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REPORT
OF
THE FOURTEENTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT
MADRAS
ON THE 29TH, 30TH AND 31ST DECEMBER
1898

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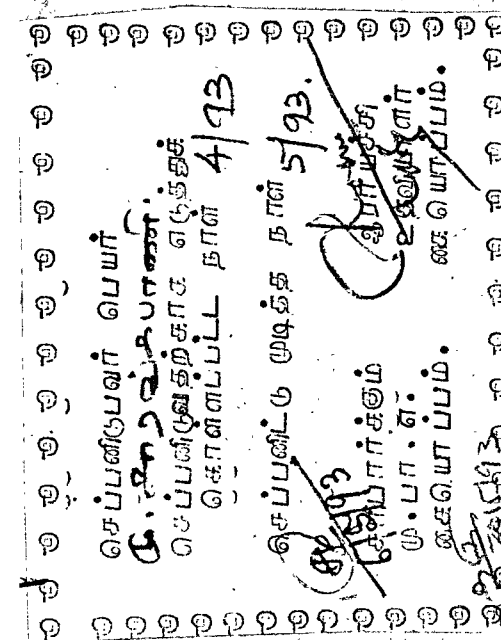
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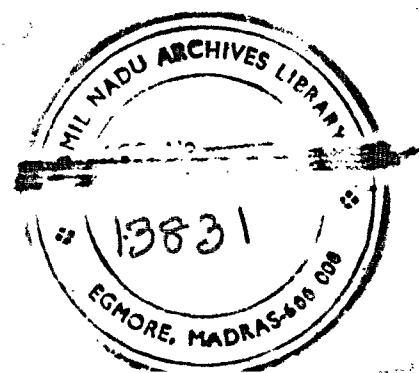
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INTRODUCTION.

When preparations for the fourteenth session of the Indian National Congress which was to meet in Madras were commenced, the general depression that had come over the Indian people in consequence of the reactionary spirit of Government for sometime past had not disappeared. The policy of aggression abroad and repression at home was in full swing, and public opinion whether in India or in England was entirely helpless before the sweeping tide of imperialistic jingoism: the dark shadow of famine still lingered in the land, and the poor people that survived that calamity were only to be squeezed the harder for the taxes: the Government of India had declined the offer of help made by Her Majesty's Government towards meeting the expenses of the frontier war; the new sedition law had become an accomplished fact; the weak and panic-stricken attitude of the Bombay Government, which struck terror and spread confusion in the land in the summer of 1897, had not been given up; the utterances as well as the policy of Lord George Hamilton, more especially his covert attack on higher education and his reference to India among the "savage" countries of the world, had caused general disgust. The Government indeed promised to take into consideration questions directly and indirectly bearing on the material condition of the people, but as a fact not a single measure was initiated to redeem this promise. A Famine Commission was appointed, but it was called upon to formulate for future guidance the lessons of the experience of 1897 and not devise measures for the banishment from the land of this calamity, of late so much more frequent in its occurrence and so much more sweeping in its ravages, by improving the people's resources and raising their staying power. Above all, the Indian career of Lord Elgin—the Home-Ruler Viceroy and the nominee of Mr. Gladstone—was drawing to a close with little or nothing to justify the hopes that for the moment cheered the public mind when his appointment was announced, or to vindicate the traditions or the principles of his great political party. Thoughtful people asked whether the new Imperialism symbolized in the memorable occasion of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee was going to usher an era of iron despotism instead of the liberal and progressive government to which the country had become accustomed. More than one of our leading men replied to the circulars of the Reception Committee in terms of despair.—"What is the good," they asked, "of the National Congress and all political agitation—thoroughly constitutional and loyal no doubt, but entirely divorced from the sympathy of the rulers who are now opposed to liberty of speech and the liberty of the press and who seriously believe that liberal education is only a mischievous evil in India?"

Such was the public feeling when the Reception Committee of the Fourteenth Indian National Congress began their preparations. But soon they had to face another difficulty not less formidable than the general depression of the people, and that was the gradual approach of plague towards the gates of Madras. The fair city of Bangalore which is only twelve hours journey from Madras was being laid desolate by this dread disease, and in stations nearer to Madras had appeared indigenous as well as imported cases. In Madras itself there were a few stray cases imported from outside. The public were frightened, and thoughtful people as well as the Government and Municipal authorities gave their best attention to measures necessary to forestall a sudden and general outbreak. Organizations were started, and public subscriptions were raised, and resources that generally enlist themselves in the service of the Congress were in a considerable measure diverted towards preparations for a plague campaign. There was indeed

no serious thought on the part of the officials to interfere with the Congress, but in the ranks of the Congress itself there was a real fear that the meeting of delegates from all parts of the country might bring into Madras or carry away from it infection, and some suggested that it would be wise to postpone the fourteenth session of the Congress to another year. But common sense and patriotism prevailed at length, the general panic was considered unfounded, and it was determined that the Congress must be held in Madras, and Southern India must redeem the pledge she had given to the whole country through her chosen leaders at Amraoti by her invitation to the Congress to meet in her capital city. Fortunately, in the closing month of the year, the fear of plague began to abate in the public mind. The epidemic had slightly relaxed its hold on Bangalore, and there was improvement in the neighbourhood of Madras. The continued immunity of the city restored general confidence, and even a belief was expressed that there was something in the climatic conditions of Madras which made it proof against that fell disease.

From the end of November till the Christmas week, Southern India was astir with Congress preparations. The great activity and enthusiasm that everywhere marked the progress of these preparations were an unmistakable evidence of the vitality of this great movement and the hold it had obtained on the minds of the people. The conditions were adverse enough to baffle any movement of superficial strength—any movement which had not taken deep root in the minds of the people and had not come to be looked upon as a test of their public spirit and political aptitudes. Still, it must be admitted that these adverse conditions were strong enough to counteract the inducement to some of the less enthusiastic and less prominent members of the Congress to face the trouble of attending its session in a remote part of the country. There was a distinct fall in the number of delegates, which was only 620 against 1,163 that attended the Madras session of 1894. In 1895 the number rose to 1,584 and in the two succeeding years, at the meetings in Calcutta and Amraoti, the numbers were respectively 780 and 692. The continuous decline in the numbers is certainly due to the several depressing causes that have been referred to. When famine, pestilence and the anger of the rulers play havoc with the life health and personal liberty of the people, mild and loyal subjects like the Indians are apt to show abated enthusiasm in political agitation. The policy of repression so persistently followed by the present Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton) with the weak acquiescence of Lord Elgin, might perhaps have operated as a stimulus rather than a damper to Congress activity throughout the land, if famine and plague had not in most parts of the country drained the resources of local committees and if the state of public health had not caused serious anxiety. There can be no doubt that the prevalence of plague in Bangalore and in the neighbourhood of Madras was the chief cause that told on the strength of the attendance in Madras. Apart however from all accidental causes, it may be safely laid down as a law of the Congress propaganda, that *whenever the seasons are prosperous and public health is good, whenever the Government is in the hands of sympathetic and liberal-minded statesmen, when there is buoyancy and hopefulness in the public mind instead of depression and despair, the cause of the Congress thrives like all business in the country.*

Another reason may be referred to for the decline in the number of delegates and for the apparent want of enthusiasm in the Congress activity. Thanks to the opponents of the Congress, whose public attacks as well as their insidious plans of obstruction the Congress has survived, the incitement that comes from a sense of open and strong opposition from enemies is now wanting. If the old Aligar camp had continued to make its fussy show of opposition, or if Sir Arthur Havelock imitating the ridiculous illusion of a former Lieutenant-Governor had spoken under-rating and deriding the real strength of the Congress party, or if the Viceroy had denounced it at a public meeting as the microscopic minority, without resources or prestige, if there had been

open, violent opposition, from officials or from sections of people looking up for crumbs of official favour, the Congress men in different parts of the country would have responded to the stimulus of a healthy conflict and assembled in striking force under the Congress pavilion. But now the opposition, such as it is, is feeble and silent and is confined to certain discredited organs of public opinion whose annual prediction of the Congress's immediate death is now but a stale story. On the other hand, the example of the good work done by the Congress in its steady and useful career is proving infectious in that it has now imitations in the annual Conferences held by sectional communities committed to an attitude of declared hostility to the Congress.

To Madras is due the credit of having discovered several convenient contrivances for the successful accomplishment of the Congress work during the session. Madras was the first to hold the Congress under a temporary pavilion, or Pandal as it is now called everywhere in India; it was here that the most useful system of employing Volunteers was first introduced; and the method of collecting funds in dribbles from the mass of the people instead of in hundreds and thousands from a few rich individuals, was first adopted in this city. This last system has been found to work exceedingly well, and is likely to become general, more especially in view to the forced coldness of the moneyed aristocracy due to official influence. This time the funds of the Reception Committee were not made up by contributions from Rajas and Maharajahs and from rich individuals of the professional classes, but were chiefly obtained by "house-to-house collections" by various local committees. Thoughtless people may talk of this as an indication of the Congress's waning strength, but discerning persons will understand that it is a proof of that movement striking its root deep in the hearts of the people. A good deal of the public sympathy with the Congress is under-ground where official antipathy has driven it.

The business of the Congress commenced with the address of the Honorable Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates that had assembled from different parts of the country. He said that, though the Congress was an unique phenomenon in the modern history of India, it was not altogether an enigma. It was "the natural and inevitable result of England's good work in India, and without it "the mission of England in the East might well be characterised as an unjustifiable failure." "It has already saved the high and inspiring political mission of England in India from the possible reproach of sterility and ill-success, and is indeed destined in the fulness of time to bring about in our midst the realization of the highest ideals of British statesmanship and British political wisdom." He quoted Principal Fairburn, who said: "We should never know Indian problems till we knew the Indian mind. Therefore to interpret India to England is a greater necessity than to interpret England to India." He asked, "who is better fitted to interpret India to England than we to whom England has been interpreted through her literature, through her colleges, and above all through her missionaries?.....If the Indian National Congress is thus the best, and I may say the only best instrument in India, which is capable of accurately interpreting India to England, why is it not welcomed with open arms by the sons of England in this country as it surely deserves to be? Strange to say, the Government's attitude towards it is one of apathy and suspicion. The reason for this is not far to seek. The official hierarchy does not fully grasp the changes that are sweeping over the country and cannot sufficiently understand the requirements of new India—the India of schools and colleges, the India of Universities, the India of the National Congress. The Anglo-Indian mind fondly lingers over the memories of the splendid physical conquest it effected in obliterating the old political and geographical boundaries of India. It does not move sufficiently onward with the march of Indian intellect and Indian aspirations. Moreover, the demands of the Congress trench on official preserves and encroach on official privileges. This movement holds up a lofty ideal before the "experts" in charge of the administration of the country and calls upon them to act up to that ideal—to make British citizen-

ship in India a *reality* in every respect. Like the sensitive plant, the official mind shrinks at the touch of our demands. The conditions of India are to them apparently as bewildering as the conditions that produce a sudden cyclone."

The Congress has no quarrel with the officials whose merits and good deeds it thoroughly appreciates. But the function of the services is not the function of the statesmen, and what their function is and what objects the Congress should work to secure, the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Row thus explained.

" But the function of the services is not to shape the policy of the state; it is only " " to work it out when declared. Such a great political philosopher as John Stuart Mill has " " pointed out with characteristic insight that there is danger in allowing the services to " " usurp the power of laying down the policy, and that in the independence and periodical " " change of Viceroys and Governors lies the security against such usurpation taking place in " " India. Partly because of the growth in the quantity and complexity of the details of " " administrative work and partly because of the increasing frequency of mandates from Home, " " this moral safeguard has become too weak to serve the purpose. There must, therefore, " " be in the constitution of the Government of India, a more uniformly operative and more " " unfailing check than the individuality of the ruler to prevent the undesirable inroads of " " the services. Is it not but proper that we should demand that the internal policy of British " " India should be made to accord well with the sentiments and aspirations of the people whom " " that policy most intimately affects, and that in the Government of India there should be " " room for Indian statesmanship to be associated with British statesmanship? It is to obtain " " the constitutional recognition of the people's voice as an effective part of the machinery of " " the state that we are striving. The statutory concession granted to us to a limited extent " " in response to our demands in the matter of the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils " " touches but the fringe of the great object we have in view. We must go on working till " " that object is accomplished and our imperial citizenship becomes a reality and a potent factor " " in our national life."

" More than all this, the Congress is to us the only platform where persons of all " " creeds and races may meet together to discuss important political and politico-social " " questions that concern them all. It is the one field wherein we can all learn how to do " " unselfish work and rise above the common level of every day life. What is this Congress " " after all but another name for Progress? Once you are an advocate of the ideals of the " " Congress, you cannot but advocate progress in all directions. None of us can ignore, for " " instance, the problem of social reform. We may differ as to methods, but every one who " " has the aims of the Congress at heart must be working for justice, freedom and purity in " " social matters as well. Lord Curzon recently described India as the pivot and centre of the " " British Imperial System and I may say that the Congress is the pivot and centre of the " " numerous bodies that are working throughout the country in the direction of progress " " and modern civilization. The educative effect of the Congress is indeed great and pervasive. " " I have no doubt that, as we go on, all those who now stand away from it will, in ever- " " increasing numbers, come to join its ranks and render its work in future more representative " " and more useful."

The Honourable Mr. N. Subba Row, having finished his thoughtful and studiously moderate address, called on the delegates to elect the President formally. This being done, Mr. A. M. Bose rose amidst vociferous cheers to deliver the Presidential Address. The effect of his marvellous performance on the audience cannot be adequately described here. Whether as an

oratorical effort or as a survey of the political situation of the country at the moment, it stands unsurpassed even among the high-class performances of Mr. Bose's predecessors. His reputation as a scholar and as a citizen, his arduous and successful labour in England just previous to his choice as President, his simple manners and engaging appearance, his musical voice and the grace of his delivery, combined to create a sympathetic bias in the audience, and the impression of his masterly performance from the President's chair will be remembered long by those that witnessed it. After referring to the death of Mr. Gladstone and to the lessons of his noble and righteous career, Mr. Bose referred to Lord Curzon whose arrival at Bombay happily synchronised with the opening of the Congress session, and tendered him a cordial welcome in the name of India's national assembly. His Lordship's utterances, since his appointment, had filled India with hope, and Mr. Bose pointed out that "to exhibit British power, inspired by the ideal of Christ, based therefore, may we not say, on the Law of love and the Golden Rule to treat the men of the East as if they were of like composition with the men of the West, to be fired with sympathy with all races, creeds and classes of Her Majesty's subjects, is indeed a basis of statesmanship and a standard of success worthy of the high office to which His Lordship has been called," and hoped that "his Lordship would find it possible to overcome the temptation of taking up questions of Frontier policy and other ambitious problems of Imperial policy, but would direct his great capacity and his great energy to initiating an era of domestic reform, of educational progress and industrial development, and leave a contented, prosperous and progressive India with its countless millions as the best bulwark and the strongest defence, yea, as an invulnerable barrier, against any foreign foe who may be misguided enough to assail India's peace or threaten India's Frontier."

When on the second day of the session the papers published a telegraphic report of the criticism of the London *Times* on the President's speech, namely, that the speech was pointless and devoid of grievances against Government, those that had heard Mr. Bose's speech were surprised at the perverse mendacity of that great oracle and its informants. For, at the very outset Mr. Bose said that he was going to make the recent reactionary domestic policy of the Government his main theme that day.

" But if I will not refer to questions of External Policy, as such, and except in their " " relation to questions of domestic progress, let me refer to an unhappy, and, if not checked, " " even disastrous tendency which has within the last few years manifested itself in regard to " " questions of Internal Policy and which deserves far more attention than it has yet received. " " So vitally important to the welfare of India and to the honour and interest of England do " " I consider this matter to be, so essential to the clearing of misapprehensions and to mutual " " understanding, to the restoration and growth of that feeling of sympathy, love and confidence, " " between the rulers and the ruled, which is the basis of good Government, that with your " " permission, Brother-Delegates, I shall make this my main theme to-day and devote the " " principal part of the time at my disposal to an examination of the facts which show the " " existence of this tendency and its vigorous growth, of the consequences of its existence, " " of its remedy, and some subjects intimately connected with it. In the present crisis, I feel, " " and I am sure you will agree with me, we cannot attempt to do a greater service alike to " " the Government and to the people, greater service to the cause of good administration, than " " to draw attention to this important problem."

Then proceeding to illustrate his theme by examples, he referred to various reactionary measures that have covered with discredit and disgrace the administration of India by Lord George Hamilton with Lord Elgin as his willing instrument. The so-called re-organisation of the Educational Service, the exclusion of "pure Asiatics" from the Engineering College at

Roorkee, the imprisonment of the Natus without trial, the new law of sedition, the Calcutta Municipal Bill—these he instanced as measures directly attacking the liberty of the people and throwing back their progress. The whole policy of the recent frontier war, thrust on India from England without the least regard for its necessity or justice or for its consequences on finance and on internal administration, is itself the outcome of this imperialistic reaction which has seized certain politicians in the ruling country and has extended to this country also. It is a reversal of the wiser policy of the past and has brought India to the verge of ruin. Mr. Bose condemned the Government of India declining the offer of help from British Exchequer in spite of the precedent at the end of the second Afghan War when Mr. Gladstone's offer of five millions was accepted. Yet, what is the financial condition of the Government that declined this offer? Why, turn to the discussion, Mr. Bose said, on the Budget in the Provincial Councils to see how many are the measures most urgently needed for good administration and for the progress of the country, which are yet put off for want of funds. Glancing back over the history of these retrograde and repressive measures and the tide of reaction yet flowing, Mr. Bose asked

"Our rulers, nay all Englishmen, seriously to consider it, whether Backward or Forward is to be inscribed as the motto on the banner of England in its future administration of this great country. Are we to march backwards into the methods of despotism, to the weapons of coercion, to the policy of distrust; or are we to march onwards in the path which was traced out by those noble Englishmen who have been the founders, the consolidators, the saviours of the Empire, the path which leads to advancing and not to receding freedom, to greater trust in people, to rights enlarged and not to concessions withdrawn? For it is at once a melancholy and a curious feature of the present situation that we stand here not merely in defence of the liberties of the people of India, but in vindication of the policy, the sagacity, the wisdom and the foresight of those illustrious men."

Then dwelling on the feeling that this policy of aggression abroad and repression at home has produced in the country, Mr. Bose went on to observe:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, turning again to the words of that touching appeal in the letter of my correspondent, it is because we are friends to British Rule, it is because all our highest hopes of the future, and not our hopes only but the hopes of generations to come, are indissolubly bound up with the continuance of that rule, with the strengthening and the bettering of that rule, with the removal of all and every cause which may tend to the weakening of that rule, that we speak out, and point to the impolicy, the unwisdom, yea the danger of the recent course of administrative and legislative proceedings, that we are trying to the best of our power—alas, so limited—to induce the authorities, and the great body of justice-loving and generous-minded Englishmen, both here and in England, to withdraw from that course, and find the path of safety, of honour, of mutual advantage and the truest and the most abiding glory, in going forwards in fearless confidence, trusting the people, extending the bounds of freedom, not forging new fetters but gradually removing those that exist, not taking away, but adding to, the rights of the people, helping on the cause of India's regeneration with the passionate longing and the loving ardour that comes from a consciousness of duty and a solemn responsibility from on high. The educated classes of India are the friends and not the foes of England, her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her. It is on their hearty, devoted and loving co-operation that the welfare and the progress of the country so largely depend. It is the dangers of ignorance and the dark and strange phantoms that are born of ignorance that England has to fear, and not knowledge, nor light. If indeed there were Englishmen who imagined otherwise, surely the riots at Allah, at Bombay, at Calcutta, and elsewhere must have

"opened even their eyes; and it was the influence and the efforts of the educated classes which prevented these unhappy outbursts from spreading or working much graver mischief. Let our rulers realize with fulness of conviction this fundamental truth that in the ignorance of the people is the source, not of strength but of danger, not of security but of peril, just as in the spread, the wider and deeper spread of education, is the remedy and the cause. All that the educated classes ask for is that England should be true to herself, that she should not forget the teachings of her history and the traditions of her past, the British rule should be conducted on British principles and not on Russian methods. Is this, Ladies and Gentlemen, sedition or is it the highest homage which India can pay to England, the dawning of that glorious day, proudest in the history of England, foreseen as in a vision by Macaulay, when, instructed in European knowledge, we might ask for the blessings of European institutions. The educated classes wish and long for the strengthening and not the loosening of the bond which unites the two countries and which is the guarantee not only of order but of progress; and they look forward to the time when they too can claim the rights and share the glories of citizenship in the proudest Empire that the world has ever seen. Let it be the part of wisdom, of prudent statesmanship and political foresight, to foster and not to crush this feeling; to extend the hand of fellowship and loving, ministering help, and not hurl insults or the weapons and methods of coercion which wound but cannot heal."

Having dwelt at length on the reactionary and repressive policy of recent years and the evils it has brought in its wake, Mr. Bose proceeded to consider some of the reforms that would tend to cure these evils and would restore mutual confidence and good understanding between the Governors and the governed. There is of course further need for reform in our Legislative Councils. But this should be accompanied by a reform in the Executive Councils also. At present the deliberations of the Executive Councils "are in secret chambers, and not even the faintest echo of suggestion, information or criticism, can reach them from a public more ignorant of their proceedings than of the movements of the double stars or the composition of the Milky Way in the far-off Heavens." An adequate Indian representation in these Councils would enable them to do justice and decide rightly. In the same direction of expanding the scope of Indian representation in the controlling and directing bodies of the Empire was Mr. Bose's suggestion of a certain limited number of seats in the House of Commons, say fifteen, being assigned to the inhabitants of the chief cities of India. Some of the possible objections to this suggestion, Mr. Bose met as follows:

"It is true the Colonies are not represented in the House of Commons, but their Budgets are not discussed, nor their policy determined at Westminster; and as for the possible objection that as in the case of Ireland the presence of our representatives in Parliament might be used as an argument against the existence or the expansion of our Councils in India—it would be enough to say that objection could only apply if India were to be represented in the House like Ireland in proportion to her population. But no one dreams of that. It is as a means to an end, a means, just and necessary in itself and effective for its purpose, that I suggest this for your consideration. And even if this concession were to be granted for a limited period, I would gratefully accept it. I will only add that I have talked with many friends in England who strongly agree as to the justice, and even the necessity, of this reform, if Indian views are to receive a proper hearing, and Indian interests are to be furthered. No doubt, as Sir Henry Fowler once said in an eloquent and memorable peroration, they are all Members for India. Yet I think Sir Henry Fowler and most Members of the House would be glad to have some Members for India to represent the vast interests of that country affected by the decisions of Parliament, whose claim to the title

" might be less questioned, whose assistance would be of service and from whom they could "

" have the inestimable advantage of hearing something more than mere official versions of the "

" matters that came up before them. And if this be an anomaly, all that I can say is that "

" this is an anomaly which has reason and justice on its side and which is rendered necessary "

" by what has sometimes been called the anomaly of an Indian Empire, that the British consti- "

" tution has many anomalies which have much less to say for themselves and much less ground "

" for their existence than this."

Approaching the conclusion of his truly admirable address, he dwelt on the necessity of placing the organization of the Indian National Congress on an improved footing which would ensure steady and efficient work throughout the year. The labours of the reform party in India lie in England as well as in India. In India it is indeed necessary to carry on well-organized and sustained work embracing all parts of the country. In England, though there is the British Committee headed by Sir William Wedderburn and assisted by such devoted friends of India as Mr. Hume, Mr. Caine and Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Dutt, for whose unselfish and watchful work India is under lasting obligation to them, still if their labours are to bear full and early fruit, it is necessary that Indian Delegates should visit Great Britain and Ireland periodically and enlist the active sympathy of the constituencies in the cause of Indian reform.

Then after referring to his work in England, more especially to the touching sympathy, he everywhere received from English ladies and gentlemen of all political parties, and after expressing regret at the death of some of the dearest and most valued friends of the Congress, the death of the Maharaja of Durbanga, of Sirdar Dyal Singh of Lahore, of Dr. K. N. Bahadurjee of Bombay, Mr. Bose concluded with a magnificent peroration on "God and Motherland", which was the cause of many a moist eye in that imposing assemblage of some of the best and most cultured citizens of India.

On the second day, after the usual rules for the conduct of business were read, a number of Resolutions were gone through mostly protesting against the reactionary measures and retrograde policy of Government. Resolutions regarding the Sedition Law, the Land Revenue Settlement, the Frontier Expeditions and Press Committees, were adopted. Against the official crusade against Local Self-Government as is manifest in the Calcutta Municipal Bill and the Bombay Improvement Bill, the Congress entered an emphatic and unqualified protest. The Honorable C. Jumbulinga Mudaliar moved the Resolution against the Sedition Law, that most memorable outcome of Lord George Hamilton's statesmanship. After drawing attention to the new dangers to the liberty of speech and of the press, Mr. Jumbulingam proceeded to consider the political effect of this departure from the path of wisdom.

" What is the effect of this law? Have they brought about affection by this Government "

" ordinance? Have they drawn to themselves the affection, love and sympathy of the masses "

" of the people by such Government ordinances and acts? What is the result, we shall enquire. "

" An empire, however it may have been founded we need not discuss, but consolidated and held "

" unquestionably by confidence and good will, has been converted into a government of suspicion "

" and distrust. The fellow-feeling and brotherhood which were being cultivated without "

" interruption have now been converted or are in the process of being converted into hatred "

" and animosity. Seeds of racial feeling have been sown and God alone knows what harvest we "

" are going to reap. The Government prefers to walk in darkness in the administration of "

" this great Empire, and avoids the only light which can save it from falling into snares and "

" pitfalls, the light of public criticism. A permanent bitterness of feeling has taken root over "

" the land, over its whole length and breadth. This is all the marvellous achievement of the "

" legislation which is said to have been incubated in England for the eternal welfare and "

" salvation of this ill-fated country. This is the result of the glorious ordinances which in all "

" innocence and simplicity our rulers have devised, with the full benefit of the deliberation of "

" the authorities at home, for engendering affection among the people towards Government, "

" and attaching them to it in lasting bonds of fellowship and fraternity. "

There is still hope that the Sedition Law of 1898 will share the fate of the Press Gagging Act of 1878. The same liberal statesmanship and generous instincts of British Government that repealed the absurd law of Salisbury *cum* Lytton régime, may be relied upon to deal similarly with the equally absurd legislation of Lord George Hamilton and Lord Elgin. And Mr. Jumbulingam has complete confidence in Lord Curzon, who has wisely recognised *sympathy and courage* as the true secret of the success of British Indian Rule. It was sympathy and courage that led Lord Ripon to repeal the Press Gagging Act, and these two qualities will again "enable Lord Curzon to deal a similar death blow to the iniquitous legislation of his predecessor," when, we shall be again "a free people, claiming kinship with Briton and claiming the privileges and rights which Britons enjoy." One of the seconders of this Resolution, Mr. T. Venkata Subba Iyer deplored the wrong and misguided origination of this mischievous measure. He pointed out, "It was on account of a certain murder that was committed in Poona by some person who has been hanged for that crime, that all this legislation had arisen", and he protested strongly against the assumption of disloyalty in the country which the law was intended to crush.

Another reactionary measure fraught with serious consequences to the prosperity and contentment of the great mass of the people, the revision of land revenue settlements at brief intervals, formed the subject of a resolution moved by Mr. G. Venkataratnam, who has carefully studied the question and repeatedly written on it. He regretted the failure of the Government of India to carry out the pledges given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865 for a permanent settlement, and also to give effect to the promise of granting a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements made in 1882 and 1884 by Lord Ripon, because unless these pledges and promises are redeemed and the landholders secured in the enjoyment of the full benefit of their own improvements by a fixity of tenure, if not permanently, at least for a sufficiently long period, the bulk of the population, depending as it does on agriculture, is bound to remain in a state of impoverishment and silent discontent. He entered into an examination of the past policy of the Government in regard to this most important question, and pointed out that while in a Resolution dated 17th October 1832, the Government of India clearly admitted the evils of fresh classification of soils at each recurring revision, and laid down that enhancements of revenue should be allowed only on the ground of (a) rise in prices, (b) increase in cultivation, and (c) improvements made, at Government expense, the present policy of Government was entirely different; for it was now laid down: "The principles upon which the revision of settlement should be conducted when the term of currency expires, cannot be decisively affirmed beforehand. The question of resettlement of each District must be left to be dealt with as it arises." Mr. Venkataratnam rightly remarked that fixity of tenure alone was of little value, so long as the land tax could be frequently and capriciously enhanced. "The two rights—fixity of tenure and fixity of assessment—going together, act and react on each other." Now as regards the latter, fixity of assessment or more correctly, the duration of settlement, it had been laid down by the Secretary of State in 1895 that "where a reasonable expectation of any particular term, whether thirty or twenty years, has been created in the minds of the people by past practice, that term should be adhered to as the normal term of settlement." But the standing order of the Madras Government was, "at each settlement or resettlement of a District, the Government will fix at its discretion the period for which such

settlement or resettlement shall be in force."

Mr. M. R. Bodas, Barrister-at-law of Bombay, who seconded Mr. Venkatratnam pointed out that it was not only a particular class that was interested in getting a permanent settlement of land revenue, but the tenants as well as the landlords, the traders and the general mass of people would be benefited by permanency in the settlement.

"Any permanency in the settlement will encourage the ryots to improve agriculture " and enable them to get more and more prosperous. It will also benefit the traders, because " under the present system the traders are left less and less margin of profit, in proportion to " the increase in the assessment on the land. A permanent settlement will also benefit other " classes who are affected by the slightest rise in the prices of food grains. It will also benefit " the Government by lessening the rigour of the present system which is, we believe, the root " and prime cause of the ryots' increasing poverty that was so glaringly demonstrated in the " last year's famine. And if anything can be done to lessen that poverty, is it not the inter- " est of the Government to do it? This subject therefore deserves to be considered most " carefully and with the greatest deliberation not only by us in this Congress but by all " persons, whether officials or non-officials. I said just now that the present policy is not only " derogatory to the interests of the masses, but there is observable a tendency on the part of " the authorities to go further and further in the same retrograde direction. And as the latest " instance of such measures, I am going to mention a measure of the Bombay Government, " which will be formally introduced into the Legislative Council during the next month. That " measure, of course, relates to a particular class of people, the Khots of Ratnagiri District " but it illustrates the tendency."

The next resolution repeated the vehement protest of the Congress in previous years against the policy of Government in dealing with the tribes beyond the natural frontiers of India—a policy which involves India in frequent military expeditions causing serious injury to her most vital interests and which, besides the enormous expenditure of money and the loss of lives and the indirect losses to the people of the frontier province from the forced impressment of men and cattle by the military authorities, takes the attention of the Government from important questions of internal reform and virtually starves the civil administration. The Resolution demanded a prompt reversal of the present policy and a return to the older and the only safe policy of keeping within the statutory limits of the country, and besides, the payment of an adequate share of the expenditure arising from these expeditions by the British Exchequer. This Resolution was proposed by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, late Editor of the Hindu, in a very thoughtful speech and seconded by Mr. Charuchander Ghose. Mr. Iyer, emphasised the ubiquity of the evil throughout the civil administration including its obscurest corners, and said :—

"And what is the consequence when so much of the revenues of the country is thrown " away on military operations in strange and far off lands? The consequence is naturally the " civil administration and the internal requirements of the country have to be starved, and no " wonder, Ladies and Gentlemen, that if in one of our most obscure corners, the manager of a " village school applies for a little addition to his furniture, the Director of Public Instruction " says he has no funds. The Director appeals to the Provincial Government to make a little " addition to his resources, and what does the Provincial Government say? "No funds" (*Cries* " of "Shame"). Again in their turn the Provincial Governments appeal to the Government " of India for various purposes to have a slight addition to their resources, and the Government " of India comes out with the same story, "No funds". Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"you see how far-reaching and how thorough are the evil consequences of this policy. It is " not merely big irrigation works and local Railways that are starved. It is not merely in the " provincial projects, reforms or improvements or in the introduction of improvements by the " heads of departments, but even in the minutest details of administration, that the influence " of this drain of foreign policy is felt. The evil is felt everywhere, and when public opinion " expresses itself and when strong opposition is made to this policy of aggression outside the " frontiers, the Government come out with their well-known explanation that "hereafter they " will give no trouble, now that they have taught these frontier tribes a lesson". That is the " explanation that always comes forward. Perhaps most of you have read the same explanation " given by Lord Elgin in one of his speeches at Simla. Hardly did the breath die out on his " lips, when again in the Swat Valley fresh troubles arose. The "Mad Fakir" again made himself " prominent and gave trouble to the Government of India. I think the Viceroy and the " Commander-in-chief must have had at least two weeks of sleepless nights. Hardly did the " Viceroy finish talking of these frontier tribes having received a lesson from this expedition " and having made up their quarrels with the Government of India so that hereafter they " would give no trouble, hardly did the Viceroy say this, when the "Mad Fakir" came up and " brought into play the elements of trouble always lying there. From time to time these " expeditions are undertaken, enormous sums are spent, numbers of lives are lost, taxes are " increased and discontent spreads. All these things go on and will go on until this mad " policy is altogether reversed."

Another reactionary measure which India owes to the present administration of India by Lord George Hamilton and against which the Congress felt it its paramount duty to record an indignant protest is the institution of Press Committees—as they are euphemistically called in different Districts in the Bombay Presidency. The latest information about these committees from the highest quarter, in fact from the Secretary of State—is that "they have no power to issue warnings, their functions being to keep the local authorities informed as to what appears in the local newspapers." If this is really the function of these Committees now, they must have changed considerably in this respect since their establishment, for the speakers on this resolution distinctly laid the charge of censorship against these Committees. The mover of the Resolution was Mr. W. A. Chambers, who on rising was received with loud cheers by the House in appreciation of his faithful and valuable service to the Congress for many a year and more especially of the service he rendered to it during his brief stay in England shortly before its session. That the function of these committees not being to issue warnings must be a later thought was made clear by Mr. Chambers in the following extract from his studiously moderate speech :—

"When I happened to be in London a little while ago, there was placed in my hands " an editorial which had appeared in an Indian paper published in the Bombay Presidency—an " editorial commenting, as I thought and as I imagine every one in this pandal will think, in " an usual and ordinary way upon a fact—for unfortunately it appears to be a fact—that jus- " tice as between Indians and Europeans is difficult to obtain in India (*Hear, hear*). It " commented upon that fact, which is admitted by all who know India to be a fact, and which " we often comment upon with grief. This unfortunate editor seems to have printed this article " which had it been sent to me—such would have my been innocence—I should have published " without the slightest fear or compunction. Be that as it may, this editor published it in his " newspaper and scarcely had it appeared—the incident is known to most of my Bombay " friends—when he received a letter from a certain Magistrate in his official capacity warning " him and telling him that the article was not in good taste. A copy of that letter and a copy " of that article were sent to your friend Sir William Wedderburn. (*Cheers*.) When I saw this " letter and this article I took it to the editor of a large London newspaper. I said, "This

" is the sort of thing that is taking place not in Russia, not in Germany, but in a country for whose Government you and I are responsible" (*Cheers*). He read the article, he thought it was quaintly written—as it was quaintly written—but he thought it was innocent enough. He then read the copy of the letter of the Magistrate and used one word and that word was "monstrous" (*Hear, hear and Cheers*). Now, Gentlemen, if that is the way in which the action of those Press Committees strikes an Englishman used to political controversies, then I say, if the sedition law will allow us,—of which I am not certain—we may ourselves use a similar adjective."

The Resolution was seconded by Mr. N. C. Kelkar B.A. B.L., the gentleman that has conducted the *Maharatta* with conspicuous success since Mr. Tilak's troubles and who had had the distinction of coming under the surveillance of the Press Committee at Poona. He supported Mr. Chambers' charge against these Press Committees that they are not the innocent or useful institutions that Lord George Hamilton described them to be in the House of Commons. He pointed out that their scope for useful functions was limited while its scope for mischief was unlimited. "For in two instances at least, he added, "have the Press Committees already abused their powers in giving a warning to the newspaper editors." He also drew attention to the invariable tendency of these irresponsible and Secret Committees to exceed their limits and do mischief. He challenged an examination of the statement of the objects of the Press Committees as made by Mr. Lamb, the Collector of Poona and by the Bombay Government, to justify the power of censorship they had arrogated to themselves. This is a sufficient ground for the unqualified condemnation of these Committees, but Mr. Kelkar well pointed out.

"Our quarrel, however, is not with any particular Press Committee or any individual member of any particular Press Committee for such abuse of powers, but we object to the Press Committees as an institution, not because it has proved particularly mischievous in its operation but because it is an index to the suspicious and aggressive turn which the mind of the British Government has lately taken—because it is, as the President remarked the other day in his address, a sample of the reactionary policy which the Government have begun to manifest to the utter disappointment and disgust of all friends of progress. The Press Committees have come in only as a natural sequence to the amendments of the Criminal law. The Penal Code has, as mentioned to you just by one of your friends (the Honorable Mr. Jambulingam Mudaliar), made the entertainment of the slightest feeling of contempt for Government, howsoever natural and irresistible from the action of Government, an act of disloyalty and sedition and the Criminal Procedure Code came in next and gave wide and unlimited powers to the Magistrates over editors. The gun and gunpowder being thus ready some agency was needed to blow up the editors by putting the spark to it. Gentlemen, that amiable function belongs to the Press Committees."

Another instance of the reactionary policy of the Government was the subject of the next resolution, having reference to the retrogressive legislation that is proposed in regard to the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta, to the Bombay Improvement Trust and to the action of Government generally in regard to Municipal institutions in other parts of India. The resolution expressed the Congress's strong disapproval of the reactionary policy of Government with regard to Local Self-Government recently inaugurated by the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill into the Bengal Legislative Council, the creation of the Bombay City Improvement Trust without adequate popular representation, and its action in other directions. In an extremely humorous and telling speech Mr. G. S. Khaparde of Berar moved this resolution. Mr. Khaparde is always an attractive figure in the Congress platform. Not only is he a leading Congressman in the important portion of the Empire, i.e., the Central Provinces and Berar, and therefore always

welcome in one of the front seats in the *dais*, but his striking personal features, his big yellow turban, and his never failing humour in serious speech as well as in conversation, secured for him the close and interested attention of the Congress House. We would invite a perusal of the whole speech appearing in detailed report (*Vide* pages 75, 76, 77 and 78) and content ourselves here with the following extract from it:

Mr. Khaparde said:—

"In Bombay they have a Corporation and have a Standing Committee, also a Chairman. The Chairman was elected by the Corporation itself and the Standing Committee, was also elected by the Corporation and between them they managed all their affairs. But that was not good to the people, there was too much of the people in the Corporation. So they wanted to have something new in it and something new had therefore to be brought. But that could not be easily forced into the local Council or otherwise they have certain difficulties which they could not get over. When a plant is growing too fast you cannot cut it; it is unsavoury. So to arrest its growth sunshine has to be avoided and then the plant dies. So far as this Corporation was concerned some shade had to be brought and the City Improvement Trust was introduced. What the City Improvement Trust is, God alone knows. If the City is to be improved, cannot all the members of the Corporation sit together and improve it? I went to Bombay as a boy of 17 and spent there nearly 20 years for one reason or another. Bombay was improving every day to such an extent that if I went to Bombay now after an absence of four years, Bombay would look to me quite a new city with so many lanes laid out and so many improvements made. And yet that improvement was not enough for the Government and they wanted to have it still further improved. It is not enough to do a good thing but you must do a good thing in a good manner. It is not a good thing merely to die, but you must die scientifically (*Laughter*). They say that if the Corporation do good in their way, that is not the scientific way of doing good. The scientific way of doing good is to have this City Improvement Trust. This Trust is divided and sub-divided into four Committees. There is the Finance Committee, there is the City Improvement Committee, that is, the Committee for the improvement of the city proper,—just as the town is divided into town proper, the citadel and the suburb, so the City Improvement Committee means the Citadel Committee—the third is the Suburb Reclamation Committee, and the fourth is the Lane Committee. The Corporation naturally demurred to the position of this body and they said, "Give us the whole thing, we shall manage it for ourselves." "No doubt they are willing to do it, but they are sure to do it badly and therefore there is no use of letting them do it. They are bound not to do it well. What is the use of their doing it if it has to be re-done afterwards? They are well known for their incapacity." So said the Government. The Corporation said, "Give us half the number and you have the other half; we shall manage it." This would not suit the Government. That is not good. In order that the improvement may be effective and real, they must not be in a hopeless minority; and therefore to avoid being in a hopeless minority in a Committee consisting of fourteen, the Corporation which supplies all the money was permitted by the Government to send only four men. This is good. There is a further thing which you have not yet heard. This body is to be divided into Sub-Committees. One would imagine that these Sub-Committees would be elected by the City Improvement Trust. Not so. In fact the Chairman brings out a list showing so many on each Committee; and when the members try to discuss the matter, he says, "It is not your business. I have appointed you. You must serve there." These four members have not even a voice in the matter of electing office-bearers. Have any of you ever come across a body of this kind? I have never come across a Corporation which does not have a voice in the election of its own office-bearers."

" However that is the situation. For whom was this situation created? For those persons who " contribute the whole of the money. This is the division of labour, as one gentleman pointed " out yesterday. (*Laughter.*) It is something like saying, "You will prepare the dinner, I will " eat it for you; you will build the house, I will live in it; you will spread the bed and I will " sleep on it." (*Laughter.*) That is the division of labour in which work has been carried on " in Bombay."

This important Resolution was seconded by Mr. J. Chowdhuri, Barrister-at-Law (Calcutta) who gave instances of the rate-payer's money being wasted at the bidding of the Government or by the Municipal Executive directly, and of the necessity of the interference of the Municipal Commissioners as the custodians of the Municipal interests of the people.

Mr. B. S. Sahasrabudhe, Satara, who followed Mr. Chowdhury, confined himself to the Municipality of Poona, and pointed out that among the unfortunate results of the plague, not as they affected the vital statistics of the country, but as they tended to upset the mental equilibrium of the responsible administrators and with it the former wise and progressive policies of Government, was to be mentioned the degradation of the Poona Municipality, which, having had for fifteen years the privilege of having two-thirds of its members elected by the rate-payers, suddenly incurred the displeasure of the Government who increased the number of official members from 10 to 18. "When the Act was introduced", observed Mr. Sahasrabudhe, "there were two-thirds allowed to be elected, and after fifteen years' experience during which there was nothing to be said against the Municipality, a resolution was sent out saying that eight more members should be added, thus bringing the number of nominated members to eighteen. We can very well see the retrograde step that was taken. I really do not see why that step was taken."

Thus far we have dealt with these Resolutions of the Congress which bear on the present deplorable attitude of retrogressive and mischievous reaction of the Government mainly under the authoritative guidance of Lord George Hamilton. The President of the Congress in his inaugural address, promised that he would make this policy his main theme that day, and it will be seen, notwithstanding the perversity of the *Times* and some of the Anglo-Indian papers, not only the President, but also the Congress in its most important Resolutions had this policy most prominently before it and directed its well-argued and moderately expressed censure against its mischievous effects not merely on the well-being of the Indian people but more chiefly, on the sentiments underlying the relation between the Governors and governed.

Before bringing our review of the second day's proceedings to a close, we must draw attention to the remaining resolutions that were adopted that day. On those relating to the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions, and of the re-constitution of the Civil and Military Medical Service we need not dwell here as they are familiar topics in the Congress programme. On the grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa, Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai, the spirited editor of the *Madras Standard*, spoke with convincing eloquence and it may be hoped that the recent hope which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain gave to Sir William Wedderburn that Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner of Cape Colony, has promised to do his best to secure the protection of the legitimate rights of the Indian immigrants will mitigate the scandal of the high handed oppression and robbery practised in that continent in the name of civilization by the white man over his coloured fellows under the countenance of the Government of Great Britain.

There is one other resolution in the second day's proceedings which we have not noticed

and which we have purposely reserved for this place, and that is the Resolution in which the fourteenth session of the Indian National Congress respectfully offered its hearty and hopeful welcome to Lord Curzon who arrived in Bombay the same day that the business of the session commenced. In welcoming the arrival of the new Viceroy the Congress did not fail to express its gratitude for the words of sympathy for the whole of India and trusted that as a necessary result of this sympathy Lord Curzon's policy would be one of progress and confidence in the people in accordance with the best traditions of British rule. The Subjects Committee entrusted this Resolution to the Honorable Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee as one easily lending itself to his fervid eloquence which year after year has held the Congress audience in wrapped attention. In a lengthy speech he deplored the recent departure of our rulers from their former policy of confidence in the people and alluded to various reactionary measures entirely unworthy of British statesmanship and subversive of that cordial relation between the two races on which alone British Empire in India can stand. The whole speech deserves to be read (*Vide* pages 55, 56, 57, and 58 of the detailed report), but the following passage in which Mr. Bannerjee dwelt on the permanent need of the exclusive attention of the Government being given to questions of internal improvement may be quoted.

