

INDIA'S DEMANDS



A COLLECTION OF THE SPEECHES

DELIVERED ON THE PLATFORMS

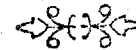
OF

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

AND

THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

1916



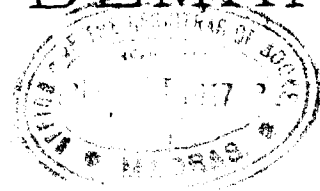
COLLECTED AND PUBLISHED BY

K. C. SANKARAKRISHNA

MADRAS

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THE 31st INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

THE HON. PANDIT JAGAT NARAIN

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—On behalf of the Reception Committee and the citizens of the United Provinces I offer you a cordial welcome to the historic city of Lucknow. The sight of this distinguished gathering which represents the intelligence, culture and patriotism of this great country, is one that will gladden the heart of every well-wisher of India, and I consider it a proud privilege to be called upon to welcome you on this occasion. We are fully conscious of the imperfection of our arrangements, and regret that we have not been able to make such provision for your comforts as we would have liked to do but I trust that you will generously overlook our shortcomings and take the will for the deed.

OUR DEPARTED LEADERS

Ladies and gentlemen, since the Congress assembled here seventeen years ago, a great change has come over men's minds and the new spirit has not passed Lucknow by. But it is sad to reflect that those who raised it from its torpor and exhorted it to march forward instead of casting longing, unseeing looks behind, are no longer in our midst. It was Ganga Prasad Varma's earnest desire that Lucknow should invite the Congress again. The Congress meets at Lucknow but our beloved leader is no longer here to inspire us with his example and to rejoice with us at its success. And before we could reconcile ourselves to the irreparable loss we have suffered in his death, we have been deprived of the guidance of Bishan Narayan Dutt whose firmness of mind, soundness of judgment and clear vision are needed more than ever. Bishan Narayan Dutt had a passion for study; he lived in close communion with the master minds of the world and through scholarship he united a powerful and capacious intellect which enabled him to profit in a rare measure from the wisdom that lies embalmed in books. And withal he wore his learning lightly as a flower, and his many and

varied gifts were always at the service of his Countrymen. Though incapacitated by prolonged illness for active work his interest in public affairs continued unabated till the end, and from his retreat at Almora he occasionally contributed articles to the press on important questions which testified to the vigour of his intellect and his zeal for public service. Had he been spared he would have stood before you to-day to welcome you and helped you with his knowledge and wisdom to solve the vital and intricate questions which will presently engage your attention. But fate has willed it otherwise, and I find myself in the position which he was to have so worthily filled, without any qualification for the task except a sincere desire to serve you. I can boast neither of natural gifts nor of knowledge, which would entitle me to speak with authority, but I may be allowed to say that I yield to no one in the love I bear to my country and I am proud to be a soldier in the army of National progress.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is our misfortune to mourn this year for others besides Bishan Narayan Dhar. Since we met last G. Subramania Aiyar and Daji Abaji Khare have gone to their rest. The former was one of the fathers of Indian journalism and by his informed and fearless writings contributed not a little to the formation and growth of an enlightened public opinion, and both of them were a tower of strength to the cause which we all have at heart. Nor, speaking at Lucknow, can I omit to mention Ilbal Narayan Masaldan, a quiet, sincere and earnest worker, whose death a few months ago was a sad loss to the Reception Committee, of which he was one of the Secretaries. Death, alas, is fast thinning the ranks of the old guard, but duty demands that we should not give way to depression, but inspired by their lofty example persevere in the sacred task in which we are engaged and press on with zeal and determination to the goal that we have set before us.

NERVOUSNESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Before proceeding further, gentlemen, I should like to acknowledge our obligations to the Local Government and our popular Deputy Commissioner, Mr. L. M. Jopling, for the assistance which we have received from them. We are indebted to them for the use of the plot of ground on which the pandal stands and for the help they have given us in laying out the camp and in several other ways. We cannot but be thankful for this, particularly when we recall the difficulties which the Reception Committee had to face in 1899 when the Congress last met at Lucknow. I wish I could

have stopped here, but I cannot help uttering a word of surprise that the Local Government should have deemed it necessary to caution the Congress against intemperate speaking. We had hoped, brother Delegates, that the record of this great institution was a complete guarantee against such a nervous apprehension. At the best the warning was superfluous and it would have been better if it had not been addressed.

A UNITED CONGRESS

The present year will be a memorable one in the history of our political evolution. For the first time since the unfortunate split at Surat we witness the spectacle of a United Congress. Realizing that in union alone is strength both the parties have laid aside their differences and resolved to work shoulder to shoulder to win for India a position commensurate with her self-respect and dignity in the British Empire. They have heeded the call of the country and obliterating old divisions, rallied round her in the hour of her need.

Equally hopeful and encouraging is the patriotic spirit which inspires our Muhammadan brethren. There was a time, now happily gone for ever, when short-sighted counsels prevailed among them and they gave to their community what was meant for the country. But education and the new spirit have done their work as surely among them as among the other sections of our countrymen. They have enlarged their vision and broadened their sympathies. Both the communities share the same aspirations to-day and realize in a larger measure than they ever did before, that united action is essential to the fulfilment of their common destiny. Some of the most important leaders of Muslim public opinion in these provinces have joined our committee. And it is a significant sign of the times that the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League met together formally at Calcutta on the 17th and 18th of last month to formulate a scheme of reform to be pressed after the conclusion of the present War on the attention of the Parliament and the people of Great Britain in the name of a United India, in order that they may have a controlling voice in the administration of our internal affairs. The Conference marked a great step forward in our political evolution and disclosed a substantial identity of views between Hindus and Muhammadans. A few differences, no doubt, still remain, but I am not without hope that they will prove short-lived and that we shall soon see the two sister-communities marching hand in hand on the path of progress.

INDIA AND THE WAR

Gentlemen, it will be the supreme duty of the Congress to give expression to the hopes and aspirations to which the War has given a fresh vitality. The last decade has witnessed the birth of a new Nationalism in India. The efforts of the older generation to awaken the consciousness of the people have produced their inevitable result. A new generation has arisen with new thoughts and new ideas impatient of its dependent position and claiming its rights as free citizens of the British Empire. The advent of the European War infused a new enthusiasm into the people and galvanised their aspirations into a new life. England entered into the War proudly to champion the cause of truth and justice and to protect the rights of those who were too weak to defend themselves. Face to face with the danger of Prussian militarism and threatened with destruction of their noble ideals, her people saw the doctrine of physical force in a new light and turned from it in disgust to the conception of a new order which shall be based on the rock of enduring principles. This sentiment found an answering echo in every corner of the Empire. Men learnt to set a new value on justice and liberty and began to examine how far their institutions were in accord with these principles. The new tendency is exhibiting itself in India as well, and forces have been set in motion which it is the duty of statesmanship to deal with to-day.

Gentlemen, the War, besides intensifying the longing for free institutions, enabled India to demonstrate her loyalty and to realise her value to the Empire. No one with an insight into the Indian mind ever doubted that India was thoroughly loyal, and that whatever differences might exist between her and Great Britain in regard to her internal affairs, she would rally round the Imperial Banner in the hour of danger. But men were not wanting who cast just doubts on her loyalty and believed that England's trouble would be India's opportunity. And instead of trying to bind her to the Empire with the silken tie of love, they were always forging new fetters to keep her in bondage. The War has effectually silenced these croakers and some of them had the courage to avow openly during the earlier months of the War that they had never understood the Indian character. It had never occurred to them that India's patriotism is the greatest guarantee of India's loyalty, for the realisation of her most cherished hopes depends upon the continuance of British rule.

The assistance rendered by India during the War has fired her imagination. She has, so to say, found herself. She has

acquired a new spirit of self-reliance and dignity, and realised her own worth by coming to Britain's help at a critical juncture. The battle-fields of Europe, Africa and Asia bear witness to the fighting qualities of her sons, and their deeds of heroism, written in characters of blood, have thrilled every Indian heart. Had England been true to her traditions and followed a more enlightened policy in India, who can doubt that she would have had military resources at her disposal such as no other Nation has? But regard being had to the disabilities that India labours under, it cannot be gainsaid that she has done the utmost that she could. His Excellency the Viceroy has shown this conclusively in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 5th September last. "The winter of 1914-15," said His Excellency, "was one of the most critical periods of the War, for it was evident that the troops then available on the continent and in the United Kingdom were inadequate for the defensive rôle allotted to them, and the only way, pending the raising and training of the new armies, in which the position could be saved was by replacing the Regulars serving in the Mediterranean and Colonial garrisons with Territorials and by drawing upon India for troops to the fullest possible extent. The demands then made on us were honoured in full and with the utmost promptitude." Our contribution to the War has largely increased since 1914. Our forces are serving in more than one theatre of War, we are assisting the authorities to the best of our ability in connection with the provision of munitions, transport, medical personnel and equipment, and in other directions. And we have been paying every pie of the cost of the maintenance of our troops. It is a record of which, as the Secretary of State for India recently stated, India may well be proud. I am aware that in defiance of these facts the Government of India have been the subject of attack in some quarters for their alleged failure to give effective help to the Empire and various proposals have been put forward by their critics for utilising India's man-power and hoarded wealth to a larger extent in the defence of the Empire. But these critics conveniently forget that Indians are neither allowed to carry arms nor enlist as volunteers and that their National income is only 22 pqr head as compared to about £40 in the British Isles. There are none so blind as those who will not see.

Gentlemen, India now demands that after the War things shall not revert to their original condition, but that she shall occupy a position worthy of herself as a member of the Imperial family. She is not asking for rewards in return for her loyalty, but having

fought in defence of human freedom, she expects that her own sons will no longer be denied their birth right as freemen. It will be strange indeed if England, who is fighting to preserve the sacredness of treaties and the integrity of small nations, should turn a deaf ear to the cry of her own subjects and refuse to redeem her pledge.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

Gentlemen in my opinion statesmanship demands that Great Britain should announce to the people of this country that Self-Governing India is the goal of her policy and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the War, as a step towards that goal. Representative Government should be made a reality by the fullest control over all affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the Executive. Indians should no longer be debarred from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes, but should be given every opportunity of developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India, and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial Federation India should occupy the same position as the self-Governing Dominions. The memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by our elected representatives, although not a complete statement of our demands, proceeds on these lines, and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee, and which will soon come before you. But these reforms, which fall far short of Colonial Self-Government, cannot satisfy India for all time to come, and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them, it should be provided that full responsible Government shall be conferred on her within a generation.

SOME OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

I now crave your permission, gentlemen, to discuss a few objections urged against our modest demand. Is it in India's own interest, we are asked, that the reins of Government should be transferred into her hands? Is she fit to bear the responsibility of governing herself? Are Indians fitted by previous experience to discharge the duties associated with responsible Government or even to manage representative institutions? Has education made sufficient progress among them so that they may be expected to choose

their best men as their leaders? And will they place national above communal interests or will sectarian rivalries drive them further away from each other as soon as the bond of common obedience to their present rulers is dissolved? Gentlemen, I hope to answer these questions by appealing to the history of the British Empire, but I cannot help remarking that the recital of our shortcomings reflects little credit on British rule itself. "Never let a prince," says Machiavelli, "complain of the faults of the people under his rule, for they are due either to his negligence or else to his own example." England will do well to bear the saying in mind when it is tempted to justify its autocratic rule in India on the score of our unfitness.

In considering the objections advanced against India's demand for greater freedom, I am led to ask myself if Britain itself possessed all the qualifications which are now supposed to be the essential pre-requisites of Self-Government, when it was ruling not merely over itself but had extended its sway over a large part of the human race. I find that even so late as the beginning of the 19th century, its masses were steeped in ignorance and political power was concentrated in the hands of a few. Ireland was unquiet, religious bigotry had by no means died out and modern ideas of social duty had not made much headway among the upper classes. But the ignorance of the masses did not deter statesmen from putting more power into their hands and in view of the glorious success which has crowned their policy, who will say that they should have waited until the people had attained to ideal perfection?

THE CASE OF CANADA

It may be said, however, that England has had a long experience in the art of Government and that she has arrived at the present stage after a slow process of evolution extending over several centuries. But this could not have been said of the colonies when responsible Government was conceded to them. I shall begin with Canada as being the first in the order of time and importance. The right of Canada to control its internal affairs received statutory recognition in 1840 and responsible Government was conceded a few years later. But the history of the colonies during the few years preceding the grant of representative Government concerns us more nearly than the events which followed it. Upper Canada was inhabited almost entirely by Englishmen. Lower Canada too contained men of British origin, but the vast majority of the inhabitants were of French extraction. The relations of the two races were far from friendly. The difference of race led to quarrels between the

French and the British and between Lower Canada and Upper Canada and seriously interfered with the Government of the provinces. At last things became so serious that the Imperial Government was forced to take steps and to pass laws in order to safeguard the interests of Upper Canada. The interference of the British Government was fiercely denounced by the French politicians and a rebellion broke out in Lower Canada in 1837, which however was soon put down. The ostensible cause of the rebellion was political, but the real cause lay deeper. Political strife was the outcome only of racial bitterness and was accentuated in proportion as the latter increased. The report of Lord Durham, who was sent to Canada by the Imperial authorities in order to bring peace to the troubled provinces, gives startling illustrations of the extent to which the alienation between the two races had proceeded. The French hated the British and aspired to establish a Government in which the British would occupy a very inferior place. They looked upon the British as their commercial rivals and regarded their increasing trade and prosperity with dislike and jealousy. In consequence of this state of things, says Sir John Bourinot, "trade languished internal development ceased, landed property decreased in value, the revenue showed a diminution, roads and all classes of local improvements were neglected, agricultural industry was stagnant, wheat had to be imported for the consumption of the people and emigration fell off." Juries were permeated with political prejudices. In purely political trials it was almost impossible to obtain justice. As to social intercourse between the two races, none of course existed. "French and British" writes Lord Durham, "combined for no public objects or improvements, and could not harmonise even in associations of charity."

The year 1838 witnessed another rebellion. This time the infection spread to Upper Canada as well. The policy pursued by the Government in Upper Canada had given rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction and there were loud complaints against the dominant influence of the official class. The colonists demanded that the legislature should be wholly elected and that the executive be made responsible to the legislature. The Imperial Government, however, showed no sign of complying with their demands while the Local Government practically made no secret of its hostility to the movement. The discontent consequently went on increasing and culminated in a rebellion.

Faced with such a serious situation, what did the British Government do? Did it decline to make any concessions? Did it

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forge repressive measures to put down disloyalty with a stern hand? No; on the contrary, be it said to its credit that it set itself resolutely to the task of removing discontent by removing the matter of it. Lord Durham's report was published about this time. This remarkable document, which may be said to have laid the foundation of modern British colonial policy, awakened British statesmen to the gravity of the issues they were called upon to settle. Conceived in a spirit of far-sighted statesmanship, it proposed that England should withdraw from the direct Government of the colonies and by conferring freedom on them in regard to their internal affairs, bind them to itself by the strongest of all ties, the tie of self-interest. "The colonists" wrote Lord Durham, "may not always know what laws are best for them or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs, but, at least they have a direct interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take more pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers; and like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy." Lord Durham's advice found ready acceptance with the Imperial authorities. An Act was accordingly passed in 1840 which affected the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada and made the colonists master in their own house. All discontent immediately subsided as if by magic. New interests were created, which provided healthy channels into which the energy of the people began to flow. Race was no longer the dividing line between different parties. Men grouped themselves, not according to their origin but according to the view that they took of political, social and economic questions relating to their country.

I have mentioned above that at the time Self-Government was conferred on Canada it was distracted by civil dissensions which had their origin in racial antagonism. Thus it was sadly wanting in one of the three qualifications without which, it is alleged, Self-Government can never be a success. It remains to be seen how far the people of Upper and Lower Canada were possessed of previous experience in the management of their institutions and what progress education had made amongst them. We find that Government disregarded the wishes of the popular assemblies and thought themselves bound to obtain the instructions of the Imperial authorities in

difficult or doubtful cases. The executive officials were all appointed by the Crown and were not responsible to the legislature. "Their influence," says Sir John Bourinot, "permeated all branches of Government: the Executive, the Legislative Council, and even the assembly which for years there sat several members holding offices of emoluments under the Crown." The judiciary was more or less under their influence. The Judges held office during the pleasure of the Crown and were nominated as members of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Even local Self-Government, which is said to be the cradle of political freedom, had not made much progress in Lower Canada at least. As for public instruction "popular education was at the lowest possible ebb. In 1837 there were in all the private and public schools of the Provinces only one-fifteenth of the total population," which did not exceed one million. In Lower Canada not one-tenth could write. Children repeated the catechism by rote, but as a rule were unable to read. This was true of Upper Canada as well. It may be added that the means of communication were lamentably deficient. The roads were in a wretched condition and at times were impassable. Partly for this reason and partly because of the paucity of the police, the administration of criminal justice was very unsatisfactory. Thus, it is apparent that, judged by the high standard insisted on in the case of India, Canada did not possess the qualifications needed for Self-Government. Disunion flourished among the people. More than half the population belonged to a race which was a stranger to responsible Government in its own country, and there was no antecedent guarantee that they would be able to fulfil the responsibilities which their newly gained freedom imposed on them. In education, undoubtedly, India lags behind Canada as it was in 1840, though percentages are hardly fair standards of comparison where the difference of population is so vast. But we are now in advance of England as it was three-quarters of a century ago. And in any case the main point to be determined is the attitude of the people towards education. The enthusiasm which greeted Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill, which was rejected by those who taunt us with our educational backwardness, and the progressive increase in the number of pupils, in spite of the restrictive policy followed by Government, furnish unmistakable proofs of the recognition of the importance of education by the people. If they are still backward, it is not because of apathy, but because of the absence of proper facilities. Thus, practically speaking, every argument used to advocate Self-Government for Canada can be applied with equal force to India.

The statesmen of Lord Durham's day recognised that responsibility could be acquired only when adequate scope was given for its exercise. They believed that liberty would make the colonies wise and exercise a far greater educative influence on them than the restraints of a distant Parliament. Events have fully justified their confidence. The progress and prosperity of Canada are a tribute to the wisdom of their policy. There is no reason why English liberties and privileges should not produce a like result in India. Indians have proved their fitness whenever and wherever they have been tried in responsible positions, and if the past is a guide to the future they may be safely entrusted with the direction and management of the affairs of their country to a much larger extent than hitherto. They make mistakes in the beginning but they will be all the better for them in the end.

THE CASE OF AUSTRALIA

I shall deal briefly with the case of Australia. It does not seem to me that its earlier history makes a very inspiring or profitable reading. The attention of the Imperial authorities was not turned towards it until it became a matter of urgent necessity to find some place to which criminals could be transported. Some means had to be devised for disposing of the convicts who could no longer be sent to the American colonies and Australia offered a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. During the earlier years of its history it was thus a land of convicts, and it continued as a penal settlement, roughly speaking, till the forties of the last century. Systematic efforts were made to introduce free immigrants in the twenties into New South Wales to which the earliest colonising efforts were directed, and although this had an appreciable effect in promoting the welfare of the colony and raising the moral tone of the settlement, it cannot be claimed that all the new settlers were a desirable kind, or that any serious efforts were made to grapple with the moral evils which were rampant in the colony. Through carelessness or inefficiency women sent out to the settlement were for the most part such as to make the task of reforming the people more difficult. "New South Wales" writes a historian, "was, in fact, made the dumping ground for all the convicted as well as the unconvicted criminals of the United Kingdom." Drunkenness and immorality prevailed there to an alarming extent, and even so late as 1835 the moral condition of the colony gave cause for serious anxiety. As for education I cannot say how far it had progressed, but till 1845 it was entirely denominational. The State maintained no schools of its own. The economic condition of the colony, how-

ever, was much better than its social conditions. Land was being steadily brought under the plough, great progress was being made in cattle raising, and trade and commerce were undergoing rapid expansion. But even when these hopeful features are taken into consideration, I must say that the impression left on one's mind by a perusal of the early history of New South Wales is not particularly pleasant.

It is not necessary for me to go into the history of the other Australian colonies. Their development was not in every respect similar to that of New South Wales, but if I am not mistaken it does not present any markedly dissimilar features.

As for the political condition of New South Wales, which is the chief object of our concern, a representative element was introduced into its Government with the advent of free-settlers in 1823. A further step was taken in 1842 when the popular element was increased. Finally, full responsible Government was conceded in 1853. It was also conceded to Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania at about the same time. If the facts I have stated above are correct, it does not appear to me that New South Wales or the other Colonies satisfied the tests that are nowadays applied to India. A large proportion of the Colonists could not be said to have attained to a high social or ethical standard, and no systematic efforts had been made to educate them. And yet the Imperial Government showed itself ready, says Dr. Keith, to grant responsible Government because of "the discoveries of gold and the influx of population." Besides, the principle had been established by the example of Canada, and its acceptance there made its recognition inevitable in the case of other Colonies. If there is any substance in the objections advanced against the widening of Indian liberties, the conditions under which Australia was started on a career of full-fledged Self-Government were not very hopeful; but its progress during the regime of freedom exposes the utter hollowness of the contentions of our critics.

THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is the latest example within the British Empire of the benefits of self-Government. Undeterred by opposition in Parliament and the wailings of "the men on the spot," the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman conferred full responsible Government in 1906 and 1907 respectively, on the Transvaal and the Orange River State, which less than six years before were engaged in a bloody struggle with England. While the events of

the war were still fresh in the public mind, the Dutch were not placed on a footing of equality with the English but granted liberties which they had not enjoyed under their own rule. Differences of race and language, instead of finding free play, have as a consequence become less prominent than they were a decade ago, and the Dutch, so far from rising against England at the first favourable opportunity that offered itself, have been so completely won over by the magnanimous policy followed by her that they are to-day fighting side by side with her sons for the maintenance of her Empire.

Gentlemen, the three examples of Canada, Australia and South Africa which I have just cited, bear convincing testimony to the potency of Self-Government as an instrument for the advancement of both National and Imperial interests. In all of them it has been found to be a healing and cementing principle, although according to the exacting standard set up by our critics, not one of them could have made good its claim of Self-Government when it was granted to them. And where they have succeeded, why should India fail?

IMMEDIATE AGITATION NECESSARY

But the task of the advocates of Self-Government for India is not over when they have proved her fitness for it. Even if it be conceded, it is said, that free institutions should be introduced into India, this is not the time for stirring up controversy. Great Britain is engaged in fighting a powerful and determined enemy, to crush whom will be needed all the strength and resources of the Empire. It is the duty of every loyal citizen to do nothing at this juncture which will divert her attention from the successful prosecution of the War. We acknowledge our obligation to refrain from doing anything which will embarrass the authorities, and are cheerfully rendering every assistance we are capable of in the titanic struggle which will decide the fate of Europe. But at the same time we owe it to ourselves that we should make our people understand the inner meaning of the struggle and be in a position to make our wishes and sentiments known to the British Government when the reconstruction of the Empire is taken in hand. If Indian claims are to have any chance of being seriously considered, we must be able to place our views before the authorities when plans for the reorganisation of the empire are being discussed. This requires that our demands should be formulated in the form of a definite scheme and that sufficient time should be given to the country to discuss

it thoroughly. Unless this is done, there is a great danger that we may be told that we do not know our own mind or that our views are confined only to the aspirations of a micro-cosmic minority. Clearly, therefore, we cannot impose silence on ourselves till the conclusion of the war, for it may be too late then to do anything. On the contrary it is our duty to lose no time in educating public opinion and in discussing the vital question of India's position in the Empire after the War, in the press and on the platform. The time has certainly not come when we should press our claims on the attention of Government, but it is not a moment too soon for making up our own minds on the subject. As a matter of fact, more than a year has passed since the public discussion of the problem began, and it is only now that unanimity has been reached with regard to the changes which must be made in the Indian constitution in order that we may have adequate room for expansion and a fair field for the employment of our talents and energies. If Hindus and Mahomedans had neglected to take counsel among themselves beforehand and to make efforts to arrive at a common understanding, they would have found themselves totally unprepared to represent the Indian case properly after the war at the tribunal of the Empire. The task of re-modelling the fabric of Empire could not have been postponed till the political lotus-eaters of India had made up their minds, and with the best will in the world imperial statesmen would have been forced to leave her out of account in determining their future policy.

There are other reasons also why we cannot sit still till the War is over. England herself has not postponed till the end of the war the considerations of questions affecting her vitally. In spite of it she is busily devising means for increasing her national efficiency. She has already taken steps to overhaul her system of education and is actively concerting measures with the Allies to promote her economic development after the War. The Colonies too are not silent. They are insisting loudly on their right to be associated with the mother country in the control of foreign affairs and to be consulted in matters relating to peace and war. Their responsible spokesmen have declared that the matter cannot be kept in abeyance during the War, but that advantage must be taken of the present state of public opinion to bring about a satisfactory settlement. Mr. Bonar Law, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, publicly stated that the present was the most favourable opportunity for promoting unity between England and the Dominions, and that the enthusiasm created by the war should be utilised to draw closer the bonds that unite them to

Why should England be embarrassed if following her own example and that of the Colonies, India too bestir herself on some of the most vital questions affecting her future?

Again the change in the attitude of British statesmen towards India during the last year and a half gives cause for serious anxiety. During the earlier months of the War there appeared to be a change in the angle of vision. India's services found a grateful mention in their public declarations and she was promised a reconsideration of her position after the war. But an ominous silence now prevails, in regard to her. While the Colonies have continued to receive generous attention and the Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia have been invited to meetings of the British Cabinet as a proof of England's sincere desire to give the Colonies a greater share in the control of Imperial affairs, the enthusiasm created by India's magnificent response to the call of the Empire has to all appearance cooled down, and her services are in danger of being forgotten.

More disappointing than the careful omission of all references to India in their public pronouncements, is the almost studied disregard of Indian opinion recently shown by the Imperial authorities. When at the invitation of Lord Hardinge India agreed that she should raise no new questions calculated to stir up controversy during the War, she had no right to expect that Government, too, on its part, would refrain from doing anything calculated to create a feeling of uneasiness in the public mind, but she has been sadly disappointed.

Our faith in British statesmen was sorely tried when the Civil Service Act was passed which altered the system which regulated appointment to the Indian Civil Service. The Government of India Amendment Act was another rude shock to our feelings. It cannot be contended that it was an emergency legislation. It might never have been undertaken without any detriment to our interests. It involved constitutional questions which it was, to say the least, of it, impolitic to raise during the currency of the war. Yet the measure was introduced into Parliament without the public being given an opportunity of discussing its provisions, and was passed in the teeth of the vehement opposition of educated India.

THE REVOLTING SUGGESTION

The foregoing considerations make it plain that if Indians do not make their voice heard they cannot expect that their interests will be borne in mind when the Empire is reorganised after the

War. But there is even a greater danger ahead, that the interests of India may be subordinated to those of the colonies. British statesmen have pledged themselves to give the dominions a greater share in the direction of Imperial policy. They are to be associated with the mother-country in the control of foreign affairs, and to share much more largely with her the burden of the defence of the Empire. Now it is argued that they cannot be made responsible for the foreign policy of the Empire, unless they are allowed to have a voice in the Government of the dependencies. In one of the recent books which deals with the reconstruction of the Empire after the War and which has attracted some public attention in this country—"The Problem of the Commonwealth" by Mr. L. Curry—it is contended that "a British citizen in the dominions cannot be made responsible for the foreign affairs of the Commonwealth, without also becoming responsible for the Government of its subject peoples and sharing in the long and difficult task of training those peoples to govern themselves. The two things are by nature inseparable." The concern of the colonies for the welfare of India would be touching if only one could be sure of its existence. The bitter experience of India, however, does not allow her to share the hopes of those who have never suffered at the hands of the dominions. Her children are treated as undesirables in every dominion. Every colony has so framed its laws as to bar ingress to Indians and to drive out those already settled there, and as Dr. A.B. Keith points out in his recently published book, *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*, the policy of South Africa, in particular, has been a record of extraordinary meanness. The race prejudice of the self-governing colonies has spread beyond their borders. We have it on the authority of Mr. Gokhale that the presence of colonial students at British Universities has increased the difficulties of Indian students, and Mr. H. S. L. Polak—to whom we accord a cordial welcome—tells us that South African influence in British East Africa is responsible for a steady deterioration in the position of the Indians, to whose industry the protectorate owes all its prosperity. India is not so blind to her own interests, or so lost to all sense of self-respect, as to willingly accept the domination of the colonies which evince an overweening contempt for all Indians and deny their own Indian subjects the right to live like human beings. She will bear a great deal before submitting to such an indignity. If the Government of India by the dominions is an inevitable consequence of Imperial Federation, then all attempts at federation are doomed to failure. As Dr. Keith says, Im-

perial unity is impossible so long as India does not enjoy the liberty to develop the best in her and is not placed on a footing of equality with the self-governing dominions.

Intelligence in order to achieve the object we have in view, sustained work is an essential preliminary. We must enlighten the people in our country. But it is equally necessary that we should knock at the door of British democracy. It is true that our first task is to educate our own people whose united strength nothing will be able to withstand. But British public opinion is the final arbiter in our case. Its education should be an object of special concern to us.

OUR DUTY

Ladies and gentlemen, we are living in momentous times. On every side we see the stirrings of a new spirit, a yearning towards light and freedom, and the time is at hand for the realization of the glorious dreams of those who sowed the seed of western knowledge in India. The call of the Motherland is sounding in our ears. The Press Act cannot quell our ardour, nor can the Defence of India Act cool our enthusiasm. They only reinforce the lesson that "where freedom lives not there live no good things." Unjust opposition, instead of deterring us will only stimulate us to greater effort. For to us Self-Government is not a privilege but a duty. Inspired by a clear-eyed faith in the ultimate victory of our cause, which nothing can shake, and a passionate patriotism which rejoices in service and self-sacrifice, we shall march forward resolutely to the goal that we have set before us of winning for our country its rightful place in British Commonwealth. I earnestly trust that England will read the signs of the times aright, and add a glorious page to her history by helping three hundred millions to cast off the shackles that bind them. "The menace, the real peril," as Mr. Bernard Houghton says, "lies not in the grant of more popular Government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present system, a system which has served its purpose but which India has now overgrown." These are wise words which Great Britain will do well to ponder over. India has been too long at school. She can no longer be persuaded that her liberties are safer when held in trust for her by others than in her own hands. And the unrest in India is the greatest tribute to British rule. In the words of Mr. Kerr, the Editor of the *Round Table*, "If British rule, however benevolent and well intentioned, did not produce this uneasy striving after better things, it would carry within itself

its own condemnation. Englishmen ought to welcome with pride the desire of India to govern herself. To quote again the words of Mr. Houghton, who was himself a member of the Indian Civil Service, with a slight change, their representatives in India should "now stand aside, and in the interest of that country they have served so long and so truly, make over the dominion to other hands. Not in dishonour, but in honour proudly, as shipbuilders who deliver to seamen the completed ship, may they now yield up the direction of India. For it is the inherent defects of the system, which no body of men, however devoted, can remove, which renders inevitable the change to a new policy. By a frank recognition of those defects they can furnish a supreme resistance alike of loyalty to the land of their adoption and of courage and self-denying statesmanship."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Hon. Mr. BABU AMDIKA CHARAN MAZUMBAR

PREFATORY

BROTHERS AND SISTER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—It was Lord Curzon who on a memorable occasion said that it was not given to "an Indian corporal to carry the Field-Marshal's baton in his sash," but here an Indian private recruited somewhere in the East after a few years' training joined his colours but never rose above the rank of a subaltern, has to-day after nearly 85 years of active service found that baton thrust into his hand which, however, he neither deserved nor dreamt of in all his life. I use no language of mere convention when I say, that trying and momentous as the present situation is, I sincerely trusted that at this turning point in the history of the national movement, the presidential chair of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress had been offered to a more capable person, who might have not only inspired greater confidence, but by his superior tact and judgment safely steered it clear of all shoals and bars that still lie before it and successfully landed it in port after a perilous voyage extending over thirty years: I wished it had been permitted to stand aside and gratify the wishes of a section of my countrymen with whose ardent hopes and sanguine expectations for the rapid advancement of the country I am in the fullest sympathy. But it ought to be remembered that the chosen spokesman of a great representative assembly like the Congress is merely an accredited agent whose individuality is more or less merged in the body politic and whose freedom of action is largely controlled by that body. Even his voice, as I understand it, is bound to reflect his personal "ipse dixit" but echo the reasoned feelings and sentiments of those whom he seeks to represent. In every organised movement the individual counts for nothing and the voice of the majority cannot but be respected under a constitutional fiction as the voice of the whole. In a case like the present, one is often precluded even from giving due consideration to his fitness or unfitness for the great task which is thrust upon him. It was the country's mandate in the country's cause which demanded unquestioning submission. The decision as well as the responsibility rested with the country, the duty resting

on me. I am neither so vain, nor so foolish as to imagine for a moment, that the great honour bestowed upon me is intended for personal distinction. I am under no such delusion. I am fully conscious that it is the democratic spirit of this National Organisation which has in its natural evolution sought to vindicate itself by drawing out an old servant of the cause from his retirement in an obscure corner of the country to fill the presidential chair in the dim twilight of the evening of his life. Gentlemen, if I have not begun by offering you the customary thanks, it is because thanks pre-suppose some claim to receive a gift, and I frankly confess that I have not sufficient confidence in myself to thank you for the very difficult and delicate position in which you have placed me. However, lest you or anybody else should think that I am "poor even in thanks," I thank you with all the warmth and fervour of a devoted heart for the great honour—the greatest in the gift of the country—which you have conferred on me by calling me to preside over the deliberations of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress at Lucknow, the historic capital of Oudh which played such an important part in the early history of British rule in India—Lucknow, the "Kosha" of the ancients, the city built by Asaf-ud-Dowla, and adorned by his successors with magnificent mosques, mausoleums and imarats and crowned with gilded towers, minarets and cupolas—Lucknow, the centre of the great tornado which swept over India in 1857, in which the brave Lawrence and Nicholson fell and where the gallant Havelock sleeps embalmed in the thrilling memories of a historic siege. Gentlemen, I think I have one indisputable claim to your just and generous consideration. If you have in your choice placed me in this responsible position you are in common fairness bound to extend to me a reasonable amount of support and indulgence, so as to enable me to discharge my duties with some measure of success.

