to which Government has given some attention has been Cattle breeding. The results so far have not been encouraging, though there are Government farms at Hissar and at Bhadgaum in Khandesh, and another called the Amrit Mahal, maintained by the Mysore Government, from which are derived certain superior breeds of cattle to be found in the Madras Presidency.

Cattle breeding.

But until we can get the co-operation of the people the results must be disappointing. Nevertheless, I think that there is a great deal of good work to be done on these lines and I am of opinion that besides improving the breed of cattle, much might be done in the way of encouraging the ryots to breed other stock, such as horses, mules, etc. It is a thousand pities that our Indian breeds of horses should be dying out and that there seems to be no sensible effort made to keep them alive. Perhaps the chief reason that Government breeding farms have failed is that they are too elaborate for the people in their present condition. I believe that much might be done by reviving the old custom of keeping sacred bulls in every village and taking care that the bulls supplied were the best that could be procured, or if the cultivator could be persuaded to breed only from the best animals. One advantage of this scheme is that it can be carried out by private enterprise.

Instead of helping ourselves we always depend upon Government; here is an instance where the people can, with advantage, help themselves. To it I would add the planting of trees, which are of economic value, round the cultivators' fields and the encouragement of the Fibrous plants which are now

articles of commerce; the question of good drainage to relieve the bad effects of Irrigation and besides that, a serious endeavour to help the ryot to sow only the best seed and to pay some attention to the best rotation of crops.

But in a country like India, where the introduction of improved implements is so limited in its possibilities and where every-
 Irrigation. thing depends upon the timeliness and sufficiency of the annual rains, it is irrigation that must necessarily take the largest place in all plans for agricultural improvement. This importance of Irrigation has been recognized by the successive Rulers of this country from the times of the ancient Hindu Kings. From the days of Asoka, and before him, the digging of wells and tanks had been the subject of royal edicts and one of the first religious duties of Princes, Zemindars and wealthy philanthropists. The number of small tanks in ruins that one finds in the districts, the multitude of old wells that still exist round about Mahomedan capitals, above all, the immense system of artificial reservoirs in the Madras Presidency bear testimony to the steady persistence of this old tradition of administrative benevolence. In the Southern Presidency there are over 6,000 tanks mainly of native origin, the magnitude of which will be best remembered when it is understood that the embankments measure over 35,000 miles with 300,000 separate masonry works and that these tanks irrigate over 34 lacs of acres, an area almost equal to that irrigated by the entire system of the major and minor works of the Madras Presidency. These works were getting out of repair in the troublous times of the eighteenth century, when general disorder and mal-administration, the usual concomitants of any violent change in the form of Government, prevailed in our country. The British Government when they occupied the country, with their characteristic administrative energy, not only put them in order, but in many cases improved and enlarged them. They have brought, or kept under irrigation, an area of little less than 20 millions of acres at the cost of 42 crores of Rupees; and the work has been done with so much judgment and success that the works yield a profit of nearly 7 per cent. and the produce raised equals 98 per cent. of the total capital outlay. Not content with this they are now undertaking to prepare and gradually execute a scheme of protective works which, when complete, ought to do much to insure the country against famine. The work in Irrigation will always be one of the most splendid and irreproachable chapters in the history of British rule.

The proposed extension of irrigation works would also offer to the capitalists of the country a very eligible field for the investment of their surplus savings. If the people only co-operate they would find Irrigation projects a very profitable channel for investment; and if they fail to take advantage of the favourable opportunity one need not be surprised if European capital is extensively employed in their development as has been done in the case of Railways in India. I trust the Government on its part, will also offer more than usual inducements to attract private Indian capital in these profitable undertakings.

Besides great irrigation works there is another way in which much
 Wells. might be done to protect the country against drought, that is, by encouraging the digging of wells. This

is a method well adapted for States which have no facilities for works on a grand scale. In my own territories I have found that the advance of Tagavi, for this purpose, was a measure which the cultivator could understand, and, under the guidance of experienced officers, one which worked well. At the same time large irrigation works have been commenced in various parts of the territory and a survey is being made for the repair of old tanks and the utilization of favourable spots for the storage of water.

But it must not be forgotten that Irrigation will not end all our troubles.

Indeed, unless it is accompanied by a considerable
 Manure. measure of intelligence and foresight, it brings others in its train, such as the debilitation of the soil. The remedy for this is, of course, the use of artificial manures which will restore to the soil some of the qualities which are removed from it by over-irrigation. But here we are at once faced by our usual want of foresight and ignorance of which I have already spoken. In the face of the deterioration of the soil, which I have mentioned as a wide-spread evil, widely acknowledged, it is inconceivable to me that we should seek to encourage the export of cotton-seeds, on which so much of the efficiency of the simple manure, which we use here in Guzerat, depends. Yet the value of this export has risen in one year from five to fifty lacs of Rupees, and it is certain that at this rate the cattle will have to go without it and that their manure will become practically valueless. An artificial manure is, therefore, a crying necessity.

Another point is the growth of deep-rooted grasses which can resist drought and so prevent the terrible mortality of cattle which was so painfully marked in the late famine. We must follow the example of Australia in this matter and find indigenous deep-rooted grasses which we can plant systematically on waste land and then, when we are cursed with another season of drought, we shall have something to meet it with.

But before we can hope that the ryot will try to employ measures which
 General Improvements. demand a high level of intelligence and scientific knowledge, we must awaken his curiosity and enlist his sympathy, which can only be done by a good system of general education. Without it our best endeavours are bound to fail. Government has established Agricultural colleges and model farms in different parts of the country, but Agriculture has been but little improved in consequence. Partly, I think, this is due to the vastness of the area and the great variety of local conditions, for each district has its own difficulties to meet and overcome. But the main reason for the failure is, I believe, the indifference and apathy of the people themselves. Another reason is the fact that these measures have come from outside and not from the people. However imperfect our education may be it is equally lamentable that it has so far affected no more than five per cent. of the population of the country. Before any noticeable change can take place there must be a general feeling among the people that improvement must be made and a desire to take advantage of the efforts of Government to help them. At present, they are more inclined to laugh at our attempts to aid them than to help us by their advice and showing us where their real difficulties lie. Their criticism, as a rule, is more destructive than educative.

I have found it possible to do something to improve the more backward classes of cultivators by sending more intelligent ryots to show them better methods of cultivation; and the school for the Dhankas at Songad has been more or less successful. But these measures only serve to raise the internal level of the lower agriculture upto the highest of our present system, while the problem is to raise the general level.

Perhaps something might be done by agricultural associations which studied local requirements and popularised such improvements as admitted of practical application. But I believe the only change, which would do so, would be to induce a more intelligent and enterprising class to engage in agriculture.

Over and above all this it is very important that our agriculturists should have cottage industries or some work on which they can usefully engage themselves and the members of their family during the slack season of agriculture. Such would be wood-carving and the making of toys for the men, and for the women, needle work and embroidery.

MANUFACTURES.

I do not think we should stop short at improving our raw materials; I believe we might do much in the way of working them up. The annual review of the Trade of India published by the Statistical Department of the Government of India teaches us some wholesome lessons, which it would be always useful to remember. They show the large number of objects for which we are at present dependent on foreign factories, but for which we have plenty of raw material at hand, and which, if we only avail ourselves of the latest scientific methods, we can ourselves manufacture. Our endeavour should be to reduce this dependence upon foreign industries and, where the necessary facilities do not exist for such manufactures at home, we should so improve the quality of our raw material as to enable it to hold its own in the foreign market to which it is sent out. The wheat, for instance, which we export at present, is used for the manufacture of bread in Europe, but it is scarcely fit to be turned to the many other uses to which it can be put, unless it is much improved in quality. The same remarks apply to many of the most ordinary articles of daily use, such as paper, oils, leather, &c. The case of leather is peculiarly striking. We export the hides, and the materials for tanning them and that is not all. There is a cheaper and more efficient process of cleaning the hides in use in Europe and the hides are exported to Europe to be cleaned there. Is it impossible for India to tan her own hides, in her own factories, with her own tanning materials? Another point which seems inconceivable when the need for artificial manure is remembered and that is, that we export bones in large quantities to be turned into bone-manure for the beet-fields of our rivals, and so for their sugar, which we so largely import.

Glass again is an article of which we import a large quantity every year, but which we might manufacture for ourselves. Last year we imported glass of the value of over ninety lacs of Rupees. In 1887 I made some inquiries into the matter and found that there were raw materials in plenty for the manufac-

ture not only of rough glass, but of glass of the finest quality. I was advised that it would not pay to establish a factory, but the reasons against success were not insuperable.

I made some enquiries into the possibility of manufacturing paper in Guzerat and discovered that there were abundant raw materials of an excellent quality to be obtained here, and that this too was quite feasible.

We have already some glass-blowing factories at Kapadwanj and in the Punjab; Paper Mills in Bombay, Poona and Bengal; Leather Tanneries in Madras, Cawnpore and Bombay; and it would be interesting to study the quantity and quality of these home products and compare them with the article imported from abroad. We may thereby learn the difference and know how to remove their short comings and extend their sale. Experience is the only path to knowledge; comparison perfects it; it is the spirit of the age and the basis of all reform. I would suggest that, of the many manufactures which might be successful in India, it would be advisable to begin with those in which there is a steady local demand such as soap, candles, glass, furniture, nibs, carpets, etc. and afterwards extend the field of our operations so as to include other and more elaborate articles.

To enable us to take up these manufactures we need a system of Industrial Education, and for this we have to rely very largely on the assistance of Government. But we must remember that our position is not quite that of any European country in this respect, and that our best model would probably be Japan. Now Japan, when she aimed at general and, particularly, at industrial progress, adopted three main lines on which her education, was to run. These were, first to send a number of her young men abroad, and especially to Germany, for education; secondly, to establish great colleges in Japan itself, the staff of which was at first composed of Europeans; and thirdly, to employ the services of Europeans, in the initial stages of her manufactures, under whom her people were gradually trained in efficiency.

Now I should like to call attention to the last of these first, because I think that here we have the solution of a difficulty which has been met with in the case of some industries which have recently been started. I have heard complaints that the quality of the goods turned out was not satisfactory and from what I heard, it seemed to me that perhaps the failure was due to the incompetency of the directors, or to some culpable laxness in their management, or to our having commenced the enterprise on too impracticable or ambitious a scale, or to our having lost sight of some essential conditions of success at the outset. Some industries, may require European skill and supervision to pilot them through their initial stages, and a hasty attempt to dispense with it may lead to disappointing results. But there is another aspect to this apparent incompetency; we have to learn trustworthiness, a capacity for obedience, the art of management accuracy, punctuality, method and the sense of justice, and the only school which will teach us these is a position in which they are called out by use.

To come to the second point, it is obviously impossible to send any very large proportion of our Indian youths abroad, though I think more might be done in this direction. I would appeal to Government and to our philanthropists to see if they cannot help us.

That which will help us most, however, is a largely extended system of technical and general education, such as that on which Germany has built her commercial greatness. It is of course impossible to imitate the German system exactly. But it is not impossible to provide ourselves with a system which will meet our requirements. Though private individuals may do something in the matter, a satisfactory solution of the whole question must depend upon the sympathy and generosity of the Government.

I believe that Government could not give a greater boon than such an education, and I think, I am voicing the feelings of the educated classes at large, when I say that we are confident that we have not long to wait to see our rulers grapple with this problem, with their usual energy and decision. Meanwhile we must start our factories, as best we can, and do the best with our present circumstances. I do not over-look the fact that the odds against us are heavy and that our infant industries have to struggle from the start in an open market with long established competitors.