" Sir, the resolution expresses the hope that Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty may " adopt a policy of beneficence and progress, illustrative of the best traditions of the British " Government. It is this policy which is the proudest monument of British rule. It is its " strongest bulwark in times of difficulty and danger. Well, Sir, when we express the hope " that Lord Curzon may adopt a policy of progress and beneficence we make a suggestion. " We suggest that a different policy is now being followed. We go further and we say the " reverse of a policy of progress is now being pursued. Lord Curzon is astute enough to read " between the lines, and I only wish that we were astute enough to be a little more out- " spoken. I do not see why you should, in praising the august representative of our Sovereign, " omit representing to him the grievances we suffer from. However that may be, that which " with us is a matter of frequent complaint, is the inadequate attention bestowed by those " responsible from the Government of the country upon questions of domestic reform and " improvement. I say the eyes of our rulers are exclusively fixed upon the frontiers. The " spectre of Russian invasion haunts their imagination. The gentlest breeze wafted across the " Hindu-Kush suggests to their excited imagination the Cossack and their little ponies. " (*Derisive Cheers.*) The Russians have not come. They never will come, and if we are " animated, as I hope and trust we shall always be, by sentiments of warm attachment to " the British connection, then let them come—the brave hearts of a loyal people will offer " the strongest bulwark against foreign invasion. (*Cheers.*) The frontier craze has assumed " the proportions of a disease. It was not so fifteen or twenty years ago. It was not so " ten years ago. Lord Ripon devoted the whole of his time and attention to the grave " considerations of domestic policy and internal improvement. He repealed the Vernacular " Press Act, extended the great principle of Local Self-Government, and gave a wider impetus " to the employment of natives of India in the higher offices under Government by appointing " a distinguished countryman of ours, Sir R. C. Mitter, to the high office of Chief Justice of " Bengal. When Lord Dufferin came the frontier fever had taken firm possession of our rulers. " But still he found time to appoint the Public Service Commission, and also to recommend " the expansion of the Legislative Councils. In the days of Lord Lansdowne the fever had " reached almost its culminating point. None the less Lord Lansdowne was able to give partial " effect to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission and to enlarge the Coun- " cils and reconstitute them upon a somewhat representative basis. Show me a single measure " of domestic reform or improvement which has distinguished the reign of the retiring " Viceroy. The commonest domestic improvements have had to bestarved. The cash balances of "

" the Provincial Governments have vanished almost to nothing. You know perfectly well—I " am speaking of Bengal—that under the orders of the Secretary of State, the cash balance " of that Province has to be maintained at the sum of 20 lakhs of Rupees. Last year what " was the cash balance we had? Five lakhs, not twenty. Bombay was still worse. It had a " big cipher as balance. (*Laughter.*) What does all this mean? It means the utter blasting " of all hopes of improvement upon which the happiness, the contentment and the prosperity " of the people depend. No amount of financial jugglery in connection with the currency " question will avail to remove the gravity of the situation. Firmness and decision and the " comprehensive grasp of genuine statesmanship are the qualifications that are needed; and " Lord Curzon promises to deal with this grave problem in this spirit for I will quote what " he said at one of the recent demonstrations held in his honor. He said, "that India is ill- " equipped with the material, industrial and educational resources which are so necessary to " her career and the Government should be so conducted that she may, by slow and sure " degrees, expand to the full measure of her growth." She can only expand to the full " measure of her growth if the financial position permits it. Well, Gentleman, I will not " take up much more of your time. We pray that a policy of beneficence and confidence in " the people may be inaugurated under Lord Curzon's auspices. We pray that the policy of " reaction which finds favour with the Government of India at the present moment may be " reversed."

On the third day as soon as the Congress assembled, the President made the happy announcement that an acknowledgment has been received from the Private Secretary, to the newly-arrived Viceroy, of the Message of Welcome sent the previous day. The acknowledgment, which ran thus:—"Lord Curzon desires me to thank the Indian National Congress for their cordial Message of Welcome," gave great satisfaction to the assembly, especially as it followed his Lordship's speech in Bombay, wherein he said in terms of piercing eloquence, that "next to his country, India was nearest to his heart," no people are more sensitive to kindness and sympathy than the people of India, and so far His Excellency's utterances—mere utterances, though they remain yet to be substantiated in action—have won the complete confidence of the people.

Telegrams were then read from a large number of Congress men in different parts of the country; who, for some unavoidable reason, were obliged to stay away, but whose heart was in the deliberations of the Congress in Madras. Telegrams were also received from institutions from which the Congress does not ordinarily expect sympathy. The Independent order of Good Templars and Rechabites of Calcutta sent a message of congratulation, and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce thought it fit to invite the support of the Congress in protesting against a Gold Standard in India, although when this message was received at a later stage in the proceedings, the Congress had adopted a resolution to the same effect. These telegrams do not show that the influence of the Congress is waning.

On the third day, the proceedings commenced with a Resolution protesting against the Government's proposals regarding the reform of the currency. The Subjects Committee had chosen Mr. Wacha and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer as speakers on this difficult question. They are both gentlemen who have given special attention to financial questions, and the able and exhaustive manner in which they dealt with the subject of the Resolution, fully justified the confidence and expectation of the Congress. Mr. Wacha's speech traversed a wide ground, but his arguments converged towards his central idea that the real remedy for the financial difficulties of the Government lies not in any fantastic tinkering with the currency of the country—which will indeed benefit the officials and the British Indian merchants who keep the foreign trade of the country mostly in their hands—but in reducing the enormous gold obligations, in

which the Government of India have entangled themselves by foreign expeditions, by bloated armaments, and by extravagance in expenditure on railways. He exposed Sir James Westland's fallacious and misleading obstinacy in holding low exchange to be answerable for all our financial troubles, whereas, if only the expenditure under exchange had not been increased by a constant increase in sterling expenditure, the ordinary revenues of India would have more than sufficed for the payment of the normal charges under this head. He ridiculed the late Finance Minister's Gold Act, and condemned his rejection of the proposals of France and the United States for the re-opening of the mints. Then referring to the Amended Coinage Act of 1893, Mr. Wacha characterised it as a preposterous scheme fraught with economic evils of great magnitude.

India's sterling obligations have been increasing while silver has been going down in its gold value, and latterly these had so largely increased that the Viceroy as well as the Finance Minister have complained in wailing accents that a penny of fall in the Exchange caused the State an additional expense of a million. Still, instead of curtailing these obligations, Government went on increasing them, forgetful of the important fact that it is hardly possible for "a country situated as India is under a foreign domination which drains away a greater portion of its annual surplus of wealth, to withstand that burden yearly growing heavier." He pointed out that Home Charges had to be paid by the taxpayers *in produce*, and every increase in them leads to a corresponding increase in the quantities of Indian produce exported. "We are nowadays hearing too much," Mr. Wacha said, "of this cant of larger exports." But a little study of the question will at once tell you that these larger exports, for a debtor country like India, mean nothing short of larger sacrifices of the national wealth." Then coming back to the central fact of his argument, he concluded his speech, which was full of facts and figures, with the following observations:—

" From the above facts it would be clear to you that India has in no way suffered on " account of exchange, because exchange would have been fairly met from the revenues, with- " out even a pie of taxation, had it not been principally for the additional military expendi- " ture. Is it impossible to curtail the strength of the Army and bring it back to the number " at which it stood in 1885? It would save the Treasury about 3·89 crores without exchange " or 5·34 with exchange! This, again, brings us to the practical part of the currency problem. " I answer the question which the Committee put to some of the witnesses, including Sir Forbes " Adam. The Committee inquired of these witnesses, how they would meet the extra charges " which might have to be paid in case exchange went below one shilling, were the mints re- " opened. I say that these charges could be easily met by the curtailment of the military " expenditure which now entails per annum a charge of 2·73 crores for exchange. If the " Army was reduced there would be a saving to the extent of 1·45 crores in exchange alone. " The charges for Army Services proper would besides be less by at least 3 crores. Then, if " England only contributes her fair share towards the cost of maintaining her supremacy, there " would be a still further saving. Of late we have heard that the Welby Commission may " propose such a share, amounting to 1½ crores of Rupees. But this is still a matter in the " clouds till we know what the belated report of the Commission actually recommends. (*Hear, " hear.*) Even then there is the British Treasury to deal with—a very rough and powerful " obstruction. But the savings which I have just referred to should easily suffice to meet the " extra demand for greater loss by exchange which has long been held out as a bugbear before " the ignorant public. On my part, I do not think that, were the mints reopened to free " coinage under proper safeguards and limitations, the Government would find any difficulty " whatever in meeting the apprehended greater loss, without a pie of fresh taxation. (*Hear, " hear.*) Aye, not even if exchange went as low as 10 pence. But the fact nevertheless " remains that it is the Home Charges which are at the root of the difficulty. Consequently "

" the agitation should proceed, not for the reform of the currency, which has nothing the " matter with it, but for the policy on the lines I have indicated. This practically means that " the British Government should modify its present policy which regulates all expenditure. " The economic evils of carrying on the administration by a costly foreign agency are entirely " owing to the present mistaken policy. It is against this policy that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji " has been inveighing these many years. India is being bled to an extent unparalleled in " the administration of any country in the world, ancient or modern. If the British Indian " administration itself is unparalleled, its bleeding of India too is unique. Cease that bleed- " ing and India will revive. It will be soon in a position to accumulate the surplus wealth " which is now drained to England, and have enough capital of its own to develop its material " resources with great advantage both to England and India. As Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji " truly observed at the meeting in Lancashire last month, the more India grows rich the more " it will be in a position to extend its trade in Lancashire goods. Instead of its whole trade " with the United Kingdom coming to only two shillings per head it would come to twenty " shillings. But the bleeding must cease before that happy event could be realized. It can " only cease when the policy of the costly employment of the foreign agency, in all its " ramifications, administrative and commercial, is reversed. The exchange difficulty, now so " absurdly found fault with, will cease to exist. India would breathe freely. The currency " will operate automatically as it has hitherto done, and both the State and the people will be " prosperous. At present not only are the people but their industries and manufactures also " are throttled, and under a mistaken conception it is going to throttle them further by its " insensate currency proposals!"

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer in seconding the Resolution, repeated the complaint that while the interest of the Government and the interest of the foreign merchants were represented before the Currency Committee by competent witnesses, no such witnesses had been summoned to represent the interest of the people—" the most important and the only interest entitled to consideration". In a well thought out and closely argued speech, he pointed out the weak points in the Government's scheme and its evils to the taxpayers. He said:—

" It does not require a very intimate knowledge of the people to realise the utter " unsuitability of a gold currency to them amidst their circumstances of crushing poverty. " Taxes will have to be levied in silver, and in Southern India, for instance, where the great " majority of the ryots do not pay more than ten rupees to Government, to levy the tax " according to a gold standard will be a most ruinous addition to their burden, for while the " intrinsic worth of ten rupees as bullion will not exceed 100 pence, the fictitious value of the " same as fixed by the State will be two-thirds of a sovereign or 160 pence. In other words " the poor ryot who till now sold 100 pence worth of produce to meet the Government's " demand will have, if the Government's currency proposals were accepted, to sell 160 pence " worth of his produce. He will have his burden of taxation increased by 60 per cent. Yet " we are told that the addition is only indirect and the ryots will not be conscious of it! The " Government's scheme, it is said, will lead to a fall of prices and increase of exports. If " prices should fall, it would have the same effect on the ryots of virtually increasing the tax, and " in view to the recent settlements of land revenue, based as they are on the assumption that " prices had risen, the hardship would be two-fold. And what about the debts that the " ryots have to pay to the money lenders? They will also be increased, for no fault of the " ryots. I was sorry to read Lord Northbrook's opinion regarding the effect of the Govern- " ment's scheme on the silver savings of the people. He thinks that by far the major portion " of these savings is in coin, in rupees—not in the shape of ornaments. His Lordship is " entirely wrong, as he would have seen if he had turned to Mr. O'Connor's evidence instead " of to Sir Antony MacDonnell's for information."

" I have said that the pivot of the scheme is the contraction of the currency; but " by the contraction of the currency and the high rate of interest which would ensue, it is the " foreign merchants like Ralli Brothers that would benefit and not the people, because they " could dictate their own terms to the producers who, being pressed by the demands of the " Government, part with their produce to these merchants or their agents for comparatively " low prices previously fixed before the harvest. It is said that fluctuations in exchange scare " away English capital, and to attract this capital to India and to develop the hidden resour- " ces of the country with the help of this capital, the legislation of 1893 which closed the mints " was undertaken. Supposing English capital is attracted and flows into India in millions, " is it after all such an unmixed blessing? The foreign exploitation of the country which is " already a source of ruinous drain will only go on on a wider scale, and Lord Salisbury's " process of bleeding to death will only be more complete. English enterprise in this country " benefits English merchants and, beyond affording employment to a few hundreds more of " Indian coolies, confers no substantial and enduring good on the people. I do not in the " least undervalue an increase in the funds available as wages to our labouring population, " but is it not better that these funds should come from the savings of the people themselves " effected by the expansion of indigeneous industry, than that they should be brought by " foreign capitalists?"

The next resolution embodied the opinion of the Congress that the Executive Councils of the Governments of Bombay and Madras should contain three instead of two members as at present, and that one of these members should be a native of India. Till the year 1893, the Commanders-in-chief of these Presidencies were also members of the Executive Council; but since the abolition of their office by a Parliamentary Statute in 1893, the Council has had two members with the Governor as the President, an arrangement under which, besides the possibility of the Governor being placed in the minority in the decision of important questions, he is in constant fear of being placed in that undignified and difficult position. The consequence is undoubtedly demoralizing, and neutralises the great object with which British statesmen or administrators unconnected with Indian service are chosen as a rule to fill these responsible offices. Mr. V. Krishna-sawmy Iyer, who moved the Resolution, pointed out that the Governor had the power of overruling his colleagues on emergent occasions, but no Governor will exercise this extraordinary power in the discharge of ordinary duties. It is therefore necessary that the Council should be strengthened by the addition of a third member unconnected with the Civil Service, and Mr. Krishnasamy Iyer argued that by this third member being a native of India, public interest will be best served. He said:—

" I tell you, Gentlemen, that it is of far greater importance that we should have some " gentleman who is acquainted with our feelings, with our wants, with our peculiarities and " with our difficulties, having a direct voice in the deliberations and decisions of the Govern- " ment than that the Government should ask unauthorized bodies for advice and go about seek- " ing for assistance here and there, should be misled and misinformed in matters of great import- " ance to the country. Now, Gentlemen, there are riots taking place in various parts of the " country between various sections of the community; there is the delicate question of official " patronage in regard to important positions of trust and responsibility; there is again the " question, which is also a very delicate question, of legislating in certain departments relating " it may be, to our marriage laws and to our social customs or to other matters in which we " feel a great interest and in regard to which for want of information and knowledge, by " reason of the fear to tread upon our corns, the Government is unwilling to make the least " move. In all these matters if you have as a member a native gentleman who has risen in " the service, a gentleman who has not merely acquired an amount of administrative experience "

" but who is also acquainted with the feelings and the wants of our community, if you have
 " such a man in the Council Chamber to whom the Governor and other members may natur-
 " ally turn for advice, if you have a person competent to give advice, is there any chance of the
 " Government going astray as we too often find it doing at present? Can you have a better
 " interpreter of the wants and aspirations of India than the person who has got the confidence
 " of the people but who at the same time possesses the confidence of Government and who will
 " be able to explain to them our feelings, who will tell them that even when we seem to go
 " astray we are not going astray by reason of any improper impulse and who will tell us even
 " when the Government is acting wrongly it is not acting wrongly from bad motives, and
 " therefore a person who will be able to cement the Governors and the governed and will bring
 " about a harmonious relation quite as much as any agency that has been at work in this
 " country?"

Professor Paranjpe of Poona, who seconded the Resolution, dwelt on the prejudices of Anglo-Indian Officials, which accordingly rendered necessary the addition of a counterbalancing element. He said:—

" One great evil which is attached to this system is that the Councillors that come to
 " sit in the Governor's Councils come with certain prejudices. Anglo-Indian Civil Servants
 " come from England to India and become Collectors or Assistant Collectors. From that posi-
 " tion they rise up to be Commissioners and afterwards some of them are fortunate enough
 " to become Councillors in the Executive Councils of the different provinces. Since reaching
 " the rank of Assistant Collectors they have got a knowledge of the details of the country. It
 " is to be admitted that the knowledge that they acquire is a very good thing and is very us-
 " ful to the people of the country, but knowledge does not go single-handed. In their cas-
 " that knowledge is accompanied by certain prejudices, and those prejudices and those wron-
 " impressions that they carry with them into the Councils of the Governors are prejudicial and
 " detrimental to the interests of the people."

Then was taken up a very important subject, the subject of certain old Regulations of the three Presidencies, which gave the Government power to place any person under arrest without stating reasons and without bringing him to trial before a Court of Justice. These are Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, and the Congress urged upon the Government the necessity of repealing these Regulations, " inas-
 " much as the principle and provisions thereof are contrary to the traditions and sense of justice of
 " the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and indeed of all civilized Governments and in-
 " asmuch as they are a standing menace to the liberty of the subject." The Subjects Committee chose
 " some of the best speakers and most competent persons to speak on this resolution, namely,
 " Mr. P. Sundra Iyer, a prominent member of the Bar of the Madras High Court, the Hon'ble
 " K. C. Banerjee, a veteran politician and member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. John
 " Adam, Barrister-at-Law, and Rai Nalinaksha Basu Bahadur of Bengal. Their speeches con-
 " stitute the most powerful indictment against Government retaining this dangerous weapon in
 " their hands, and deserve to be read in full. In moving this resolution Mr. Sundra Iyer observed
 " that after our experience of the way in which this antiquated Regulation was exhumed from
 " obscurity and put into operation to molest innocent persons to serve the purpose of an ill-informed
 " and demoralized Executive, the Congress was perfectly justified in demanding the total repeal
 " of these regulations. Besides being the source of an arbitrary and dangerous power in the hands
 " of Government, the Regulation, Mr. Sundra Iyer argued, is absolutely unnecessary. He said:—

" I say this Regulation is unnecessary for this reason; there is another Statute which, "

" if such exceptional time should come on again, if the exercise of such power should be ren-
 " dered necessary, can be invoked by the Government in its favour. I refer to the Indian
 " Councils Act. Section 23 of Indian Councils Act gives power to the Governor-General to
 " make ordinances himself without consulting his Council. These ordinances may have tem-
 " porary force. The section provides that the Governor-General may in cases of emergency
 " make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good Government of British India or
 " any part thereof and any ordinance so made has, for such period not exceeding six months
 " from its promulgation as may be declared in the notification, the like effect as a law made
 " by the Governor-General in Council at a Legislative meeting; but the power of making
 " ordinances under this section is subject to the like restrictions as the power of making laws
 " at Legislative meetings; and any ordinance made under this section is subject to the like
 " disallowance as a law passed at a Legislative meeting, and may be controlled or superseded
 " by any such law. The power given by this section should be called into action only on
 " urgent occasions. It has only been exercised six times up to now. The reason for a resort
 " to it should always be recorded, and these, together with the ordinance itself, should be sub-
 " mitted without loss of time to Her Majesty's Government (Para 26 of Sir Charles Wood's
 " despatch accompanying Indian Councils Act the 1861.) You see therefore that the
 " Governor-General can pass an emergent ordinance in five minutes. Supposing we had not
 " the Act under which the Nattu brothers were arrested, the Bombay Government would only
 " have had to wire to the Governor-General, and he, by a stroke of his pen, could have pro-
 " mulgated an ordinance which would have the same force as law. I must draw your atten-
 " tion to a passage in the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India,
 " accompanying the Indian Councils Act of 1861. He adds this commentary or rather
 " corollary to Section 23. He says, "By section 23 the Governor-General of India is vested
 " with a new and extraordinary power of making and promulgating ordinances in cases of
 " emergency on his own responsibility. It is due to the supreme authority in India, who is
 " responsible for the peace, security, and good Government of that vast territory, that he
 " should be armed with this power, but it is to be called into action only on urgent occasions;
 " the reasons for a resort to it should always be recorded, and together with the ordinance
 " itself, should be submitted, without loss of time, for the consideration of Her Majesty's
 " Government."

" You may ask me why abolish the Regulation when there is another Statute which
 " the Government can make use of. The reason is this. Under section 23 of the Indian
 " Councils Act the Governor-General cannot pass any ordinance which may be in force
 " for 6 months. But then he has to put down in black and white his reasons for exercising
 " his power in this extraordinary fashion, and he has to submit his reasons to Parliament, and
 " when he does so our friends there can raise a debate, and the action of the Governor-General
 " may be subjected to criticism. He cannot shuffle and prevaricate as on this occasion the
 " Secretary of State and other people have been doing. The thing will have to be done deli-
 " berately. Deliberation will give the mind time to cool. Very probably out of a hundred
 " occasions which suggest themselves to the Governor-General on which he may possibly act
 " under the section, he would not do so in more than ten cases. Now this, as I have already
 " told you, has not been a defunct provision of law. I find that the Governor-General has
 " acted on this power in 6 cases. The Act under which the Nattu brothers were arrested had
 " been a dead enactment. If we had asked for the repeal of the enactment before the arrest
 " of the Nattus, it would have been easily done. We are a little bit late but I hope we are not
 " too late. They have got everything they want in the Indian Councils Act. Instead of
 " stating any reason for shutting up persons in prison without letting them know why, the
 " Governor-General has to state his reasons. He has only to promulgate the ordinance and "

“ they get six months to prepare the evidence and more time is unnecessary if there should be ”
 “ a prosecution. In the case of Natu brothers they have not yet been released, they are still ”
 “ under surveillance and there is no knowing how long this state of things may go on. I do ”
 “ not want, Gentlemen, to permit myself to indulge in epithets regarding the action of the ”
 “ Government. As I stated, we are not concerned with the case of the Natu brothers. Per- ”
 “ haps we may take it as fairly conceded even by Government that there is no justification for ”
 “ arresting them. Here is an enactment which is full of mischief and which is absolutely of ”
 “ no use. Here is another enactment which will serve all the purposes which that Statute ”
 “ could possibly serve and the other enactment is one in the working of which we have ”
 “ safeguards that it would not be used mischievously and without consideration. I say, there- ”
 “ fore, if you want any law we have got it. Besides, if the Government want to pass a special ”
 “ law the Imperial Government can pass the law in one day. They have only to suspend ”
 “ the standing orders. We know from experience they are not slow to suspend standing ”
 “ orders. The Government has done it in similar cases.”

The Hon'ble Kalicharan Banerjee, who seconded the Resolution in a short and well-argued speech, adduced two grounds for doing so, firstly, the necessity no longer existing for adding to the reign of law what might be described as the reign of discretion, and secondly the fact of the discretion having been exercised unusually and unreasonably. He illustrated the latter by referring to the case of the Natu brothers as follows :—

“ Then coming to the discretion exercised in the recent case, we have to remember ”
 “ that even Lord George Hamilton was not prepared to defend the exercise of discretion on ”
 “ the part of Government in this case as wise and reasonable. All that he was prepared to ”
 “ hold was that the Government had acted within its authority. It is one thing to be able to ”
 “ say that Government, in any one instance, acts technically within the limits of its authority, ”
 “ and it is a different thing altogether positively and affirmatively to hold that the discretion ”
 “ has been exercised wisely and reasonably. Then Lord George Hamilton had to take refuge ”
 “ in what I may describe as a portentous insinuation that possibly some justification of the ”
 “ exercise by Government of the discretion in this particular direction might be forthcoming ”
 “ in the near future. That was the only defence Lord George Hamilton was prepared to put ”
 “ forward on behalf of Government. Then when we come to test it still further, what do we ”
 “ find? You have been told what the provisions of these Regulations are. The preamble ”
 “ refers to reasons of State policy. Now in this particular case we have a case of reasons of ”
 “ State policy, not known to the State, because when Lord George Hamilton had to assign ”
 “ some reason for the course that had been taken—in fact the outcry was so reasonable that ”
 “ even he had not the courage to take shelter under those mysterious words with which the ”
 “ preamble to the Regulation opens. He was not prepared simply to say there are reasons of ”
 “ State policy. He ventured to assign a reason and the reason that he insinuated in the first ”
 “ instance was shortly after discredited by a judicial pronouncement as you were told in the ”
 “ course of the opening address of our President. And then he had to shift his ground as we ”
 “ were also told, indicating clearly that although the alleged basis of the operation was some ”
 “ reason of State policy, it was a reason that was not only a mystery to the public, but it was ”
 “ a reason which was a mystery to the State. He said that as a rule no doubt such a Regula- ”
 “ tion as this should never be enforced and it was only on an emergent occasion there should ”
 “ be any occasion for putting into force a Regulation or non-regulation like this. And yet ”
 “ when we talk of an emergency I take it that it should be an emergency to which the State ”
 “ and the public alike should be alive. We should know something of it and the State should ”
 “ know something of it. But as far as our present knowledge goes, the emergency is only ”
 “ upon paper, the emergency is only in the imagination; not one fact has transpired to show ”

“ that there was or is anything in reality in connection with the alleged emergency. So I ”
 “ take it that as far as the discretion exercised in this case is concerned we are in a position ”
 “ to say that it has not been wisely and reasonably exercised. Not only so but we are in a ”
 “ position to say that on the contrary the discretion has been most capriciously exercised. If ”
 “ then we have a Regulation in the Statute-book in regard to which it is possible for Govern- ”
 “ ment to exercise a discretion of that kind, the sooner such a Regulation is blotted out of ”
 “ the Statute-book the better.” (*Cheers*).

Mr. John Adam added another cogent argument against these Regulations :—

“ My friend Mr Sundara Iyer has pointed out to you in his usual able manner ”
 “ that the power which is given by these Regulations,—that reserve of power which every ”
 “ one of us must admit that every Government must possess under certain circumstances if it ”
 “ is to exist at all—that reserve of power is given under proper limitations—limitations which ”
 “ might be shown not to be very dissimilar to the limitations under which the suspension of ”
 “ Habeas Corpus exists in England—to the Governor-General by Section 23 of the Councils ”
 “ Act. Now the remarkable thing is that the power so given to the Governor-General ”
 “ under Section 23 of the Councils Act has been found amply sufficient for the purposes of ”
 “ the whole of India except the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and ”
 “ those other portions of the country to which the Bengal Regulation has been extended. ”
 “ You must remember that these three Presidencies are the most advanced and educated in ”
 “ the whole of India, the most remote from the frontier, the most remote from any fear of ”
 “ foreign invasion or foreign trouble, where almost since the time these Regulations were ”
 “ passed there have practically been no troubles. There are many portions of India, includ- ”
 “ ing Burmah, where one would have thought such a Regulation to be necessary but for ”
 “ which the general powers given in the Councils Act are sufficient. One would think the old ”
 “ University centres of Madras, Bombay and Bengal the very last where the Regulations ”
 “ would be found necessary to supplement the other extraordinary powers that are given to ”
 “ the Governor-General. Therefore I think that these Regulations stand almost as an insult ”
 “ to the three great Presidencies.”

The next two Resolutions, XVI and XVII, which related respectively to the questions of Simultaneous Examinations, and the Press Regulations in territories under British administration in Native States, were put from the chair as being old Resolutions which had evoked enough of discussion and which required no further speaking. The XVIIIth Resolution related to Technical Education which though yielding in importance to none in the programme of the Congress, is a familiar topic, which in this Introduction may be passed over. The XIXth Resolution which was about the constitution and working of the Congress ran as follows :—

(a) “ That all the Standing Congress Committees be requested to form Central ”
 “ Committees in their respective Provinces, for the appointment of agents and adoption of ”
 “ other measures, for furthering the objects of the Congress, such Central Committees submit- ”
 “ ting annually at the meeting of the Congress a report of the work carried out in their ”
 “ Provinces during the year.”

(b) “ That the Standing Congress Committees at Madras, Bombay, Nagpur, Amraoti, ”
 “ Calcutta, Allahabad and Lahore be requested to take measures to give early effect to this ”
 “ Resolution.”

(c) “ And further that a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, ”

“ exclusive of the President and ex-Presidents now in India who shall be *ex-officio* members, be ”
 “ appointed to consider the draft constitution circulated by the Reception Committee of Madras ”
 “ and submit a definite scheme to the next Congress, and that this do form the first subject ”
 “ of discussion at the next meeting of the Congress ” :—

- (1) Baboo Aswini Kumara Dutt, Bengal.
- (2) Mr. D. E. Wacha, Bombay.
- (3) Mr. Joshiram, Punjab.
- (4) Mr. Gangaprasad Varma, Oudh.
- (5) Pandit Mudon Mohun Malaviya, North-West Provinces.
- (6) Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Satara.
- (7) Mr. Bapu Rao Dada, Central Provinces.
- (8) Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Madras.
- and
- (9) Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Berar, to act as Secretary to the Committee.

This Resolution was spoken to by several speakers including the Honorable P. Ratnasabapathi Pillay of Madras and the Honorable Babu Surendranath Banerjee.

The XXth Resolution was the Omnibus Resolution, which confirms certain Resolutions adopted in previous Congresses. Mr. F. Grubb, Honorary Secretary to the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, who attended the Congress as a delegate, moved the Resolution, and in doing so paid the following testimony to the righteousness of the cause of the Congress and to the moderation of its deliberations. He said :—

“ Mr. President and Friends,—This is my first visit to the Indian National Congress. ”
 “ I came to it, to a large extent, with an open mind. I shall leave it with a convinced mind. ”
 “ I have always had sympathy in the main with the objects of the Congress. But it has not ”
 “ been until the last 3 days that I have been fully convinced of the righteousness of the cause ”
 “ in which you are engaged. (*Cheers*.) As I have listened to the speeches which have been ”
 “ delivered from this platform I have been struck with three things: firstly, the moderate ”
 “ tone of every one of these utterances; secondly the almost superabundant loyalty of every ”
 “ one present (*cheers*), and, thirdly the unanimity and enthusiasm which has pervaded the ”
 “ entire assembly.”

Mr. John Adam who seconded the Resolution explained the necessity for a Resolution of this kind.

Other speakers were Mr. Habibulla Saheb, a Mohomedan gentlemen of Madras, a good speaker who excited a good deal of interest and enthusiasm in the audience, and Mr. A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu, a favourite speaker on the Congress platform, his speeches being always listened to with intense pleasure for his quaint wit and for his habit of mixing different languages as he goes on speaking.

The next two Resolutions, relating to the Punjab Legislative Council and Legislation for Berar were put from the chair,

The XXIIIrd Resolution prayed that “the adoption of measures against the plague being a matter of imperial concern and recognised as such,” “the expenditure should be borne by the Government, and not charged to the funds of the local bodies.”

Mr. V. C. Desikachary, a Vakil of the High Court of Madras, moved this in a short and thoughtful speech —

“ The importance of this resolution will be apparent to you if you only consider how ”
 “ these poor local bodies find it impossible to cope with their expenditure. There is every reason ”
 “ as to why the Provincial Government and the Imperial Exchequer should find money for such ”
 “ expenses. It is not due to any insanitation of any particular locality that the plague has come ”
 “ into India. At any rate, for a long time the plague was unknown to this country; it has been ”
 “ imported—the best of our doctors are unable to trace the origin—into this country and from ”
 “ place to place it has been spreading and working its ravages. Bombay has had its turn and ”
 “ suffered the most. Calcutta has had its turn and Madras too is having its turn. We do not ”
 “ know whether we have seen the end of it yet. From a telegram from the Punjab we find that ”
 “ there were four sporadic cases. Therefore it is a matter for serious consideration as to who ”
 “ should pay the expenditure and it is only just that the Imperial Exchequer should pay for ”
 “ these expenses. I received a paper from a member of a Local Board in one of our districts ”
 “ in this Presidency and he tells me that the budget estimate for plague expenses for the ”
 “ next year is one lakh of rupees while the income of that Municipality is only a lakh; although ”
 “ the Government promises to pay one-fourth of the expenditure, yet when three-fourths of the ”
 “ income is taken away for plague expenses, how is the Municipality to look after other use- ”
 “ ful wants such as the maintenance of roads.”

This was seconded by Mr. G. B. Phansalkar of Bombay. He said :—

“ In the first place the fact that it has extended all over India is itself a reason for ”
 “ the Imperial Government to come forward to help us; and secondly, there is another reason. ”
 “ that all the medical advisers to Government have put this disease down as an infectious one. ”
 “ If you admit this doctrine, it necessarily follows that if the disease breaks out in one ”
 “ place, say in Bombay, it is necessary to prevent its spread to other parts of the country. If ”
 “ you do not do that, the plague will spread and the whole country is likely to be brought ”
 “ under its clutches. Thirdly, there is one more reason. It is no doubt true that the alleged ”
 “ measures for stamping out the plague have in some cases proved successful. But if you are ”
 “ pleased to examine the causes of the forces that have been at work to bring about the mea- ”
 “ sures, you will find that it is the Anglo-Indian trade that has prompted such severe and strict ”
 “ measures for stamping it out. It is the Anglo-Indian trader that suffers the most from ”
 “ plague, because so long as India stands in the category of affected countries the goods ex- ”
 “ ported therefrom cannot be admitted into any foreign country without quarantine. It is for ”
 “ this reason that Government has been pressed from home and has received mandates to check ”
 “ the spread of the plague. Government has promised to bear some portion of the expendi- ”
 “ ture on the ground of its duty not to allow the disease to spread to various parts of the ”
 “ country. There is one more reason, a reason which was specially alluded to by my pre- ”
 “ decessor, namely, the poverty of these local bodies. Besides, these local bodies have to incur ”
 “ expenditure under very peremptory orders, so much so that the least disinclination on the ”
 “ part of the local bodies to carry out the orders, entails the suspension or abolition, in certain ”
 “ cases, of these local bodies. We have often made demands for a commission to enquire ”
 “ into certain questions, but happily without our asking and without our moving in the ”
 “ matter, we have got a commission to enquire scientifically into the origin and spread of the ”
 “ disease. I appeal to you on three grounds, firstly on the ground of our poverty, secondly ”
 “ on the ground of the disease being infectious, thirdly, that the disease having been admitted ”
 “ to be infectious, pressure has been brought to bear upon the Indian Government to put its ”
 “ measures into execution for not only Indian interests, but also for Anglo-Indian interests.”

Before bringing these introductory remarks to a close, attention must be drawn to an important resolution adopted by the Congress, the resolution relating to the constitution and working of the Congress. The resolution is the outcome of a feeling which has been for some time gaining ground among some of the followers and friends of the Congress, namely, that the enthusiasm of the earlier years is to some extent disappearing and that a fresh spirit should be infused into the work of the Congress. Its responsible leaders do not at all admit that the charge almost annually brought by its enemies, that it is in a moribund state and its life is waning. The success of the Congress during these two troublous years is the best refutation of this charge, which by no means comes from good wishes for the movement. But there is nevertheless an impression that there is need for a revision of its constitution and its methods of work. Some indeed are of opinion that the best constitution for the Congress in its present stage is to have no written constitution, no hard and fast rules, which may take away from its elasticity and its automatic relation to its surroundings. Perhaps it would not be wise to place the working of its more interior portions under the restraints of a rigid system. The time does not appear to have come when the qualifications of the delegates, for instance, their numerical proportion to the extent or the population of the electoral units, the constituencies themselves, and details of a similar character, can be strictly defined, a good deal of margin in the generally recognized standard being in the present state of the country necessary to suit varying local conditions. Where improvement seems to be absolutely necessary is in that portion of the machinery which involves the directing authority. To keep the work of the Congress steady and continuous throughout the year, to call to account any committee that may be remiss in its duty, to correct errors which may involve the prestige or principles of the Congress, to enforce the fulfilment of engagements, to maintain the cohesion, harmony and character of the movement, to reconcile differences, to constitute an authority of appeal, to adjust the relation between the Indian and British branches of the work, to exercise the necessary power of initiation and direction, to do these, it is evident that a strong central power should be constituted. How this power is to be constituted and what are to be its functions, this is not the place to discuss or to determine. The question is one of rather pressing importance, and the Resolution of the last Congress that has been referred to makes it evident that the solution cannot be long deferred.

The events of the last few years have made it abundantly clear that the centre of gravity, even in Indian politics, is in England, and that the success of our political work depends in a considerable measure on the amount of public sympathy we create in that country. It is superfluous to dwell here on the excellent results that have followed the labours of the British Committee and of the few Indian delegates that have pleaded our cause before the electors from time to time. During the last year the services of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. A. M. Bose and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, have been invaluable, and as the former two are permanent residents of England, about four competent Indians representing different provinces and annually deputed to England to co-operate with them in addressing British constituencies and in generally pressing the Congress propaganda, will accelerate the fulfilment of the Congress mission.

After passing Resolutions expressing confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and thanking the British Committee, the Reception Committee, the President, and others of a formal nature, the deliberations of the fourteenth session of the Indian National Congress were brought to a close amid enthusiastic cheers for Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress.

17

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE
FOURTEENTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
MADRAS

On the 29th, 30th and 31st December 1898.

Resolution I.

RESOLVED—That this Congress records its profound regret at the irreparable loss that the British Empire and the civilized world at large have sustained by the death of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the greatest statesman of modern times, and a warm and genuine friend of humanity, and desires, to express its sense of gratitude for the sympathy which he uniformly evinced towards the efforts of the Indian people in securing a more liberal and progressive Government in India; and that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to his son Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

Death of Mr. W. E. Gladstone.

Resolution II.

RESOLVED—That this Congress deeply mourns the great loss the country has suffered by the sad and untimely death of the late Maharajah of Durbunga, Sir Lakshmehur Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E. The Congress places on record its high appreciation of his ready and enlightened public spirit and his liberal and catholic benefactions, and desires to give expression to its feeling of gratitude for the generous and unfailing support which the Congress movement received at his hands; and that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to Maharajah Rameshwar Singh, the brother of the deceased Maharajah.

Death of the Maharaja of Durbunga.

Resolution III.

RESOLVED—That this Congress expresses its profound grief for the great loss which the people of the country in general and those of the Punjab in particular have sustained by the death of the late Sirdar Dayal Singh of Lahore, and places on record its high appreciation of the public spirit and the liberal support he gave in furtherance of the progressive movements which tended to ameliorate the condition of the natives of India.

Death of Sirdar Dayal Singh of Lahore.

Resolution IV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress regrets, that, in despite of its protest at its last sitting and the protest of many public bodies and eminent men, English and Indian, the amendments

Sedition Law.

proposed in the Indian Penal Code, and the Criminal Procedure Code, which are calculated to unduly enlarge the powers of the Police and of the Magistracy, to fetter the freedom of the Press and to restrict liberty of speech, have been carried through the Imperial Legislative Council, and urges their repeal.

Resolution V.

Welcome to Lord Curzon.

RESOLVED—That this Congress accords a respectful welcome to Lord Curzon, notes with gratitude his Lordship's words of sympathy for the people of India, and trusts the policy of progress and confidence in the people which has characterized the best traditions of British rule in this country will be followed during his Lordship's tenure of office in India, and authorizes the President to wire the foregoing resolution to his Lordship at Bombay.

Resolution VI.

Land Revenue Settlement.

RESOLVED—That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have failed not only to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) for permanent settlement in the provinces in which it does not exist, but also to give effect to the policy of granting the modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India and this Congress hereby entreats the Government to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land-tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years, so as to secure to land-holders the full benefit of their own improvements.

Resolution VII.

Frontier Policy.

RESOLVED—That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the Frontier policy pursued for some years past by the Government of India is injurious to its best interests, inasmuch as it involves this country in frequent military expeditions beyond its natural limits and the practical starvation of the civil administration; and that, as long as the policy is not radically reversed, and a return made to the older and the only safe policy of keeping within the statutory limits of the country, all declarations, no matter however confidently made, about the cessation of frontier troubles and the friendly attitude of frontier tribes, are entitled to little weight as evidenced by the occurrences of the last few weeks in the Swat Valley which necessitated the holding in readiness of a considerable body of troops imposing fresh burdens on the Exchequer; and that of all the expenditure which these military expeditions may involve, an adequate share should be borne by the British Exchequer.

Resolution VIII.

Secret Press Committees.

RESOLVED—That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the establishment of Secret Press Committees in certain parts of India is highly objectionable and inconsistent with the spirit of British administration.

Resolution IX.

Local Self-Government.

RESOLVED—That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disapproval of the reactionary policy of Government with regard to Local Self-Government recently inaugurated by the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill into the Bengal Legislative Council, the creation of the Bombay City Improvement Trust without adequate popular representation, and its action in other directions.

Resolution X.

Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions.

RESOLVED—That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to

the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.

Resolution XI.

RESOLVED—(a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, medical education and the advancement of the medical service and scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of, the military service.

Re-constitution of the Civil and Military Medical Service.

(b) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in throwing open 19 Civil Surgeoncies to be filled up by promotion from the ranks of Civil Assistant Surgeons, it deplores nevertheless the unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Civil Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with the members of similar standing in other departments of the public service, and prays that Government will grant an open inquiry into the present constitution of the Subordinate Civil Medical department by a mixed commission of official and non-official members.

(c) That in this connection the Congress desires to place on record its sense of loss the Congress and the country have sustained by the untimely death of the late Dr. K. N. Bahadurjee, of Bombay, the last years of whose life were devoted to the promotion of the reform of the Medical Services in this country.

Resolution XII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress deplores the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Indian and European Settlers in South Africa, a prominent instance of which is afforded by the recent decision of the Transvaal High Court restricting Indians to "locations" and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers, and to relieve them of the disabilities imposed on them.

Grievance of Indian Settlers in South Africa.

Resolution XIII.

RESOLVED—(a) That, having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by exchange is the steady growth in the demands on India for expenditure in England, this Congress is of opinion that any artificial device for meeting that loss either by changing the currency at a heavy cost or contracting the internal currency must add to the pressure on India's monetary resources and to her trading disadvantage.

The Indian Currency Question.

(b) That the only real relief lies in carrying out practically the principle, affirmed by competent authorities, of England bearing an equitable share of that expenditure.

(c) That the Congress regrets that, save Mr. Romesh Chundar Dutt and Mr. Merwanji Rastamji, competent and qualified Indian representatives have not yet been invited as witnesses to represent the Indian view of matters on the subject which now engages the attention of the Currency Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President.

(d) That the President be authorised to request Sir William Wedderburn, Chairman of the British Congress Committee, to communicate this Resolution to Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman of the Currency Committee in London.

Resolution XIV.

An Additional Member in the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay.

RESOLVED—That, having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by Governors with Councils of three and not of two members, as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be a Native of India.

Resolution XV.

Repeal of Certain Old Regulations.

RESOLVED—That this Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the necessity of repealing Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, inasmuch as the principle and provisions thereof are contrary to the traditions and sense of justice of the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and indeed of all civilized Governments, and inasmuch as they are a standing menace to the liberty of the subject.

Resolution XVI.

Simultaneous Examinations.

RESOLVED—That this Congress again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and urges the desirability of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, viz., Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest and Accounts, both in India and in England, in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893. This Congress further points out that in regard to the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Postal, Salt, and Abkari and Forest Services, the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have not been adequately carried out, and prays that in all ranks of the said Services more educated Indians should be employed.

Resolution XVII.

Gagging the Press.

RESOLVED—That the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, and ought to be cancelled without delay.

Resolution XVIII.

Technical Education.

RESOLVED—That this Congress places on record its deep conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a better and more successful working of the same.

Resolution XIX.

Constitution and Working of the Congress.

RESOLVED—(a) That all the Standing Congress Committees be requested to form Central Committees in their respective Provinces, for the appointment of agents and adoption of other measures, for furthering the objects of the Congress, such Central Committees submitting annually at the meeting of the Congress a report of the work carried out in their Provinces during the year.

(b) That the Standing Congress Committees at Madras, Bombay, Nagpur, Amraoti, Calcutta, Allahabad and Lahore be requested to take measures to give early effect to this Resolution.

(c) And further that a committee consisting of the following gentlemen, exclusive of the President and ex-Presidents now in India, who shall be *ex-officio* members, be appointed to consider the draft constitution circulated by the Reception Committee of Madras and submit a definite scheme to the next Congress, and that this do form the first subject of discussion at the next meeting of the Congress:—

- (1) Baboo Aswini Kumara Dutt, Bengal.
- (2) Mr. D. E. Wacha, Bombay.
- (3) Mr. Joshiram, Punjab.
- (4) Mr. Gungaprasad Varma, Oudh.
- (5) Pandit Mudon Mohun Malaviya, North-West Provinces.
- (6) Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar of Satara.
- (7) Mr. Bapu Rao Dada, Central Provinces.
- (8) Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Madras.

and

- (9) Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Berar, to act as Secretary to the Committee.

Resolution XX.

RESOLVED—(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating—

(a) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the Excise Policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, and 105 of the Despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option;

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

(c) the establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian Army;

(d) the authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India;

(e) the discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employés of Government;

(f) the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India;

(g) the establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest—

(a) Against the scheme of re-organisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, even those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(c) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that Government will

be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

(iii) And that this Congress, also concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its firm conviction:—

(a) That the time having come when greater facilities are imperatively required for higher education and the proper development of the Indian intellect than what are at present offered by examinations alone, the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of teaching functions and for a wider scope of learning so as to suit generally the requirements of the present day.

(b) That, having regard to the facility of intercourse between all parts of India and Assam, the time has now arrived when the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893, should be repealed.

(c) That it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief should be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

(d) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education, a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final.

(e) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon the accused persons, who are natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury, before the High Court and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jury or of the assessors shall be natives of India.

(f) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways, which have led to much discontent throughout the country: that though the objects of forest conservancy, as announced in the Resolution of 1894, are declared to be, not to secure the largest revenue, but to conserve the forests in the interest chiefly of the agricultural classes and of their cattle, the existing set of rules subordinates the latter consideration to the former, and an amendment of the rules with a view to correct this mischief is, in the opinion of the Congress, urgently called for.

(g) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand.

Resolution XXI.

The Punjab
Legislative Council.
—
RESOLVED—That this Congress, while thanking the Government for granting the boon of a Legislative Council to the Punjab, places on record its regret that they have not extended to the Councillors the right of interpellation, and to the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination such as are enjoyed by the Councillors and people in the other Provinces.

Resolution XXII.

Legislation for
Berar.
—
RESOLVED—That the Province of Berar, though not a part of British India, being administered by the Governor-General in Council in the same way as any portion of British India, while the important work of legislating for the province is performed by the Executive, instead of by the Legislative Council, resulting often in unsuitable and inconvenient legislation, this Congress, therefore, humbly prays that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-

General in Council, all laws, and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.

Resolution XXIII.

RESOLVED—That the adoption of measures against the Plague being a matter of imperial concern and recognised as such, this Congress is of opinion that the expenditure incurred in connection thereof should be borne by the Government and not charged to the funds of the local bodies.