TRIBUTE TO THE DEAD

Ladies and Gentlemen, while most people count their gains, we have to count our losses at the end of every year. How sad it is to contemplate that scarcely a year passes away without leaving us the poorer in the ranks of our public men! How fast are the dear old familiar faces on this Congress platform vanishing into the void! Not to speak of the serious losses which the country sustained in her earlier bereavements, only last year we lost three of our tried veterans, the brilliant, the versatile, the indomitable Pherozeshah Mancharjee Mehta, the saintly and devoted Gopal Krishna Gokhale and that silent and steadfast worker who was one of the

the brave 72 who inaugurated the Congress at Bombay in 1885—Ganga Prasad Varma. And before this old, tickety globe of ours could complete another revolution, that fell sergeant, strict in his arrest" has snatched away three of our brave comrades whose loyalty to the country was equalled only by their spirit of self sacrifice, and whose devotion to duty was surpassed only by their extraordinary capacity for work. G. Subramania Iyer, the founder of the *Hindu*, the organiser of the "Mahajana Sabha," the Editor of the "Swadeshi Mitran," who was the first to lead the plough, and turn the first sod on the Congress soil by moving the first resolution of the first Indian National Congress, may well be called the maker of Modern Madras; while Dayabhai Phule, who was for about eight years loyally and devotedly associated with our esteemed friend and veteran leader, the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha, as Joint General Secretary to the Congress, was a man of whom every community might be justly proud and whose untimely death is an irreparable loss to the country and the Congress. Lastly, it is with feelings of profound grief which has not yet been touched by the healing hand of Time that I must mention the passing of our gifted and distinguished countryman, one of my predecessors in the chair to which you have called me to day, Pandit Bishan Narain Dar. Brother delegates, as the first citizen of Lucknow and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, his voice should have been the first to be heard in this "pandal" this afternoon in eloquent welcome extended to us all, but it was not to be and his voice has been hushed in the great silence, and the duty remains with us of offering our respectful tribute to his departed worth. Yet another eminent Indian has recently passed away, who though not "in" the Congress was "with" the Congress all his life. Mr. B. L. Gupta belonged to that distinguished triumvirate who formed the vanguard of the Indian Civil Service in this country and it was he who was the originator, if not the author of the Ilbert Bill. Two of this triumvirate have passed away, while thank God, the third who having consecrated his life to the service of the motherland, still retains the command which he has held for the last 30 years. May Surendra Nath Bannerji be long spared to lead us and serve the country. We have had very few friends in England and how fast is their rank thinning away! Sir Henry Cotton who, both in and out of Parliament, was one of the bravest and truest champions of the Indian people, and who had cheerfully sacrificed his own interests for those of India, passed away last year amidst the universal lamentations of a grateful people who had most need of such a man at the present juncture; while shortly afterwards the Great

Labour leader, Mr. Keir Hardie, who made India's cause his own and like Hampden with dauntless breast fought for suffering humanity went to his eternal rest, creating a void in the ranks of our friends which is not likely to be soon filled up. We are however, grateful to kind Providence that the Saint of Versova and the Sage of Meridith are still spared to us to guide us and cheer us with occasional messages of hope and confidence. How the brave and the mighty have fallen and how many more have yet to fall in the weary march through the desert before we can reach even the threshold of the Promised Land. But dead or alive, they cannot be completely lost to us, if we can only realise that their mighty spirits are ever hovering over us and in their breathing vision, silently guiding us in the onward march, encouraging us in our success and comforting us in the hours of our despair and despondency.

REUNITED CONGRESS

Gentlemen, even the darkest cloud is said to have its silver lining, and in this vale of sorrow there is hardly any misfortune which has not both a positive and a negative side. If the United Congress was buried in the debris of the old French Garden at Surat, it is re-born to-day in the Kaiser Bag of Lucknow, the garden of the gorgeous King Wajed Ali Shah. After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstandings and the mazes of unpleasant controversies, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realise the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers and embraced each other with the gush and ardour, peculiar to a reconciliation after a long separation. Blessed are the peace-makers. Honour, all honour to those who in this suicidal civil War held the olive branch of peace and glory to the patriotic good sense of the belligerents on both sides who having realised their true position and responsibility have at a psychological moment so wisely buried their hatchets and closed their ranks. There are occasional differences even in the best regulated families and how much wider must be the scope of differences in the vast political field of a country like ours where the people have so little of the power of initiation in their hands and where the causes of misunderstanding and consequent vexation and disappointment are so numerous and so irritating. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing so much disturbs the equanimity of the public mind and embitters public feelings as failure, and in a common cause the failure

of one method easily gives a handle to exaggerate the importance of an opposite view, though, if the position were reversed, the result might have been still worse. But if there be honesty of motive and singleness of purpose, the widest divergence of opinion need neither frighten nor irritate any reasonable mind. Action and reaction is the law of nature's evolution. Struggle represents animation as stillness indicates stagnation and thus even the muddy water of a rushing stream is ever more wholesome than the transparent water of a stagnant pool. In politics healthy opposition indicates the vitality of national life, and the disturbances and disruptions that occasionally take place in the life of a nation serve only to clear and purify the atmosphere it breathes and rarify the other it inhales. In the British constitution there are the contending forces which at times seem so menacing but serve in reality only to cement and strengthen it. The real strength of a nation does not lie in mere smooth work, but in solidarity and compactness when the national interests demand them, and in sinking all personal differences as soon as the trumpet call of duty is sounded to rally round a common cause. It would be most foolish to persist in prejudices in the name of principles and to lose sight of the real issue involved in a case. Nothing is more common in a game than for the players to quarrel over a false move and to take no notice of an impending checkmate. I do not endorse the opinion that a subject race has no politics, but I do maintain that the principles of a subject people must be somewhat elastic to suit the exigencies of their situation, when a common cause demands unity of action a practical people cannot afford to quarrel over means but must be prepared to make sacrifices on both sides for the common end which must be placed above every other consideration. In the sphere of organised activities for the benefit of a corporate body there is nothing more disastrous than want of mutual respect, trust and confidence among its members. Where the end is the same the diverse means and methods to attain that end should not betray either parties or individuals into a course of action which defeat that end. A principle divorced from practice is apt to degenerate into a morbid sentiment, and for all practical purposes even the noblest of sentiments must at times bend itself to the stern necessities of circumstance and be regulated by a spirit of mutual confidence, toleration, forbearance and even sacrifice. The misfortune is that in the heat of a controversy we often lose sight of the end and missing the real issue substitute the means for the end. A shade of difference in opinion, viewed in an

atmosphere of prejudice and passion, is often magnified into a wide divergence of principle and the most trusted of comrades easily find themselves ranged on opposite sides, while misunderstanding will in the breach, reprimations embitter the mind and misrepresentation serve to fan the fire into a flame. It was thus that we separated in 1907 and having grown wiser by our experience we have, I trust, learnt to know each other better. Let us now no longer disparage the old nor despise the young. The youthful zeal and enthusiasm are invaluable assets, the judgment and experience are also the caution and sobriety of the old are no less useful and indispensable. It is no doubt the brave soldier that fights and wins the battle, but even a *Narayani Sena* of old, the invincibles in the *Mahabharata*, would be scattered to the winds without a veteran general to command them from behind. Remember it is the "Old Congressmen" who have built this organisation, given a shape and form to it, worked out its details and inspired the people with the very ideal which is swaying their minds and surging in their thoughts from one end of the country to the other. Believing, as I do, in the evolution of a national life in perpetual succession, I have no difficulty in admitting that there is a limit also to caution, wisdom and sobriety beyond which they cannot be exercised without their forfeiting the characteristics of these virtues and without their degenerating into pusillanimity and moral turpitude. There is as much danger in rashness as in imbecility, and the one may serve as a cloak for inaction as the other may contribute to wreck the most useful institutions. It should be fairly acknowledged that if the "Old Congressmen" have so far failed to run faster than they have done, they have at least done one thing, in that they have walked steadily and never stumbled. Men run before they learn to walk, and if walking is a slower process, running is not certainly a surer method to avoid a fall. It is surely not wisdom to call our elders fools, for there are those coming after us who, following our precedent, may return the compliment with accumulated interest. Let us, therefore, give up all cant and be practical men, firmly and resolutely, yet soberly and discreetly, look the situation in the face, and with heart within and God overhead loyally follow the leaders who, if they have not won the battle, yet have neither fallen back nor betrayed their trust. I most cordially welcome Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. Motilal Ghose and other brave comrades who separated from us at Surat and have been happily restored to us at Lucknow. I rejoice to find that they are after all "of us" and "with us" and let us hope never to part again.

PRESIDENTIAL PRONOUNCEMENT

Gentlemen, you naturally expect every year your President to make a clear and emphatic pronouncement, but you cannot expect our presidents—no, not even the tallest among them—to work for you in a three days' session. The ideal of the Congress has long been well-defined and no new ideas are needed either to amplify or illustrate it, nor are fresh ideas as alluring as black magic, that whoever passes by may pick up the number of them. The country has a number of grievances and the Congress has made certain demands to remove them. It has also been decided that it shall use none but constitutional methods for the fulfilment of its demands. Your presidents can only perform the function of the air-man by taking a survey of the hostile positions, making the points of relative strength and weakness and signalling the lines of attack; but, after all, you are the gunners who have to fix your batteries, take your aim and actively work at the machines. Your president's pronouncement even at its best can only be a faithful echo of the prevailing sentiments of the country. Lord Morley complained that he could not give us the moon, but we were never so moon-struck as to ask for the moon, and his Lordship need have no fears that he has given us something more substantial than mere moonshine. Gentlemen, it will be my most earnest endeavour to throw some little light on some of the phases of the present situation, and if I cannot present to you even the faint light of the "Aurora borealis," I shall certainly not presume to allure you by raising to your minds' eye the treacherously dancing flashes of the "Will-o'-the-wisp." Gentlemen, if you have this time gone a little out of your way in choosing your president, that president may be permitted to go a little out of the way of all past precedents in addressing you on the present occasion. I propose to confine myself mainly to one question which is the all absorbing topic of the day—the question of self-Government for India. It is an all-embracing problem to the solution of which all other subsidiary questions are mere corollaries. If this one problem could be solved, the other problems would solve themselves. But before we proceed to discuss this question, we must have a clear idea of the form of Government under which we are placed, the defects of that form of Government, the disabilities which we suffer therefrom, the system of Government that we want as a substitute for it and our capacity to receive such a substitute.

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT WE LIVE INTO. a

Despotism

It is now a matter of history that when a company was introduced British rule in India in the middle of the 18th century it was an absolutely despotic form of Government that was established in the country. Having regard to the unsettled state of the country and the internal dissensions and disputes among the different communities, but also among the people of the community, any other form of Government would perhaps have been impossible at that time. A despotic form of Government is not necessarily synonymous with a bad Government, but a beneficent despotism is of the exception and not of the rule. It is not every age or every country that can produce a Rama or a Harun-ul-Rashid, a Charlemagne or an Akbar. The Government of the East India Company over which the British Parliament exercised little or no control, and the so-called Board of Control, (which exercised?) very little supervision except for their own interest, was marked by nepotism and at its later stage by corruption. In spite of repeated warnings of Parliament, education was neglected, justice was perfunctorily administered and the strong were permitted with impunity to oppress the weak. The Company which had developed small factories into vast territories naturally regarded their unprecedented acquisition as a huge commercial enterprise and considered the sovereign administration of the country as of lesser importance than the development of their trade and the increase of their profits. They viewed their own interest more than the interest of the people. It is a wonder that such a system of Government could have lasted so long and surely it lasted long enough to meet with a violent end.

BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM

After a hundred years of misrule it was at last overthrown by a military rising which transferred the Government of the country from the Company to the Crown. From this time a system of Government was established in the country which gave altogether a new complexion to the administration. This Government was designated a "benevolent despotism"—an expression, which though not exactly a contradiction in terms, was sufficient to indicate that the form of Government was still essentially a despotism, though tempered by generous and benevolent considerations. It was this Government which actuated by its benevolent intentions introduced, by slow degrees, various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalised the administration and widened the views and deepened the loyalty of the people. It fostered liberal education,

established justice, treated public confidence in the integrity of the administration and restored peace and order throughout the country. In its gradual development it introduced, though in a limited form, Self-Government in the local concerns of the people, added the children of the soil to a limited extent into the administration of the country and reformed the Councils by introducing a respectable element of representation in them. It annihilated time and space by the construction of railways and the establishment of telegraphic communication throughout the country. It has established a form of administration which in its integrity and purity can well vie with any other civilised country in the world, while the security of life and property which it conferred was until recently a boon of which any people may justly be proud. All this a "benevolent despotism" has accomplished.

BUREAUCRACY

But here it stopped and after having exhausted all the resources which a personal benevolence could supply, it has slowly and imperceptibly yielded to the infirmities of its nature and by a process of natural evolution has resolved itself into a system of barren and sterilising bureaucracy. Despotism has done in this country what despotism has done elsewhere and it has failed to do more, it is because its nature could not have permitted it to do more. In the exercise of its beneficent influence it reached a stage and attained a height beyond which it was not possible for despotism to ascend. The bureaucracy which now rules the country is despotism condensed and crystallised. In it the Service is so firmly and indissolubly combined with the State that for all practical purposes the one may be said to be completely merged in the other—a combination which is infinitely more dangerous than the combination of the Judicial and the Executive functions of which we have heard so much. It is certainly not accountable to the people and the service and the state being one and the same it is responsible only to itself. It is essentially conservative in its temperament and thoroughly unprogressive in its character. Its efficiency is indubitable, its honesty and integrity beyond all question, but it is bound hand and foot to form a precedent lacking in life and soul. It can contract but it cannot expand. It holds all the threads of the administration within the hollow of its palm and can ill afford either to release or to relax any one of them. It is extremely jealous of its powers and intolerant of criticism. It sincerely wishes to see the people happy and contented, only it cannot allow them to grow.

It has its idea of beauty and its Chinese shoe to give effect to it, however painful to its subject the operation may be. Like Narcissus of old it is so much entranced with the loveliness of its own shadow that it has neither the leisure nor the inclination to contemplate beauty in others.

THE NEW SPIRIT.

But the people have completely outgrown the old spirit and a new spirit has arisen in the country. Call it visionary, call it impatient idealism, call it intoxication if you choose, that spirit is the manifestation of a democratic force which is transforming the destinies of an old world to new order of things. Under the pressure of this irresistible force time-honoured kingdoms and constitutions are crumbling to pieces and giving place to new ones, and hereditary monarchs of ancient and even celestial origin are quietly taking their exit, as on a stage, without shedding a tear or a drop of blood. Portugal, Turkey, Persia and China all have felt the breath of this force. It is agitating Egypt and is pulsating the life of India. In India it has fortunately been of normal growth. This new spirit may be impulsive, but it is perfectly genuine and intensely patriotic. If sympathetically treated it may be directed in a proper channel, but it would be unwise either to ignore or try to repress it. Old ideas are changing faster than one can realize and it is no fault of the Indian people if they are unable to reconcile themselves to a patriarchal or a paternal form of Government. The present form of Government, whatever its claim for the maintenance of an orderly administration may be, is more or less an anachronism. Sir Henry Cotton, who recalls with just pride that for three generations his family has been associated with the bureaucratic service in India, said that "the Indian Civil Service, as at present constituted, is doomed." While still in service he formulated a scheme of reconstruction which the Indian Public Service Commission of 1887 considered as "visionary." Now that another Royal Commission has been appointed to inquire into the Indian Public Services, Sir Henry Cotton has again returned to the charge. Writing in the "Contemporary Review" and commenting on the terms of reference to the Commission, which apparently assume the existing constitution as the permanent basis of Indian administration, Sir Henry Cotton says:—"But what is wanted now is no scheme for bolstering up the decaying fabric of a service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return."

In a despotic form of Government everything is done "for" the people and nothing "by" the people. Its greatest drawback is that

it makes the people whom it governs impotent to help themselves. It may make a people perfectly happy but it cannot make them respectful nor even contented, self-reliant and manly in their life and conduct. Such a people must always be a burden to the State, and the "white man's burden" of which we hear so much is the operation of this despotic form of Government, and those who complain of India being a "nuisance of the Empire" ought to remember that it is the accumulated errors of this form of Government during the last hundred and fifty years and more that have led to this. In a benevolent despotism there is but one patriot and that patriot is either the despot or the close bureaucracy in which the Government is vested. As in a patriarchal family, the subjects of a despotic Government are of stunted growth and are all more or less like spoiled children incapable of either helping themselves or helping the 'Pater familia.'

BUREAUCRACY NEARING ITS END.

But to its credit it must be recorded that this benevolent despotism has done something—it has prepared its own coffin and has written on it its own epitaph with its own hand. Despotism was wholly repugnant to the British instinct and entirely foreign to the British Constitution, and what it did, therefore, was to prepare a curious admixture of two incongruous substances, a bureaucratic constitution leavened with democratic ideas, which can never coalesce but can serve only to neutralize each other. Paradoxical as it may seem and strange as it may sound, this despotism has throughout consciously or unconsciously and perhaps in fits of absent-mindedness worked up to its own subversion, and like the fabulous Phoenix, in anticipation of its allotted cycle of years, prepared its own nest of spices, set fire to it and flapped that fire into a flame with its own wings singing its melodious song to consume itself into ashes out of which to rise again in glorious re-birth. From the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 down to Lord Morley's Reform of 1909, the British Parliament has not taken a single step which was not calculated finally to overthrow this despotic form of government. The education given to the people, the system of local self-government introduced into the country and the elective principle recognised in the higher Councils of the Empire have all tended to undermine the old system of Government which it would be a vain attempt now either to rebuild or to repair.

A CHAPTER OF MISTAKES.

The bureaucracy have, however, discovered the mistakes of their predecessors. But it is not as easy to rectify as to discover mis-

takes. We too may have discovered many a mistake of our grandfathers. But what avails it to cry over spilt milk? It is more than vaguely suggested that it was a mistake to have opened the eyes of the Indian people. I fully admit that from the point of view of these critics it was a great mistake—the greatest indeed ever committed by a despotic Government, benevolent or otherwise. It was a great mistake to have issued the Education Despatch of 1854, and it was a great blunder to have confirmed that mistake by the establishment of Universities at Calcutta in 1857, at Bombay and Madras in 1858, at Lahore in 1882 and at Allahabad in 1887. It was a mistake to have granted liberty to the press and freedom of speech throughout the country; it was a mistake to have introduced local self-government in 1884, and it was a greater mistake to have reformed the Councils in 1903 and again in 1910. It is a chapter, nay a whole volume, of mistakes which have been committed by successive parliaments and administrations which, I am afraid, it is too late either to amend or to rectify. It is the instinct of the British people and the spirit of the British constitution which led the British Parliament to this long series of mistakes. But there has always been a counteracting force in India, and, for aught we know, before these mistakes both India and England might have met with greater difficulties. In recent years there has always been a tendency to cry "halt" and every step forced upon the bureaucracy in the forward march by the irresistible current of events has been followed by a paroxysm of regret, and all that the Government has been able to do to retain its ancient character and at the same time to keep pace with the pressing demands of the ceaseless march of time has invariably presented the appearance of the texture of the faithful Penelope unravelling by night what is woven by day. Vain attempts are these. The tide has set in and it will not roll back under any human command. You may and have to adjust and re-adjust your windmill occasionally, but you cannot turn back the course of the river. The best and only remedy therefore now is not to go back but to press forward, not clinging to an obsolete and worn out institution which is no longer suited to the present condition of the country, but firmly and cautiously adapt the constitution to the requirements of the time and adjust it to the growing demands of the people. Every declaration made by the Government, every report of commissions and committees having a bearing upon the present unrest and every legislative measure passed to cope with the disturbed state of the country bear testimony to the fact that there

is a struggle going on between a benevolent despotism and an overgrown people who with all their defects and shortcomings are no longer satisfied with the present system. On the one hand there is manifested in almost every direction a marked tendency in the people to break through the leading strings by which they have been held so long and assert their constitutional rights and privileges as citizens of the British Empire, and, on the other hand, there is an equally persistent attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to maintain its prestige and authority.

A CONFLICT

It is a case of clear conflict between the force of an old constitution and the new spirit, and as the inevitable result of such a conflict a state of things has arisen for which neither may be wholly responsible, but from which both have equally to suffer, although the presumption in such a case is always in favour of the people according to all political philosophers. "I am not one of those," says Burke, "who think that the people are never wrong. They have been so, frequently and outrageously, both in other countries and in this. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people." In quoting this dictum of Burke with approbation Lord Morley who has recently dealt more with India than any other living British statesman, adds—"Nay experience perhaps justifies him in going further. When popular discontents are prevalent, something has generally been found amiss in the constitution or the administration." And truly does Burke observe, "The people have no interest in disorder. When they go wrong, it is their error and not their crime." Then the great political philosopher continues in the words of Sully which his biographer passionately enjoins that "both practical politicians and political students should bind about their necks, and write upon the tables of their hearts."—"The revolutions that come to pass in great states are not the result of chance, nor of popular caprice. . . . As for the populace it is never from a passion that it rebels, but from impatience of sufferings." It is in the nature of a bureaucratic administration to have absolute confidence in its own judgment and little respect for the opinions of others. The British Government, as established in India at the present day, has no doubt long ceased to be an absolute despotism, nor can it be described as a popular Government. A cursory examination of its policies and its practices will disclose the nature of this conflict and the stage at which it has arrived due as

much to the process of natural evolution as to the legitimate sequence of events to which that policy has been largely confined. Gentlemen, be it understood that we are here to criticise Government and not to sing its praise. If, therefore, we have more to refer to its defects and shortcomings it is not to be presumed that we are wholly insensible to its many good points or are fain to appreciate them. Nor do I feel pressed to enter upon any vindication of our loyalty to the Throne as it is above all civil or criticism.

EDUCATION.

To take up the question of education first, as it is the foremost problem in the evolution of a nation. Ever since the Crown took up the reins of government it has been actuated by a broad and liberal policy of educating the people and elevating them in the scale of nations. Worried and wearied with the wasive policy of the East India Company, the Board of Control under the guidance of a far-sighted statesman, Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, issued the memorable Despatch of 1854 which is now known as the great charter of Education in India. In pursuance to this Despatch a University was established in 1857 in the then Capital of the Empire.

But the mutiny having broken out almost simultaneously a pretext was easily found to propose a change of policy. Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, came to the rescue and in a letter to Lord Ellenborough, who was then the President of the Board of Control, neatly disposed of the objection raised. Sir Frederick wrote:—"On the question of the connection between education and the rebellion, our wisdom, no less than our duty, is to persevere in what we have begun and not to turn our backs upon Behar or any other parts of our territory, because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement. It is certain, however, that both the difficulty and the danger are exaggerated and look imposing only to those who keep at a distance from them and view them through the delusive mist of prejudice and misinformation. As to difficulty, the progress of Bengal, within the memory of living witnesses, is a proof of the aptitude of the people and of their plastic docility. And though it is not uncommon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations, and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of similar consequences in future, the error of this opinion is like that of a man who after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of

gun powder to all kinds of dangerous influences and having by good management, long escaped without an accident, should at last, when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place, blame neither the gun powder nor his own rashness and indiscretion, but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of the many little sparks flying about, and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences." No more statesmanlike view of the situation, or a more crushing reply, could have been advanced, and the Government of Lord Canning made a firm stand against the hysteric cry of an alarmist crowd. I have purposely quoted this long extract, for it will be seen that the same cry has again been raised in recent years and has contributed not a little to the shaping of the present educational policy of the Government, with this difference that there is neither a Halliday nor a Canning to take a dispassionate perspective of the situation and boldly adhere to the noble policy of 1854. In 1858 two more Universities were established in Bombay and Madras, and in the following year another Despatch was issued under the authority of the Crown confirming the great Despatch of 1854 and laying down in clear and emphatic terms that greater impetus should be given to education in the future than had been done in the past, that more colleges and schools should be established throughout the country, that more systematic and sustained efforts should be made for the education of the masses, and that an unstinted measure of encouragement should be extended to private enterprise towards the furtherance of education by State-grants and scholarships. It has to be noticed that having regard to the aptitude of the people and to the extraordinary zeal and eagerness evinced by them for the spread of education, it was further laid down, that "Government should be reluctant to open Government institutions whenever private institutions could be expected or encouraged to do the work." Under the inspiring influence of this noble policy a great impetus was given to the cause of education and colleges and schools rapidly increased throughout the country. This policy continued in its uninterrupted course till 1882 when under the Government of Lord Ripon another Education Commission was appointed for the further development of the educational system. Lord Ripon considering the inadequate number of Universities, conceived the idea of adding two more Universities, one of which he himself established at Lahore in 1882, and the other was established by his successor at Allahabad in 1887.

But here dropped the curtain over the educational progress of

India. The growing clamour of the people for increased rights and privileges and their incessant demand for participation in the administration of the country led a nervous bureaucracy to regard education in the same light as it was regarded in 1857. The people having their minds and ideas expanded by western education were aspiring to western institutions. It was indeed the dawning of "the proudest day of England" which Macaulay in his prophetic vision had foreseen and anticipated nearly seventy years before. But unfortunately for India and England with the advent of Lord Curzon the educational policy of the Government underwent a marked transformation.

LORD Curzon came in 1899 with twelve problems in his pocket for the execution of which he obtained unfortunately for himself as well as for India a further extension of his office during which the "brilliant Viceroy" in the name of efficiency, set back the hand of progress in almost every direction, education receiving his foremost attention. It was a veritable Pandora's Box that he carried which let loose all the forces of unrest, dislocating the existing order of things, reversing past policies and filling the minds of the people with concern and anxiety, hope alone remaining. Here were sown the seeds of that discontent which a Milton might well have invoked his muse to sing and from which both the Government and the country have been reaping so abundantly. His educational policy of 1902 culminating in the Indian Universities Act of 1904 dealt a deathblow to the further expansion of education and by its stringent rules and regulations sapped all indigenous enterprise for its further development. "It was argued that the previous policy had served to extend the surface at the sacrifice of depth, and that a shearing process was necessary to check all superfluous growth. Pruning is undoubtedly good, but the use of the pruning knife on a growing plant before it has put forth abundant leaves and branches is an operation which is calculated more to destroy than to improve. These rules and regulations would have been unobjectionable if only equal care had been taken for the proper accommodation of the ever increasing influx of boys pressing every year for admission into the existing institutions. Hundreds of young men are debarred from the colleges and thousands of boys are thrown out of schools and turned adrift, aimless and unequipped into this world to fight out the battle of life. It is an undeniable fact that within the narrow scope of the present regulations some improvements have been effected and larger grants have in recent years been made for education. But it cannot be overlooked that nearly 40 per cent. of these

grants are absorbed in supervision and superintendence while general education as well as the lower educational services are being practically starved. Depth may be preferred to surface, but a "top heavy" construction is always unsafe to any structure even with the deepest foundation which human ingenuity may devise. In a country which, with the exception of Russia, is larger than the continent of Europe, there are now no more than 150 Colleges of all sorts and a little over 1,200 High Schools and 1,27,000 Primary Schools for the education of the masses for a population of over 250 millions, and yielding a percentage of barely 7 literate men out of this vast population. It may be noted here that two thirds of these Colleges and three-fourths of the High Schools are private institutions. This is the sum-total of educational progress made under a benevolent despotism during a period of 164 years and imagination fails to pierce into the dim and distant future when even half the population of this vast continent shall be so far advanced as to be able to read and write their names. That is how education stands in the country after more than one and half a century of British rule, and yet a modest Bill introduced by a Congressman for Elementary Education was thrown out with a few complimentary platitudes. The people demand a general diffusion of elementary education for the mass as preferable to no education, while Government insists upon better education for a few rather than wide spread light for the many. No one can reasonably object to the quality of education for the few being improved, but a belief has gained ground in the public mind, not without some show of reason, that Government has begun to view the educational problem with suspicion and distrust and to reverse the engine for a backward motion.

The Patna University Bill, which empowers the Chancellor to deal with any matter connected with the University in any manner "that may seem to him to be fit and proper" after making an enquiry to be made in any manner that he may think fit, places University education in a large province entirely under the arbitrary authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar, and it makes the spread of higher education impossible by practically prohibiting the establishment of new colleges.

There is, however, no room for doubt that under the plea for creating a "serene atmosphere of education" political considerations have been largely introduced in the department of Education. In driving out the wooden chip the iron nail has been thrust in. Teachers have turned into spies and not in few cases are Superintendents

suspected of having assumed the role of C. I. D. officers. The sanctity of the temples of learning has been violated and our boys and youngmen are brought up in the unhealthy atmosphere of what may be called insecure jails. This the people sorely regret and here the first conflict has taken place between a sensitive subject race and an autocratic Government, each believing the other to be in the wrong and neither trusting the other either for mutual understanding or for a rational settlement of the question.

THE ADMINISTRATION.