I am not afraid of being thought an economic heretic if I say that I think we need Protection to enable our industries to reach their growth. The economic history of Germany and America shows that there is a stage in the growth of a nation when protection is necessary.

The laws of Political Economy are not inexorable and must bend to the exigencies of time and place. Theories and doctrines, however plausible, cannot take precedence of plain and practical truths. It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands, but this cheapness 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 is more important than the cheapness of a few articles.

Protection, therefore if only for a short time, is what we need for our nascent manufactures; for some time must elapse before more perfect methods are naturalised in India and the standard of Indian workmanship attains the excellence of Europe. A high wall of tariffs has secured to American manufactures the home market as an undisputed field for their own development; and India, maimed and helpless as she has been, may expect that relief from her beneficent Government. Government, like the climate and geographical conditions of a country, has a peculiar force of its own and must leave an indelible impress on the mould of the destinies of nations. It may, as powerfully hamper, as promote the moral and material development of the people entrusted to its care. If the Government was backed up by a more informed and intelligent public opinion and if the people, awakened to a sense of national life, were allowed and induced to take a livelier interest in their own concerns

and if they worked in unison they would conduce to mutual strength. Government is a matter of common sense and compromise and its aim should be to secure the legitimate interests of the people governed.

But at the same time I would warn you against some false methods of encouraging Industry, such as the movement to use no cloth not produced in the country. The idea is quite unsound so far as any economic results go; and the true remedy for any old industry which needs support is to study the market, find out what is wanted and improve the finish of the work and the design, until an increasing demand shows that the right direction has been found. This applies particularly to the artistic trades, such as wood-carving and metal-work for which the country has been so famous and which it would be a pity to allow to die altogether. Among other means of improvement, the education of women in decorative art would bring a fresh economic force into play; and as I ascertained by enquiries in London, made from a desire to find lucrative home-industries for our women, and especially for widows, would prove extremely profitable, if the right steps were taken. Tapestry, for instance, is a great women's industry in Switzerland; lace work, cretonne and embroidered cushions could all very well be done by women. Needle work is even now done in Gujarat homes and if the designs and colouring are improved it might be turned into an active industry, supplying our own wants and possibly, outside demands. Carpet weaving also which is now done in several of our jails, might in the same way be turned into a profitable home industry. The main thing is to study the market and not to pursue our own hobbies. It would be necessary to have agents in Europe, who would study European wants, consult professional men and get designs which could be executed in India. Something of the sort is, I believe, done in the School of Arts in Madras. My inquiries in Paris convinced me that in the hands of capable persons this method would be both practicable and profitable.

I would, however, direct your attention more to the establishment of the larger industries involving an extensive use of machinery, for it is upon this that our economic future and any increase of our wealth depends.

Before we have a large demand at home for the Arts we must produce the wealth to support them, and we shall never have that wealth, until we have an economic system on a much broader basis than our present limited Industry.

With a little energy and the assistance of Government we can broaden this basis and then we may look forward to a new lease of life for Indian Art and Indian Literature and for those industries which depend on leisure and wealth.

Now I should like to say a few words on the subject of the assistance which a Government can give in developing the resources of its territories. I have indicated a few ways in which I think Government can help economic development in the direction of Education. To these I would add improvements in the means of communication and the establishment of banks and other co-operative institutions. It can

also encourage merchants and manufacturers by advances of capital and by granting other facilities.

Native States in India, seriously handicapped as they are by their limited means and scope and the want of trained men, though they cannot emulate their great exemplar, the British Government, seem to limit themselves as yet, too much to the routine of administration and might do more for the material and commercial development of the country. Granted freedom of action, and with proper endeavours, I am inclined to think that many states in Central India, Rajputana and elsewhere would be able to get even more treasure out of the bowels of the earth than Mysore and Hyderabad at present obtain. But Government help has its limits.

My experience teaches me that it is very difficult for Government to provide industries for its people in the absence of a real business spirit amongst the people themselves. It is very difficult for so impersonal an entity as Government to get capable managers or to supervise its enterprises properly. I have tried various measures in my own State but I am sorry to say that the results are disappointing. A sugar-mill, a cotton-mill and an ice-factory were tried, but were not a success. A State fund for the advance of capital and other assistance to manufacturers also failed. I found that the managers were not sufficiently interested in the scheme and not impartial in the working of it. I am convinced, however, that the fault lay not with the industries themselves but in the fact that they were State-enterprises.

I have also made an experiment in technical education. I founded an institution called the Kala-Bhavan with departments in dyeing and weaving, carpentry and mechanical engineering, and with the object of diffusing technical education. I had branches of it set up in various parts of the Raj ; but the response among the people was so faint that after a time the institution had to be contracted within narrower limits. Until the means of the people and the material wealth of the country expand, there can be but little demand for the work which such institutes turn out. So far, the Kala-Bhavan has done but little beyond providing skilled dyers for Bombay mills; but until the people cooperate more earnestly its utility will not be recognised. Once more it is the prevailing ignorance which hampers every moment to help the people. They are sunk in a fatalistic apathy and do not care to learn how to help themselves.

I have omitted to refer to the many endeavours made by other Native States in the same direction, not because they are not worth mentioning; the wonderful Cauvery electric power scheme and the Irrigation projects of the Mysore and Jeypore States, as well as the fine Technical School at Jeypore are indisputably entitled to a high rank in the record of such loudable work ; I have to pass them over for want of time and adequate information of all their details.

It is the general lack of education and intelligence which hampers us at every turn and has been our ruin. Once we can make education general we may hope for increased dexterity, an increased power of concentration, increased trust-

Effect of Education on
Industrial efficiency.

worthiness and quickness to discover new processes. We need these qualities in every class of Indian society. Education in England has diffused a spirit of self-reliance and a capacity for initiative; education in Germany aims at thorough knowledge, methodical application and exact learning; but education in India has hitherto aimed only at providing a certain amount of food for thought without ever touching the mental capacity or character.

I do not think that the plea that our industries are poor for want of capital is one that can be sustained. We have more capital than we imagine to develop our resources if we would only use it. But we lack the active foresight always seeking the best investments. We prefer to hoard our savings in our women's ornaments, or to invest it in Government securities at low rates of interest, when we might be using it in ways which would be profitable to the country at large, as well as to ourselves, such as agricultural improvements, insurance of agricultural stock and the establishment of factories. And this is especially true of some Native States, which invest their surplus capital in Government securities, instead of using it in the development of the resources of their own territories.

This is not, however, our only fault. There is another fault which is nearly as fatal to any system of industry and that is our lack of confidence in ourselves and in one another. Without self-confidence you can never do anything; you will never found an industry or build up a trade, for you have nothing to carry you through the first anxious years when the only dividend is Hope, and the best assets are unfaltering courage and faith in oneself. And without confidence in one another you will never have a credit system, and without a credit system no modern commerce can exist. It is this want of co-operation and mutual distrust which paralyses Indian industry, ruins the statesman, and discredits the individual even in his own household. I believe that this trait of our character, though in some cases arising from our obvious defects and instances of actual misconduct among ourselves, is mainly due to the fact that the nation has long been split up into incoherent units, but also to the ignorance and restricted vision which result from our own exclusiveness. We have denied ourselves the illuminating experience of foreign travel and are too prone to imagine that our weaknesses are confined to India. Failures and defalcations are as common in Europe, as among ourselves; and yet we allow ourselves to be too easily discouraged by such incidents. Hence arises a habit of censorious judgment, a disposition to put the worst construction on the conduct of our friends and relatives, without trying to find the truth, which destroys all trust and tolerance. Our view of the conduct of friends, of the policy of administrations, of the success and integrity of commercial undertakings, are all vitiated by a readiness to believe the worst. It is only when we learn to suspend judgment and know the man and the motive before we criticise, that we shall be able to repose trust where trust is due. We must stiffen our character and educate ourselves upto a higher moral standard.

We despair too easily. Let us remember that we must expect failures at first; but that it is those who learn from failure that succeed. Moreover as any one may learn from a survey of the present state of Industry, there is

evidence that some do succeed. We have not, of course, made the most of our opportunities, but it is worth while remembering that something has been done because it shows us what it is possible to do, and encourages us to do it. If any one wishes to know, in more detail, what has been done and what might be done, he could not do better than consult Mr. Ranade's excellent book on the subject.

And now let me say a word about this Exhibition and its aims. I take it that an Exhibition is intended to draw together the scattered threads of industrial activity, so that the members of any trade may learn not only what is the latest development in their own trade, but also what other trades are doing, and what in the other trades is likely to help them. Then it is hoped the spectacle of advance and improvement will arouse emulation and suggest new ideas and also draw industries together. But are the conditions in India such that we may hope for this? I fear not; I fear that the ryot will not come to learn from us and that there will be few craftsmen who will go away with new ideas and the memory of new processes. But we should not despair.

It should be remembered that a similar difficulty was experienced in England in connection with the Workmen's Institutes which sprang up all over the country in response to Dr. Birkbeck Hill's suggestions. The object was to provide the mechanic with lectures on his own trade; but the attempt failed from the incapacity of the working man to learn anything from the lectures. Lectures and Exhibitions bear fruit only when the people have received sufficient general education to make them mentally receptive and deft in adaptation and invention. When that goal is reached, such Exhibitions may most usefully be turned into local Museums, and if possible a syllabus of instruction attached to the Exhibits. On the other hand there is yet another function which Exhibitions perform and which is equally useful and that is their influence as general education among the classes whose intelligence is already aroused, and who go away with a new sense of what there is to learn. Life is not yet all machinery which it takes an expert to understand and there are many new ideas which the collection of the most recent efforts in Art and Science in one place can inspire, and especially is this true, if there is the comparison of the old and the new.

AWAKENING.

But before any of these undertakings and enterprises, which I have mentioned, can succeed, India must be thoroughly awakened. Understand what this means. *It means action.* There is no reality in our social reform, our political progress, our industrial revival, because, as you know, there is scarcely one of us who dares to act even in his own household.

You complain of an overcentralised Government, of the evils of heavy Home charges, of Inland Excise duties on cotton, of the treatment given to your emigrants, and the want of a legitimate share by the people in their own Government, and there may be much in your complaints, but until you realise

that the ultimate remedy lies in your own hands and that you have to carry it out by yourselves, no external reform can help you.

That awakening, that realisation is your share of the work, you who know something of Western thought and Western methods, and who imitate much from the West. But to the bulk of the population it does not apply so simply. The masses of India are lost in a hopeless ignorance and that is why they are so intensely conservative and lacking in confidence and initiative. We cling to old customs because we do not know that they are not essential to our religion, and we dare not adopt new ideas or establish new industries because we do not know how to set about it. But there is another side to this ignorance and that is that we let our old customs hamper us and blind us to the present, because we do not understand the past.

Remember two inevitable tendencies in history, one, that no system, however perfect, however glorious, however far-reaching, can go on for two thousand years (or two hundred for that matter) without enormous changes being made in it simply by Time: the other that the Religious, the Political and Mental elements of a nation are indissolubly connected and interwoven, so that you cannot alter a single feature in one of them without changing all three. Now apply these principles to the past.

From 500 A. C. we find a steady decline in the political and mental condition of the country down to the two centuries of
 The past. darkness from which we emerge into the periods of the Rajputs and the Mahomedan conquest. Follow the fortunes of India down the next eight centuries and note the steady decline in Hindu power, both political and mental, till we come to the time when Europeans obtain a firm footing in India and conquer the country with very slender means, meeting and conquering each problem as it arises. For fourteen hundred years the record is one of steady decline in political and mental nationality. How then can religion have fared and especially all those social institutions, which depend on Religion?