Plague
Expenditure.
—

Resolution XXIV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress again expresses its full and unabated confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the representative of the people of India, and hopes that he will be re-elected by his old Constituency of Central Finsbury or any other Liberal Constituency.

Confidence in
Mr. Dadabhai
Naoroji.
—

Resolution XXV.

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

Vote of thanks
to the British
Committee and their
Expenses.
—

And that a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication "*India*," and also for the expenses of the Joint General Secretary's Office, and that the several circles do contribute, as arranged, either now or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1899.

British Committee
Grant.
—

Resolution XXVI.

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

Appointment
of General
Secretary and Joint
General Secretary
to the Congress.
—

Resolution XXVII.

RESOLVED—That the Fifteenth Indian National Congress do assemble, at Lucknow, on such day after Christmas Day in 1899 as may be later determined upon.

Meeting Place
of the XVth.
Congress.
—

MADRAS,
31st December 1898

A. M. BOSE,
President, 14th Indian National Congress.

DETAILED
Report of the Proceedings
OF THE
FOURTEENTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
MADRAS

On the 29th, 30th and 31st December 1898.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first sitting of the Congress commenced at 1-30 P.M. on Thursday, the 29th December 1898, when the Hon'ble MR. N. SUBBA ROW PANTULU, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, said :—

FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It has devolved on me on this occasion to welcome you on behalf of the Reception Committee to the capital of Southern India, and I need not say that I consider it a privilege to have to perform this pleasing function. I most cordially offer you our welcome and invite you to enter upon your deliberations in a spirit worthy of the traditions of the Indian National Congress. We regret that our arrangements are not so good as we wished they should be. The plague has been knocking at our doors during the last three months, and till recently there were serious apprehensions that, after all, it might not be safe to hold in this city the present session of the Congress. However, by the beginning of the month it became evident that, fortunately for us, the plague would not seriously interfere with the proper conduct of our deliberations; and accordingly our preparations were pushed on for holding the Fourteenth Session of the Indian National Congress in Madras. We have tried to do our very best, and we beg you to accept the arrangements made for your comfort and convenience, however inadequate they may be, in the spirit in which we offer you our welcome.

We of the extreme south of India are sincerely happy to meet you, our fellow countrymen from all parts of this ancient and historic land. We are glad that this occasion has been afforded to us to meet again old familiar faces and contract new friendships. At our annual gatherings, during these several years, we have come to know one another well, and have learnt from personal contact and communication how the various parts of the country are progressing, and what the various movements are which in those several parts have been set on foot to better

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the condition of the people. Through these gatherings we here have come to feel that you are after all one with us, that you are not so distant from us as it may seem at first sight, that we are all naturally interested in one another, and that we are in a body pledged to support the righteous rule of our common sovereign.

We miss with deep sorrow on this occasion some of our prominent fellow-workers. Death has been busy in our rank. We mourn the loss of the great Sikh Nobleman of the Punjab, Sirdar Dayal Sing, whose active support given to the Congress won for him the esteem of his countrymen, and whose munificent bequests for advancing the cause of education and in aid of various institutions have made his name memorable throughout the Indian Empire. We mourn also the loss of the premier nobleman of Bengal, the Maharajah of Darbhanga, who nobly and unstintingly used his wealth, exerted his influence, and raised his voice always to promote public welfare. Never did two such men among the nobility in India combine in themselves in such a marked manner the qualities that go to make a true citizen of the British Indian Empire, and prove by their conduct that they clearly grasped the real conditions of Great Britain's sway over India. They were a tower of strength to us, and though they have left us, their spirit is still with us, exhorting us to go on with the work of national elevation, in which they were so deeply interested. It is impossible on this occasion not to think of that Grand Old Man of England who has passed away and who, so long as he lived, was an embodiment of the highest Christian morality and the best humanitarian statesmanship. His life encouraged our aspirations and strengthened our hopes, and the Congress with peculiar attachment to his personality was sending its congratulations to him year after year on his birthday. This we cannot do now. Nevertheless, we have the consolation that we are also sharers in that precious heritage which his life and his work have left to the British Empire.

This is the third occasion on which Madras has had the proud distinction of welcoming the Congress. Providence first led the British nation to lay here on the Coromandel Coast the foundations of this vast and magnificent Indian Empire—an Empire which rouses and will continue to rouse the envy of other European States for the rare and splendid opportunity which it has afforded to Great Britain to justify her claim as the first world-state, not merely on account of the strength of her navy and army, but on account of her righteousness in the government of all her subjects. It has been said that the spectacle of the various states and kingdoms in India having been slowly welded into one whole, and brought under the control of one central authority, is unique in the history of the world. But still more unique is this gathering of assembled delegates under the name of the Indian National Congress, with its spontaneous and loving loyalty to the British Throne. It is indeed more unique to see delegates from Lahore and Benares, from Amraoti and Nagpur, from Bombay and Calcutta, from Tinnevely and Ganjam travel, in these times of plague, great distances at great personal sacrifice, with the object of deliberating upon the best methods of developing British rule in India to the glory of England and the prosperity of India.

It is just forty years ago, in the last expiring days of the East India Company—but yesterday as it were in the history of a nation—that some of the disorderly and uneducated sections of the races in India rose almost as one man against the British to drive them out of power. It was a sore hour of trial and danger, causing dismay to England's friends and rejoicing to England's enemies. This uprising, in the words of the historian, "transcended experience, baffled skill, bewildered statesmanship; it was full of surprise to those who were least likely to be surprised; it misled the wisest and the best informed." To-day under the direct rule of Her Gracious Majesty, who loved to take unto herself the title of *Empress of India*, the *élite* of this vast continent from its remotest parts—leaders in their own places, pros-

perous in their professions, respected by their fellow-countrymen—meet in numbers year after year to strengthen the foundations of that same rule which, in 1857, ignorant and misguided people tried to overthrow. Does this spectacle also baffle skill, transcend experience, and bewilder statesmanship—the spectacle of this Congress of delegates pledged to perpetuate British rule and British methods of Government in this land? To those who have studied the history and the conditions of the country, the Indian National Congress cannot surely be an enigma.

The revolt of 1857 closed a chapter in the history of British India. There was no possibility in those days of the inauguration of an institution like the Indian National Congress. The revolt practically marks the final stage in the physical consolidation of the Indian Empire. It enforced the necessity for the actual adoption of helpful and progressive principles in the Government of this country. It gave a new impetus to the mental and moral advancement of the Indian people. The beneficent forces that have been actively at work during all these later years have at last culminated in the establishment of the Indian National Congress, which undoubtedly marks an epoch in the annals of India and renders it impossible, so long as the institution lasts, for anything like the events of 1857 to occur again. Those who have attentively watched the working of these forces have described this Institution in language which is highly flattering to the British nation. In the words of the gifted and impartial historian of India, Sir W. W. Hunter, it is "the child of British rule, the product of schools and universities." In the words of the veteran Indian statesman, the late Sir T. Madhava Rau, it is "the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation." I go further and say that without the Indian National Congress as the natural and inevitable result of England's good work in India, the mission of England in the East may well be characterised as an unjustifiable failure. It has already saved the high and inspiring political mission of England in India from the possible reproach of sterility and ill success, and is indeed destined in the fulness of time to bring about in our midst the realisation of the highest ideals of British statesmanship and British political wisdom.

I say further that the Indian National Congress is absolutely needed under the present conditions of India. The British nation is making an unique experiment in the Government of this vast country of diverse creeds and races. To the British people at home India mainly continues to be, as in the days of Edmund Burke, "a seminary for the succession of officers" and "a kingdom of magistrates." No doubt, planters, merchants and others have sought and found their places in this land in these latter days, but their lives are moulded and their conduct is regulated after the example set by the officials. Their home is not India. They fondly look back to England to return thither as speedily as they can, of course after hard and honest work done in this country. Under these circumstances, what Principal Fairbairn said the other day is applicable to all of them. He said—"We should never know the Indian problems till we knew the Indian mind. Therefore to interpret India to England is a greater necessity than to interpret England to India." Who is better fitted to interpret India to England than we to whom England has been interpreted through her Literature, through her Colleges, and above all through her missionaries? Which organization does better reflect the Indian mind and offer to solve Indian Problems than this Indian National Congress? If the Indian National Congress is thus the best, and I may say the only, instrument in India, which is capable of accurately interpreting India to England, why is it not welcomed with open arms by the sons of England in this country as it surely deserves to be?

At first treated with ridicule and abuse, it has now come to be looked upon by the Government of India as a constitutional and legitimate movement representing in India "what in Europe would be called the more advanced liberal party." It is also said that the Government

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desires to maintain an attitude of neutrality towards it. As a general rule Anglo-Indians now regard the movement with suspicion and are apathetic towards it, being, however, prone to discredit the whole movement on account of seeming failures on the part of individual members taking part in its deliberations. This is not certainly the proper attitude to assume towards a movement which honestly tries to point out dangers ahead, and suggests ways and means for carrying on the complex administration of the country with the consent of its various populations—towards a movement which, according to so high an authority as Sir W. W. Hunter, represents “a political power in India which no Indian statesman or Member of Parliament could afford to disregard.” “We have,” he says, “created and fostered aspirations which animate the Congress, and it would be both churlish and unwise to refuse now to those aspirations both our sympathy and our respectful consideration.” It is the attitude of the Government that is chiefly responsible for the aloofness of the major portion of the non-official Anglo-Indian community. This attitude of the Government is also responsible for the indifference of the Eurasian community, which now wishes largely to be guided by Anglo-Indian aspirations. The mistaken attitude of some of our Muhammadan fellow-countrymen is also due to the same cause. We may ultimately trace to the same source the unfair criticisms, that sometimes disfigure the columns of some of our Anglo-Indian journals. Is it right that the Government which is ready and willing to consult us individually in our Districts and Provinces, when it chooses to consult non-official opinion, should be so suspicious of us all when we meet together under the name of the Indian National Congress? And is it right that it should be so tardy and apparently so unwilling to bestow serious consideration on our proposals and suggestions? The reason for this is not far to seek. The official hierarchy does not fully grasp the changes that are sweeping over the country and cannot sufficiently understand the requirements of new India—the India of Schools and Colleges, the India of Universities, the India of the National Congress. The Anglo-Indian mind fondly lingers over the memories of the splendid physical conquest it effected in obliterating the old political and geographical boundaries in India. It does not move sufficiently onward with the march of Indian intellect and Indian aspirations. Moreover, the demands of the Congress trench on official preserves and encroach on official privileges. This movement holds up a lofty ideal before the “experts” in charge of the administration of the country and calls upon them to act up to that ideal—to make British citizenship in India a *reality* in every respect. Like the sensitive plant, the official mind shrinks at the touch of our demands. The conditions of India are to them apparently as bewildering as the conditions that produce a sudden cyclone. They seem to have laid to heart this one lesson from the Revolt of 1857—“that the Government of 200 millions of human beings about whom the governing race knows little except that they differ *toto cælo* from themselves in temperament, belief, taste, and the way of looking at life—is likely to produce unexpected results and to be diversified with unexpected incidents.”

Hence it is that the Anglo-Indian mind sees conspiracy where there is none, seeks to revive obsolete regulations so as to take away personal liberty in times of peace. Hence it is that Government finds it necessary to hedge itself round with stringent laws regarding sedition. Hence it is that the Government has found it necessary to emphasise in its laws, regulations and resolutions, the distinction between the British-born and Indian subjects of Her Majesty, the Queen of England and the Empress of India. And Lord Elgin feels it necessary to tell the public that Britain has to hold India by the sword if need be. The Government of India finds curious reasons why long-term settlements should be discontinued and short-term settlements introduced in the assessment of land revenue, and why the full share of the Government demand should be assessed and taken, and why low assessments should not be permitted. A low assessment, it seems, will reduce an industrious body of tenants into a body of idle and useless people, and that a limitation on the power of ryots to transfer their interests in land is necessary for the agricultural prosperity of the country.

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There is also some excuse for this state of the Anglo-Indian mind. It indicates the natural reaction against liberalism in Indian politics—a reaction which is inevitable. Such a reaction represents a stage in the progress of every movement, and we must be prepared for it. The mischievous consequences of such a reactionary policy are sure to become apparent in due course of time. It is refreshing, however, to observe in this connection that this kind of feeling is not shared in by several of our British fellow-subjects here and elsewhere. We must thankfully acknowledge that they in growing numbers sympathize with our aspirations, while some of them actually take part and help us in our deliberations. We cannot be too thankful to the Chairman, Sir William Wedderburn, and to the members of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress for their indefatigable and self-sacrificing efforts in advocating the cause of India before England. And it is a matter of much satisfaction that Lord Sandhurst did recently, on the occasion of unveiling the statue of Mr. Chester Macnaughten, formerly principal of the Rajkumar College, at Rajkote, recognize that “the native character is extremely responsive and amenable to gentleness and persuasion, and that far more is to be gained by a demeanour of that description than by hectoring and bullying where gentleness should succeed.” It is matter of gratification that our new Viceroy heralds his advent to India by a remarkable statement that he has accepted the Viceroyalty because he *loves* India. About 18 years ago, another Viceroy came to this country and proved by his acts that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. Lord Ripon really loved India and her people. We pray to that benign Providence who watches over the destinies of nations to give Lord Curzon sufficient strength of mind and heart to demonstrate his love by such acts and deeds as will draw together England and India more closely than ever in the bonds of amity and love. In the meantime, we have no reason or excuse to keep quite. We must all decline to accept for the administration of the country any ideal lower than that laid down by the Queen Empress, Her Parliament and Her Statesmen. What may be taken as the motto of the British administration in India is well expressed in the Proclamation issued in 1818 under the orders of Lord Lawrence to the agriculturists of a district in the Panjab:—“What is your injury is mine, what is gain to you, I consider mine.” The duty of the Congress is to press home to the minds and hearts of administrators the full import of these wise words and make them see with our eyes what constitutes our injury and what constitutes our gain. The persistence of our demands and the publicity of our proceedings cannot but show that we are in earnest, and that our endeavours are in the cause of peace and progress.

It is said that the main object of the Congress is merely to get the door of official patronage more widely thrown open to Indians. This is no doubt one of the demands of the Congress, and we lay stress on it, as it is conducive to economy, progress and safety. Really, we have no quarrel with our official brethren and we are not blind to their many merits. There is no denying that in the circumstances in which they are placed and under the conditions imposed on them, they are as a body serving the State with devotion, honesty and thoroughness. But the function of the services is not to shape the policy of the state; it is only to work it out when declared. Such a great political philosopher as John Stuart Mill has pointed out with characteristic insight that there is danger in allowing the services to usurp the power of laying down the policy, and that in the independence and periodical change of Viceroy and Governors lies the security against such usurpation taking place in India. Partly because of the growth in the quantity and complexity of the details of administrative work and partly because of the increasing frequency of mandates from home, this moral safeguard has become too weak to serve the purpose. There must, therefore, be in the constitution of the Government of India, a more uniformly operative and more unfailing check than the individuality of the ruler to prevent the undesirable inroads of the services. Is it not but proper that we should demand that the internal policy of British India should be made to accord well with the

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sentiments and aspirations of the people whom that policy most intimately affects, and that in the Government of India there should be room for Indian statesmanship to be associated with British statesmanship? It is to obtain the constitutional recognition of the people's voice as an effective part of the machinery of the State that we are striving. The statutory concession granted to us to a limited extent in response to our demands in the matter of the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils touches but the fringe of the great object we have in view. We must go on working till that object is accomplished and our imperial citizenship becomes a reality and a potent factor in our national life.

More than all this, the Congress is to us the only platform where persons of all creeds and races may meet together to discuss important political and politico-social questions that concern them all. It is the one field wherein we can all learn how to do unselfish work, and rise above the common level of every day life. What is this Congress after all but another name for Progress? Once you are an advocate of the ideals of the Congress, you cannot but advocate progress in all directions. None of us can ignore, for instance, the problem of social reform. We may differ as to methods, but every one who has the aims of the Congress at heart must be working for justice, freedom and purity in social matters as well. Lord Curzon recently described India as the pivot and centre of the British Imperial System, and I may say that the Congress is the pivot and centre of the numerous bodies that are working throughout the country in the direction of progress and modern civilization. The educative effect of the Congress is indeed great and pervasive. I have no doubt that, as we go on, all those who now stand away from it will, in ever increasing numbers, come to join its ranks and render its work in future more representative and more useful.

To strengthen the vitality of the Congress, it is necessary to give it a settled constitution. Since the Congress was held in Madras first in 1887, it has been going on along the lines on which it was in a way organized here. The idea of making the constitution of the Congress clear and definite has already engaged your attention more than once. I know the question is beset with difficulties, and I hope that the third Madras Congress will be able to solve it satisfactorily. I may point out that, in addition to the constitution, the Congress is also in need of a permanent home, wherein may be gathered all the literature relating to all its varied activities and a useful library may be made to grow to serve us and to serve those that come after us. Besides, worthy books and pamphlets on subjects engaging the attention of the Congress from time to time are very much needed to explain and to justify our resolutions and carry the conviction to the minds of all impartial men that we are right and reasonable in our demands. It is now my pleasing duty to ask you to enter upon your work. I have no doubt that, situated as we are, you will, inside as well as outside the Congress hall, conduct yourselves in such a manner as will make it impossible for the most uncharitable of our critics to pass the least unfavourable remark against us. Remember always that the Indian National Congress is the brightest emblem of British rule in India, that it is an annual reminder that Great Britain and India cannot exist apart, that for the prosperity and glory of both they should move hand in hand, and that, in feeling at all events, the Britain should become the Indian, and the Indian become the Britain.

Gentlemen, I once more offer you our cordial welcome and invite you to proceed to the business of electing your President for the Fourteenth Indian National Congress. (*Loud Cheers*).

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur MR. P. ANANDACHARI, C. I. E., (Madras):—

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Brother delegates and sister delegates, I have the very pleasant duty of proposing to you the adoption of a very great friend of mine, a very great friend of

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this country, a very great friend of religion, a very great friend of morality and progress, for your President. (Hear, hear, cheers). If among you I have achieved anything like a claim to consideration, I am proposing one who is greatly more than myself as his name distinctly implies. This, I know, is only a formal duty because you have been hearing of the president-elect, most of you have seen him and have learnt to love him already, I am perfectly sure. (applause). His is the most beneficent face to look at; his is a life which is a model to everybody; his is an eloquence which you will very soon hear and hear with admiration (applause). His name—need I mention it to you?—is that of Ananda Mohun Bose. (cheers). I am perfectly sure you will accept that name with ten million times more pleasure than the pleasure with which I propose it to you.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Amraoti):—

GENTLEMEN,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu about the election of Mr. Bose as the President of our Congress. (applause). The Congress is the only assembly of the people in this country, and the President of the Congress is what you may say the uncrowned king of the people. (cheers). But in calling upon him to assume this high position, we do greater honour to ourselves than to him. His is a life which, as my friend Mr. Ananda Charlu has said, every one of us ought to imitate. From the very beginning he has acquired and made for himself a high position whether in School or in College; whether in the Indian University at Calcutta or in the English University of Cambridge he acquired for himself a very high position. In the First-in-Arts Examination, in the B. A. Degree Examination and in the M. A. Degree Examination, he was the first, and when he went to England he was noticed by his professor and there it was seen he was one of the coming men, he was one of those who were bracketted together as the fifth wrangler of the year; and but for his ill-health he would have been a senior wrangler. It was in England that his youthful career attracted the attention of a man whom we all revered and whom we have loved for years past, Professor Fawcett. (cheers). At one time his earnestness his zeal for truth, his reverence for those for whom he had regard, made such an impression upon Professor Fawcett that he said that he was a man who was in time likely to achieve for himself a position like that of Mr. Gladstone in England. (applause). Those of you who attended the Congress of 1890 know his eloquence. You know what he has been doing for us during the past 12 months in England. He has been actively all-round, he did not confine himself to political questions. Politics, education, social amelioration of the people in all their branches—they have claimed equal attention from him. Bethune College of Calcutta for ladies and the City College have testified to his interest in educational work. He was one of those who exerted themselves in the cause of education on the Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon. Twice he was appointed to the Bengal Legislative Council, once he was nominated by Government and at another time he was elected by the University of Calcutta. The Indian Association was founded by him. Those of you who have visited Calcutta know what interest he takes in the temperance question, in religious matters and particularly in that great religious movement in Bengal the Brahmo Samaj. Such a man whose activity is not confined to one direction is in every way fit to preside over our deliberations; and if this assembly confines itself to political questions every one of its members has, I know, the deepest interest in all questions social, religious, moral and political. I have great pleasure, gentlemen, in seconding the adoption of my friend Mr. Ananda Charlu's proposition.

MR. JOHN ADAM (Madras) who was received with loud cheers said:—

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to have an opportunity of supporting the resolution which has just been placed before you. I do not think it requires many words to commend it to your unanimous approbation. Two catalogues of Mr. Bose's good qualities have been already placed

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before you and I shall not offend his modesty by adding anything to those catalogues. Personally however it affords me very great pleasure to have the opportunity of supporting a resolution proposing, to this high office, one who curiously enough was a fellow student with myself at Cambridge. (cheers). I was very near the end of my Cambridge career when Mr. Bose went there and for a time we were fellow under-graduates of that great university. Certainly it is rather curious that we who were apparently so far apart and who were under-graduates together,—I do not like to say how long ago—about 30 years ago, should meet once more on this platform and under these circumstances. (cheers). I am sure that Mr. Bose himself does not in any way under-appreciate the honour which India through this Congress offers to him in asking him to preside over us; it is certainly the highest honour which it is in our power to bestow (cheers). But there are other attractions also in being President of this great Congress. I need hardly remind you that since we last met on this Congress platform it has been found as the bosom of my Honorable friend Mr. Ananda Charlu shows (referring to his decoration as a member of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire) that the Presidentship of the Congress is one way towards obtaining those decorations and marks of approbation which the sovereign alone can bestow and which no one despises when they are the reward of sterling merit. I have only one more word to say and it is this. You know the great work which our President-elect has been performing in England but unfortunately the work of public speaking and public agitation which he carried on with such great ability and such inexhaustible energy cannot be so carried on without some penalty having to be paid. We know that even Mr. Bose's energy and enthusiasm have ended in a very serious injury to his health since his return to this country. As you all know, he has been in a very weak state of health since his return to India and I am sorry to say that he is still very far from being strong. Therefore in supporting his election to this office which usually requires a good deal of physical strength as well as mental strength, I have to ask you that we shall all try by the most perfect good behaviour on our part to make his office as easy a one physically as we possibly can.

Mr. JAISHIRAM of Lahore :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—If this proposition required any speeches, my predecessors have made them. Mr. Bose is too well-known to require an introduction. If the illustrious rôle of our Presidents was in any way incomplete, nobody could complete it better than our friend Mr. Bose. With these few words I would support the proposition.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. SUBBA RAO PANTULU, (Madras) :—

I now formally put the proposition to you. Let those of you who are in favour of the proposition hold up your hands. (cries of "all, all" and cheers).

The proposition was carried amidst great acclamation.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu then vacated his chair which was taken by Mr. A. M. Bose amid loud and continued cheers.

The President who, on rising, was vociferously cheered, then delivered the following address :—

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—When the heart is full, fewest and simplest words are the best. Let me therefore only say I thank you most sincerely for the honour you have done me by electing me as your President—one so unworthy of the honour, so conscious of his deficiencies. Permit me to ask for your good wishes that I may not wholly fail

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to discharge the arduous duties to which your voice has called me, that still not fully recovered from the effects of a recent illness, strength may be given me to be not wholly inadequate to the responsibilities that devolve on me. It is to your indulgence, to your kindness and your sympathy, that I look for that help which I need to enable me to preside over your deliberations in the Session now opening before us, and I am sure I do not ask for this in vain.

Mr. GLADSTONE.

Brother Delegates, as I rise to address you my thought goes to that dear land with which it has pleased Providence in its kindness to link the destinies of this great and ancient country. Ladies and Gentlemen, this I believe is the first meeting of the Congress, since its birth, from which no message of congratulation on his returning birthday will go to the great Englishman—the greatest of his age—whose earthly career came to its end on the Ascension Day of the year now about to close. On every 28th of December, as it came back, it was the privilege of the President of the Indian National Congress to ask for your authority—and that authority was given with glad enthusiasm—to send a telegram conveying our best wishes to Mr. Gladstone. That privilege will not be mine. That duty henceforth will remain unperformed. That saintly statesman to whom—as to Savonarola of old, the fourth centenary of whose martyrdom too falls on this year—politics was a part of his religion; the Christian warrior who fought the fight of freedom for England and not for England alone; whom Bulgaria and Greece, whom Armenia and Italy, even distant India, mourn no less than his own country; the friend of the weak and the helpless in whatever tongues their wails might be uttered; the 'bravest of the brave' in every good cause however hopeless, as Lord Rosebery described him in that oration in the House of Lords which will live, has gone to his rest amid the tears of a united nation. Never was the strife of parties so hushed, the deepest love of the country so drawn, its noblest feelings so stirred as when that great soul departed this life. "In the use of all his gifts," said the Archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul's, "there was ever the high purpose, ever the determination to the utmost of his knowledge and power to obey the law of God." It was my privilege to visit in humble reverence the room in Liverpool where Mr. Gladstone first saw the light, there I lived for a few days opposite to that room as the guest of one of the dearest friends I made in England. It was my privilege to stand beside his grave in the Abbey which is the last resting place of the greatest of that land and to take part with Englishmen of all parties in many demonstrations in his honour. And if it is not my privilege to-day, standing in this place to send any earthly wire to Mr. Gladstone, let us all in this great gathering—the greatest and the highest that educated India knows—with bowed heads, take to heart his great memory, cherish with affection the lessons of his noble life, and send our spirit's greetings of love and reverence to him in that world which he has now entered, and where perchance Affection's messages are not wholly lost.

THE NEW VICEROY.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I should have liked to dwell on some of the lessons of that life—lessons of special import to us, and not to us only but to those also in whose hands God has entrusted the Government of this country, and the fate for weal or woe of its vast population. But from the great Englishman who has passed away, let us turn to another Englishman—the greatest by virtue of his position during his stay amongst us, the august representative of our beloved Sovereign—who to-morrow will land on India's shores I am sure. Brother Delegates, I give expression to your unanimous feeling when, on your behalf, I tender our cordial welcome to Lord Curzon. There is no higher wish I can express for him than that, when the time comes for him to step down from his exalted office, he may carry with him from the people of this country some portion of that blessing and that love which have followed Mr. Gladstone on quitting the

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scene of his earthly labours from many nations and many lands, that he may find a place in their hearts by the justice and the righteousness of his rule, and reign there when the external emblems and pomp of power—how temporary after all—will have been laid aside. I know of no higher or more unique responsibility than that which appertains to the office of the Viceroy of India, called upon to bear the burden of guiding the destinies for happiness or misery of nearly three hundred millions of fellow-beings in a distant and an unfamiliar land—a responsibility which might tax the energies and try the powers of the most gifted and the most capable of men, which requires for its fulfillment the highest qualities not only of the head, but also of the heart; the precious gift of sympathy with those who have no vote or voice, the divine gift of the insight of the spirit which can see, can enter into and realize the feelings of an unfamiliar people, no less than the cool-head and the sober informed judgment, the administrative skill and ripe experience. His Lordship's recent utterances fill us with hope. To exhibit British power, inspired by the ideal of Christ, based, therefore, may we not say, on the Law of Love and the Golden Rule to treat the men of the East as if they were of like composition with the men of the West, to be fired with sympathy with all races, creeds and classes of Her Majesty's subjects, is, indeed, a basis of statesmanship and a standard of success worthy of the high office to which His Lordship has been called. May He who is the common Father of us all, and to whom all nations are as one, give to our coming Viceroy strength and guidance and grace to carry out this ideal and fulfill these hopes! To Lord Curzon will fall the honour of carrying for the first time the British Administration of a United India into a New Century. May that Century open in sunshine and brightness and hope, free from the shadows which linger over the land not only from the calamities of nature, but also from the weakness of man!

AN ERA OF DOMESTIC REFORM.

The new Viceroy will take charge of affairs at a time not devoid of anxiety. I will not refer here to questions of Frontier Policy. They have been discussed during the year both in England and India. Lord Curzon has been credited with 'advanced' views on the frontier questions. But as the result of that discussion by the light of further experience since the statesmanlike policy of Lord Lawrence and the distinguished men who followed him has been reversed, and on a nearer study of the financial and other urgent and pressing needs of the Empire entrusted to his care, all India, irrespective of creed or nationality, ventures earnestly to hope that His Lordship will direct his great capacity and his great energy to initiating an era of domestic reform, of educational progress and industrial development, and leave a contented, prosperous and progressive India with its countless millions as the best bulwark and the strongest defence, yea, as an *invulnerable* barrier, against any foreign foe who may be misguided enough to assail India's peace or threaten India's frontier.

A VITAL PROBLEM.

But if I will not refer to questions of External Policy, as such, and except in their relation to questions of domestic progress, let me refer to an unhappy, and, if not checked, even disastrous, tendency which has within the last few years manifested itself in regard to questions of Internal Policy and which deserves far more attention than it has yet received. So vitally important to the welfare of India and to the honour and interest of England do I consider this matter to be so essential to the clearing of misapprehensions and to mutual understanding, to the restoration and growth of that feeling of sympathy, love and confidence, between the rulers and the ruled, which is the basis of good Government, that with your permission, Brother Delegates, I shall make this my main theme to-day, and devote the principal part of the time at my disposal to an examination of the facts which shew the existence of this tendency and its vigorous growth, of the consequences of its existence, of its remedy, and of some subjects intimately connected

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with it. In the present crisis, I feel, and I am sure you will agree with me, we cannot attempt to do a greater service alike to the Government and to the people, greater service to the cause of good administration, than to draw attention to this important problem.

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THE DARK TIDE OF REACTION.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has sometimes been a question, in the past, as no doubt it will sometimes be in the future, as to the *rate* of progress in the concession of the elementary rights of citizenship to the people of this country. But slow and cautious, to many minds even too tardy, as the advance has been, an advance once made has never been retracted, a concession to freedom once granted has never been withdrawn, progress and not retrogression, growing confidence and not unworthy reaction, nearer approach and not wider separation, attempt at fulfilment of pledges solemnly and sacredly given and not their practical cancellation, has been so long the usual order of things in the British administration of this country. This is the foundation on which all the best statesmen of the past, all the noblest Englishmen whose privilege it has been to take part in the Government of the country, and of whose memory England is proud to-day, have built up the splendid fabric of the Indian Empire. Once indeed, exactly twenty years ago, a reactionary piece of Legislation found its way into the Statute Book. I refer, I need hardly say, to the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. But the potent voice of the great English people made itself heard, and it was not allowed long to stay there. It was soon withdrawn and the speedy reversal of that retrograde legislation served only still more to emphasize and to confirm the permanent policy of steady advance to which I have referred, a policy so worthy of the honour, of the glorious traditions and the best interests of the country with which Providence has linked our fate. Some of us fought in the dark days of that happily temporary period of re-action; and I vividly remember the perils and the difficulties amid which we fought. Let me ask you, Brother Delegates, to take to heart the augury afforded by that reversal and to feel assured that if only we are earnest, if only we do our duty and labour on and faint not, the innate sense of justice of the British people will not long allow the darker tide of the present day to roll on.

I have charged the Government with re-action, with reversing the wise and beneficent policy of the past. I confess it is a heavy indictment to bring. I should be happy indeed—none happier—if I could think or find that I am mistaken in the view I have taken. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot shut from my view stubborn facts which crowd around me. Let me place before you a few of those facts—they are only a sample—taken from the history of the last two years in proof of this charge, which it is no pleasure, but deep pain to bring.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

The first perhaps in point of time is what is euphemistically known as the "Re-organization of the Educational Services in India" contained in the Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, dated the 23rd July 1896, but which came into effect later on. I cannot enter into the details of the matter, but let me briefly present the salient features of the situation. The dates I shall give relate to Bengal. Probably the same dates apply to the other Provinces also. There are three stages in the history of this matter showing the course of the backward march. The first was when the higher Educational service of the country was organized and the Graded System introduced, now a little more than thirty years ago. The gracious promises and the noble words of Her Majesty the Queen on the assumption of the direct Government of India, which will ever live in our hearts and will form the charter of our rights, were then fresh in the people's minds and had not been forgotten; and to the *highest* grades of that Educational Service natives of India were then admitted on exactly the same footing as

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their English fellow-subjects. There was no difference either in position or in pay based on race or nationality, but merit had an equal recognition in whomsoever of the Queen's subjects, Indian or English, it was found. This policy of the "Open Door" was not merely on paper and in profession, but was invariably carried out, a great many natives of India actually rising to the highest and other grades in the service, and receiving the same pay as their English brethren in those grades. Then came the second stage. This in Bengal was about twenty years ago. The highest appointments in the Education Department still remained as of old freely open to the natives of India but it was ruled that they were to receive only two-thirds of the pay of their English colleagues doing the same work. And now in 1896 came the last stage of all. The status of Indian members in the higher ranks was still further lowered, their pay was still further reduced from two-thirds to virtually one-half of their English colleagues; and sadder still they were now for the first time excluded from certain of the higher appointments in the department. In Bengal, for instance, Principalships of five of the leading colleges besides several other appointments are henceforth to be reserved for members of what is to be known as the Indian Service, so called apparently because under the new scheme there are practically to be no Indians in that service. There is the word "usually" in the sentence which restricts natives of India to the Provincial Service; but, as we know, in spite of every effort and repeated application, no Indian has yet been appointed by the Secretary of State in England. Natives of India educated in the highest Universities of England possessing the same as or even much higher qualifications than their English colleagues, of the same standing and doing the same work with them, are to get half or less than half of the pay of the latter, are to be excluded from the higher position open to the latter, and may have to serve as their subordinates. I ask you, Brother-Delegates, is a new barrier now to be erected against the people of this country? Is a new policy of reservation and exclusion based on considerations of race and colour to be now inaugurated in India after sixty years of Her Gracious Majesty's beneficent reign? Is the stream of liberty for the people of India to be a broadening, widening, deepening stream, or is it to be a narrowing, dwindling vanishing channel like some sacred rivers of old lost in the sand? Is this the way in which effect is to be given to the gracious promises of our noble Queen, to the solemn pledges of the British Parliament, to the repeated assurances of our rulers? The worst of it is that so far as we can judge from the Resolution—and it is a lengthy document—this aspect of the question does not appear to have been even considered by the Government of India. To tell you the truth I would give a great deal to have the opportunity of a face-to-face discussion with the authors of the scheme. So indefensible is the measure, and so strong are the facts of the case. May we not hope that Lord Curzon will some day find time to look into the matter for himself, and redress the wrong that has been perpetrated?

EXCLUSION FROM ROORKEE.

My next sample will also relate to matters educational. I purposely select them, for they, at any rate, cannot have any mysterious political reasons to influence their decision.

Will it be believed—a distinguished Anglo-Indian gentleman before whom I mentioned it in England would not believe it—that the privilege of admission to the Engineering Class at Roorkee, the most important in India, and of competition for its appointments which was freely open to all Statutory Natives of India till the year 1896, is no longer so open. From the year which of all others ought to have been the gladdest of years to us—the year to which we had looked forward with longing hope for fresh privileges and added rights—the year of Her Gracious Majesty's Diamond Jubilee—from that year this privilege has been withdrawn from "Natives of pure Asiatic descent whose parents or guardians are domiciled in Bengal, Madras and Bombay." I cannot congratulate the Government on this further carrying out of the policy of exclusion, of

the policy of creating new barriers, of the shutting in of the "Open Door." But it seems there is to be wheel within wheel, exception within exception. It is only pure Natives of India of the Provinces named who are to be shut out. Children of European or Eurasian parents settled and domiciled in those Provinces, may enjoy all the privileges as of old. They will continue to have the appointments from the Roorkee College still open to them, to have the advantage of selecting whichever Engineering College in India they like for their education. It is no wonder perhaps that I should have heard motives ascribed for a proceeding so extraordinary as this. I will not repeat them, I cannot and do not believe them. But allow me to point out that here before our very eyes is the creation of a new disqualification founded on considerations of race. If this is not a reversal of the policy of the past which recognized no distinction of race, colour or creed, at any rate at Roorkee, will any of our Anglo-Indian friends kindly tell us what reversal means, and if this is not going backward, then what the definition of that process may be? May we respectfully ask how long is this process to continue? Is a ukase to issue shutting, say the doors of the Presidency College or the University at Calcutta against the people of the N. W. Provinces or the Punjab, against the students of Madras or of Bombay, on the ground that they have Universities of their own? Or why confine ourselves to India? I could sooner imagine my sinking to the bowels of the earth than of my own University of Cambridge or of my own College of Christ's with its bright memories of kindness which I can never forget, shutting its doors or refusing its prizes to the natives of India even though they be guilty of being of "pure Asiatic descent." The Bombay Presidency Association, the Indian Association of Calcutta, and, I believe, other Associations sent memorials to the Government of India against this exclusion, rendered not more palatable or more justifiable by reason of its invidious character; but to no avail. The Government see no reason, the memorialists are informed only in July last, "at present to re-open the matter." May we be permitted to think that in the words "at present" there is some door yet left for hope.

IMPRISONMENT IN BRITISH INDIA WITHOUT TRIAL.

Let me now come to the matter of the brothers Natus, two prominent citizens of Poona, imprisoned without trial, detained in jail without charge, without even any knowledge on their part as to what they were suspected of having done, in spite of repeated request for such information, denied all access to their legal advisers, deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period, depending on the pleasure of the authorities by virtue of an administrative order. Is it necessary to point out that imprisonment without trial is repugnant to the most elementary principles of British justice? Into the melancholy history of the shifting accounts which were allowed to leak out as to what these unfortunate people were suspected to have done, it is not necessary for me to enter in any detail. Suffice it to say that we were first told on high authority, that the result of their arrest would be to unravel a plot. Nearly eighteen months have passed. May we ask if that plot has yet been unravelled and what the particular plot was? We have not the slightest sympathy with the Natus if they have done anything wrong. But the plot theory by the stern logic of facts had soon to be given up. We are then told on the same high authority that one or both of the Natus, it is not quite clear which was meant, had been guilty of playing some "tricks." He or they had threatened a midwife by writing a letter to her and had attempted to corrupt or pervert a Policeman. The most diligent inquiry has hitherto failed to elicit any information as to who this threatened midwife and this incorruptible Policeman could be or anything as to this mysterious letter and its writing. Is it necessary to mention the famous Pigott case to show the danger of an *ex-parte* investigation—if indeed there has been any investigation at all in the present case—even when it is conducted with the highest skill and the greatest sense of responsibility? What the next version of this affair may be we cannot yet say. If indeed no trial could be held, if indeed there

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be no provision for these "tricks" in our Penal Code, the most drastic in the world, the most easily changeable at the will, and to suit the will of the authorities as we know to our cost, is there any reason why there could not at least be a departmental inquiry in the presence of the victims of this arbitrary order in which they could be told of their offence, confronted with their now anonymous accusers, and asked for their defence? Englishmen point, and justly point, the finger of scorn at Russia for her arrests by administrative order and detentions without trial. I presume these are authorised by the laws of that land. Whole England, irrespective of party or class, yea, the whole civilized world outside France, has denounced in the strongest terms the condemnation of Dreyfus; because, though he knew what the charges were which he had to meet, though he was put on his trial and defended by counsel, though witnesses against him were examined in his presence and cross-examined by that counsel, though he had every opportunity to put forward his defence, yet there was one document shewn to his Judges who condemned him, which was not shown to him or his advocate—and that on the ground that the divulging of that document was fraught, in the opinion of the responsible Ministers of France, with grave political danger to the country involving the risk of war with a neighbouring power. I will not pause, Ladies and Gentleman, to compare and to present in sad contrast the circumstances of that case which has been so universally denounced by all Englishmen with the circumstances of the case of Natus.

It may be said, I have heard it said, that after all it is a question affecting two men out of the many millions of India with regard to whom government may possibly have made a mistake and this need not have any very disturbing effect. Are they who say this aware, is the Government aware, of the sense of insecurity of the breach in that sense of absolute confidence, in the majesty of law and the security of person which is the greatest glory and the noblest bulwark of British Rule, yea, of the unmaning and even terrorizing influence over many minds produced by these proceedings? Whose turn will come next, on whom and at what moment may this sword of Damocles fall, is a question which has been asked by many amongst not the least notable of our land. I am glad, however, Ladies and Gentlemen, to inform you that the humble individual who is now addressing you has an unknown Lancashire working-man protector for himself. I may tell you the little story. The incident may interest you, as it interested and even touched me at the time. At the conclusion of a meeting, I think it was at Oldham, in which I had taken part, several of the audience came up to speak to me; and I happened to mention that should it please the Government so to act, which I trusted it would not, there was nothing to prevent their dealing with me on my return to India as they had dealt with the Natus. I shall not easily forget the scene that followed. One of my hearers, a working-man, I believe, with indignation and excitement depicted on his face, told me—"We know you Sir. Should the Government treat you in this way, Lancashire men will know the reason why." I am sorry to say, Ladies and Gentlemen, I forgot to ask his name or to note down his address. But as I told him, I trust his interference on my behalf will not be needed.

THE NEW LAW OF SEDITION.

I shall not dwell on the next sample, I have to present of the re-actionary policy of the last two years—the recent amendments in the law of sedition and in the Criminal Procedure Code. These will no doubt form the subject of a specific Resolution to be submitted at the Congress. Let me only observe in passing that to make more Draconian a law which in every case in which it had been tried of late had proved only too effective and to class speakers on public platforms and editors of papers with rogues and vagabonds and notorious bad characters who are liable to be called upon to furnish security for good behaviour and to be sent in default to jail, is not the part of wisdom or statesmanship; that to add to the Judicial powers of the

executive officer of the Government instead of curtailing and withdrawing them, is sinning against the light, is proceeding against a principle which had obtained the fullest recognition in the highest quarters including the two last Secretaries of State for India, Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross. Cases of alleged sedition so long triable only by a purely Judicial officer with the help of Jury or Assessors may now, for the first time in the history of British India, be tried by the District Magistrate who is the head of the Police and Head Executive or administrative officer of the Government in the District and that too without such help. Is it any wonder that a measure whose character I have but briefly indicated above has met with an amount of opposition irrespective of race or party in India and out of India—and perhaps in this connection I may be permitted specially to mention the name of Mr. Maclean, the Conservative member for Cardiff—which I believe is absolutely unique in the history of Indian legislation?

OTHER RE-ACTIONARY MEASURES.

Brother Delegates, I might go on with the story of re-action—it has been a plenteous crop in these two years—but I will not do so, I will not dwell on the story of the imposition of a Punitive Police Force on a whole city, impoverished and plague-stricken, for the guilt of one man; of the series of press prosecutions; of the institution of that new thing in India known, I believe, as Press Committees, whose history our friend Mr. Chambers, whom we welcome here to-day, so eloquently told before many English audiences; of the many repressive provisions, euphemistically called amendments, introduced in recent legislative enactments, and of many other matters which will readily occur to your minds.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL BILL.

But permit me to take up a little of your time by referring to a measure of retrogression which is still on the legislative anvil. I mean the Calcutta Municipal Bill. I do so to illustrate how the tide of re-action of which I have spoken is still flowing, and I do so because though this is a local measure, if it is carried, if the metropolis of India is deprived of the power of Local Self-Government which it has enjoyed so long and with such marked success, a precedent will have been created—and a blow will have been struck at a cause on which rest all hopes of India's future progress—the effect of which will be felt far and wide. The privilege of Municipal Self-Government, of control by the rate-payers over Municipal administration through their elected representatives which Calcutta now enjoys and has enjoyed for more than twenty years, was granted under Conservative auspices. Sir Richard Temple—a name remembered with gratitude in Bengal—who was our ruler then, and who resigned a Governorship to become a Conservative member of Parliament, was its author and the present Prime-Minister of England was the Secretary of State for India at the time. The great and numerous improvements carried out by the Corporation and the zeal and devotion of the Commissioners have been acknowledged by the Government time after time in official Resolutions, and in other ways. If there are any insanitary conditions there is the amplest power in the hands of the Government under the existing law, and expressly introduced in that behalf, to cause their removal. And yet it is now proposed to make a radical and a revolutionary change in the law, to deprive the Corporation of almost every real power and to vest it in a Chairman, who is an official and a nominee of the Government, and a Committee in which the rate-payers will be represented by a mere third of its members. I venture to hope that the popular and esteemed ruler of Bengal, who is not responsible for the introduction of the present Bill, will yet see his way at least to largely modify if not to withdraw this revolutionary proposal, and not allow his name to be associated with a scheme which makes not for progress but for retrogression, which will undo the work of the past, fatally arrest the hopeful and promising growth of civil life, destroy the very principle of Local

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Self-Government, weaken and impair the cause of Municipal Administration and leave memories of bitterness behind. And may I not in this connection make a very special appeal to our coming Viceroy? He comes out to India as the representative of an administration whose most glorious and memorable achievement—an achievement which will live in the golden pages of history and shed lustre on that administration—has been the granting of Local Self-Government to the people of Ireland, granting it amid many difficulties and against much opposition, and at the very time when faction fights and armed conflicts were going on in the streets of Belfast. And indeed so convinced were the Government of the need for this liberal measure of Self-Government as a cure for the evils which afflict that country and for the growth of a healthy public life, that they did not hesitate to make a munificent grant of, I believe, about seven hundred thousand pounds or more than a crore of Rupees *per annum* to Ireland from the Imperial Treasury, to enable the provisions of this measure to be carried out properly and without friction or jar amongst conflicting interests and classes of the community. We ask for no funds. We ask for no extension of Calcutta's Municipal rights. But we implore that the rights, circumscribed and safeguarded as they are, which have so long been enjoyed, may not be taken away. Is that too much to ask? Too much even to ask, let at least an enquiry be held, a representative Commission be appointed and the Corporation heard in its defence, before this blow is struck and a dearly cherished right which was granted in 1876 which after experience of its working and full discussion of its merits was confirmed in 1888, may not now be suddenly snatched away from a subject and patient population?