The next point of conflict lies in the administration itself. It is a propostion to compel a child to creep when he is able to speak and to crawl on his knees when he is able to walk on his legs. It is no rebellion on the adult members of a family to exercise their discretion and judgment and even to interfere, to some extent, in the management of its affairs, and a reasonable "Pater familia" ought cheerfully to accept a change which is calculated only to relieve and not to detract from him. What is true of a family is also true of a paternal government. A government must always conform itself to his changing environments and adapt itself to the ideas and requirements of the community which it is called upon to govern. The highest claim of the British rule in India is not founded upon its military strength but upon its moral grandeur. Security of life and property is no doubt one of the highest attributes of a settled government, but this attribute is more or less to be found among backward, uncivilised governments anxious for their own existence. A pure form of administration of justice is the bedrock of a civilised Government and it is this administration of justice which more than anything else has laid broad and deep the foundations of British rule in India resting upon the affection and confidence of the people. Anything which tends to undermine that foundation is therefore fraught with danger to the superstructure. As men are born free they naturally value their life and liberty infinitely more than their property. For property is a man's accident, while liberty is his birthright. In every country, therefore, the administration of criminal justice which affects life and liberty is viewed with much greater interest than the administration of civil justice and that is why even in this country lawyers find the criminal branch of their profession more lucrative than the civil one. In fact the administration of criminal justice in any country is more a political question than a mere settlement of private disputes. The greatest defect in the administration of criminal justice in this country lies in the fusion and combination of the judicial and

the executive functions—a system in which the prosecutor and the judge, the man who works up a charge and the man who sits in judgment over that charge are rolled into one. For thirty years the Congress has cried hoarse for the separation of this unholy combination. Hundreds of cases from unimpeachable and unchallenged records have been cited from year to year to illustrate the baneful results of the system which is calculated more than anything else to shake the confidence of the people in the integrity of the administration of justice. Cases have occurred—and they are not few and far between—where racial considerations have outweighed the demands of justice, and the life of an Indian has not received greater consideration than that of a crab or a tortoise. There are of course men who are strong enough to challenge and drive discontent underground, but no one has the power to see underground and watch the secret progress which such discontent silently works in its subterranean course. One complete generation has passed away since the Indian National Congress first drew the attention of Government to the danger underlying this inequitable system. One Viceroy considered his duty discharged by calling the proposal of the Congress a "Council of perfection": two successive Secretaries of State vied with each other in their pious wish to inaugurate this reform; while at least one Indian administrator denounced the existing system as being unworthy of "rational beings." But the system still continues and seems to possess a charmed life which defies both a natural and a violent death. Sir Harvey Adamson was reported to have actually gone so far as to submit a scheme for the proposed reform in 1903, and all sorts of speculations have been afloat in recent years; but no body knows where the proposal sticks and where it now rests,—whether on the dusty upper shelves of the Indian Secretariat at Simla or in the archives of the India Office at White Hall. Wherever it may lie its fate has so far been determined by the spirit of bureaucratic rule nervous to part with the narrowest shred of authority. If this one reform had been carried out one half of the causes of the present discontent would have vanished, and it is just possible that the ugly developments with which the Government is at present confronted might never have appeared.

THE PRESS ACT AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The next point of conflict has been the bureaucracy and the people as reference to the Liberty of the Press. The press is entirely a Western institution so firmly ingrafted with Western methods of administration, that it is now impossible to retain the ex-

and remove the other. In every civilised country the Press has played the double role of the educator of the public and the interpreter to the Government. In India the Press, with all its defects and lapses, as well as its numerous difficulties and disabilities, has played an important part in the evolution of National life, and its chequered history is no mean evidence of the firm hold it has over the public mind and the sustaining energies of a growing people. It is not necessary to pursue that history. Suffice it to say that since the repeal of Lord Lytton's Gagging Act of 1878 the Indian Press steadily grew into a power which with a little more sympathetic treatment might easily have been converted into a useful adjunct of the administration. Unfortunately, however, the Anglo-Indian Press began to be jealous of its formidable rival and the bureaucracy grew nervous of its strength. An ugly development for which the Indian Press was no more responsible than for the collision which took place at this time between the "Campertown" and the "Victoria" in the Atlantic, furnished an excuse and afforded an opportunity for again mauling the Press in a way unprecedented in the history of any civilised country where a public Press exists. The Press Act of 1910, conceived in a spirit of repression has reduced the Indian Press from its position as an independent critic of the Government to that of an institution entirely dependent upon sufferance. Within this short period of less than four years there has been a regular carnival of Press prosecutions in which newspapers have been suppressed, printing presses confiscated and their securities forfeited to an extent which has bewildered the public and alarmed the journalists. According to a statement furnished by Sir Reginald Craddock in February last there were no less than six press prosecutions, and in no less than five cases securities of newspapers were enhanced and no less than two hundred and twenty newspapers, both English and vernacular, ceased publication since the outbreak of the war and up to that date. The liberty of the Indian Press is practically gone and the highest tribunals in the land have declared themselves powerless to protect it. When the Act was passed the extreme rigour of the measure was justified by an assurance was given that it would be administered with care and consideration. Whether that assurance has been honoured more in its breach than in its observance may be left to the judgment of the public. And last, not least an extraordinary woman, Irish by birth, English by marriage and Indian by adoption, has been caught in the meshes of this Act, and the provisions of the Defence Act are set in operation to coerce and restrain

her. One Government has under cover of the latter interdicted Mrs. Besant from profaning its sacred territories with the touch of her feet, while another Government, acting under the former, not content with forfeiting the security of an old press, has demanded an exorbitant security for her paper which threatens it with extinction. Gentlemen, how fast doth contagion spread! Before I could finish writing these pages another Government has issued orders prohibiting her at the eleventh hour not to attend a religious conference held within its territories. I should not be surprised if the British public were to doubt the accuracy of this statement. The lame excuse offered by the C. P. Government for its extraordinary action has, however, failed to satisfy the Indian public. Mrs. Besant is as yet free—I use the word subject to correction—to live in British India and to travel over British India, but not to cross the Vindhya Chains and touch the sacred soil of Bombay and the Central Provinces. Are Bombay and the Central provinces outside British India? She is charged by the Madras Government with matter seditious printed at her press. The Madras High Court has distinctly found that there was nothing seditious in her writing. Two High Courts have concurrently held that there may be illegal forfeitures under this Act and yet they were powerless to grant any relief. The appellate powers of the High Courts under the Act are a delusion and a snare. Yet there seems to be no disposition on the part of the Government either to withdraw or to modify this high grade measure, although where a necessity for the Bureau arises a Bill may be passed at one sitting of the Council and a Validating Act rushed through to legalise its illegal proceedings. So much for the Law Member's assurances and promises upon the strength of which the Indian members of the Council were led to vote for this dangerous enactment in their desire to help the Government at a critical moment. We may not see eye to eye with Mrs. Besant in many matters, but our hearts go forth to her in her trials and tribulations which not only affect her personal interests but are also a standing menace to the liberties of the Indian subjects of His Majesty. What is Mrs. Besant's offence? Is it that she loves India as she loves her own native land? What is her offence? Is it that her womanly instinct has led her to raise her manly voice in defence of the rights and liberties of a subject race, whose present condition, as contrasted with its ancient civilisation and departed glories, has found a place in her sympathies and got a hold upon her imagination, to which many people of her race are either blind or impervious? The days of chivalry are gone and even womanhood is no protection

against bureaucratic insensibilities. If she is seditious, why not try her for sedition in an open court where, if convicted, she will cease to be idolised as a martyr? I hope the matter will not rest here, but will be carried beyond the seas and heard in a free country and by a free people before whose tribunal even an heir-apparent to the Throne bows as low as the humblest subject of the realm to receive his judgment. The shrieks of a dying press, which have been so far drowned in the tumults of a devastating war, will not then go altogether unheeded. Laws may be enacted here to stifle the voice of public opinion, but a great nation nurtured on the lap of freedom cannot long tolerate a method of administration which is so entirely repugnant to its instinct and tradition. It only requires to be correctly informed and duly impressed. It may be difficult to remove it, but once in motion even the omnipotent power of the bureaucracy will not avail to arrest its onward march towards the establishment of freedom in this country.

The sufferings of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak are well-known to the public. I am here neither to defend nor to denounce him. The latest proceedings which were instituted against him at Poona have, however, raised a grave issue which cannot be passed over. I cannot persuade myself to believe that in initiating these proceedings the authorities were actuated by any unworthy motive. But I deeply regret that Government was ill-advised in taking them at a time and under circumstances where its action was liable to be misconstrued. In disposing of this case, Sir Stanley Batchelor has enunciated a law, the correctness of which seems to be open to grave doubts. He says that the condemnation of the Civil Service "en bloc" is tantamount to a condemnation of the Sovereign authority, as the service is an agent of that authority. Carried to its legitimate consequences, this dictum would be a bar to any criticism against any of the services. The Criminal Intelligence Department is at present in closer touch with the Government than even the Civil Service and may be regarded, as such, a more accredited agent of the Government. And what is here to prevent the principle here enunciated from being applied to that department, or to the Police in general, and for the matter of that, to the village chowkidars. The law of agency cannot apply to the relation between the Crown and its servants. Some years back, this question was pointedly raised when Sir George Campbell who was not inaptly called the Tiberius of the Indian Civil Service charged the "Hindu Patriot" with "ill-will towards Government" for its strong criticism of the Civil Service. The late Kristodas Pal most forcibly and faithfully drew this

distinction between the state and the Service. He said:—"The words 'ill-will to Government' are not however explicit. Is the word Government in the phrase intended to mean the Queen's Government or the Local Administration?—the ruling power or the executive agency?—the Sovereign mistress of the Empire, or her officers in the country? None is better aware than His Honour that the Supreme Power and the administrative authority are quite distinct; and nowhere is this distinction made so broadly and clearly as in England. When, for instance, Mr. Disraeli denounced the other day the present Government of Her Majesty as 'blundering and plundering,' it would be a gross perversion of language to interpret this imputation into 'ill-will to Government,' that is, the Sovereign authority, the Queen herself. . . . It would be impertinent in me to remark that if criticisms of public men and measures be construed into 'ill-will to Government' there is not a single journal in this country, with the slightest pretence to independence, which would not be open to this charge." In our own times, the fulminations of Sir Edward Carson inciting the Ulstermen to stand against the established government in England are still fresh in the minds of the public and yet this leader of the Orangemen was not considered unworthy of receiving an invitation to a conference from the King himself. In India by a strange irony of fate even the long-established principles of law easily yield to much wider interpretation and judges are not wanting who hold that a sharp criticism of even a member of the ruling race is equivalent to a contempt of the Government itself. Gentlemen, the ill-starred definition of "disaffection" has died out; but here arises another alarming dictum which should engage your serious attention.

THE ARMS ACT.

The Indian Arms Act is another source of irritation which has estranged the feeling between the people and the governing class. Apart from the invidious and irritating character of this measure it has emasculated a whole nation, degraded them not only in their own estimation, but also in the estimation of other races not in any way superior to them, and reduced them to a condition of absolute helplessness. It has stunted the growth of a people, dwarfed its mental stature and debased its moral character, by depriving it of its sense of national self-respect. It has reduced it to the position of political "pariahs" smarting under disgrace and without any sense of responsibility. Maharajah Jabbar Jung Bahadur may not carry a single revolver for his own protection; but his driver Jones may have any number of them for his pastime, for purpose of illicit sale

and for shooting not only pheasants but also sometimes a poor Indian peasant whom he may easily mistake for a pig. But all bad measures are like the devil's engine which must at one time or other recoil back on him who uses it and this is what has happened. It is as easy to govern a country by disarming its entire population as to convert a whole country into a jail. Anarchism has reared its head and there has been a recrudescence of lawlessness in some part of the country. Dastardly assassinations are committed in crowded cities in broad daylight and daring robberies are committed like candlelight performances in an Opera House. The reply to all this, which has so far been vouchsafed is that the people are cowards and unable to help themselves. But whose fault is it if the people are cowards and unable to help themselves? Is it of the people who have been made cowards and helpless, or of those who have made them so? It is quite refreshing to hear of people seriously advised to arm themselves with brickbats and bamboo lathies to face an armed band of robbers and assassins equipped with Martini rifles and Mauser revolvers. Example is said to be better than precept, and those who indulge in ludicrous advice of this sort would do infinitely better to set an example themselves before they can persuade others to follow them. Even Hercules did not venture to challenge the Larnian Hydra without his club. The Arms Act has been practically reduced to a dead letter, for the lawless few are never in want of any firearms, but it is the law-abiding many that have been deprived of the use of them. A great empire and a little mind are said to go ill together. And where the spirit of confidence is wanting in an administration its means and measures must be weak and self-contradictory and thus ultimately defeating its own end.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT AND INTERNMENTS

And now, where other repressive measures have failed to restore peace and order in the country, a deadlier instrument has been put into requisition. A desperate situation no doubt calls for a drastic remedy and no one has a right to complain if Government is obliged to take an extreme precautionary measure in view of a conflagration which is now devastating all the fire-contingents of the world. The Defence of India Act like the Defence of the Realm Act in England was no doubt necessitated by the exigencies of the situation, but the purposes to which it is being used appear to be entirely foreign to the spirit and outside the scope of this extraordinary enactment, while the safeguards provided in the home-measure have been wholly dispensed with in its operation in this

country. Again when the Act was passed an assurance was not wanting that it would be administered with great care and consideration. It was undoubtedly an emergency Act necessitated by the extraordinary circumstances which suspended the ordinary course of law and vested the administration of justice in certain cases entirely in the executive Government of the country.

Granting, then, the sting of every repressive measure, is in its tail. There is a small clause in these enactments which passes without any debate in the legislative council authorising the executive Government to frame rules to give effect to the operation of such a measure. These rules, hatched in secret beyond the ken of the established legislature and beyond the scope of criticism, suddenly emanate full panoplied like Minerva springing out of Jupiter's head. These rules sometimes thrice the size and volume of the Act itself govern the proceedings. In the case of the Defence of India Act, Section 2 provides this brief little authority which is now deciding the fate not only of so many young men but also of some of the public men in the country without a trial and without a hearing. The Act provides the slender safeguards of a special tribunal final in its decision, but the rules have taken away even this safeguard in cases of internments and interdictions provided by clause (f) of section 2 of the enactment. A man may invoke the aid of the tribunal if he violates the rules but not when the rules are enforced against him. It may be no injustice done to characterise it as "Jedburgh Justice." The Defence of India Act is essentially a war-measure and although the expression "Safety of India" is introduced in its preamble, it clearly indicates such safety as may be jeopardised only by the war conditions with the enemy. It never could have been intended to cover public peace and tranquillity in the internal administration of the country for which ample provisions already exist in the adjective law of the land. Is there any evidence that the assassinations, dastardly as they are, which are perpetrated mostly against Indian police officers, and some of which took place even before the Sarajevo-outrage, have any connection with German intrigue or is there anything to show that the property plundered in course of armed brigandage find their way or are ever intended to find their way to the German Exchequer? The assassination of Earl Mayo and Chief Justice Norman and even the more recent murders of Rand and Ayerst and of Judge Jackson did not necessitate such a measure. It is clear, therefore, that the Defence of India Act was never intended, for internal administration at home, but only to govern external

relations with the enemy countries abroad. But how sad it is to contemplate that it has been so widely diverted from its legitimate scope, and how are its provisions being applied in India! A secret murder perpetrated and burglary committed, and, in fact, every piece of a diabolical crime, whether committed before or after the outbreak of hostilities, where the criminal cannot be detected and punished under the ordinary law of the land, are made the occasion for the use of this lawless law. Where an accused person is tried and acquitted by a court of justice he is good for a capture under the provisions of this Act. In one province alone nearly 600 young men have up to this time been arrested, a considerable number of whom have already been domiciled in different parts of the country, while others are passing through their purgatory in the gloomy cells of Dallandā House preparatory to the receipt of their judgment. These proceedings are generally believed to be based upon the informations supplied by the spies whose occupation would be gone if their activities could not be maintained. We are told that the final judgment in these cases is vested in an officer who is "fit to be a High Court Judge." Yes, but the misfortune is that after all he "is not a High Court Judge" and that makes a world-wide difference. He does not breathe the atmosphere of a High Court, he is not swayed by the considerations of a High Court and he has not the means and materials of a High Court Judge, and it is no consolation to the people to learn that he is fit to be a High Court Judge. Then it would be something if this would-be High Court Judge were allowed to dispose of these cases in the presence of the accused persons sitting even "in camera." Even Rogers' Casement charged with the blackest of crimes—the charge of high treason and conspiracy with the enemy of the King—had an open trial and a right of appeal. Are the detainees under the Defence of India Act guilty of more heinous crimes and misdemeanour? Even the certificate of a District Officer or of a Divisional Commissioner affords no protection against the report of spies. Anarchism is the common enemy of mankind throughout the world. In every country and every age civilised humanity has refused to recognise the brotherhood of the secret murderer and the dastardly assassin, and none but an anarchist need defend or support an anarchist. But a general crusade against a community in the name of anarchism is justified neither by reason, nor logic, nor considerations of expediency. The rats are a recognised nuisance and for aught we know they may be also responsible for the plague and the pestilence. But if the rats are so sly as to elude our grasp and so subtle as not to come into the

cage laid for them, no man in his senses and even under the greatest provocation should so far forget himself as to be induced to set fire to the house to get rid of these pests.

THE COLOUR BAR.

An almost insurmountable colour bar has been drawn up that runs through almost every department of the state which the children of the soil are forbidden to cross. The entire administration is divided into two compartments, one Imperial and the other Provincial. The boxes are all reserved and it is only the pit which is open to the people. In the Civil Service, in the Educational Service and in the Medical Service everywhere there is a sharp racial distinction irrespective of qualification and competency, which is as arbitrary as it is galling to the feelings and sentiments of the people. Competition, the most effective test of merit, has been superseded by nomination and offices are largely distributed as mere patronage. The services are visibly deteriorating and strange as it may sound a Government which finds in the caste system of the people such a serious obstacle to their national advancement is sedulously building up an official caste almost as rigid and as exclusive as the Brahmanical hierarchy ever was. The officials have generally lost all touch with the people and there is now no greater passport to public employment than a hereditary claim which grows by what it feeds on. Fusion is the first principle of national growth, but disintegration is the policy of a bureaucracy to counteract that growth.

IMMIGRATION.

Gentlemen, it is with a sense of pain, shame and humiliation that I approach the question of immigration and indentured labour. India, the granary of the world, is unable to maintain her surplus population and thousands of her children, like her raw materials, are sent away to other countries for employment for the bare necessities of life. The immigrants so absolutely necessary for the development of the resources of South Africa, Australia and Canada, are treated there as helots and India is regarded day throughout the civilised world as the recruiting ground for coolies necessary for manual labour. I do not hesitate to denounce this degrading system as the last relic of slavery within the British Empire. The question is said to be not free from difficulties, but all these difficulties are due more in the relation of Great Britain in regard to her self-governing colonies than to the condition of India herself. Mr. Gandhi's heroic struggles in South Africa are fresh in the minds of our people

and Lord Hardinge's effort to ameliorate the condition of the Indian settlers in the British Colonies evoked more sharp criticism than active sympathy in the United Kingdom. It is galling that peoples of yesterday who have scarcely a tradition of their own should be permitted to treat as slaves a people whose civilisation goes back to the morning of this world. Lord Gladstone, in opening the Parliament of the South African Union only a few years ago reminded us of this fact and bore striking testimony to the worth of the Indian people. He said:—"I have made special study of the Indian history and have later visited India. I wish more South Africans could go there and by so doing rise to the highest appreciation of what the Indians were. They would then think less of India as a country which sends its coolies to the South African Coast. In fact India has developed perhaps far above the line attained by some parts of the British Empire in its civilisation and efforts to rise to a higher life." But what avails such testimony? Slaves at home can never be treated as free men abroad. I use the word in the sense in which we use it. "They are slaves," says Mill, "who cannot help themselves." Complete Reciprocity and Retaliation are the only remedies for this degrading humiliation inflicted upon our people, and Home Rule alone can furnish the necessary prescription. So long as the Canadian, the South African and the Australian are free to settle in India and also to find their way to the public services of the country, no tinkering measure, no controlling wages will solve the question.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Gentlemen, if the ill-fated Swadeshi-Movement had been directed in its proper channel and not checked as an unhealthy growth, the question of the industrial development of India, which has now attracted the anxious attention of Government, might have admitted of a much easier solution. The war has disclosed that in 1905 the Indian Nationalist declared hostilities not against Great Britain, but against Germany and Austria, and that if the Authorities in India had taken a more dispassionate and far-sighted view of the situation, German and Austrian trade in India would have died ten years ago and without naval blockade. The fault, however, did not lie wholly with the Government, but the people had also to bear a share of the responsibility. However that may be, the question of rebuilding Indian industries out of their ashes is not free from serious difficulties and unless Government is prepared honestly and resolutely to come forward to make atonement for its past sins of commission

and omission, it may never be solved. Much is said about the phenomenal progress of Japan and Sir Thomas Holland has recently thrown a flood of light upon her industrial development. But what is the secret of her success? Against all the disquisitions and speculations which have gathered round this question there looms large one fact which can never be overlooked nor disputed. Japan possesses a National Government which India does not. In Japan there is no clashing of interest between the people and the State, but in India although the interests of the Government may not collide with those of the people, its industrial policy is to a large extent controlled by considerations independent of the interest of India. Gentlemen, I pause here for a moment to thank the Government of the United Provinces which is the only administration that has as yet taken any practical interest in the development of some of our industries.

If, however, for any reason the Government finds itself handicapped in the way of building up new industries on its own account as in Japan, it can at any rate do much to help and encourage the industries. It can add a portfolio of industries to the member in charge of commerce and carry on an investigation through experts as to which industry is best suited to what part of the country, regard being had to the production of raw materials, facilities of communication and labour. Then as Indian capital starts any business on a sound and substantial basis, the Government may come forward to purchase a portion of its share in order to secure both an effective control over it and an abiding interest in its success. And, above all, it may guarantee to such a concern a certain rate of profit or dividend for a period sufficient to enable it to stand on its own legs, while it may render no inconsiderable help by becoming its customer for its own purposes. It may also remove all unjustifiable excise duties and grant railway concessions. If the Government will do this, it will discharge its function as a benevolent state and remove the shyness of Indian Capital in unequal competition with its formidable foreign rivals. If this cannot be done the Government will be well advised not to waste its money over academic conferences and commissions to serve no other purpose than that of raising false hopes and aggravating public discontent.

In this connection I would make a passing reference to an important question in regard to which the opinions of public bodies and associations are being sought, but which, as far as I can see, has not excited much public interest;—I mean the proposal to transfer

the railways to private Companies and ought not to be as lightly treated. It is a great economic question as it appears to have been done in certain unexpected quarters. The Railways are one of the most important state concerns whose earnings constitute by no means an inconsiderable portion of the State revenue. To the State. To trade and commerce as a public domain. To transfer them to any private individuals or to allow them to maintain them may be tantamounting to a serious infringement of public rights and the abdication of a State function. We are looking forward to a time when the Government will become national if not in its "personnel" at least in its aims and purposes and the railways owned by the State and controlled by the State will then be conducted upon national lines and will be the hand-maid of the national industries by offering facilities for their growth and development. The time has come for the definite acceptance of this policy.

A NATIONAL MILITIA.

Then, no people can be either self-respecting or respected by others unless they are able to defend themselves. A people always dependent upon Government for the safety of their life and property must be an insupportable burden on the State and a source of weakness to it. A vast empire like British India, without a National army, protected by a nominal force of 70 thousand European soldiers and 10 thousand Indian troops may be a wonderful feat: but it is a most dangerous experiment. If the Indians were trained but as volunteers only five years ago, although the Congress has been demanding the privilege for the last twenty-five years, the humiliating spectacle of Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George and Lord Derby alternately coaxing and threatening the British people for raising an army of two millions might easily have been avoided and at all events a general conscription so hateful to British tradition, might not have to-day become such an imperative necessity. India, with her teeming millions properly trained, and equipped, standing behind England can present an invincible front against any power in the world. The question is not one of men and materials, but of trust and confidence. But has not India given sufficient proof of her fidelity and devotion to the British connection? If not, England must stand self-condemned before the eyes of the civilised world.

Such is the situation. Bureaucracy has accomplished its work. It has established order and tranquillity. But it has outgrown itself. Its continued existence is fraught with mischief and unable to cope

with the rising forces of popular opinion and with the demands created with the new spirit, it has had recourse to a policy which has excited grave public discontent. What then is to be the remedy? That remedy is what has been so effectively applied in other countries similarly circumstanced, and the remedy which suggests itself to the Indian mind is the one which Mr. Sturt Mill and to Edmund Burke, lies in the hands of the people.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Call it Home Rule, call it *Atmak*, call it "Swaraj," call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of any evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882 when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helplessness of their situation. A "National League" was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the "Star in the East" was issued which was written in a style and language which if employed at the present day would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when in his famous Resolution of January 1882, he told the people that "local self-government must precede national self-government." Although the first Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, its notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution." And Mrs. Annie Besant in her admirable book, "How India Wrought for Freedom," has pointedly referred to the influence of the Grand Old Man of India which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people of self-government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself, when the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, notwithstanding the equivocal pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet call for "Swaraj," which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has passed away, but a generation has risen whose sole and whole-hearted demand is nothing short of self-government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation. A cry has, however, been raised that we are not yet fit for self-government. Procrastination is the proverbial thief of time. It is also the orthodox plea of a frame of mind which, unable to

cope with an untenable position, only asks for an adjournment to seek for a compromise on the most favourable terms.

But before we proceed to discuss this question, we must first divest ourselves of the dogmatism which prevails with equal force, though not with equal authority, on both sides, and try to understand the question in the light of the unanswerable logic of facts. Let us see what are the requisites of self-government and how far the Indian people possess these requisites to reasonably demand self-government.

THREE CONDITIONS OF MILL

John Stuart Mill, in his book on Representative Government lays down three conditions for self-government which are now universally accepted by all writers on political philosophy. These conditions are:—1st, that the people for whom the form of Government is intended should be willing to accept it; 2nd, that they must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it standing; and 3rd, that they must be willing and able to do what it requires of them to enable it to fulfil its purposes. To these three tests I will add a fourth, by way of a rider, directly to meet the argument of our critics—have the people given satisfactory evidence of their capacity for Self-Government?

EDUCATION NO TEST

It will be noticed that Mill nowhere lays down Education as a separate and independent test for Self-Government and this is for a very good reason. Education no doubt sharpens and stimulates the other tests; but it cannot be the sole or even the main test for a National Government. The Hindus in the 13th century and the Mussulmans of India in the 18th century were the masters of no inconsiderable share of unprofitable learning; but it neither developed their national solidarity nor strengthened their national character, and both in their turn fell an easy prey to a superior force. The Mahomedan historian admits that India was conquered not by superior education but by superior Islamic national solidarity and strength. On the other hand the Slave Republic of Liberia was established by an uneducated mass of emigrants from America upon their liberation towards the beginning of the 19th Century. Then take the case of Europe. There also education has not played a very important part in determining the form of government suited to each country. According to the latest statistics available Norway and Sweden carry the largest percentage of educated population, it being 97, England has a percentage of 87, France 78, Germany 91

and Portugal 56. If education had been the determining factor, Norway and Sweden would not have been practically an absolute Monarchy and France or Portugal a Republic, while Germany would have long ceased to be a military despotism where a subaltern can with impunity punish judges and magistrates for the grave offence of not being devoted to his uniform and the theory of the "Superman" sways the minds of millions of human beings of the highest culture and erudition in the world. What was the education of England during the reign of Charles I, and was not the Magna Charta wrested from a despot king by a band of uneducated barons who could sign their names only by scrolls and marks?

In 1821 there were nearly 18,500 schools with 65,000 scholars in Great Britain. In the year 1858 the number of schools rose to 122,000 and the scholars to over 3,000,000. We have it on the authority of the Education Commission of 1882 that prior to 1854 when the first Educational Despatch of Sir Charles Wood was issued, there were merely a million of students in British India receiving elementary education in the various indigenous institutions. The statement of the member of Education in 1914 shows that there are at present 127,000 schools with over 5,000,000 scholars receiving such education. It would thus appear that the number and the percentage of literates in Great Britain in the reign of George IV were not higher than those of India in the reign of His Gracious Majesty George V, and that the number, though not the percentage, of literates in India in 1914 does not compare very unfavourably with that of Great Britain in 1858. And yet what was the constitution of Great Britain in 1821 and what is the constitution of British India in 1914! Education therefore, though it may help and promote Self-Government, is not an indispensable condition or condition precedent to Self-Government.

FIRST CONDITION

The first condition needs not much elaboration, as the willingness of the people for self-government is not only admitted, but is said to be premature and somewhat extravagant. The press and the platform even in their present muzzled condition are ringing with the cry for self-government and on every occasion whether in the heated Council Chambers or in the serene atmosphere of literary discussions there is an insistent demand for self-government as the only remedy for the present situation.

SECOND AND THIRD CONDITIONS

The second and the third conditions may be considered together. India, self-contained and contented, with its natural

defences and internal resources present a bulwark against all foreign aggression. Its danger is not from without but from within. During the last sixty years since the Crown has assumed the reins of government it must be admitted that there has not been even the ripple of disturbance and the people, educated or uneducated, despite all their vexations and disappointments, their hardships, their grievances and the irritating measures which have so often provoked their patience, have throughout stood fast by the Crown. They have protested but have nowhere resisted the measures of the Government. Since the outbreak of the war, India has been practically denuded of soldiers and it has been possible for Government to maintain peace and order throughout the vast country with only the help of the police as it exists in India. Those who recklessly cry "the wolf," ought to know that if the wolf had really been anywhere in the field, it would not have been possible long to indulge in this foolish trick. It ought to be fairly conceded that the credit of this remarkable achievement is evenly divided between the Government and the people,—the confidence of the people in the Government and the trust of the Government in the people; and that any attempt on the part of either to appropriate it to itself the whole credit is an absurd pretension. The spirit of co-operation and self-help infused into the minds of our people mainly by the inspiring breath of the Congress, and the numberless societies, missions and associations which have sprung up throughout the country with philanthropic and other aims and objects, are sufficiently indicative of the quickening of a national life, and the courage and endurance displayed by our young men in every public cause, are all unmistakable evidence of the readiness of the people to support the administration. In flood and famine, pestilence and fear, and in other positions of dangers, difficulties and distress, thousands of young men who eagerly rush forward to help the administration without waiting for recognition or expecting any reward and despite police surveillance to which they are subjected. The Hospital ships furnished by Bombay and Madras, the Ambulance Corps and the Double Company provided by Bengal and the war funds raised throughout the country are no mean evidence of the willingness and readiness of the people to co-operate with the administration. All these, in my opinion, afford striking evidence of the devotion and the capacity for self-sacrifice which our countrymen are prepared to incur in the public interests and which constitute the most valuable qualification for self-rule. This shows that our people are willing and able to make the Government stand and are ready to make the necessary sacrifices

for the establishment of National Government. Lapses no doubt there are, but do they not occur even among people invested with full measure of self-government? A National Government would shift the burden as well as its odium and unpopularity from the state to the people and would necessarily make them still more alive to their responsibilities. It is power which creates responsibility. Responsibility without power is a debt without security which cannot be enforced if left undischarged.

It was George Yule who, twenty years ago speaking at the first Congress held in the United Provinces, said that all political agitations have to pass through three stages— that of Ridicule, Opposition and Concession. We have long passed the stage of Ridicule and almost passed the second stage and we are now practically on the debatable ground between Opposition and Concession, standing more on the firm soil of the latter than on the slippery ground of the former.

NOT YET

There are however those who say "not yet." Not yet! Then "when"?—asks the Indian Nationalist. But here the Oracle is dumb and Echo only answers—"when"! Edwin Bewan's parable of "the Patient and the Steel frame" is cited and the people are strictly enjoined to lie in peace and possess their souls in patience, until their political Nirvana is accomplished. Similes and metaphors are not safe guides in practical life for all fables are but fallacies clothed in equivocal language which captivates the imagination and deludes the reason. For even the patient in the "steel frame" requires a gradual relaxation and occasional readjustment of his splints and bandages and, above all, steady, substantial improvement in his dietary arrangements and after all it is the nourishment and not the splints and bandages, that are calculated to give him strength and cure him of his injuries. You cannot indefinitely keep him on milk and sago to help either the "knitting of the bones" or the "granulation of the flesh." Our critics would enjoin "perfect quiet and repose" without prescribing any kind of diet until the people shall have in their spirit of quiescence fully recovered themselves in their steel frame. If any illustration were actually needed, one might fairly suggest that the case of either the swimmer or the rider would probably furnish a more apposite object lesson. You cannot expect the one to be an expert jockey without training him on the back of a horse, as you cannot expect the other to be an expert swimmer without allowing him to go into water. There must

repeated falls and duckings before any efficiency can be attained by either. Admitting for argument's sake—and there can be no prejudice in such an admission—that the Indians are not yet as fit for Self-Government as the Europeans are, does it follow that they must only patiently contemplate in their steel frame without a stir till the day of their release? If that be so the day of their redemption will, in all probability, maintain its ever receding distance and the vision of the patient never be realised. There is a school for the lawyer, the physician, the educationist and the engineer where he can obtain his passport and begin his profession; but is there any school or college where an aspirant can be admitted to his degree for Self-Government? It is through Self-Government that the art of Self-Government can be either taught or acquired. One must be drilled in the art of administration before he can acquire steady use of his faculties in the work of practical administration. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, it is the institution of Self-Government which constitutes the best training ground for Self-Government. It is through failure that success can be achieved in practical politics. Such failure was fully anticipated by Lord Ripon in his famous Resolution of 1882 and it is through such failures that the British people have obtained the constitution of which they are so justly proud. In the reigns of James I., Charles I., and his successors, what was the British constitution and the status of the British people when Parliament could be summoned or dismissed at the pleasure of despotic sovereign, and titles and offices were freely bought and sold without any regard to public interest? The mass of the people were steeped in ignorance, while the highest officers in state were not sometimes free from intrigue and corruption. Yet the British people fought for their rights and obtained them in the midst of these unfavourable conditions. If they had ever allowed themselves to be kept in a steel frame until "nature resumed her active process," where would have been the splendid fabric of British constitutional freedom to-day? Nature never helps those who do not help themselves.