Surely it is clear that just as our trade and our political power collapsed before the attacks made upon them because they were inefficient, the other features of our system cannot have escaped degradation and that in clinging to them blindly we are clinging to the very tendencies, the very forces that have dragged us down.

The fact, that we cling so tightly to them, has only ruined them and us. Consider the effects of cumulative physical heredity on the capacity of any caste when the action, for which that caste and its institutions were designed, is taken out of its power.

Here then is the problem—to carry out a great change in this respect, to realise our ignorance and to make up our minds to face the question, how and what to change boldly and altogether. We have changed before, when it has suited our convenience, adopting details from the Mahomedans when it fell in with our wishes and many of us, even our Conservatives, are European in their tastes at times.

It is obvious that our Religion and Institutions of to-day have nothing in them except perhaps a faint shadow of their old vigour and glory on which our old greatness was founded.

India needs a great national movement in which each man will work for the nation and not for himself or for his caste, a movement carried out on common-sense lines.

It does not mean that we are to adopt a brand new system from Europe, but it does mean that we must borrow a little common-sense in our solutions of the problems of life.

We must resolutely see what we need and if we find a plain and satisfactory solution adopt it whether we have authority for it or not. Turn to the past and see what made India great and if you find anything in our present customs which does not square with what we find there, make up your minds to get rid of it boldly, without thinking that it will ruin you to do so. Study the past till you know what knowledge you can get from it which you can use in the present and add to it what the West can teach us, especially in the application of Science to the needs of life.

You, gentlemen, are the leaders of India and if you fail, she fails. Let each of you make up his mind that he will live by what his reason tells him is right, no matter whether it be opposed or approved by any sage, custom or tradition. Think and then act at once. Enough time has been wasted in waiting for Time to solve our problems. Wait no longer but strike and strike home.

We have our "ancient regime" of custom and prejudice to overcome; let us meet them by a new Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; a Liberty of action, Equality of opportunity and the Fraternity of a great national ideal. Then you may hope to see India a nation again, with a national Art and a national literature and a flourishing commerce, and then, but not till then may you demand a National Government.

I should like to pay a personal tribute to the organisers of this Exhibition, for the trouble and energy they have expended in making this collection of Indian Arts and Industry—so fine and representative a collection, and to the local authorities and their able head, Mr. Lely, the popular Commissioner, whose name will ever be a house-hold word in Guzerat for his unfailing kindness in Famine and plenty, and who has taken so encouraging an interest in this Exhibition.

Surely it is a good omen for the success of our industrial revival that this Exhibition takes place in Ahmedabad, a town long famous for its enterprise and energy and which already possesses factories and industrial connections of importance with the industrial world. If only we had a few more Ahmedabads, India would not have long to wait for a real revival of her commerce.

And last of all, I have to pray for the long life, happiness and prosperity of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, whose accession we

are about to celebrate in so splendid a manner and whose reign will, we trust, inaugurate a new period of strong and prosperous national life for India, which will make her the brightest jewel in that Imperial Diadem (loud and prolonged applause).

Seth Mansukhbhai thanked his Highness on behalf of the meeting for his most valuable address.

In reply, his Highness made the following reply :—

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the kind expressions which you have offered to me. Allow me to say that this being probably my last visit on this occasion I thank you most heartily for the kind reception you have given me to-day (cheers). Whether I am in Ahmedabad again or not let me assure you that my good wishes are always with you for your prosperity (hear, hear).

Mr. Manekram, a Gujarati poet, afterwards recited a few lines with his Highness's permission, in which various good qualities of the head and heart of his Highness were highly eulogised.

After this, the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta addressed the Gaekwar :—

YOUR HIGHNESS,

I beg to present to you this key to open the door of the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition (cheers).

His Highness took the key and proceeded to the Exhibition *Mandap* accompanied by the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, the Hon'ble Mr. Lely and other distinguished gentlemen. Having arrived there he addressed the gentlemen the following words :—

Gentlemen, before I carry out your wishes of opening this Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition, allow me to wish the people who have made these articles every luck and every success in their undertaking (hear, hear).

His Highness then turned the key and the door was quickly opened bringing down on the head of his Highness a shower of flowers from a mechanism which lay concealed overhead. His Highness then entered the *Mandap* accompanied by the above mentioned gentlemen and minutely inspected all the exhibits making inquiry in respect to some of the more remarkable of them as to their manufacturers, manufacturing processes, manufacturing costs and so on, and in some cases directing his secretary to take note of all these things. His Highness left the place at 5-30 in the evening. Band played both when his Highness entered and left the compound in which the Congress pandal and the Exhibition *Mandap* were situated.

Appendix A.

NAMES OF THE DELEGATES.

APPENDIX A.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
1	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Seth Chimanlal Lalbhai Premabhai Nagersheth.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant and Seth; near the Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
2	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Kasturbhai Manibhai Premabhai Nagersheth.	Do. ...	Nagersheth; near the Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad.	Do.
3	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Mansukhbhai Bhagubhai...	Do. ...	Merchant, Mill-owner, Shethia and Banker; Tewla's Street, Ahmedabad.	Do.
4	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Jeysingbhai Hathising ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Shethia and Landholder; Ghee-Kanta, Ahmedabad.	Do.
5	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Lalbhai Dalputbhai ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Mill-owner, Shethia and Banker; Pankor's Naka, Ahmedabad.	Do.
6	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Chimanlal Nagindas ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Mill-owner, Shethia and Banker; Raipur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
7	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Ambalal Sarabhai Maganbhai.	Do. ...	Student, Shethia, Banker and Mill-owner; Raipur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
8	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Divan Bahadur Ambalal Sakeral Desai, M.A., LL.B., late Chief Justice, Baroda.	Hindu Brahma-Kshatriya.	Pensioner; Solapos Gate, Ahmedabad.	Do.

9	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Sarabhai Maganbhai Hathising.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Shethia, Store-merchant and Land-holder; Ghee Kanta, Ahmedabad.	Do.
10	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Dalputbhai Maganbhai Hathising.	Do.	Do.	Do.
11	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	..	Seth Purshotambhai Maganbhai Hathising.	Do.	Do.	Do.
12	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Mohanlalbhai Mulchandbhai Hathising.	Do.	Trader, Shethia and Land-holder; Ghee Kanta, Ahmedabad.	Do.
13	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Manibhai Jeysingbhai Hathising.	Do.	Do.	Do.
14	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Manibhai Dalputbhai	Do.	Merchant, Mill-owner, Shethia and Shroff; Pankor's Naka, Ahmedabad.	Do.
15	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Mangaldas Girdharlal	Hindu Bania	Merchant and Mill-owner; Raja Mehta's Street, Ahmedabad.	Do.
16	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Kalidas Umabhai	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant, Shethia and Mill-owner; Tankshal, Ahmedabad.	Do.
17	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Sorabji Dinsawji Kadaka	Parsi	Merchant and Mill-owner; Khamesa's Chakala, Ahmedabad.	Do.
18	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Nathalal Trikamlal Bhogilal.	Hindu Bania	Merchant and Mill Agent; Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	Do.
19	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Balabhai Damoderdas	Do.	Merchant and Mill-agent; Sankadi Sheri, Ahmedabad.	Do.
20	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Amaratlal Damoderdas	Do.	Do.	Do.

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21	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Seth Ranchhodlal Girdharlal ...	Hindu Bania ..	Merchant and Mill-agent; Dhana Sutar's Pole, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
22	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Varajrai Sakerlal Desai, High Court Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu Kshatriya.	High Court Pleader and Mill-agent; outside Panch Kuva Gate, Ahmedabad.	Do.
23	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Govindrao Apaji Patil, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu, Deccani Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
24	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. A. K. Sethna, Bar.-at-Law .	Parsi	Barrister-at-Law; near the Head Post Office, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.	Do.
25	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jivanlal Varajrai Desai, B. A., Barrister-at-Law.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Barrister-at-Law; outside Panch Kuva Gate, Ahmedabad.	Do.
26	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dayabhai Pitamber Deraseri, Barrister-at-Law.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
27	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Navalshanker Narsinhprasad Shukla, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	Do. ...	High Court Pleader; Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	Do.
28	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Mulchand Asharam Shah, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu-Bania ...	High Court Pleader; Shahpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.

29	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Navnidhrai Narayanbhai Mehta, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader High Court; Khadia, Police Gate, Ahmedabad.	Do.
30	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Sankalchand Ratanchand, District Court Pleader.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Pleader; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
31	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Hirachand Pitamberdas Pleader.	Do.	Pleader and money lender; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
32	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chunilal Keshavlal Shah, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Bania ...	Pleader; Khadia, Ahmedabad...	Do.
33	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gopalrao Ramchandra Dabholkar, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu ...	High Court Pleader; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
34	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mahasukhram Narsinhdas, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	High Court Pleader; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
35	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Manilal Hathising, District Court Pleader.	Do.	Pleader; Samlani Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
36	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Uttamlal Keshavlal Trivedi, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader; Raipur, Ahmedabad ...	Do.
37	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gopalrao Ramchandra Tendle, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Deccani-Brahmin.	Pleader; Raipur, Ahmedabad...	Do.
38	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Hariprasad Bhavanibhai Desai, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Vadnagara Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader; Bhadra, Ahmedabad ...	Do.
39	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Trikamlal Ugarchand Mehta, High Court Pleader.	Hindu Bania Jain.	Pleader High Court; Sarangpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.

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40	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Mr. Jahangirji Dinshaji Mehta, B.A. LL. B., High Court Pleader.	Parsi ...	Pleader High Court ; Lal Darvaja, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal on 6th December 1902.
41	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Kasantlal Lalloobhai Mehta, District Court Pleader.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader ; Khadia, Ahmedabad...	Do.
42	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chhotalal Laloobhai Patel, B.A. LL. B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Bania ...	High Court Pleader ; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
43	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chhotalal Kalidas Gandhi District Court Pleader.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania jain.	District Court Pleader ; Raja Mchta's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
44	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu Patidar...	Pleader ; Khadia, Ahmedabad...	Do.
45	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jeysingbhai Bhaibabhai Patel, Bar-at-Law.	Do. ...	Bar-at-Law ; Bhadra, Ahmedabad.	Do.
46	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Keshavalal Motilal, District Court Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu Bania ...	Pleader and agent of the Brass Vessel Factory ; Raipur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
47	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Pranlal Bhogilal Vakil, Retired Chief Judge Dhrangadhra State.	Do. ...	Pleader ; Khadia, Richey road, Ahmedabad.	Do.
48	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bhogilal Choonilal, District Court Pleader.	Hindu Patidar...	Pleader and Shroff ; Sarangpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.

49	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. T. T. Majmudar, Bar-at-Law.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law ; Khamasa's chakla, Ahmedabad.	Do.
50	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Manilal Pranlal Setalwad, District Court Pleader.	Hindu Kshatriya	Pleader ; Khadia, Ahmedabad...	Do.
51	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bhaishankar Nanabhai, High Court Pleader and Soli- citor.	Hindu Brahmin.	Solicitor ; Raipur, Ahmedabad .	Do.
52	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chaturbhuj Mankeshwar Bhat, Pleader.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader ; Ahmedabad	Do.
53	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Himatrai Nyamatrai, High Court Pleader.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	High Court Pleader ; Lakha Patel's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
54	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Trambakrai Jadevrai Desai, Bar.-at-Law.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Land-holder ; Khamasa's chakla, Ahmedabad.	Do.
55	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ganesh Gopal Pandit ...	Hindu Deccani Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law ; Khadia, Ahmed- abad.	Do.
56	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Girdharlal Amratlal Master.	Hindu Bania ...	Cotton Broker ; Khatri Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
57	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Govindlal Maneklal ...	Hindu ...	Shroff ; Ahmedabad	Do.
58	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Shivabhai Motibhai Patel, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Patidar...	Pleader High Court ; Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	Do.
59	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mrs. Vidyagauri Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, B.A., Fellow of the Gujarat College.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Married ; Astodia chakla, Ahmedabad.	In accordance to the resolution passed at a public meeting held at Ahmedabad on 6th December 1902.