IMPOLICY OF WITHDRAWING PRIVILEGES ONCE GRANTED: HAPPY OMEN FROM THE PAST.

Brother-Delegates, I have been urging the unwisdom of a retrograde policy, of a policy of withdrawing concessions and privileges once granted. The proposition is so obvious that I do not know that any authorities are needed in support of it. Yet I will quote one, and I will select that one because it will answer a double purpose. Sir Douglas Straight, as we all know, was an eminent Judge of the Allahabad High Court. And perhaps he is even better known in England than in India, and is, I believe, the editor of one of the most influential and powerful organs of Conservative opinion in England. Writing to the *Times*, he said as follows: "Speaking from thirteen years residence in India, during which, I hope, I kept neither my eyes nor my ears shut, I am firmly convinced of one thing, and it is this—that while innovations and changes there should only be very gradually and cautiously introduced, a concession once made should never be"—it is a strong Conservative you see who is writing—"withdrawn except for reasons of most paramount and pressing emergency."

Ladies and Gentlemen, no comments of mine are needed on this passage. I said I have selected this for a double purpose. I will explain what I mean. I have already referred to the one instance of retrograde legislation in the past, before the present wave of re-action set in, and to the early and unlamented fate that overtook it. The passage which I have quoted was written in connection with the one instance of administrative proceeding of a retrograde character in the past that I can call to mind in my province—a proceeding which took like its legislative predecessor, was before long withdrawn. Six years ago, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, with the previous sanction, and it would seem, at the instance of the Government of India, issued a Notification seriously curtailing the very limited concession of trial by Jury which Bengal had previously enjoyed. As usual, all this was matured in the dark, without giving any opportunity to the people vitally concerned to know anything or to be heard or make any representation in regard to the matter. And the Government of India, with contemptuous indifference to the opinions and feelings of the people of India, set about to take steps for enlarging the

area of retrogression for curtailing and withdrawing the privilege of trial by jury from some other Provinces also. In fact, I believe the notification in regard to the Province of Assam had already been issued before the course of the Government was arrested. But happily the agitation that followed on the promulgation of the order reached the shores of England and it was on that occasion strongly condemning this order that Sir Douglas Straight wrote to the *Times*. I will quote one more passage from that letter. Referring to the Jury Notification he observes: "It would be absurd to suppose that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal cannot make a plausible case in support of his new departure; but the question to my mind is not so much whether the operation of the Jury system has exhibited some defects, as whether the mischief likely to result from its continuance promised to be so grave as to make it his imperative duty to intervene."

It only remains for me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to state the happy conclusion. At the instance of the Secretary of State, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter; and as the result of that enquiry, the "plausible case" set up by the Government of Bengal and which had met with the approval of the Government of India—alas! how easily can plausible cases be set up, specially when they are one-sided productions,—was completely brushed aside and Indian opinion completely vindicated. And in consequence of the Report of that Commission, the Jury Notification was withdrawn by the Government, which had issued it and the Jury system which had been threatened with extinction has now instead been further extended in the Province. I need hardly add that the Notification for Assam too followed suit. May I not say, happy omen once again, in our present trials.

COST OF THE FRONTIER WAR—REVERSAL OF THE POLICY OF THE PAST.

Brother-Delegates,—I have said I will not discuss the question of Frontier Policy. But there is one aspect of that question, one sequel to it which has a most important bearing not only on questions of domestic reform, but on this matter of retrograde policy which we are considering. Who, might I ask, pays the cost of that policy, begun more than twenty years ago, ordered out from England and by a British Cabinet against the remonstrances of a Viceroy who resigned rather than be an instrument of carrying out that Policy, which has brought wars in its train, which has set on conflagration the Frontier, which, besides sucking its scores of millions at recurrent periods from the taxation drawn from one of the poorest of populations on the face of the earth, has made a heavy permanent addition to the military charges of India, which has laid its fatal and blighting fingers on almost every work of internal reform—for it needs money—on the promotion of the urgently-needed cause of technical education, on the industrial and commercial development of the country, which would have blessed and added to the resources of millions not only in this country but amongst the working-men of England? All that has been done in pursuance of this new Frontier and Forward Policy which reversed all the traditions of the past may have been necessary for the safety of the Indian Empire from the risk of external aggression. I am not arguing that question now, though we hold strong views on the subject. But may I ask, if England, Imperial England, has no interest, of her own in the safety of the Indian Empire? Has England no stake, no grave and momentous stake, yea, I ask, no vital interest in that safety? Is she quite sure that she would not suffer in her honour and prestige, in her commerce, in employment for her capital and for her people, in the loss of many of the millions that make up that precious item called the "Home Charges," if India's safety is imperilled and she is lost to the British Crown? And has England or her Government no moral responsibility for the consequences of a policy which she dictates, which the people of India, if they had the faintest whisper of a voice in controlling their affairs, yea which the non-official English community resident in India and even the bulk, I believe, of the official community would condemn almost as a man?

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Ladies and Gentlemen, much as I believe in the principle of division of labour, I do not believe in that division which, in these Imperial matters, would make England decide the policy, and India bear the cost. We are unable to look upon that as a particularly happy, or a particularly just arrangement. Brother-Delegates, it is not as a mere dole, but as a claim of absolute justice, that we ask that the costs which have been incurred by the adoption of what has been known as the Forward Policy on the Indian Frontier question, and to meet the consequences which have followed from that adoption, should be distributed in some equitable proportion between England and India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we all know what happened in the past when, not long after the inception of the Forward Policy and the embroilment with Afghanistan, Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1880. The Government of that day made a contribution of five millions to India towards the cost of the Afghan War. We know too that the policy of retrogression, of reversing the principles of the past, which we are deploring, has been followed in this case also; that, even in a year when, in addition to the calamity of the frontier war, India has been afflicted with famine and pestilence, with earthquake and cyclone, with every trouble indeed that can cause misery, suffering and loss to an unhappy people, the Government have declined to make any contribution towards the expenses of that War. England, which every year makes a grant to the revenues of Cyprus which instead of becoming a "Place of Arms" has become a place of a very different description; which this year out of an overflowing Treasury has made a gift of nearly a million pounds to Egypt for her wars; which this year too has made a large grant to the West Indies, a considerable portion of which has further been promised to be annually repeated for—I may as well enumerate some of the purposes—for her agricultural department and agricultural instruction, for steamer subsidies and in aid of local revenues, for assistance towards farming and working central factories, for making roads and purchase of lands—England, which has done all these things, making no precedents for helping other countries, through her Government resisted and successfully resisted the motion made early this year to follow the old precedent, even at a time so calamitous as the present, of helping India. I think we may profitably spend a minute or two in considering this case of help to the West Indies. Mr. Chamberlain, in proposing the grant in the House of Commons, defended it on two grounds. First, on the ground of the loyalty of the island—a loyalty which they manifested immediately afterwards not by gratitude but by deep dissatisfaction at the amount of the grant not being larger and by the loud expression of a desire for annexation to the United States—we have not heard if there have been any prosecutions for sedition there! And secondly, on the ground of their value to England. As to the comparative value to England of the West Indies and of India, in spite of my temptation to say much, I will content myself with only one significant sentence from the *Pioneer* of the 8th of October last:—"The West Indies are utterly worthless to Great Britain and it would be a relief if we could transfer them to the United States."

ENGLISH FEELING ON THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

So glaring is the injustice that has been done to India that, I may be mistaken, but I honestly believe, the bulk of the Unionist Members would have gladly joined the Liberals under Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Samuel Smith in voting a grant but for the unhappy and retrograde attitude of the Government and the pressure of party influence. This is what the *Saturday Review*, a Conservative organ and a supporter of the Government, says referring to their conduct in this matter:—"It is a miracle," says that paper in its issue of the 26th of February last, "that in the face of such acts of injustice as this we can still maintain our Imperial rule in India." I do not quote this to endorse this but to show how widespread is the sympathy amongst Englishmen with India, and how keen was the indignation felt at this reversal of Mr. Gladstone's policy of 1880 even

amongst the supporters of the Government. I wonder what our Press Committees, busily engaged in delivering lectures gratuitously on good taste and decorum to the conductors of newspapers, and our Indian Government would have done if language a hundredth as strong as this had appeared in any Indian paper. I wonder too whether an order will be passed to prevent the importation into India from England of "seditious" papers commencing with the *Saturday Review*, going through, I am afraid, a pretty long list, and ending, let us say, with the *Review of Reviews* whose words of bitter and fiery denunciation against what it calls the "criminal imbecility" of the Administration I will not quote; and of speeches and writings too like those of such dangerous Conservatives, as, let us say, begging their pardon, the Hon'ble Member for Cardiff or a late Chief Justice of Bengal.

ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Bristol, some little time before the opening of Parliament, led us to hope for a contribution from the Imperial Treasury. But our own Indian Government, we are told, did not want any help. A Government that has to put off reforms that are admittedly necessary for want of money; a Government that is unable to discharge one of the elementary duties of a civilized Government by placing its administration of justice on a proper footing on account, as it says, of want of funds; a Government against the 'shearing' policy of which at every revision of Provincial Contracts we have heard eloquent and vigorous protests from a late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and from other high authorities; a Government pressed by the heavy demands not only of War but of a combination of dire calamities unparalleled in the annals perhaps of any country in the world; a Government which is obliged heavily to borrow to meet its liabilities; a Government which has been compelled to close its mints and to raise artificially the value of its coin to the detriment of many interests, and specially the interests of the poor, in order to avoid serious financial disaster; a Government that had the precedent before it of a similar grant on a previous occasion; such a Government, declining to receive any help from the English Treasury or to be relieved of any portion of its military expenditure, seems, I must confess, to our humble understandings, about the most extraordinary phenomenon one could think of; and so indeed it seemed to very many people in England both inside and outside the Parliament. True, a leading Anglo-Indian journal advised their not accepting any help on the ground that this might lead the House of Commons to enquire into or meddle with their doings; or, as it put the matter, "the mischief of Parliamentary interference with Indian affairs" would thereby "be exaggerated a hundred fold." But I cannot believe that the many distinguished men who constitute the Government of India could possibly have acted under the influence of such an unworthy motive. But I am sure they will forgive us for saying that, in view of this proceeding and in the absence of further light, the people of this country cannot repose that confidence in them as the protectors of their interests and the guardians of their rights which it ought to be their duty to repose.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE FORWARD POLICY.

In connection with the burdens imposed by the Forward Policy on the finances of the country and their blighting effect, one has only to turn to the so-called discussion on the Budget in the Provincial Councils to see how many are the measures whose necessity is admitted by the Government but which cannot be carried out for want of means—and even these represent but a small fraction of all the important needs of the country for its development, progress and prosperity. In Bengal, the Government appointed some years ago a Commission called the Salaries Commission, which reported on the necessity in the public interests, of an increase in the pay of the ministerial or subordinate establishments. The *Pioneer*, not long ago, if I remember

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aright, pointed out the absolute necessity of this increase and the serious evils to the administration of the country resulting from the present inadequate scale of pay. The Government has, over and over again in the Council Chamber, admitted the urgency of the reform but pleaded its want of means to carry it out. But, Brother-Delegates, I need not take up your time by bringing coal to Newcastle, by giving instances of what is so perfectly familiar to you. But permit me to refer to one matter which took place in the course of this year, not so familiar to us, unique in its history, and buried in the multitude of answers to Parliamentary questions.

A CENTRAL LABORATORY.

Last year a memorial was presented to the Secretary of State for India, signed by the leading scientific men in England including such names as Lord Kelvin, Lord Lister, Professors Ramsay, Roscoe, Foster and a great many others, asking for the establishment of a Central Scientific Laboratory for advanced teaching and research in India. The memorialists pointed out the great importance of the proposal not only in the interests of higher education, but also in the interests of the material advancement of the people. It is impossible to conceive of a proposal more influentially supported than this, or more important to the vital interests of the country; and Lord George Hamilton forwarded the memorial with his recommendation, as I gather from Mr. Schwann's question a few months ago in Parliament, to the Government of India. But the Hon'ble Member was informed in answer to his question, that the Indian Government was unable "to entertain so costly a scheme," on the ground that the initial cost of such an establishment would be six lakhs of rupees or about £10,000. Why, if even two millions had been granted from the Imperial Government to relieve the resources of the Indian Government strained to meet the costs of the Frontier War, not only could this "costly scheme" have been started, but nine-and-forty other measures of benefit to the country of a similarly costly character could have been carried out. Allow me, Brother-Delegates, the privilege of being your mouthpiece to convey to these eminent men the expression of our heartfelt gratitude for the interests they have taken on India's behalf, and to express the earnest hope that their efforts and their representation will yet bear fruit, and ample fruit, in the better time to come.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

I need not dwell before you, Ladies and Gentlemen, on the imperative need of technical education which is, in a literal sense, of vital importance to the teeming poverty-stricken millions of India, the imperative need of improving the old industries and introducing new ones, of teaching the people how to utilize, with the help of modern science, the many rich undeveloped resources of the country. This has indeed been admitted on every hand. I remember well the conversation which some of us had with Lord Dufferin shortly before his retirement. He regretted that he had been unable to do anything to further the cause of technical education, the importance of which to India he fully realized; but he had every confidence his successor would earnestly take up the question. Lord Lansdowne has come and gone, and his successor too—to whom we cordially wish every happiness after his many arduous labours amid the storm and stress of these years—will in a few days bid farewell to the scene of his labours; but the question of technical education stands practically where it did for want of means to promote it.

Brother-Delegates, I will not take up more of your time by continuing this review of the past. I will leave it with only one remark. If I have been mistaken or however unwittingly unjust in this review, I shall rejoice to have the mistakes pointed out, and to be convinced by the fair weapons of reason and argument.

BACKWARD OR FORWARD.

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As one glances back over the history of these retrograde and repressive measures and sees that the stream of reaction is yet running, the question arises to the mind, and I ask our ears, nay all Englishmen, seriously to consider it, whether Backward or Forward is to be cribed as the motto on the banner of England in its future administration of this great country. Are we to march backwards into the methods of despotism, to the weapons of coercion, to the policy of distrust; or are we to march onwards in the path which was traced out by those noble Englishmen who have been the founders, the consolidators, the saviours of the Empire, the path which leads to advancing and not to receding freedom, to greater trust in people, to rights enlarged and not to concessions withdrawn? For it is at once a melancholy and a curious feature of the present situation that we stand here not merely in defence of the liberties of the people of India, but in vindication of the policy, the sagacity, the wisdom, and the foresight of those illustrious men.

INDIAN FEELING.

To fulfill England's mission in India, much, very much, remains to be done. We were eagerly and longingly looking forward to the steady and progressive carrying on of that work, but in its place has begun this process of pushing backwards, this process of distrust and repression. Will Englishmen place themselves for a moment in our position, look with our eyes, and try to realise what their feelings would have been under the circumstances? For that, after all, is the way to follow, if they wish to understand, and not misunderstand, the situation. There is much of the same human nature in the East as in the West. Is it any wonder that the process have mentioned, and some speeches to which I will not more particularly refer which we have heard from the Council Chamber, should have caused widespread pain, surprise, regret and anxiety, yea, in some quarters, even bitterness? Let me give an illustration of this feeling of pain which struck me very much at the time. An Indian gentleman wrote to me in England a few months ago. He is not an 'agitator', whatever that word may mean. He is a gentleman unknown to fame, who takes no part in public meetings or in the discussion of public questions, but quietly does the work of his office. He wrote to me about his brother then staying in England, but in the course of his letter he mentioned about the recent proceedings of Government and concluded with these words: "Are you a friend to British Rule? Try your best to induce the authorities to withdraw the suicidal policy of Government. If you are an enemy, well my advice is keep quiet and let things take their course." May I ask the authorities, if these words should by some chance happen to meet their eyes, to seriously consider the import of the sentence I have quoted, written in confidence, wrung in the anguish of his heart from a simple and quiet citizen, deeply attached to the British Rule. I trust my friend will forgive me for having quoted that sentence from his private letter. Let me quote another gentleman—not a nameless or a fameless one now—who, having served the Government with honour and distinction in charge of several most important Districts, having risen to the highest post in the Executive Service of the Government to which a native of India has yet been appointed, has recently retired from the Service—need I say I refer to our distinguished countryman Mr. R. C. Dutt. I congratulate my friend on his being unmuzzled. I trust he will now be in a position to render even greater service to the Government he has served so long and so faithfully by his informed exposition of the effects of their recent policy than when he was fettered by the trammels of office. Speaking in condemnation of our new Law of Sedition at a meeting held in London on the 20th of June last, Mr. Dutt said, with the authority of intimate knowledge, "It is with deep regret that I have to say that I can hardly remember any time—and my memory goes back to the time of the Mutiny—when the confidence of the people of India in the justice and fair play of

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First Day. English rulers was so shaken as it has been within the last two years." And he goes on to deplore the policy of suspicion and repression adopted of late by the Government, which has led to this most unhappy result.

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It is the saddest of thoughts to my mind—the thought, Ladies and Gentlemen—that the very means which, no doubt from the best of intentions, the Government have adopted to root out what they believe to be want of affection or disaffection in this country, will tend not to attach but to alienate, not to cure but to create those very evils they dread, to suppress it may be the expression of discontent but to drive it deep beneath the surface.

THE EDUCATED CLASSES.

Ladies and Gentlemen, turning again to the words of that touching appeal in the letter of my correspondent, it is *because* we are friends to British Rule; it is *because* all our highest hopes of the future, and not our hopes only but the hopes of generations to come, are indissolubly bound up with the continuance of that rule, with the strengthening and the bettering of that rule, with the removal of all and every cause which may tend to the weakening of that rule, that we speak out, and point the impolicy, the unwisdom, yea the danger of the recent course of administrative and legislative proceedings, that we are trying to the best of our power—alas! so limited—to induce the authorities, and the great body of justice-loving and generous-minded Englishmen, both here and in England, to withdraw from that course, and find the path of safety, of honour, of mutual advantage and the truest and the most abiding glory, in going forwards in fearless confidence, trusting the people, extending the bounds of freedom, not forging new fetters but gradually removing those that exist, not taking away, but adding to, the rights of the people, helping on the cause of India's regeneration with the passionate longing and the loving ardour that comes from consciousness of a duty and a solemn responsibility from on high. The educated classes of India are the friends and not the foes of England, her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her. It is on their hearty, devoted and loving co-operation that the welfare and the progress of the country so largely depend. It is the dangers of ignorance and the dark and strange phantoms that are born of ignorance that England has to fear and not knowledge, nor light. If indeed there were Englishmen who imagined otherwise, surely the riots at Tallah, at Bombay, at Calcutta, and elsewhere, must have opened even their eyes; and it was the influence and the efforts of the educated classes which prevented these unhappy outbursts from spreading or working much graver mischief. Let our Rulers realize with fulness of conviction this fundamental truth that in the ignorance of the people is the source, not of strength but of danger, not of security but of peril, just as in the spread, the wider and deeper spread of education, is the remedy, not the cause. All that the educated classes ask for is that England should be true to herself, that she should not forget the teachings of her history and the traditions of her past, the British Rule should be conducted on British principles and not on Russian methods. Is this, Ladies and Gentlemen, sedition, or is it the highest homage which India can pay to England, the dawning of that glorious day, proudest in the history of England foreseen as in a vision by Macaulay, when instructed in European knowledge we might ask for the blessings of European institutions. The Educated classes wish and long for the strengthening and not the loosening of the bond which unites the two countries and which is the guarantee not only of order but of progress; and they look forward to the time when they too can claim the rights and share the glories of citizenship in the proudest Empire that the world has ever seen. Let it be the part of wisdom, of prudent statesmanship and political foresight, to foster and not to crush this feeling; to extend the hand of fellowship and loving, ministering help, and not hurl insults or the weapons and methods of coercion which wound but cannot heal.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.*

Brother-Delegates, the Indian National Congress has been described, and rightly described, as the noblest achievement of, and a crown of glory for, British Rule in India. And yet how great has been the ignorance, how gross the misrepresentations which have from time to time assailed it. I will not notice these misrepresentations of ignorance and prejudice. They have often been noticed before. But if it is at times disheartening to find this great movement, which ought to have been welcomed as a valued help, subjected to unworthy attacks, let us remember that this has been the fate of every great movement which has made for human progress or human welfare. It is cheering, on the other hand, to find ample recognition of the aims and the work of the Congress from many quarters. I might quote the opinions of many high authorities, but I will content myself with placing before you the generous testimony of one eminent man. Sir Richard Garth, a good Conservative, who I believe was a Conservative Member of Parliament before he came out to hold the exalted office of Chief Justice of Bengal, said a few years ago, replying to an attack which had been made on the Congress: "I will tell you what they have done. They have dared to think for themselves; and not only for themselves, but for millions of poor ignorant people who compose our Indian Empire. They have been content to sacrifice their own interests, and to brave the displeasure of Government in order to lend a helping hand to those poor people. They have had the courage and the patriotism to denounce abuses which have disgraced our Indian rule for years past; which have been condemned by public opinion in India and in England, and to which the Indian Government appear to cling with a tenacity which seems utterly inexplicable. They have dared to propose reforms which, despite the resistance of the Government, have been approved by Parliament, and to endeavour to stay that fearful amount of extravagance which has been going in India for years past, and has been the means, as some of our best and wisest councillors consider, of bringing our Eastern Empire to the verge of bankruptcy." May the blessing which is the portion of those who lift up their voice for the weak of this world attend Sir Richard Garth in his retirement for this manly and noble vindication of the Congress against the misrepresentation, based on ignorance, of many in high places; for his strong words of condemnation, spoken with the experience and the authority of a position highest in the land, of the miserable system which combines judicial and executive functions in the same officer and which of late has been further extended by our Government, and for his many other services to the cause of the people of India! And permit me, Brother-Delegates, in this wish to include the many other noble-hearted Englishmen—their number is not few, and their number, Ladies and Gentlemen, is growing every year and pretty fast—who have lent their generous advocacy to the views of the National Congress and to the cause of Indian progress.

A DREAMER OF THE WEST.

Brother-Delegates, I read the other day, as no doubt many of you have done, a remarkable speech delivered in London by one of these noble-hearted Englishmen to whom I have referred, our good friend Professor Murison. In the course of that speech he said that "he looked forward to the time when they would have a Secretary of State and a Governor-General of India who would recognize clearly that it was impossible to govern the Indian Empire without the cordial co-operation of the Indian people, and who would send for the President of the National Congress and say, 'Come my friend, have we not both the same interests at heart? Are we not both men of affairs?—Come, let us reason together.'" I see also from the report that this sentiment was loudly cheered. I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, after this, we must no longer speak of the Dreamy East. It appears that there is a Dreamy West too, and Professor Murison is one of its dreamers. I am afraid it will be a very long time before that dream of the friendly conference he speaks of will come true. Not that any Viceroy would not find it of advantage to consult any of

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the distinguished men who have preceded me in the Chair—I make, I *can* make, absolutely no claim for myself—to take representatives of educated India into his confidence, and to enter into that partnership of cordial co-operation that our friend speaks of, but it is not, Ladies and Gentlemen, always good things or desirable things that are the things of this actual world.

SYMPATHY THE CURE.

Brother-Delegates. I trust I have made the situation, created by recent proceedings, sufficiently clear. It is one to cause anxiety to every friend of India and England. But the remedy too is clear and the narrative itself unfolds it. Sir Francis Maclean, the present Chief Justice of Bengal, is reported to have said at a meeting held in Calcutta, I believe early this year when the Sedition Bill was before the public that “he had heard a great deal recently since coming to India of sedition and measures in connection with it; but it seemed to him the only rational way of putting down sedition was by sympathy, boundless sympathy with the people in their needs and their sufferings, and with their legitimate hopes and aspirations.” These words deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold; and permit me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to offer to Sir Francis Maclean on your behalf our thanks for this noble utterance breathing the instincts of true statesmanship. Yes, it is sympathy, boundless sympathy with the people in their needs, and sympathy too with them in their legitimate aspirations, that is wanted—and then from that sympathy will naturally come, as rain-drops from the descending cloud, the many measures that are required to promote their interests and redress their grievances. With truer knowledge and keener sympathy, many things will assume a different aspect, and our rulers will, if I may respectfully be permitted to say so, see things with new eyes. Then indeed will all the unrest that we have so much heard of, of late, vanish as before a magician’s wand, as darkness before the rising sun. For, indeed, love and sympathy work miracles in the political, no less than in the moral or spiritual world. There can be no surer or firmer foundation for earthly power than the affection and confidence of its subjects. I have quoted the Chief Justice of Bengal, let me quote a few lines from Mr. Chamberlain’s great speech at Glasgow, delivered on the 3rd of November of last year. “The makers of Venice,” said Mr. Chamberlain, “with whose peculiar circumstances as a commercial community, dependent for its existence on its command of the sea, we have much in common, declared it to be their principal object ‘to have the heart and the affection of our citizens and subjects’; and in adopting this true principle of Empire, they found their reward in the loyalty of their colonies and dependencies when the Mother City was threatened by enemies whom her success and prosperity had raised against her.” This indeed, Ladies and Gentlemen, as Mr. Chamberlain has said, is the “true principle of Empire”—to possess the *hearts* of citizens as well as of subjects, and to win as its reward the loyalty alike of colonies and of dependencies.

And the same thing has been said in India too by all her wisest administrators. Let me refer here to a pamphlet written, not many years ago, by a man honoured and trusted alike by Government and the people, Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation and subsequently Member of the Board of Revenue—the late Sir Henry Harrison—under the *non-de-plume* of “Trust and Fear Not.” It was written in support of the movement initiated—I am sorry to say unsuccessfully initiated—for the admission, into the ranks of Volunteers, of Indians possessing such qualifications of position, character, education and physical fitness as the Government might see fit to prescribe. I would venture respectfully and strongly to recommend that little book to our rulers. I have not seen more cogent reasoning, more convincing wealth of illustration, and truer or sounder principles for Indian administration than are contained in that work.

AN APPEAL TO ENGLISHMEN.

May I, Ladies and Gentlemen, make in this connection an appeal to all Englishmen in

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India and specially to the conductors of the Anglo-Indian Press. In the term Englishmen, need I say that here and throughout this address I include Scotchmen and Irishmen and men too from Wales. They are the strong and the highly placed. Their voice is listened to, whilst ours is unheeded. Is there no responsibility, before God and man, on them by reason of this very power that they possess, this very influence they wield—responsibility not to widen the gulf between the races or make difficult the work of the statesman by unkind word or unkind deed but to extend the hand of sympathy and help the people of India to rise once again in the scale of nations? If they mix with the people and come really to know them, they will perhaps find much to study, much to interest them and to make life even in India worth living, much to learn, to love and esteem, and even to admire. At least such has been the experience of many Englishmen who have tried the process. How often have I noticed with regret that the attacks and sarcasms of some member of the Anglo-Indian Press have led perhaps to similar effusions or rejoinders in some Indian print? How one longs for men like Knight and Raich—to name the two I have personally known in my part of the country—men who wrote with knowledge and sympathy, who loved the people of India, felt in their conscience the burden of their responsibility to them, and proved true champions of their rights—men who have been followed by the gratitude of thousands of their fellow-men! I do not know if those who, either in India or in England, advocate the cause of the unrepresented people of this country and use the powers that God has given them on their behalf, realise how they help towards making deeper the foundations of the Empire, in forging links of more than steel which fasten the bond which binds England and India together. Once an honored missionary, he belonged to the Church of England, who had championed the cause of the people in my Province, was sent to jail on the prosecution of some of his own countrymen; but the name of Long went down deep into the hearts of the people, the cause for which he suffered triumphed gloriously in the end, and his name is remembered in affectionate gratitude and sung in rustic ballads to this day. Let a nation which is Christian endeavour truly to shew the ideal of Christ, to carry out the divine command of doing to others what they would have wished done to themselves, in the exercise of its power, in its attitude towards Indian aspirations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we want Englishmen to champion our cause; we want Englishmen who have held aloft the standard of freedom and progress in every part of the world and have fought and suffered in that cause, to take up the cause of India—she has special claims on them—and advocate her rights. And I feel confident that as knowledge spreads, as the sense of the solemn responsibility that rests on them awakens, and the mists of prejudice and ignorance roll away, such men will arise and answer in gladness and joy to our call.

REFORM OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

Brother-Delegates, I will not dwell on the necessity which recent events have only served to emphasize of the further need of reform in our Legislative Councils. The subject has often been before us. But let me draw your attention to the question of the constitution of our Executive Councils, and ask the Government on your behalf whether the time has not fully come for remodelling them, and admitting an adequate Indian representation in those bodies. It is these bodies that shape and guide the whole of the administrative policy of the Government, and decide questions of supreme importance to the happiness and well-being of the people—questions often of far greater moment than those that come before the Legislative Councils. At present out of the two hundred millions and more of India’s people, not one solitary individual finds a place in any of those Councils; and as we know, the legislative bodies exercise no sort of control, direct or indirect, over them. Their deliberations are in secret chambers, and not even the faintest echo of suggestion, information, or criticism can reach them from a public more ignorant of their proceedings than of the movements of the double stars or the composition of the Milky Way in

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the far-off heavens. Is it, Ladies and Gentlemen, necessary to point out, is it necessary to argue the point, that the most honest, and impartial and fair-minded of tribunals cannot decide justly or do right unless every information is placed, every interest represented and every side of the question discussed before it? Is this not the explanation of the mistakes—I need not refer to the policy of these two years which I have fully discussed—of the grave mistakes which have *admittedly* been made in the past and which, as I have shewn, were subsequently rectified when further light was sought from independent public opinion under pressure from England? We are fully aware of the need for the expansion and reform of our Legislative Councils. There is need, grave need, Brother-Delegates, for the expansion and reform of our Executive Councils also, and it may be, of their formation where they do not exist, with adequate Indian representation in them.

DIRECT REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

There is one other matter in this connection that I should like to place before you. The question of a further re-distribution of seats is likely soon to be before the English public. It has already begun to engage attention. But whether that be so or not, it seems to me that for a proper representation of Indian views and Indian wants, a certain limited number of seats in the House of Commons, may be so few as, say, fifteen, ought to be assigned to the inhabitants of some of the chief cities of India. We have the right to ask for this representation which will secure for us a hearing before the Assembly, which is the ultimate arbiter of our fates, but which, at present, however anxious it may be to do justice and to give its due weight to Indian views, has no opportunity of knowing those views from persons speaking with knowledge and with authority on our behalf; and I am convinced this would be of great advantage to the furtherance of our legitimate interests and to the removal of our wants. If we can send a Sir Richard Garth or a Sir John Phear, a Hume or a Reynolds, if we could have sent a Caine or a Naoroji, a Bradlaugh before Northampton had at length returned him, or a Fawcett when Hackney had rejected him, not to speak of many others I could easily name, including many earnest and influential English friends of India—and send all these as our own representatives—can any one doubt what a potent factor for good, both to England and to India, for justice and fair-play, would be brought into existence? And it would not only be in the House of Commons, but in the country too that they could speak with authority, and command attention to our grievances.

It is true the Colonies are not represented in the House of Commons, but their Budgets are not discussed, nor their policy determined at Westminster; and as for the possible objection that, as in the case of Ireland, the presence of our representatives in Parliament might be used as an argument against the existence or the expansion of our Councils in India—it would be enough to say that objection could only apply if India were to be represented in the House like Ireland in proportion to her population. But no one dreams of that. It is as a means to an end, a means, just and necessary in itself and effective for its purpose, that I suggest this for your consideration. And even if this concession were to be granted for a limited period, I would gratefully accept it. I will only add that I have talked with many friends in England who strongly agree as to the justice, and even the necessity, of this reform, if Indian views are to receive a proper hearing, and Indian interests are to be furthered. No doubt as Sir Henry Fowler once said in an eloquent and memorable peroration, they are all Members for India. Yet I think Sir Henry Fowler and most Members of the House would be glad to have some Members for India to represent the vast interests of that country affected by the decisions of Parliament, whose claim to the title might be less questioned, whose assistance would be of service and from whom they could have the inestimable advantage of hearing something more than mere official versions of the matters that came up before them. And if this be an anomaly, all that I can say is that this is an anomaly which has reason and justice on its side and which is rendered necessary by what has sometimes been

and the anomaly of an Indian Empire, that the British constitution has many anomalies which much less to say for themselves and much less ground for their existence than this.

ORGANIZATION AND CONTINUOUS WORK FOR THE CONGRESS.

Brother-Delegates; I wish now to invite your attention to a most important matter. As I look round at this magnificent assembly gathered from the most distant parts of the country, I see enthusiasm depicted on every face, the question presents itself to my mind, is the Congress to be a mere three days' affair? Is there to be no continuity, no plan and no method in its day-work? We have achieved much during these years that we have met. We have placed on record our views on all important questions of the day and even of the years to come. We have carried out some of the most important objects which have engaged our attention, and, to my mind, far more important than all this, we have succeeded in bringing together and knitting in bonds of loving regard, of mutual esteem and fraternal co-operation, representatives from every part of this vast country, infusing national life, strengthening the bonds of common citizenship, kindling the fire of loyal and patriotic service. But Ladies and Gentlemen, the time has come when, if we are to reap the full fruits of our deliberations and to give *living force* to our resolutions, must have a standing organization to carry on the work of the Congress from year's beginning to year's end, to carry on that work continuously, steadily, earnestly, sending agents and missionaries to different parts of the country, spreading information, awakening interest, issuing tracts and pamphlets, educating the public mind, drawing attention to the many wants and evanescences of the dumb masses, pointing out the duty we owe to Government, and helping the Government to the best of our power in its endeavours for the better administration, the better sanitation of the country,—and we must have men wholly devoted to this most important work. As I am standing before you, my mind goes back to the great gathering at Leicester in March last, the National Congress, I may say, of the Liberal Party which it was my privilege to attend and to address as a delegate from Cambridge. There are many points of resemblance that struck me between the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation and the Indian National Congress. That meeting like ours holds its session for three days; meets at different places from year to year, passes Resolutions on subjects of interest to the Party, and a number of delegates, I was struck to find, was very much what our number usually is. But behind all this what a difference! What a busy, active, powerful organization with a Secretary and a staff of officials wholly given to its work, with a Publishing Department with its separate staff of officials, with its Council Meetings held throughout the year and directing its operations, with its army of agents and workers and its allied Associations at work all over the country! And the same is the case with the great Conservative Party whose organization won such splendid results at the last Election. Brother-Delegates, I do not expect you to reach to such heights. If Rome was not built in a day, nor are organizations. They are the results of patient labour for many a long day. But let us resolve that at least a beginning, a fair beginning shall be made in the year before us, that, when in the closing year of the century we meet once again, we may look back upon some work done, some foundation laid, some progress achieved in the direction I have ventured to indicate. Into the details of that organization I purposely do not enter. It may be that instead of one central office we may find it desirable to a large extent to decentralize and divide our work, it may be that we may link up our work in the different Provinces with their respective Provincial Conferences. I trust the matter will be fully considered and a working plan formed before we separate. But one suggestion I would venture to make, and that, though it may be desirable for us to pass Resolutions in the Congress on a large variety of subjects, we should select a limited number of them and devote our attention in the coming year, if need be in the years to come, towards carrying them out. This will secure concentration, awaken greater interest and prevent the frittering away of our not superabundant energies.

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And this brings me to the important question of a constitution for the Congress of which indeed what I have said above is a part. I trust Madras which has been described as the home and nursery of India's statesmen will have the credit of solving this question which has been before us for many years. The time has not perhaps yet come for a fully developed or an elaborate constitution. But I would ask you to consider whether we might not at least draw up some simple rules relating to our constitution and laying down its frame-work, which might be worked in the coming year, and which, with the light of experience thus gained, might, if necessary, come up for re-consideration and all needed expansion at our next Session. Unless we make at least a beginning in some such way, I am afraid it will be long before we can make a start at all.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

What that limited number of questions may be, should you decide to adopt my suggestion, I leave to our leaders to decide. But whatever the programme may be, I trust it will not fail to include the two important and pressing questions of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions and of Police Reform.

Brother-Delegates, I will not argue the question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions. I have seen the present system in practice and in actual experience for more than twenty years, and the more one sees of it, the more deeply one deplores the delay on the part of the Government in giving effect, even partial effect, to the principle underlying that proposal. Yea, that Government seems to have been busy of late, on the contrary, in extending the Judicial powers of its Executive officers. The High Court of Calcutta has pronounced this combination of functions in the same officer as extremely dangerous, and it needs but the slightest of acquaintance with what happens before its Criminal Bench and elsewhere, to know the practical every-day evils that follow from this combination. And what I have said of my Province applies, as we all know, just as well, I am afraid sometimes even more, to other Provinces of India. And let me observe in passing, it is not the men, but it is the system we condemn—the system under which the most conscientious and judicial-tempered of men would find it so often impossible to deal unbiased justice. I have already mentioned the strong condemnation of the system by Sir Richard Garth. Let me refer to the Debate in the House of Lords in 1893 on what is known as the case of the Raja of Mysnensingh. It was a petty Executive scandal compared to what constantly takes place in connection with poorer men, and for which the officer concerned, when subsequently threatened with a heavy suit for damages, had to make an apology in court to the Raja; but it attracted considerable attention owing to the position of the victim. In the Debate to which I have alluded, both Lord Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Cross, his predecessor in that office, concurred in admitting the undesirability and the inconvenience of the present system of combining the functions. I will quote what Lord Cross said on the subject. Referring to the proposal of separating the two duties, his Lordship observed that it was “a matter of the gravest importance,” and that the plan to his mind “would be an excellent one resulting in vast good”—mark the words—“vast good, to the Government of India.” And later on when this subject was referred to in the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary of State repeated that, in the opinion of Lord Kimberly, “the union of Judicial and Executive powers is contrary to right principle.”

THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY IN CARRYING OUT THE REFORM.

With such high authorities on our side, the very highest one could possibly wish for, it may be asked how is it that the present system is allowed to go on, and the “vast good” to the cause of administration Lord Cross spoke of is still unattained. I will give the answer in Lord

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Kimberley's words. “The difficulty”, his Lordship observed in the Debate I have referred to, “is simply this, that if you were to alter the present system in India, you would have to double the staff throughout the country.” How sad, Brother-Delegates, to think that this is the information as to the consequences of separating the functions, which some one at the India Office had placed before Lord Kimberley and which, of course, Lord Kimberley was bound to accept! Doubling the staff throughout India! Why, the information is not only incorrect, but for most parts of the country so materially incorrect, that very slight acquaintance with the actual state of things on the part of the official supplying the information would have prevented its being furnished. But before I proceed with this matter, I will make one remark. Even if the statement I have referred to were correct, having regard to the importance of the matter, would it not have been the duty of the Indian Government to have tried to carry out the reform, to make at least a beginning, even if it were at the price of some reduction in its military expenditure or by the curtailment of its expenses in some other way? The debate I have referred to took place in the month of May. Within three months of it a scheme was published by Mr. R. C. Dutt, himself a District Magistrate and an experienced and trusted officer of Government in service at the time, going into the matter for the Province of Bengal and shewing that the separation of the two functions could be carried out with but little or no extra expense on the part of the Government and with increased efficiency as regards the discharge of both the Administrative and the Judicial duties now vested in the same officer. I will quote here only some concluding sentences of Mr. Dutt's memorandum: “The scheme which has been briefly set forth in the preceding paragraphs is a practicable one and can be introduced under the present circumstances of Bengal, excluding the backward tracts. I have worked both as a Sub-Divisional Officer and as a District Officer in many of the Districts in Bengal and I would undertake to introduce the scheme in any Bengal district and to work it on the lines indicated above.” And he adds, if this separation be carried out, “the police work, the revenue work and the general executive work can then be performed by the District Officer with greater care and satisfaction to himself, and also greater satisfaction to the people in whose interests he administers the District.”

The scheme of Mr. Dutt's which is one on the same simple and readily suggested lines as some others which had been set forth long before the Debate in the House of Lords was, I may add, with some slight modifications approved on the one hand by Sir Richard Garth who had held the highest Judicial office in Bengal, and on the other by Mr. Reynolds who had held the highest Executive office under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, having been Chief Secretary for years, and afterwards Senior Member of the Board of Revenue for the Province. Here then was a practical scheme, dealing with an admitted and a grave evil, drawn up by a responsible and competent person, and afterwards approved by those who could indeed claim to speak on the subject with the very highest authority. But to pursue the history of the matter.

On the 29th of August of the same year, the Indian Association of Calcutta forwarded a memorial to the Government of India through the Government of Bengal, enclosing Mr. Dutt's scheme, referring to the weighty expression of opinion on the subject in the House of Lords and elsewhere, and appealing to the Government to take that scheme into its earnest consideration in view to the introduction of the reform. Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, more than five years have elapsed since that Memorial was submitted, and the Association, I believe, still waits for a reply. I would rather, Brother-Delegates, not make any comments on this matter, but leave the simple facts I have narrated to tell their own tale and to carry their own lessons. It remains for me to add that I believe other Associations too have in these years moved the Government in the matter; and I will leave the subject with the expression of a strong and fervent hope that this reform, as important in the cause of liberty of the subject as in the interest of good administration, and supported by a practical unanimity of opinion of the highest weight, will no longer be

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delayed or trifled with, and the painful scandals and miscarriages of justice which now so frequently occur will soon be things of the past.

REFORM OF THE POLICE.

Brother-Delegates, I have detained you longer than I intended on this question of separation of duties; but I thought it necessary to deal with this spectre of financial difficulty. As regards the Reform of the Police my remarks will be few. There is not, Ladies and Gentlemen, a man, woman or, I might add, child in India who requires to be told anything about at any rate this question. Indeed I have heard many good men and true discuss whether the total abolition of the Police Force, or at least of a very considerable portion of it, would not be much better than the present affliction. There has been a Police Commission, but in its practical results we seem to stand just where we did. The other day, in June last I think, a paper was read on the subject in London at a meeting of the East Indian Association by Mr. Whish; and Sir Lepel Griffin, who has seen long and distinguished service in India, and who holds the responsible position of Chairman of the Council of that Association, said, "there is no doubt that our administration in India is heavily weighted by the unpopularity attaching to the Police, who are rapacious and corrupt." This was said in England. Let us come to India. In a reported judgment which appeared in October last, I find the District Magistrate of Balia saying with reference to a case before him: "It is refreshing to find riot cases in which the Police appear neither to have tutored witnesses, nor to have included, for reasons of their own, the names of men who did not take part in them, nor what is more common, omitted the names of the most influential participators in the riot." I hope there are here and there some more exceptions, even one of which the Balia Magistrate found so refreshing, to prove the general rule.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, I must not go on quoting authorities on this subject, or I shall not know where to stop. I think I owe you an apology for having mentioned even these two. If our rulers could only know and fully realize the amount of suffering and oppression caused to the people by the Police intended for their protection, I do not think that this sad blot on the administration could very long be allowed to remain. Here again it is not the men, it is not something inherent in Indian human nature, but the system which is responsible for so much. But instead of asking you to be content in this case with my authority, let me quote just a sentence from the paper of Mr. Whish to which I have already referred. Speaking with the authority of long and intimate personal knowledge, and describing "the intolerable burden of crime manufactured by the Police" and many similar matters, he adds he had no intention of "making any sort of complaint against the Indian Policeman himself; on the contrary, considering the vicious system under which he works, I consider it absolutely marvellous that he should be as good as he is."

Brother-Delegates, I have mentioned the two questions of separation of Executive and Judicial functions and of Police Reform. To those who have studied the matter, there is an important connection between some aspects of the two questions into which however I do not propose to enter. But permit me to point out that, if ever there are questions which affected the mass of our people, the poorest of the poor, a great deal more than the rich, it is these two matters. In fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not sure if a "rapacious and corrupt" Police, to use Sir Lepel Griffin's expression, is not often rather an advantage than otherwise to an unscrupulous but well-to-do individual. There is only one more remark I will make before I leave this subject. Here in the Congress, we remember with gratitude the labours of our friend Mr. Manomohun Ghose, a distinguished member of this body, who had made this question of the Judicial powers of Executive Officers peculiarly his own and had worked for its furtherance until the closing hours of his life.

WORK IN ENGLAND.

How many other questions crowd to the mind—many of them of great importance—but I must resolutely turn my face away. There is a limit. Brother-Delegates, even to your indulgence. I have spoken to you of the work to which we might direct our attention in India, which needs to be done, and which I venture to hope will be done. Let me now turn to the other side of that work, the work in England. It is impossible to speak of it without our thoughts turning with deep gratitude to the British Committee headed by Sir William Wedderburn, containing such friends of India as Hume and Caine, Roberts and Naoroji, and many others whose names are so well-known to you, and to their unselfish labours on India's behalf. It is a matter of special satisfaction to us to see the growing number of meetings, which are being held in England under the auspices of the Committee, and this cannot fail to create, I trust and fervently hope, amongst the members of both the greatest Parties of England, an increased interest and a greater sense of responsibility, in the affairs of this country. And how much we owe to our friends Mr. Chambers and Mr. Dutt, who may be said to have represented Bombay and Bengal in particular, for their eloquent, earnest and informed pleadings on India's behalf in meeting after meeting, carrying conviction and rousing interest. But in this connection, will you permit me, my friends from Madras, members and friends of the Congress whom I am glad to see present in such large numbers, whose patriotism and self-sacrifice, whose zeal and devotion, have made this Session of the Congress such a success in spite of many difficulties, will you permit me to ask when will your representative—or may I not use the plural number—start to do India's work in the land of our rulers, and hold a meeting not in the Hyde Park of Madras, but in that other Hyde Park where Londoners love to congregate? As to the methods and lines of expansion of the work in England, I need not speak. I had occasion not long ago to say a little on that subject in Bombay. But, Brother-Delegates, what I would specially draw your attention to is the need and the great importance of that work in England, the need of funds, and not less but even more, of men, capable and earnest, who will go from India, meet English audiences face to face and inform them of the actual state of things. That such men will meet with a patient and sympathetic hearing, and find amongst English people a desire to do full justice to the claims and aspirations of India, all past experience has shewn.

A MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.

Let me, as an illustration, refer to one meeting, and it will be only one. On the 9th of November of last year, it was my privilege to be present at the first meeting of a political character during my recent visit to England. After a lapse of three and twenty years, I found myself once again in the Hall of the Cambridge Union Society with its many associations of the past, where the motion for Debate that day was one condemning the "Recent Policy of Coercion" in India. And, Brother-Delegates, after a full discussion in which every shade of opinion was represented, a House, which in its ordinary composition is Conservative, in the proportion, I believe, of more than two to one, passed that Resolution condemning the action of the Government of India. There have been many meetings since then which Mr. Dutt and others have addressed amongst audiences of every variety; but I refer to this particular occasion, not only on account of the character of the meeting in its political composition—and that was remarkable,—but also on account of the culture and the position of those taking part in it and the possibilities in the future open to them. There was one remark in the Debate from an Ex-President of the Union who spoke in favour of the motion, which struck me very much. England, he said, after referring to her colonial policy, had learnt how to attach to her in bonds of affection people of her own race in distant parts of the world by following a liberal policy of wise concession. But it would be he added a far grander day to her when she succeeded in knitting to her and making her own,

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people of another race in her great Indian Empire, by following the same wise policy. I do not know whether my friend will ever come out as Viceroy of India. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall have soon amongst us as our Viceroy an Ex-President of the sister Union Society of Oxford. Let us trust that it will be given to Lord Curzon, endowed with the double gift of "Courage and Sympathy," of which he spoke, to steer the vessel of State and carry it on towards that goal, which we know is also the high ideal which he has set before himself in assuming his office.

There is one word more, Ladies and Gentlemen, I must say. The English are often supposed to be a reserved nation. But speaking from my experience of kindness, which will remain engraved in my heart so long as memory lasts, of cordiality and even warm friendship, from men whom I had never known before, I doubt if there are anywhere kinder and truer men and women than are to be met with in that country. Permit me, Brother-Delegates, from this great gathering to send not alone my own heart-felt gratitude for all this kindness—how its bright recollection rushes to the mind!—but your acknowledgments also for help ungrudgingly given by them, for sympathy unstintedly shown and for interest whose warmth left nothing to be desired, on behalf of the cause of India and her people.

GRATITUDE TO GOVERNMENT.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have felt it my duty to examine and criticise some of the recent proceedings of the Government. But I have a far pleasanter duty to perform before I close the duty of expressing our deep gratitude to the Government for its changed attitude in regard to the policy of dealing with that calamity of the Plague which has now been afflicting this country for so long, and which indeed is not, as I am speaking, very far from our doors. Let whatever of mistakes, be they light or be they grave, which may have been made in the earlier stages, be forgotten; and I am sure, Brother-Delegates, it will be your earnest endeavour, as indeed it is your bounden duty, to render every possible help to Government in its efforts to meet this dire foe. And we thank the Government of Lord Sandhurst in particular for the considerate and deep spirit of sympathy in its last resolution dealing with the nature of plague operations, and let me add, for the generous resolve to which, I believe, it has lately come, not to charge to Poona the cost of the Punitive Police Force, and for its opening the prison-door to Mr. Tilak. We venture humbly but very earnestly to hope that all these are happy indications of return to a policy of conciliation, sympathy and trust, and of increased touch with the people.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO EDUCATION.

I shall presently refer to a liberal example of endowment in the cause of education, but before doing so permit me to note with gratitude the generous and magnificent offer which Mr. Tata—a true benefactor of his country—has made in furtherance of the cause of higher scientific education. Perhaps I may also mention the offer by the Maharaja of Mysore in my Province for the establishment of some scholarships for the encouragement of technical education by sending students to Europe, America or Japan. All these, Ladies and Gentlemen, are truly encouraging signs, and let us hope there will be many in every part of the country to follow their noble example, and help on in this and in every other direction the cause of Indian Progress.

SOME DEATHS.

It is with deep regret we heard in September last the news of the sudden death of Sirdar Dyal Singh Majithia of Lahore, a tried and staunch friend of the Congress, as indeed of every

cause, on whose invitation and in no small measure by whose liberality, the session of the Congress was held at Lahore 5 years ago. It is a satisfaction to know that even in death he did not forget the cause of his country, which was ever so dear to his heart; and knowing that education was the basis on which every cause that made for the progress of the country must rest, he has left a munificent endowment for starting a First Grade College in his native Province. And within the closing month of the year, not a fortnight ago, has passed away, to the realm beyond, one of the noblest and the most illustrious of India's sons, illustrious not by birth and position alone, the Premier Nobleman of Bengal and the Head of its proud Aristocracy—but illustrious by that which is a higher nobility by far than that of birth and wealth, God's own nobility of a rich heart and a rich service in humanity's cause. In the Maharaja of Durbhunga, the British Government loses a loyal subject and perhaps the most trusted and honored of its councillors, the country one of the greatest of its benefactors and staunchest of the Defenders of its rights, and the Congress a friend, a generous helper, a warm supporter—none warmer—whose words no word that can fall from our lips can adequately express. Can memory fail to go back at this moment to that scene when two years ago he came to the Congress Pavilion in Calcutta, the last he lived to attend, when the whole assembly rose as one man with an enthusiasm that knew no bounds, to welcome this true friend alike of the Government and of the people? To me the death of Sirdar Dyal Singh and of the Maharaja of Durbhunga come with the suddenness and the poignancy of grief at the loss of two who were personal friends and whom I had eagerly hoped to meet after a long absence. But they have, Ladies and Gentlemen, left examples behind, marks in the foot-print of time, which, we trust and pray, may be an encouragement and a guide to others of their class and to all true and loyal sons of India. Nor is yet the tale of death complete. For, we have to mourn too the closing in its brilliant promise and amid many useful labours of another career in the death of Dr. K. N. Bahadurjee of Bombay. Of all he did in his own Presidency and of his devoted labours in the last few years of his youthful life in battling with Plague and in bringing succour to the afflicted, I need not speak. But on this platform from which he has often addressed us we specially call to mind to-day his services to the cause of medical reform which he had made especially his own. Let others come and gather round the standard which is fallen from his hands before the battle was won.

THE MOTHERLAND.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I began with a reference to Mr. Gladstone and I will finish too with a reference to that great man. It was a cold morning and closely muffled up pale and ill, the great statesman was entering his carriage at Bournemouth making the last journey of his life on his way to Hawarden there to die. A crowd had assembled at the station to bid him farewell, to have a last look at the face not much longer destined for earth. In response to their cheers and salutations, Mr. Gladstone uttered these words—the last he uttered in public—he who had so often held audiences of his countrymen spell-bound by the magic of his voice, "God bless you all, and this place, and the land you love so well." The words were few, and the reporters added the voice was low. But there was in them, the last words of the parting hero, a pathos of farewell, well and of benediction, a deep thrill as of another world, which produced an effect not less, perhaps but more, than the great efforts of a happier time. And let us too, following those simple words of Mr. Gladstone, ask God that He may bless us all and this dear land of ours. Do you, do we, Brother-Delegates, love that land, the land that gave us birth; the land beloved of the gods, they say, in ages gone by, when the world was young and darkness lay over many of its peoples, the land where knowledge lighted her earliest torch, the arts of life and civilization found their home and philosophy pondered deep over the problems of life; where Rishis sang those hymns to the Father in the Shining Sky, the earliest of the Aryan world, which still live and throb in our hearts, and the eyes of the Seer saw visions of things not of this world; that land

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where after ages the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day? That land, Brother-Delegates, deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer for her misfortunes of the past, for the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone. After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her, and the golden light has already begun to stream over her fair face. It depends on us, Brothers and Sisters, Fellow-citizens of this ancient land, it depends on us, on our sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streaks of that light shall broaden and grow unto the lovely day. At length has India awakened from the stupor of ages, the fire of her intellect, of her heroism, of her piety, dimmed but yet not wholly extinguished, and waiting but the breeze of manly effort and kindly help to burn once again in the time to come, let us hope, with splendour and lustre as of old.

Lord Salisbury spoke the other day of the living and dying nations of the world. Shall India, Brother-Delegates, be a living nation, shall the glories that were hers remain for ever a memory of the past, or shall they once again be realities in the time before us? On us, Brother-Delegates, depends the answer, on our efforts, on the lives we live and the sacrifices we make, not in the political field alone but in many another field; and let us not forget that never was progress won without sacrifice. And in that effort, depend upon it, we shall get, as indeed we claim, the loving help and the ardent sympathy of the great Nation into whose hands Providence had entrusted the destinies of this land.

The German host marched to its triumph to the cry of "God and Fatherland." Let ours be a still dearer cry, the cry of "God and Motherland," as our mission also is the holier and nobler enterprise of peace, of love, of loyal progress, of every duty to our Beloved Sovereign faithfully discharged, of individual growth and national re-generation. Hear we, my friends, the trumpet-call of duty resounding to us amid the stirring scenes, the moving enthusiasm, the thrilling sights of this great gathering? Yes, the call sounds clear, but let our hearts gather the strength to respond to that call, and to be true to her, our Common Mother, the land of our birth, to be true and faithful to the light that is within us, and to every noble impulse that stirs within us. And may we, as we return to our homes, to the spheres of our daily duty, carry a little more of the living love to our country than when we came, a little more of the earnest longing to be good and true and useful before the day closeth and our life's work is done. (*Long and continued Cheers.*)

When the above admirable peroration was over, the whole assembly was visibly touched to the heart, and cheered lustily as the President resumed his seat after performing what in his present condition of health was a gigantic task.

On the motion of Mr. J. Ghosal, seconded by Mr. Sankaran Nair, a large and representative Subjects Committee was then appointed to consider and determine the subjects to be taken up for discussion. The Congress then adjourned till 11 A.M. next day.

Election of
Subjects
Committee.

The President :—There is one other duty to be done before we separate; that is the election of the Subjects Committee. I take it that different centres have already sent in the names of gentlemen whom they think fit to be appointed to the Committee and under that assumption and belief I will call upon Mr. Ghosal to read the names for your approval.

Mr. J. Ghosal :—I beg to propose that a Subjects Committee be appointed consisting of the following gentlemen :—

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS.

1. A. M. BOSE, Esq., *President.*
2. THE HON. MR. N. SUBBA ROW, *Chairman, Reception Committee.*
3. " P. ANANDA CHARLU VIDYABINODE, C. I. E., *Standing Council.*
4. C. SANKARA NAYAR, Esq., *Immediate Past President.*
5. D. E. WACHA, Esq., *General Secretary.*
6. V. RYRU NAMBIAR, Esq., *Secretary, Reception Committee.*
7. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER, Esq., *Do.*
8. S. KASTHURIRANGA AYYENGAR, Esq., *Do.*
9. G. PARAMASWARAN PILLAY, Esq., *Do.*

MADRAS.

1. THE HON. MR. C. VIJAYARAGHAVA CHARIAR.
2. " P. RATHNASABHAPATHI PILLAY.
3. " C. JAMBULINGAM MUDALIYAR.
4. " P. RANGAYYA NAIDU.
5. JOHN ADAM, Esq.
6. K. P. ACHUTHA MENON, Esq.
7. P. RAMACHANDRA PILLAI, Esq.
8. DR. T. M. NAIR.
9. V. C. DESIKA CHARIAR, Esq.
10. T. RANGA CHARIAR, Esq.
11. S. PALNEYANDY MUDALIAR, Esq.
12. A. RUNGASWAMY, Esq.
13. G. VENKATARATHNAM, Esq.
14. P. KESAVA PILLAI, Esq.
15. PAUL PETER PILLAI, Esq.
16. SYED MAHAMMAD, Esq.
17. K. VISUDEVA IYENGAR, Esq.
18. T. V. VENKATRAMA IYER, Esq.
19. T. S. BALAKRISHNA IYER, Esq.
20. K. VENKAT RAO, Esq.
21. M. ETHIRAJA PILLAI, Esq.
22. M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR, Esq.
23. K. NARAYANA RAO, Esq.
24. T. V. SESHAGIRI IYER, Esq.
25. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER, Esq.
26. P. R. SUNDARA IYER, Esq.
27. A. PUNDARIKSHUDU, Esq.
28. K. R. V. KRISHNA RAO BHADUR.
29. C. KARUNAKARA MENON, Esq.
30. L. A. GOVINDARAGAVA IYER, Esq.

BOMBAY.

1. W. A. CHAMBERS, Esq.
2. HON. D. S. GARUT, Esq.

First Day.

Subjects
Committee

First Day.

Subjects
Committee.

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POONA.

1. B. G. TILAK, Esq.
2. G. K. GOKHALE, Esq.
3. R. D. NAGARKAR, Esq.
4. N. C. KELKAR, Esq.
5. S. M. PARANJPEE, Esq.
6. NILKANTH DAMODAR JOG, Esq.
7. M. R. BODAS, Esq.

BERAR.

1. R. N. MUDHOLKAR, Esq.
2. G. S. KHAPARDE, Esq.
3. M. V. JOSHI, Esq.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. SHRIDHAR VISHNUVA PARANJPEE, Esq.

N. W. PROVINCES AND OUDH.

1. PANDIT SHIAM NARAIN.
2. BABU GANGA PRASAD VARMA.
3. BABU LATCHMI NARAIN.
4. BABU JUGAL KISHORE.
5. RAMANADHA CHATTERJI, Esq.
6. SHREEMANT RAO SAHEB, VASUDEVA RAO CHANDRADIKER.

PUNJAB.

1. B. JAISHIRAM LALA, Esq.

PANDHARPUR.

1. V. SHIVAJI JOG, Esq.

SATARA.

1. S. SAHASRABUDDHEE, Esq.
2. G. B. PHANSALKAR, Esq.

DHARWAR.

1. K. H. MUDHUKAR, Esq.
2. K. A. GURUJI, Esq.

BENGAL.

1. THE HON. MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE.
2. THE HON. MR. KALICHARAN BANERJEE.
3. J. GHOSAL, Esq.
4. DR. NILRATAN SARCAR.
5. DR. M. M. BOSE.
6. BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE, Esq.
7. DR. R. G. KAR.
8. BABU K. P. KAVIYA BISHARAD.
9. PTKER MOHUN SENAPATHY, Esq.
10. BABU TARA PADA BANERJEE.
11. BABU AKSHAY KUMAR MOITRA.
12. BABU VENI BHUSHAN ROY.

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13. RASH BEHARI LAL MONDOR, Esq.
14. ANANT PRASAD MONDOR, Esq.
15. PEARY LAL GHOSE, Esq.
16. RAMONI MOHUN DAS, Esq.
17. BABU JAYNESHWAR ROY CHOUDHURY.
18. BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN, Esq.
19. HEMENDRA NATH SEN, Esq.
20. RAI NALINAKSHA ROSE BAHADUR.
21. SAROT CHUNDER BOSE, Esq.
22. JOGENDRA NATH MUKERJEE, Esq.
23. ASWIN KUMAR DUTT, Esq.
24. UPENDRA NATH SEN, Esq.
25. DIJENDRA MOHUN SUGUPTA, Esq.
26. HARANATH GHOSE, Esq.
27. MONOMOHUN NEOGY, Esq.
28. DEBENDER CHUNDRA GHOSE, Esq.
29. CHAROO CHUNDRA GHOSE, Esq.
30. NIBARUN CHUNDRA CHATTERJEE, Esq.
31. BINODE LAL GHOSE, Esq.
32. PRITHWIS CHUNDER ROY, Esq.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 30th December 1898.

The Congress re-assembled at 11-10 A.M.

Second Day.

Reading of
Rules for the
conduct of
business.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, we are going to begin the business, and I shall ask Mr. Ghosal to place before us the rules for the conduct of business before we move the resolutions on the agenda paper.

MR. GHOSAL (Calcutta):—Gentlemen, I am going to read the rules under which the Proceedings of this assembly will be conducted. I hope you will kindly hear them, so that there might not be hereafter misunderstandings and a good deal of short correspondence between this table and the different delegates' quarters. The following are the rules:—

RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS.

1. On any point of order, the decision of the Chairman shall be final and no discussion shall be allowed thereupon.

2. No one who is not a Delegate will be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter.

3. Every Delegate must address the assembly from the speaker's platform.

4. The proposers, seconders and supporters of each resolution will be selected by the Subjects Committee.

5. The President will allot the time during which each speaker can speak, and no one should exceed this without the special permission of the President. The President will sound his gong once to warn each speaker when the time allotted to him is drawing to a close, and he will sound it a second time when that period has elapsed; and should he consider that the speaker ought to cease speaking, the President will touch the gong again when the speaker must, there and address.

6. A Delegate not selected but who may wish to speak on any resolution should send in his name and that of the Congress Circle to which he belongs, legibly written on a piece of paper, to the President, and may speak when called upon by the President to do so.

7. Any one wishing to propose any amendment to any resolution must send to the President a slip of paper containing the amendment, his own name and that of his seconder, as also the names of the Congress Circles, to which they respectively belong; a similar slip should be handed to the Reporter.

8. Any one who wishes to propose a new subject for discussion by the Congress must give previous notice of it in writing to the President at the commencement of the sitting with a

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copy of any resolution he wishes to propose, his own name and the name of the Congress Circle he belongs to.

9. No other business shall be brought forward before the Congress until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee have been disposed of.

10. But afterwards, if time permits, any Delegate who shall have given notice in writing, at the commencement of the sitting, to the President of his desire to have a particular subject discussed, or a definite resolution, which he sets forth, proposed, shall have a right to do so, and a Delegate who at any time previous to rising shall have given such notices may, with the permission of the President, rise and ask the President to take the sense of the assembly as to whether such a subject will be discussed. No speaking at this stage shall be allowed. The President will simply read out the subject and the proposed resolution and make any such remarks as he considers essential and take a vote of the assembly as to whether the subject shall or shall not be discussed. If the vote is in the affirmative, the proposer will then set forth the subject and the resolution he therein proposes with such explanations as he considers necessary, and then after due discussion, the question will be disposed of in the usual way. If the vote is in the negative, the subject shall be at once dropped.

THE PRESIDENT:—Before the resolutions are put before you, it is my duty to announce that, in accordance with the usual practice at the sessions of the Congress, the time ordinarily allowed to the movers of resolutions will be 10 minutes and to the seconders and supporters 5 minutes. Now we proceed, Brother-Delegates, to the business of the meeting.

It is my mournful and sad privilege to place before you three resolutions. It would not be necessary to speak to them. The resolutions are such that, I am sure, the best way in which we can express our heart's concurrence in the sentiments contained in them will be to rise all in a body and with grief profound in our heart, in solemn silence accord our acceptance to them. The first resolution that I place before you is this:—

That this Congress records its profound regret at the irreparable loss that the British Empire and the civilized world at large have sustained by the death of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the greatest statesman of modern times, and a warm and genuine friend of humanity, and desires to express its sense of gratitude for the sympathy which he uniformly evinced towards the efforts of the Indian People in securing a more liberal and progressive Government in India; and that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to his son Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

The audience rising to their feet, the resolution was carried unanimously in solemn silence.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now place before you the second resolution on the programme paper.

That this Congress deeply mourns the great loss the country has suffered by the sad and untimely death of the late Maharajah of Durbunga, Sri Lashmessur Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E. The Congress places on record its high appreciation of his ready and enlightened public spirit and his liberal and catholic benefactions, and desires to give expression to its feeling of gratitude for the generous and unfailing support, which the Congress movement received at his hands; and that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to Maharajah Rameshwar Singh, the brother of the deceased Maharajah.

The audience rising to their feet, the resolution was carried unanimously in solemn silence.

Second Day.

Rules for the
conduct of
business.

Resolution I.
Death of
Mr. W. E. Glad-
stone.
THE PRESIDENT.

Resolution II.
Death of the
Maharajah of
Durbunga.
THE PRESIDENT.

Second Day.

Resolution III.
Death of Sirdar
Dayal Singh of
Lahore.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT :—Brother-Delegates, it has been the sad duty of the President of this Congress to place before you so many resolutions regarding the death of eminent benefactors of humanity like GLADSTONE, MAHARAJAH OF DHURBANGA AND SIRDAR DAYAL SINGH. At any rate, death having taken them away, all that we can do is to express our deep regret and to cherish in our minds the noble lessons of their lives. The third resolution is this :—

That this Congress expresses its profound grief for the great loss which the people of the country in general and those of the Punjab in particular have sustained by the death of the late Sirdar Dayal Singh of Lahore, and places on record its high appreciation of the public spirit and the liberal support which he gave in furtherance of the progressive movements which tended to ameliorate the condition of the natives of India.

Let us indicate our acceptance in the same way.

The audience rising to their feet, the resolution was carried unanimously in solemn silence.

THE PRESIDENT :—Our friend, Mr. Saradranath Bannerjee, not having been able to come as yet, I leave the fourth resolution just for a short while; and, I have the pleasure to call upon the Hon'ble Mr. C. Jambulingam Mudaliyar to be good enough to move the resolution which stands in his name.

THE HONORABLE MR. C. JAMBULINGAM MUDALIAR (Madras):—

Resolution IV.
Sedition Law.

The Hon. Mr.
Jambulingam
Mudaliar.

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates, the resolution placed in my charge concerns our very existence and continued work as a progressive and liberal party. It concerns certain recent Government measures which hamper and curtail our capacity to criticise, honestly and fearlessly criticise, such of the obnoxious measures and acts of Government that may come to pass now and then. It similarly hampers our capacities to expose the weakness and the defects that may be appearing in the methods of Government. It is, therefore, I believe, that those who were in charge of framing this resolution placed this matter in the forefront of this year's Congress work. At the last year's sittings we were under the old law, and that law had been appealed to by the executive Government on an occasion whose memory we shall rather bury in oblivion. But, then we entertained hopes that the measure which was then pending before the Legislative Council could be stopped by the unanimous voice of the whole people of this country, Indian and Anglo-Indian, rich and poor, Zamindar and ryot, protesting against the measure and denouncing it as a most retrograde and backward step. But our hopes were not to be realised. The bill was passed in spite of all the opposition. The stir and commotion created on that occasion are simply unprecedented in the annals of British Indian legislation. Caste, colour and creed were all forgotten for the occasion in trying to present a solid front to avert the impending danger. In the supreme Legislative Council, the members who are not in official shackles and who are therefore not under an obligation to pocket their conscience with a view to obey the mandate, did yeoman service by opposing the measures line by line, and fighting the ground inch by inch. It will be invidious to mention names, but I cannot pass this occasion without making a passing reference to the great services rendered to the cause of freedom by one whose death we mourned just now in such deep condolence—I mean the Prince of the Bengal aristocracy. Then, again, an efficient and adequate representation of our cause was not wanting in the land of freedom and liberty, the nursery of everything that is noble and great, the country that has been placed over us by Providence for the purpose of advancing, enlightening and civilising us. The names of all those who rendered such great services in England were mentioned by our worthy President yesterday, and

vociferously cheered; but one great name was omitted from the list for obvious reasons. Perhaps it was forgotten or perhaps the President was not conscious of it. I refer to our worthy President himself, who is now before us in flesh and blood and who spared no pains, no money, no leisure for the purpose of adequately representing our cause in that country (*cheers*). With all these great efforts unique in the legislation of this country—no measure has ever before called forth such an enthusiasm and solid opposition as it did on this occasion—the bill was passed. How? I say it is but the natural result of the mandate theory, which was solemnly proclaimed by our Viceroy, when he assumed office. Before going further, I should like just to make a brief sketch of the legislation which we so unanimously deprecate with all the earnestness which we command, which, we consider, is ruinous to the best cause of the country, and whose immediate abrogation we unanimously advocate. This law of sedition in the Councils of this country seems to me, if you just look to the past, to have a kind of rhythmical succession, to have the same kind of regular periodicity as the Indian famines. You know that the Indian Penal Code was passed in 1860 and it contained no clause about sedition. We need not care to stop to inquire into the reason; but there it is. A decade passed; and Sir James Stephen, the then Law Member of the Viceregal Council, introduced the well-known section 124 A. Nor do we know the immediate cause of the introduction of that section in 1870. Anyhow, with the explanation given by Sir James Stephen, with the limitations which, in his memorable speech, he placed upon the scope and object of that section, we had not much ground to complain. Nearly another decade passed, and sedition was up in the air, and we had what was called the Vernacular Press Act. Another decade passed, and we have again the present sedition laws. So, we have a regular recurrence of these things just like the famines of this country. A brief explanation of the present laws would elucidate our reasons most clearly and show our grounds for adopting this attitude towards the present sections. These improvements or amendments, or whatever you may call them, in the main divide themselves into four chief alterations. The Indian Penal Code makes two improvements or amendments, and the Criminal Procedure Code makes two improvements or amendments, and the combined effect of these four improvements or amendments is to strike at the root of the freedom of the Press of this country and to make the position of a platform speaker a rather irksome and annoying one. One of the Penal Code amendments is the extended scope given to the meaning of the word 'sedition'. Under the section of Sir James Stephen there was only one feeling or sentiment whose dissemination or encouragement was considered an offence, and that was disaffection—disaffection not as we laymen understand the word, that is want of affection, but disaffection in a technical sense, namely, a spirit not to render obedience to the duly constituted authority or a show of force for the purpose of obtaining redress instead of attempting to obtain the same by constitutional methods. That is the kind of disaffection which was rendered criminal under the old law. That has been improved upon by the addition of two other sentiments whose exact import and scope will have perhaps to be determined—I hope the day will not come—by judicial decisions again. The two sentiments are hatred and contempt. So in the place of one feeling "disaffection," we have three "disaffection, hatred and contempt". If it were possible in the legitimate discharge of the duty of any public person or any journalist to avoid these feelings altogether, certainly it would be the best thing to do. But I ask, gentlemen, whether it is possible with any kind of human effort and circumspection to avoid a feeling, however small it might be, of hatred or contempt towards a Government which promulgates measures and Acts obnoxious to the people and which must be criticised sometimes in mild language and at other times in strong language. Criticism of another man's action means that that person's action is not the result of sound reason or commonsense. That results in hatred or contempt, and it is absolutely impossible for any honest person to have his say or give his writings without creating this sentiment. The only form of criticism which can completely avoid feelings of "disaffection, hatred and contempt" is the perpetual praise and fulsome flattery of the authors of new measures. The other

Second Day.

Resolution IV.
Sedition law.

Hon. C. Jambulingam
Mudaliar.

Second Day.

Resolution IV.
Sedition law.Hon. C. Jambu-
lingam
Mudaliar.

extension of the Indian Penal Code is the territorial extension. So far as the native Indian subjects are concerned—be it noted that other subjects are not in this category—an offence committed in any part of the world, be it Fiji Islands or Uganda which is the illustration given in the Penal Code, is punishable in this country when the man returns. The extension in the Criminal Procedure Code is in two directions. One is what is called “good behaviour clause”. All our friends of the journalistic fraternity, all who have the misfortune to stand on a platform like myself, are henceforth to be suspected and classed among vagrants, decoits, pick-pockets and rogues. This is the consummation we have arrived at after a century of British administration. The Criminal Procedure Code contains two kinds of security. There is another kind of security which we should have considered it an honour to be applied to us. That is the security for keeping peace, which does not imply any kind of defect of character or moral turpitude, any defect in the moral nature of man, but simply stops or sets a limit to his exuberant animal spirits by taking security for keeping peace. That, at least, would have been a proper and more honourable place for such of us as may be full-blooded and hot-tempered. But the Government did not choose to give us that honourable position. We must be with vagrants, robbers and decoits to whom specially the good behaviour section is made applicable in the Criminal Procedure Code. Last but not the least important change introduced is that both in the matter of trial of offences under section 124A and in taking security for good behaviour and against suspected bad conduct or suspected sedition among these people, the authority to try is a first class Magistrate or a Presidency Magistrate. The former law provided that a Judge with considerable experience assisted by accessors or jurors was to try these people. Henceforth the Collector and District Magistrate or worse still his subordinate Deputy Collector and Assistant Magistrate is the person to take note of people who have the misfortune to criticise his judgment or to incur his displeasure or to write scathing criticisms against his judgments; and one security is given for journalists only and not for platform speakers; that is, if these people go wrong the sanction of the Government is necessary to prosecute them. I do not know if even that is any security for getting impartial judgments. Because once the sanction of the Government is granted, it is one to ten that a Magistrate, whose very existence, prospects, and promotion are in the hands of the Collector and Government, will have the courage to acquit the man whose prosecution was ordered by the Government, so that our journalistic friends are really worse off than others. This is the law that has been given to us by the British Government after a century of the most successful administration in the world, after the solidification of the Empire and the subjugation of all jarring elements through all this century, after half a century of profound internal peace, after half a century of marvellous advance in education, enlightenment and civilisation; after all these wonderful achievements, this is the law that it has pleased the British Government to impose upon a peaceful and law abiding people. What is the effect of this law? Have they brought about affection by this Government ordinance? Have they drawn to themselves the affection, love and sympathy of the masses of the people by such Government ordinances and Acts? What is the result we shall enquire. An Empire, however it may have been founded we need not discuss, but consolidated and held unquestionably by confidence and good will, has been converted into a Government of suspicion and distrust. The fellow-feeling and brotherhood which were being cultivated without interruption have now been converted or are in the process of being converted into hatred and animosity. Seeds of racial feeling have been sown and God alone knows what harvest we are going to reap. The Government prefers to walk in darkness in the administration of this great Empire, and avails the only light which can save it from falling into snares and pits, the light of public criticism. A permanent bitterness of feeling has taken root over the land, over its whole length and breadth. This is all the marvellous achievement of the legislation which is said to have been incubated in England for the eternal welfare and salvation of this ill-fated country. This is the result of the glorious ordinances which in all innocence and simplicity our rulers have devised, with the full benefit of the deliberation of the authorities at

home, for engendering affection among the people towards Government, and attaching them to it in lasting bonds of fellowship and fraternity. The phraseology of the measure is said to have been fixed in England; and this has been given by the Viceroy in the concluding portion of his speech on this legislation as his excuse for not being able to give any concession to the demands of the non-official members. The Secretary of State laid the sacred unction to his heart that it was a measure which had popular approbation. After all that we said, after all that appeared in newspapers, and after all the unique opposition which the bill roused in the country, the Secretary of the State thought that he silenced a troublesome interpellator in the House of Commons by saying that it had popular approbation. He said that there was a Mahomedan Association in Calcutta which applauded this piece of legislation. For my own part, living at this great distance from Calcutta, I do not know what that Mahomedan Association is. But if one there is, our Bengal friends will be able to enlighten us. Well, gentlemen, ten years ago we had a similar piece of legislation. There was the same stir and commotion in the country, but the Act was passed; and it was given to the noble Viceroy who succeeded the one that passed the law to repeal that Act and to interpret in its true meaning the true British statesmanship that should guide this country. It was *sympathy* with the people of this country and *courage* in recognizing the defects of administration that enabled and sustained that great statesman to perform that great effort of repealing that Act. *Courage* and *sympathy* have been accepted as the motto and as the watchword of the Viceroy who is to begin his administration shortly, and we have no reason whatever for despair. We have hopes that the same *sympathy* and *courage* that enabled the Marquis of Ripon to repeal and deal a death blow to his predecessor's Act will enable Lord Curzon who has pledged and vouchsafed the same consideration to the people of this country, *courage* and *sympathy* to deal a similar death blow to the iniquitous legislation of his predecessor, and we shall still be a free people, claiming kinship with Briton and claiming the privileges and rights which Britons enjoy. The resolution which I have the honor to move runs thus:—

That this Congress regrets that in despite of its protest at its last sitting and the protest of many public bodies and eminent men, English and Indian, the amendments proposed in the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, which are calculated to unduly enlarge the powers of the Police and of the Magistracy, to fetter the freedom of the Press and to restrict liberty of speech, have been carried through the Imperial Legislative Council, and urges their repeal.

Mr. TARAPADU BANNERJI:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Considering the fact that the resolution which I have been asked to second has been very ably and exhaustively moved by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Jumbulingam Mudaliar and considering the fact that a resolution similar to the one before us was considered at the last session of the Congress at Amraoti, I deem it unnecessary to say anything further on the point. It is through the Press that we can bring our grievances before our rulers. It is through the Press that we can agitate matters which concern the people of this country; and therefore if any enactment which has the tendency to gag the Press be passed, it will no doubt be a serious detriment to our progress and advancement. I therefore think that we are not unreasonable in our praying for the immediate repeal of the enactments in question. You all know that these enactments give enlarged powers to the Police and the Magistracy, and we who have bitter experience of the working of the Police and of the Mofussil Magistrates are afraid that they, the Police and the Magistrates, will take the earliest opportunity to put their heel upon the Press once and for ever. The enactments of the 18th February and 11th March should be repealed as they are likely to fetter the freedom of the Press and to restrict the liberty of speech. Such pernicious enactments should on no account find a

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Bannerji.

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Bannerji.Pundit
K. P. Kavya-
bisharad.

place in our statute book. I have one word to say, gentlemen, before I conclude. Know ye for certain that our rulers will not repeal the enactments in question however pernicious they may be in our opinion, if we do not strengthen our position by facts and figures. This Congress should therefore ask its several Standing Committees to send faithful reports of the abuse of these powers and place those instances of abuse before our legislature. The English are a people singularly open to reason. If we succeed in convincing them of the reasonableness of our demand, our prayer will undoubtedly be listened to. With these few words, gentlemen, I second the resolution which has been so ably proposed by Mr. Jambulingam Mudaliar (*cheers*).

PUNDIT K. P. KAVYABISHARAD.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As the subject of the resolution which I am called upon to support has been threshed out not only by my leader but by the entire Press, I have few words to add. The Hon'ble Mover of this resolution alluded to two Bengal associations that supported the amendments of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. He has called upon a Bengal Delegate to speak about these peculiar unpatriotic associations. Well, let it be known that these two associations, and I should say this plainly, are Mahomedan associations, only in name. They are official ridden associations and their Secretaries are, in official employ, drawing salary from the Government (*hear, hear*). They have no right to represent their community; and the fact that such salaried Mahomedans should support the principles of these amendments is no wonder as their support is no support at all. The entire Press and public at large have decried against these amendments and there is not a single Indian soul who could heartily and sincerely support them (*hear, hear*). But leaving these so-called associations apart, I proceed to the resolution. As for its principles they are well-known. With your permission I shall give you one or two instances to show how these recent amendments have unduly enlarged the powers of the Police and the Magistracy. One of these amendments refers to section 505 B, and in connection with that section I am going to cite a case or two. A tea planter wrote to some Police Inspector at Kurseong that a certain coolly named Manaychatri, a mere boy 18 years of age, gave out that there was going to be a war between Nepal and the British Government, and that Nepal coolies are going to be murdered. Such was the rumour. This mighty rumour so much provoked the Inspector of Police that he went to the Magistrate of the District and asked him to issue a warrant. The Magistrate wrote to the Commissioner, and official correspondence went on for sometime till a complaint was actually instituted. Not only was a complaint instituted but this youth of 18 was imprisoned for 9 months. Imagine, gentlemen, nine months' hard labour for setting at defiance the laws of the land and exciting a feeling of disaffection amongst coolies! An appeal was filed before the Judge and the sentence was only reduced to four months, but that, I am glad to say, did not end the matter. There were some kind hearts and they moved the High Court of Calcutta and the poor fellow was at last acquitted. But this is not all. Cases like this are cropping up in Darjilling, I presume. I shall give you another instance. It was about a woman named Joshomati. On the 18th of May last, this woman is said to have stated "they are killing men" and she was seen running away. This was her sole offence and for this mighty offence she was hauled up in a Court of Justice. She was then in delicate health, in fact with child. This woman was kept in a dungeon. Correspondence after correspondence ensued and nine months' imprisonment was in store for her (*cries of "shame"*). She appealed from jail and the sentence was reduced to 3 months, an act of mercy which you cannot expect everywhere. Now for aught I know, she is still rotting in Jail in a serious state of health. If this is not unduly enlarging the powers of the Police and Magistracy, I do not know what it is. Without wasting your time any further and without citing any more instances I most heartily support this resolution.

Mr. T. VENKATASUBBA IYER (Madras):—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The importance of the subject that is now being discussed has called me to this platform. You will allow me a few minutes—two or three minutes it may be—to express my sentiments upon this most important subject. Gentlemen, this forms one of the chief items of a retrograde policy about which our revered President had been speaking yesterday. Now what is the cause of this new legislation that is thrust upon us this year? The cause is not far to seek. I may say that that dire foe which we are now meeting, that dire calamity which has befallen a great part of India, is the cause of it—the plague. Now it is on account of a certain murder that was committed in Poona by some person who has been hanged for that crime, that all this legislation has arisen. That is the true cause of it. There is no doubt it has set up a false alarm in the minds of the British public and in the minds of those persons who are responsible for the Government of this country. It is a false alarm indeed. This amendment in the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code is apparently intended to give a death blow to disloyalty. Now, Gentlemen, I ask you an open and frank question. Are we disloyal or have we been at any stage of British Government in India disloyal? (*No, No*). Now, Gentlemen, disloyalty—*Rajadroh*—is one of those sins which are called heinous sins, and we are not capable of disloyalty at all. (*Hear, hear*). We shall never be disloyal. It is not our purpose to be disloyal, and there need not be that false alarm. All this has arisen out of that false idea. Now, Gentleman, is it possible to believe that after forty years of English education and English culture and the benign Government that we have enjoyed under the sovereignty of Her Gracious Majesty Queen-Empress, after the peace and freedom and prosperity that we have enjoyed for the last sixty years at the least—is it possible, Gentlemen, that on the very day of Her Majesty's 60th year of her reign, on the very day when the whole of India was celebrating with the greatest joy and the greatest enthusiasm Her Diamond Jubilee, is it possible that anybody would have dreamt of disloyalty? (*No, No*). Is it possible that anybody would have been foolish enough and base enough to dream of disloyalty? (*No, No*). That is not the characteristic of the Hindu nationality (*Hear, hear and Cheers*). That is not the characteristic of the Mahomedan nationality. That is not the characteristic of any person living in India. It is time for me to leave the platform. I shall only express my fervent hope, as indeed the hope of one and all of you present here, that this retrograde legislation will not stand long in the Statute Book and that it will find its way out of the book as the Vernacular Press Act found its way so long as ten years ago. Gentlemen, I need not go into the question of the soundness of the law as all of you know the details and particulars of these Acts of legislation. With these few words, Gentlemen, I leave the proposition in your hands with that fervent hope which I have already expressed.

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

THE HON'BLE MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE (Bengal), who on rising was received with loud and continued cheering, said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to move the following resolution:—

That this Congress accords a respectful welcome to Lord Curzon, notes with gratitude his Lordship's words of sympathy for the people of India, and trusts the policy of progress and confidence in the people which has characterized the best traditions of British rule in this country will be followed during his Lordship's tenure of office in India, and authorizes the President to wire the foregoing resolution to His Lordship at Bombay.

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Brother-Delegates, I wish this resolution had been a little more specific and had entered a little more into those outlines of policy which it is a matter of the first importance that we should at the earliest opportunity lay prominently before the coming Viceroy. With this reservation I will say that I cannot think of a resolution more appropriate, more suitable to the circumstances in which we find ourselves, or one more entirely in conformity with the temper and the genius of this great national gathering. We are the loyal representatives of a thoroughly loyal and law-abiding people, (*Hear, hear*) and as such, it is our duty and our privilege alike to accord a cordial greeting to the representative of our august Sovereign, (*Cheers*) a Sovereign whose reign has been an era of unmingled beneficence and progress, whose domestic virtues and personal worth, the noblest adornments of exalted rank, have shed a lustre even upon the grandest throne in the world. (*Cheers*). Has our character for loyalty ever been disputed or our right to approach the Sovereign impugned? A dark cloud of suspicion hung for some little time over a certain section of our countrymen in the Western Presidency in relation to certain recent events. So exalted a functionary as the Secretary of State from his place in Parliament had declared that an organised conspiracy had been formed among a certain section of the people of Poona (*shame*) with a view to subvert British rule. That suspicion, that dark cloud of suspicion has now been dispelled by the light of accomplished events. The Judge who tried Damodar Chapekar has distinctly declared from the Bench that the evidence has not disclosed the shadow of a shade of suspicion in support of the conspiracy theory, which must now disappear like the baseless fabric of a vision. (*Hear, hear*). No, Sir, we are loyal, intensely loyal, loyal from sentiment, loyal from conviction, loyal from immemorial usage, loyal from deep-rooted anxiety for the well-being of future generations. (*Cheers*). The sentiment is there rooted in our heart of hearts, accentuated and intensified by the highest considerations of expediency; for we recognise the truth—recognise it with all the warmth and fervour of our ardent oriental temperaments—we recognise the truth that with the permanence of British rule in India are bound up the best prospects of our political advancement, our continued progress along those lines which are most conducive to our happiness, most conducive to the free and adequate development of those faculties which, in the fullness of time and under the ordering of Providence, will ensure to our people their destined place amongst the nationalities of the earth. (*Cheers*). No doubt, now and then there are deviations on the part of our rulers from the straight path of duty—temporary fluctuations—doubts and misgivings followed by the adoption of a reactionary policy. But these are passing aberrations like the eccentricities of the planets which soon resume their normal course in obedience to an inexorable law which secures to the universe its order, its beauty and its harmony. I am sorry I have to say it—but say I must—that at the present moment our rulers are passing through a temporary frenzy. (Mr. Wacha—*influenza*). My friend Mr. Wacha calls it influenza. I accept that emendation. But whatever it be—be it frenzy or be it influenza—no matter by what term we choose to call it—it will soon disappear in the pursuit of a beneficent policy. It is in this hope and in this confidence that we approach the representative of our Sovereign. I am not deterred—no, not even deterred for a moment—by the objection that was raised sometime ago by a high functionary, the highest in India—Lord Dufferin—that we are a microscopic minority. If that is a disability, we suffer from it in common with our rulers. They also are a microscopic minority. (*Laughter*)—a mere speck in the vast ocean of Indian interests—and if a microscopic minority may rule, a microscopic minority may also represent the bulk of their countrymen. (*Cheers*). But whether a microscopic minority or not, we are the representatives of our countrymen, the elect of the people, chosen by a diviner mandate than that which belongs to any ruling authority; for those whom we seek to represent are the bone of our bone, the flesh of our flesh, people speaking the same language and breathing the same sentiments, worshipping the same God, nurtured amid the same traditions and aspirations. (*Cheers*). If we cannot represent them, then who else can? (*No, No*). We the much-despised educated community of India, are the natural leaders of the unenlightened masses, and therefore we have a right to approach the representative of our Sovereign. Our

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cordial greeting to him has about it the elements of universality, for it embodies the judgment of the entire country, the Congress being the representative body which reflects the sentiments and feelings of the great Indian community. (*Cheers*). The resolution speaks of the words of sympathy which Lord Curzon has professed for the people of India. Sympathy is the key-note of the many utterances of his Lordship since he has been designated to his high office. At one of the great meetings held almost immediately after the announcement of his appointment, he made use of these words, "I love India, its people, its history, its Government, the complexities of its civilization and its life." At another meeting he said that the essential qualifications of a Viceroy of India were "courage and sympathy." And at a third meeting, (I am not giving you the dates which are not necessary, but the facts can be verified)—at a third meeting he spoke of the interests of India as being sacred to him. Now I ask, Brother-Delegates, how many of you regard those interests, the interests of your mother-land as sacred, and how many of you that regard them in that light are prepared to treat them as such and to sanctify them by the touch of a higher reverence? (*Cries of All*) Yes, our country is sacred. To us it is the land of our sires consecrated by their ashes, endeared to us by a thousand tender associations—it is the land of our birth—it is the destined inheritance of our children and our children's children. It recalls to mind the past—the dim misty past, when India was peopled by the Vedic *Rishis* of old, who in the morning of the world sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the divine ideal. It recalls the past; it places us in touch with the present; it embraces the future. The past, the present, the future blend together in one mighty majestic stream rolling onwards to the borders of eternity. (*Cheers*). The procession of the ages pass before us in mute silence. The splendid achievements of the past, the dismal failures of the present, the brilliant possibilities of the future, all lie revealed to our astonished gaze. A Viceroy who is able to touch our imagination in this fashion, people it with images so consolatory and yet so suggestive, at once so soothing to our sense of national self-respect and so pregnant with ideals of reform, Mr. President, I venture to submit, is entitled to the lasting gratitude of our countrymen. (*Cheers*). Well, Sir, I think I speak the sense of this Congress, and I will venture to add, of the country at large, if I say that it is our earnest hope and prayer that when Lord Curzon retires from his high office after his administration, the regrets of a great community may follow him to his distant home and that his name may be inseparably linked in our minds with the names of the greatest of Anglo-Indian statesmen and administrators whose memories excite and will continue to excite, to the remotest ages, the gratitude of our people—the names of a Bentinck, a Canning and a Ripon. (*Cheers*).