ARE INDIANS FIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT?

Now let us turn to a discussion of the rider which was started at the beginning of this question. Gentlemen, our critics have already begun sorting our politicians, I do not pretend to be a politician; but even if I were one, I would far rather go with the "politicians of the baser sort" than agree to rise one degree higher, or one degree lower as you may choose to call it in the estimation of our critics.

while as to the superlative degree, I would ungrudgingly have it reserved for those who have so far forgotten the traditions of their own race as to completely drowse themselves of the instincts of a free and liberty-loving people to which they ethnologically belong. The question to be answered is: Have the Indian people given fair proof of their capacity for Self-Government? I do not like to indulge in theories. Let facts answer.

IN THE NATIVE STATES

India possesses an area of 1,400,000 square miles with a population of 316 millions, of which over 700,000 square miles, or more than one third of this area, with a population of over 70 millions, or close upon one fourth, belong to the independent Native States. Now these States are entirely managed by Indian administrators, and it has to be admitted that some of them are marching ahead of British India and (in ?) certain directions, particularly in respect of education, judicial reforms and industrial development which are the most sacred function of a constitutional Government. It must be borne in mind that not a few of these distinguished administrators who have achieved such brilliant results in the administrations of these States are sometimes drawn from His Majesty's subjects in British India. Men like Sir Salar Jung, Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir T. Mahadja Rao, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Rao Bahadur Sardar Sansar Chandra Sen, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, Sir Seshiah Sastri, Mr. Ranga Charlu, Mr. Gouri Shankar Ojha, Mr. Seshadri Aiyar, Mr. B. L. Gupta, Mr. Nilambar Mukherjee and Mr. A. R. Banerjee who have governed various Native States with such consummate ability and conspicuous success, have indisputably vindicated the capacity of their countrymen for the highest administrative offices. They have shown that if commanded by their Sovereign they were fit to hold any portfolio in the Government of India. If these distinguished administrators had had their lot cast solely in British India many of them would have in all probability ended their careers as Deputy Magistrates, a few as District Officers and fewer still as officiating Commissioners of divisions.

IN THE VARIOUS SERVICES

Then, have not Indians in British India given practical proof of their administrative capacity to qualify themselves for Self-Government? Have they not in the charge of districts both as judicial and executive officers, and have they not in charge of divisions or a Board of Revenue or the intricate department of Audit and Account, given sufficient evidence of their ability and capacity for

efficient administration? Have they not been tried in the humbler stages of local Self-Government as well as in the higher legislative assemblies? They have been tried in the inner circles of the Provincial as well as the Imperial administration, and they have been also tried at the real seat of authority in Whitehall? True, Sir S. P. Sinha, might never have aspired to the chair occupied by Maine and Macaulay; but has England sent any more Maines and Macaulays to fill that chair? Or was Sir S. P. Sinha, or Syed Ali Imam, an altogether unworthy successor of Sir James Stephen or Sir C.P. Ilbert? In the great department of administration of justice they have been tried in the highest tribunals of the land where they have acted, and are acting as Chief Justices with as much credit and distinction as any brought out from England, while in the domain of education they have as Vice-Chancellors managed important Universities in a way which has extorted the admiration, if not the envy, of the most captious critics. They have also managed with remarkable success the affairs of one of the foremost, if not the foremost, corporations in the country. All these they have done, and if they have not done more, it is their misfortune and not their fault.

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS

Self-control, strength of mind and fidelity are among the highest virtues of an administrator, and judged by these tests, have not Indians acquitted themselves in a manner worthy of the best traditions of any service in the world? Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's resignation of his seat in the Executive Council is still a mystery to the public. But whatever may be its solution, it is an open secret that at a critical time he withdrew the resignation that he had tendered and stood loyally by the Government. Has any body ever heard the faintest whisper of this incident from the lips of Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha? Then take another case. The partition of Bengal had stirred the people of Bengal to a state of feverish excitement unprecedented in their history. Petitions and protests to Viceroy and Ministers were of no avail and after seven years of persistent agitation the people were awaiting in breathless suspense the decision of His Majesty. A despatch from the Governor-General in Council recommended a modification of the partition in August 1911 and Sir Syed Ali Imam was one of the signatories to this eventful document. Yet on the 12th December the Royal Proclamation came as a complete surprise both upon the local Governments as well as upon the people. The Partition was said to have

been effected in the interest of the Muhammadans. But did Sir Syed Ali Imam either in his quivering lips or tell-tale eyes betray in the slightest degree the dead secret of the prison house within this anxious period of five months.

THE OBJECTIONS

AN INARTICULATE MASS AND THE EDUCATED COMMUNITY A BUG-BEAR

The most orthodox argument, in fact the only argument, now advanced against this natural and legitimate demand is that the mass are silent and have no voice in the cry. This is an ingenuous argument; for an inarticulate mass will never speak and the reforms will not come. But the masses at any time and in any country spoken out before any reform has been granted? The Hydra-headed mass speak only in times of rebellion or revolution and even then under the inspiration of their leaders who rise out of the educated minority, but their voice is not heard amid a process of silent evolution in the benefits of which they are bound to participate. Did the mass in England cry for the Magna Charta or the Petition of Rights, or the Reform Bill? The educated few have everywhere represented the ignorant many and history tells us that they have always been their unaccredited spokesmen. And then whose fault is it that the masses in India are dumb and illiterate? The Congress has cried and Congressmen have tried their utmost for the spread of elementary education and they have been told the time has not yet arrived for universal compulsory education for the masses. We do not know if the Astrological Almanac is being consulted for an auspicious day for such an undertaking. It all looks like the trite, old, yet never hackneyed, game of win, tail you.

SOLICITUDE FOR THE POOR CASTE SYSTEM

Then as a corollary to the above a further argument is advanced that there are so many communities and sub-divisions in this caste-ridden country that if Self-Government were conceded King Stork would one by one swallow up all the frogs, and a Babel of disorder would follow in which no one would run at one another's throats and render settled Government impossible. Such keen solicitude for the poor and the weak is no doubt highly creditable to an enlightened administration; but in a country where more than two-fifths of the population live on insufficient food; where in 42 years there were 22 famines carrying away millions of human beings; a country which is admittedly the poorest and yet the most heavily taxed as well as

burdened with the costliest of administrations; where the average earnings of the free citizen are almost half of what the prisoner in the jail gets for his food and raiment; where floods devastate and Malaria decimates without any remedy or redress, while piles of reports and recommendations of Commissions and Committees cover the archives of the Secretariats; where the poor have often to drink muddy liquids to appease their thirst; and where five out of every six children even in moderately decent families of the poor are allowed to grow up in ignorance—I say in a country like that men may not be wanting who might consider such paternal solicitude as too much of a protestation. I do not at all suggest that the Government of the country is wholly or even primarily responsible for everyone of these untoward circumstances; but what I do maintain is that the apprehensions of the Government and its organs are ill-founded and unjustified. No doubt there is the baneful caste system, but there is also the counter-balancing distribution of labour and profession. The caste imposes only social restrictions and no political disabilities. Caste system in one shape or other and to some extent obtains in almost every society, but has nowhere stood as an insurmountable bar in the way of its political or economic development. Then is there no redeeming feature in the Indian social system with all its defects? Is there any country where every home is an asylum for the poor, and where the poor and the destitute are fed and clothed by their rich countrymen so generously? Is there any other people among whom the prevailing religions enjoin public charity without distinction of caste, colour or creed to such an extent that it has led the advocates of modern civilisation to characterise it as encouraging "voluntary efficiency"? Government no doubt honestly tries to mitigate the sufferings of the poor in the hour of their distress; but is any notice taken of the millions who are silently succoured by the well-to-do Hindus and Muhammadans out of their own pocket in accordance with the injunctions of their religions? Then, has not the Congress cried for 30 years for the amelioration of the condition of the masses as persistently as for political rights and privileges? It is such the case, whereas the ground and where the evidence for the apprehension is so keenly felt and so persistently echoed and re-echoed? The Labour party in the British Parliament is only of yesterday's growth and were Parliamentary institutions deferred till the grant of a nominal representation of its vast working population? And was it Cobden or Kier Hardie that organised the Anti-Corn Law League or improved the wages of the labouring classes of

Great Britain? And Cobden did not belong to any labouring class. And there are not caste prejudices fast dying out under the inexorable pressure of our environment, and are not men of talents rising out of the ranks of the so called depressed classes who are receiving the ungrudging homage of the Brahmanas and other superior castes? Lastly would not there always be the paramount authority of the Government to correct abuses and remedy injustices wherever committed? Blood is always thicker than water and people are not therefore wanting amongst us who honestly regard the question of the strong and the weak as a plausible pretext and not as a serious argument.

HINDU-MUHAMMADAN QUESTION

Another difficulty put forward is the eternal question of differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India. But the game has been nearly played out, and the Hindus and the Muhammadans have practically solved the question. It is more than five years ago that some of us dreamt a dream which appears now not to have been all a dream. The Congress and the League have come to meet at the same place and the day may not be far distant when in spite of the Siren song which has so far diverted their course they will come to meet in the same pavilion and at the same time. The Hindus and Muhammadans are rapidly converging towards each other and indeed it would be a miracle if they did not so converge and if they continued to move at a tangent in spite of the irresistible attraction of the great centripetal force which is drawing them towards their common centre. The stock argument based upon occasional differences and disturbances between Hindus and Muhammadans cannot have much force. These are confined mostly to lower classes of people on either side. It is neither fair nor judicious to exaggerate their importance. There are Hindus and Muhammadans side by side in every Native State. In the Muhammadan State of Hyderabad with a Hindu population of nearly 70 per cent. and the Hindu State of Kashmir with 60 per cent. Muhammadan subjects, we do not hear of any cow-killing riots or Mohurrum disturbances or of any ill-feeling between the two communities. And one wonders why a different state of things should prevail in British territories. A nationality is now no longer either a religious or a social federation, but a political unit. Diverse races professing different forms of religion and following distinct varieties of manners, customs and traditions easily submit to a common political faith to work out their common destiny. The

Picts and the Scots, the Saxons and the Normans, the Protestants and the Catholics are now all welded into the great British nation. The Teutons and the Slavs, the Prussians and the Poles have formed one of the mightiest empires which has lit up a world-wide conflagration; while in that curious Dual Monarchy of Austro-Hungary the Magyars, the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Poles, the Slavs, the Serbs, the Croates and the Rumanians have formed themselves into a national federation of no ordinary solidarity and strength. The Hindus and Mussalmans are both of common Aryan stock, while Hindu anthropology traces them to a common descent within the legendary period of their ancient history. Neither the Parsis nor the Muhammadans of India own any temporal allegiance either to the Shah of Persia or the Sultan of Turkey. They are now Indians as much as the Hindus. But why indulge in speculations against a settled fact? I think I break no secret when I announce to you that the Hindu-Moslem question has been settled and the Hindus and Mussalmans have agreed to make a united demand for Self-Government. The All-India Congress Committee and the representatives of the Moslem-League, who recently met in conference at Calcutta, have after two days' deliberations in one voice resolved to make a joint demand for a Representative Government in India. There are little differences on one or two minor points of detail, but they count for nothing. The vital issue has been solved and the main point has been gained. The report of the conference will shortly be placed before you and I need not enter into details. We have many historic days but I believe the 17th November will rank among the brightest and the most notable of them all. I would now appeal to both the communities to sink all their minor domestic differences and present a solid, united front for the realisation of their common destiny within the Empire. Only the seeds having been sown, the seedlings have just sprouted and for God's sake let us not quarrel over the division of the crop which still demands our combined labour and attention before the harvest comes. What are special electorates and communal representations when there is really no electorate and no representation among people? What matters it if Dinshaw Mulji Wacha or Chandra Nath Banerjee or Muzamal Huque were to represent us in our National Assembly? They are three in one and one in three. Remember what the great Yudhishtira said addressing the Kauravas and the Pandavas:—
 Making a difference, application of this noble saying of the wise and saintly Yudhishtira, we may say that we may be five

brothers on one side and a hundred brothers on the other, but in a common cause we are a hundred and five brothers undivided and indivisible.

Gentlemen, an ounce of fact is said to be worth a ton of theories, and while we here are quarrelling over the first principle of the problem, the Americans have quietly and speedily solved it in the Philippines.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippine islands from the discovery (by?) Lopez de Villalobos in the reign of Philip of Spain were under a form of despotic Government compared to which the despotism of John Company was an unmixed blessing. The archipelago is inhabited by a congeries of people speaking different languages and observing different forms of religion of the most primitive type. The Negritos, the Negroes, the Panayas, the Mindanos, a dark woolly people, Indonesian, the Malayans, the Chinese, the Spaniards and a number of non-descripts inhabit the islands. Of ancient civilisation and tradition these people have none, while as to their enlightenment and culture the world has heard nothing. The Americans conquered the islands in 1898, and the only claim of the people to the consideration of their liberators was that they had at first formed themselves into a band of insurgents under the leadership of an ambitious man named Aguinaldo who afterwards aspired to expel their benefactors. A provisional Government was however soon established by the Americans and peace restored in the country. Quite recently a proposal was brought forward in the House of Representatives of the United States for the granting of Home Rule to the Philippines, and in the discussion which followed some maintained that it should be accomplished in two years, some in four years, while others held that there should be no time limit; but all agreed that the Islanders must be given their freedom and the archipelago should not form a permanent appenage to the United States which since the Civil War had positively refused to go in for territorial aggrandisement even in the face of the splendid opportunities which the New World presented to them. The last resolution was carried and the American Governor in addressing the Philippines on the occasion of granting them a substantial majority in the Legislative Assembly (in?) 1913 said:—"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the people of the Philippines. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the independence of the islands and as a preparation

for that independence. The administration will take one step at once. It will give to the native citizens of the islands a majority in the Commission and thus in the Upper as well as in the Lower House of the Legislature. . . . We place within your reach the instruments of redemption. The door of opportunity stands open, and the power under Providence is in your hands. The trial is as great for us as it is for you. Noble words these, and nobly have the Americans come forward to fulfil them. As a result of this announcement the following measures have been introduced.

The Central Government in the Philippines is composed of the Governor-General, who is the chief executive and president of the Philippine Commission, and eight Commissioners, three Americans and five Philipinos. The Philippine Commission constitutes the Upper House and the elective Philippine Assembly the Lower House of the Legislative body. The members of the Assembly hold office for four years, and the Legislature elects two Resident Commissioners to the United States, who hold office for the same term. These are members of the United States House of Representatives with a voice but not a vote. The islands are divided into 86 provinces of which 31 are regular and the rest special. The Government of each of the regular provinces is vested in a provincial board composed of a Governor and two vocals.

The Governor is the chief executive of the province and presiding officer of the board. He and the vocals of the board are all elected by popular vote. The Government of towns is practically autonomous, the officials being elected by the qualified voters of the municipalities and serving for four years. The Jones' Bill of Independence introduced in the United States Legislature proposed to confer complete independence on the Philipinos not later than four years from the passing of the bill. In place of the present Philippine Commission, which is abolished, the Philipinos are to elect a Senate. The House is already elected by the people, and with election of the Senate, the electorate is to be increased by about 600,000. As about 200,000 Philipinos vote now the new law will grant voting rights to about 800,000. The office of Governor-General is retained and there is to be a Vice-Governor-General an American, whose duties are to be fixed by the Governor-General. The functions of the Legislature are limited so as to provide that the coinage, emergency and immigration law shall not be made without the approval of the President of the United States. Finally, all Americans residing in the islands who desire to vote must become citizens of the Islands

The Republican points out also that the preamble of the bill fixes no specific date for the granting of independence, but simply states that it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognise their independence as soon as a suitable Government can be established therein. Therefore, as justly pointed out by the *Indio Patriot*, enlarged powers of Self-Government are granted in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise the Governmental powers, they may the better be prepared fully to assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

Thus a complete autonomous federal Government has already been established in the islands in which the Philipinos largely preponderate over the Americans. In which the actual administration has been substantially transferred to them. There is no bureaucracy in the Philippines, no Jingo Press there. No, there is no ruler and ruled, no sedition and no internments. Self-Government has established a reign of peace and contentment. Every Philipino is now a free citizen unemasculated by the operation of any Arms Act and unfettered by any Press Law. Are the arm-chair critics who so lavishly indulge in abusing the Indian Nationalists for their "extravagant hopes" and "unrealisable demands" prepared to give any explanation of this phenomenal progress of the Philippines under the suzerainty of America? What is the difference between the Union Jack and the Star and Stripes? Let Sir William Wedderburn, who was as distinguished a member of the Indian Civil Service as his views have always commanded respect for their sobriety, soundness and moderation, answer. Sir William commenting on the question of Self-Government as viewed on a reference to the Philippines pertinently asks,—"Can anybody show valid cause why this good example (of America) should not be followed by the British Government with regard to India? Are the Philipinos in any respect superior to the people of India? or is it that the British people are inferior to the Americans in love of principle and moral courage?" We pause for a reply as to which of the alternatives is correct. Sir William then adds,—"the problem in India is much simpler, for India does not ask for a termination of the British connection; but I can say with certainty that among our best friends in India there exists great disquiet, produced by the silence of the Government regarding their future policy, accompanied by irritating retrogressive legislation in Parliament and fresh activity of police repression in India."

Philippines have developed an instinct for Self-Government within 18 years no amount of reasoning or argument can satisfy the Indian mind that the Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsis and the Christians of India have not made even a near approach to it within 160 years; and if they are not yet fit for self-government, I despair of a time when they may be so.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

There is yet another question which ought to be clearly understood in connection with our demand for self-Government. Is it any appreciable increase in our share in the administration that we demand on the permanent basis of the present system of Government? Or is it a thorough change in the constitution irrespective of all considerations of larger employment of the children of the soil in the public services? To be more explicit, let us put the question in its naked form. Supposing the Public Service Commission, whose report is still a sealed book to the people of this country, have recommended that not less than one-half or even two-thirds of the appointments in the different civil services should be filled up by Indians, but that the present bureaucracy must always continue to be in power, would such a recommendation, even if accepted by the Government, satisfy Indian aspirations? I know the answer will be in the negative. Such an arrangement will only serve to add a number of Indian bureaucrats without adding a bit to the powers and privileges of the people, and there would not be much to choose between the present bureaucracy and its proposed substitution. It is the system and not the "personnel" of the administration from which the people suffer. It is the rotten soil that breeds rank weeds. It is only a radical change in the form and constitution of the Government however slow or tentative in its character, but steady and continuous in its development, that can satisfy the growing spirit of the Indian people and remove their grievances. If the British Parliament were after the war to hold in one hand a very high percentage of the public employments and a small modicum of real Self-Government in the other and to ask India to choose between the two, I am sure, she would unhesitatingly grasp the one and let go the other.

ANARCHY AND REPRESSION

Gentlemen, the new spirit to which I have already referred frankly refuses to believe in the liberalisation of a bureaucratic administration. The spirit is common both to the young and the old with this difference only that, while the old would proceed

cautiously and steadily, the young are moved by the enthusiastic ardour natural to their age. If the Congress has so far persistently advanced the claims of the people to a larger share in the various public services, it has done so more from an economic point of view than for the satisfaction of its demands for a national government. Irresponsible critics who denounce the new spirit ought to remember that it is not a sudden and abnormal growth in the Indian mind. It has appeared in Egypt, in Turkey, in Persia and in China and in fact in every country where autocratic rule has prevailed. All these countries have undergone the hammering process and everywhere hammering has served only to beat soft metals into hard ones. Anarchism and lawlessness have in all these countries followed in the wake of misrule.

The appearance of anarchism in the land has been a source of the deepest concern to the Government and the people alike. Both are interested in its irradiation, alike for the ends of peaceful government and the progressive development of the country on constitutional lines. But we must know what the disease is before we can apply the remedy. Anarchism has its roots deep in economic and political conditions. One asks how is that free countries like England and France or America are free from this taint. There the blessings of freedom of industrial progress and of peace and contentment which follow in their train reign over the land. Let those great blessings be ours and anarchism will disappear. It is of western origin. It is an excrescence which ought to disappear with healing measures calculated to diffuse broadcast the blessings of political contentment and of material prosperity. By all means punish evil-doers and iniquitous breakers of the law who commit wanton assaults on the lives and properties of their fellow countrymen. But repression is not the true remedy. Repression when unwisely enforced and against the sober sense and judgment of the community must aggravate the situation and strengthen those forces of discontent which are the breeding ground of anarchism. "The sovereign remedy for public distemper," says Burke, "is conciliation and not coercion, for though coercion may succeed for a time it always leaves room for coercing again." A sufficient trial has been given to the orthodox method of the bureaucracy and the Congress urges that the other method should now be tried.

THE ASSURANCES

Gentlemen, we are roundly charged with revelling in "extravagant hopes" and indulging in "unrealisable demands." But we

has long refused to profit by the very friendly and eminently practical suggestions of those whose only claim to be regarded as *Statesmen* or *Englishmen* consists in the proud names which they have like the "bogus medical degree" assumed for themselves. We do not judge the great British nation by specimens of this kind who do no honour to the English name. If we had done that the Congress would have long ago wound up its business and gone into voluntary liquidation. The descendants of Howard and Wilberforce, of Burke and Bright, of Macaulay and Maine, and of Canning and Ripon are not yet extinct. It is a nation of giants who refuse to tolerate injustice and perpetuate serfdom wherever they may exist, if only they are satisfied of their existence, and who possess a responsive heart to the call of freedom. It has been truly said that it is not Britain's heart, but Britain's ear, that has been so long deaf to the wail that has been raised in this country. But the din of war has risen above all and thrilling demonstrations of India's fidelity to the British connection have disabused many a robust mind in England of the hobgoblin stories to which they have been so lavishly treated in the past; and liberals and conservatives have, therefore, with equal emphasis come to recognise as rational what has been denounced as "extravagant hopes" and "unrealisable demands" of the Indian people. Let us recall to-day only a few of the many assurances that have been given to India by some of the responsible ministers and men who are now guiding the destinies of the Empire.

The 'Times', the leading organ of conservative opinion in England, has been struck with the unexpected demonstration in India and frankly admitted that the Indian problem must be henceforth looked at from a different point of view. "On our part," says the great journal, "when we have settled account with the enemy, India must be allowed a more ample place in the councils of the Empire." Both Mr. Montagu and Mr. Roberts, as Under-Secretary for India, have from time to time expressed themselves in no uncertain voice as to the correct lines upon which the Indian administration requires to be revised and modified. Mr. Montagu's honest interpretation of Lord Hardinge's Despatch of August 1911 is well-known, while Mr. Roberts speaking from his place in the House of Commons has frankly acknowledged that with the intellectual classes of India this outburst of loyalty is a "reasoned sentiment based upon considerations of enlightened self-interest," and has at the same time asked the British public to alter "the angle of vision" in their perspective of the Indian problem. Following the 'Times,' the 'Review of Reviews'

has, in one of its latest numbers, fairly admitted that "India to-day occupies a higher place in the Empire than ever before and has materially advanced her claims towards self-Government, and it is inevitable that, after the war, her outstanding demands should receive the most sympathetic considerations." "We have," the 'Review' adds, "made promises of self-Government to Egypt, and it is inconceivable that we should deny the same privileges to India. At present India is not pressing her claim, but patiently awaits her just due, not as a reward, but as a right which her conduct has shown her worthy of possessing." Lord Haldane who till recently occupied a commanding position in the cabinet said:—"The Indian soldiers were fighting for the liberties of humanity, as much as we ourselves. India had given her lives and treasures in humanity's great cause, hence things could not be left as they were. We had been thrown together in the mighty struggle and had been made to realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be victory for the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it to a higher level." Then at a recent meeting held at Guildhall at the instance of the Lord Mayor, Mr. Asquith, the premier and Mr. Bonar Law, the erstwhile leader of the opposition and both now united in coalition ministry, have given a joint pledge for the readjustment of India's position in the councils of the Empire after the war is over. But, to quote the words of Mr. Bonar Law, why the thing should not be done "while the metal was still glowing red-hot from the furnace of the war" and the promised rewards of India's comradeship and co-operation should be all relegated to the indefinite future and not one of them even shadowed forth in the present programme of the Imperial Government, seems to be inexplicable. Quite recently Lord Chelmsford is reported to have said that "the war by giving India an opportunity to show its practical importance to the Empire had stirred Indian aspirations for developments politically and economically. It would be his endeavour to secure a practical response to this new desire for progress." His Lordship is said to have added: "My task is to guard India from cramping influences of undue conservatism equally with impractical revolutionary tendencies."

Now, are these men of less authority, foresight and responsibility than the members of the Indian bureaucracy or its exponents in the Anglo-Indian Press who are ever loud and positive in denouncing our claims? Or, are these assurances all a hoax intended to delude the Indian mind? We positively refuse to accept any such view which would be a gross calumny on the great British nation.

We have much greater confidence in British statesmanship which may have blundered in many places but has failed nowhere. Gentlemen, no gloomy anticipations; but we shudder to contemplate the serious effect which the non-fulfilment of these pledges is likely to produce in the minds of the Indian public. The Partition of Bengal which was after all a provincial question brought in its trial an outburst of disaffection which like wild fire spread throughout the whole country and necessitated a full brigade of repressive measures to put it down, although its mouldering sparks are not yet fully extinct. And how wide-spread and far-reaching must be the unrest which is sure to follow a light-hearted treatment of these solemn pledges and assurances upon which the people have so firmly and so confidently built their future hopes of advancement? God forbid that such a calamity should befall India. As loyal subjects of His Majesty we of the Congress deem it our duty to tell all whom it may concern not to treat the Indian problem after the war as lightly as some irresponsible and mischievous critics are evidently disposed to do. Already a subdued note of the "scrap of paper" has been raised in certain quarters. The Charter Act of 1833, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the two gracious messages of King Edward VII and George V still remain unredeemed, and it would be no wise statesmanship to add to the burden of unredeemed pledges. England has been drawn into the vortex of a titanic struggle for the deliverance of Belgium and Serbia. God grant she may come out with her brave allies completely triumphant in her heroic efforts. She has however a much greater stake in India and India has a much greater claim upon her consideration. Let us hope she will not fail to be at least as just as she is generous. After the war is over a complete readjustment of the Empire will have to be made; all its component parts will have to be co-ordinated and harmonised with one another and with the parent state. India alone cannot be left out of this programme. She must be admitted into common and equal partnership with the colonies on terms of equal rights and obligations of the Empire, enjoying equal laws and equal rights of British citizenship throughout that Empire. The collar of a Dependency should be removed from her neck and the coronet of an autonomous, self-governing state placed upon her head. What a glorious federation it would then be, more glorious than that of the Roman Empire or of any that the world has yet seen. England would do well to remember in her own interest that she cannot maintain a condition of perpetual papillage anywhere within her world wide possessions

without slowly and imperceptibly inoculating herself with its poison in her own home. Demoralisation in one part of the body however remote must inevitably result, if not remedied, in the ultimate deterioration of the whole system. Past experience has shown that for greater cohesion and solidarity of the Empire its component parts must be brought into closer touch and more intimate relations between one another and the mother country. India alone cannot be excluded from equal consideration in the coming readjustment, for if she were to be so excluded India's position is sure to be worse than even at present. If the colonies are allowed a representation in the federal council of the Empire they will undoubtedly have a voice in the administration of India and, for aught we know, their representatives may sometimes find a place in the Cabinet and also become the Secretary of State for India. If India is denied such representation she will be further degraded as being subject also to the colonies. There is a serious danger in admitting the colonies to a participation in determining the policy that is to be followed in relation to India, for the colonial mind is saturated with the colour prejudice which would thus be reflected in the Government of India. Such a change in the "angle of vision" it would be dreadful to contemplate. If the equilibrium of the Empire is to be maintained India must also be thrown into the scale: She must be freely admitted into the partnership and given a free constitution like that of the self-governing dominions and a fair representation in the federal council along with the colonies.

OUR DEMANDS

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now propose as a summary to the foregoing discussions to submit a few "daring and impetuous" proposals for the consideration of the Government both in England as well as in India. A memorandum presented by nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council has met with the criticism of both sides. Some have regarded it as premature and falling short of our demands, while others have denounced it as extravagant. The circumstances which brought about the submission of this memorandum have already been explained to the public; while, as I read it, this memorandum represents neither the irreducible minimum nor the unenhancible maximum of our demands; nor do I understand the signatories to it to mean that their proposals are to be carried out on the morning following the day on which the Treaty of Berlin may be signed. The signatories to the memorandum have, however, done me one great service. They have

born the front of the fusilade and made my passage less difficult, so as to enable me to press forward unnoticed under cover of their fire. As on the other side of the shield our misfortune is that we are unable to see where the extravagance comes in. We have no superfluities in any direction and for such people as are likely to indulge in extravagance seems to be out of the question. Extravagance may seize the minds of those who have got enough to spare. However that may be, here are our demands which God willing are bound to be fulfilled at no distant date.

1. India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing state as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

2. In any scheme of readjustment after the war, India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the colonies of the Empire.

3. India must be governed from Delhi and Simla, and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under Secretaries of State for India one should be an Indian and the salaries of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the dominions. India must have complete autonomy financial, legislative as well as administrative.

4. The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain head of all the local administrations and unless we can ensure its progressive character any effective reform of the local governments would be impossible. For this the services must be completely separated from the State and no member of any service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a service may be utilised in the departments, but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

5. The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor-General with a number of ministers not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non-official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this ministry of the Viceroy

will possess the composite character of a parliamentary and non-parliamentary cabinet.

6. The Upper House of representatives in Canada is composed of 48 members. The Supreme Legislative Council in India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period one-third may be appointed by the cabinet, not more than one-fourth of whom may be officials.

7. The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like money Bills, and except the military estimates, the entire budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

8. The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous, each Province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution towards the maintenance of the Supreme Government.

9. A Provincial Administration should be vested, as in the case of the Supreme Government, in a Governor with a cabinet not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

10. The Provincial Legislative Council should in the case of a major province consist of 100 members and in the case of a minor province of 75 members all of whom should be elected by the people and each district must have at least one representative of its own. For the transitory period there should of course be the same conditions and restrictions as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council.

11. As the executive and the legislative functions are to be separated, so there must be complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions of the State. The judicial administration, whether civil or criminal, should be wholly vested in the High Courts both as regards control as well as the pay, prospect, and promotion of its officers. The High Courts should be subordinate only to the Supreme Government.

12. The Arms Act should be repealed, or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with the Europeans and Eurasians. The Press Act should be removed from Statute Book and all the repressive measures withdrawn.

13. India should have a national militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards and they should be

allow volunteers themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The Commissioned ranks in the army should be thrown open to His Majesty's Indian Subjects.

14. A full measure of local self-Government should be immediately granted throughout the country, and the Corporation of the Presidency towns, the District and the Taluk Boards and the district municipal corporations should be made perfectly self-governing bodies with elected members and elected chairmen of their own. They should be freed from all official control except such as may be legally exercised by the Government direct.

15. Mass education should be made free and compulsory. Suitable provisions should also be made for the development and encouragement of indigenous industries.