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60	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Mr. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Astodia chakla, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal on 6th December 1902.
61	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chimanlal Narbheram Thakore, Bar.-at-Law.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Bar.-at-Law; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
62	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jamiatram Narbheram Thakore.	Do. ...	Merchant; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
63	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Somnath Bhudardas Contractor.	Hindu Patidar...	Contractor; Raipur, Ahmedabad	Do.
64	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dayabhai Ijatram, District Pleader.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader; Khadia, Ahmedabad...	Do.
65	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chandabhai Miakhan ...	Mahomedan ...	Merchant; Kalupur, Ahmedabad	Do.
66	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Gulamhusen Miakhan ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
67	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. Pitamberdas Kuberdas Patel, L.M. & S., Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu Patidar...	Doctor; Kadava Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
68	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Motilal Hirabhai ...	Hindu Bania ...	Merchant; and Mill-owner Sarangpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
69	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bhat Choonilal Naranlal ...	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Weaving Master; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
70	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jeysingbhai Ujamsi Seth ...	Hindu Bania ...	Shroff; Chhipa Pole, Ahmedabad	Do.

71	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Keshavlal Mahasukhram.	Hindu	...	Merchant ; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
72	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Thakorlal Harilal Desai	Hindu Bania	...	Merchant ; Chang Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
73	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Dalsukhbhai Laloobhai Haji.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	...	Share Broker ; Nisha Pole, Zaveriwada, Ahmedabad.	Do.
74	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Kasanlal Nyalehand	Hindu Bania	...	Retired Pensioner, Baroda State; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
75	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Rustamji Manekji Hathiram.	Parsi	...	Mill-Engineer; Ahmedabad	Do.
76	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chhotalal Laloobhai Savek and Zaveri.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	...	Zaveri; Doshiwada's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
77	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Nagindas Purshotambhai Shanghani.	Hindu Patidar...	...	Merchant; Sankdi Sheri, Ahmedabad.	Do.
78	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mohanlal Maganlal Sarupchand, Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	...	Merchant ; Nava Darvaja, Ahmedabad.	Do.
79	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Harilal Mancharam, District Court Pleader.	Do.	...	Pleader ; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
80	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Jivraj Ghelabhai Desai, L.M. & S., Municipal Commissioner.	Do.	...	Doctor; Nava Darvaja, Ahmedabad.	Do.
81	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Amratlal Vadilal	Do.	...	Merchant, Shethia & Shroff; Manekchok, Ahmedabad.	Do.
82	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Lalbhai Trikamlal	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
83	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Joseph Benjamin	Israel	...	Doctor; Lal Darvaja, Ahmedabad.	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholaristic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Crowd.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
84	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Seth Jagabhai Dalpatbhai ...	Hindu Shravak-Bania Jain.	Student & Shethia; Pankor's Naka, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
85	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Baldevbhai Laljibhai Dhruv, B.A., LL.B., Pleader High-Court.	Hindu Nagar-Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court; Ahmedabad.	Do.
86	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Motilal Amratlal ...	Hindu ...	Merchant; Manekchok, Ahmedabad.	Do.
87	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bhogilal Chhakkad ...	Hindu, Cunbi ...	Do. ...	Do.
88	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Harilal Trikamlal ...	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do.
89	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Ishverlal Trikamlal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
90	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Choonilal Jamnadas ..	Do. ...	Merchant and Shroff; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
91	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bhogilal Nagindas Chinaiwala.	Do. ...	Merchant; Khajuri Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
92	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Gopalbhai Manibhai ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Manekchok, Ahmedabad.	Do.
93	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Narayanbhai Manibhai ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
94	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Sankelchaml Debechardas...	Hindu Shravak-Bania Jain.	Merchant; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.

95	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dalsukhram Hargovinddas Saheba, Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu, Cunbi ...	Merchant ; Raipur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
96	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	..	Dr. Solomon Ebrahim Erulkar M.B. (Durham), Municipal Commissioner.	Israel ...	Doctor ; Dana Pitha, Ahmedabad.	Do.
97	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ramchandra Narsi Engineer.	Hindu ...	Mill-Engineer ; Out-side Panch Kuva Gate, Ahmedabad.	Do.
98	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chhaganlal Jivram Mistri.	Do.	Mill-Engineer ; Shahpur Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
99	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Shahpurji D. Mistri	Parsi ...	Mill-Engineer ; Telia Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
100	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bapalal Behchardas Sakarvala.	Hindu ...	Merchant ; Flour Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
101	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Hirjibhai F. Lentin	Parsi ...	Mill-Engineer ; Saraspur Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
102	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Veribhai Vaghjibhai Patel.	Hindu, Cunbi ...	Mill-Engineer ; Purshotam Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
103	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Abdul Taiub Ismalji Siamwala.	Mahomedan ...	Merchant ; Tajpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
104	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Dosabhai Vithalbhai	Hindu Bania ...	Merchant ; Doshiwada's street, Ahmedabad.	Do.
105	Do.	..	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Devshanker Bhaishanker...	Hindu Brahmin.	Mill Manager ; Mansukhbhai's mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
106	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bhogilal <i>alias</i> Mangalbhaj Tarachand.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain ...	Merchant & Zaveri ; Ahmedabad.	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
107	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Mr. Sarabhai Vadilal Zaveri ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant & Zaveri; Doshiwada's street, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
108	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Keshavlal Chhakadbhai ...	Hindu ...	Merchant; Ahmedabad.	Do.
109	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Motilal Kasalchand, G.M. A.C.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant, Manager & Proprietor of the Gujarat candle factory, Ahmedabad.	Do.
110	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Behcherdas Kasturchand...	Do. ...	Mill Manager; Samlani Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
111	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Abdul Latif Mahmud Habib Safari.	Mahomedan ...	Merchant; Kalupoor, Ahmedabad.	Do.
112	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Govindram Dalpatram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Retired pensioner; Panch Bai's street, Ahmedabad.	Do.
113	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dadabhai Dinshawji Kadaka.	Parsi ...	Retired pensioner; Khamasa's Chakla, Ahmedabad.	Do.
114	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Ratilal Keshavlal Sitwala...	Hindu, Cunbi ...	Jariwala Merchant; Ahmedabad.	Do.
115	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. Jamnadas Premchand, L.M. & S.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Doctor; Richey road, Ahmedabad.	Do.
116	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Chhotalal Bhavanidas ...	Hindu Banai ...	Merchant; Astodia Chackla, Ahmedabad.	Do.

117	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Govindlal Keshavlal Dholkawala.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
118	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Virchand Dipchand, C. I. E.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	...	Merchant; Ghanchini Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
119	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Jambhai Bhagubhai	Do.	...	Merchant, Mill-owner, Shethia and Shroff; Temrani Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
120	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Parekh Motilal Mansukhram Biladiwala.	Hindu	...	Merchant; Jada Bhagat's Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
121	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. P. S. Mentee...	Parsi	...	Mill-Engineer; Shahapur Mill, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
122	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Popatlal Amthashah, District Court Pleader.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	...	Pleader; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
123	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gordhandas Kalyandas Gajjar.	Hindu Carpenter.	...	Merchant, Artist; Kalupur, Dhana Sutar Street, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
124	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mohanlal Gokaldas Shah, Pleader, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	...	Pleader; Panjara Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
125	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chimanlal Purshottamdas Broker, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	...	Pleader; Khetar Pal's Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
126	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vinayak Krishna Nolker	Hindu Deccani Brahmin.	...	Merchant; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
127	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. V. A....	Hindu	...	Merchant; Ahmedabad...	...	Do.
128	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Shamrao Parbhudas	Do.	...	Weaving Master; Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
129	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Thakorlal Permodrai Thakore.	Hindu, Kshatriya	...	Journalist; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and address.	How, where and when elected.
130	Bombay	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Mr. Shivalal H. Satyavadi	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Mill-manager; Gussa Parekh's Pole, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tanksha, on 6th December 1902.
131	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Mansukhram Uttamram	Do.	Weaving Master; Samla's Street, Ahmedabad.	Do.
132	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Sakerlal Gaurishanker	Hindu Brahmin.	Private service; Shahpur Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
133	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Laxmiram Bherani	Hindu	Merchant; Saker Bazar, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
134	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. James Graham	European Christian.	Mill service; Shahpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
135	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. John Taylor	Do.	Do.	Do.
136	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. S. Tong	Do.	Mill service; Madhubhai's Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
137	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. John J. Hill	Do.	Do.	Do.
138	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. John Hutton	Do.	Mill service; Shahpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
139	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Bhulabhai Pragjibhai Patel.	Hindu, Patidar	Merchant; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
140	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Framji D. Kapadia	Parsi	Mill servant; Saraspur, Ahmedabad.	Do.

141	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. B. Motilal Lalbhai, Retired Divan of Cutch.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Retired Divan of Cutch and Pensioner; Shankadi Sheri, Ahmedabad.	Do.
142	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Shamrao Bapuji ...	Hindu ...	Merchant; Raipur, Haveli Street, Ahmedabad.	Do.
143	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vaidya Jatashanker Lila- dhar.	Hindu Brahmin	Native Doctor; Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	Do.
144	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Tyabbhai Mulla ...	Mahomedan ...	Suffri; Tajpur, Ahmedabad ...	Do.
145	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. B. Keshavlal Hirralal ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Retired Deputy Collector; Kha- dia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
146	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Sakerlal Bulakhidas ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.
147	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Manirai N. Desai, L. M. & S.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Doctor; Raipur, Ahmedabad ...	Do.
148	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Hariprasad Dayabhai, B.A.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Teacher; Khadia, Ahmedabad...	Do.
149	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Phirozshah Kavasji Karan- jawala.	Parsi ...	Merchant; Karanj, Ahmedabad.	Do.
150	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Navrozji Ratanji Divecha.	Do. ...	Mill-manager; Advance Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
151	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Navrozji Framji ...	Do. ...	Doctor; Ravabai's Dispensary, Ahmedabad.	According to the re- solution passed by the public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad on 13th December 1902.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
152	Bombay	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Mr. Manilal Chhotalal	Hindu	Money-lender; Khadia, Ahmedabad.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
153	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Chunilal Kalidas Shah	Hindu	Merchant; Sarangpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
154	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Chhabildas Kersandas	Do.	Secretary; Maneckchok Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
155	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Lalbhai Fakirbhai	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant; Kalupur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
156	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Dayabhai Hakamchand Vakil.	Do.	Pleader; Dhandhuka	Do.
157	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Jagajivandas Amthashah Patel.	Hindu	Merchant; Ahmedabad	Do.
158	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Manilal Maganlal	Hindu Brahmin.	Insurance Agent; Rajamehta's Pole, Ahmedabad	Do.
159	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Dolatram Umedram Shah, B.A.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Money-lender; Shahpur, Ahmedabad.	Do.
160	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Kacharabhai Lehrabhai	Hindu Bania	Shroff; Chhipa Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
161	Do.	Do.	Do.	Seth Phirozshah Pestonji Mehta.	Parsi	Money-lender; Ahmedabad	Do.
162	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mr. Vishwanath Aditram	Hindu	Mill-Engineer; Ahmedabad	Do.