Sir, the resolution expresses the hope that Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty may adopt a policy of beneficence and progress, illustrative of the best traditions of the British Government. It is this policy which is the proudest monument of British rule. It is its strongest bulwark in times of difficulty and danger. Well, Sir, when we express the hope that Lord Curzon may adopt a policy of progress and beneficence we make a suggestion. We suggest that a different policy is now being followed. We go further and we say the reverse of a policy of progress is now being pursued. (*Laughter*). Lord Curzon is astute enough to read between the lines, and I only wish that we were astute enough to be a little more outspoken. (*Laughter*). I do not see why you should, in praising the august representative of our Sovereign, omit representing to him the grievances we suffer from. However that may be, that which with us is a matter of frequent complaint, is the inadequate attention bestowed by those responsible for the good Government of the country upon questions of domestic reform and improvement. I say the eyes of our rulers are exclusively fixed upon the frontiers. The spectre of Russian invasion haunts their imagination. (*Laughter*) The gentle breeze wafted across the Hindu-Kush suggests to their excited imagination the Cossacks and their little ponies. The Russians have not come. They never will come, and if we are animated, as I hope and trust we shall always be, by sentiments of warm attachment to the British connection, then let them come—the brave hearts of a loyal people will offer

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the strongest bulwark against foreign invasion. (*Cheers.*) The frontier craze has assumed the proportions of a disease. It was not so fifteen or twenty years ago. It was not so ten years ago. Lord Ripon devoted the whole of his time and attention to the grave considerations of domestic policy and internal improvement. He repealed the Vernacular Press Act, extended the great principle of Local Self-Government, and gave a wider impetus to the employment of natives of India in the higher offices under Government by appointing a distinguished countryman of ours, Sir R. C. Mitter, to the high office of Chief Justice of Bengal. When Lord Dufferin came the frontier fever had taken firm possession of our rulers. (*Laughter.*) But still he found time to appoint the Public Service Commission, and also to recommend the expansion of the Legislative Councils. In the days of Lord Lansdowne the fever had reached almost its culminating point. None the less Lord Lansdowne was able to give partial effect to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission and to enlarge the Councils and reconstitute them upon a somewhat representative basis. Show me a single measure of domestic reform or improvement which has distinguished the reign of the retiring Viceroy. I am unable to find it. (*Cries of "No, No."*) You may, but I am unable to find it. (*No, No.*) I read the newspapers and the current events with considerable interest and attention, because I am paid to read them, being the Editor of a newspaper. I do not make this a matter of complaint. Far be it from me to say one word by way of disparagement in relation to the nobleman for whose personal worth I have the greatest possible respect and who in the course of the next few days will have laid down the reins of his great office. But there is the broad fact that not a single measure of reform has distinguished the Viceroyalty which is about to close. No doubt there were great difficulties in his way—difficulties created by the famine and the plague—but the spirit of reform is always watchful and always ready to assert itself at the earliest possible opportunity, and let it be borne in mind that it was amid the dark days of the Indian Mutiny, when the Empire was being shaken to its very foundations by one of the most direful tragedies enacted on the stage of Indian History, that the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established by the orders of Sir Charles Wood, who was then Secretary of State for India. Our hope and prayer is that Lord Curzon may devote greater attention to the internal Government of the country with the result that it may be his lasting glory and honour to settle once for all the grave financial complications which are fast gathering round the Government of India; for the fact cannot be too often repeated that it is upon the soundness of the financial position—my friend Mr. Wacha sympathises with me—the structure of national prosperity must be made to rest. The financial test is the crucial test. "Tell me," said Sir John Bright in one of his speeches, "what the financial position of a country is, and I will tell you all about its Government and the condition of the people." Judged by this test we are deplorably wanting. Our resources are frittered away on the frontiers. The commonest domestic improvements have to be starved. The cash balances of the Provincial Governments have vanished almost to nothing. You know perfectly well—I am speaking of Bengal—that under the orders of the Secretary of State, the cash balance of that Province has to be maintained at the sum of 20 lakhs of Rupees. Last year what was the cash balance we had? Five lakhs, not twenty. Bombay was still worse. It had a big cipher as balance. (*Laughter.*) What does all this mean? It means the utter blasting of all hopes of improvement upon which the happiness, the contentment and the prosperity of the people depend. No amount of financial jugglery in connection with the currency question will avail to remove the gravity of the situation. (*Hear, Hear.*) Firmness and decision and the comprehensive grasp of genuine statesmanship are the qualifications that are needed; and Lord Curzon promises to deal with this grave problem in this spirit, for I will quote what he said at one of the recent demonstrations held in his honour. He said, "India is ill-equipped with the material industrial and educational resources which are so necessary to her career, and the Government should be so conducted that she may, by slow and sure degrees, expand to the full measure of her growth." She can only expand to the full measure of her growth if the financial position permits it. Well, Gentlemen, I will not take up much more of your time. We pray that a policy of

meffice and confidence in the people may be inaugurated under Lord Curzon's auspices. We pray that the policy of reaction which finds favour with the Government of India at the present moment may be reversed. A wave of reaction is sweeping across the high places of the Government and is infecting the Councils of the Empire. Even in England the same spirit has made itself felt. It is visible in the extinction, the practical extinction, of the Liberal party. In India, this spirit of reaction has inscribed one of the darkest chapters in our History, a chapter as black as any to be found in the dismal records of India, a chapter marked by such events as the incarceration of Mr. Tilak (*shame*), the deportation of the Natu Brothers, the enactment of the Sedition Law, the installation of the Poona Press Committee, and last but not least, the preparation of the Calcutta Municipal Bill. (*Shame.*) Gentlemen, I think I express the sense of the Congress and, I may add, of the country too, when I say that we all rejoice that Mr. Tilak has been released (*Loud cheers*). We should have still more rejoiced if he had not been convicted at all (*cheers*), if that travesty of law and justice which was enacted 18 months ago had never been enacted. You will have a resolution regarding the Natu Brothers and the repeal of the Sedition Law. I call upon this Congress to repeat these resolutions year after year until the Act and the Regulations have been wiped off the Statute Book. (*Cheers*). As for the Poona Press Committee I know very little about it, except that it has been whispered to me that the object is a very noble and beneficent one. It is to pour into the ears of the benighted editors of the Native Press of Poona all the knowledge, all the information, all the wisdom which we know flows so spontaneously, so gratuitously from official sources. (*Laughter.*) If that be the object, why should we not have such Committees in Madras? What have we done, what sins are we guilty of, that we should be thus condemned? But jest apart, the object is, I understand, not to instruct or to enlighten but to muzzle and to gag. If that be the object, we ought to protest against the measure in season and out of season. We do not want these Committees. We can do without them. We have done without them for the last 100 years, and we shall be able to do without them for the next 100 years. Now, Mr. President, with your permission and only for a few minutes let me draw your attention to the Calcutta Municipal Bill, in which I feel the strongest possible interest. Brother-Delegates, who enjoy the boon of Local Self-Government, we want your sympathy in our misfortune, your co-operation in the great struggle for civic freedom in which we are engaged at the present moment, and I am sure you will extend to us both that sympathy and that co-operation in the terrible crisis which has overwhelmed us. The Bill has filled the citizens of Calcutta with alarm and anxiety. Sir John Woodburn said from his place the other day in the Council Chamber that it is a perfectly innocuous measure and that it only means the re-adjustment and not the extinction of the system of Local Self-Government in Calcutta. For Sir John Woodburn personally I have the greatest possible respect. His is a charming personality. It is impossible to meet him without being impressed by the many great qualities of his head and heart. But in justice to myself I am bound to enter my protest against this view of the matter. What does Local Self-Government mean? If it means anything it means this—the administration of local concerns by the representatives of the local community. But when you take all power away from these representatives and vest it in the hands of the officials and their friends, what becomes of Local Self-Government? It is gone. It has ceased to exist. The object of the Bill is to transfer all authority from the representatives of the people and vest it in the official head of the executive who is a Government nominee, and in a General Committee the vast majority of whom—two-thirds—are to be nominated by the Government and by the trading and mercantile communities. What is the justification for this revolutionary measure? Absolutely none. Have the Commissioners been tried and found wanting? On the contrary successive Lieutenant-Governors belonging to the most opposite schools and professing opposite political opinions have united in bearing the testimony of their regard to the zeal, ability and enthusiasm with which the Commissioners have done their work and the magnificent success which has attended their efforts. And yet what is to be the reward for their labours? They are

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to be wiped off the face of creation. There was a time in the History of civic Government in Calcutta when the Municipal administration was controlled by the Government, and then a Committee of enquiry was appointed, and Mr., afterwards Sir John Strachey was the President of the Committee. What did he say about the sanitary condition of Calcutta as under the Government administration? He said that the sanitary condition of the metropolis—I quote his exact words—was a scandal and a disgrace to a civilised community. The elected Commissioners have made Calcutta one of the healthiest cities in Bengal, and yet they are to be deprived of all their powers!

Such, Gentlemen, is the situation in which we find ourselves confronted by the forces of darkness and repression which threaten to overwhelm us. It is a situation which is calculated to fill us with alarm. It is certainly calculated to add to the ranks of those who are opposed to all forms of constitutional reform. What is the good of concessions, say they, when what is given to-day may be taken away to-morrow? What value can you attach to the liberty of the Press when the liberty that is bestowed to-day may be withdrawn to-morrow, to be given again in order that it might be revoked again? What is the value to be attached to the boon of Local Self-Government when it may be granted by one Lieutenant-Governor to be revoked by another? They say with absolute justice that our liberties are not broad-based upon the eternal foundations of justice or upon considerations of the noblest expediency, but that they depend upon the caprice of individual rulers or upon the accident of a policy which may be in favour at any given time. The situation is one which is calculated to fill the most sanguine with a sense of despondency. In the midst of these discouraging circumstances we are comforted, cheered and inspired by a firm confidence in the justice of our cause, by the unwavering conviction of the supremacy of the moral laws and by the assured belief that they must triumph in this world of God's Providence. The physical laws produce their destined ends with unerring certainty. The moral laws are even surer in their operation. Neither men nor rulers of men can defy with impunity the inexorable decrees of the moral laws which are written by an invisible hand upon the conscience of humanity. (*Cheers*). No man can defy the moral laws. None can neglect them. None can trifle with them. The nemesis of fate overtake all breaches, all violations of the moral laws. There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may. This warning is written in every page of human history, in every chapter of human transactions, by the pencil of Almighty Providence in characters of eternal light. Who can withstand the will of the Omnipotent? The Sovereign is the fountain of justice and honour. The Sovereign is also the embodiment of divine attributes and of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. That is the Indian conception. *Delhianagara Jagadishwar*—the Lord of Delhi is the Lord of the universe—sang our ancestors of old, and the sentiment underlying that saying has come down to us from the ages that are past and gone. In the midst of our distress and forced by the machinations of our enemies we throw ourselves upon the protection of our Sovereign—our Sovereign, the emblem of queenly beneficence, the Sovereign lady who issued the Proclamation, the Magna Charta of our rights and liberties (*Cheers*), who when the Proclamation was being issued commanded that it should be so framed that it would be worthy of a female ruler addressing a vast and a distant population. We appeal to her; we appeal to her representative; we approach the footsteps of the Viceregal throne. The Sovereign belongs to no party. Her representative cannot identify himself with any party. He stands high above all parties, reconciling the jarring conflicts of opposing factions. No matter whether he is Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative, he stands pledged to no creed, no dogma, no doctrine, save and except that which will preserve immaculate the sacred interests of India. He is above all the repository of British justice and British honour. Therefore with confidence do we appeal to Lord Curzon, that he will not permit a departure from the traditional policy of this realm, that he will preserve in the true spirit of Conservatism those canons of statesmanship which lie embalmed in the lives of distinguished Anglo-Indian rulers, and which more than the armies of England, more than her navy, more than her illimitable resources, have contri-

buted to build, to expand and solidify this vast, this stupendous, this colossal fabric of imperial sway which while it excites the envy and admiration of foreigners, is regarded by us, the children of the soil, as an inscrutable dispensation of divine Providence ordained for the wisest, the noblest and the truest purposes of human history. (*Loud and continued cheers*).

NAWAB SYED MAHOMED BAHADUR (Madras):—

MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to second this resolution which has been so ably and eloquently moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Surandranath Banerjee. Our esteemed President told you yesterday and the able mover of this resolution repeated it just now that Lord Curzon accepted the high office of the Viceroyalty of India because he loved India. Nothing, Ladies and Gentlemen, can be a better qualification for a worthy representative of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress in India than the love that he cherishes for the welfare and well-being of the Indian people. Although in many cases performance turns out to be different from the first promise, in the present case the happy augury, it is hoped, fully justifies the expectations of the teeming millions of the Indian people, considering the credentials with which Lord Curzon has landed to-day on the shores of this ancient land. Wishing his Lordship every success in his responsible and brilliant career and hoping that our nation will prosper and revive under his sympathetic and beneficent régime, I have great pleasure in seconding this proposition.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. ANANDA CHARLU (Madras):—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think after a storm there ought to be a lull. I shall represent the lull. All that could possibly be said on this resolution has been said in the best possible manner by my friend; but my friend in being very anxious to do justice to himself is quite a tyrant. He leaves nothing to those who come after him (*Laughter*). That is his inveterate habit. If the subject admitted of much ramification, even he might be tired and some portion of the ground might be left for others; but in the present instance the ground is limited and he has gone through it with all the enthusiasm of a race horse. Lord Curzon is just at the threshold of his office. There have been only a very few utterances by him after he accepted office, that is to say, that he felt himself called upon to speak under a deep sense of personal responsibility. Those utterances have been taken possession of and monopolised by my unmerciful friend. Where then have I materials for a speech, if one is needed in the lull? There are undoubtedly the works and writings of Lord Curzon, coming out of his gifted pen. I should be paying our new Viceroy an exceedingly bad compliment, if I cull out of his works a sentence here and a sentence there, and present them to you as tit-bits worthy of this occasion. On the other hand I think it not only my duty but also the duty of every Indian to buy his works and read them earnestly and carefully. I say so because I look upon Lord Curzon not merely as the Viceroy of the day but I look upon him as being, as it were, in the beginning of a career destined to be brilliant. To us Indians the interest that his career will always have will be this—whether during that career we shall be lifted into that position, that proud position which has been assigned to us by Her Majesty's Proclamation. We ask for no more, and I believe you all agree with me when I say we shall be contented with nothing less. I think when he is about to enter upon his office, it is enough he has had the family which Mr. Banerjee has been delivering here for his benefit. Probably by this time next year I may be able to say much more about him, when we meet for the fifteenth time, because, between this and that time I shall have opportunities of knowing him more closely and I hope more intimately. If the result requires to be mentioned, I shall not hesitate to come before you and speak to you the whole truth and nothing but the truth, concerning what I have been able to gather in coming into contact with him between this and the next time we meet. Probably there is just this chance of my not being

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able to do it. I am promised and I am very glad that it is promised, that Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee will be my colleague in the Viceroyal Council (*Cheers*). Very probably, therefore, he will take the earliest opportunity to take the wind out of everybody's sail. But if he will be surveying mankind from China to Peru and taking into consideration and noting down the important events, I shall try to be finical and try to pick up a few pebbles and have them high up in my sleeves and endeavour to see if on that occasion at least I shall not tell you something new in which I have not been anticipated by the world's orator. With these words I support the resolution before you.

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. S. GARUD (Poona):—

Hon. Mr. D. S.
Garud.

Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have had the storm and you have had the lull. Now is the time for you to count your gains and your losses, and it is my humble duty to remind you of them. Gentlemen, you have already been told that His Excellency Lord Curzon has stated to his friends in England, in taking a friendly farewell from them, that he comes to India because he loves India, and that the two qualities which he considers essential for a Viceroy of India are courage and sympathy. He has also told them that the secret of ruling oriental races is “to treat them as if they were of our own complexion”, he has also bespoken the sympathy of capitalists in England in favour of investing their capital in India in preference to any of those other places where there is neither a stable Government nor a stable law. This much he has done and with these qualifications he is coming amongst us. The high ideals which His Excellency has placed before himself have already, I am sure, obtained for him a high place in your hearts, and in every act which His Excellency is expected to take in the Government of this country, I am sure, he will be followed by the true sympathy of the people and by every desire on their part to understand and interpret his intentions in the most beneficent and noble manner. These, Gentlemen, are our gains, and our losses I may tell you, are nil. His Excellency is coming out to India as he said from Keddleston in Derby to Keddleston in India (for the peculiar plan upon which the Viceregal house in Calcutta is built is the plan of Lord Curzon's house in Keddleston); and let us hope that, when His Excellency goes back from Keddleston in India to Keddleston in Derby, he will receive the same hearty ovation and the same enthusiastic farewell from the people of India that he has received from his constituents and his friends in Southport and Derby.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. GANJAM VENKATARATNAM (Madras):—

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Mr. G. Venkata-
ratnam.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution that has been entrusted to me runs as follows:—

That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have failed not only to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his dispatches of 1862 and 1865) for permanent settlement in the provinces in which it does not exist, but also to give effect to the policy of granting a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India, and this Congress hereby entreats the Government to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement for a sufficiently long period, of not less than sixty years, so as secure to landholders the full benefit of their own improvements.

Gentlemen, if the sedition laws recently enacted by the Government of India curtail the

freedom of speech and the liberty of the Press we have long enjoyed under British rule, and if the obsolete regulations under which the Nattu Brothers were arrested endanger the security of person which has been vouchsafed to Her Majesty's Indian subjects, I may be permitted to say that the present vacillating policy of the Government with regard to revision settlements is entirely destructive of the Ryotwari tenure and has created a sense of insecurity of property and shaken the confidence of the people in the pledges and declarations of the Government.

The land question is a question of momentous importance to the people of this country. It has engaged the attention of the Congress almost since it was born. But there is no indication whatever that the Government has correctly comprehended the situation. In the words of Mr. R. C. Dutt, “it is not possible that the condition of the mass of the people in India will materially improve, or that they will be able to provide against droughts and recurring famines until the constantly increasing demand from the produce of land is permanently fixed. Each new settlement sweeps into the Imperial Treasury all the profits which the landed classes in other countries are permitted to derive from the rise in prices and the extension of cultivation, and a permanent improvement in the condition of the cultivating classes has thus become impossible in India. It is a fact that the people of India outside the permanently settled provinces are in hopeless poverty, and every year of a bad harvest is a year of scarcity and famine”. I propose to explain the present policy of the Government with regard to revision settlements and contrast it with the past policy and show how the change affects the people. The principles of policy now in force are to be found in a despatch of the Secretary of State dated 8th January 1885. The despatch enjoins that no hard and fast rules should be laid down as to the grounds on which the revenue rates are to be modified at the revision of settlements, and that no pledges should be given to the people as to the limits beyond which enhancements will not be made. The circumstances of each tract or District are to be considered on their merits and special cases treated exceptionally. A fresh classification of soils may be made where necessary, though ordinarily detailed enquiries are to be avoided in all cases in which there is a reasonable assurance that the existing revenue was arrived at by a fairly adequate assessment of the assets due to the Government. So far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, these principles are embodied in the Settlement Manual and in the standing orders of the Board of Revenue. According to section VIII of the Settlement Manual as amended in May 1895, “the principles upon which the revision of settlement should be conducted when the term of currency expires, cannot be decisively affirmed beforehand. The question of resettlement of each District must be left to be dealt with as it arises.” The corresponding standing order of the Board of Revenue says:—

“On the expiry of the said period, the Government reserves to itself the right to revise the assessment in such a manner as may then seem just and proper, either with reference solely to a rise or fall in prices, or with reference also to other considerations such as would require a re-classification of soils or a recalculation of the grain out-turns.”

Now let us examine the past policy of the Government. In 1857, the Government of Madras declared that “the proprietary right of a ryot is perfect, and as long as he pays the fixed assessment on his land, he can be ousted by no one. There is no principle of Ryotwari management more fixed or better known than this, and the Government deny that any right can be more strong”. It will be observed that the Government mentions fixity of assessment as an adjunct of ownership of the soil, for it is palpable that the latter can be of small value in the absence of the former. The object of survey and settlement introduced in 1857 was stated to be “not to the former. The object of survey and settlement introduced in 1857 was stated to be “not to curtail or destroy, but to consolidate and confirm existing rights and privileges, to substitute for an uncertain, variable and often arbitrary demand, a fixed permanent and moderate assessment in money and to remove the interference of a host of revenue officers”. I ask you to consider

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how far the present policy—if it can be called a policy at all—is consistent with these declarations. In a resolution dated 17th October 1882, the Government of India clearly admitted the evils of fresh classification of soils at each recurring revision, and laid down that enhancements of revenue in revision settlements should be allowed only on the ground of—

- (a) rise in prices,
- (b) increase in cultivation,
- (c) and improvements made at the Government expense.

The scheme formulated by the Government of India eliminated, as a general rule, all fresh attempts to value land. In making enhancements on the ground of rise in prices, a sufficient margin should be left to enable the ryot to meet any increase in the cost of agriculture and to provide also for a rise in the standard of living. Enhancements were further to be limited to 15 per cent. on the former rate. The Secretary of State, while approving the general object of the scheme, expressed doubts as to certain details. There were practical difficulties in the application of the principle of "rise in prices" in the N. W. Provinces where the land was cultivated by cash-paying tenants and the revenue was a certain share of the rental. The case was, however, different in Ryotwari provinces like Bombay and Madras. The scheme in question was generally and in principle agreed to by the Governments of Bombay and Madras. In the Madras Settlement Manual and the Board's standing orders, as they stood till amended in May 1895, it was distinctly laid down that the existing classification of soils was final and that the assessments would be revised solely with reference to changes in prices. Again, in the G. O. No. 315, Revenue, dated 4th July 1889, passed on the report of the Agricultural Committee, the Government declared that there was no necessity for embodying these principles in a legislative enhancement, since they were very clearly stated in the Settlement Manual. A similar declaration was made by the Government in the orders passed in October 1893 on the Memorandum of the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years. Property has changed hands on the faith of these declarations.

Commenting on the altered policy of the Government, the Honourable Mr. Crole very properly observed:—

"It seems to me that just in the beginning of the century the permanent settlement not only settled permanent tenure upon those persons who are now called Zemindars, but also established the fixity of assessments, and as a right the ryots had fixity of assessment and the permanent hereditary proprietary rights of the soil. And so it was never intended that our ryots should have their property imperilled, destroyed and whittled away by constantly increasing the demands upon them for revenue." Fixity of tenure alone is of little value, so long as the land tax can be frequently and capriciously enhanced. The two rights—fixity of tenure and fixity of assessment—hang together and react on each other.

Now, as regards the duration of settlement. The Government of India had been in correspondence with the Secretary of State on this subject since October 1891. The proposals of Government of India for the introduction of short term settlements and progressive enhancements were knocked on the head by Lord Kimberley in a despatch issued in November 1893. The Government of India, not being satisfied with this decision, again pressed its views on Lord George Hamilton. His orders were conveyed in a despatch dated 24th October 1895 and summarised as follows:—

"Where a reasonable expectation of any particular term, whether thirty or twenty

years, has been created in the minds of the people by past practice, that term should be adhered to as the normal term of settlement. In backward tracts and under exceptional circumstances shorter terms may be fixed, and such circumstances and conditions may also justify an abbreviation, in the case of an individual of a District or portion of a District, of the normal term fixed as above. But, it will not be sufficient, for the purpose of such justification, merely to shew that it is inexpedient to impose at present the full term of enhancement which a consideration of existing assets would warrant. It will be necessary to go further and to show also that the present condition of the tract is such, and the development that may be reasonably anticipated so rapid, that at the end of the normal term, if not abbreviated, it will probably be found impossible to secure to the Government a reasonably full share of the assets as they may then be found to stand".

Applying these orders to provinces, the normal term is thirty years in Madras, Bombay, and the North West Provinces and twenty years in the Central Provinces and the Punjab. When the question arose in connection with the settlement of Tanjore, the Secretary of State, confirming the practice prevailing in this Province, decided in February 1897 that the term of settlement should be thirty and not twenty years, as recommended by the Local Government. Notwithstanding this decision, the standing order amended in May 1895 remains the same as it is, viz., "At each settlement and resettlement of a District, the Government will fix at its discretion the period for which such settlement or resettlement shall be in force. The Collector shall then notify the period in the District Gazette, and explain to the ryots that the new rates will not be liable to alteration during the currency of the settlement period". There was a time—that was in 1857—when the Madras Government advocated a fifty years' term. But the Secretary of State decided in favour of only thirty years. There were despatches issued by the Secretary of State in 1862 and 1865, promising a permanent settlement; and the reasons urged in those despatches in favour of that measure hold good to this day. The longer the term of settlement, the greater is the incentive to land improvement. The practical operation of the Ryotwari system evidently depends on the certainty and moderation of the Government demand. This is all the more important in a country where the pressure of population on land is so close, where no other occupation is available, and where a ryot must either cultivate or starve. In how far soever the land tax is variable, in so far landed property is insecure and the profit of improving it uncertain. How would it be possible to forecast with any certainty what assessment will be imposed on a particular field at the next revision, when the Government has no continuity of policy in the matter of revision settlements, when it does not choose to tell the people on what principles the assessment will be revised, at what intervals such revisions will take place, and what protection the Government will give the ryot against arbitrary enhancement? So long as these matters are left to be determined by the fiscal officers of the Government at each revision settlement, as it occurs, and so long as no limitation is imposed upon the maximum amount of enhancement at each revision, the proprietary right of the ryot will be of little or no value. What is more, the ryot is not even permitted to question in constituted law courts the propriety of any of these enhancements on any ground whatever. And those who wish to advocate the ryot's cause and expose the hollowness of the assertion that the assessments imposed under any plan of assessment do not exceed half the net profits are confronted with the new edition laws!

A policy which is liable to be abused, as it has been abused in this Presidency in actual administration, cannot possibly be acceptable to the people. In the Trichinopoly settlement, all lands which, in the opinion of the settlement officers, admitted of a large enhancement of assessment were reclassified. Similarly, in the Godavary and Krishna Districts—Districts which were not only declared in 1883 as having been "adequately assessed" but also singled out by the Board of Revenue as paying the heaviest assessment in the Presidency—the

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re-classification of soils in the Delta portions, was ordered on the ground that the Anicut irrigation had changed the character and nature of all soils *whether subject to the influence of irrigation or not*. When the benefit derived from canals is already paid for by water rates, I fail to see how it can be urged as a ground for re-classifying soils. We complain that the Secretary of State's despatch of January 1895 is not applicable to Madras. We complain that the amendment of the provisions of the Settlement Manual and the standing orders is unauthorised. We complain that the case of the Madras ryot, whose right stands on a more stable footing than in any other province in India, was never submitted to the decision of the Secretary of State. We say that there is nothing in the despatch to fetter the hands of the Government in giving effect to its past pledges and declarations, on the faith of which various titles were acquired. If the past pledges are to be respected regarding the term of settlement, why should they be cast to the winds when they relate to the principles of revisions of settlement? Surely, the direction that no future pledges should be given cannot mean that the past pledges should be broken. Even under the terms of the despatch in question, I wonder how the Madras Government can defend the re-classification operations carried on in the Trichinopoly, Godavery and Krishna Districts. Re-classification of soils is nothing less and nothing more than taxation of the ryots' improvements. It is also to be remembered that the average rate of taxation is already the highest in Madras. This is due to a larger share of the agricultural profits having been fixed as the Government share in the original settlements than in any other province. The average rate of assessment per cultivated area exclusive of local cases is Rs. 2-3-2 per acre in Madras against Rs. 1-3-0 in Bombay, Rs. 1-12-0 in the North West Provinces and Rs. 0-6-0 in the Central Provinces. The Cauvery, Godavery and Krishna irrigation works yield a direct return exceeding 15 per cent. on their capital cost—the highest rate of return obtained in any other province. The Madras ryot contributes more to the Imperial necessities and gets back less from the Imperial Exchequer than his brethren in other provinces. The Ryotwari tenure has been so changed as to have lost its fundamental characteristics. It is inconsistent with the good faith of the British Nation to deprive the ryots of the rights which they have long enjoyed—rights confirmed and respected by preceding administrations for nearly a century. The Government of law is the only one that can satisfy the needs of the British Indian Community and restore the confidence of the people. If the Government fails in adequately protecting the rights essential to the welfare of the people, it fails, in my opinion, in the most important portion of duty laid upon it.

We are not asking the Government to give us a permanent settlement like the one granted by Lord Cornwallis, though we should be perfectly justified in asking for it in the case of provinces which fulfil the condition laid down in the despatch of the Secretary of State for India of 1865. Nor are we formulating any new proposals. All that we ask is that the modified permanent settlement indicated in the resolutions of 1882 and 1884 of the Government of India be granted to us. (*Cheers*).

Mr. M. R. BODAS (Bombay) :—

Mr. M. R. Bodas.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which has been placed before you for your acceptance is not a new one and does not require many words from me to recommend it for your acceptance. But it is a resolution which touches a subject which is of perennial interest, and it ought to be therefore repeated every year until our grievance is remedied, until something is done by the Government to remedy the evils which are springing out of the present fiscal system, until the reactionary policy which is daily increasing the burdens on the ryots is reversed, and a more liberal and beneficent policy is adopted by the Government. It is a resolution which affects all our classes alike. It has been said that the resolution is designed to benefit a class of persons only, the persons who are most influential and therefore have the largest voice in the country, namely, the

landholders and the middlemen. But that is not so. The Congress represents not a particular section of the people but the whole people. It is bound to represent the interests of the masses as well as those of particular classes; and it is with the firm belief that the interests of the masses themselves require that the present fiscal policy should be more liberalised, that this resolution has been accepted by the Congress for the last ten years and has been repeated from year to year in one form or another. Had it not been for this belief, this resolution, I am sure, would never have come before you either to-day or before. Gentlemen, I am not going into the whole question of the Land Revenue administration or into the evils that have arisen from the various measures introduced by the Government of India as well as by the local Governments in the several provinces. It will not be difficult, if necessary, to show how all the classes in the country are interested in getting the present system modified. It is not only, as I said, a particular class that is interested in getting a permanent settlement of land revenue—the landholders are no doubt primarily interested and are directly affected by the present system—but the ryots also suffer because the burden of increased assessment ultimately falls upon them. Any permanency in the settlement will encourage the ryots to improve agriculture and enable them to get more and more prosperous. It will also benefit the traders, because under the present system the traders are left less and less margin of profit, in proportion to the increase in the assessment on the land. A permanent settlement will also benefit other classes who are affected by the slightest rise in the prices of food grains. It will also benefit the Government by lessening the rigour of the present system which is, we believe, the root and prime cause of the ryots' increasing poverty that was so glaringly demonstrated in the last year's famine. And if anything can be done to lessen that poverty, is it not the interest of the Government to do it? This subject therefore deserves to be considered most carefully and with the greatest deliberation not only by us in this Congress but by all persons whether officials or non-officials. I said just now that the present policy is not only derogatory to the interests of the masses but there is observable a tendency on the part of the authorities to go further and further in the same retrograde direction. And as the latest instance of such measures, I am going to mention a measure of the Bombay Government, which will be formally introduced into the Legislative Council during the next month. That measure, of course, relates to a particular class of people, the Khots of Ratnagiri District, but it illustrates the tendency. You are already familiar with the Khots, because resolutions regarding them have been before this Congress during the past years. The grievance of the Devgad Khots was so patent that even the Government of Bombay had to admit it and to promise to do something at an early date; but that time has not come during the last four years. They have promised and promised but they did not move, because they said they had no power to act under the present law. The Government said they were helpless and so they were obliged to amend the Act, and now we have got the proposed amendments before us. As soon as the Bill was published, the people at once saw what was the object of the Government as disclosed in the Bill. They professed to remedy the grievances of the inferior tenants. But they are going to do it with a vengeance, if I may use that expression. When that measure comes before the Local Legislative Council, I hope all the non-official members will join in pointing out the mischief which is likely to be done to the Khots as well as the tenants. Here I mention that instance, not for the harm that is likely to be done to a particular class of people or even to the population of a whole District or several Districts to which the measure may apply, but as showing the tendency towards a retrograde policy that we observe in the whole of the fiscal policy of the Government of India as well as the local Governments, a policy illustrated not only by this measure but by several other Tenancy Bills such as the one for the Central Provinces and another, which, I am told, is going to be shortly introduced into this Presidency also. I shall only mention two facts to show how this measure is likely to affect the ryots. You know the chief grievance of the Devgad Khots was that they had to pay much more to the Government than they were entitled to receive from the tenants. When for instance a Khot by the present law is entitled to receive only Rs. 700 for a village, he has to pay to the Government Rs. 2,000 for assessment. Where

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is the additional sum of Rs. 1,300 to come from? Surely out of his own pocket. Why should he pay it? Certainly the man will not be willing to pay Rs. 1,300 merely for the honour of being called a Khot. Naturally the Khots relinquish the villages and the Government attach them. That is the way the Government are forcing the Khots in Devgad to forego their property. They are compelling the landlords to forego their rights by this indirect method of compelling them to pay more than they are entitled to receive. That is a patent grievance which the Government have admitted long ago and about which they promised legislation. Now what have they done? In this Bill they provide that the Khots are to receive $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. over and above the assessment. The Government are not going to reduce a single pie from Rs. 2,000, so do not say a word about it; but the Khots must be content with $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., when formerly they received twice the assessment. Is this not spoliation? The Government are very careful of their own interest. The Khots must pay Rs. 2,000. In addition to that they will get $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the tenants, so that the whole assessment as well as the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. now falls upon the tenants. The Government, who have introduced this measure professedly in the interest of the ryots, have forgotten that ultimately the whole burden of the assessment as well as the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. falls upon the ryots. That is one aspect of the question. There is another side also. These landlords—practically they are landlords although the Government officials fight shy of the word—are now to get $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. when as a matter of fact they have hitherto been getting a much larger amount. The Government issued a resolution on the subject in 1876, a resolution representing a compromise between these Khots and the Government, upon the faith of which compromise the Khots withdrew many suits which they filed against the Government. The Khots were successful in the law Courts and the Government were forced to compromise the suits when the Act was passed in 1880 on the basis of the compromise as embodied in the previous resolution of 1876. The Government in that resolution promised that the rent due to the Khots from the tenants would never be less than 20 per cent. whereas by this Bill they fix it at $12\frac{1}{2}$, out of which again they have to pay half to the Local Fund. When a Khot does not pay the assessment, what do the Government do? They attach his village and confiscate it or simply keep it in attachment and appoint an officer to manage the village and collect revenue; and that officer is by the rules of the Government paid about 6 per cent. while the Khot, the owner of the village and landlord, gets almost the same. That is again not the whole thing. In other cases when the Khots have already entered into an agreement, they get 100 per cent. by the order of the Government. Here the Khot is to get 6 per cent. The officer of the Government gets 6 per cent. and the Khot gets the same with the additional liability of paying the whole assessment himself when the tenants fail. And yet the Khot originally colonised the village and has enjoyed the property for the last 100 or 200 years, has got Sannads from the Mussalman Emperors and has spent large sums of money to improve the agriculture of the village, in protecting the ryots from famine and in acting as a buffer as it were between the revenue officers and the ryots; and for all his pains the Khot is to get only 6 per cent. That is again not the whole thing. There is another provision in the Bill according to which the Khot is not entitled to get more than double the assessment on the land. I shall mention only one fact to show how this mischievous measure will compel the Khots to forego their proprietary rights. The Khots are not entitled to get more than double the assessment on the land. A Khot is to pay to the Government assessment for the whole Khata or holding, which might be, say Rs. 20. But by this provision the Khot will not be entitled to get more than Rs. 8, because only one-fifth of the land in the holding is generally cultivated. If the assessment on a piece of land actually cultivated is Rs. 4, the Khot will get Rs. 8, while he will have to pay the Government Rs. 20 and this surplus will have to come from his own pocket. The Khot under these circumstances will have no alternative but to leave his village and find his livelihood elsewhere. It is hard to see why legislation should deprive any class of persons of the private rights of property which they have enjoyed for a long time, for more than a hundred years. Can the Government confiscate the private property of any person or class by mere legislation? It is this principle

which is involved and it is an invasion of this principle that we should protect against. I am sure that the protest that this Congress is asked to make by this resolution and which is quite justified by this the latest attempt will be endorsed by all of you.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (Madras) :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to move runs as follows :—

That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the Frontier policy pursued for some years past by the Government of India is injurious to its best interests, inasmuch as it involves this country in frequent military expeditions beyond its natural limits and the practical starvation of the civil administration; that, as long as the policy is not radically reversed, and a return made to the older and the only safe policy of keeping within the statutory limits of the country, all declarations, no matter however confidently made, about the cessation of frontier troubles and the friendly attitude of frontier tribes are entitled to little weight as evidenced by the occurrences of the last few weeks in the Swat Valley which necessitated the holding in readiness of a considerable body of troops imposing fresh burdens on the Exchequer; and that, of all the expenditure which these military expeditions involve, an adequate share should be borne by the British Exchequer.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the resolution which I have the honor to move for your acceptance. This is a new resolution. It was first introduced at the very first meeting of the Congress in Bombay 14 years ago, this resolution has been pressed upon the public and Government. We condemned it in 1885 and have gone on condemning it year after year, condemning this mischievous and dangerous Frontier policy. Ladies and Gentlemen, what is the Frontier policy? It is not a policy which is prompted by or based upon the requirements of the internal security of the country, but it is a policy prompted by that spirit of aggression abroad and repression at home which has prevailed for some time. It is the result of military mandarins, as Sir Me Iyer said in the House of Commons, having acquired dominion in the Councils of India. It is a policy that explains to a great extent the financial embarrassment of the Government of India for many years and which explains the regrettable fact that very little attention is paid to the domestic reforms of the country. It is due to this aggressive foreign policy that at the present moment there is so much of discontent and unrest in the country from one end to the other. Ever since 1838, during these 60 years, the finances of the country have been greatly involved leading to much embarrassment, additional taxation and discontent in the country. From time to time, Ladies and Gentlemen, it so happens that the military clique at Simla succeeds in capturing our Viceroys and dictating its own laws to the Government of the country. Occasionally, of course, sagacious and strong rulers succeed in resisting the influence of this military clique. Lord Canning was one of such rulers, and Lord Northbrook, Lord Lawrence and Lord Ripon did succeed in resisting for a time this rolling tide of military influence, but on the whole during these years this military influence has succeeded in controlling the foreign policy of the Government of India; and the consequence is, as competent authorities have over and over again told us, that even during these 20 years so much as 100 crores of our money have been literally flung away beyond the natural frontiers of the Indian Empire. On the north-eastern as well as the north-western corner of this Empire, vast amounts of money have been thrown away in pursuit of this mischievous policy. And what is the consequence when so much of the revenues of the country is thrown away on military operations in strange and far off

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lands? The consequence is naturally the civil administration and the internal requirements of the country have to be starved, and no wonder, Ladies and Gentlemen, that if in one of our most obscure corners, the manager of a village school applies for a little addition to his furniture, the Director of Public Instruction says he has no funds. The Director appeals to the Provincial Government to make a little addition to his resources, and what does the Provincial Government say? "No funds" (*Cries of "Shame"*). Again in their turn the Provincial Governments appeal to the Government of India for various purposes to have a slight addition to their resources, and the Government of India comes out with the same story, "No funds". Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, you see how far-reaching and how thorough are the evil consequences of this policy. It is not merely big irrigation works and local Railways that are starved. It is not merely in the provincial projects, reforms or improvements or the introduction of improvements by the heads of departments, but even in the minutest details of administration, that the influence of this drain of foreign policy is felt. The evil is felt everywhere, and when public opinion expresses itself and when strong opposition is made to this policy of aggression outside the frontiers, the Government come out with their well-known explanation that "hereafter they will give no trouble, now that they have taught these frontier tribes a lesson." That is the explanation that always comes forward. Perhaps most of you have read the same explanation given by Lord Elgin in one of his speeches at Simla. Hardly did the breath die out on his lips, when again in the Swat Valley fresh troubles arose. The mad Fakir again made himself prominent and gave trouble to the Government of India. I think the Viceroy and the Commander-in-chief must have had at least two weeks of sleepless nights. Hardly did the Viceroy finish talking of these frontier tribes having received a lesson from this expedition and having made up their quarrels with the Government of India so that hereafter they would give no trouble, hardly did the Viceroy say this, when the mad Fakir came up and brought into play the elements of trouble always lying there. From time to time these expeditions are undertaken, enormous sums are spent, numbers of lives are lost, taxes are increased and discontent spreads. All these things go on, and will go on until this mad policy is altogether reversed. Again, Ladies and Gentlemen, you know in all these matters the final authority to decide about the policy is in London. You have heard it said that this frontier policy is justified in pursuit of those imperial interests of which the British statesmen are the custodians. Well and good. It is not our purpose, it is not our duty to dictate to the British statesmen who may be assumed to know their own duty; but still when these military operations are undertaken, when they cost us millions and millions of money, when we are called upon to find the cost of the so-called Frontier policy, we must have some right to express our disapproval of such a policy. Therefore if the British statesmen and their representatives in this country are anxious to accomplish imperial purposes by these frontier expeditions, or as the late Commander-in-chief said, if they want to civilise the savage frontier tribes, by all means let them do so, but let them not ask us to pay the cost. We have enough of wants amongst ourselves. We have enough of reforms which demand all the resources at our command, and these military expeditions beyond the frontier are not wanted for the purpose of internal security. Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, towards the cost which may arise from these military operations not only on the north-western but also north-eastern frontiers, it is but reasonable that we request Her Majesty's Government to pay at least partially from the British Exchequer. You know last year when this Afridi war was going on, there was a deliberate intention to give us some financial assistance, but, strange to say, our own Government, as our President observed yesterday, was against receiving any help from the British Government, although it was very much starved and money was required for very many purposes, even for the sacred purpose of saving the lives of the people suffering from famine, for which they had to go abegging over all parts of the world. When our financial condition was such, the Government had not the sagacity and wisdom to accept the help offered by the Government in England. Therefore it is a dangerous policy and therefore it is our duty in

this Congress to record our opinion that whenever any military operations are undertaken beyond the natural frontiers of India, the cost of those operations must be shared, at all events, between the British Exchequer and the Indian Exchequer. You know, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not without a precedent. In 1885 when Mr. Gladstone was the Premier, we had five millions granted to us to meet the cost of the second Afghan war. If last time we did not get any help from England, it was because our Finance Minister and our own Viceroy had not the wisdom to see that such a help was welcome at this crisis in our financial condition. For these reasons, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honor to move this resolution and command it for your acceptance. (*Cheers*).

Mr. CHARU CHANDER GHOSE (Bengal):—

Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates,—I beg to second this resolution which has been so ably moved by my learned leader Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, and in according to this resolution our most enthusiastic support, I feel, Sir, that we are in excellent company. Some of the most distinguished men who have adorned the annals of modern Indian History—one of them was very intimately connected with the Indian frontier affairs—and to whose foresight at a critical time in the History of our motherland the salvation of the Empire was due, have stated repeatedly that they should confine their energies to within the natural frontier of the Indian Empire and that they should consolidate the resources of the Empire and conciliate all classes. Need I remind you, Gentlemen, that I refer to no less a personage than the late Lord Lawrence who has deliberately put on record—I am quoting his exact words—"that the very proper course that the English out in India could pursue was to confine all their best energies to within the natural frontiers of India and that the very best Government which the English could possibly give to the Indian people ought to be given to them and that they should conciliate all classes and consolidate the resources of the Empire" (*Cheers*). The views of Lord Lawrence were and are shared by a host of other eminent Indian authorities: My learned leader Mr. G. Subramania Iyer has mentioned the name of Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook and Ripon the righteous. I shall only mention a few other names. Among military men most competent to form and express an opinion on this matter, we have the authorities of General Sir Henry Durand, General Sir Neville Chamberlaine and General Sir John Aylmer in favour of Lord Lawrence's view, and lastly we have the authority of one who has been described by no less a personage than Lord Rosebury as the highest living authority on these matters—I refer to Sir Donald Stewart. They are all agreed that the policy of Lord Lawrence was the right one and that the policy which has been in the ascendant in the Councils of the Empire for the last twenty years or so is not the right one. But it is said that the policy of Lord Lawrence is dead, and that we are in quest of a "scientific frontier" to-day. As Colonel Hannah, a name never mentioned by Indians without the deepest respect, points out that which is scientific is fixed and that which is unscientific is not fixed. If the scientific frontier is fixed to-day, it cannot be something which is not fixed to-morrow. If the scientific frontier is fixed in Chitral to-day, it cannot be in the cold regions of Tirah to-morrow. I say, therefore, that the wisest course for our administrators is to reverse the policy which has been in the ascendant in the Councils of the Empire and to return to the policy of Lord Lawrence and of Lord Ripon. I say let our rulers reverse the policy which has landed India, in the expressive words of the present Conservative member for Cardiff in the House of Commons, "into the position of subsidising all Central Asia from the Indus to the Oxus." I say let them reverse that policy and they will find the true scientific frontier in the grateful hearts of a loyal and contented people (*Cheers*).

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Second Day

Resolution VII.
Frontier Policy.

Mr. G. Subra-
mania Iyer.

Mr. Charu
Chander Ghose.

Second Day.

Resolution VIII.
Secret Press
Committees.Mr. W. A.
Chambers.

MR. W. A. CHAMBERS, (Bombay) who on rising was received with loud cheers, said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to move runs as follows:—

That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the establishment of Secret Press Committees in certain parts of India is highly objectionable and inconsistent with the spirit of British administration.