The above is a summary of our demands. We do not fix any time limit for the duration of the war is uncertain and there must be a transitory period through which the process must pass. But if we fix no time-limit, we agree to no indefinite postponement either. Some of these proposals can and ought to be immediately carried out and there is no reason why they should wait for the termination of the war; while there are others which cannot of course be settled until the time for the readjustment of the Empire arrives; but we must be distinctly understood to maintain that this period should not be treated as a further extension granted to the present system of administration and its methods. There must be henceforth a distinct tendency visible in every branch of the administration to conciliate the people and inspire trust and confidence in the future policy of the Government. As words without thoughts never to heaven go, so promises without performance and sympathy without action can never touch the hearts of a people. Patience has often been prescribed as the sovereign remedy for all distempers: but it cannot be denied that when the most skilful physician is unable for a long time to show any sign of improvement and on the contrary there are continued symptoms of aggravation, a suspicion naturally may arise in the mind of the patient as to the skill of the physician or the efficacy of his methods. On our part, gentlemen, we must be content to ascend

STEP BY STEP

It is no argument to say that you have long acquired the capacity to make the ascent. You might have ten years before safely tried the experiment; but it does not follow that you can

therefore cover ten steps or even two steps at a time. Whenever you have to ascend you must begin from the base and rise steadily and cautiously upwards. Of course it would be no progress if you gain one step and lose two. Doubtless we ought carefully to see that we have no ground and then even if our progress be slow we may hasten on reaching our destined goal.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE

Gentlemen, one word about our British agency in London. It is perfectly superfluous for me to point out that no business-concern can be successfully carried on without a well-equipped and efficient agency at its principal place of business. In England is the real seat of power and the battle of India must be fought on the British soil. Though it is we who must fight it out, we must have the British public as our ally. That public must be informed and influenced so as to enable it to come to a correct judgment of our case. There is an erroneous impression in certain quarters that as our grievances are so numerous and so palpable they must be known to the British people also. But who is there to carry your message to England? You certainly cannot expect "Reuter" to do it. You certainly do not believe that retired Anglo-Indians will proclaim their own defects and shortcomings. On the contrary there are the leading official reports always to present a roseate view of the administration, giving credit for whatever is good, throwing the entire blame for all that is bad on your shoulders and justifying all sorts of repressive measures. The British public in their ignorance easily swallow all these 'ex parte' cock and bull stories and consider the Indian administration to be a perfect Utopia. So you must have a counsel of your own to represent your case before the great tribunal of public opinion in Great Britain if you do not wish judgment to go against you by default. Sir William Wedderburn is performing this function at no small sacrifice to himself. India cannot repay the deep debt which she owes to him and his colleagues on the British Committee and the poet's words are her only satisfaction that a grateful mind by owing owes not, but always remains indebted and discharged. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, the worthy son of a worthy father, following in the footsteps of his illustrious parent has been doing yeoman's service to India. The British Committee and its sole organ "India" must be maintained at all costs if we are to carry on our operations at the vital front. It has always seemed to me of the utmost importance to associate with the British Committee at least one competent Indian permanently located in

England. The great services rendered there some years back by the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and recently by our distinguished countryman Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta ought to be an object lesson to us. But for all these a permanent Congress Fund is an imperative necessity. The granting of small doles by the Congress every year which are always larger in their arrears than in their payments and the undignified spectacle of one of the leaders, every year extending his beggarly Brahmanical hand for such pittance is not the way of practical men engaged in practical business. There is no dearth of men who are rolling in the superfluities of their unearned heritages. Large sums of money are still spent throughout the country in mere shows and ceremonies of the most temporary interest; and if we cannot even raise so much as twice a couple of lakhs of rupees for the uplifting of the nation, then are we rightly treated by our rulers as an inferior race and twitted by our critics as mere men of words indulging in "extravagant hopes" and "unrealisable demands."

CONCLUSION.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I have exhausted your patience although I have failed to exhaust my theme. My last words are to those bright young faces whom I see before me. My dear young friends and country-men, you are our hostages to posterity. Every generation has a perpetual devolution and succession of rights and responsibilities. The acquisition of one generation becomes the heritage of the next, and it is the duty of each generation not only to enjoy what it receives from its predecessor, but also to transmit its heritage consolidated, augmented and improved to the one coming after it. Many of those who preceded you in this national struggle have been gathered to their fathers, while those who are still in the field belong to a fast vanishing generation. You ought now to press forward to take their place and hold aloft the banner which is drooping from their sinking hand. Like the mother of the Grachi India, poor India, shorn of her prestige grandeur and glory has only to boast of "you" as her "precious jewels." Remember of what great nation you are born. It was for you that in the early morning of the world the 'Vedas' were revealed and in a later period democratic Islam came with the 'Koran' and the practical Parsi with the 'Zend Avesta.' Yours is the heritage of three of the most ancient civilisations of the world which have formed as it were, a glorious confluence of three streams in this sacred land of yours; while to these in the dispersion of an in-

scrutable Providence a fourth has recently been added to constitute a 'Sagara-Sa'ngama' for the deliverance of your race. It was for you that 'Vyasa' wrote and 'Valmiki' sung and it was for you that 'Patanjali' evolved the loftiest of philosophies and the 'Geeta' expounded the sublime mysticism. It was here that, more than two thousand years ago 'Buddha Gautama,' the truest and greatest benefactor of mankind, first taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood of men, which now sways the minds of one fifth of the population of this habitable globe, and it was here that five hundred years ago "Sree Chaitanya" preached the gospel of love, fraternity, and equality from the banks of the Ganges to the banks of the Narbudda; and now modern civilisation is prostituting science filling the air, land and water with deadly engines for the destruction of God's creation. But let us not be great only in the worship of a great past. A mighty wave of changes is surging throughout this world and India is passing through a momentous transition. Her future is in your hands. You can either make or mar that future. If I were asked, what was the first demand of the Motherland upon her children at this juncture, I would unhesitatingly answer that it is Patriotism. And the second?—Patriotism. And the third?—Patriotism. I do not mean that morbid sentiment which rises like a pocket and falls like a stone; not that sentiment which takes a man off his feet and lands him in disasters: not that sentiment which leads to passion and does not appeal to reason; but I mean that supreme virtue which enlightens the head and ennoble the heart, and under the heavenly inspiration of which a man forgets his self and merges his individuality, like a drop in an ocean, in the vast all-absorbing interest of his country, feeding only on self-sacrifice and ever growing on what it feeds. To the Indian Nationalists their country must be their religion "taught by no priests but by the beating hearts" and 'her' welfare their common faith "which makes the many one." Hushed be the whispers of jealousy and spite and silenced be the discordant notes of rancorous dissensions amongst you. Sink all your differences in a supreme common cause. Unite and stand solidly shoulder to shoulder resolved either to conquer or to die. Or, what is life worth if we cannot live like men? Firm and resolute in your purpose, be always manly and dignified in your attitude and sober and cautious in your steps. Be loyal to your King and devoted to your country. Diligence as your task is, constitutionalism must be your method: There is no royal road to freedom. Reverse, there must be, but reverses should only stiffen your backs. Do not despair, for despair is the bynote of failure.

The pendulum may be swinging forward and backward: but look up and see the hand of invisible Time is perpetually marking its progress on the dial of the destiny of your country. Above all, remember that nations are not born but made. They must grow from within but cannot be made to grow from without. You must stand on your own legs and be prepared to fight it out with heart within and God overhead. 'Dieu-et-Mon-Droit' is the motto emblazoned on the British Coat of Arms and as citizens of the British Empire 'God and My Right' ought to be your watch-word and battle-cry in the bloodless revolution which is taking place in this country. Be ambitious but not proud; be humble but aspire to a nobler, manlier and healthier life. What have you to boast of but your vanished glories! You are Uitlanders in your own country. In the burning words of the Father of Congress—

"What avail your wealth, your learning,
Empty titles, sordid trade?
True Self-rule were worth them all!
Nations by themselves are made."

"Bande Mataram."

SPEECHES ON SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION

THE HON. BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE

Ladies and gentlemen, we are on the eve of a great reconstruction. The world after the war will not be the same as it was before the war. England and India will participate in that reconstruction. The object of the war is to vindicate the sanctity of treaty obligations, to protect the rights of minor nationalities, to uphold the sacredness of scraps and bits of paper. In the same spirit, I submit, we are entitled to hold that the gracious messages contained in our charters and proclamations should be redeemed and upheld; for the moral law does not work by latitudes and longitudes. It is of universal application. The latest variation on the subject of readjustment that we have had is the one made by Lord Chelmsford to an American correspondent. His Excellency observed that the war has stimulated the aspirations of India politically as well as industrially, that it would be his duty to give them a practical form and recognition—now mark the words—to guard them—I am quoting almost the exact language—to guard them against the cramping influences of undue conservatism and also against revolutionary tendencies. A noble message nobly delivered. If His Excellency can carry out this message, he will go down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of the Indian people. But, brother delegates, I desire to raise a note of warning. There has been, of late, a tendency to err on the side of caution. A high authority, supposed to be a power behind the throne, speaking in Simla at a public meeting at which the question of post-war reforms was discussed, said that if Akbar had been more cautious and less imaginative, possibly the Mogul Empire in India would have endured till to-day. Prophecy in regard to matters that might have been but were not is a perfectly safe occupation. Might I not be permitted to indulge in the same pastime and say that if Akbar had not followed this bold and courageous policy, the Mogul Empire would not have taken root in the hearts of the people? I am supported by the authority of the historians of Akbar and by an overwhelming array of facts. Mark what happened before the establishment of the Mogul power in India. Dynasty after dynasty followed one another in rapid succession. There were

five dynasties within the space of 300 years giving an average life of 60 years to each. Akbar grasped the situation and saw the weakness of it all and initiated a bold and statesmanlike policy, which enshrined him in the heart of the people and laid broad and deep the foundations of the Moghul Empire. And I am sure that if Akbar had followed any other policy which failed to attract the hearts of the people, the state which had overtaken the previous dynasties would have been his.

Ladies and gentlemen, Lord Chelmsford has observed that it would be his duty to guard the country against revolutionary tendencies. I think His Excellency may rely with resolute confidence upon the unstinted support of the educated community in this matter. We are not revolutionaries. (Cries of 'No, no, no.') Revolution is repugnant to our instincts and to our nature. We are the friends of reform (hear, hear), because it is the sure safeguard against revolution. All history proclaims the truth that reforms indefinitely, postponed or tardily carried out, are inadequate in their scope and comprehension, prepare the ground for revolutionary propagandas. God grant that this blunder may not be committed in India. We know it was committed in Ireland. We are anxious that the same mistake may not be repeated here (hear, hear). Lord Chelmsford said to be Deputation of the Indian Associations—I was a member of that deputation—that reforms would not be rapid. Well, whether they be rapid or slow, let there be no reforms by dribble with a background of mistrust and suspicion. Whatever reform is conceded, let it be whole-hearted, let it be the index of a generous trust reposed in the people, and, above all, let it be adequate to the growing aspirations of India. Any reform that fails to satisfy this test must give rise to disappointment, create discontent, frustrate the object of all reforms, which is to keep pace with an advancing public opinion. I hope and trust that it may be Lord Chelmsford's high privilege to grant us reforms which will satisfy the growing aspirations of the people and be consonant with the scheme which has been formulated and which is now before you.

Brother delegates, there is a widespread feeling all over the Empire that after the war, self-government should be conceded to India, or that at any rate, a definite step should be taken towards it. The difference of opinion between Indian Nationalists and our critics is this: We say we should have self-government at once or in the immediate future. They say we must pass through purgatory on our way heavenwards. Mr. Lionel Curtis (cries of shame) never

mind—he is a man who has written several books on the subject. He exercises considerable influence over English public opinion. He may or may not be an opponent of Indian aspirations, but he meets him on his own ground. In his book "The Problem of the Commonwealth," he says, "The task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who rule. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except a means to it." The preparation of the races living within the British Empire for self-government is, according to Mr. Lionel Curtis, a spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and it is the sole justification for British rule in this country. Material order is a means to that end. All administrative measures are subordinated to this spiritual end which overshadows every other aim and purpose. So far so good; we are all in agreement with Mr. Lionel Curtis. But when he comes to the question of self-government for India, he cries out, 'Not yet'. That is an outcry. He says you cannot have self-government now. Why not? Because you have not got suitable electorates. To that my reply is, had you any electorates in the United Kingdom worth the name before the Reform bill of 1882 (hear, hear). Is it not notorious that there were those pocket boroughs which were openly bought and sold? And yet no one questioned the competency of the English people for self-government. Had Japan electorates suitable or otherwise when the Mikado conferred parliamentary institutions upon that country? Had the Philippines any electorates, qualified or otherwise, when the American Republic resolved to concede national independence to the people of the Philippines? The growth and development of electorates is part of the growth and development of free institutions. They are inseparable and linked together. They act and react upon each other and strengthen each other by their mutual interaction.

It is said that we are not fit for self-Government. We are, forsooth, unfit for self-rule. In the morning of the world, when Europe was sunk in barbarism, our ancestors had those village communities which represent the first beginnings of self-government and which survived the vicissitudes of time and fortune. We are not fit for self-government! Go back to the days of the Vedic Rishis. What do you find? The king was an elected monarch—so says Dr. Pramad Nath Banerjee in his book. And even in the Middle Ages, the memory of an elected sovereign lingers in the institutions of the land. Analyse the institution of Islam. What do you find? Islamic Society and Government are saturated with the spirit of democracy; and

The Caliph, the spiritual head of the Moslem world, originally owed his authority, his position and dignity to the choice of the Faithful. There is no community in the world in which the spirit of equality is more visible and more active than that professing the creed of Islam. And yet we are told, we Hindus and Mussalmans are not fit for self-government. When shall we be so fit, may I ask? When will the bureaucracy think that we are? (Laughter) And when will that be? Doomsday? (Renewed laughter). There is yet another authority which may give us self-government. What is that? The Parliament of England. But it takes a long time to move Parliament. Sir Henry Fowler said on one occasion that every member of the House of Commons was a member for India; what is everybody's business is nobody's business. We have found that from our painful personal experience. Nobody cares for India. England and Englishmen are so deeply concerned in their own affairs, absorbed in their own administration and government that they find it impossible to pay any attention to India. Who then will determine the time when self-government is to be conceded to us? You and I (Hear, hear, and applause). For nations by themselves are made. (Hear, hear.) Enlist on your behalf all the sympathy you can of Englishmen and Englishwomen and of the civilised world; but bear in mind you and you alone are the final arbiters of the destinies of the Motherland. (Applause.) Cromwell on one occasion made a memorable remark of which I am reminded at the present moment. On the eve of the battle of Naseby, when a severe thunder storm passed over the encampment, addressing his troops, he said, "keep your powder dry and pray." Pray by all means, but keep your powder dry. Don't lose sight of the material resources which are necessary for success in this world. Spiritual agencies are a mighty factor but the material resources are not to be despised. The salvation of India is to be wrought upon Indian soil by Indian hands, by Indian brains and by Indian agency. (Applause.) Have by all means the sympathies of Englishmen and of the civilised world, but it is you who will determine the great question for yourselves.

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know whether I have already exhausted your patience. (Cries of 'No, no.') I have a few more remarks to make. Why is it that we want self-government? We want self-government in the interests of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong. We want self-government in the interests of the efficiency of the administration. We want self-government for self-protection. And, finally, we want self-government for the higher ends of national existence, for the moral and spiritual eleva-

tion of our people. I say we want self-government in the interests of the Empire. Who knows what will happen 50 years hence? Who knows what strife, what struggle, what difficulties there may be hidden in the womb of the future? Who knows that another war more sanguinary and more devastating than the one which is now desolating Europe may not again break out with all its attendant horrors and cast its shadows upon the fortunes of humanity? Is it not the duty of statesmanship to be forewarned and to be forearmed to take the necessary measures of preparation against a contingency of this kind? Who has even dreamt 50 years back, after the battle of Sedan, that England and Germany would stand and fight with one another? You talk of the man-power of Germany. But look nearer home. We are as multitudinous as the stars of heaven, as countless as the sands of the sea. I say to the rulers of India, rely upon us, trust us, and Germany will quail before the man-power you hold in reserve in India. (Hear, hear). Marshman says in his history of British India the grandsons of those who fought against Baber became under Akbar the governors of his provinces, the captains of his armies, and the ministers of his councils. Let such trust be reposed in us, and England may give with serenity the mightiest combination that may be formed again at her Imperial sway. Self-government is the cement of the Empire. It has knit together the self-governing colonies in the bonds of an indissoluble union. It has converted hostile Boers into loyal citizens shedding their blood in suppressing a rebellion of their own countrymen against the Empire, which has conferred upon them the inestimable gift of freedom. If self-government is conceded to us, the same results will follow in this ancient land.

We want self-government for the efficiency of the administration. Sir Henry Campbell Bannermann has told us that good government is no substitute for self-government. I will go a step further and add that in fairly progressive communities, self-government is the only guarantee for good government. Good government is no substitute for self-government but self-government is necessary for good government, and we claim it for the purpose of good government.

We want self-government for the purpose of self-protection. You might ask—what do you mean by self-protection? At the present moment there is visible on the horizon a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which, I am afraid, unless timely precautions are taken is destined to assume formidable proportions and bursting

upon us may overwhelm us. What is that cloud? It is the prospect of a federal council of the Empire from which we are to be excluded on which there will be colonial representatives. The self-governing colonies are soaked in colour prejudice. From the Federal Council of the Empire, they will determine the policy and the principles of Indian administration. We must put our own house in order and have self-rule before this dire catastrophe overwhelms us.

We want self-government finally for the highest ends of national existence, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. Political inferiority involves moral degradation. It is galling to our self-respect. The mind and the conscience of a free man are not the mind and conscience of a slave. A nation of slaves could never have produced a Patanjali, a Buddha, or a Valmiki. We want self-government in order that we might wipe off from our brows the badge of political inferiority and uplift our heads among the nations of the earth, so that we may fulfil the great destinies that are in store for us under the blessing of Divine Providence. We want self-government not only in our own interests but for the sake of humanity at large. In the morning of the world, on the banks of the Ganges and on the banks of the Janina, the Vedic Rishis sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the Divine ideal. In the morning of the world, before the Eternal city had been built on the seven hills, we were the spiritual preceptors of mankind. Kashi was flourishing before Babylon. Our past takes us back to the dim twilight of history. In those days, when the world was sunk in primeval barbarism, we were the guides and instructors of mankind. Has our mission been fulfilled? It has been arrested and will have to be renewed, aye, renewed and fulfilled, so that we may rescue humanity from the gross materialism and the perverse moral culture which has heaped the battle fields of Europe with the hecatombs of the dead. But we must be fully equipped before we can adequately discharge this high and exalted function. Self-Government is the indispensable equipment. These are the ideals, the hopes and the aspirations which inspire us in the demand for Self-Government. Our work is not political: it is moral, it is religious. We are therefore irresistible and invincible.

To-day is a red letter day in our history. To-day Hindus and Mahomedans and all ranks of the National party are united on this platform inspired by a common resolve and a common purpose. May the memory of this day be embalmed in the recollections of

posterity by the inauguration of a new campaign for the attainment of self-government. It is no use our holding a session for three days and then going to sleep for the rest of the year. We must resolve in our hearts and take a vow such as we did in connection with the Swadeshi movement and enter into a league and covenant before God and man that we shall not rest from these labours until we have secured for ourselves the great and inestimable blessing of Self-Government. (Hear, hear and applause.)

II Mrs. BESANT.

You have just heard the scheme of reforms which has been passed by the All-India Congress Committee in Conference with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. Those reforms are alluded to in the second clause, and you will see that they are meant for a transition period to be passed as soon as possible and to lead up to that change, which is to come with the reconstruction of the Empire after the War—that change to the Self-Government of India on a footing of equality with the Self-Governing Dominions. It is to the last clause that I propose to ask your attention. The last clause says that in the reconstruction of the Empire after the War, India shall be lifted from the dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions. With regard to that, it is said that you ought not to embarrass the British Government by raising such a question as this in the middle of the War. We are only following the example of the Self-Governing Dominions. We are only taking the advice of Mr. Bonar Law who advised the Dominions to strike the iron while it was red hot. After the reconstruction of the Empire the iron will be cold, and where, I ask, is the blacksmith who allows a red hot iron to cool down before he strikes it to the shape and form he wants?

We hear at this moment much talk about the five Nations who are to form a Federated Empire after the War. Where is India? Oh! She is not one of the five. She is a coloured people, and coloured people are to have the right of domination over them by colourless people. Coloured people have only the duty of submission. (Cries of Shame.) But that is not the doctrine that the coloured nation at least is willing to accept. We are civilised natives of South Africa, that we should bow our heads beneath the yoke of the five nations. It is not colour (colourlessness?) that makes clever brains. The

word Buddha and the Christ were coloured men. All the founders of religion were coloured men. Have the colourless produced a single founder of religion. We will never bow beneath the yoke of the Colonies.

We are not to spread bitterness against Colonies. I think the writer of that was begun at the wrong end. How we excluded the Colonies from India, because they could not read or write some language of which they knew nothing? Was this country or was it Australia that passed that Law? Have we said that no North American or Canadian could come to India unless he comes straight from port to port when there is no line of ships that carries straight from one to the other, or has Canada made that law against the Indian people? What is this talk of bitterness? Bitterness is caused by the Colonies and not by India. Let this advice be given to the Colonies and not to India. The Indian had no share in the making of that feeling.

Oh! We are not fit to govern ourselves and we are divided! Are we? (Cries of No.) We have shown some power of union during the last few years. Our Congress was split into half nine years ago. But we stand a United Congress to-day. Hindus and Muslims had a gulf between them, not in Kashmir where a Hindu Prince rules, not in the Deccan where a Muslim Prince is the sovereign, but only in the British Raj, and that gulf has been bridged by Muslims and Hindus themselves, and we have linked our hands in love, in trust, in mutual forbearance, in mutual respect, and we stand, to-day, a united Nation that nothing shall hereafter break asunder.

Oh! you are not fit for Self-Government. You are ignorant. Who has the right to cast that reproach at the masses of our people? It was late Mr. Gopala Krishna Gokhale who tried to win free and compulsory education cautiously, carefully, step by step, for he was not an impatient idealist in the world, however much his heart went with impatient idealism. An Indian tried to educate his brethren, but who is it that denied it? It was the Imperial Council with its perpetual majority of officials. Does it then lie in the mouths of Englishmen to reproach us with ignorance when the Government would not educate our people and would not help us to do it. They say "You cannot help yourselves." Did we pass Arms Act? Did we take away weapons from the hands of our people? Since 1878 there has been no blooded Indian, whether Hindu or Mussulman, who could possess arms without licence, to the gaining

of which all sorts of difficulties are attached. Is it India's fault that it is undefended? For thirty years the Congress has asked for the repeal of the Arms Act and for permission to volunteer and to open Military Colleges, and those who have treated that demand with contempt say that we are not fit to govern ourselves, because we cannot defend ourselves. It is only Home Rule that will enable us to defend ourselves. Until we have Home Rule we cannot be at ease as we should be.

Oh! it is said there are divisions among you. There are none in England! (Laughter.) Before the great War in 1914, which saved the Empire, the United Kingdom was on the brink of civil war. Was England then unfit for Self-Government? How far was England educated when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed? Has England always been so quiet under difficulties? In 1918 were there no strikes paralysing railway traffic and threatening London with starvation, because of the lack of transport as all men engaged in transport work were on strike, and yet England is fit for Self-Government and you, quiet and industrious, are not?

As regards the objection, the educated Indians are in a minority; the educated of every country are in a minority, but they are not in so small a minority as the God-given Rulers of to-day. The educated minority know the people, and the English do not. People come here to learn about the Indian Nation. They live in Government camps, and they go about with Government Officers. They make friends of those who have slandered India. Is that the way to learn what Indians think? What idea can they get of the village life when they see it under such circumstances?

Then we are told that we are injuring the prestige of the British Nation, and the Press Act is brought down to silence criticism. Have you forgotten that one of the Panjabi papers that described the condition of London was held to have excited hatred and contempt against His Majesty's British subjects, and the security of the paper was forfeited? Sir James Meston may think my language emphatic, I am afraid, but we want emphasis in order to make both our rulers and people understand the intolerable condition of things under which India is living to-day.

India has still love for England, India does not want to break British connection, but the England that loves is not the England of the Press Act, the Education of India Act, the Secret Societies Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act and all those horrible regulations of 1818 and 1822. It is not the England

of those things that we love; it is the England of Cromwell, of Hampden and Pym, of Milton and Shelley. It is the England that sheltered the threatened life of Mazzini, the England that welcomed Garibaldi by thousands in her streets as the liberator of Italy, the England that has been sheltering every political refugee. Love that life and that people. That is the England that despite everything we still believe in, but she is ignorant and blinded by the people who possess her of superficial knowledge and confirm her rather blunders instead of enlightening her.

England is fighting for her life, and has called India to help her with as much as India is able to give. Oh! India would have given so much more, so many more men, so many more volunteers in order to help England in the day of her need. But England at her peril call on Indian soldiers to fight for the liberty of Belgium and the sacredness of treaties, and then sends those soldiers back home to find their people still in bondage and treaties disregarded, torn in pieces and thrown aside. That which England fights for in Europe she must admit here. There is only one thing which makes a Nation fit for freedom, and that is the heart to aspire after it, and the will which is determined to have it. England will not give you freedom, no Nation has ever been given freedom, but England will pass an act of Parliament granting you freedom. When she realises that you are in earnest, that you are tired of being played with, that you are determined to be free, and India's loyalty rests on belief in old England and not in English Bureaucracy, and her loyalty is reasoned loyalty of freemen and she asks for her place in the Empire, and until that is granted there will be danger in the path of progress.

(III)

MR. LOK. TILAK

I thank you sincerely for the reception that you have given me on this platform, but let me tell you I am not fool enough to think that this reception is given to me personally. It is given, if I rightly understand, for those principles for which I have been fighting. The reception which I wish to support embodies all these principles. It is the reception of Self-Government. It is that for which we have been fighting here, which this Congress has been fighting for the last thirty years. The first note of it was heard ten years ago on the platform of the Congress, and it was sounded by the Grand Old Man of

India, that Parsi Patriot of Bombay, Dada Bhai Naorojee. Since the note was sounded, difference of opinions arise. Some said that the note ought to be carried on, and ought to be followed by a detailed scheme at once, that it should be taken up and made to resound all over India as soon as possible. There was another party amongst us that said that it could not be done so soon, and that the note required to be a little lowered. That was the cause of the discussion ten years ago, and I am glad to see that I have lived these 10 years to see that we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on this scheme of Self-Government. Not only have we lived to see these differences closed, but to see the differences of Hindus and Muhammadans closed as well. So, we have now united in every way in the United Provinces, and we have found that luck in Lucknow. So I consider it the most auspicious day in the most auspicious Session of this 31st Indian National Congress. There are only one or two points on which I wish to address you. It has been said by some that we, Hindus, have yielded too much to our Muhammadan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care, if the rights of Self-Government are granted to the Muhammadan community only. I would not care, if they are granted to Rajputs. I would not care, if they are granted to the lowest classes of the Hindu population, provided the British Government considers them more fit than the educated classes of India for exercising those rights. I would not care if those rights are granted to any section of the Indian community. There the fight will be between them and another section of the community, and not, as at present, a triangular fight. We have to gain this from a powerful bureaucracy, an unwilling bureaucracy naturally unwilling, because the bureaucracy now feels that these rights, these privileges, this authority will pass out of their hands. I would feel the same if I were in that position, and I am not going to blame the bureaucracy for entertaining that natural feeling, but whatever that feeling may be, it is a feeling which we have to combat against, it is a feeling that it is not conducive to the growth of Self-Government in this country. When we have to fight against a third party, it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united as regards all shades of different political opinion. That is the most important event of the day. When Dhadhabai Naoroji declared that "Swaraj" should be our goal, its name was "Swaraj;" later on, it came to be known as Self-Government and Constitutional Reform, and we Nationalists style it Home Rule. It is all the

same in three different names. There is the objection raised that "Swaraj" has a bad odour in India and "Home Rule" had a bad odour in England, and hence we ought to call it Constitutional Reform.

I do not care to call it by any name. I do not mind for the name, but I believe you have hardly realised the importance and character of that scheme of reform. Let me tell you that it is far more liberal than the Irish Home Rule Bill, and then you can understand what possibilities it carries with it. It may not be complete Home Rule, but it is more than a beginning of it. It may not be complete Self-Government, but it is far better than Local Self-Government. It may not be "Swaraj" in the wider sense of the word, but it is far better than "Swadeshi" and "Boycott." It is, in fact, a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last 30 years, a synthesis that will help us all to proceed to work in a definite and responsible manner. We cannot now afford to spend our energy on all the resolutions on the Public Services, the Arms Act and sundry others. All is comprehended and included within this one resolution.

I would ask everyone of you to try to carry out this one resolution with all your effort, light, and enthusiasm and everything that you can command; your intelligence, money, enthusiasm, all must now be devoted for carrying out this scheme of reform. Do not think it is an easy task. Nothing can be gained by passing resolutions on this platform, by the simple union of the two races, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the two parties, the moderates and the Nationalists. The union is intended to create a certain power and energy amongst us, and unless that power and energy are exercised, you cannot hope to succeed, so great are the obstacles in your way. You must now prepare to fight out the scheme. In short, I do not care if the Sessions of the Congress are here no longer. I believe it has done its work as a deliberative body. The next part is the executive and that will be placed before you afterwards.

When "Swaraj" was declared to be our goal, it was a question whether it was a legal goal. The Calcutta High Court held it was a legal goal a year afterwards. Then it was a question whether it was legal. Finally it was decided that it must be carried out, and expressed in such words as would not cast any slur on the Bureau of the Government, which was the master of the time. That too, has been decided judicially, that you can make any criticism in order to further your

objects and justify your demand, and that it comes within the bounds of law. So, the goal of "Swaraj" is declared legal, and here you have a specific scheme of "Swaraj" passed by the united communities of the Hindus and Muhammadans. All the thorns in your way have been removed. It will be your own fault if you do not succeed in attaining what is now described in this scheme. This is a very serious responsibility. Do not shirk it, but work for it.

The days of wonders are gone. You cannot feed now 100,000 people on a few crumbs of bread as you did in Jesus' day. The attaining of this object cannot be achieved by the wonders of Heaven. You have to do it. These are days of work and incessant labour, and I hope that, with the help of Providence, you will find that energy and those resources which are required for carrying out that scheme. I hope that by the end of 1917, when I expect that the War will be closed, or at least, in 1918 we shall meet at some place in India where we shall be able to raise up the banner of Self-Rule.

IV

MR. NAZARUDDIN KHAN

In all my political life I have been of this opinion that our Motherland cannot advance without the unity of the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Having been of this opinion, I have worked for the attainment of union, and that has been achieved to-day in this town of Lucknow. I consider it my duty here to mention the name of one who has been the chief instrument of attaining that unity, I mean the name of my revered friend, the Raja of Mahmudabad. I assure you that he is an asset for India. I hope there will be many like him in my country. May he live long! The time for speechifying and talk has long gone by and the time for action has come. You are talking about Self-Government and Home Rule, and do you for a moment believe that you will get it by talking? Unless and until you make your Rulers believe that you are earnest, serious in your demand, you will never get anything. I am sure of it. So my advice to my countrymen is this: try to work now. You must have propaganda throughout the country, and let our Rulers see for themselves that every man, every woman, and every child of India is bent upon, and determined to have, Self-Government.

SIR DINSHAH BETT

I have taken upon myself, to answer the command of our leaders, to address you, lest my refusal should be construed into some sort of apathy on the part of the community to which I belong. Towards the just and the righteous aspirations of the people of this country, there cannot be the slightest doubt as to what could be the views of the community which has produced a Dhadhaboy Naoroji and a Pherozeshah Mehta. It is said by those who do not like the advancement of the people of this country towards the attainment of Home Rule that the Parsis under the British Government have been enjoying too many high offices and high posts that they do not know what they would gain by casting their lot with the Hindus and the Muhammadans in making the demand. Do not for a moment think that the Parsis, when they are under the Government of Home Rule will, in any way, suffer in that direction, but admitting for arguments' sake for a moment that they did, would it be right and sensible to expect that for the benefit of a few thousand Parsis, 31 millions of people should be denied their birthright and their privilege?

It is always said that the Parsis are the most loyal community in India. They are second to none in their loyalty to the Crown, and therefore they support this movement because everybody must see that there is nothing which would contribute more towards the permanence of British connection in India than Home Rule under British guidance. I shall throw out one suggestion towards the speedy attainment of the objects of this Congress, and it is this: I speak with some personal experience of public life in the Presidency from which I come. That the people who do the greatest harm to our legitimate aspirations are not the people who rule us, but unfortunately, some of our own people. I know there are people who go to the Government House to carry tales. I know there are people in the Legislative Council and in the Municipal Corporation who barter away the rights and the privileges of their country and city to get a Khan Bahadur or a C. I. E. It is my advice that we must ostracise such people. If we do not admit them into our clubs, let us see if they will be admitted by their English friends in their clubs. Now, on behalf of my community, I congratulate you on the union which you Hindus and Muhammadans have made, this time by sinking into oblivion all your little differences. United you must fall, whether it be for good or for evil.