163	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Kilabhai Ujamsi ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Chokshi; Panjara Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
164	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vadilal Fulchand ...	Do.	Share-broker; Fatasha's Street...	Do.
165	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Girdharlal Hiralal Mehta, Solicitor.	Hindu ...	Solicitor; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
166	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Tuljaram Mulji ...	Do. ...	Engineer; Bharatkhand Cotton Mill; Ahmedabad.	Do.
167	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Chhagulal Somnath	Do. ...	Shroff; Kadava Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
168	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Laloobhai Raiji ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain ...	Mill-agent; near Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad.	Do.
169	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bapuji Jagannath ...	Hindu Auditch Shahastra Brahmin.	Pensioner; Gheekanta, Ahmedabad.	Do.
170	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chandulal Madhavlal	Hindu, Cunbi ...	Merchant; Kadva Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
171	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chhotal Tribhovandas	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant; Ahmedabad. ...	Do.
172	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Balabhai Raichand	Do. ...	Shroff; Temla's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
173	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Khubchand Narsinh	Hindu, Kshatriya.	Mill-engineer; Khand Bazar, Ahmedabad.	Do.
174	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Manekchand Talsi...	Hindu ...	Shroff; Ahmedabad ...	Do.
175	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Krishnalal N. Desai	Do. ...	Student; Khadia... ...	Do.

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176	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Mr. Manilal Balabhai ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Student; Ahmedabad. ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
177	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Amritlal Chunilal ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Haja Patel's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
178	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jamnadas Vrijlal Parikh ...	Hindu ...	Merchant; Maneckchok ...	Do.
179	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Maneklal N. Shah ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Ahmedabad...	Do.
180	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jeysingbhai Choonilal ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Mill-manager; Kalusing's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
181	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Popatlal Mansukhram Dalal.	Do. ...	Broker; Mandavini Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
182	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dayabhai Bhagubhai ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Ratan Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
183	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chhotalal Mahashanker ...	Hindu ...	Mill-engineer; Hitechhu Mill, Ahmedabad.	Do.
184	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bhogilal Virchand Dipchand.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant and Shethia; Ahmedabad.	Do.
185	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Trikamlal Premchand ...	Do. ...	Store-merchant; Khetarpal's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.
186	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bholabhai N. Javeri ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Haja Patel's Pole, Ahmedabad.	Do.

187	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mulchand Jamnadas	...	Hindu ...	...	Merchant ; Ahmedabad	...	Do.
188	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Manilal Girdharlal ...	...	Hindu Bania	..	Merchant ; Chang Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
189	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Balabhai Girdharlal	...	Do. ...	...	Do.	...	Do.
190	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Parekh Vallabhdas Mulji	...	Hindu ...	...	Banker ; Ahmedabad	...	Do.
191	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Parekh Vithaldas Mulji	...	Do. ...	...	Do.	...	Do.
192	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Haridas Acharatlal Seth	...	Hindu Bania	...	Shroff ; Kothari Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
193	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Givabhai Kishordas	...	Hindu ...	...	Merchant ; Ahmedabad...	...	Do.
194	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chimanlal Manilal...	...	Hindu Bania	...	Shroff ; Kothari Pole, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
195	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mohanlal Ranchhodlal	...	Do.	...	Merchant ; Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	...	Do.
196	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Manilal Maganlal ...	...	Hindu ...	...	Pleader ; Dholka	...	Do.
197	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mansukhram Suryaram Tripathi.	...	Hindu Nagar-Brahmin.	...	Nadiad ...	...	Do.
198	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Maneklal Harivalavdas	...	Hindu ...	...	Pleader ; Ghadiali Pole, Baroda.	...	Do.
199	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Srinivasrao R. Jadya	...	Do. ...	...	Merchant ; Baroda	...	Do.
200	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur Raghunath Mahadev Kelkar.	...	Do. ...	...	State Pensioner ; Baroda	...	Do.
201	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Motibhai Shivabhai Patel, B.A., LL.B., High Court, Pleader.	...	Hindu, Patidar...	...	Pleader ; Baroda...	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
202	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Mr. Balajee Pandurang...	Hindu ...	Pensioned Interpreter; Bombay High Court.	According to the resolution of the public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held on 6th December 1902.
203	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Harakhchand Raichand ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Private service; Ahmedabad ...	Do.
204	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. M. R. Bodas ...	Hindu ...	Pleader; Girgaum, Bombay ...	Do.
205	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Vadilal Virchand ...	Do. ...	Pleader; Patan ...	Do.
206	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Gokaldas Nathubhai ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
207	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Savaksha Bejanji ...	Parsi ...	Nanpura; Surat ...	Do.
208	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kallyanbhai Amichand Javeri..	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant; Baroda ...	Do.
209	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chimanlal Girdhardas ...	Hindu Bania ...	Merchant; Ahmedabad...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
210	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Abdulkader Nanamia ...	Mahomedan ...	Sodagar's Pole, Ahmedabad ...	Do.
211	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Gulam Hussen Nibibhai...	Do. ...	Do. do. ...	Do.
212	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Mahmed Tahar Mahmedbhai.	Do. ...	Do. do. ...	Do.
213	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Nurudin Gulam Mohidin ..	Do. ...	Balucha Vad; Ahmedabad ...	Do.

214	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Gulam Mohidin Mahmadbhai.	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
215	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Nabibhai Bakarbai	Do.	...	Sodagar's Pole, Ahmedabad	...	...	Do.
216	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Karim.	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
217	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Abdulally Narmawala	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
218	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Abdul Raheman Mahmadbhai.	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
219	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Usmanbhai Abdul Karim...	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
220	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Hussanbhai Lalbhai	Do.	...	Richey Road ; Ahmedabad	...	...	Do.
221	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Nanamia Mahmud Avjal Tativala.	Do.	...	Navi Moholat	...	...	Do.
222	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Lalobhai Asharam Shah, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bania	...	High Court Pleader ; Bombay	...	...	Do.
223	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Manilal Revadas	Hindu	...	Merchant ; Ahmedabad	...	...	Do.
224	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dullebhbhai Dharamsi Ved.	Hindu Bhattia	...	Pensioner ; Rajkot	...	...	Do.
225	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. S. N. Pandit...	Hindu Shenavi Brahmin.	...	Bar.-at-Law ; Rajkot	...	...	Do.
226	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Kevalram Mavji Dave, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	...	High Court Pleader ; Rajkot	...	...	Do.
227	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. D. B. Shukle...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Bar.-at-Law ; Rajkot	...	...	Do.
228	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. M. M. Dosi	Hindu Bania	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
229	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. G. B. Desai	Hindu Patidar	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and address.	How, where and when elected.
230	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Mr. Amritlal R. Buxi ...	Hindu Nagar-Brahmin.	Pleader; Rajkot ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
231	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Madhavji J. Buxi ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Rajkot ...	Do.
232	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Prataprai Vajeshanker Mehta.	Do. ...	Pleader; Rajkot & Bhavnagar..	Do.
233	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Laxmichand Pitamberdas Adalja, High Court Pleader.	Hindu, Bania ...	High Court Pleader; Rajkot ...	Do.
234	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. B. B. Kaji ...	Hindu Bania...	Pleader; Rajkot...	Do.
235	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Gordhandas Ladhbbhai ...	Hindu Luvana..	Do. ...	Do.
236	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Ghanashyam Narayan Pandit, B.A., LL.B., Pleader.	Hindu Shenavi Brahmin.	Do. ...	Do.
237	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Harjivandas B. Shukle, High Court Pleader.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Rajkot ...	Do.
238	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Keshavlal Durgashanker ...	Do. ...	Weaving Master; Sir Vaghji Mill, Wadhvan Camp.	Do.
239	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Makanji Valji, Agent, Sir Vaghji Mill.	Hindu Bhattia...	Mill-agent; Wadhvan Camp...	Do.
240	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dayaram Ganeshji Delal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader; Limbdi ...	Do.
241	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Mathabhai Javerbhai Amin.	Hindu Patidar...	Karbhari; Limbdi ...	Do.

242	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Navalshanker Surajshanker Vakil.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader ; Jamnagar	...	...	Do.
243	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bhagavanji Devji Vakil	Hindu Bania	Pleader ; Jamnagar	...	...	Do.
244	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Jeysingbhai Sunderji Shah.	Do.	Banker ; Jamnagar	...	...	Do.
245	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Govindbhai Hansraj Javeri.	Do.	Jeweller ; Jamnagar	...	...	Do.
246	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rathod Jivabhai Nathabhai	Hindu	Servant ; Jamnagar	...	...	Do.
247	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Oza Dayashanker Kameshwar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Servant and banker ; Jamnagar.	...	...	Do.
248	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Panachand Ishverdas	Hindu	Pleader ; Ghogha	...	...	Do.
249	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Punamchand Karamchand Kotawala.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	New Chali, Patan	...	...	Do.
250	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Yeshvantrao Ganesh Pradhan.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader ; Patan	...	...	Do.
251	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker.	Do.	Shastri ; Jamnagar	...	...	Do.
252	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mulji Asharam Oza	Hindu Shrimali Brahmin.	Manager ; Morvi Theatre, Morvi	...	...	Do.
253	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Choonilal Harivallavdas	Hindu	Pleader ; Vishanagar	...	...	Do.
254	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Damoder Mahadev Ambaugauker.	Do.	Do.	...	...	Do.
255	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Raghunathrao Narayen Josh.	Do.	Do.	...	...	Do.
256	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Panachand Mojilal Desai.	Do.	Do.	...	...	Do.
257	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Maganlal Motiram.	Do.	Do.	Do.
258	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bhagavandas Kashidas Satha, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Do.	Do.

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259	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	Mr. Vishnu Pandurang Gore ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Vishanagar ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Ahmedabad held in Tankshal, on 6th December 1902.
260	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Govindbhai R. Patel ...	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do.
261	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Vaikunthrai Balvantrai Majmuddar, Pleader.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader; Modasi Chakla, Visnagar.	Do.
262	Do. ...	Do. ...	Viramgam ...	Mr. Gordhandas Mohanlal ...	Hindu ...	Merchant; Viramgam ...	At a public meeting of Viramgam held on 3rd December 1902.
263	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Nathabhai Motichand Shah, B.A., LL.B., High Court, Pleader.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Pleader; Viramgam ...	Do.
264	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Isverlal Devshanker Vyas.	Hindu ...	Shroff; Viramgam ...	Do.
265	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Govindlal Maganlal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
266	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Balubhai Ratanji ...	Do. ...	Banker; Viramgam ...	Do.
267	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Keshavlal Prahladji ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
268	Do. ..	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Sunderlal Dayanath Kirtikar, Sub-Government Pleader.	Do. ...	Pleader; Viramgam ...	Do.
269	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chhotalal Sankelchand Shah.	Hindu Bania ...	Do. ...	Do.