I conceive that there can be no man in this pandal and certainly no man who values the privileges of British citizenship who will take exception to a resolution of this character. We can understand, and many of us may sympathise to a degree with, those who, in their efforts for good Government, do their utmost to put down mischievous prints by the law as established in this country, but I cannot understand, as a man who values the privileges which are enjoyed by the Englishmen, that there should be established in any country administered by my own countrymen a law or rather an institution of this character. Now we are told, and it is a fact that the Press Committees are confined wholly to the Bombay Presidency. They are in existence particularly in Poona—that city which has been so grossly maligned and which has now been proved to be right in the face of the world. We believe that they are also in Bombay, I live in Bombay, but I have not yet been able to discover who are these Press Committees and what are their functions. But I do know that occasionally certain editors of Bombay papers receive mysterious communications. Well, now Gentlemen, as one of the speakers who addressed you before me mentioned, let us for one moment try to understand the motives of those who govern Bombay and who brought into existence these Press Committees. Their motives, the motives of Lord Sandhurst and Sir Charles Ollivant, the authors of these Press Committees, were admirable. Let us be fair and let us be just and therefore we must admit this; I believe that the motives of Lord Sandhurst and the motives of Sir Charles Ollivant in promoting or in establishing these Press Committees were admirable. They said, let us imagine, “We have now in India very stringent Press laws, and unless there be some one to guide the editors of native or Indian”—I prefer the word Indian—“newspapers, these editors may unwittingly place themselves in an awkward position; and as we have no desire and no wish to make respectable men criminals, we will set apart those who will advise these editors as to the right course which they should pursue. The advice must be given in a friendly manner and with an amicable intention”. That, I believe was the motive which actuated Lord Sandhurst; and that I believe was the motive which actuated Sir Charles Ollivant. That was their ideal. But like many ideals it has not been lived up to. We know that, instead of advice having been given to Indian editors in a friendly and amicable fashion, that advice has been given to them in such a manner as to frighten all public spirit out of some of them. That being so we are here to protest not against the motives of Lord Sandhurst nor of Sir Charles Ollivant, but against the manner in which those Press Committees have been carried on. When I happened to be in London a little while ago, there was placed in my hands an editorial which had appeared in an Indian paper published in the Bombay Presidency—an editorial commenting, as I thought and as I imagine every one in this pandal will think, in an usual and ordinary way upon a fact—for unfortunately it appears to be a fact—that justice as between Indians and Europeans is difficult to obtain in India (*Hear, hear*). It commented upon that fact, which is admitted by all who know India to be a fact, and which we often comment upon with grief. This unfortunate editor seems to have printed this article, which had it been sent to me—such would have been my innocence—I should have published without the slightest fear or compunction. Be that as it may, this editor published it in his newspaper and scarcely had it appeared—this incident is known to most of my Bombay friends—when he received a letter from a certain Magistrate in his

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official capacity warning him and telling him that the article was not in good taste. A copy of that letter and a copy of that article were sent to your friend Sir William Wedderburn (*Cheers*). When I saw this letter and this article I took it to the editor of a large London newspaper. I said. “This is the sort of thing that is taking place not in Russia, not in Germany, but in a country for whose Government you and I are responsible” (*Cheers*). He read the article, he thought it was quaintly written—as it was quaintly written—but he thought it was innocent enough. He then read the copy of the letter of the Magistrate and used one word and that word was “monstrous” (*Hear, hear and Cheers*). Now, Gentlemen, if that is the way in which the action of these Press Committees strikes an Englishman used to political controversies, then I say, if the sedition law will allow us, of which I am not certain, we may ourselves use a similar adjective. Why do Englishmen protest against the Press Committees? Simply and solely because they feel that the English administration which as a whole is beneficial to you will, because of these Press Committees, be rendered oppressive, and then you will in your despair forget the benefits of the administration. That is the reason why I am here now. However I have a message of hope to deliver to you. Do not be pessimistic. We have to-day passed many resolutions and you will pass many more resolutions at this Congress to-day and to-morrow. But whatever resolutions you may pass of whose fate I know not, this I do know and I am about to prophesy, there is one resolution which you will pass to which practical effect will be given, and that resolution is the one for which I am now pleading (*Cheers*). I have heard—and I am making no breach of confidence—that these Press Committees are against even the wishes of Lord George Hamilton himself. I believe that even he is annoyed that there should be in the Bombay Presidency institutions of this kind. When Lord George Hamilton who was reared in the traditions of re-action is annoyed at these Press Committees and the policy of these Press Committees, then I think we may fairly hope that the day of these Press Committees is about to come to the end. We are often told, Gentlemen, that we are impractical politicians. We are often told that all our agitations, as they term them, but as I call them our discussions, take a critical form; we criticise the Government and we do not propose any measure which they may term statesmanlike. We say that it is not true and that many of our proposals are of a distinctly practical character. But let us in regard to these Press Committees make one practical suggestion. Let us say, to the Bombay Government who, I believe, in this respect were actuated by the best of motives let us say to them, “Abolish your Press Committees and we will make a proposal to you. The proposal is this: if the editor of a newspaper publishes a statement which is untrue or publishes something which is detrimental to good Government—and which you think ought to be contradicted—then send to that editor your side of the case and ask the editor to publish it.” That has been the custom in some instances in Indian journalism. Personally I have received communications from official sources that such and such a statement which was in my paper was not true or was based on incorrect information, and what did I do? What would any honest man do? I immediately wrote another article based upon the new information I had from official quarters and tried to retrieve the wrong which I had unwittingly done. If the Government will pursue that policy and abolish the Press Committees and if they will ask the editors of Indian newspapers to publish, if they should think it necessary, the Government side of the question, then I am bound to say from my own knowledge of the Indian gentlemen who conduct Indian newspapers that there is not a single man in India who would not accede to that request and publish the official version (*Cheers*). That is a much better way of guiding Indian editors than threatening them in the way that some unfortunate men have been threatened. I hope I am not trenching upon the speech of the gentleman who will follow me, but some Poona officials have gone out of their way not to dictate to the Indian press, not to threaten the editors of that city, but have gone out of their way to talk to them and to reason with them and they have found that those editors whom they trusted and in whom they confided had never played them false. I say that policy should be the policy of the Government. We are told that these Press Committees

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are confined to Bombay only. The Bombay Presidency has been brought much before the world. We are getting tired and are rather sick of our prominence, and we should like others to take a share, and I can assure some of the other Presidencies that, unless the reactionary policy of which we have been speaking to-day is stopped, the Bombay presidency will not be the only one which will be honored by Committees of this character. I was talking a few moments ago to Mr. Surandranath Bannerjee and I said to him, "You have forgotten one lady, one figure which is likely in the near future to be very prominent in Indian society. You have forgotten the lady under whose sway India will be in a very few days, I allude to Lady Curzon." Now Lady Curzon, like all good wives, will have great influence with her husband. (*Laughter*). Lady Curzon is an American lady, a lady who comes from a land of freedom (*Cheers*), a land which some of us respect. They have no Press Committees in America. They have no interference with the Press there. In fact in some respects perhaps it might be desirable to interfere a little with some American pressmen. Therefore, you, Indian Gentlemen, go to Lady Curzon—and you are fond, I hear, of appealing to mother India—and appeal to Lady Curzon and ask that winsome American citizen to use her influence with her husband to bring about this reform which you desire so much. Her Ladyship then will be the most popular Vicerine that ever lived in Calcutta (*Cheers*). But, Gentlemen, apart from all this, I want you to understand that whether these Committees are abolished or not, you must do your duty as journalists, honestly and fearlessly, discuss in a respectful manner and loyal spirit your grievances, appeal to the Government when its officials go wrong, publicly protest against the Government policy when it is mistaken. Pursue that line of conduct in a loyal and respectful manner and whether there be Press Committees or no Press Committees, whether you be martyrs or not, you will have the satisfaction of being worthy of your country. (*Cheers*)

MR. N. C. KELKAR, (Poona) :—

Mr. N. C. Kel-
kar.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I believe it is now almost time to adjourn for tiffin. But as you owe it to Poona that you have here to discuss a resolution about the Press Committees, you will not mind owing it to Poona also that your tiffin is delayed by five minutes. It seems to be generally supposed that I have been a victim of the Press Committees in condemnation of which this proposition is moved, and I fear it was regarded as a point of propriety that I should be *for that reason* made a victim also of the necessity of there being some one to second the proposition. I appeal to you, Gentlemen, to say if it is right to victimise a man doubly again *because* he has been made a victim once already. Well, I may have been a victim of the Press Committees or perhaps on the other hand, I may have vitality enough in me to manage a hundred such Press Committees as are instituted in the Bombay Presidency. Whatever that may be I stand here before you not to be autobiographical nor to tell you a story of individual suffering. I am not here to ask your pity or commiseration but to ask your indignant vote against the hateful institution of the Press Committees which are only a thinly veiled press censorship, and as such a distinct disgrace to British rule in India. My leader has already told you about the genesis of the precious Press Committees and I do not want to add much to it. I simply say that the Press Committees were performances that were ushered in without any sort of a preface or a prelude to them. Mr. Chambers has said that the motives and intentions of Government in instituting Press Committees were very good. I do not deny that; I am put in mind, however, of a maxim which says that "the way to hell is paved with good intentions." I do not undertake to say whether the case of the Press Committees is one to which the maxim may be applicable. We shall be content to wait and judge by the results. As I have already said I do not wish to say much with regard to the genesis of the Press Committees; I shall, however, read to you an extract from a letter written by Mr. Lamb, the official and accredited representative of Government in Poona, in reply to an enquiry made by a Poona editor about the Press Committees which will be

an authoritative and official version of the institution of the Press Committees. Here is what he says :—

"Government considered that the weekly abstract compiled by the Reporter on the Native Press was lacking both in the rapidity and the closeness of scrutiny which it deemed desirable. It therefore instructed the District Magistrates to themselves arrange for the careful observation of the newspapers published in their Districts. The District Magistrate, not being able to undertake his duty personally, was empowered to form at Head-quarters a Committee subject to his immediate control, consisting of 3 or 5 members of whom the majority should be officials, and the President should be the Huzur Deputy Collector or the City Magistrate."

"At Poona, the late acting Collector Mr. Bonus accordingly constituted a Committee of 5, comprising the City Magistrate as President, the City Mamlatdar, the City Police Inspector and two non-official gentlemen, who in reply to his enquiries expressed their willingness to serve on the Committee. (By the bye this statement is not perfectly accurate and if it were relevant or pertinent to the present proposition I should certainly have controverted it.) The duty of the Committee is to bring to the notice of the District Magistrate anything appearing in any newspaper published in the District, which in the opinion of the Committee is deserving of the attention of the District Magistrate. The Committee is available for use, if the District Magistrate thinks fit, as an intermediary between himself and the Press of the District."

Gentlemen, we need not concern ourselves with the details of the elaborate scheme unfolded herein. It is no business of ours to inquire and examine whether the Native Press Reporter is really the lazy or incompetent fellow he is alleged to be and draws his pay for nothing; but we are concerned more pertinently with the general ostensible objects with which the Press Committees were represented to have been instituted. Now these objects are two-fold. (1) To institute a closer scrutiny of the Native Press and (2) creating an intermediary between the Government and the press. As for the first we have no objection whatever to such a scrutiny as the Government want if they have the time to do it. Let them if they like put on the eyes of a lynx and thereon also the most powerful magnifying glasses. We do not fear that, for what is once printed and published ought to be only as much open and definite to the lynx-and-magnifying-glass-eyed Government as to him who is content to use his unaided human eyes. But it must be remembered, Gentlemen, that when a man sets out with a *determination* to make a scrutiny, ten to one he is tempted to justify that scrutiny by reading between the lines what was never in the lines themselves or even in the mind of the writer for the matter of that. A close scrutiny will be only too welcome to us if the medium of the Press Committee would faithfully convey the good things as well as bad things that are said in the Native Press. At present, however, the Press Committees are acting the part of only a Devil's Advocate. As for the second object, *viz.*, creating an intermediary between the Government and the press, I think the Press Committees have never been realised to be anything more than a conduit-pipe with one end of it, however, hopelessly and hermetically sealed. While this conduit-pipe opens freely and sometimes invitingly where any information is to be drawn from the press, it promptly shuts up in the face of the press when any information is required from the Government. Whenever the Government are sought to be tapped for information through the Press Committees, the application is sure to be disposed of in the terms of one or the other of the formulas with which our Members of the Legislative Councils are so much familiar. But that is not all. Limited as is the scope of the Press Committees for any useful purpose, it is quite unlimited for mischief; for in two instances at least have the Press Committees already abused their powers in giving a warning to the newspaper editors, though I would challenge any one to point out a word in the statement of objects of the Press Committees as given by Mr. Lamb in his letter to the Bombay Government

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in the Legislative Council or Lord George Hamilton in Parliament, which could suggest that the Press Committees were authorized to give warnings. In that way you see, Gentlemen, that besides being a living terror to the editors, the Press Committees on more occasions than one have proved to be a mischievous agency. Our quarrel, however, is not with any particular Press Committee or any individual member of any particular Press Committee for such abuse of powers, but we object to the Press Committees as an institution, not because it has proved particularly mischievous in its operation but because it is an index to the suspicious and aggressive turn which the mind of the British Government has lately taken—because it is, as the President remarked the other day in his address, a sample of the reactionary policy which the Government have begun to manifest to the utter disappointment and disgust of all friends of progress. The Press Committees have come in only as a natural sequence to the amendments of the Criminal law. The Penal Code has, as mentioned to you just by one of your friends (the Honourable Mr. Jambulingam Mudaliar), made the entertainment of the slightest feeling of contempt for Government, howsoever natural and irresistible from the action of Government, an act of disloyalty and sedition and the Criminal Procedure Code came in next and gave wide and unlimited powers to the Magistrates over editors. The gun and gunpowder being thus ready, some agency was needed to blow up the editors by putting the spark to it. Gentlemen, that amiable function belongs to the Press Committees. At present most of the Districts in my Presidency such as Poona, Satara, Belgaon, Khandesh, (as our friend the Honourable Mr. Garud may tell you), have got their Press Committees. I only wonder how the other Provincial Governments have as yet neglected to equip themselves with this peace of armament—these land torpedoes to blow the editors up—(I do not know if they are as wise as our Bombay Government) and I wonder all the more because I think that the Native Press in the other provinces is not altogether a paragon of moderation or loyalty, judging, of course, by the absurd tests which have been applied to the press of the Bombay Presidency. A righteous hope was expressed not long ago by one of the speakers (Honourable Mr. Surendranath Bannerji) that the other provinces should not be without the Press Committees if they were really such good things as they are represented to be. Gentlemen, in the fulness of time perhaps you too may get them if you deserve them, though for your sake I wish you do not get them. But, as you all know, the poison of political reaction is infectious like the plague poison, and it is very likely to catch the officialdom in other parts of India except when it may meet with such exceptionally strong anti-dispositioned constitutions as that of your good Governor Sir Arthur Havelock, or your good Lieutenant-Governor Sir Antony Macdonell. Well, that is why, Gentlemen, we in Congress assembled must protest against the Press Committees. I know it may be said that our protest is uncalled for and our denunciation unjustifiable, because there is not a press censorship in India. But, as the very resolution says, the Press Committees are secret and I know that the Press Committees are not in the recognised form of a press censorship under which newspaper articles have to be submitted for Magisterial revision before publication; but one could be a tyrant without actually being a Sultan of Turkey; so also there can be a press censorship without its being in its usually recognised form. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition and hope you will readily accept it.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned for lunch at 2-20 P.M. and re-assembled at 3 P.M.

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Mr. G. S. KHAPARDE (Amraoti):—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I wish to submit for your acceptance reads as follows:—

“That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disapproval of the reactionary policy of Government with regard to Local Self-Government recently inaugurated by the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill into the Bengal Legislative Council, the creation of the Bombay City Improvement Trust without adequate popular representation, and its action in other directions.”

This resolution, you will see, may be said to be divided into three parts; the first is the general part, namely, the reactionary policy of the Government with regard to Local Self-Government, the second is the instances given of it in Calcutta and Bombay, and the third is “other directions” which means all over India generally. First taking the whole thing in its proper order, what was the reactionary policy, what was the action and what was the reaction? The action was that the Government very properly thought that in the management of local affairs the assistance of local people should be taken and as far as possible all local matters should be left to local persons themselves. This great policy inaugurated by Lord Ripon and accepted all over the country was hailed, you may say, as the great redeeming part of British administration. Very good. Where then has been the reaction? This policy, being started when Lord Ripon issued his celebrated resolution, had to be carried out and the carrying out of it fell into the hands of the executive officers. They very naturally wanted to keep something for themselves. This meant the taking away of their authority over local matters which they would like to retain in their own hands. They, therefore, introduced some small devices. I am not going to speak at great length and therefore I will speak to you in technical terms. To Calcutta they gave a “Master-Servant” and to Bombay a “Servant-Master.” I will explain my meaning. In Calcutta, in giving the elective system to popular bodies, they appointed a Chairman who is an official and master of the whole situation. But he was also the servant in the sense that his pay came out of the rate-payers’ money. In Bombay they gave you a servant-master, i.e., a Commissioner of the Municipality or Corporation as it is called. He is in a position somewhat similar to that of a paid Secretary, as he gets his pay out of the funds of the ratepayers. So far he is a servant. He is a master also, as he is a Civilian generally, a member of the heaven-born service. He does not take his orders always from the Corporation, and on one memorable occasion he declined to produce the records of the Municipality for the inspection of the Municipality itself (*Laughter*). You see in Calcutta they had a master-servant; in Bombay they had a servant-master. All of you, I am sure, have seen a bottle of soda. I may say there is a good deal of gas locked up in it. How do you keep it secure from escaping? You put a cork and press the gas in by a stopper from above and introduce a ball to make it fit and tight. Sometimes the soda water is too strong and the bottle is in danger of exploding. Then you pour a little more water to make soda flat or to adulterate it. When this reactionary policy came, they thought of applying both these methods. I shall illustrate to you both these methods. We shall take Calcutta first as being the metropolis or chief town of the whole of India. They applied the stopper process, as I told you, by giving a Chairman who is to be an official person. They thought the stopper was not enough. Bengal has the reputation of having too much gas, uncontrollable gas, and they said, “This stopper is not enough and we must adulterate a little of this body.” (*Laughter*.) Naturally adulteration means introducing official members and diluting it a little bit more (*Laughter*.) There used to be what is known as the General Committee. This term “General Committee” is slightly misleading. In our part of the country, by “General Committee” we mean a Committee of the whole Corporation. This is not so in Calcutta.

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In Calcutta "General Committee" means the Managing Committee of the Corporation. In Bombay it would be known as the Standing Committee. Into this body adulteration had to be introduced. They did it very wisely, I suppose. Four of these members were nominated straight by the Government, four others were nominated to represent what is euphemistically called trade interests but practically the European merchants and the Chamber of Commerce, and the remaining four fell to the lot of the Corporation. That is to say, those persons who contribute the whole of the money get only one-third of the nominating business and the rest goes to those who contribute very little—or if they contribute anything at all it does not fall heavy on them, but is only like a flea-bite. This is not all. The stopper had to be made strong. You know that in the soda water bottle there is a small rubber ring that makes the ball fit. The Chairman of the Committee used to be a responsible member and when he went wrong he could be called to account. But this did not suit. And now he has been made an irresponsible person and he is not to be called to account by anybody. That also would not be quite enough. To make it still better, this General Committee, this Managing Committee has also been made very greatly irresponsible. All that the Corporation has now got left to itself is merely the electing of this general body or rather sending only four of its number to this General Committee and doing nothing afterwards. This is the whole function given to the Corporation under this improved Local Self-Government Bill that the Government are going to bring out very shortly. What makes me feel very angry is that they want to do away with the Municipal Corporation itself. You know that according to the law of evolution when a limb is not exercised for a long time, that limb decays, and in course of time, ceases to exist. The Government know the law of evolution and knowing it they have given no function to the Corporation, so that this Corporation for want of exercise may die a natural death, and when it dies a natural death the Government will say, "What can we do? We wanted to do everything and wanted to help you, but your people would not exercise the functions assigned to them." This is the position to which the Government have brought this celebrated Corporation of Calcutta. Do not look upon it as a local matter. I look upon it as a sort of imperial matter, because Calcutta is the metropolis of India and has been the longest under British influence and British ideas. Education has been there from the very beginning. If there is anything which British education and Western thought have succeeded in implanting amongst Eastern nations, the highest fruit of it you see in Bengal. There the Self-Government naturally took root and the people have come to like it, and they like it so much that when it is threatened the whole of Bengal is in constitutional rebellion, if such a phrase can be used. They are in a constitutionally rebellious state. You can quite understand the feeling that there is on that side. I do not propose to go into the details of this matter.

I shall pass on with your permission to the sister Presidency of Bombay. I am more connected with the Bombay Presidency as a near neighbour. As compared with Bombay our province is but a poor man's cottage, simply an out-house attached and yet not attached to the mansion of the Bombay Presidency. Let us see what there is in Bombay. In Bombay they have a Corporation and have a Standing Committee and also a Chairman. The Chairman was elected by the Corporation itself and the Standing Committee was also elected by the Corporation and between them they managed all their affairs. But that was not good to the people, there was too much of the people in the Corporation. So they wanted to have something new in it and something new had therefore to be brought. But that could not be easily forced into the local Council or otherwise they had certain difficulties which they could not get over. When a plant is growing too fast you cannot cut it; it is unfavourable. So to arrest its growth sunshine has to be avoided and then the plant dies. So far as this Corporation was concerned some shade had to be brought and the City Improvement Trust was introduced. What the City Improvement Trust is, God alone knows. If the City is to be improved, cannot all the members of the Corpor-

ation sit together and improve it? I went to Bombay as a boy of 17 and spent there nearly 20 years for one reason or another. Bombay was improving every day to such an extent that if I went to Bombay now after an absence of four years, Bombay would look to me quite a new city with so many lanes laid out and so many improvements made. And yet that improvement was not enough for the Government and they wanted to have it still further improved. It is not enough to do a good thing but you must do a good thing in a good manner. It is not a good thing merely to die, but you must die scientifically (*Laughter.*) They say that if the Corporation do good in their way, that is not the scientific way of doing good. The scientific way of doing good is to have this City Improvement Trust. This Trust is divided and sub-divided into four Committees. There is the Finance Committee, there is the City Improvement Committee, that is, the Committee for the improvement of the city proper,—just as the town is divided into town proper, the citadel and the suburb, so the City Improvement Committee means the Citadel Committee—the third is the Suburb Reclamation Committee, and the fourth is the Lane Committee. The Corporation naturally demurred to the position of this body and they said, "Give us the whole thing, we shall manage it for ourselves." "No doubt they are willing to do it, but they are sure to do it badly and therefore there is no use of letting them do it. They are bound not to do it well. What is the use of their doing it if it has to be re-done afterwards? They are well known for their incapacity." So said the Government. The Corporation said, "Give us half the number and you have the other half; we shall manage it." This would not suit the Government. That is not good. In order that the improvement may be effective and real, they must not be in a hopeless minority; and therefore to avoid being in a hopeless minority in a Committee consisting of fourteen, the Corporation which supplies all the money was permitted by the Government to send only four men. This is good. There is a further thing which you have not yet heard. This body is to be divided into Sub-Committees. One would imagine that these Sub-Committees would be elected by the City Improvement Trust. Not so. In fact the Chairman brings out a list showing so many on each Committee; and when the members try to discuss the matter, he says, "It is not your business. I have appointed you. You must serve there." These four members have not even a voice in the matter of electing office-bearers. Have any of you ever come across a body of this kind? I have never come across a Corporation which does not have a voice in the election of its own office-bearers. However that is the situation. For whom was this situation created? For those persons who contribute the whole of the money. This is the division of labour, as one gentleman pointed out yesterday. (*Laughter.*) It is something like saying, "You will prepare the dinner, I will eat it for you; you will build the house, I will live in it; you will spread the bed and I will sleep on it." (*Laughter.*) That is the division of labour in which work has been carried on in Bombay.

In Poona which is a nearer place the same process is being applied. There the adulteration process comes into a more prominent position. The city is inhabited by Poona Brahmins, the Deccan Brahmins, a factious and troublesome lot. [*Laughter.*] They always want to fight for their rights and are very noisy. (*Laughter.*) You know if you submit you are a good man, if you do not you are a factious man. In this sense the Poona Brahmins are a very troublesome lot. [*Laughter.*] They have to be properly brought under control. How do you do it? By introducing eight more members. By introducing eight Government nominees you make it a little stronger, and the way to make it still stronger is to have a general election. There are various persons who stand for election and in some of them the people have no trust and straightway reject them. The Government takes them and puts them in as nominated members, as much as saying, "You don't want to send this man but we will send him in and you will see the fun." That is the situation in Poona. In that little cottage of mine where I live, that is the out-house of the Government of India or if you please the lumber-room, namely, the Central Provinces and Berar, there are a number of Municipalities all over the Provinces, and it was considered that some of these Districts had rustic

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Taluks. The people do not understand their ways, and what is the use of giving them any elective system. (*Laughter.*) On that supposition the Government decided that out of twelve in Berar seven were not to have it. There were the remaining five and it was found that these people could not exercise their rights wisely, and so some of them have been deprived of the elective franchise. Permit me to tell you that Local Self-Government has been in existence amongst us from time immemorial. In our own houses there are the Mirdana and the Zenana where the ladies stay. We have given Self-Government to our ladies. Let them keep the house as clean as they can and I do not object to it. (*Laughter.*) Let them have the right of washing the pots and pans, and I do not object to it. (*Laughter.*) I have no objection to their preparing the meals as well as they can and I will eat them. (*Laughter.*) This Local Self-Government has been in existence from time immemorial. This is the Local Self-Government given to us in our chief towns and in the mofussils. You can sweep them as much as you like, but if you proceed a little further and interfere in matters of finance and administration, if you object to an item here and an item there, then you are overstepping your boundary and obviously you are unfit to be in that position. (*Laughter.*) So the Government says the best thing is to have a Government nominee. I rather speak with a certain amount of feeling on the subject. I passed through the fire and had my fingers burnt. I have myself worked for an institution for 7 years and brought it to a good state of efficiency, but afterwards I was turned out because they said I was incompetent. (*Cries of "Shame"*) That is the process. I have been endeavouring to give you an explanation of this reactionary policy. This explanation is that the principle is accepted and in the working out of it small bits in derogation of the principle are introduced. Just as in the dinner it is of no use having all sugar and sugar balls and *laddus*, but you must have *chutnies* also, so these savoury things are given, namely, the master-servant in Calcutta and the servant-master in Bombay. They have an official Chairman, and an official Chairman is all that they want. The official Chairman is Bada Sahab. He is a little pocket edition of God Almighty, (*laughter*), having revenue powers, civil powers, criminal powers, and powers of general administration. There is no power which I know he has not got. If he says, "I want this thing to be carried," you will probably have to say "Yes Hoozoor"; and if you do not say so, he will say, "This man has fumes in his brains and he is letting it out little by little." (*Laughter.*)

I have now done. Gentlemen, I intended only to speak about principles, and I think I have told you the general principles. The general principle of the reactionary policy is the method of putting a tight cork, the next is the process of adulterating the mixture that is inside, and the third is the process of letting out a little. It is the letting out process that has happened at Poona. Certain gentlemen, whom people never wanted though they offered themselves for election and whom the people rejected, were accepted by the Government. That is the process of letting out. In the ancient Hindu system of Medicine which is deficient in surgery, we have what is called *Potavidhi*. You have a burning charcoal and apply it to the portion that you want to operate upon and thus make it sore and keep the sore running until all the bad humours have run out through the sore and you then heal it. It is the system of *Potavidhi* that is now applied by the British Government to get Local Self-Government under proper control. If you agree to these proposals of the Government, my proposition is of no use whatever. But if you do not agree with them, if you think that the State is an organism and as an organism has a life and body and that every part of the living organism should be given a fair play and good exercise, if you believe that without adequate exercise a part of the body will deteriorate eventually, if you agree that the parts should be so knit together as to show due subordination and due responsibility so that if you pinch the finger the whole body is hurt, if one part is injured it is injury to the whole, if the whole body is to move with all its parts, then I beg of you to kindly accept the proposition which I place before you (*Cheers.*)

Mr. J. CHOWDHURI (Bengal):—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The learned mover of this resolution has popularly explained the general principles on which the Bill which is now in progress is being introduced into the Bengal Council curtailing the powers of our elected Commissioners. It has been most clearly explained by my learned predecessor, Mr. Khaparde, and it is not possible for me to explain to you those general principles in a more lucid or witty language. In the course of his speech he undoubtedly has a sarcasm that the Bengalis are too much given to gas. It is for this reason that I shall confine myself to facts, chapter and verse, and shall not let out a single bubble of gas in this assembly. I shall take for my text the indictment, I do not call it a Bill, that is now pending before the Bengal Council. Properly it is not a Bill. But it is an indictment against the Calcutta Corporation, not only against the Calcutta Corporation but against the cause of Local Self-Government in this country. I shall take for my text the brief address at the end of the debate of our late Lieutenant-Governor, and although I would not trouble you with quotations, still you may take it that whatever I tell you is taken word for word from his speech. In the first place let me take the indictment against the Calcutta Municipality. You have heard my Hon'ble friend Mr. Surandrauath Bannerji say that the predecessors of the present Lieutenant-Governor in office have given excellent character to the Calcutta Corporation, that the Calcutta Corporation have discharged their duties most faithfully and that the Commissioners have, in the discharge of their duties, undergone a great amount of sacrifice. For all this they got none of the half-pennies but only kicks. The present Lieutenant-Governor taking the cue from the late Lieutenant-Governor said that he fully admitted that the Corporation had done their work. But let me ask how were they wanting in duty or where were the Corporation going on? In the first place they were not wanting in their duties; in the next place sometimes there was an agitation in the commercial circles and amongst Anglo-Indian communities that the reform for sanitary improvements were not carried out as fast as possible. But the Lieutenant-Governor himself acknowledged that the Calcutta Corporation were not wanting in plans for sanitary improvements. The first charge, as it has been repeated by our present Lieutenant-Governor, was that they were over-zealous, they did their duties with a great amount of self-sacrifice and zeal and that the Commissioner could not keep pace with them. I shall give you some truths to illustrate this fact. If you read Sir Alexander Mackenzie's speech at the close of the debate when the Bill was introduced in the Bengal Council, you will find that he candidly acknowledged that it was the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation who could not stand the strain of his duties. Now I shall tell you what exactly has been the state for the last few years. Every Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation except Mr. Harry Lea has broken down under his arduous duties. Why is it so? You will find in the very speech of Sir Alexander Mackenzie he states one instance wherein he alludes to our present Chairman of our Calcutta Corporation. The Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation came to see him, and staggered in his room. Why? What was the explanation? Sir Alexander Mackenzie asked him, "What is the news?" He said, "After my ordinary duties I had been sitting with a Committee for the last four hours". That is the strain which is too much for a Civilian officer at the head of a District, who is responsible to nobody except perhaps occasionally to the Lieutenant Governor, who, I believe, is left free at the head of the Calcutta Corporation while there are 75 sturdy representatives of 700,000 inhabitants of Calcutta. I may say that I do not hold a brief for the Calcutta Corporation. Neither am I a Municipal Commissioner, nor have I an ambition to be such, but considering the treatment they have received from the Lieutenant Governor in recent times, I have thought it fit to place the situation before you. I am not well acquainted with the details of the Calcutta Corporation, I am speaking as a citizen of Calcutta, as a tax-payer and a representative of the tax-payer and not as a representative of the Commissioners. They know too well how we take them to task and we make them responsible. Those reports on which Sir Alexander Mackenzie bases his charges

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against the Municipal Commissioners are absolutely baseless. Sir Alexander Mackenzie says in his speech specifically that the health of the Chairman broke down owing to the deliberations of Sub-Committees which he has got to watch, over and above his own duties. You may be anxious to know what are the duties of the Committees and Sub-Committees and whether it is the proper sphere of the work of the Chairman or of the Commissioners to go into their work. I was telling you one moment before that there were certain charges brought against our Commissioners, some of our representatives, that there was a great deal of jobbery—I use the very words—nay, corruption among the Municipal Commissioners. I tell you that is the most unwarranted charge against our Municipal Commissioners. You know that in England and other countries which have elective institutions based on the principle of election, there is always a certain amount of favour shown by the elected members to their constituents or their personal friends. I do not go the length of saying that our Municipal Commissioners do not show such personal favour to their friends. They may do it occasionally, but you cannot call it a jobbery. The Municipal Commissioners may occasionally show favour by recommending a friend of theirs for a clerkship or an indigent relation of theirs for some appointment; but then there are worse pieces of jobbery that take place under every system of Government. That is not a sufficient ground for depriving the citizens of Calcutta of the power of electing their members and of seeing their money spent by their elected members and of being governed by them.

I shall tell you the respective duties of the Chairman, Municipal Commissioners and Sub-Committees and Committees which are the cause of the ruin of the health of so many Chairmen of the Calcutta Corporation. I shall give you some facts, very recent ones. You know that there is a Town Hall in Calcutta. It is a very old building, and for the avowed object that St. Andrew's dinner might be held in proper time in that hall, the Calcutta Corporation was prevailed upon to repair this building at a cost of Rs. 35,000. With reference to this old dilapidated building, the elected members of the Corporation said, "We shall rather pull down that building and put up a new one. What is the good of repairing that building at a cost of Rs. 35,000?" It was expressly given out, and I believe that was the real object, that St. Andrew's dinner might be held there. When the proposition was voted upon, the Commissioners quite nicely and graciously accepted it with the result that Rs. 35,000 were allotted to be spent by the Engineering Department of the Calcutta Corporation. It was too little and therefore, was exhausted too soon. I have been looking at that building for the last 20 years, and after the repairs I must say I do not see any change in it. Later on a sum of Rs. 150,000 was spent in repairing that building and out of that amount some of the works charged for were never performed or done by the Engineers. I ask you if that is not the case. I ask anybody to contradict me from official quarters or any quarters that this is not exactly the truth. There was a drainage system, and the members of the Corporation engaged the services of an expert. Mr. Baldwin was engaged, he came and submitted the report. They found that Messrs. Kimber and Hughes, the Engineers of the Corporation, drew up an estimate and said that they had put it at the highest possible figure; but later on when the Bill was presented, it exceeded the estimate by 4 lakhs of rupees. These things are not liked by the Municipal Commissioners who look to the interest of rate-payers. The present Lieutenant-Governor says that the object of the Government is to strengthen the hands of the executive. I may also tell you that within recent times a more appalling instance of jobbery has occurred in the Engineering Department. In this instance an estimate had been prepared and presented for 3 lakhs, but on closer examination by some of the Commissioners an error was detected. What do you think the magnitude of the error was? The error was a lakh of rupees—a very insignificant quantity! The Commissioners are bound to look after our interests, they have to take the Chairman to task for such things and they have to revise the accounts and the estimates of the Engineering Department which cannot be done by amateurs of the Chamber of

Commerce or other men who have got other business to attend to and go there with no interests at stake. But the people who represent us look after the interests of the tax-payers and are bound to look into the accounts carefully, and when this question was brought before the Chairman he interfered and said, "You are unduly interfering with us"; but when the discovery of a mistake was made, he was satisfied. That forms the subject of consideration by the Select Committee. Now there is another instance. A bill was sanctioned for the laying of pipes to the length of 1,400 feet. The street in which they were laid did not exceed the length of 600 feet. The Commissioners questioned how 1,400 feet of piping could be laid in a street not exceeding 600 feet in length. That is undue interference! For such undue interference the Municipal Commissioners are going to be deprived of their control over the Municipal Corporation. There is another thing and I am glad to tell you that in that respect also Sir Alexander Mackenzie has proved a false prophet. He said that this Bill was required for emergencies such as the plague. Whether the plague came to Calcutta or not, the scare came. All the good citizens were there, and what did they do at that time? They sent away their wives and children to their country houses, but the citizens did not leave the town. They went round volunteering to help the cause of the poor. Sir Alexander Mackenzie said that the Corporation was not representative of the poorer classes. But mind you, who are the representatives of the poorer classes? Is it the four men who are to be elected by the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Association? Are they the representatives of the poor? What is their interest in this country? Their interest is here to make money and spend it at home, to make their family comfortable. But we, the tax-payers who live in the country, the citizens of this city who are to look after the interests of the poor, are not the representatives of the poor! My friend, the learned mover of the resolution, alluded to the Brahmin community of Poona and in that connection he mentioned the name of Mr. Tilak. I did not know Mr. Tilak personally before, and the first time I came to know him was in connection with the services which I offered to him in my professional capacity. You will find in Mr. Justice Strachey's charge to the Jury that he speaks in appreciative terms of the services rendered by Mr. Tilak to his fellow citizens of Poona. What happened in Calcutta when the time of distress came? None of the members of the Chamber of Commerce or the Trades Association, being too busy men, volunteered to go round every ward visiting houses from door to door, to establish hospitals and look to the interest of the rate-payers. No European was seen to come. Of course the officials were in duty bound to come. In a crisis like this, the Calcutta Corporation is deprived of its power, and if the representatives of the Corporation have no voice in the matter, do you think there will be that energetic co-operation for the good of the poorer classes that there was during the plague scare? Never. For all these reasons I put the resolution to the assembled Delegates of the Congress and I am sure that you will approve every word of it. With regard to the last portion of the resolution my friend from the Bombay Presidency will deal with it.

MR. B. S. SAHASRABUDDHE (Satara):—

MR. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I request you to accept the proposition that has been so ably moved by our friend Mr. Khaparde and seconded by our friend from Bengal. As stated by the seconder, I would take up the last portion of the resolution in the few remarks that I wish to address you. I take the words "its action in other directions." I take the word "its" to mean Government's, and I will, therefore, deal with Government's action in other directions. I shall confine my remarks to the Poona Municipality and the Municipality of Dharwar where there has been some misunderstanding. All know what the policy was and what the reactionary policy was. I shall give you briefly the history of the Local Self-Government that was introduced in the Bombay Presidency. An Act that was first introduced in the Bombay Presidency.

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Act VI of 1873, recognised the principle of elective franchise, but it was not introduced till the Government of Lord Ripon forced the Government of Bombay to pass a legislation on the terms of the resolution of the 18th May 1882. As the Bombay Government were compelled they took up the matter, and Act II of 1884 was passed. When the Act was introduced, the Poona Municipality was first to receive the best attention from the then Government. It will be seen that in all other Districts the elective franchise was not given to more than one half. But in Poona two-thirds of the body were to be elected by the people while one-third were to be nominated by the Government. That Corporation has existed for 15 years and it will be seen that during these 15 years there have been several improvements made and that the Commissioner has reported from time to time that the work of the Municipality has been very satisfactory. Unfortunately this natural calamity came there, and other elements joined these disturbing elements and created a prejudice against the Poona Brahmins; and in that heat the number of nominated members was increased from 10 to 18. I, for myself, have not read the papers, have not come across any reason as to why this change had been made. One can very well understand why that was made. It was because that the Government wanted to have many members on their side, many nominees of Government as they were called. As I have said already when the Act was first introduced there were two-thirds allowed to be elected, and after 15 years' experience during which there was nothing to be said against the Municipality, a resolution was sent out saying that 8 more members should be added, thus bringing the number of nominated members to 18. We can very well see the retrograde step that was taken by the Government. I really do not see why that step was taken. When Poona was first selected for the privilege of electing two-thirds of the members, I cannot understand why this increase in the number of the nominated members was thought necessary. Mr. Khaparde has touched upon the question who are the nominees that have been nominated. They were persons that were not elected by the people. Such persons as were not elected by the people were taken up by the Government and sent out as their nominees. Is that not a retrograde step? Can anybody justify that action of the Government? When 15 years ago Poona was thought a worthy object of Local Self-Government, I do not see any reason why now after 15 years it should be said that it is not fit to manage its local matters. I thus bring to your notice the retrograde step taken by Government. The word used in the resolution is "its." Has any gentlemen spoken about it? One gentleman spoke about the Municipality of Calcutta, while another gentleman has spoken of the general proposition and touched upon the Bombay Municipality. It is, therefore, left to me to speak of the Government's action in other directions. I know one instance of the Poona Municipality which I should like to bring to your notice. It was anticipated in the beginning by the non-official members of that body—the Hon'ble Mr. Tyabji and Rao Saheb Mandlik saw—that some difficulties would crop up and therefore they said that some provision should be made; but the then Governor assured them that it was absolutely impossible for the Government to withdraw any concession unless it found that there was really a proved failure. So far as I know there was no proved failure on the part of the Municipality. While such has been the case with regard to Poona, the second city in the Presidency, it is no wonder that they are taking steps with regard to other cities also. I shall give you another instance and it is in connection with the Dharwar Municipality. I believe you must have heard of the treatment accorded to the Municipality in the matter of Hingreevachar's case. The Collector, the official President, told them in open assembly that he would turn them out. It is really a curious thing to find that although this official President has not got so much power in him yet he tried to exercise that power to the harm and injury of the people's representatives. There were many Graduates then and other persons, and all of them were told that they would be turned out, and it was an affront given to them. A memorial was thereupon addressed to the Government of Bombay and no answer has been received. This is the kind of treatment that the official President had accorded to the members. It is but natural that the Collector who had lost the power should now want to regain that power; and it is impossible to give it to him

unless the Government resort to these reactionary measures; and it is our bounden duty to raise our voice at the very first time and say that the Government have not taken a wise step in taking a reactionary course. I hope, Gentlemen, for these reasons, you will accept the resolution which has been put before you.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT:—The next resolution is in these terms:—

"That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform."

This question has been so completely threshed out at different meetings of the Congress that I do not think that any formal speeches should be made on it. I have therefore the privilege of proposing to you the resolution for your acceptance, and in doing so I will only make one observation that in the address which I delivered yesterday the whole of which I had not read, if any of my Brother-Delegates has done me the honour of reading it, you will find certain aspects of this question dealt with therein.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

DR. NILRATAN SIRCAR (Bengal):—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I presume it is with feelings of the deepest sorrow that we take up this question which is associated with that very noble and not less dear memory of our late lamented friend, Dr. Bahadurji. It was he and he alone that could competently deal with the subject and could create an interest in it. But this audience shall no longer have any occasion to listen to the ringing words of Dr. Bahadurji. A noble soul has passed away while yet in harness, never to return to this world of iniquities again. It is a desire to do honour to his memory as well as a conviction of the urgency, necessity and justice of this cause that has led me to place before you this resolution. In other countries, where successors follow in the foot-steps of predecessors, even when some of its supporters are snatched away by the hands of death, the good cause goes on to make head. But where hands are so few we can ill afford to spare the services of such workers as our late lamented friend.

Gentlemen, with your permission I shall first take up the part of the resolution dealing with the pay, promotion and prospects of the Civil Assistant Surgeons. We all know that recently the Government of India have published some resolutions which, it is supposed, will ameliorate, to some extent, the present miserable condition of the Civil Assistant Surgeons. The proposals that have been adopted by the Government of India are (1) the abolition of the unemployed pay system, (2) the creation of a new grade (the senior grade) on Rs. 300, (3) the reservation of 19 Civil Surgencies for the Civil Assistant Surgeons.

As for the creation of a new grade on Rs. 300, it would have been a distinct boon to the people of this country if at the time of the introduction of this new grade the promotion rules had not been tampered with. Formerly there were three grades in the service, with a pay scale of Rs. 100, Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 a month. But then the promotion was unrestricted

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Re-constitution of the Civil and Military Medical Service.

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inasmuch as every one in the service was allowed to compete for the Septennial examinations without any restriction. But, now the promotion rules have been so framed as to prevent an officer from going up for the Second Septennial examination, unless he holds a certificate from the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals to the effect that he is competent to be promoted to a higher grade than that on Rs. 150 a month. That practically closes the prospects and promotion of most of our friends beyond the grade on Rs. 150. Then again it is laid down that it is not necessary that all the appointments to the senior grade, which can be made under these orders, *should be made at once*; and also that the promotion from the first grade on Rs. 200 to the senior grade on Rs. 300 will be made *entirely by selection* and not by *examination*. So there is very little prospect for the majority of the members of the service of ever rising from the grade on Rs. 200 to the senior grade on Rs. 300. Only for a few there is some prospect and that is through the back door of favoritism.

As for the 19 Civil Surgencies reserved for the Civil Assistant Surgeons, we have certainly reasons to be somewhat thankful to the Government of India. But at the same time we should not forget that the very reasonable proposals of the Government of Bengal, to definitely specify a certain number of posts in each province for the Assistant Surgeons, have been rejected by the Government of India. They have further ruled that the Civil Assistant Surgeons should be appointed to a certain number of stations, *if that be arranged with due regard* to the number of Civil Surgencies reserved for the Commissioned Medical Officers and for Military Assistant Surgeons. You will thus see that preference has been given to the claims of a class of men, who are admittedly inferior in qualification to the Civil Assistant Surgeons.

Then again in the year 1884 when the Uncovenanted Civil Medical Service was first thrown open to the Assistant Surgeons of both the classes, Civil and Military, the scale of pay was fixed at from Rs. 300 to Rs. 750. This year some Civil Assistant Surgeons are going to be appointed to a certain number of Civil Surgencies, but their pay is to be from Rs. 350 to 500 only. May we ask what is the cause of this difference?

As regards the financial aspects of these changes, one is likely to think highly of the magnanimity of the Government of India considering that they have sanctioned such high appointments for our countrymen. But it has been laid down in paragraph 8 that "when in temporary charge, they will draw acting allowances on the minimum pay Rs. 350 fixed for an officer holding permanent charge." Formerly an Assistant Surgeon of the third class would draw Rs. 100, while an Assistant Surgeon of the first or second class would draw Rs. 150 as acting allowance. But this allowance is going to be curtailed materially.

So after all only 19 Civil Surgencies out of about 400 appointments are going to be opened to our countrymen. What more can we expect from a Military ridden line. The qualifications of the Civil Assistant Surgeons have been pronounced by some of their own Commissions to be as high as those of the members of the Indian Medical Service; and yet the Civil Assistant Surgeons must be contented with 19 appointments out of 400. We only hope that the Local Governments will be able to make room for these 19 officers within a reasonably short distance of time. I know that the rules regarding the Uncovenanted Medical Service were made in 1884, and during the last 14 years only one Assistant Surgeon has been permanently appointed in Bengal to a Civil Surgency. We hope the same precedent will not be followed in the present case.

But the root of the evil lies deeper. Whether it be 19 appointments this year—to which some of our countrymen may aspire through favoritism,—or whether that number be increased to

28 in the course of the next 2 or 3 years, it matters little to us. So long as there exist the two Military Medical Services, *viz.*, A. M. S. and I. M. S., so long as the Indian Medical Service has, in addition to a short trunk of about 250 military posts, a disproportionate civil branch consisting of about 400 appointments attached to it thereby monopolising all the higher appointments in the educational, scientific and sanitary departments, so long as there is no independent Civil Medical Service in India, there is absolutely no prospect for our countrymen. The Government have repeatedly seen that this double medical administration has resulted in inefficient service, in extravagant expenditure and also in general practical inconvenience. They have seen that many members have to pass their time alternately in the camp and in the civil stations and that under such conditions no man can possibly devote his time and attention to scientific researches. No wonder, then, that the interests of the scientific, educational and sanitary departments should suffer invariably. No wonder that India has been called the land of regrets.