MR. JEEPHAN CHANDRA PAL

I can hardly tell you how happy I feel to meet you all, my dearly beloved members of the United National Congress, after an absence of 10 long years. These 10 years have not gone in vain, and the fruition of our efforts is seen in every word of the resolution that has been placed before you to-day. We divided; the result of that division has been a closer union than had been before between us, and the proof of it is seen in every word of the resolution to-day. We fought; we wrangled; but every fight is justified not in itself, but by a closer and more organic reconciliation to which it leads, and our fight has, in the providence of God, led to more organic reconciliation between all parties, all ideals and all principles that we represented and fought for during the past. Here you have in the resolution the word "Self-Government," divested of every adjectival or adverbial, or any other phrase to take away its quality or quantity from it. Self-Government pure and simple is the resolution to which our leaders have spoken to which you have already given your acceptance. It is the first article of the Congress; it is the first article of the Indian Nationality; it is the first article of every self-respecting nation, every civilised nation in humanity. It is the first article of every man and woman who feels within himself or herself the call of the Divine. It is the first article of every Yogi, of every Gnani, and of every Bhaktha, because Self-Government is the pith and foundation, not only of the temporal but also of the life spiritual. Yesterday you passed a resolution from the Chair avowing sincerely and honestly your allegiance to the British connection. It seems to me that the resolution to-day follows as a necessary corollary to that resolution of yesterday, because the only condition upon which British connection with India can be perpetuated is the realisation of the resolution that has been placed before you to-day.

This resolution divides itself into three parts. The first part demands that there must be a Royal Proclamation. Why do you demand a Proclamation? You do not know that. I will tell you why I demand it. I know there is deep despair upon the face of India at the present time. I have talked to the young. I have met old men of my age and men older than myself, and the one thing that one and all of them have said to me is, what is the good of it? Deep despair and despondency sit upon the face of India at the present time. I believe we have a future. I am fully assured that you and I shall live in our own country just as every other

civilised people in the world are living in their own country. I have no doubt about the future. I see clearly, as I see the grey beard of the President from here, that Self-Government for India is absolutely assured, but my people do not believe it. The old men do not believe it. They say "What is the good, if we die in peace." The young men do not believe in it. (They say?) What is the good? Let us earn money and leave a generation behind us." And the middle-aged gentlemen say the same. We want a message of practical hope, a message of objective hope, and therefore we want this message from the British Crown and the British Parliament to tell us that we shall live in our own country as other people live in their own countries. But that will not do. We have had declarations, and we have been disabused of being taken in by politicians' words. We want something substantial and a substantial assurance that this declaration will not go the way of similar declaration in the past.

We want the Reform Scheme placed before the Congress, prepared by the Congress and the Muslim League, to be immediately put into action. That is the second, but that is not all. You are talking of the reconstruction of the Empire, but I want to know what this Empire is without India. Is there a British Empire without India? They talk of man-power. The total man-power of the British Empire, all told of the age from 15 to 35, is something like 11 crores and 1½ crores of that man-power consists of white humanity and 9½ crores of brown and black humanity. What is the British Empire then in man-power if you leave out the 7½ crores of the youth of India? You talk of brain-power. Where is the brain power of the Empire? As it is, we have no opportunity for the exercise of our brains for the application of our intellect to the solution of the larger world problems of the day. We have no place in the councils of the statesmen. If we had, we might have proved our power as we have already proved in the bar, on the bench, in every walk of life. Wherever we had an opportunity we have proved that the Indian brain is not a negligible quantity in the Empire. Why have we only one J. C. Bose, only one P. C. Rai, only one Professor Paranjpe, not for want of brain-power, but for want of opportunities to realise to the full extent the brain power of our nation. Give us that opportunity, or rather remove the obstacles from it, and we shall take the opportunity and utilise it for ourselves to the fullest extent and therefore we say that we want this.

The third thing is about the reconstruction of the Empire. We say it is impossible if India is left out, worse than impossible.

It will be the death of the Indian National aspirations on the one side and the death of the Imperial ambitions on the other, if India is left out in the reconstruction of the Empire. Thirty years ago it might have been conceivable to leave India out of the Imperial family, to keep India as a hot, a drawer of water and hewer of wood. To-day, with this new awakened National consciousness, this sensitive patriotism throbbing through the heart of the young and the old, the thing is unthinkable, inconceivable, dangerous and fatal to the permanence of the British connection with India. Therefore we say that these 3 parts of the resolution should have not only your acceptance, but should command the serious attention of the "Round Table" and the square table and every table on earth.

VII

Mr. JOSEPH BAPTISTA

I can assure you that it is not without fear and trembling that I venture to support this resolution. I understand that in this Province a new commandment has been issued: "Thou shalt not be emphatic" (laughter), you could be phlegmatic if you like, but not emphatic. In other words, you must not call "a spade a spade." That would be too emphatic. You must call it diamonds and hearts (pearls?). You cannot call Home Rule Home Rule. But if you call Home Rule Self-Government, it is all right. Whether it is all right or all wrong, I prefer to call Home Rule Home Rule. To my great surprise I find that within the past few months Home Rule has become the popular cry throughout the whole country. There are no heretics among us. All believe in the creed of Home Rule. No dissenters, no quakers or shakers, we are all militant Home Rulers. To what is this great change to be attributed and to whom must we be grateful in this great hour of trial. You must give the credit to the person who deserves that credit, and I say most emphatically that credit is due to the magnetic personality and dynamic energy of our friend and sister, Mrs. Besant. She is the Simon-de-Montfort that guided us all to victory. You know she has suffered for it while devoting herself to our cause. May I in your name say that we love her, that we trust her, and that we stand by her. This question is not merely a question of our growing aspirations. It is a question of all questions, the question of the destiny of India.

Allow me to tell you that so far as the destiny of India is concerned, it is the most momentous and the most transcendent

question that can occupy the minds of the educated Indians. Believe not that the destiny of India depends upon political principles that are applied to the Government of this country. You may be quite sure that the destiny will not be achieved unless we combine the principles of liberty, the principles of Nationalism and the principles of federation in the Government of this country. The task before us is to rescue India from her present plight, and place her on a pedestal upon which we can look with pride and pleasure. What is the present plight of India? Is there anyone who is satisfied with the present position of India? Go outside British India; India is a mere political cypher in the political world; nobody cares a fig for her; and nobody thinks of her. Is that a proper position for 300 millions of people to occupy in this Empire. What do you find if you go to the Colonies? The curse of colour. In the South African War, Indian stood by Englishmen and fought beside and shed their blood for them. What is the reward? Exclusion from the country, confinement in isolated places subjected to regulations so odious that it makes our blood boil. Such is the reward and such is the gratitude of a civilised and Christian country. Coming home, what do you find?—the curse of distrust, distrust everywhere, excluded from the army as you know, excluded from the use of arms by the Arms Act on account of distrust, and thereby emasculated, subjected to Press Laws and God knows to what other laws as Mr. Surendranath Banerjee said. Apart from that, what do you find with the fauna and flora which can produce everything to minister to the comforts of all people and with men who are skilful in production? You have 50 to 60 millions of people pledged to starvation from day to day. (Cries of Shame.) Is this the structure of the Empire with which you are satisfied? The Anglo-Indian architects have had their free hand for the last 150 years, and this is the Empire they have produced. I ask you is there any man, with sense or sensibility, that can look upon this and say that this is a proper thing for us? Can any one say that this is a mansion befitting the ancient civilisation and latent potentialities of the country? Is this not a glorified chawl? This is entirely due not to men that administer, but entirely due to the system under which it is administered. There cannot be the slightest doubt that no improvement is possible unless the centralised system is done away with. At the present moment what are we? We are under a centralised system of Government. The Government of India is, after all, a mere administrative department of Government in England and no more.

THE HON. DR. TEJ BHARADUR SAGRU

If I was asked to sum up our demand in one word, I would say unhesitatingly that what we want is not so much of reforms as the power to reform ourselves. Reforms in dribble, in instalments, we have had in the past, and we may expect to have them in the future but they will not satisfy the rising and growing aspirations of our countrymen now. Self-respect alone demands that, like other self-respecting nations of the world, we should be allowed a free hand to work out our own destiny and that we should not be treated as perpetual school boys in politics. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, there are just one or two points which I should like to touch upon if you will permit me. My time is limited, but I consider that they are worth hearing.

It has been said by a distinguished writer, whose name has come up before you during the last two days, that the real cement of the Empire is devotion to the Empire. Granted. This land of spirituality we do not want a Westerner to teach us a lesson in devotion. (Hear, hear.) But may I be permitted to ask whether it is possible for any human being to be devoted when there is no response to that devotion. (Hear, hear.) Devoted to England we have been in the past, devoted to England we shall be in the future. But if by devotion to the Empire is meant that we should be devoted to the colonies, then I, for one, will have no hesitation in saying that India will refuse to allow the Colonies to rule over her. Let us not mince matters over this. Let us be plain and out spoken. To England we have been devoted, we are and we shall be, but India will not be so short-sighted and so foolish as to allow the colonies to have a finger in her pie.

Gentlemen, the next point that has been urged against us is, that we have not got the capacity to rule ourselves. When was the discovery made, may I ask? Until at least 60 or 70 years ago before England took over directly the control of affairs in India into her hands who were ruling us? We ourselves. Is it really intended to be said that during the last 60 or 70 years since the control of affairs in India has passed into England's hands, that we have lost all capacity? If the answer is 'Yes,' I say the discredit is to those who have deprived us of the capacity. I venture to submit with all respect and with all sincerity that we have not lost the capacity for Self-Government. Witness the Native States of Hyderabad, Baroda, and Mysore. Who is ruling them? Our own countrymen. It really comes to this, that so far as the power

of initiative is concerned, so far as the scope for talent is concerned, that is denied to us here, and it is not denied to the people in the States like Hyderabad, Baroda and Mysore. Gentlemen, assuming that we have lost something of the capacity, how are we going to recover that capacity? By being denied admission to the inner circles of the Government, or by being allowed to commit mistakes and to learn thereby. The answer is obvious.

Now, gentlemen, there is one more objection which I wish to notice and then I will retire. It has been said by that very writer Dr. Curtis, that the one great and supreme objection to self-government being conferred just now on this country is that we have not got sufficiently large electorates. And I may tell you in confidence that I was told personally that if we could show to England that one-fifth of the population possessed sufficient political capacity, then they would not object to our getting self-government. Now, gentlemen, you have got 315 million people in this country—I am very poor in arithmetic—I believe one fifth of that comes to 63 million. And at the rate of progress we have been making in the matter of primary education, I should think it would take us 400 or 500 years before we get political capacity (Laughter). I know, gentlemen, that India is always famous for patience. But the time has come now for us to say definitely and without equivocation that self-Government is no longer to us a far-off adorable dream, that we want to achieve it as soon as possible by all constitutional means open to us without mincing matters and without equivocating on that point. Let it not be held to us as an ideal to be reached without 100 years or 200 years. Of course patience is a great virtue, but, gentlemen, outspokenness too if I may be permitted to say so, is sometimes a greater virtue. Let us not deceive ourselves, let us not be deceived by others by saying that we are going to be content with these small dribblets of reforms. The time for that has gone by. The time has come when England should call upon its statesmen to exercise their higher gifts of statesmanship, to exercise their gifts of imagination, to exercise their gifts of political judgment and feel the political temperature of this country and act accordingly. (Loud applause).

IX

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. MUDHOLKAR

From the day of the birth of the Congress, the demand for control over our own affairs, the demand for Self-Government has

been the most important, the most vital and essential demand of the Congress. When you sent deputations to England, of men going from the Congress, the main thing which they had to represent, on which they had to elicit the help of the British people, was that, as we were British subjects, we ought to be given all the rights of British citizenship. Equality with the self-governing parts of the Empire has been our demand from the first. In the beginning as we had to make a beginning, we had to ask for the introduction of the principle of representation and election in our Legislative Councils and for the expansion of their rights and the enlargement of their numbers. Nobody deluded himself with the belief that a few members added to the Councils and some expansion of their functions was the goal of our aspirations. That was only the first step of the ladder which we had to mount. There were immense difficulties in attaining to that extent. You know what difficulties were raised in 1890 and 1891 for granting that modicum of representation which was subsequently granted in 1892, but that was, as I said, the very first step which had to be taken. During all the years which followed, we had to reiterate our demands: we had to ask for further expansions of the Councils and further extensions of the principle of representation and election. Then came what are called the Morley-Minto reforms, which gave us our existing Imperial and Provincial Councils but even in regard to that, we were careful to mention that this is only the next step which has to be taken, and very soon after this, further steps will have to be taken. Gentlemen, in the case of individuals and of nations, every individual and every nation has to pass through three stages. The first is the stage of self-consciousness, or self-realisation. We had, first of all, to focus our self-consciousness, our consciousness as a nation, and it was for that purpose that the Indian National Congress was called into existence. After that, we had to assert ourselves: we had to say what we are and what we have to be, and after that, as in the case of individuals, comes the further stage of self-control, in the case of nations there is the further stage of self-government. No self-respecting nation can carry on its existence properly unless it is able to control its destinies to be the arbiter of its own fate, and it is that for which we are now making a more articulate, a more practical, a more detailed demand. We are asking for Self-Government; we were called upon to state what it is we wanted; we were told: "There are all these differences amongst you. Even amongst you Hindus, you are not united, and between you and the Mahomedans is an impassable gulf." Well, gentlemen, this Congress has demonstrated to the

world, to all our critics, that there is absolutely no difference of opinion amongst either the two large communities or amongst any sections of the reform party in India. (Hear, hear). Now, this proposition, in its first paragraph, asks you to place before the Government our demand, to carry to the Crown our request that His Majesty will be pleased to issue a proclamation assuring to the people of India that they are entitled to have Self-Government given them at a very early period (Hear, hear). That is the first paragraph. In the second paragraph, we put before them reforms which should be carried out immediately, in regard to which there could be no difference of opinion, because they are only legitimate extensions of the principles which have been adopted. They asked us for definite schemes, and a definite scheme has been put forward. They asked: "What will the Mahomedans say to this?"

Here, the representative body of the Mahomedans and the Congress Committee have sat together and they have brought out a scheme to which both parties are equally pledged. This is then our reply to our critics about introducing a practical scheme.

Then we come to the third part which is most vital and important at this time. That is this, that India refuses to be placed on a footing of inferiority to any other part of the Empire. We say, "as we are an important section, as India is the most glorious jewel in the British Crown, India ought to have a place adequate to her past, adequate to her present, and of equal position in the future. This is what we ask in the third. We refuse to be dominated by any section of any portion of the so-called Self-Governing colonies or self-governing portions of the Empire (Hear, hear). We say that without India the British Empire will be of very little importance, and in consonance with that importance should be the recognition accorded to us. This is the third portion of the Resolution. But, gentlemen, we cannot carry out all these things that we want, on which our heart is set, on which our future depends, and on which our real self-realisation depends, without our working all the year round for this, not only here talking in the Congress, not only going and speechifying to a few people here and there, but working incessantly all through the year and carrying on the work in England also.

MR. WAN BAHADUR L. A. GOVINDARAGHAYA AIYAR.

I propose to consider a few objections that are urged to the grant of Self-Government or any measure of it to the Indian people. Gentlemen, we are taunted with being a coloured people and as such unfit for representative institutions. I would ask which is the greater evil, to have a coloured skin or to have a coloured vision. (Hear, hear.) I am not ashamed to own that we possess coloured skins. We can, however, honestly say that so far as our vision goes, it is altogether unclouded and clear. After all, gentlemen, it was in the just dispensation of Providence that we are, a coloured people. If we were otherwise, colourless as Mrs. Besant has said, the effect of that would have been that we should have been where our critics are, elbowing them out and making it difficult for them to be there. (Laughter). After all, gentlemen, is it a fact that the coloured skin unfits for representative institutions? In this connection you will notice that the Lulu, the Hottentot, the Kaffir, the Negro, the Australian, the Hindu, the Mussalman and the Parsee are all to be in one line and they are all coloured people. Absolutely no attention is paid to their civilisation, to their culture, and to their inherited equipment. Gentlemen, what are the facts. You find that even a responsible writer like Jeannefiet says, that the Negroes were able to develop self-government in 50 years to the extent that the white were able to do in the course of five or six centuries. You find that the Phillippine Islands although they came under the domination of people who were prepared to trust them with self-Governments in two decades they are found fit, and can it be said of us with the past history that we possess on which many previous speakers have expatiated, can it be said of us that we are so dead to all the necessary requirements of democratic institutions that self-government with us must mean failure. The experiment which has been allowed to be made, the experiment which has been in operation in the Native states, has proved an unqualified success, and after all when you realise that good government can never be better than self-Government itself, there ought to be no reason whatever why the measure of self-government that we ask for should be denied to us. But, gentlemen, there are certain specific reasons that are urged against us. One is, that we form no one people or one nation but a congeries of different races and different communities, each having its own aims and ideals. Let us examine that. Those of us who have been privileged to take part in the deliberations of the joint committee of the All-India Congress

Committee, and the representatives of the Muslim League that composed the session, were not merely to safeguard their rights but to see that their rights were placed upon as reasonable and permanent a basis as possible, provided that in doing so they did not determine the interest of the whole as a whole. Now, gentlemen, there you must have noticed that there was a firm determination to assert oneself to the fullest extent but that there was at the same time also the determination that in doing so both sections of the people should go together and should find their satisfaction not merely in being given opportunities to develop themselves but also opportunities to assist in the development of the other section as well. (Hear, hear.) It was a spirit of sweet reasonableness that pervaded the whole of the deliberations, and we find the result of that in the magnificent scheme that is now put forward for your acceptance this afternoon. It is in the capacity to differ and to make our differences heard, it is in the capacity to realise the strength and weakness of those that differ from us that there is the best security that there will be a reasonable conclusion arrived at in the end, that we can say has been the spirit by which both the communities have been actuated. May I point out this? In the physical world you notice that where anything is unstable, then you attach to it a weight which tends not merely to settle itself down but also to make it unstable which otherwise has been unstable, and if once you are trusted with responsibility, the very sense of that responsibility enables us to realise our limitation, enables us to rise equal to the task that lies before us, so that we shall be in a position in discharging that task to do it to the good of all. Gentlemen, it is also stated that there is illiteracy among the people. Now before Lord Dunsford recommended a scheme for self-Government in Canada, he found that a great proportion of the teachers can neither read nor write. If in these circumstances you can find a nation fit for self-government, we do not stand in the same predicament of whom whatever else can be said, it cannot be said that our teachers know neither to read nor write; can it be said of us that on account of illiteracy we are unable to have self-government. Then, gentlemen, it is stated that there is the war of the masses and classes, that the interests of the educated community are opposed to the interests of the masses so that the educated community cannot be trusted to take care of the masses. Now with respect to this again who have been the best friends of the masses? That we are in a position to realise their needs cannot be denied. Who is it that ask for compulsory education? It is the educated classes. Who were the friends of

the co-operative movement? It is the educated classes. Can we think of two levers more powerful to uplift the masses than universal compulsory education and the spread of co-operative movement among the people. Gentlemen, there is only one word more I wish to say and I shall be done. Dr. Sapru has told us how we look upon the Dominions participating in the control of our affairs. I unite my feeble voice to the emphatic expression that we made our strong and resolute determination not to allow the Dominions to take part in any concerns in which we might be involved, by every means in our power that can be open to us so long as they continue to be what they are.

XI

THE HON'BLE RAO BAHADUR B. N. SARMA

We ask for provincial autonomy in domestic matters with a central legislature armed with extensive powers and completely dominating all domestic concerns, with an executive armed with extensive powers subject to the will of the Imperial Parliament as it exists at present, and if there should be a revision, with India as a partner, as an equal partner, in every sense of the term with the self-governing Dominions of the Empire. A question then naturally would be, are we fit for it? Are we asking for reforms along lines, lines along which we have not experimented in the past. Turn to past history, all history alike tells us that Indian peoples with rulers of their own race have been able to rule countries far more extensive than the Indian Empire of the present day; for those rulers have been holding sway over Khandahar and Ceylon and other vast colonies which the genius of our ancestors created first in times past. Was this domination only for short periods? No; for long centuries, for periods longer than that of any empire, modern or past. Then comes the question, have we still capacity? I assure you, gentlemen, that the skill and capacity, enough dormant in us, are not yet completely dead. If you read history aright what does it tell us. We see a large number of autonomous states linked together by loose federal tie, paying tribute and acknowledging the supremacy of the central authority of the government to the Maharajadira, Sultan, or Emperor. Our Maharajadira, Sultan or Emperor is the British Imperial Majesty. Our autonomous states are the Native States of India and the Provincial Governments which we create under our scheme with self-governing powers. The central authority is the Government of India, and the Viceroy is the

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EGYPT, MADRAS

deputy of the Maharajadiraj. The central authority is armed exactly as the old Emperors were armed with a council of elders. They are given by our scheme advisedly vast powers over the military and over the national army, which has to be created under our scheme. Gentlemen, have we weakened the British Power? If the Resident of a Native State with the British power at his back can keep Government going, cannot our a Governor with two executive councillors, nominees of his, with the British power at his back, rule a Province? We have provided for democratic institutions. The Allies say that they are not engaged in crushing Prussian military despotism, that the future safety of mankind lie in the increase of democratic institutions and we have provided for them. Gentlemen, we have not weakened the British power in any the slightest degree? We have not lost the capacity. Then comes the question, are there not various insuperable difficulties in our way, are there not barriers? They existed in the last year in Switzerland and yet there is no difficulty. The religious difficulty is the same. Then I come to the educational test. Now remember, gentlemen, that the number of literate people in India is 18 millions, nearly the same as the total male population of England, and are we to be told that with this literate population we cannot find enough men to rule this country when only an infinitesimal fraction thereof are able to govern India in the best interests of India? Our universities are turning out graduates nearly as numerous as the British universities. Then comes the question; if we are not educationally backward, what is that stands in the way? The colour bar. I hope that the Government will not repeat the supposed mistake and land the Empire in disaster. The real difficulty seems to be that a fear is felt that in a federal commonwealth, India might in a short space of time become the paramount power. That is the real difficulty. But sufficient safeguards may be provided and the day is far off because it is only in proportion to the contribution to national defences that any state can have representation. We are economically poor, and we cannot therefore, contribute much, and consequently we shall take a place superior to that of the colonies but inferior to that of England, and there is no very great danger that we will be able to swamp the rest of the Empire in the councils of the country. Revise the history of the past, review its pages and what do you find? A foreign bureaucracy is always ready to tax people for the sake of the defence of the country, for the sake of protecting its power. But the moment they come to domestic reforms, they do not know where they will be, they do not know

whether the vast masses will support them and hence they say they cannot tax. What have you done? We have revised the electorate, broadened it so that no harebrained reformer may go forth with proposals for taxation which would not be supported by the country. It is said that we shall oppress the depressed classes. May I ask whether the Government, the British Government, were dissuaded in self-governing South Africa, because the Kaffir and the weak Indian population were likely to be oppressed? Their conscience were not touched then. Why should it be touched now when it comes to dividing the people of this country? To me the problem is distinctly clear. We cannot afford to efface ourselves economically and from a military point of view with growing China, growing Japan and growing Russia. Friends of to-day may be enemies of to-morrow, and we cannot have Belgium repeated here. Primary education must be spread and the number of reforms must be achieved, and all this can be done only under self-government. Therefore it is we ask for Self-Government, and if the Britishers are true to their destiny, they will confer it at no distant date.

XII

MR. JEHANGIR PETIT

The proposition before you defines the quintessence of the desires and demands of the Indian Nation, passed year after year at different sessions of the Indian National Congress. I have no faith in the so-called change of the "angle of vision." If the Indian Nation is determined to have what is embodied in this resolution and what is its great and determined resolution, the only way to get it is to show to the Government and the powers, that the population of this great country is determined at all cost to have what is embodied in this resolution. What is it that secured for South Africa immediately after its annexation its independence and Self-Government? What is it that secured for other Colonies their independence and Self-Government? By making the administration impossible they obtained Self-Government. Once you declared your determination in unmistakable terms, Home Rule or Self-Government will not be delayed or withheld from you one day longer. Remember in this country we have to deal with what is more pernicious than anything that we had to deal with before. If we have to deal with great democracy in England, our work is simple enough, but democracy in England is impotent before obstinate Bureaucracy.

SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU

From the very beginning of time, it has always been the woman's privilege to have the last word on any subject, and though that last word is sprung on her by the tyranny of the leaders that demand Home Rule, it is to vindicate the readiness of my sex to stand by the men of India in all that concerns their National welfare and honour that I rise to obey the mandate of this tyrant. Many speakers before me, gifted and famous, full of knowledge and full of experience, have laid before you a scheme of Self-Government, and it is not for me to add words to their practical wisdom. I am merely a spectator from the watch tower of dream, and I watched the swift and troubled, sometimes chequered but nevertheless indomitable, time-spirit marching on in a pageant of triumphs to the desired goal. If to-day, Home Rule is no distant dream, if it is no mere fancy of Utopia, it is due to one thing more than to any other thing and perhaps you will let me enlighten you so that you may offer your gratitude to the right sources. Less than four years ago, in this very city of Lucknow, this city of memories, this city of dead kings, a new hope came to birth, because the younger generation of Mussalmans had seen a vision that made it possible for the leaders of the Nation Congress to realise within the scope of practicable vision, of practical work, of practical achievement, the national soul. It was my privilege to represent my great community on this occasion. It was the greatest honour of my life that I was invited to speak to this young generation of Islam that had seen this vision of Indian Nationality which succeeded in passing a constitution whose essential creed was co-operation with the sister community. Four years after in this very city of Lucknow we are now able to say that we shall have Home Rule. We will not ask for it. We will create it out of our own capacity, out of our irrefragable unity, the unity of the Hindu and the Mussalman friends. Members of this Congress, citizens of India who have come from the farthest corners in this great country, I ask you in the name of that greater Nation that is born to-day in the city of Lucknow to offer your thanks to three men, though it might seem invidious to make distinctions, where so many have been earnest, so many have been loyal and co-operating, but it would be indeed lacking in gratitude on the part of this great assembly to not to offer a public recognition of gratitude to three most loyal, most brilliant, most faithful, most courageous Mussalmans—the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad, that fearless and

independent spirited Mazarul-Haque, and thirdly, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, of whom it was that the late Mr. Gokhale said to me immediately after the last Muslim League in Lucknow that he is the best ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim community. We are united to-day by the efforts of the Muslim League. We stand united, but united with such strength that nothing from outside, not even the tyranny of Colonial domination, shall withhold from us our rights and privileges, withhold from us the liberties that are due which we claim by our united voice. Nothing can prevent us from achieving the desires of our heart, for the final issues are in your hands. The ultimate decision is yours, and who will deny you the birthright of freedom if the millions of India speak with one voice: "Gods is the right of freedom; we claim it; we take it; you dare not deny to us the birthright of humanity." Centuries have gone by; the old divisions are healed: old wounds have got cured. Instead of building our regeneration on hatred and division, we stand to-day building our national future on the secure, imperishable foundations of love and united service. To each of us has come that living consciousness that it is united service for the Motherland that constitutes the supremest hope of to-morrow. There is no one so mean, so weak, so selfish as not to think that in the service of the Motherland lies the joy greater than all personal joys, in suffering for her comes the supremest consolation in our personal sorrow and her worship is the absolution of sin, to live for her is the most victorious triumph of life, to die for her is to achieve priceless crown of immortality. Let us then offer our lives unanimously as a tribute at the feet of the Motherland; for as the great prophet of Islam says, "Under the feet of Mother lies Paradise."