270	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sadra ..	...	Mr. Fatechand Ramchand	Hindu Shrivak- Bania Jain.	Pleader; Sadra ...	...	...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Sadra held on 11th December 1902.
271	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dholka	...	Mr. Mohanlal Dhaneswar Raval, District Court Pleader.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader; Dholka	...	...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Dholka held in November 1902.
272	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kaira...	...	Mr. Punjabhai Someshwar Bhat.	Do.	High Court Pleader; Kaira	...	...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Kaira held on 14th December 1902.
273	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nadiad	...	Mr. Gordhanram Madhavram Tripathi, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Nadiad	...	...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Nadiad held on 6th November 1902.
274	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gokaldas Dwarkadas Talati, B.A., LL.B., High Court Plea- der.	Hindu Bania	Pleader; Nadiad...	...	...	Do.
275	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Krishnalal Laloobhai Desai, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Do.	...	...	Do.
276	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Tansukhram Mansukhram, B.A.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Service; Nadiad...	...	...	Do.
277	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gordhanram Harjivandas...	Hindu Bania	Coal mine owner; Nadiad	...	...	Do.
278	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chunilal Manordas Harakh- chand.	Hindu Bania	Mill proprietor; Nadiad	...	...	Do.
279	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Manilal Sankalchand	Hindu Shrimali Bania.	Banker; Nadiad...	Do.

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280	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad ...	Nadiad ...	Mr. Hargovindas Purshotamdas Talati, L.M. & S.	Hindu Visha Khadayata Bania.	Doctor; Nadiad	At a public meeting of the citizens of Nadiad held on 6th November 1902.
281	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Pandurang Sadashiv Inamdar.	Hindu Deccani Brahmin.	Inamdar; Manji Pura, Nadiad.	Do.
282	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Fulchand Bapuji Shah ...	Hindu Visha Khadayata Bania.	Banker; Nadiad... ..	Do.
283	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bhaskar Motibhai Pandya.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Do.	Do.
284	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Valabhai Hathibhai Desai.	Hindu Patidar...	Pleader; Nadiad	Do.
285	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Trikamlal Sankalchand Parekh.	Hindu-Shrimali Bania.	Banker; Nadiad... ..	Do.
286	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Muljibhai Hargovindas Shah.	Hindu Dasa-nagar Brahmin.	Pleader; Nadiad	Do.
287	Do. ...	Do. ...	Umreth ...	Mr. Kirpashankar Narotam Bhat.	Hindu Khedaval Brahmin.	Money-lender; Umreth ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Umreth held on 14th December 1902
288	Do. ...	Surat...	Surat...	Mr. Jagonnath Ichharam ...	Hindu Audich Brahmin.	Pensioned-judge; Vadi Falia, Surat.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Surat held on 7th December 1902.
289	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Mohanlal Parvatishanker Dave, B.A.	Hindu ...	Student; Havadia Chakla, Surat.	Do.

290	Do.	...	Do.	..	Do.	...	Mr. Krishnalal Nanabhai	Hindu Kayasth.	Superintendent; Techno-Chemical Laboratory; Girgaum, Bombay.	Do.
291	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dhirajlal Umedram	Hindu Kshatriya.	Land-holder; Vadi Falia, Surat.	Do.
292	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas, Bar-at-Law.	Hindu	Bar-at-Law; Surat	Do.
293	Do.	...	Do.	..	Do.	...	Mr. Manubhai Nanabhai, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Kayasth.	Pleader; Surat	Do.
294	Do.	...	Do.	..	Do.	...	Mr. Motabhai Motilal Desai, High Court Pleader.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader and Landlord; Gopipura, Surat.	Do.
295	Do.	...	Do.	..	Do.	...	Mr. Thakorram Kapilram, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader; Surat	Do.
296	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Markand Nandshanker Mehta, High Court Pleader.	Do.	High Court Pleader; Surat	Do.
297	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gangaram Vurajdas Bhurattia.	Hindu Bania	Shroff and Nanavati; Surat	Do.
298	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chunilal Maneklal Gandhi.	Do.	Pleader; Kumari Bazar, Surat.	Do.
299	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chhabildas Jamnadas Stor.	Do.	Shethia; Vadi Falia, Surat	Do.
300	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Narayanrao Malahavrao Bederkar, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu Deccani Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Dumas (via) Surat.	Do.
301	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dayabhai Permananddas Thakore.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Merchant; Nani Chhipwada, Surat.	Do.
302	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Prasannavadan Motabhai Desai.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Land-lord; Surat	Do.

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303	Bombay ...	Surat ...	Surat ...	Mr. Dullabhji Ranchhodji Desai.	Hindu Anavala Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Balsar ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Surat held on 7th December 1902.
304	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chhanmukhram Krishnamukhram Mehta.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader; Surat ...	Do.
305	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Tribhovandas Gordhandas.	Hindu Bania ...	Merchant; Soni Falia, Surat ...	Do.
306	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Maganlal Bhaidas Munshi.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Surat ...	Do.
307	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Nandvadan Kerpurram Mehta, B.A., LL.B., Pleader High Court.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Surat ...	Do.
308	Do. ...	Do. ...	Broach ...	Mr. Girdharlal Harinath Desai, High Court Pleader.	Hindu Kshatriya.	High Court Pleader; Broach...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Broach held on 30th November 1902.
309	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dayabhai Dalputbhai ...	Hindu Bania ...	Manager of provident funds and Agent; Broach.	Do.
310	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Manekchand Laxmichand...	Hindu Khadayata Bania.	Merchant; Broach ...	Do.
311	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Pranlal Tribhovandas Chokshi.	Do. ...	Chokshi; Laloobhai's Chakla, Broach.	Do.
312	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Chunilal Virchand Naliarwala.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Cocoanut merchant; Juna Bazar, Broach.	Do.

313	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ambashanker Uttamram Mulji, District Court Pleader.	Hindu Kshatriya.	District Court Pleader; Juna Bazar, Broach.	Do.
314	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Hiralal Amratlal Dalal	Hindu Dasha Ladh Bania.	Broker; Laloobhai's Chakla, Broach.	Do.
315	Do.	...	Bombay	...	Bombay	...	Mr. Fazulbhai J. Lalji	Khoja	Merchant; Bombay	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.
316	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Nasurbhai A. Lalji	Do.	Do.	Do.
317	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mansukhlal M. Munshi, Solicitor.	Hindu	Solicitor; 79, Kalbadevi road, Bombay.	Do.
318	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hon'ble Mr. Gokaldas K. Parekh, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader, Member of the Legislative Council, Bombay.	Hindu Bania	High Court Pleader; Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.	Do.
319	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha	Parsi	General Secretary; Bombay	Do.
320	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vithaldas Damoderdas Thakersi.	Hindu	Merchant; Mahalaxmi, Bombay.	Do.
321	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Purshotamdas Vishwaram Modi.	Do.	Do. do...	Do.
322	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mahadhavji Damodardas Thakersi.	Do.	Do. do...	Do.
323	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vizbhukhandas Atmaram	Do.	Shethia; Bombay	Do.
324	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Narayendas Purshotamdas.	Do.	Do. ...	Do.
325	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. H. M. Bhavnagri	Parsi	Contractor; Bombay	Do.

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326	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Mr. C. H. Setalvad, B.A. LL.B., Advocate, High Court.	Hindu Kshatriya	Lawyer; Bombay ...	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.
327	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, M.A., C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Member of the Legislative Council, Bombay.	Parsi ...	Bar.-at-Law ...	Do.
328	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jamiyram Nanabhai, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court.	Hindu Kayasth.	Bar.-at-Law; Bombay ...	Do.
329	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. S. D. Khote... ..	Hindu ...	Merchant; Bombay ...	Do.
330	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. M. N. Thakur, Bar.-at-Law.	Hindu Kshatriya	Bar.-at-Law; Bombay ...	Do.
331	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. N. M. Samarth, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader.	Hindu ...	High Court Pleader; Bombay..	Do.
332	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Madhavji Narsi	Do. ...	Merchant; Bombay ...	Do.
333	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Valji Karpur, a Trustee of the Visha Oshwal Jain Temple at Bhat Bazar, Mandavi, Bombay; a Member of the Managing Committee of the United Rice-merchants' Association; one of the heads of the Visha Oshwal community.	Hindu Shrivak-Bania, Visha Oshwal Jain.	Rice-merchant; Bombay ...	At a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Association on the 11th December 1902.
334	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Hirji Khetsi, a Trustee of the Visha Oshwal Jain community.	Do. ...	Do. do. ...	Do.

335	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Karamsi Kahanji, one of the heads of the Visha Oshwal community; a Member of the Managing Committee of the United Rice-merchants' Association.	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
336	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Raoji Devraj, Secretary of the Association.	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
337	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Thakarsi Mulji, a Member of the Managing Committee of the Association.	Do.	...	Do.	do.	...	Do.
338	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Jethabhai Anandji, Assistant Secretary to the Association and Secretary to the Nitga R. Association.	Hindu Dasha Oshwal Shrivak Bania Jain.	Clerk to Messrs. Wadia and Ghandhi, Solicitors; Bombay.				Do.
339	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. T. K. Gajjar, M.A., B. Sc...	Hindu Carpenter.	Director of the Techno-Chemical Laboratory; Girgaum, Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.			
340	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Madhavji Virji, High Court Pleader and Solicitor.	Hindu...	Solicitor, High Court; Bombay.				Do.
341	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hon'ble Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L.M. & S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner; Bombay				Do.
342	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Nadirshah B. Vakil	Parsi ...	Solicitor; Bombay				Do.
343	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. R. B. Majmudar, Bar.-at-Law	Hindu Kayasth.	Bar.-at-Law; Bombay				Do.

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344	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Mr. Gopalji Ramji	Hindu Lohana..	Grain-merchant; Dariasthan Street, Mandvi, Bombay.	At a meeting of the Grain-merchants' Association on 30th November 1902.
345	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Vallabhdas Ramji Thakkar.	Hindu Cutchi Lohana.	Town duty refund Agent; Mandavi, Vad Gadi, Bombay.	By the Youngmen's Union Club on 14th December 1902.
346	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jivaji Krishna Perulkar ...	Hindu	Secretary of the Narranjee Mills Company, Limited; Palav Road, Thakoredwar, Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, on 6th December 1902.
347	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Manekji Kavasji Patel ...	Parsi	Soda-water merchant; Dhobi Talao, Bombay.	Do.
348	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dinshaw Jijibhoy Vakil ...	Do.	Solicitor; Grant road, Bombay..	Do.
349	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Trikamlal Lalji Cloth Merchant.	Hindu Bhatia (Vaishnav).	Cloth-merchant; Mulji Jetha's Market, Bombay.	By a meeting of the Mandal held on 14th December 1902
350	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. N. B. Ranade	Hindu	Editor, the Educational Books; 41, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.
351	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Vasantao Sakerrai Ravat..	Do.	Attorney's Managing Clerk; French Bridge, Chopati, Bombay.	Do.