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT

HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

When we started in 1885 we reposed great trust and confidence in those to whom Providence has entrusted the guidance of the affairs of India. For the time we began with appealing, with praying, with begging, with entreating. Resolution after resolution has been passed during the last 30 years; it is a written record which nobody can destroy or remove; it is a record showing them the confidence the people of India had once in the administrators of India, their willingness to proceed by gradual steps, almost painfully slow steps towards evolving a better

system of administration—the record of these 30 long years tells us what we have asked for not once, not twice, but repeatedly during these so many years. It is now after the experience of 30 years that the conviction has sunk into our hearts that those to whom Providence has entrusted the administration of the affairs of India, the members of the Indian Civil Service, the members of the British Parliament, have failed and sadly failed to respond to the call of reason and justice. I am sorry to say this; I should have rejoiced if I could say in gratitude that they had made a response worthy of the members of the great British nation. There has been some response in some small matters and for that we do feel grateful, but the response in all the most important matters has either been wanting or it has been sadly slow. The result of this is that this conviction has come to us, that unless we ourselves have a potent and determining voice in the administration of our country's affairs, there is not much hope for that progress which it is the right of every civilised people to achieve. We have on our record a repetition of resolutions asking for such simple justice as the separation of the judicial and the executive functions. We have on our records the fact that while we have prayed that primary education should be made compulsory and universal, the provision that has been made for it up to this time is extremely disappointing and unsatisfactory. We have on our record that, even with the enlarged Councils, when our dear brother, the late Gopala Krishna Gokhale, did make an attempt by introducing a Bill into the Council to make provision for the permissive introduction of compulsory education, that effort was baffled by the solid official majority which sat in the Council to do no other work than simply to vote against resolutions moved by popular representatives. On the other hand what has happened to bring home the conviction to us we know. In Russia there was no Self-Government until a few years ago; but after being beaten by Japan, Russia learnt the wisdom and roused herself into consciousness of what the conditions of modern civilisation require. The first Duma that met I think in 1903, resolved, being conscious that primary, universal education was one of the potent causes of building up a people, upon making education universal and compulsory. It introduced a programme of 10 years during which period, it decided that elementary education shall become universal, and in the year 1916, nearly three-fourths of that programme has been carried out, and by 1922 Russia will have provided elementary education for the children of the school-going age. That was the result of power being transferred from a Sove-

reign authority or from a bureaucracy to those who know where the shoe pinches, who feel the need and the effect of unhappy conditions and who understand how their interest can be best promoted. I have given to you that one illustration among many already given to you yesterday showing the urgent need of the present-day Self-Government for the people in order that they may administer their own affairs. Let no one accuse the educated Indians of having put forward a proposal of reform in a light-hearted manner. That reform, so far as the Government is concerned, is supported by the entire people, though there may be some small differences as unfortunately there are with regard to some lesser details, but as far as the Government is concerned for the transferring of the power to the people themselves, that is a demand on behalf of India and is made in no light-hearted fashion. The conviction that after 30 years of self-sacrificing labours of the country, which have involved holding 31 sessions of the Congress in the country, which involved enormous expenditure of time, money, and effort, had been weighed in all possible aspects. The conclusion forced on your mind is that those who have the power are unwilling to part with that power, that those who have the power are unwilling to give the time and the attention to the consideration of your affairs as the members of the British Parliament are and that conviction once arrived at is not likely to be shaken or departed from. The reforms which you have put forward do not represent the maximum that you desire. They represent the minimum that is necessary. There is no misunderstanding about it. There are some very kindly fields who caution us and wish us to proceed slowly. We have proceeded cautiously and slowly for 30 years. It does not lie in the mouth of any member of the Indian Civil Service—there are some very fine generous-hearted men amongst them—it does not lie in the mouth of any member of the Indian Civil Service or any member of the British Parliament to say that Indians are asking for an unreasonably large measure of reform to-day, or that they want to take a long jump. We do not want to take a long jump. There are certain conditions which determine what is necessary, and what is not. It is the right of every people to govern itself. No Government can be so good as the government of a people by their own people. That being accepted in England, that being accepted for the greater part of the rest of the civilised world, with what reason or justification can it be advanced here that we should be content to let our affairs be administered by a few men with, without any previous training,

without any knowledge of our traditions, or long years tells us to this country to enjoy a good salary at repeatedly during period of their life in the sunny climate of 30 years that how can we expect that they will be able to add to whom Providence in the war in which we can? Objections have been raised, the have been put one by one, and the members of the British recapitulating. My only point is to shield to the call of remembrance of the fact that our President would have rejoiced Congress in 1886, took me back to the period response worthy of led to the proposals which have been put forward as been some response and put, that we shall realise fully the importance of grateful, but that we have put forward to-day, and that we shall have either been work to bring about their accomplishment and this is that we not be content with expressing our gratification ourselves have a lot and expressing satisfaction at the result of this our country's affairs honest, honourable, manly men to carry out it is upon us to see that these reforms are carried out and granted at an early date. And remember it is not a question of personal character with any one of us. We see millions of our countrymen, suffering from the ill effects of the administration in one direction or another to come up to the standard of their own country. We see that those who are in the power have failed to do so, and what is more regrettable, do not show any willingness to respond to our call. I will draw your attention to one other matter only. There is the question of the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the army. You have proved by the blood our people have shed on the battlefield that you are not inferior to any other community of nationality on the face of the earth in bravery, in devotion, yet the ranks of the army have not been opened to our people. So far as with regard to the Indian Civil Service. A commission was appointed, a report has been made and it was presented to the Government. It seems to be so ugly a production that the Government have hesitated so long to put it before the public. Now when that is the state of affairs, you can not hope to be about healthy, necessary reforms, unless you get power in your hands. That is the conviction borne in upon us by these 30 years. And I hope you will do all that is necessary to carry this conviction into effect. When you do so, this great gathering of the Congress will be remembered always as the one Congress where this decision was arrived at, and you will always associate in your mind with the success the arduous, the strenuous, the patient labours of our esteemed President, who has guided our

reign authority or shoe patches, who a most hearty vote of thanks to our President. given to you that yesterday a show Government for the ON. IRTA SAMIULLA BEG their own affairs. gentlemen here in Lucknow, in this Province, having put forward particular matter of Home Rule a declaration of That reform so far. Then after a few months we came to know by the entire people and there, that there was the question of the unfortunately the in the Hindus and the Muhammadans in connection the Government term scheme, which made the matter still more difficult on behalf of the Congress might result in certain disturbances in the country caused to us by officials and by our moderate tried to bring together moderates and extremists here in Lucknow, and that we should take the whole responsibility upon ourselves, and we in our own able way took the responsibility of that. Under these circumstances we invited the Congress to this place. Now as far as the work of managing the affairs of the Congress is concerned, I can only say that we have not been able to perform our duty, which is to give you all the comforts that we can possibly give. We have been lacking in that, but I believe, so far as the other two things are concerned, namely, the declaration of the policy of Home Rule, the question of the solution of the problem of Hindus and Muhammadans to carry out that policy, we require a good, calm man of the experience of a man who has been in the Congress for a long time, a man who would be able to guide the deliberations of our Council, consisting not only of the moderates, but of the extremists also; and now, representing the Reception Committee, on behalf of the people of the Province, I say that you have performed both these duties in a manner which has satisfied each and every party. Now on behalf of the Mussalmans and on behalf of the Hindus of the Province, as far as the solution of the Hindu-Muhammadan question is concerned, I can say that in this week of the year 1916 you have written a chapter in the history of India. I can safely say that this week has been the turning point in the history of India. During the last 30 or 31 years we have been holding the Congress in the different parts of the country, I cannot imagine that more delicate and more important questions have ever come for solution before the Congress, and it was, after all, on the decision of this particular question that the

smooth working of the Congress in future depends on those who have been in touch with this question, those of the Subjects Committee who followed the discussion point during the last four or five days, can realize how the matter seemed to come up, and how sagaciously and how promptly and how coolly and calmly our President in this matter applied his mind and tried to steer clear of all the difficulties which confronted us in this particular matter. I thank you most heartily on behalf of the Reception Committee, and on behalf of the whole Province.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

Mr. L. D. and Gen. L. D., in my opening address, I have asked for your support and indulgence. You have given me both in superabundance, surpassing even my expectation. The great success which has attended the 31st Indian National Congress will, no doubt, be of official record, but you will remember that this success was really due. As the official head of this Congress, I bear ungrudging testimony to the irrefragable fact that it is the patriotism, enthusiasm and earnestness, no less than firmness of the delegates to the 31st Indian National Congress that have achieved such brilliant results. There is a universally growing National consciousness which has awakened from a long slumber of ages and which has inspired its people with full appreciation of their power and strength. The scattered units of the Nation have coalesced and come together to assert and demand their natural rights. To the Reception Committee, you all in general and myself in particular, are deeply indebted for the princely hospitality and very kind attention which they have so lavishly extended to us during the five days of our stay at Lucknow. At the outset I deeply deplored the deaths of Gangaprasad Varma and Bishan Narayan Dhar, two of our bravest comrades in this National struggle, but to-day I rejoice to find that Lucknow has rapidly filled up their places by presenting to us such men as Jagat Narayan and Gokarnath Misra, whose devotion to duty, indomitable courage and self-sacrifice are an object lesson which other provinces would do well to emulate. To the volunteers I offer no thanks, for I regard them as very poor return for the services they have rendered. I regard them in the light of recruits who are training themselves for future services to the Motherland. They will form fresh units

when the call for active service comes to them. I bless them one and all with all the warmth and fervour that I possess in my old age. We have finished the deliberations of the 31st Indian National Congress, but our labours are not yet closed. In fact, our work does not end, but only begins this day. It is now our duty to carry the mandate of this Congress and give effect to its deliberations throughout the country. Go forth to the country, penetrate into villages, where the nation lives, and preach to them the gospel of salvation and carry to them the messages of hope and confidence which you have received from this Parliament of the people. We do not simply press for our rights and liberties, but are ready and anxious to bear our responsibilities. At the present moment the Empire is in urgent need of man-power to bring the War to a successful and glorious issue. I would ask you all who are of military age to enlist yourselves in the army and participate in this glorious part. In Bengal the Madras Corps first set the ball rolling, and officers after officers have borne testimony to the splendid services which they have rendered under circumstances of no ordinary difficulties. It has given birth to a Bengal Regiment whose deeds, I am sure, will soon fill the hearts of Bengal and of All-India with just pride and gratification. I call upon every province, every community and every race to come forward to take their proper share in this National struggle, so that all may claim a share in this glorious achievement.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THE HON. MR. NABIULLAH

Chairman of the Reception Committee

Fellow members of All-India Muslim League, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is my proud and happy privilege to offer you on behalf of the Mussalmans of Lucknow, a most cordial welcome to this historic city. Many of you have travelled long distances at considerable personal discomfort to take part in this great and representative assembly of your community. I need not say how valuable an asset in our public life is the use of public duty that scorns distances and great sacrifice of money and time that is demanded of our public men in the service of communal causes. The presence here of so many distinguished Mussalmans from every part of the country, great leaders of thought and opinion, men who in their respective spheres have contributed to the growth and success of all modern movements for the regeneration of their people, some of whom are, indeed, the architects of the fortunes of Islam in India, the presence of such public workers in the great gathering in the surest pledge we could have that our deliberations at this eventful stage in the history of India would be fruitful and conducive to the ultimate welfare of our community.

INDIAN LOYALTY.

Gentlemen, through the supreme and searching test of this war the loyalty of India has emerged untarnished and proved to be one of the greatest and most precious assets of the Empire. I need not dwell on the character and quality of its widespread manifestations. It has shown itself in a variety of ways and through acts and deeds in which all classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects have shared with equal enthusiasm. In such an atmosphere it may be a piece of irrelevance to talk of Muslim loyalty. However, in this great Muslim assembly it may not be wholly out of place to note with deep satisfaction the unflinching fidelity with which the Mussalmans have borne their part of the Imperial burden. The sense of this satisfaction is immeasurably enhanced when it is borne in mind that Muslim soldiers have cheerfully gone into the fight against the forces of their Caliph in defence of the cause of the Empire to which their secular destinies are linked.

"MASTERLY INACTIVITY" SUICIDAL

Gentleman, at a time when all efforts and energies are concentrated on the conduct of the war, it is natural that all schemes of normal and peaceful developments and advance should be held in abeyance. At the beginning of the war a sort of political truce was declared in India and the voice of controversy has since been hushed. All public activities have been suspended that could even remotely have the effect of distracting the mind of the Government in its task of organising victory. Even some of the most urgent needs of the country have been allowed to wait till peace comes to restore to the affairs of mankind their true proportion and balance. This does not, however, mean that we are to remain in a state of suspended animation while the hammer blows of facts are fashioning the new work of a new and we trust a better and a freer world. The organisation of peace after the war is in the opinion of most thinking men a more complex and anxious problem than the winning of the war itself. In Great Britain and the countries of the Allies no less than among the peoples of the Central Alliance, strenuous thought and energies are being applied to the discovery of stable foundation for a new political economic and social order. Is India alone to stand still and take no thought for the morrow, when that morrow is to usher in a new era in the history of the world and the nations saved from perils of militarism are to undertake their planning of their lives with the freedom and joy of a new resurrection? The war is not to last for ever. I would not be surprised if 1917 brings the end definitely in sight. Are we to wake up one fine morning when the peace has been signed, to collect our scattered thoughts hastily together and start a wild, academic discussion about the future of our country? The Indian public man who has grasped the psychology of the existing conditions, and yet helps to waste through a policy of masterly inactivity the all too brief interlude for planning and preparation, is a traitor to the cause of India.

DIFFICULTIES AHEAD.

Gentlemen, substantial changes in the administration and Government of India have become inevitable and it is the duty of the intellectual and political leaders of the Indian people to participate actively in the evolution of the new order of things and determine what those changes should be. If solemn public declaration count for anything, we may take it that the British nation and responsible British statesmen have discovered the true heart of India in this great crisis of their history. The scales of ignorance

and prejudice have fallen from their eyes, and in the stress of common sacrifice and common emotion there has come to birth in England genuine movement of sympathy for the aspirations of our people. Early in the war we were definitely assured by an Under Secretary of State for India that a new angle of vision would henceforth be applied to Indian affairs. As a recognition of the need by a responsible British Minister to broaden the basis of Indian governance nothing could be more explicit. It must be remembered that a new "angle of vision" cannot be picked out at will from a text book on political philosophy. It is an intellectual process, an adjustment of policy and principles to new aspects of a case. In the case of India it would be a mere empty phrase if it does not mean the introduction of a policy of trust, of following Indian opinion steadily and increasingly to assume the ultimate control and direction of the affairs of this country.

Now, with this broadening of the intellectual horizon of India's responsible rulers and with the goal clearly set before our eyes it now rests with the Indian people themselves to take heed of grace, close their ranks and shrink from no effort and sacrifice that may be needed to bring the coveted prize within their grasp. Gentlemen, with all the sympathy and good will that may come to us from quarters where a short time ago we used to meet with indifference and cold reserve, the path that lies before us is neither easy nor smooth. The temper of the "man on the spot" in India is yet an incalculable factor in the situation. And you are well aware how formidable "the man on the spot" is and what tremendous weapons he can employ, if it is his whim and pleasure to thwart the will of the people. Then there are other forces, representing interests of alien origin and frequently hostile to the needs of Indian nationalism, which we strive to take into full account. These forces are controlled by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press, and all of us know how easily they can be set in motion against the forces of Indian progress. These and a host of other difficulties we have to overcome, and you can well imagine what patience, cool headedness, clear thinking, organisation of will and effort and above all that sustained inspiration for public service which patriotism and unity alone can give, are needed if these difficulties are to be effectually removed from our path. India has much to do and much to learn in all conscience, before it attains to its full stature as a self-governing nation. But unity and patriotism are the sovereign remedies for the ills that afflict our body politic at this critical period of our history.

PATRIOTISM OF MOSLEMS

Fellow members of the All-India Moslem League, this brings me to the central point that lends exceptional value and significance to the sessions we are holding to-day. The affairs of the country, which we Moslems are proud to call our motherland, have reached a stage, where they call for the sinking of all petty differences of race and creed and demand united action. An overwhelming responsibility lies on the shoulders of every community in India at this juncture. Their patriotism and sense of duty to the generations yet unborn are on trial. The future of India hangs in the balance. If their lives are touched with the Divine spark that moves men to vaster planes of common duty and service, the petty anxieties and pre-occupations of self will be burned to ashes and the dream of the Indian patriot will become a glorious reality. But, if these groups of human beings have never known the light of a common purpose, or has the reality of a common ideal ever entered their lives, if they are so many diverse atoms held together by the accidents of geography, political subjection and the narrowness of little creeds, then there is absolutely no "future" for India and all this sterile din and clamour of politics should cease. Need India wait for an answer from the followers of Islam in this great crisis of her fate? We know that our answer ought to be and will be. Let me assure our fellow countrymen of other creeds, that a Mussalman cannot betray the cause of India without betraying his whole past. He shall, God willing, be in the vanguard of the forces that are to fight the battles of our constitutional freedom. His active political life is of a short duration, but during this brief period he has traversed the ground that the great Hindu community took about a quarter of a century to cover. The history of the All-India Moslem League is a faithful reflex of the political growth of Indian Mussalmans. Within six years of its birth this great Moslem political organisation emerged from its original shell and set before itself a goal to which the rest of India was gradually moving. This widening of purpose and outlook was not due to the fact of any masterful personality but was the result of the strong pressure of popular opinion. If the League had not adopted its policy and programme to the urgent demand of the Moslem democracy it would have probably ceased to exist. Its present position is solely due to the fact that it works in close touch with Moslem opinion and is, in the widest sense, the representative of the will of the community.

OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE

The All India Moslem League stands to-day for two principal objects, namely, for the safe-guarding of the political position of Mussalmans and for co-operation with the other communities for the attainment of self-Government. The realisation of the first object is, as all fair-minded persons would be ready to admit, an essential condition of the success of the second. It would be idle to talk of co-operation if the Mussalmans did not feel a complete sense of security as regards their communal future. They are the "minority" and in all political developments a minority must have certain definite safeguards. The Moslem demand for such safeguards is therefore, natural and legitimate and the "majority" which in any case holds the balance of power, cannot oppose this demand without laying itself open to the charge of selfishness and political insincerity. Let our Hindu brethren remember that an adequate and effective separate representation of Mussalmans in self-governing institutions can in no case deprive them of the decisive power of the majority. When such power is guaranteed to them by their number I fail to see why should some of their communal enthusiasts deny to Mussalmans the right to secure their political existence. Opposition of this character breeds distrust and the good faith of those who base such opposition on grounds of unity and nationalism comes to be questioned by Moslem rank and file.

Let me take a recent unfortunate episode by way of illustration. Some months ago the Legislature of this province passed an act relating to the Municipalities in which the Mussalmans were given the right of separate representation slightly in excess of their numbers; the Hindu majority on Municipal Boards was in the aggregate complete and decisive. And yet some of the Hindu leaders allowed themselves to forget the infinitely larger interests of the country, took up the cry of "Hindus in danger" and rushed the whole province into the throes of a bitter and violent agitation. This exhibition of uncompromising temper had scared a considerable section of the Mussalmans and there was a serious danger of the new born movement for Hindu-Moslem co-operation being nipped in the bud, if the Moslem leaders had also lost their heads and had allowed a counter agitation to grow up with sectarian cries to match. It would indeed have been a bitter irony of fate if the whole of India were to be punished for the sins of a few unbalanced individuals.

GOAL OF UNITED INDIA.

Gentlemen, it has given a considerable relief to us to find that the responsible Hindu leaders in all parts of India realise the

Moslem standpoint and are ready to offer all reasonable guarantees for the safety of the Moslem political position. With the settlement of this fundamental question relating to the progress of India, nothing else should remain in the way of a complete Hindu-Moslem co-operation for the end we both have in view. That end I need hardly say is United India, alive to her destiny and recoiling from no toil and sacrifice to rise to the summit of her aspiration, i. e., to position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. Is there a single Mussalman present here to-day, nay is there a single Indian in and outside of this hall, born of Indian woman, whose heart fails to warm up and whose pulse does not beat faster as he gives even a moment's thought to that glorious conception? If there is such a miserable wretch in existence, he is a freak and a monstrosity. For such ideal no effort, can be spared, no sacrifice can be too great.

Gentlemen, our task to-day is essentially a task of reconstruction. In concert with the rest of our fellow-countrymen we have to prepare a scheme of reforms for the administration and government of India to be introduced as soon as possible after the end of the war which would go a long way towards securing an effective voice to the Indian people in the conduct of public affairs. Your best energies will no doubt be directed to the consideration of such a scheme and I need not therefore waste your time by making suggestions of my own. I need not also embark on a long recital of the customary grievances that are the stock in trade of the Indian political reformer. Nor need I undertake a detailed review of the administrative sins of omission and commission from the point of view of an Indian and a Mussalman. The grievances like the poor are always with us. For the present we have a far bigger and more essential task in hand and on its satisfactory accomplishment all our energies should be bent.

THE PRESS ACT

I cannot, however, close without referring to the administration of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act and the grave feelings of anxiety and alarm to which they have given rise. I need not argue at length to point out the lawless character of the Press Act. It is a harsh and drastic measure. The highest tribunals in the land have shown its provisions to be of a nature that have reduced the freedom of the press to a farce. It confers arbitrary and absolute powers on the executive and public opinion can be expressed only on sufferances. Many of the most influential and independent Moslem newspapers like the "Comrade" and the "Hamdard" have

succumbed to the operation of this Act. Free and independent journalism in the country has become a most hazardous and risky undertaking. The whole of educated India has been demanding with one voice its removal from the statute book, and the sooner this is done the better it would be for the peace and contentment of the country.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

The Defence of India Act is an emergency measure which confers extraordinary and exceptional powers on local Governments with the object of preserving public safety during the period of war. No Indian public man has ever questioned the right and the duty of the state to arm itself with exceptional weapons in a crisis like the one through which the Empire is passing. However, the administration of this measure which was previously intended to deal with the enemies of the State, has become a matter of growing concern of the public. The Defence of India Rules have been used with alarming frequency throughout India and some of the most distinguished and popular Moslem leaders like Messrs. Mahammed Ali and Shaukat Ali have been deprived of their liberty and interned. No definite charges have been brought against them, there has been no public trial for any known offence under the law, and they have been given no opportunity to explain the grounds on which the order for their internment may have been based.

It is, therefore, no fault of the people if they regard these two brothers as innocent victims of some cruel misunderstanding or suspicion. I need not speak of the great hold that Mr. Mahammed Ali has on the esteem and affections of his people. Within his comparatively short but crowded career as a devoted servant of his community he has won his way to the heart of the Moslem India. The feeling for him and his brother is one of deep sorrow and sympathy and if this feeling has not found an organised public expression it is because the Moslem community has exercised wonderful self-restraint and has refrained from embarrassing the Government at such a time as this. May we hope that the Government will be pleased to take the Moslem sentiment into consideration and restore Messrs. Mahammed Ali and Shaukat Ali to liberty, thereby earning the deep and abiding gratitude of the entire Moslem community.

CONCLUSION

Gentlemen, I have done. It only remains for me to step aside and make way for my distinguished and able friend whom we have

summoned to preside over our deliberations at this important session of the League. The Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah stands in no need of introduction to an assembly of Indian Mussalmans. Though comparatively young in years, he has already made his mark in the public life of this country. His clear gaze and ripe judgment, his cool, imperturbable temper, his sweet reasonableness, his fearless courage and devotion to duty have stood the test through serious crisis in public affairs and have helped to save many an awkward situation. I have no doubt that, under his guidance the work of the ninth Session of the All-India Moslem League will be crowned with success.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Hon. Mr. M. A. JINNAH

This is primarily the time for an annual stock-taking, for the testing of our position in the light of the experience of the past year, for an intelligent preparation of the ways and means for meeting the demands of the future, and also, for refreshing, so to speak, the ideals that feed the springs of our faith and endeavour. This, I take to be the fundamental object which the annual sessions of political bodies, like the All-India Muslim League are held.

A NEW EPOCH.

The circumstances however in which we meet to-day are exceptional and mark a new epoch in the history of our country. All that is great and inspiring in the common affairs of men for which the noblest and most valiant of mankind have lived and wrought and suffered in all ages and all climes is now moving India to its depths. The whole country is awakening to the call of destiny and is scanning the new horizons with eager hope. A new spirit of earnestness, confidence and resolution is abroad in the land. In all directions are visible the stirrings of a new life. The Mussalmans of India would be false to themselves and the traditions of their past, had they not shared to the full the new hope that is moving India's patriotic sons to-day, or had they failed to respond to the call of their country. Their gaze like that of their Hindu fellow-countrymen is fixed on the future.

MUSLIM RESPONSIBILITY

But, gentlemen of the All-India Muslim League, remember that the gaze of your community and of the whole country is at this moment fixed on you. The decisions that you may take in this historic hall at this historic session of the League will go forth with all the force and weight that can legitimately be claimed but (by the?)

chosen leaders and representatives of 70 millions of Indian Muslims. On the nature of those decisions will depend in a large measure the fate of India's future, of India's unity and of our common ideals and aspirations for constitutional freedom. The moment for decision has arrived! The alternatives are clear and unmistakable.

INDIA'S LOYALTY

What India has given in this fellowship of service and sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British Nation as well as a necessary contribution to the strength of the fighting forces of civilisation which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically organised barbarism. In this willing service of the people of India there has been no distinction of class or creed. It has come from every part of the land and from every country with equal readiness and devotion. In this service has been no cold calculating instinct at work, there it has sprung from a far more compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy and from an ardent commercial desire to make a safe political investment. India's loyalty to the Empire has set no price on itself.

THE TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION

These tasks have a peculiar urgency and significance in the case of the vast and various communities comprising the British Empire and among the complex series of problems relating to the Imperial reconstruction awaiting British statesmanship. None is of more anxious moment than the problem of reconstruction in India. I need not set about to discuss in detail the Indian problem in all its bearings; it has been discussed threadbare by all manner of men from every conceivable angle of vision. However, there are two cardinal facts about the Indian situation which practical statesmanship will have to take into account while addressing itself to the study of the problem and its adequate solution.

TWO CARDINAL FACTS

There is first the great fact of the British rule in India with its western character and standards of administration which, while maintaining absolute power of initiative, direction, and decision, has maintained for many decades an unbroken peace and order in the land and administered even-handed justice, brought the Indian mind through a widespread system of western education into contact with the thought and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a

great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford said: "The growing self-respect and self-consciousness of her [India's] people are plants that ourselves have watered."

Secondly, there is the fact of the existence of a powerful unifying process, the most vital and interesting result of western education in the country, which is creating out of the diverse mass of race and creed a New India fast growing to unity of thought, purpose and outlook, responsive to new appeals of territorial patriotism, and with national spirit stirring with new energy and aspiration and becoming daily more purposeful and eager to recover its birthright, to direct its own affairs and govern itself. And, to put it briefly, we have a powerful and efficient bureaucracy of British officers responsible only to the British Parliament, governing, with methods known to benevolent despotism, a people that have grown fully conscious of their destiny and are peacefully struggling for political freedom. This is the Indian problem in a nutshell and the task of British statesmanship is to find a peaceful and enduring solution of the problem.

ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM

If it were possible to isolate the tangled group of social and political phenomena and subject it to a thorough investigation by reason, unalloyed by sentiment, it would be infinitely easier to find a safe and sure path for Indian political development and advance; but, as you know, pure unalloyed reason is not the chief motive power in human things. In the affairs of our common secular existence we have to deal not with angels but with men with passions, prejudices, personal idiosyncrasies, innumerable cross currents of motive of desire, hope, fear and hate. The Indian problem has all such formidable complications in its texture. We have for instance the large and trained body of English officials who carry on the administration of the country and exercise power over the well being and happiness of the teeming millions of this land. They are most of them hardworking, efficient, and conscientious public servants and yet they are beset by the prejudices and limitations that mark them as a class apart. They are naturally conservative, have a rooted horror of bold administrative changes or constitutional experiments, are reluctant to part with power or associate Indians freely in the Government of the country. Their main concern appears to be to work the machine smoothly, content to go through their common round from day to day, and they feel bored

and worried and upset by the loud, confident and unsettling accents of New India. All this is eminently human, but it also means an enormous aggravation of the difficulties in the path of final settlement.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS

It means in actual experience the growth of a tremendous class interest, the interest of the governing classes distinct from, if not wholly opposed to, the interest of the governed. It is in fact the existence of this vast, powerful and by no means silent interest that explains the origin and wide currency of certain shallow, big and desperate political maxims which are flung into the face of Indian patriots on the least provocation, and they are familiar enough to all students of Indian affairs. As a sample, I may add, take the following:

A BASTARD MAXIM

(1) "Democratic institutions cannot thrive in the environment of the East." Why? Were democratic institutions unknown to the Hindus and Muhammadans in the past? Was there no Village Panchayat? What are the history, the tradition, the literature, and the precepts of Islam? There are no people in the world who are more democratic, even in their religion, than the Musalmans.

(2) "The only form of Government suitable to India is an autocracy tempered by English [European] efficiency and character." All nations have had to go through the experience of despotic or autocratic Government at one time or another in the history of the world. Russia was liberated to a certain extent only a few years ago. France and England had to struggle before they conquered the Autocracy. Is India to remain under the heel of a novel form of autocracy in the shape of a bureaucracy for all time to come, when Japan and even China have set up constitutional Governments on the democratic lines of Great Britain and America?

(3) (a) "The interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the Indian masses" and (b) the former would oppress the latter if the strong protecting hands of the British official were withdrawn." This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes, are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred; that the masses require protection at the hands of the English officials between whom and the people there is nothing in common; that our interests are opposed to those of the masses, in what aspect is never pointed

out, and that, therefore, the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non-Indian officials.

The suggestion which is so flippantly made is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and to enjoy their monopoly, but it can neither stand the light of facts, nor the analysis of truth. One has only to look at the past records of the Congress for more than a quarter of a century and of the All-India Muslim League to dismiss this specious plea. The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century.

(4) "Indians are unfit to govern themselves." With this last question I propose to deal later in my speech.

These are a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulge freely and provocatively when the least menace arises to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION

Again if we turn to the internal situation in India we meet with a set of social ethnological and cultural conditions unparalleled in recorded history. We have a vast contingent inhabited by 315 millions of people sprung from various racial stocks, inheriting various cultures and professing a variety of religious creeds. This stupendous human group thrown together under one physical and political environment is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose and endeavour. Every Indian Nationalist who has given close and anxious thought to the problem of Nation-building in India fully realises the magnitude of his task. He is not afraid of admitting frankly that difficulties exist in his path. Such difficulties have no terrors for him. They are already vanishing before the forces which are developing in the New Spirit. Well, these are the broad aspects of the Indian problem, and they will give you a fairly general idea of the obstacles that stand in the way of a full and speedy realisation of the ideals of Indian patriots. We have a powerfully organised body of conservative interest on the one hand, and a lack of complete organisation of the National will and intelligence on the other.

INDIA FOR THE INDIANS

There is, however, one fundamental fact that stands out clear and unmistakable which no sophistry of argument and no pseudo

scientific theories about colour and race can disguise. Amidst the class of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords, no cool-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism that India is the first and the last resort for the Indians. Be the time near or distant the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a Self-Governing nation. No force in the world can rob them of their destiny and thwart the purposes of Providence. British statesmanship has not become bankrupt or utterly bereft of its faculty of clear political perception, and it is therefore bound to recognise that the working of the law of national development in India, which came to birth with the British rule itself and is daily gathering momentum under the pressure of the world forces of freedom and progress, must sooner or later produce a change in the principles and methods of Indian governance. It is inevitable. Then why fight against it, why ignore it? Why should not, rather, there be honest straight forward efforts to clear the way of doubts, suspicions and senseless antagonisms to that glorious consummation? Leaving aside the hair brained twaddle of the tribe of scientific meddlers who love to sit in judgment on the East and apply political philosophy, no man, with the least pretensions to common sense, can affect to maintain that the Indian humanity is stamped with a ruthless psychology, and cramped for ever within the prison of its skull.

SELF-GOVERNMENT, THE ONLY FUTURE

If the Indians are not the pariahs of nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organise together for the common needs of the present and for the common hopes of the future, the only future for them is Self-Government, is the attainment of the power to apply through properly organised channels the common National will and intelligence to the needs and tasks of their National existence. The cant of unfitness must die, the laws of nature and the doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East.

THE OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

It is a great relief to think that some of the responsible British statesmen have definitely pronounced in recent years that India's ambition to attain Self-Government is neither a catastrophe nor a sin. Indeed that great and sympathetic Viceroy Lord Hardinge, whose memory will always be cherished with affection by the people of this country, for the first time recognised the legitimacy of that

vital Indian aspiration. Other indications have not been wanting of late which go to show that our National dream and purpose is gaining the stamp of even official approval. There is, however, a world of difference between a theoretical approval of an ideal and its practical application.

DEEDS NOT WORDS

The supreme duty of the men that lead the forces of Indian progress is to insist that India's Rulers should definitely set the ideal before them as the ultimate goal to be attained within a reasonable time and should accelerate the pace accordingly. All our difficulties now arise from the steady reluctance on the part of Indian officialdom to keep this end definitely in view and move faster. Sympathy, divorced from a resolute and active progressive policy can hardly ameliorate the situation. Honeyed words alone cannot suffice. We may congratulate each other about a changed angle of vision and yet remaining where we are till doomsday. The time for a definite decision and a bold move forward has arrived. The vital question to-day, is: Is India fit to be free and to what extent? There can be no shelving of the issue at this juncture. It must be settled one way or the other. If she is not fit to-day she has got to be made fit for Self-Government. This I maintain is no less a duty and responsibility of the Government than of the people themselves.

THE TEST OF FITNESS

Is India fit for freedom? We who are present here to-day know full well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our critics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness? If we turn to history we find that in the past only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom who fought for it and attained it. We are living in different times. Peace has its victories and we are fighting and only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not, and will not be, wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India. But apart from the numerous other considerations that have repeatedly been urged in support of the claims of India to a responsible and representative form of Government, the one that has grown to be of infinitely larger weight and urgency is the living and vigorous spirit of Patriotism and National Self-Consciousness which

is chafing under irksome restraints, and is seeking wider and legitimate outlets for Service and Self-Expression. The strength and volume of this Spirit, this pent-up altruistic feeling and energy of youths can be easily realised by those who have their finger on the pulse of the country. The most significant and hopeful aspect of this spirit is that it has taken its rise from a new-born movement in the direction of National unity which has brought Hindus and Mussalmans together in loving and brotherly service for the common cause. Bombay had the good fortune to see the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League meet for the first time in the same city last December. These simultaneous Sessions were brought about with no little labour, anxiety and trouble. I do not wish to go into past controversy but I venture to say that the Session of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay will go down to posterity as peculiarly interesting in its results. The so-called opponents of ours, although for the time being they caused the utmost anxiety and individual risks, which after all do not count in a National Movement, have, I cannot help saying, rendered the greatest service to our cause. Their unjust attitude served only to stiffen the back of the community. The League rose phoenix-like, stronger, more solidified and determined in its ideals and aspirations, with an added strength of resolution in carrying out its programme. And, to-day, in your historic city of Lucknow the centre of Mussalman culture and intellect, where three years ago the All-India Muslim League laid down our cherished ideal of Self-Government under the aegis of the British is witnessing the simultaneous sessions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League once more.

THE HINDU-MUSLIM RAPPROCHEMENT

Indeed the person who fails to read in the Hindu-Muslim rapprochement within the last two years the first great sign of the birth of a United India has little knowledge of the political conditions of a few years ago, and has no business to talk of India.

FUTURE IDEALS OF THE LEAGUE

I need hardly say that the Hindu-Muslim question had hitherto lain as a colossal riddle athwart the numerous unifying forces that make for the evolution of a common Indian Nationality. The new temper that we witness to-day is the measure of the change that has happily come over Hindu-Muslim relations. What this change really signifies can only be judged by a reference to the state of things that obtained only a few years ago when mutual distrust and suspicion were rampant and communal bickering on either side ruled

the roost. Everyone of us can easily recall the frame of the Muslim mind and the feeling in which the All-India Muslim League was founded at Dacca. To put it frankly the All-India Muslim League came into existence as an organisation with the main object of safe-guarding Muslim interests. The Mussalmans as a community had till then abstained from all manner of political agitation, and they were naturally moved by the loud and insistent demand for constitutional and administrative reforms which Hindu politicians were pressing on the Indian Government. They felt, and rightly, the need of organising themselves for political action lest the impending changes initiated by a liberal Secretary of the State should swamp them altogether as a community. This was perhaps the only course open to a community proud of the traditions of its past, yet weak in numbers and lacking the strength that organised political activity alone can give. The main principle on which the First All-India Muslim political organisation was based, was the retention of Muslim communal, individuality, strong and unimpaired in any constitutional readjustment that might be made in India in the course of its political evolution. The speed has grown and broadened with the growth of political life and thought in the community in its general outlook, and the ideal as regards the future. The All-India Muslim League stands abreast of the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any patriotic efforts for the advancement of the country as a whole. In fact this readiness of the educated Muslims only about a decade after they first entered the field of politics to work shoulder to shoulder with the other Indian communities for the common good of all is to my mind the strongest proof of the value and need of this great Muslim political organisation at present. I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of "separation" sometimes levelled at Mussalmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark when I see this great communal organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of a United India. A minority must above everything else have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavour in the National tasks. To the Mussalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as regards their political existence as a community. Whatever my individual opinion may be, I am here to interpret and express the sense of the ever-growing body of Muslim opinion of which the All-India Muslim League is the political organ.

HINDU MUSLIM RELATIONS.

It is a matter of infinite gratification to me as well as to all patriotic Mussalmans that the Muslim communal position in this matter has been recognised and met in an ungrudging spirit by the leaders of the great Hindu community. This was so amply demonstrated by the happy and unanimous decision that was arrived at by the Committees of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League that met at Calcutta only last November. Our joint Conferences in Lucknow were marked by honest efforts on either side to find a lasting solution of our differences, and I rejoice to think that a final settlement has at last been reached which sets the seal on Hindu-Muslim co-operation and opens a new era in the history of our country. A few irreconcilable spirits in either company still exist here and there, but the atmosphere has of the whole been rid of the menace of sectarian thunder, and the prospects of the future are bright with a promise that gladdens the hearts of India's devoted sons. Just as I have no sympathy with a member of my community who cherishes with an assured communal existence would not extend the hand of fellowship to his Hindu Brother, so I cannot appreciate the attitude of the Hindu Patriot who would insist on his pound of flesh though in this struggle the entire future of the country for the sake of a small gain to one side or the other may be marred for ever. As an instance I would like to point the recent unfortunate controversy that was raised in these Provinces over the passing of the Municipal Act, but surely we are not wanting in political wisdom and sagacity. Let us remember, whether Hindus or Mussalmans that New India wants a wholly different type of public-worker of more generous spirit and ampler mould, free from the egoism of sect and the narrowness of bigotry; one who can resist the temptation to crush the weak and yet would not quail before the aggression of the strong; who can rise above the petty preoccupations of the day to the higher planes of devotion and service which alone can give to a people faith, hope, freedom, and power.

THE SCHEME OF REFORM

With the satisfactory solution of the most formidable problem that stood in the path of Indian progress towards political co-operation and unity our constitutional battle may be said to have been half won already. The united Indian demand based on the actual needs of the country and framed with due regard to time and circumstances must eventually prove irresistible. It must also be recognised that those responsible for the Government of India have

already shown a disposition to treat the existing grievances of the people in a broader spirit of understanding and sympathy. With the restoration of peace the Indian problem will have to be dealt with on bold and generous lines and India will have to be granted her birthright as a free, responsible, and equal member of the British Empire. How this change is to be effected and what are to be the lines of development and methods of solution are matters that have been fully occupying the thought of Indian publicists for the past two years, and authoritative schemes of readjustment have already been formulated and placed before the Government by the nineteen Elected Representatives of the Imperial Council. You are aware that a Committee of the All-India Muslim League was formed last year and was authorised to draw up a scheme of reform in consultation with the Committee of the Indian National Congress. That scheme is ready and will at this session be submitted to you for your consideration and judgment. After you have adopted the scheme of reforms you should see that the Congress and the League take concerted measures to have a Bill drafted by constitutional lawyers as an Amending Bill to the Government of India Act which embodies the present constitution of our country. This Bill when ready should be adopted by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League, and a deputation of leading and representative men from both the bodies should be appointed to see that the Bill is introduced into the British Parliament and adopted. For that purpose we should raise as large a fund as possible to supply the sinews of war until our aims and objects are fulfilled.

THE POSITION OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE.

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest is the position of India in the Empire. This should be defined in the most unequivocal terms, it should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that Self-Government is not a mere distant goal that may be attained at some future indefinite time, but that Self-Government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government, to be given to the people within a reasonable time. That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India; and immediate steps should be taken after the War to introduce the reforms with that end in view, both by the Government and the Imperial partnership. Reading the signs of the times it appears that the claims of the Overseas Dominions such as Canada, Australia and even

South Africa, viz., to allow them a voice in the declaration of war and the making of peace and the Imperial foreign policy, if they are to bear the responsibilities of the Empire, cannot well be resisted, and it might follow that an Imperial Parliament may be constructed and established, England, Scotland and Ireland having their internal and domestic affairs such as the dominions already have. Sir Joseph Ward, addressing the meeting of the Insurance Institute at Gresham College, only last month, said that in the future reconstruction of the Empire there could not be any interference with local authority, and though an Imperial Parliament was a long way off they might now work for some effective Imperial Council and that before an organic parliament was possible there must be devolution in Britain to make the way for a federal legislature. The Overseas Dominions had no right even to a minority voice as to whether the Nation should go to war or what the peace terms should be. He quoted Mr. Asquith's speech at the 9th Imperial Conference in which the Prime Minister stated: An Imperial Parliament scheme would impair the authority of the British Parliament. "Since then," Sir Joseph said, "there had been a great evolution of opinion on the subject. Mr. Bonar Law had declared as a result of the War that the time was coming when the Overseas Dominions would share in the Government of the Empire with Britain. He hoped that before the War ended some *modus vivendi* would be established." In the political reconstruction, India as the largest part of the Empire cannot possibly be allowed to continue in Dependancy, as an adjunct to England, Scotland or Ireland, or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility for the control and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises: What will be the position of India in an Imperial Parliament, with full representation of the Dominions, is constituted? Is India to serve new and additional masters? Is India, ruled jointly by England and Scotland and Ireland, to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament, and to be thus ruled and to be governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status or *locus standi* in the Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position. Indeed she does not want a change of masters nor additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament as indicated above is established, India's right should be recognised, and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured and represented by her own sons in the Councils of the Empire.

MINIMUM DEMANDS

Next, it is well known that the reforms that are sought by the people of India to be introduced into the constitutional Government of India were fully adumbrated recently by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and I do not wish to repeat them here, as I believe you are all familiar with them already. As one of the signatories I would urge upon you to follow them substantially so far as the fundamental principles are involved in those proposals. Those demands were formulated by responsible men who owe a duty to the Government and people alike as their chosen representatives, not in a spirit of bargaining. Those demands are the minimum in the strictest sense of the word. It is said that these are extravagant demands; it is said it is a big thing; it is said that we are not yet ready for them; it is said that if these reforms are introduced there will be chaos, and particularly the Anglo-Indian Press is not only most unreasonable and disappointing but alarmed. These are mere destructive methods. Similar fears were raised and arguments advanced when the Minto-McLeay reforms were on the legislative anvil, but what is the verdict now, official and non-official after nearly seven years of actual trial? I give as answer: We have not been favoured either by our critics or by the Government with a reply as to what is the alternative scheme. We are not taken into the confidence of the secret chambers of the Government where the Government of India, it is said, have been deliberating upon and preparing a despatch containing their proposals of reform to be submitted to the Secretary of State for India. In England the representatives of the Colonies and the press and the people and the ministers are freely discussing the reconstruction of the constitution of the Empire after the War. Nay, even before the War is over it is suggested to set up an Imperial Council; whereas in India we are denied the opportunity of knowing even what the Government are contemplating. It will be a great misfortune if any decisions are arrived at with regard to the future of India by the Government and the Secretary of State for India without the proposals being published and placed before the country at large for public criticism and opinion. I most earnestly urge upon the Government that before any final decision is arrived at the proposed reforms should be published and the people should be taken into their confidence. I feel that if the people are bitterly disappointed at this juncture it will mean the greatest disaster to the future progress of this country.

THE QUESTION OF THE CALIPHATE

I should be failing in my duty towards my own people and the Government if I did not at this crisis make it clear that of the many delicate questions there is none that requires a closer attention and study by the Government and the Minister of Great Britain than the question of the Caliphate. The sentiments and feelings and the religious convictions, not only of the Mussalmans of India but of the Mussalmans of the world, are not to be lightly treated. The loyalty of the Muhammadans of India to the Government is no small asset. From the very commencement of the great crisis through which the British Empire has been passing the allegiance of the Mussalmans to the Crown and their loyalty to the Government has remained whole-hearted and unshaken. May I, therefore, urge that the Government should have regard for their dearest and most sacred religious feeling, and under no circumstances interfere with the question of the future of the Caliphate. It should be left entirely to the Mussalmans to acknowledge and accept their own Caliph. I do not desire to dilate on this grave and delicate subject, but much deeper currents underlie this exceptional exhortation of mine, which I have ventured to make in the interests of the Mussalmans and the Government of Great Britain, than it would be expedient at present to discuss on public platform. But the Mussalmans may well claim that their feelings and sentiments relating to their most cherished traditions should receive consideration in the general policy of the Empire, particularly when they coincide with the demands of justice, humanity, and international obligations.

THE HOLY PLACES OF ISLAM

As a spokesman of the Mussalmans of India, I must here acknowledge that the noble assurance of the British Government given to them through H. E. Lord Hardinge, the late Viceroy of India, as regards the Holy Places of Islam, was received by them not only with the utmost satisfaction but with profound gratitude.

THE MUSLIM ATTITUDE

I may say a word as to the attitude of the Mussalmans of India towards the Government. Our clear duty is to be loyal and respectful, without stooping to a cringing policy. We want no favours and crave for no partial treatment. That is demoralising to the community and injurious to the State. The Mussalmans must learn to have self respect. What we want is a healthy and fair impetus to be given to our aspirations and ideals as a community, and it is the most sacred duty of the Government to respond to that

claim. Towards the Hindus our attitude should be of good will and brotherly feelings. Co-operation in the cause of our Motherland should be our guiding principle. India's real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relation between the two great sister communities. With regard to our own affairs we can depend upon nobody but ourselves. We should infuse a greater spirit of solidarity into our society; we should remove the root causes and the evil effects of the process of disintegration, we should maintain sustained loyalty to, and co-operation with, each other. We should sink personal differences and subordinate personal ambitions to the well-being of the community. We must recognise that no useful purpose is served in petty disputes and in forming party combination. We could not lose the sympathy of our well-wishers in India and in England by creating a wrong impression that we, as a community, are out only for self-interest and self-gain. We must show by our words and deeds that we sincerely and earnestly desire a healthy National unity. For the rest, the 70 millions of Mussalmans need not fear religious differences. A few days ago I came across a paragraph in the *Bombay Chronicle* the well-known daily paper of Bombay, with its editor, Mr. B. G. Horaiman, a friend of the Mussalmans, who has rendered great services to us. It is as follows: The following incident reported by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, may well be read with profit by those whose narrow imaginations, in spite of proofs to the contrary, always see in the difference of religions in India an irremovable bar against placing Indians in high offices of trust and responsibility. This is how H. H. the Nizam just disposed of Hindu-Mussalman dispute in this territory. Well, for about a year or so there sprang up a quarrel between the Hindus and the Mussalmans of Warrangal about the building of a mosque in a prominent Hindu locality. In spite of many protests from the Hindu population the other party persisted in constructing one. The Hindus then appealed to His Highness with the result that he was pleased to appoint a Committee of enquiry, consisting of two Mussalmans and one Hindu to report on the matter. The report was in favour of the Hindus, and His Highness has been pleased to pass his orders accordingly. The action taken by H. H. the Nizam, it need hardly be added, was in accordance with the traditional policy adopted by the Rulers of Hyderabad.

CONCLUSION

The Renaissance of India really lies in our own hands. Let us work and trust to God, that we may leave a richer heritage to

children than all the gold of the world—FREEDOM—for which no sacrifice is too great.

SPEECHES ON SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION

HON. MR. RASUL

It is known that England is the most freedom loving country in the world. It was pointed out in another place how all political refugees of Europe, found shelter in England. When England along with other powers advocated the cause of freedom, did England think that India was not as educated as some of the other countries following? Most of you know that England along with other powers advocated Self-Government for the Balkan States. The people of India are better educated than the people of the Balkan States. Are we less educated and advanced than what Japan was fifty years ago when Self-Government was granted to the people of Japan. We find that even the negroes in Liberia have Self-Government. The wording of our resolution is most moderate, and reforms, that we now ask for are only steps to a further measure of Self-Government. That is our goal. I hope the Government will not consider our demands extravagant. It has been stated in some papers that after the War the Colonies would have a large share in the administration of India. I do not know if that is correct or not. We have been ruled by the English people, but certainly we shall object to be ruled by the Civilians who come from the Colonies which do not treat our people in a way that they ought to, having regard to the fact that the Indians, South Africans, Australians, etc., are all subjects of the same Sovereign. We know what our people want better than the Civilians who come from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and England. I do not mean any disparagement to the members of the Indian Civil Service when I say that in 95 cases out of 100 they do not understand our languages. There is a great deal of misunderstanding about this question of Home Rule or Self-Government. Our rulers and Anglo-Indian editors of papers say that our object is to drive the English out of India. It is not the intention either of the Hindus or the Mussalmans to drive the English out of India. If it is to be a settled fact that the Colonies are to have control over our affairs, we must insist on having our share in the control of the affairs of the Empire. Do not think that anybody can say that ours is an unreasonable demand. Understand that Mr. L. Curtis, who is here on the dais has written a book called

Problem of the Commonwealth, and that it is also his object that we, Indians, should have a place in the Empire not as a Dependency, but as a dominant partner. If so, we welcome the suggestion in his book, but if it is not so, we must strongly object to the Colonies having any share in controlling the affairs of India. The Governor General said the other day in Calcutta that he would be dishonest if he held out any hopes that our progress would be rapid. I say equally determinedly and equally respectfully that, if our rulers do not grant us reforms, which are so reasonable, yet if we go on appealing and appealing to the British people in spite of what he, Lord Charnford said, our progress will be rapid. The English people have been very cautious, but at the same time if we can show to them the justice of our cause, I have no doubt the British public would come forward to grant what we want within a few years. After the Boer War the British statesman granted Self-Government to South Africa. When we are shedding blood in the cause of the British Empire, are we to be debarred from having that measure of Self-Government which, Boers, who were enemies of Britain obtained within a few years of the annexation of South Africa? (Loud and continued applause.)

II

Mrs. SAROJNI SAID

I do not know what claim I have to stand before you to-day except that I have been for many years a faithful comrade of the young generation of the Mussalmans and champion of Woman Muslim community and fought with their men folk for the privilege that Islam gave long ago but which you denied to your woman folk. I stand before you to-day to support this great cause of Self-Government for India. I remember the occasion nearly four years ago, that historic occasion on which the young generation of Islam passed a new constitution and brought within the range of practical politics to be realised by effective measures and co-operation with the Hindu community this great dream—it seemed far off dream—of Self-Government or the Government of the people by the people, the investment of power into the hands of the people. On this occasion as I look around me I miss two friends who were sincere friends of this ideal of Self-Government. One is the late Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar. I also miss to-day with intense and passionate sense of loss the magnetic presence of my friend and your great leader, Muhamed Ali (Loud applause). I should like also to mention the valuable services rendered to your community by Wazir-Assan the tireless Secretary of your League. One who was keen as a

distinguished visitor and a sympathetic critic four years ago, is to-day guiding the deliberations of your League for the greater glory of India. In Hon. Mr. Jinnah you have a President who stands as a focus between Hindus and Mussalinans and it is so, because Muhamed Ali persuaded him to become a member of the League. During the last few days we have been suffused with enthusiasm, and the most enthusiastic response of the united people has been given to Indian Nation in their demand for the Self-Government. We all recognise this indomitable determination to go up with the demand for self-Government, and with the scheme of the Post War. Reforms would not have been possible but for the fact, that we millions in India speak with one voice, because we are one, undivided and indivisible whole. I am not a politician. I spoke to you as a lover of my country and I charge you, Mussalinans of India, to remember the high responsibilities of your desire. No one can give to you what you do not have capacity to take.

All-India Christian Conference

MR. V. S. GNANAPRAKASAM.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee

Ours (our Presidency) is the largest Indian Christian population and the largest percentage of Female literates. Last, but not least the first Indian Foreign Missionary Society was started in this Province and the first Indian Bishop is a South Indian. I believe the social service work begun by the able and energetic lady, Mrs. Whitehead, in the suburbs of this City is the first of its kind which has already shown signs of success. In matters industrial the Weaving and Tile Works of the Basel Mission in the West Coast and the Lace Industry introduced by the revered late Mrs. Caldwell in the South have given our young men and women a good start. Our City has at least the honour of being connected with the benign Government longer than either Calcutta or Bombay. Our Province was specially saved by the Grace of God during the times of the Great Indian Mutiny, in grateful memory of which stands one of the beautiful buildings which adorn the City of Madras—the Memorial Hall—with an inscription that reminds us at all times that "The Lord Hath Been Mindful of Us."

It does strike one as very peculiar that our All-India Conference should have had its birth in the year of the great War, in which modern civilization is passing through fire and nations of the

West are fighting for their very existence. This Session is at a time when the fury of the tremendous storm is still raging. There is hardly any doubt that the nations of the West will emerge out of this fearful war, weaker in material strength, but far stronger in spiritual life, which alone really counts and which is the essential element in building up the Lord's Loving Brotherhood. The British Prime Minister has already sounded the note of glory in the words: "It is not what a nation gains, it is what it gives, that makes it great." The Lord's way is to have everything in its proper time. This All-India Christian Conference is also just in time and has therefore great responsibilities and privileges.

It is a matter for deep gratitude that in this War which is waged for upholding the dignity and honour of the British Throne, the unswerving loyalty of our community has been in a small measure recognized by the Government in sanctioning the recruitment of our Indian Christian Double Companies in the Punjab, thus enabling us to contribute our quota towards the defence of the Empire. His Excellency the Viceroy, in reply to the address presented by our representatives at Simla on the 1st August of this year, was pleased to say that the Military Authorities have been fully satisfied with the experiment and that the work and conduct of the newly recruited officers and men have been excellent and that he was interested in the good social work done by many Indian Christians in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association in ministering to the needs of Indian soldiers at the front.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

HON. MR. DOSS

CHRISTIANS AND NATIONAL LIFE

The Indian Christian Community is a part of the Indian nation. Our ancestors were non-Christians. They formed the Indian nation of their time. The blood of our ancestors runs in the veins of our non-Christian brethren. The glorious achievements of our ancestors in the various fields of intellectual and moral culture, their heroic deeds in battle-fields are a never failing source of inspiration to Indian Christians. We were Indians, before we embraced the Christian faith, and except in matters which concern the soul's relations with its Creator,—we are Indians.

Caste System

The Indian Christian community has been charged with an outlandish exclusiveness. It has been said in some quarters that we

have kept ourselves aloof from the national movements which aim at the political progress of the Indian nation. It is said that Indian Christians have not shown any sympathy with those who are working for improving the political status of India in the British Empire. I must say that this charge is not justifiable. Individual Indian Christians have taken an active part in the deliberations and pronouncements of the Indian National Congress. Individual Indian Christians have made common cause with their non-Christian Indian colleagues in Legislative Councils in advocating measures calculated to secure for India her legitimate rights as a part of the British Empire. This is true of a few members of the community, but as a community we have done more to organise the national movement. Since the days of the community's birth from its very infancy, it has been struggling amidst powerful oppositions to form a nucleus of the Indian nation. The caste system has divided the nation. India is divided into airtight compartments by walls raised by the caste system. I have on purpose used the expression airtight because according to caste rules observed by certain high caste people, the very air exhaled by a man of the untouchable depressed class contaminates the atmosphere, and makes it unfit for the inhalation of the high caste Hindu. I do firmly believe and do not hesitate to give an emphatic expression to my belief, that all our attempts to raise the three hundred millions of India to the dignified position of one Nation will be received with a large discount, so long as we look upon a portion of this population, however small, as untouchable,—having no right, to share in those political privileges and rights which we claim in the name of the nation. There can be no nation with a portion of the population classed as untouchable and depressed. There can be no nation so long as woman, the nation's mother,—God's repository of whatever is loving and tender in human nature—is denied the privilege of educating her children—the most important initial step in the building up of a nation.

Ramayana and the Mahabharata

When I read the two great national epics the Mahabharata and Ramayana (with the aid of the light which the Cross sheds on them), I am inspired with an earnest desire to improve the position of our women and the depressed classes in the social economy of India. I learn that in ancient India the aboriginal tribes who represent the monkeys of Ramayana were honoured by kings and monarchs who were worshipped as gods. The writer of Ramayana knew no depressed classes in the population. Take away Drona from Mahabharata and Sita from Ramayana and the two great nation-

al epics have no existence. Where could I find more convincing proof of the influential position which women occupied in ancient India? Where can I get more forcible illustrations of the unflinching martyrdom to conviction, than I find in the life of my revered ancestor who cheerfully ascended the funeral pyre of her husband to keep inviolate the sacred bond of matrimony. Her blood which I proudly hold in my veins constantly impels me to act up to my conviction. I repudiate with indignation the assertion that I do not belong to Indian nation. I have spoken in the first person. I have done so because these are the unanimous sentiments of the community, and the sentiments of many when expressed by one lend emphasis to the unanimity.

Christians are Indians

We are Indians. Indian blood runs in our veins; Indian history, Indian traditions are the springs from which we draw our inspirations, our hopes, for the future greatness of India are built on the glorious achievements of ancient India. Ostracism is only a form of national emasculation. We shall continue to work as we have done in the past. We shall grow in numerical strength by admitting the depressed classes, and thus form a body politic, national in its character. We shall do our best to give the fair sex her exalted position as the mother of the nation. We shall continue to afford every facility for intermarriage between the several portions of the Indian population, thereby fuse the different races into one powerful nation. The offsprings of these intermarriages will not be known as Bengalis, Marhattas, Panjabis or as Brahmins and Kayasthas, but they will be known as Indians. Thus the Indian Christian community, which at present counts among its members 4 millions, will prove the nucleus around which will gather one fifth of the world's population and form one nation—a nation which had a glorious past and is destined to have a more glorious future. Let me assure our non-Christian brethren our humble services will always be at their command in any movement which seeks the political progress of India within the British Empire. The guiding principle of our communal life has hitherto been and will always be "peace on earth and goodwill toward mankind."

India after the War

We have seen formulation and enunciation of the changes in the administrative policy hitherto pursued in India by the British Government. These changes are demanded by the people at the conclusion of the War. Opinions differ as to whether it is proper to

formulate our demands while the War lasts. From the view I take of the War I should not on behalf of my community formulate any change in the shape of a demand. The time for such demand will come at the conclusion of the war. Any demand now made has the appearance of demanding a price for our loyalty. Our sympathy with the British Nation in the prosecution of the present War is due to the fact that our Gracious King stands to support the cause of righteousness and justice, that His Majesty wishes to crush the impudent claim of brute power to gain ascendancy over the moral forces of man. The victory gained by England will mean a recognition of the supremacy of the moral forces. England will have proved to the world that solemn pledges should not be allowed to be broken with impunity, that treaties and proclamations should not be treated as scraps of papers, that the rights of a weak Nation should not be allowed to be invaded and infringed with impunity. These are the lessons which England will preach to the world. The cost of the lessons will be immense both in money and men. The lessons of the War will form an invaluable code for guidance in international matters. They will be written in the blood of millions of brave patriots from all part of the world—Hindus and Muhammadans, Englishmen and Frenchmen, Italians and Persians, Canadians from the North and Australians from the South. Their sanctity will be guarded alike by the progeny of those in whose blood they are written, and the departed spirit of those brave men who shed their blood.

"Thou shalt not rob weak Nations of their just rights." "Thou shalt not treat solemn promises made in treaties and proclamations as scraps of papers." These will be the lessons of the War. They will be written in letters of gold in the Legislative Council Chambers.

Political Status

What have we done to improve our political status? We are four millions of British subjects. Our loyalty has never been questioned. It was put to severe test in the dark days of mutiny. The percentage of literate population is the largest in our community. In the matter of female education we stand foremost. Above all our community is the only community which forms the nucleus of the Indian Nation. But alas the very existence of our community is ignored by the Government. We have no representative in the Imperial Council. Indian Christians have been elected by mixed electorates of Hindus and Muhammadans to seats in the Legislative

Councils. An Indian Christian may represent Hindus and Muhammadans, but he has no chance to represent his own community. This means that the Government is not willing to recognise our communal existence. A Lieutenant-Governor once declined to receive an address of welcome from an Indian Christian Association. I remember years ago there was a circular over the signature of the head of the Educational Department, which made Christian faith a disqualification for appointment in the Education Department. This was done at a time when most of the schools in the Province were managed by Indian Christians employed by the European Missions, and the most active and prominent man in the Senate of the University was an Indian Christian—the late Rev. Dr. Krishna Mohan Bannerji.

Industry

If you want to improve industry, learn to sympathize with the artisan in the difficulties of his present situation, for which our denationalised taste is responsible; learn to put up with his shortcomings. We can easily get rid of Manchester made cloths if we decide to use coarse dhoties which the weaver can produce. We are dressed in thick trousers and coats when we attend to our duties in offices and courts during the hottest hours of the day, but we can't use coarse dhoties at home in the cool hours of the morning and evening, though these dhoties are much thinner than the stuffs of which our trousers and coats are made. The truth is we are Bidweshis to the interests of our country though we claim to be Swadeshis and proclaim ourselves as such: May the day soon dawn when the rich and influential will realise their duty to the poor millions of India. May the day soon come when each of us should seriously think how he can in his position of life contribute his mite of exertion to improve the condition of even one artisan. When shall the educated men of India and those who were born on the couch of luxury seriously examine their life with a view to determine to what extent they help the poor artisan? The pressure on land is very great in India. Nearly 80 per cent. of the population depend on agriculture. The yield of agriculture depends on the rains. Famine is a frequent visitor at the agriculturist's door. A portion of the population must be drafted to other occupations. We have created the difficulties and we must sacrifice money, taste and comforts as an atonement for our conduct.

THE SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

i. That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for Government and administration and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-Government on India at an early date; that this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Moslem League; that in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-Governing Dominions.

ii. All India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to Government for its introduction after the War as a first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India.

II

THE CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEM LEAGUE'S SCHEME OF POST-WAR REFORMS

I. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.
2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.
4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should

be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian states, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision where extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the

Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The Franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the Mahomedan electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

5. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

6. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

7. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

8. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

9. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

10. The term of office of members shall be five years.

11. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council :—

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian states.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military Charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

12. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided, however, that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

13. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

14. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

15. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military

affairs and the foreign political relations, of India, including declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.
2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.
3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.
4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the executive council of the Governor General.
5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, and subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.
6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specially given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.
7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.
8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates.
3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.
4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent under secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS OF POLICY.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown

open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as Volunteers.
 3. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.
 4. The executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.
- N.B.--As regards communal representation in Legislative Councils, the following percentages have been agreed upon.
- Mahomadan representation for the Punjab 50 per cent.; Bengal 40 per cent.; Bombay 33½ per cent.; United Provinces 30 per cent. Central Provinces 15 per cent.; Madras 15 per cent. It has also been agreed to, that in any province two thirds of a community be against any measure or Bill, it should be dropped by both communities.

III

REFORMS AFTER THE WAR

THE NON-OFFICIAL MEMORANDUM

Submitted by the 19 Elected Members of the Imperial Legislative Council

There is no doubt that the termination of the War will see a great advance in the ideals of Government all over the civilised world, and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small nationalities, and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity. In the international relations of the world India has borne her part in this struggle, and cannot remain unaffected by the new spirit of change for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country, and hopes have been held out that, after the War, the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision.

UNCOMPLETED WORK

The people of India have good reason to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook by the British Rule and for the steadiest, if slow, advance. Commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833 up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition and not

responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909, for the first time, introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit Indians into the inner councils of the Indian Empire.

So far as the Legislative Councils are concerned, the number of non-officials was merely enlarged with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The Supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such a majority included nominated members and European representatives. In the measures, largely affecting the people whether of legislation or taxation, an European would naturally support the Government and the nominated members, being nominees of the Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory, and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether Supreme or Provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies without any power of effective control over the Government Imperial or Provincial. The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of Indian Members in the Executive Council where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of Indian members.

The object which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Council Bill on the 1st April of 1909, that it was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automate, the wires of which were pulled by the official hierarchy. This object, it is submitted has not been attained.

OTHER DISABILITIES

Apart from the question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities, which not only prevent the utilisation but also lead to the wastage of what is best in them, and are positively derogatory

to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act which excludes from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the army are disabilities which are looked upon with an irritation and sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough, if these were mere disabilities. The restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to serious danger. The position of Indians in India is practically this that they have no real part or share in the direction of the government of the country and are placed under very great and galling disabilities from which the other members of the British Empire are exempt, and which have reduced them to a state of utter helplessness. The existence moreover of the system of Indentured Emigration gives to the British Colonies and the outside world the impression that Indians, as a whole, are no better than indentured coolies, who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things makes the Indians feel that, though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire. Other Asiatic races also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her position in the Empire. Humiliating as this position of inferiority is to the Indian mind, it is almost unbearable to the youth of India, whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts where they come in contact with other free races.

In the face of these grievances and disabilities, what has sustained the people is the hope and faith inspired by promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government and have faithfully and loyally stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to the Battle-fields of Europe not as mercenary troops but as free citizens of the British Empire which requires their services, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquility reigned throughout India when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while rousing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in this great War, spoke of Indians

as "the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future."

WHAT IS WANTED

India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of the Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past, and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination, but one of comradeship. This would assure the Indian people that England is ready and willing to help them to attain Self-Government under the aegis of the British Crown, and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken, and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen. What is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them. This is what India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision.

If, after the termination of the War, the position of India practically remains what it was before, and there is no material change, it will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country and the beneficent efforts of participation in common danger, overcome by common effort, will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation, and has contemplated measures of reform in the administration of the country. We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to respectfully offer to the Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must in our opinion, go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the government of the country and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career, which indicate a want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. Under the first head, we would take the liberty to suggest the following measures for consideration and adoption:—

(1) In all the Executive Councils Provincial and Imperial, half the number of members should be Indians. The European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans

should have experience of actual administration, for, as in the case of the ministers in England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the department is always available to them. As regards Indians, we venture to say that a sufficient number of qualified Indians, who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Councils and hold portfolios, is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians like Sir S. F. Sinha, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the late Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer, Sir Shamsul Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair have maintained the high level in the discharge of their duties. Moreover, it is well known that the Native States where Indians have opportunities have produced renowned administrators like Sir Salar Jung, Sir K. Madhava Rao, Sir Seshadri Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Raghubatha Rao, not to mention the present administrators in the various Native States of India. The Statutory obligation now existing that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India, and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils, should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils and for the purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

(2) All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. We feel sure that they will safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population, with whom they are in closer touch than a European officer however sympathetic, can possibly be. The proceedings of the various Legislative Councils and the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League bear ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses and their acquaintance with their wants and wishes. The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people, Mahomedans or Hindus wherever they are in a minority, being given proper and adequate representations having regard to their numerical strength and position.

(3) The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should not be less than 150 and of the Provincial Councils not less than 100 for the major provinces and not less than 60 to 75 for the minor provinces.

(4) The budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

(5) The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on all matters and to discuss and pass resolutions relating

to all matters of Indian administration, and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to provincial administration, save and except that the direction of military affairs, of foreign relations, declarations of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties other than commercial should (? not) be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard the Governor-General-in-Council, or the Governor-in-Council, as the case may be, should have the right of veto, but subject to certain conditions and limitations.

(6) The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, hold in relation to the Government of India, a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the Secretary and the Under Secretaries should be placed on the British Estimates.

(7) In any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions.

(8) The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous as stated in the Government of India's despatch, dated the 25th August, 1911.

(9) The United Provinces, as well as the other major provinces, should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom with an Executive Council.

(10) A full measure of local Self-Government should be immediately granted.

(11) The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans.

(12) Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a territorial army to be established in India.

(13) Commissions in the army should be given to the Indian youth under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

SIGNATORIES

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