352	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vishnu Mahadev Gadgil, Member of the District Local Board.	Hindu, Deccani Brahmin.	Merchant and Landlord ...	Do.
353	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Barjorji Naoroji Apakhtiar.	Parsi ...	Manager, <i>Hindi Punch</i> ; Frere Road, Bombay.	Do.
354	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Lalji Ramji ...	Hindu ...	Merchant; Cavel Street, Bom- bay.	Do.
355	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Damoder Ratansey	Do. ...	Merchant; Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.	Do.
356	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gokaldas Gordhandas	Do. ...	Tobacco merchant; Bombay. ...	Do.
357	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dayabhai Khimji ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Tobacco warehouse, Bombay.	Do.
358	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Govind Dasarath ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
359	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Laloobhai Samaldas	Hindu Nagar- Brahmin.	Merchant; Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.	Do.
360	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. T. V. Athnekar ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Agent, Oriental Life Office; Bombay.	Do.
361	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ranchhodlal Bhavan	Hindu ...	Merchant; Duncan Road, Bom- bay.	Do.
362	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. P. J. Swami ...	Do. ...	Medical practitioner; Kamati- pura 10th Lane, Bombay.	Do.
363	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Rajoo Babaji ...	Do. ...	Contractor; Kamatipura, Bom- bay.	Do.
364	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. R. K. R. Cama, Solicitor ...	Parsi ...	Solicitor, High Court; Bombay.	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government,	Congress Circle,	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
365	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Mr. Keshavlal R. Daftari ...	Hindu ...	Engineer; Dariapur Ahmedabad.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.
366	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bhimrao Atmaram...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
367	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Vinayak Shivrao Dharkar...	Do. ...	.....	Do.
368	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Vasanji Khimji ...	Do. ...	Merchant; Bombay ...	Do.
369	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. D. V. Belve, B.A., LL.B., Pleader.	Do. ...	Land holder and Pleader; Bombay.	Do.
370	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jethabhai Damji Meghji ...	Hindu, Shravak-Bania Oshwal Jain.	Merchant and Landlord; Bombay.	At a public meeting of the Cutchi Dasha Oshwal community on 20th December 1902.
371	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Lakhamsey Heerji Maisheri, B.A., LL.B., Honorary Secretary, Cutchi Dasha Oshwal Subhetchhak Mandal.	Hindu Shravak-Bania, Cutchi Dasha Oshwal Jain.	High Court Pleader; Kallabdevi road, Bombay.	Do.
372	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Manekji Jethabhai Vardhaman.	Hindu Cutchi Dasha Oshwal Jain.	Cotton merchant; Bombay ...	Do.
373	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. D. G. Padhye, M.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Deccani Brahmin.	.....	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.

374	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Kaikhushru Manekji	...	Parsi	...	Editor, <i>Bombay Samachar</i> ; Bombay.	Do.
375	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Krishnalal M. Zaveri, M.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu	...	High Court Pleader; Bombay.	Do.
376	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. V. M. Pakvasa	...	Do.	...	Solicitor, High Court; Bombay.	Do.
377	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ratanlal M. Modi, B.A., LL.B., High Court Solicitor.	...	Hindu	Bania...	Solicitor; Bombay	Do.
378	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. B. N. Bhajekar	...	Hindu	Brahmin.	Pleader; Bombay	Do.
379	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ramji Govindji	...	Hindu	Luhana..	Grain merchant; Mandvi, Dana Bunder, Bombay.	At a meeting of the Grain merchants' Association on 30th November 1902.
380	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Purshotam Bhimji	...	Hindu	...	.....	By the Managing Committee of the Bhatia Mitra Man- dal.
381	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Madhavdas Mathuradas Go- kaldas.	...	Hindu	Bhatia ...	Grain merchant; Bombay.	By the Grain mer- chants' Association, on 21st December 1902.
382	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ranchordas Ramji...	...	Hindu	...	.....	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.
383	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Amratlal Kevaldass	...	Hindu	Shravak- Bania Jain.	Merchant; Tamba Kanta, Bom- bay.	At the Meeting of the Jain Club.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
384	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Bombay ...	Mr. Motilal Kanji	Hindu ...	.....	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.
385	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Jivan Dayal, President, Arya Samaj.	Hindu Kshatriya Lohana.	Freight broker; Bombay ...	By the Arya Samaj, Bombay, 14th December 1902.
386	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Tribhovandas Varjivandas..	Hindu	Shethia and merchant; Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 6th December 1902.
387	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Manordas Tribhovandas ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
388	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Hiralal Dayabhai Nana-vati, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Solicitor and High Court Pleader; Rambaug, C. P. Tank, Bombay.	Do.
389	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Nathubhai Lalubhai Vakilna	Hindu Bania ...	Mill store supplier and contractor; Haripura, Surat.	Do.
390	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Vithaldas Karsandas ...	Hindu	Merchant; Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.	Do.
391	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hon'ble Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B., Member of the Legislative Council, Bombay.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Pleader; Bombay.	Do.
392	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vaidya Shastri Manishanker Govindji.	Hindu	Physician; Bombay	Do.

393	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gajanand Martand Gupte, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Kayasth Parbhu.	Grant Road; Bombay ...	...	Do.
394	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mohanlal Jivanlal ...	Hindu ...	Bar-at-Law ...	...	Do.
395	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ratnagiri	...	Vasudev Govind Godbole, District Court Pleader and Member, Taluka Local Board, Ratnagiri.	Hindu Deccani Brahmin.	Pleader; Ratnagiri ...	...	At a public meeting held at Ratnagiri on 20th December 1902.
396	Do.	...	Thana	...	Umbergaum...	...	Mr. Vinayak Shivram Pimpalkar, Land holder and a Member of Taluka Local Board, Dahanu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Land holder; Umbergaum, District Thana.	...	At a special meeting of the V. A. Sabha, Umbergaum.
397	Do.	...	Belgaum	...	Belgaum	...	Vishnurao Rangunath Natu, B.A., LL.B., Fellow of the University of Bombay, High Court Pleader.	Do.	Pleader; Belgaum ...	...	At a public meeting held at Belgaum on 4th December 1902.
398	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. N. T. Datar, B.A., Pleader.	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
399	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. C. P. Boyce, L. M. & S.	Parsi ...	Physician; Medical Dispensary, Belgaum.	...	Do.
400	Do.	...	Sholapur	...	Sholapur	...	Vishnu Rangunath Lele...	Hindu ...	Pleader; Sholapur ...	...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Sholapur held on 7th December 1902.
401	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dalsukh Vadilal ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Jain.	Merchant ...	...	Do.
402	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Manilal Mohunlal ...	Hindu ...	Do. ...	...	Do.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
403	Bombay ...	Satara ...	Satara ...	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karundikar, High Court Pleader.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Pleader ...	By the Congress Committee of Satara.
404	Do. ...	Poona ...	Poona ...	Mr. Vinayak Narayen Apte ...	Do. ...	Merchant and Agent to Poona M.B., Limited.	At a general meeting of the Deccan Sabha on 6th December 1902.
405	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Laxman Ragnath Gokhale, Secretary, Deccan Standing Congress Committee.	Do. ...	Pleader; Poona ...	By the Deccan Standing Congress Committee on 19th December 1902.
406	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Nursih Chintaman Kelker, B.A., LL.B., Member of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and City Municipality, Pleader, and Editor of the <i>Maratha</i> .	Do. ...	Pleader and Editor of the <i>Maratha</i> .	By the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha on 14th December 1902.
407	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL.B., Member of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Editor of the <i>Kesari</i> .	Do. ...	Editor and Proprietor of the <i>Maratha</i> and <i>Kesari</i> .	Do.
408	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. G. K. Gokhale ...	Do. ...	Teacher; Poona ...	Do.
409	Do. ...	Deccan ...	Khandesh ...	Mr. Panalal Dolatram ...	Hindu Shrivak-Bania Oshwal Jain.	Merchant; Dhulia, Khandesh...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Dhulia on 16th December 1902.

410	Do.	...	Do.	...	Amalner	...	Mr. Vishnu Kashinath Bhagawat.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader; Amalner and Khandesh.	At a public meeting of the citizens of Amalner on 22nd November 1902.
411	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Govind Damodar Muthe	Do.	Banker and landlord; Amalner and Khandesh.	Do.
412	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vinayak Govind Bhide	Do.	Pleader; Amalner and Khandesh.	Do.
413	Do.	...	Dharwar (Deccan division.)	...	Dharwar	...	Mr. Sadashiv Bhimrao Bhagawat, Pleader.	Do.	Pleader; Line Bazar, Dharwar.	At a public meeting held at Dharwar on 22nd November 1902.
414	Do.	...	Ichalkaranji (Kolhapur.)	...	Sangli	...	Mr. Ganesh Ragunath Abhayankar, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader	At a public meeting held on 20th December 1902.
415	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gopal Ragavendra District Court Pleader, Dharwar.	Do.	Do.	Do.
416	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vinayak Krishna Mainker, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Do.	Do.
417	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Anant Vinayak Patwardhan, B.A.	Do.	Inamdar	Do.
418	Do.	...	Sindh...	...	Hyderabad	...	Mr. Avatsing Mahtabsing Advani, Pleader.	Hindu Kshatriya	Pleader	By the Congress Committee of Hyderabad.
419	Madras	...	Madras	...	Madras	...	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	Hindu	Journalist; Triplicane, Madras.	At a public meeting of Madras Mahajan Sabha on 5th December 1902.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
420	Madras ...	Madras ...	Madras ...	Mr. B. R. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu ...	High Court Pleader; Egmuore.	At a public meeting of Madras Mahajan Sabha on 5th December 1902.
421	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Paul Peter Pillaye, Bar-at-Law.	Christian ...	Bar.-at-Law; Madras ...	Do.
422	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. C. Sankaran Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu ...	High Court Pleader; Egmuore.	Do.
423	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chittore (North Arcot.)	Hon'ble Mr. L. A. Govind Raghao Iyer, B.A., B.L., High Court Pleader, Vice-President Tailang Board, Shrotriendar.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Pleader ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Chittore held under the auspices of the North Arcot District Association on 30th November 1902.
424	Do. ...	Do. ...	Muslipatam (Kistna district.)	M. R. R. Konda Vankatappaya Pantalagam, B.A., B.L., Pleader, District Court Kistna, Secretary Kistna District Association and joint Editor <i>Kistna Patrika</i> .	Do. ...	Pleader; Kistna ...	At a public meeting held at Muslipatam on 14th December 1902.
425	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vellore (North Arcot.)	M. R. R. Nalvoi Krishnama-chariar, Avl., B.A.	Do. ...	Land holder and Banker ...	At a public meeting of the Vellore Bar Association.

426	Do.	...	Do.	...	Madras	...	Hon'ble Mr. K. Perraju, Chairman, Municipal Council; Member of the District Board; Additional Member of Madras Legislative Council.	Do.	...	Pleader	...	...	...	...	At a public meeting held at Coconada.
427	Do.	...	Madura	...	Madura	...	The Hon'ble Mr. G. Shrinivasrao	Hindu Brahmin Madhwa.	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	At a public meeting of Madura.
428	Do.	...	South Malabar	...	Calicut	...	Mr. Mannath Krishna Nair, B.A., B.L., High Court Pleader	Hindu Nair	...	Pleader; Calicut	...	...	...	...	At a public meeting held at Calicut on 16th December 1902.
429	Do.	...	Salem	...	Salem	...	Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiar	Hindu Vysya	...	Land holder; Arunasula, Asari Street, Salem.	...	...	...	...	At a public meeting of the Congress Committee of Salem.
430	Do.	...	Trichinopoli...	...	Trichinopoli...	...	Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., Editor, <i>Madras Standard</i> .	Hindu Brahmin	...	Editor, <i>Madras Standard</i>	...	...	...	...	At a public meeting of students of Trichinopoli on 19th October 1902.
431	II. II. the Nizam's Dominions.	...	Madras	...	Hyderabad (Deccan.)	...	Mr. Keshavrao Vakil	Hindu Maratha Brahmin.	...	High Court Pleader; Hyderabad Division.	...	...	...	...	At a public meeting held at Hyderabad on 17th December 1902.
432	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. K. V. Laxamanrao, M.A....	Telugu Brahmin	...	Devan to the Zamindar of Munayalu; Nudigadem (Kistna).	...	...	...	...	Do.
433	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur Lubtal Ekran Raja, N. Venkot Ranga.	Telugu Reddy...	...	Zamindar of Munagola; Nudigadem.	...	...	...	...	Do.
434	United provinces of Agra and Oudh.	...	Oudh	...	Lucknow	...	Babu Gangaprasad Varma, Editor and Proprietor of <i>Advocate</i> and <i>Hindustani</i> , Lucknow.	Hindu Kshatriya	...	Journalist...	...	...	...	...	At a public meeting of Congress Committee held on 19th December 1902.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
435	United provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Lucknow (Oudh.)	Lucknow ...	P. Ictalnarayan Masaldin ...	Hindu Keshuri Brahmin.	Zamindar; Ranikatra, Lucknow.	At a public meeting of Congress Committee held on 19th December 1902.
436	Do. ...	Allahabad ...	Allahabad ...	Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, High Court; Member of the Legislative Council of United provinces of Agra and Oudh..	Hindu ...	Pleader, High Court; Allahabad	At a public meeting of the citizens of Allahabad.
437	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Bhagavandin Dube, M.A.; LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Do. do. ...	Do.
438	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. S. Sinha, Bar.-at-Law ...	Hindu Kshatriya	Bar.-at-Law; Allahabad ...	Do.
439	Government of India.	Berar ...	Akola District.	Mr. Vishnu Maheshwaray Mahajani, M.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Retired Educational Inspector; Akola (Berar).	At a public meeting of the citizens of Akola held on 13th December 1902.
440	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Ramchandra Vishnu Mahajani, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	High Court Pleader; Akola ...	Do.
441	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagwat, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Do. do. ...	Do.
442	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Mahadev Dattatraya Bhagwat.	Do. ...	Studying at the Victoria Technical Institute; Bombay.	Do.
443	Central provinces.	Nagpur ...	Nagpur ...	Mr. Dolatrao Nagorao Manker..	Hindu Maratha..	Land holder	At a public meeting held at MacDonell Town Hall, Nagpur on 12th December 1902.

444	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Keshavrao Gokhale, M.A., B.L., Pleader.	Hindu Maratha Brahmin.	Pleader; Sitabaldi (Nagpur) ...	Do.
445	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Vaman Gopal Joshi, B.A., Pleader.	Do.	Pleader and Editor, <i>Desh-sevak</i> .	Do.
446	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Shridher Trimbak Deshmukh <i>alias</i> Annasaheb Vakil.	Do.	Pleader	Do.
447	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Madhavrao K. Padhye, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader and Editor, <i>Desh-sevak</i> .	Do.
448	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Bombay.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Solicitor	Do.
449	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur Rajaram Pant Dikshit, Honorary First Class Magistrate and Contractor ...	Do.	Solicitor and Contractor; Sita- baldi (Nagpur).	Do.
450	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. R. Krishnarao Fatak, Pleader.	Hindu Maratha Brahmin.	Pleader; Sitabaldi (Nagpur) ...	Do.
451	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Raojee Kashinath Gokhale, Pleader.	Do.	Do. do. ...	Do.
452	Bengal	...	Calcutta	...	Calcutta	...	Trailokyanath Chattarjee ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Contractor; Fourth Hem chan- draker's Lane, Calcutta.	By the Indian Asso- ciation, Calcutta on 15th December 1902
453	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	J. Chowdhari, M.A., Bar.-at-Law	Bengali Brah- min.	Bar.-at-Law; 76, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.	At a Committee meeting of the Indian Association on 15th December 1902.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
454	Bengal ...	Calcutta ...	Calcutta ...	Kaliprassanna Kavyabisharad, Editor and Proprietor, <i>Hityawadi</i> .	Hindu Brahmin.	Journalist; 70, Co'ootolla Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the S. S. Sabha held on 17th December 1902 as well as by the Indian Association, Calcutta.
455	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Surendranath Bannerjee, B.A. Presidency Magistrate; Chairman, Barrackpur Municipality and Professor, Ripon College	Do. ...	Professor, Ripon College ..	By the Indian Association on 15th December 1902 and Trichinopoly Students' Association and Chitagong people's Association.
456	Do. ...	Purnea ...	Bhagalpur or Purnea.	Babu Jagendranath Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., High Court Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Municipality, Purnea.	Bengali Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Land holder; Purnea.	At a public meeting held at Purnea on 22nd November 1902.
457	Do. ...	Faridpur ...	Faridpur ...	Babu Ambica Charan Majmudar, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Baidya ...	Pleader and Land holder; Faridpur.	At a public meeting at Faridpur on 5th December 1902 also at a general meeting of Manikdesh Hitesadhini Sabha held on 1st September 1902.

458	Do.	...	Dinapur	...	Dinapur	...	Babu Madhu Sudan Roy, B.L., Municipal Commissioner.	Do.	...	Pleader and Municipal Com- missioner.	...	At a general meeting of the members of the Dinapur Stand- ing Congress Com- mittee held at Dinapur, Bengal on 10th December 1902.
459	Do.	...	Chhota Nag- pur.	...	Purna	...	Babu Jagendranath Ghosh, B.L.	Hindu Kayasth..	...	Pleader and Land holder	...	At a meeting of the Pleaders' Associa- tion of Purna on 19th December 1902.
460	Do.	...	Calcutta	...	Burdwan	...	Moulvi Abul Kasim, B.A.	Bengali Maho- medan.	...	Zamindar ...	...	At a meeting of the Standing Congress Committee, Burd- wan on 13th De- cember 1902.
461	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Bepin Behari Ghosh, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Kayasth..	...	Pleader; Burdwan	...	Do.
462	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Mohini Mohan Mitra, M.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
463	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Sarat Chandra Bose, B.L.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
464	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Kaviraj Upendranath Sen	Vaidya ...	...	Zamindar and Physician	...	At a public meeting of the Branch Indian Association held at Kalva Lane.
465	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Sanat Kumar Chowdhari	Do.	...	Zamindar ...	...	At a public meeting held at Ahmedpur and Calcutta South- ern electoral divi- sion.

Serial No.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names of the delegates in full with all the titles and Scholastic Degrees, &c., &c.	Caste or Creed.	Occupation and Address.	How, where and when elected.
466	Bengal ...	Bhagalpur ...	Bhagalpur ...	A. N. Mitter, M.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Kayasth.	Pleader; Bhagalpur ...	At a public meeting of the citizens of Bhagalpur held on 8th December 1902.
467	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Rash Beharilal Mandul Zamindar.	Hindu ...	Zamindar; Madhipura Bhagalpur.	Do.
468	Do. ...	Berhampur ...	Murshidabad..	Babu Baikuntnath Sen, B.L. Pleader, Zamindar and Vice-President Murshidabad Association.	Hindu Baidya ...	Pleader and Zamindar; Berhampur (Bengal).	At a meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on 4th December 1902.
469	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Ramni Mohan Sen, Zamindar and Secretary, Saidabad School.	Do. ...	Zamindar; Berhampur (Bengal)	Do.
470	Do. ...	Barisal ...	Barisal People's Association.	Babu Sarat Chandra Guha, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayasth, Bengali.	Pleader; Barisal ...	At a meeting of the Committee of the Association held on 16th December 1902.
471	Do. ...	Calcutta ...	Calcutta (British Indian Association).	J. Gosal, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar and Merchant; Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Committee of the Association held on 9th December 1902.

APPENDIX B.

List of the names of the ladies and gentlemen referred to by the President in his concluding speech in connection with the work of the Congress.

Nagar Sethani—Mrs. Manibhai Premabhai.

Sethani Bai Chandan, widow of Seth Sambooprasad whose bungalow was placed at the disposal of the President.

Seth Jeysingbhai Hathising who gave his Wadi, known as Hathibhai's Wadi, for a large number of delegates.

The Hon'ble Mr. Lely, C.S.I., Commissioner, N. D.

H. H. the Rana Saheb of Porebunder.

Seth Mansukhbhai Bhagubhai.

Seth Chimanlal Nagindas.

Govindrao A. Patil.

Mr. Sorabji D. Kadaka.

Mr. Deshmookh of Baroda, P. W. Department, the Engineer under whose directions and superintendence the Industrial Exhibition pavillion was constructed.

Mr. Devdhar } who also assisted Mr. Deshmookh in connection with
,, Athvale } the Exhibition pavillion.

Mr. Ramanbhoj Mahiputram Nilkanth, Secretary, Congress Pavillion Committee.

Mr. Pherozechah Kavasji Karanjavala.

Mr. Chimanlal Narbheram Thakore, Superintendent of Volunteers.

Mr. Purshotum M. Hathising, } Secretaries to the Industrial Exhibi-
,, Motilal Kasalchund Shah, } tion.
,, Jehanghir D. Mehta, }

Appendix C.

Speech of Mr. Shevabhoy M. Patel who seconded the Fifteenth Resolution

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,

The facts and figures placed by the mover of this resolution are so convincing that no eloquence of mine is required to commend the resolution to your acceptance. It is not the declaration of a new principle that we pray for, but the actual fulfilment of the principle enunciated in an Act of Parliament and Royal Proclamations. The Resolution of the Government of India pointed out by my friend Mr. Patil, was an effort to fulfil the pledge given by Lord Lytton on the occasion of the last Delhi Durbar. Our claim to share largely with Englishmen in the administration of the country was affirmed as being founded on the highest justice and was recognized by the Government of India, as binding on its honor and consistent with the aims of its policy.

Nearly quarter of a century has elapsed since the creation on paper of this Statutory Railway Service, but it is a matter of the deepest regret that we hardly see at present any Indian in the higher ranks of the Railway service. The Government of India has been supplying us with heaps of statistics every year, but there is nothing in them to show the amount that goes every year to the pay of European officers in the higher ranks of the Railway service. From a return supplied to the House of Commons in 1899, it appears that the amount then was Rs. 80,00,000 a year. Since then the extension of railways has been enormous so that the sum now as far as we can guess, would be nearly the double of it. Above and beyond this, there are in almost every railway a host of young Europeans employed to do ministerial work and you are pretty familiar with the policy pursued of late of supplanting Hindus and Mahomedans from decent minor appointments such as those of Guards, Ticket Collectors, &c. Every European employed in this manner not only takes away the bread from the mouth of an Indian, who would otherwise take his place, but also takes away the opportunity of a training in public administration which he would otherwise have. Add to this, the six million pounds that we have to remit every year as interest and other charges for Railways. The Indian taxpayer besides has upto 1900 had to meet the large and accumulated deficit of 41 crores of rupees.

Our claim, then, to share largely in the administration of both State and Guaranteed Railways is paramount over the self-interest of any other class of people.

The familiar plea, that a certain number of Europeans are necessary for British supremacy in the country cannot have any application to Railway service. I would be much obliged to any gentleman who can assign any reason how Station Masters at First Class Stations, District Traffic Superintendents and such other officers, if natives, would endanger the tranquility of dia.

Our grievances with regard to Railway Administration are two-fold. The extension of railways in the past has been carried on without due regard to the real interests of Indians. Irrigation is the paramount need of the country but the sum spent hitherto in irrigation is insignificant when compared with that spent in constructing railways. In view of the deliberations of the Irrigation Commission going on at present, we in this Congress, hold our breath as to this side of our grievance and urge before the authorities, the other side of our railway grievances *i.e.*, exclusion from our due share in railway administration. Some speakers who have preceded me have prayed for various boons on the occasion of the coming Durbar. The last Durbar led to the issuing of a Resolution by the Government of India to give wider employments to Indians in railway administration. It would be therefore in the peculiar fitness of things if the coming Durbar were to give us practical realization of it. With these words I beg to second the resolution so ably moved by Mr. Pátil.