But the worst sufferers are the poor Graduates of the Indian Universities. It is they that are being deprived of all the higher appointments in their line. In other departments, our friends can aspire to some of the highest posts, but in the department of medicine, the local Graduates must be satisfied with position, subordinate not always only to the commissioned officers, but, what is simply unbearable and galling, to the members of the Military Assistant Surgeon class, whose only qualification is their colour, which, I am sorry to say, is not often white.

Our late lamented friend clearly pointed out that a clear saving of 22 lakhs may be made by simply adopting the scheme chalked out by the Congress. The Bombay Presidency Association and other associations made representations to the authorities advocating the course suggested by the Congress. But even if arguments be overwhelming, vested interests and service-prejudice must carry the day. I am afraid that the black tide of reaction, of which our President spoke yesterday so much, must have washed away all our representations. We must still wait and hammer on till our object is achieved. With these observations I beg to move the following resolution:—

"(a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, medical education and the advancement of the medical service and scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of the military service.

"(b) That, whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in throwing open 19 Civil Surgeoncies to be filled up by promotion from the ranks of the Civil Assistant Surgeons, it deprecates nevertheless the unsatisfactory position and prospects of the members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Civil Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with the members of similar standing in other departments of the public service, and prays that Government will grant an open inquiry into the present constitution of the Subordinate Civil Medical Department by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members."

Dr. T. M. Nair (Madras):—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I second the proposition which has been so eloquently and so ably proposed by Dr. Nilratan Sircar, I should also like to express my sense of the loss which the medical profession in India and the Congress in general have suffered by the

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untimely death of Dr. Bahadurji. Dr. Bahadurji took up the subject of Medical reform and came to the rescue of medical men in India at a time when that help was very badly needed. In the beginning he had to contend against very great difficulties. He had to fight against the general apathy of the public on a question which they imperfectly understood and he had also to fight against the dead weight of officialism; but with his untiring energy, his high professional attainment and his rare gift of eloquence, he made headway against all these difficulties. The brilliant speech he delivered at the meeting of the British Medical Association at Carlisle in 1896—I distinctly remember the occasion—very nearly won over that great and influential body to his side. His frequent advocacy of the question of Medical reform from this platform has familiarised the Indian public with the various aspects of that question. His learned evidence before the Welby Commission will, I hope, result in some practical benefit to the medical profession here. Dr. Nilratan Sircar has dwelt extensively on the second part of the resolution, and with your permission I shall deal with the first part of the resolution, because that, after all, is the main, real injustice to the medical profession in India. I cannot do better than quote the opinion of Dr. Ernest Hart on the subject. Dr. Hart, the distinguished editor of the British Medical Journal, who visited India a few years ago went back and wrote as follows of the Indian Medical service.

“The fact is that the whole system of the Sanitary Service and the Civil Medical Service of India needs recasting. It is monstrous that it should now from only a part of an ill-constructed military hierarchy in which mere age and seniority and the exigencies of a purely military organisation override, dislocate, and discourage all scientific advance or medical efficiency. The whole of the Indian Medical Service needs to be overhauled and reconstituted. So far as considerations of policy permit, the system of loaning army medical officers temporarily and untiringly calling them a civil medical service should be discontinued, or at least most seriously modified. This has been demanded on other grounds for a long period by eminent Indian administrators; it has become now a most urgent necessity. There is no Civil Medical Service in India; it is a Military Service dislocated and called Civil to hide its defects.

“Two things struck me in India: the remarkable ability, the enormous power of work, and the excessive overwork of the Indian Medical Officers, the terrible servitude which it enforces on them, the attempt to perform a vast mass of duties which cannot be performed, and the lamentable results of the domination of really able young officers by superiors who have risen by mere seniority to positions which scientifically and administratively they are quite incapable of fulfilling, by reason of their age and of the antiquated state of their information, if even many of them had ever possessed the qualities or the inclination necessary for such posts. Worst of all perhaps is the elevation to the very highest offices, by mere lapse of time and the military rules of promotion, of men who are at the most capable of fulfilling routine duties, but are wholly unfitted to be trusted with the administration of the health and lives of the vast population depending on us in India. What is urgently needed is a Royal Commission, or strong departmental Committee, to enquire into this whole matter, and to institute a radical change”.

It is not the Royal Commission that we have asked for but a mixed Commission of Europeans and Natives. Besides, with the intermixing of the two services there are several difficulties which have crept in on account of the very nature of the constitution of the service. There being no Civil Medical department, all the men for duty in Civil departments have to be lent from the Military department, when they are called upon to discharge the duties very different and very varied, for which they have had no special training. If they had any special training at all, the Military duties, which they are called upon to perform as soon as they arrive in India, enable them to forget all that they learnt at one time. They are called up on to look after the sanitation of the whole of India, they are called upon to occupy the place of chemical examiners, a

department which requires a great amount of technical training, they are called upon to act as professors in various Medical Colleges, they are called upon, last of all, to act as bacteriological experts. Gentlemen, it is a rule in England under the Local Government Board that any medical officer of health, who is put in charge of a Borough or a County with a population of over 50,000 inhabitants must have had a special training and a special diploma in sanitary science; but here in India the sanitary needs, not of 50,000 but of ten times 50,000 people, are looked after by men who never had any special sanitary training. In the way of bacteriological research which at the present time has come prominently before the public on account of the outbreak of the plague, investigations have to be made; but the constitution of the Indian Medical Service is such that they cannot find men who are competent to do the work. You have to get men from Japan or Russia or Paris. There were two bacteriological laboratories for the whole of India, one under Dr. Cunningham and the other under Dr. Hankin. The former retired something less than two years ago, and would you believe it that in the whole of the Indian Medical Service they have not been able to find a single individual who could succeed Dr. Cunningham, and consequently that laboratory has been abolished! You can also see that the Indian Medical Service does not satisfy the medical requirements of India. When epidemics break out Lord George Hamilton has to send out batches after batches of medical men from England. What the real necessity for it is, I do not know. But that is the fact. This wrong system is upheld and maintained on two grounds. The first and chief argument brought forward is that the Indian Medical Service is really a reserve. Dr. Bahadurji has over and over again pointed out at these meetings that this reserve theory is an absurd one, because while the reserve number about 600 men, men on actual duty number only about 200. I remember once Lord Rosebury comparing the Liberal Unionist party to an army of three and thirty pipers and four and twenty men. The Indian Medical Service is constituted very much on the lines of that army. The other ground that is urged is that it will be costly to maintain two different departments, Civil and Military. That, again, as Dr. Bahadurji has pointed out over and over again, is a fallacious argument, because if you have a separate Civil Medical Service, it is not at all necessary to pay them on the high and extravagant scale on which the officers of the Indian Medical Service are paid. For ordinary purposes you can get men trained and graduated at our local Colleges, who are as good as men of the Indian Medical Service. For special purposes you can get out specialists from Europe, who, on the inducement of private practice, will come on half the pay that the professors of Colleges are now getting. The present arrangement of Surgeons in this Presidency is also on an extravagant scale. I should think there ought to be more assistants than masters. Here, in this Presidency, there are three times as many masters as there are assistants. These masters are of the Indian Medical Service. I now come to one point in connection with the subordinate Medical Service. In the subordinate Medical Service so far as the military branch is concerned the military Assistant Surgeons must be of European or Eurasian nationality. What our President yesterday remarked as a crime of pure Asiatic decent is seriously punished. The Hospital Assistant has also his grievances. He is very poorly paid. A medical man, commencing life on Rs. 25 a month, is certainly a spectacle which you cannot see anywhere outside British India. I do not wish to discuss this question at any great length as the details are best discussed in a Medical Association and perhaps some of us may be able to bring the question at the next meeting of the British Medical Association. With these remarks I commend the proposition to your acceptance.

The PRESIDENT:—Brother-Delegates, before putting this resolution to the meeting I have one suggestion to make. It has been suggested by a Delegate—it is an extremely good suggestion which has been gladly accepted by the proposer and which I am sure will be accepted by the seconder also—that we add a rider to this resolution: “In this connection the Congress desires to place on record its sense of loss the Congress and the country have sustained by the untimely death of the late Dr. K. N. Bahadurji of Bombay, the last years of

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whose life were devoted to the promotion of the reform of the Medical Services in this country. (Cries of "Yes.") I take it that it is your wish that this rider should be added. I will now put the resolution as moved and seconded, with this rider, to the vote.

The resolution together with the rider was carried unanimously.

Mr. SURENDRANATH BANNERJI:—It is suggested that the resolution No. XII about the reform of Executive Councils should again be considered by the Subjects Committee. I am sure the Congress will approve of the course, as certain suggestions have been made which could be best considered by the Subjects Committee. Instead of discussing them in the Congress, it would be consistent with the purposes of the Subjects Committee that they should be referred to them.

The PRESIDENT:—I believe the Congress will readily give sanction to this suggestion. The suggestions made will be better discussed in the Subjects Committee.

Mr. G. PARAMESWARAN PILLAI, (Madras.):—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in moving the resolution:—

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"That this Congress deplores the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Indian and European settlers in South Africa, a prominent instance of which is afforded by the recent decision of the Transvaal High Court restricting Indians to 'locations,' and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities imposed on them."

Ladies and Gentlemen, four years ago at the last Congress held in this city when for the first time in the annals of the Congress we took into consideration the condition of our countrymen in South Africa, they were struggling in Natal against an attempt to deprive them of the franchise, and in the Transvaal against an attempt to consign them to locations. To-day, they are struggling for their very existence. Very many important legislative changes—changes seriously affecting the well-being and prosperity of our countrymen—have taken place during these four years in South Africa. In Natal, not only have they been deprived of the franchise,—the right to vote at Parliamentary elections, which they enjoyed in common with all others till 1894—by an arbitrary law which places Indians in the category of persons who are "natives of countries which have not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise," but several other disabilities of a miscellaneous character have been imposed on them. In the first place till 1896-97, the law in Natal which applied to Indian labourers who immigrated into Natal enabled them to return to their homes after their period of indenture was over; and if they continued to serve for another term of five years they became entitled to a free passage. But at present, the law in Natal denies absolutely the right of free citizenship to the labourer however long he may serve the country; if he chooses to remain in Natal after his period of indenture is over, either he should enter into further periods of indenture or take out licenses annually at a cost of £3. The Indian labourer who wishes to live in Natal has to choose between perpetual bondage and an odious poll tax. (Shame). In the next place, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the recent agitation which I am sure all of you remember, the agitation on behalf of our countrymen which Mr. Gandhi so generously and courageously took up and carried out in this country, (cheers), the Government of the Colony of Natal went the length of passing three Acts, restricting further the rights of our countrymen to enter Natal for purposes of trade, travel or residence. One is known as the Immigration

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Restriction Act, another is said to be a Quarantine Act and the third an Act referring to licenses issued to traders. The most extraordinary thing about these Acts is that in none of them is there a single word to indicate specifically that Asiatics, or Indians for the matter of that, are excluded from the Colony or that their rights are restricted. But there is not the smallest doubt that all these Acts have been passed with the sole and solitary object of restricting the immigration of our countrymen into Natal. The admission came—and the admission had to be made—from the mouth of no less a person than the Prime Minister of Natal at the time of Right Hon'ble Harry Escombe. This Right Hon'ble gentleman was not ashamed to say:—"It had been authoritatively affirmed that no Government dreamt of applying the Law to Europeans... The object, however, was to deal with Asiatics. Some people said they liked an honest, straight-forward course. When a ship was heading against a wind she had to tack, and by and by she reached her goal. When a man met difficulties he fought against them, and, if he could not knock them over, he went round them instead of breaking his head against a brick wall." Such is the language used by Mr. Harry Escombe! It would have been more appropriate if Mr. Escombe had said: "If you cannot honestly meet a man face to face and fight him, go behind him slowly and stab him in the dark" (Shame). Such is the attitude assumed by the Government of Natal! I am glad to say that there were, at least, a few men in that Colony who protested against such a dishonest attempt, and among them was Sir Henry Bins, the leader of the Opposition in the Natal Parliament at the time and the present Prime Minister; and he said the attempt was "not straight," that it was "un-British." But whether "not straight" or "un-British," the Acts have all found a permanent place in the Statute Book of Natal and the result is that to-day our countrymen are not in a position to obtain free licenses for trade or to exercise any of the rights of common citizenship which are exercised by their fellowmen in Natal.

Let us now see, Ladies and Gentlemen, what has happened in the Transvaal. In that Republic, as I have said, our countrymen were struggling four years ago against an attempt to confine them to locations. It is necessary for you to understand what these locations are. They are places outside the town where the refuse of the town is deposited and buried; and our countrymen are compelled to reside in these places amongst dung-heaps. (Cries of "Shame"). Four years ago our countrymen protested against the decision of the Transvaal Volksraad to make them reside in locations and appealed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Right Hon'ble Joseph Chamberlain promised to accord a generous consideration to the question; but the courts of law in the Transvaal have decided that it is necessary in the interests of the Colony at large that Indian settlers should reside in locations, and the Transvaal Government have notified that all Indians should remove to locations within a specified time. Such, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the miserable plight of our countrymen in Transvaal at the present moment. I need not recount all the other restrictions which are imposed on our countrymen. They are sufficiently well known to you. In certain Colonies they have not the right to travel in 1st or 2nd class Railway carriages. In some places they are not even permitted to walk on public foot-paths. In one Colony they dare not appear in any public street after 9 p.m. In another Colony, it is criminal for Indians to be found in possession of native gold. In one Colony they have to provide themselves with travelling passes. In another Colony the Indians cannot remain for more than two months without the special permission of Government. These restrictions are sufficiently serious in themselves—sufficiently serious to justify my statement that our countrymen in South Africa are at the present moment struggling for their very existence. But they are threatened with still greater dangers. Not satisfied with what they have done, the South African States are thirsting for more. It is the cry of the son of the horse-leech, "give" "give" (Cheers). The latest news from Natal is that Progressive Leagues and Anti-Asiatic Committees are being formed with a view to prevent the Indians from acquiring land in that Colony. Memorials and petitions have been addressed, and the Government of Natal have promised a very careful consideration of the question. What is more serious

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Resolution XII. It is just possible, Gentlemen, that one could dilate upon this subject to any length he pleased, because the importance of the subject is such that no amount of pleading would be considered sufficient to convey to the minds of the audience the exact picture of the situation as it exists in South Africa, but as we are at the fag end of this day's session and as the subject has, as I have already said, been sufficiently discussed by the proposer of the resolution, I shall feel contented with the observations I have already made and not trespass further upon your valuable time. With these few remarks, Gentlemen, I beg to second the proposition.

Mr. R.D. Nagarkar

Mr. RAMESAM (Madras):—

Mr. Ramesam.

Ladies, Gentlemen and Brother-Delegates.—I beg to support the resolution so eloquently moved and lucidly explained by Mr. Paramaswaran Pillai. The question has already been so thoroughly discussed by us on the platform of the previous meetings of the Congress, by the press, Indian and English—notably the *London Times*, and other papers—that our object would be satisfied if it is included in the omnibus resolution as it was done last year but for a recent development which makes the situation more intolerable. I will briefly give a resume of what took place up to the beginning of this year and then pass on to recent incidents.

But, before dealing with South Africa, let me express a fervent hope that Australia will not have to be coupled with South Africa in future resolutions of the Congress, for (1) there is already a law in New South Wales compelling an Indian to pay a penalty of £1,000 if he enters the province—and this law had to be specially exempted to admit our famous cricketer, Prince Ranjit Singhji (*cheers*). (2) there is another Bill on the legislative anvil of a second province aiming at the restriction of Indian immigration.

The grievances under which Indians suffer are, briefly, these: firstly, the white colonists of South Africa are meting out to their Asiatic brethren a treatment which they ill deserve and which proceeds with an ill grace from the citizens of the Colonies which are either British, or, are under British protection or suzerainty; secondly, the development of such ill-treatment into legislation of the worst type, *viz.*, that based on race and colour.

The causes of the grievance are really (1) the prejudice of the white colonists to their Asiatic brethren of a less fair skin than themselves and (2) the frugal habits of an Asiatic on account of which he gains the upper hand in all matters of trade over the Europeans, or, briefly, trade competition. Gentlemen, from my statement of the causes, you will see that they are not such as can be made the basis of unequal treatment of fellow subjects by the colonists of the first power in the world whose watch word has been, all along, equality and liberty, at the end of the nineteenth century.

I need not travel over instances of hard treatment to which our countrymen are subjected by the people of Natal. They are given at length in Mr. Gandhi's pamphlet. The inhumane demonstration raised at Durban against his landing and the scenes that ensued are still fresh in our minds. But it is necessary that I should give instances of class legislation, for, these are permanent and disfigure the Statute-Book.

(a) Natal (1) An Indian cannot leave his house after 9 o'clock at night, unless he has a pass signed by some one showing that he is out under instructions or can give a good account of himself. (2) Any Indian who, whether in the day time, or the night times does not show a pass as

to who he is, is liable to arrest; Indians, when driving cattle, must be provided with certain passes. Persons in Durban belonging "to the uncivilized races of Asia" must be registered. These were the old laws. (3) The Franchise Law Amendment Act of 1896, by which "no persons shall be qualified to have their names inserted in any list of electors, who (not being of European origin) are natives or descendants in the male line of natives of countries which have not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise, unless they shall first obtain an order from the Governor-in-Council exempting them from the operation of the Act. (4) The indentured Indians must remain always under indenture, or if they do not relish it they must go back to India at the end of the first indenture of five years, or if they would not go back they are compelled to pay an annual tax of £. 8. (5) Where an indentured Indian loses his pass he is charged £3. for the duplicate.

(b) Zululand.—(1) In certain towns there are regulations restricting the sale of land to Indians—*e.g.*, in Eshow and Nondweni they cannot own or acquire land.

(c) Cape Colony.—(1) The East London Municipality has power to make bye-laws compelling Indians to remove to and reside in certain locations and prohibiting them from walking on foot-paths.

(d) Transvaal.—(1) Indians cannot own landed property; they can be ordered to reside in locations. They must pay a special registration fee of £ 3. (2) The railway authorities cannot issue 1st or 2nd class tickets on the railways to Indians. (3) They have to carry a travelling pass which costs a shilling. (4) They cannot, as of right, walk on the foot-paths in Pretoria and Johannesburg. (5) Indians cannot, in Johannesburg, take out mining licenses, nor sell, nor possess gold—the last being an offence.

(e) Orange Free State.—(1) An Indian cannot remain in Orange Free State for more than 2 months unless he gets the permission from the President of the Republic who cannot consider the application to reside before thirty days have lapsed after the presentation of the petition and other ceremonies have been performed. (2) Nor can he hold fixed property in the State or carry on any mercantile or farming business—these being offences punishable with a fine of £. 25 or three months' imprisonment for the first offence and double for subsequent offences.

Such class legislation was, at one time, attempted to be justified by (1) the insanitary habits of the Indians, (2) by the theory that, though the Indians were familiar with Municipal Government, they were ignorant of political Government, and (3) that the exclusion was to be justified on purely political grounds. These were all exposed to be specious causes and the real ones are what I have already mentioned.

The Government of India proved too weak to protect the Indians in the matter of legislation respecting the indentured Indians. Our appeal to the Secretary of State for Colonies proved futile as he said he could not interfere in the case of Self-Governing Crown Colonies. Such was the situation.

The problem assumed a new aspect this year. According to the 14th article of the convention between the South African Republic and England, "All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic will be entitled to live or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, premises; will be subject, in respect of their commerce or industry, to no taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may

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still is Mr. Schreiner, the present Premier of the Cape, intends convening a Conference of all the South African States with the object of taking common action with a view to prevent the immigration of Indians! Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, can anything be more dangerous to our countrymen than this promised brotherhood of mischief? Now is the time when we ought to go to their rescue. I think it is necessary that while we are struggling for our rights in this country, we should not forget those countrymen of ours who have emigrated to other lands in search of fresh fields and pastures new. Well, the situation is all the more serious when we remember that in this matter we have received very little help or encouragement from the authorities either in this country or elsewhere. Eleven years ago when a law similar to the one recently passed in Natal requiring every Indian who goes in search of employment to enter into a further period of indenture after the first period of indenture was over was contemplated, the Committee which was appointed to consider this suggestion said that it would be "a grievous wrong" to impose such restrictions upon Indian labourers and thought that the Government of India would never accede to a suggestion of that sort. In spite of that fact, the Government of Natal seem to have taken courage by the lapse of years and when they approached the Government of Lord Eigin last year, they easily enough obtained his consent. What a Committee of the South African authorities thought would be a grievous wrong to inflict on Indians eleven years ago and what they scarcely expected any humane Government to grant or concede, is law to-day in Natal through the gross negligence of a Viceroy. Not only has the Viceroy of India given us up, surrendered our rights without bestowing a moment's thought on them, but the Secretary of State for the Colonies has also given us up, the Secretary of State who once promised us generous assistance. After it was settled by the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State that the High Court, the highest judicial tribunal of the Transvaal has got the power to decide whether Indians should go and live in locations or not, the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain in a despatch addressed to the High Commissioner of South Africa stated that the international and legal questions being settled, he would approach the Transvaal Government and ask them whether in their own interests it would not be better to treat the Indians more generously. It is an undisputed fact to-day that our countrymen have been consigned to locations. A Test case has been brought before the highest judicial tribunal in the Transvaal and the authorities have decided that the Indians should go to locations. We know that they have been compelled to go to locations, but the Right Hon'ble Joseph Chamberlain has not yet raised his hand. To-day our countrymen are compelled to live in places where the refuse of the town is deposited and buried but the promised help of Mr. Chamberlain is not yet come. Not only has the Viceroy deserted us and the Right Hon'ble Joseph Chamberlain who promised us assistance given us up, but I doubt also whether any help will be forthcoming from our own Secretary of State, the Secretary of State for India who has characterised us as a nation of savages. Savages of course must be happy to live in locations and I do not think Lord George Hamilton is the sort of man from whom any help may be expected. Nevertheless it is necessary that we in Congress assembled should take some steps to see that our countrymen do not suffer in the way they are suffering in South Africa. And why do they suffer? Not because they are uncleanly as some say, not because they are not fit to be associated with, not because they are immoral or untruthful but because they are thrifty, they are industrious, they are persevering, they are hardworking, and as traders they are in a position to save more money than the white settlers. (*Cheers*) There is keen competition between the European and the Indian settlers, and trade jealousy is at the bottom of this unfortunate affair. What shall we do in these circumstances? Are we to stand apart and see our countrymen ruined in South Africa? The rescue of our countrymen is not altogether hopeless. Our hope is centred in the Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Her Majesty has declared, in no indistinct terms, "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." We

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have a right to pin our faith on that Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen, whose sincerity is unquestioned and unquestionable and whose responsibility for that noble and generous expression of opinion she has never shirked and will never shirk. I think we have a right, though the Viceroy has practically given us up, though the Secretary of State for the Colonies is not prepared to render us the assistance he promised and though the Secretary of State for India will not come to our rescue, we in Congress assembled have a right to approach Her Majesty and implore her to deliver our suffering countrymen from the oppression of the white settlers. I think it is a standing disgrace that in this age of enlightenment and progress, toleration and freedom, in the British Colonies in South Africa, self-governing or directly belonging to the Crown, the Colonies which are independent or over which the British exercise some sort of authority—it is a shame and scandal that we, Her Majesty's beloved subjects who are competent enough to compete with her English subjects in Great Britain and enter the House of Commons, should be treated as an inferior order of beings fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to the domineering white population in the Colonies (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

Mr. R. D. NAGARKAR (Bombay):—

MR. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution which has already been read out to you and has been so eloquently put forward by the proposer of the resolution Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai. The question has been taken up by the Congress not for the first time and Mr. Parameswaran Pillai has dealt with the subject so fully that it would certainly be inexcusable on my part if I were to take up your time in taking you over the same grounds again and reading out to you the long and familiar catalogue of our grievances in South Africa. These grievances are on the face of them so patent and so well known to every one of us that the mere mention of these grievances excites in every honest soul feelings of contempt, disgust and disappointment, and furnishes fair exemplification of the golden proverb *viz.*, "all that glitters is not gold," and leads us further to the irresistible conclusion that there must be an underlying uniform current of self-aggrandisement, self-interest and selfishness freely flowing in the subterranean regions of professions of Christian charity, Christian virtue and Christian benevolence. What other explanation can you possibly expect to receive either from ministers of politics or from ministers of religion as a justification of the existence and the perpetuation of the disabilities and enormities which are at this very day being experienced by our fellow brethren of the Indian soil in South Africa, not exclusively at the hands of an alien Government but with the connivance and to some extent with the indirect sanction of the Colonial and the Indian Governments? I appeal to the good sense of every Englishman, whether he resides in India or whether he resides in England or in any other part of the world, and ask him to say how is it that the noble instincts of his heart are not to be roused, though repeatedly appealed to, to a sense of duty on this occasion. Gentlemen, why undertake such an expensive religious crusade in India for the so-called object of elevating the people of India from their alleged fallen condition? Why do these honourable gentlemen not change the sphere of their action or the centre of their activity, and retrace their steps back to their own country and there organise a religious crusade for the edification of their own countrymen who have failed, utterly failed, to come up to the noble instincts of their heart and the noble privileges of their tradition which they boast to possess as their exclusive property? No possible explanation can be suggested but that the feelings of self-interest constitute the motive power, constitute the dominant passion which regulates the emotions of such a human mind. Allow me, Gentlemen, to remind you of that volunteer Captain who in an anti-Indian-demonstration meeting in South Africa in the most unmistakable language, described the people of India as rabbits only to be pitied, that they possessed the human form; for otherwise he said that they might be shot down as so many rabbits (*Cries of 'Shame'.*) Can we resist the temptation, Gentlemen, of pitying this inhuman

Mr. R. D. Nagarkar.

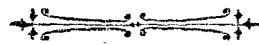
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Grievances of
Indian Settlers
in South Africa.****Mr. Ramesam.**

be imposed upon the citizens of the said Republic". The word "natives" was understood by Messrs. Gladstone and Chamberlain and would be understood by any man of commonsense to exclude Indians and mean only natives of Africa. President Kruger of the Republic lately passed an order compelling Indian settlers to pay annually a sum for registration, wear brass badge on the arm, and be in their houses after 9 P.M., unless provided with a special pass except where one is one's own employer. The matter was taken to the High Court and it was decided that the order is valid as "native" includes Indian. A more absurd interpretation of a plain term cannot possibly be conceived. It is unnecessary for me to criticise these laws. They stand self-condemned. Nor is it needful to dilate on their method of working. The eminently selfish spirit which gave sanction to the passing of such laws cannot possibly work out those laws in a more liberal spirit.

Our only hope at present lies in the prospective conference of Sir Alfred Milner with Mr. Chamberlain. Until then our future lies in two things: (1) So far as the individual colonists are concerned, we must fight them with our love; (2) but against the un-English laws, we must take our stand on (a) the Magna Charta of our liberties, Her Majesty's Proclamation and (b) appeal to the liberal instincts of the British nation; and, if we fail to improve our position, let it be handed down in the pages of history that the Indian enterprise for trade and colonisation in foreign countries failed, not because the nation is dying, but because the noble efforts of an ancient but down fallen race for raising itself in the scale of nations by shaking off the lethargy of centuries are ruthlessly thwarted—thus leaving an eternal blot on the fair name of Britain.

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

THE PRESIDENT:—Before we adjourn I have one pleasant announcement to make and that is—I do not know whether we are to congratulate ourselves or the members of the Madras Reception Committee on the announcement—that ladies will be admitted free into the Congress pavilion. They have risen to the height of the occasion and at length consented to allow their light to shine on them (*Cheers*). I hope the representatives of the Press will announce this fact. The Congress is now adjourned and will meet to-morrow at 12 noon. The Subjects Committee will meet in another half an hour, that is, at 6 P.M.



THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 31st December 1898.

The Congress re-assembled at 12-10 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT:—Brother-Delegates, I have to begin the meeting with the pleasantest announcement of all that has fallen to the lot of any President to make. In your behalf and at your request, yesterday it was my privilege and honour in a resolution to welcome Lord Curzon. So I wired it to him at Bombay, and with that gracious courtesy that deserves the warmest acknowledgment that we are capable of, we received a reply to that telegram which came to my hand almost the moment that we had closed our session yesterday, and I have the privilege now of reading to you that telegram. I will read it from the beginning to the end.

"TO"

THE PRESIDENT,
Indian National Congress.

FROM

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY,
To the Viceroy.

"Lord Curzon desires me to thank the Indian National Congress for their cordial message of welcome".

Three cheers were then proposed to Lord Curzon which was carried amidst deafening applause.

Only one sentence with your permission, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will read from that noble speech, eloquent beyond measure and full of promises almost beyond expectation—that noble speech delivered at Bombay yesterday. Only one sentence and this is what his Lordship said, his first gracious announcement and speech on India's soil: "The time for rejoicing is not when a man putteth on his armour but when he taketh it off. I thank you for your friendly greeting because no man can be insensible to the encouragement of a generous welcome, but I shall be ten-fold better pleased if, when I weigh anchor from these shores, and when all eyes are turned towards my successor, any of you who are now present can come forward truthfully to testify that during my time I have done something, if it even be but little, for this land, which, next to my own country, is nearest to my heart". (*Cheers*). Lord Curzon has said, "Next to my country, this land (India) is nearest to my heart". May God enable many of us, the whole of this nation to gratefully and joyfully acknowledge when that distant time comes that Lord Curzon has not failed in carrying out the brilliant hopes and aspirations that are now placed before him.

Before I call upon the speakers of the next resolution, I may just as well mention some telegrams which it has been my privilege to receive on your behalf. I shall have time to mention only a very few. The Rajah of Ramnadh, a well tried, well known and generous friend, has telegraphed as follows:—

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"To the President, 14th Indian National Congress, Hyde Park.

"Be good enough to accept my congratulations and hearty good wishes. I ever pray for the success of the Congress cause". There is a word of regret in the telegram. "I regret my unavoidable absence in spite of a most kind invitation. I regret, my invitation last year to hold the Congress at Madura has not been accepted". We are grateful to be reproached in that way. I hope many of our friends from all parts of India will continue to reproach us by sending invitations and regretting our inability to come down. The Rajah says further, "I beg that the next one at least may be held at Madura, in which case I shall place my means and services at the disposal of the National Assembly". (*Cheers*). They propose to have a perpetual session at Madras. It looks something like it. If there were a few Rajahs like the Rajah of Ramnad, Madras could have perpetual feasting of the annual gatherings of the Congress within the bounds of the Presidency. Our good and excellent friend is so earnest about it that he goes on to say, "I pray the Congress will meet at Tanjore or Kumbakonam if Madura is not accepted". He gives us a choice too. He continues, "I heartily join in the vote of condolence on the death of Mr. W. E. Gladstone." He speaks in feeling terms with reference to the services rendered to the country by the Maharajah of Dhurbanga and the great loss "I have sustained by the sudden death of my friend and brother, the late Maharajah of Dhurbanga." He then passes to convey his good wishes for the Congress, and he is with us entirely in spirit.

There is another telegram from the second prince of Parlakimidy which runs thus: "Sorry ill-health prevented me from attending the Congress. Wish the movement every success."

There are a few others, one from Pandit Madhan Mohan Malavya, whom we miss here so much and whose eloquence for the first time almost in the history of the Congress has not been heard to charm us by its melodious cadence. His telegram runs thus: "Regret ill-health prevented me from attending the Congress". The following portion is the most important part of it, viz, "We have agreed to invite you to hold the Congress next year at Lucknow." I am afraid the Rajah of Ramnad will have to wait for the Madura Congress at least for one year.

There are several telegrams which I need not read from our old and tried friends. We have received a telegram from Mr. Bhagiratha Prasad.

There is another telegram which I must mention because it is unique in the history of the Congress. I have received the telegram which just now is not before me, but which has been followed by a letter. The telegram came the day-before-yesterday and the letter reached me to-day from the members of the Independent Order of Good Templars and Rechabites of Calcutta. We are proud to receive congratulations and good wishes from them. I believe this is the first time of their doing it. They say that they do not, as an Order, identify themselves with the deliberations of a political platform. They wish every success to all our deliberations.

I do not not think I need read before you the other telegrams and letters. They are numerous from those who are our old friends expressing good wishes and those who have for the first time become our friends. All these show that as the Congress is becoming better and better known, it is better and better appreciated in all parts of the country. Now we proceed with the regular work of the day.

With your permission I will somewhat invert the order of the resolution under which our friend Mr. Wacha is put down, viz, Resolution XX. As I require his assistance by my side the speech he has to deliver should rather be delivered at once.

Mr. D. E. WACHA (Bombay):—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—The Resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows:

(a) That, having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by exchange is the steady growth in the demands on India for expenditure in England, this Congress is of opinion that any artificial device for meeting that loss either by changing the currency at a heavy cost or contracting the internal currency must add to the pressure on Indian's monetary resources and to her trading disadvantage.

(b) That the only real relief lies in carrying out practically the principle, affirmed by competent authorities, of England bearing an equitable share of that expenditure.

(c) That the Congress regrets that, save Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Mr. Merwanji Rastanji, competent and qualified Indian representatives have not yet been invited as witnesses to represent the Indian view of matters on the subject which now engages the attention of the Currency Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President.

(d) That the President be authorized to request Sir W. Wedderburn, Chairman of the British Congress Committee, to communicate this Resolution to Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman of the Currency Committee in London.

From the Resolution that I have just read out to you, it will no doubt be readily understood how important is this subject of currency at the present moment, and how far-reaching is it in its effects, intimately bound up as it is with the whole economic situation of a country so vast as India. When you reflect on the fact that the welfare of the people of a country greatly depends on its economic conditions, of which currency is one of the most potent, you will, I dare say, readily admit the influence such a condition exerts not only on the material prosperity of the population as a whole, but on that of each unit composing it. You may, therefore, easily realise what is it to alter the established currency of a country like India with its three hundred millions of people. Practically, its effects have influence on each unit of those millions. They affect you and they affect me. (*Hear, hear.*) But though each individual feels their influence, he is not able to probe the cause or causes to the root. Highly technical as this subject of currency is, it is obvious that the difficulty of apprehending it lies in its manifold aspects. But technical it is obvious that the difficulty of apprehending it lies in its manifold aspects. But technical though it be, I hope not to tire your patience while I am descanting on it, or make you go to sleep. I cannot say that I will keep you quite enlivened as our friend Mr. Khaparde (*cheers*) did yesterday by his humorous speech in connexion with the retrogressive policy of our rulers in the matter of Local Self-Government. Currency, in the first place, is rather too serious a subject to be trifled with, and, in the second place, it will not lend itself to humour.

I shall at the outset recall to your mind, as briefly as possible, the history of the currency legislation during the last five years and then survey the situation as revealed by the evidence recorded before the Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President. Ladies and Gentlemen, from the very day that the new currency nostrum, officially known as the Amended Coinage Act of 1893, was enacted as law within half an hour by the Legislature at Simla, without any of the representatives of the people being summoned for the occasion, it has often occurred to me that the Government of India and the services were entirely going wrong on this question. We have among us a native proverb, at least on my side of India, that when the stomach is in disorder it is the head that is complained of. While the stomach is aching the

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head is needlessly accused. (*Laughter*). Precisely in the same way, the disease, Ladies and Gentlemen, is not currency at all, but the Home Charges. It is misleading for the Government and its high officials to avert that it is the instability of exchange which has disturbed the finances for many a year past; and that the great divergence between the value of gold and silver is the cause of that instability. In their opinion, that cause could only be removed by altering the currency. Everything would under that circumstance go right. The financial embarrassments would be a thing of the past and prosperity would return to the State. But the authorities entirely ignored the fact that exchange would never be a disturbing factor were the gold obligations of the Government non-existent. Exchange was only the result of those obligations. The obligations themselves are the primary cause, the fountain and origin, of the great evils to be relieved from which they loudly insist upon a change of currency. You all know what is a patent fact, that these gold obligations have now mounted up to nearly 17 millions sterling. (*Hear, hear.*) There has been for years past a steady growth in the demands made on India by the Home Government for expenditure incurred in England. But before I dilate on this question of the Home Charges which alone, I repeat, are at the root of the present financial difficulty, and not currency, I trust you will bear with me for a few moments while I endeavour to recall to your mind the history of the Currency legislation since 26th June 1893.

It was on that fateful day that the older Currency Act, which for many a year past had worked most smoothly, most automatically, and to the greatest welfare of the people, was superseded by an amended one whereby the mints were entirely closed to the free coinage of silver. All the economic evils from which the people at large and the banking and mercantile communities have suffered and are suffering since that event, owe their origin to that measure which has often been characterised, and in my opinion justly characterised, as "the crime of 26th June 1893." (*Hear, hear.*) As I observed at one of the previous Congresses, that legislation was purely the offspring of panic. We have had more than one piece of panic legislation, of a most mischievous and obnoxious character (*hear, hear*) since that date; but this particular enactment was the result of the economic panic which has seized the Government of India and of which it seems it has not yet ridden itself. Without caring to carefully diagnose the true complaint, the Government jumped to the conclusion that it was the great disparity between silver and gold which created all the financial disturbance. It, therefore, straightway forged a new Currency Act and passed it in half-an-hour, with merely the semblance of a debate, while there was not a single representative of the people to explain the popular view of that measure. Had there been such representatives, they might have informed the Legislature of the immense mischief that enactment was certain to create and the dislocation of the trade it would bring in its train. How the great staple manufactures and industries suffered, how exports contracted, how confidence was shaken, and how suspense and anxiety for months prevailed, are now all matters of history. The Government, frightened merely by the rumour of what the Treasury of the United States might do in connexion with the Sherman Act, thought that silver would depreciate further and that exchange would rule lower than even a shilling, bringing about an appalling deficit! However, the unwise and ill-considered step was taken, in spite of the protest of the whole country save the selfish services and the interested members of the Gold Defence Association, led by Sir James Mackay. The principal object of the measure was to induce a stable ratio, such as would remain steady somewhere at 16 pence. But it was soon discovered that no such stability could be imparted and no such rate could be maintained. It was fondly entertained by the currency prodigies at head-quarters that the immediate effect of the closure of the mints would be a diminution of the imports of silver. But to their intense disappointment that hope was not realised. The very first trouble which exercised their mind was the continued importation of the metal. The average in the four years following was only half a crore below the normal average of the thirty-five years previous, namely, 7 crores. This important fact proved the failure of the measure.

Exchange ruled as under after the date of the closure :—

at 14 5 pence in 1893-4	
„ 13 10 „ in 1894-5	
„ 13 63 „ in 1895-6	
„ 14 48 „ in 1896-7	

Silver could not be shut out. In my opinion it never could be shut out, however stringent and prohibitive legislation might be. As you all know, India is the sink of silver. From time immemorial it has absorbed the white metal and will continue to absorb it though it may for a time be artificially shut out. It has been found to be the most suitable metal for all economic as well as domestic purposes. It is a fundamental axiom of economists that currency should not be of a material which is not suitable and convenient to the people. Only the other day, Sir R. Giffen, in his able criticism on the Government of India's proposal, in the *Economic Journal* for October last, emphasised that fundamental proposition. Lord Rothschild has been of the same opinion. Hence to shut out silver from India is simply a hopeless task. It will be purely Sisyphean in its character. The sooner, therefore, the currency quacks cure themselves of this craze to boycott silver from this ancient country the better. (*Hear, hear.*)

But when they found that silver could not be shut out and that exchange, in spite of the closure of the mints, went downward and downward till at one moment it almost reached one shilling, they thought of another panacea, equally futile. The next measure was the Gold Bill which Sir James Westland thought would stimulate the inflow of gold. But as the fates would have it, no sooner was this precious measure, the offspring of that great financial paragon, (*laughter*) passed into law, than it became abortive—a dead letter on the Statute-book. It was pronounced to be an abortion from the very first. And the thing had to be quietly buried without shedding one tear over it, for not many ounces of gold were offered at the Treasuries, and the bankers laughed heartily in their sleeves at that impotent attempt to prop up exchange. (*Hear, hear.*) Meanwhile, there intervened the troubles of the famine first, and of the pestilence later on. Expeditions, again, beyond the natural boundaries of the country, were organised on the flimsiest of flimsy pretexts. The combined influences of these events were most embarrassing to the finances. Whilst they were in the midst of these physical and economic troubles, a ray of hope was offered by two great Western States. France and the United States suggested a proposal for re-opening of the mints under certain conditions. One of those conditions was that the ratio should be maintained at 15½. That, of course, was out of the question. But the question of the ratio alone should not have caused the contemptuous rejection of the proposal as a whole, calculated as it was to bring about some definite solution of the silver difficulty. By hook or by crook, the Indian Government had worked itself into a frame of mind which could not accept anything which went to rehabilitate silver. Gold and gold alone was determined upon as the panacea for the state of affairs which their own economic policy of years had ultimately induced. Thus, the Government gave a *non possumus* to the proposal. In my personal opinion it was an excellent one which, had it been well considered and adopted after reasonable modifications, might have by this time fairly solved our difficulties. That was another grave blunder in matters of currency. Even such an apologist of the Government of India as the *Pioneer* pointed out the error and expostulated on its summary rejection. That it was a huge blunder was further confirmed by Lord Rothschild in his evidence the other day before the Currency Committee. (*Hear, hear.*) This was the third stage of the Governmental failure to induce stability in exchange.

Meanwhile the aggressive border expedition, the famine and the pestilence combined to exhaust the cash balances. They went down considerably below the normal figure, causing

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severe stringency in the monetary market against which the entire Indian and Anglo-Indian community raised a cry. While this was the prevalent condition of affairs, the master mind of Sir James Westland was busy manufacturing another nostrum to relieve the country of its so-called currency embarrassments. He conceived, what he thought was a most happy and practical idea, of entirely divorcing the Rupee from the bullion, whereby the value of the former could be artificially raised beyond its intrinsic worth and at the same time the gold standard passed under the amended Coinage Act of 1893 could be forced by gradually melting down the reserve Rupee in the Treasury. That so preposterous a scheme, fraught with economic evils of greater magnitude than those wrought by the previous measure, should have at all been proposed passes comprehension! No sooner was it officially given out than it raised an emphatic protest from all quarters. There was not a single apologist of that measure to bless it. Its absurdity and mischievous effect, if it passed, were seen through. It became the subject of the most hostile criticism in the press; and in the banking and the commercial circles. (*Hear, hear.*) But Sir James thought he was, at the close of his financial career, achieving a most wonderful miracle in currency—a miracle which would enable the Indian Government to roll in wealth in future, expunge that official and canting phrase “low exchange” from future financial statements, and assist him to retire in a blaze of glory. (*Laughter.*) Little did he think of the storm that would rage round that pet measure, and little did he know how much unrest and dissatisfaction the very pronouncement of it would create in all parts of the country. The divorce of the Rupee from silver has already appreciated that coin beyond its intrinsic worth. It is now valued at about 45 per cent. higher. So that practically the Rupee is not the honest Rupee which the Legislature has defined. Its value bears no proportion to the standard weight. It is something else. The evils of this dishonest Rupee are patent to you all and I need not dilate on them. None has better described them than Mr. David Yule at the meeting of the Calcutta Bank some weeks ago. But this is the preposterous proposal of the Finance Minister, which is now the subject of investigation by that packed Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the Chairman. We need not anticipate the conclusions of that Committee, though it should not create any surprise if it registers the decision at which the Indian Government has already arrived. (*Hear, hear.*) But, I repeat, preposterous as this proposal is, and calculated as it is to create greater evils in the near future, it is the duty of this Congress to enter its emphatic protest against this latest currency nostrum as against any other panacea which may have for its object an alteration of the currency which, as I have said, is all right—a currency against which the people have never complained, a currency which in the opinion of all sound experts is the most suitable and convenient to the people of India, and in every way beneficial to their material progress. (*Hear, hear.*)

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, brings me to my next point which is the kernel of the resolution I read to you. I have already remarked that the Indian Government has all through gone on the wrong track, that there is nothing the matter with currency. What is wrong is the policy of the Government which for well-nigh a century past has gone on steadily increasing the expenditure in England on account of India. We are at present reaching almost the culminating point. The evils of the Home charges are accumulating and accumulating till at last they are about to bring the Government and the people face to face with them. It has been noisily said these last ten years that exchange has been the sole disturbing factor of Indian finances, that unless the exchange difficulty is solved there can be no relief, and that the only way to obtain relief is to alter the currency. Gold is the metal of Europe. India's external trade is principally with the gold using countries. Therefore, gold should be adopted. It is forgotten that after all it is not the mere external trade, chiefly in the hands of foreigners, that has to be looked to. We have to look to the larger and more extensive internal trade, so closely connected with the economic condition of the cultivator and the other producers who really are the

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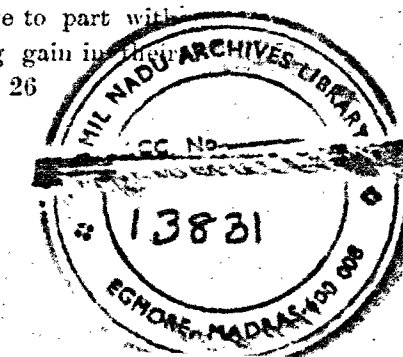
back-bone of the external trade. (*Hear, hear.*) Looked at from that point of view, the proposal for a gold currency falls to the ground. For consider how you may, you cannot help admitting, bearing in mind the poverty of the people and their immemorial habits and usages, the fact that gold can never become the currency. Silver alone is suitable and convenient. It is the natural currency. And therefore the natural alone should be adopted. For everything artificial and unnatural must sooner or later come to grief. The ryots and other producers have already grievously suffered by the artificiality; and it would be a greater crime than that of 26th June 1893 to propose a gold currency which nobody wants, save the selfish services and a few interested foreigners.

Now, let us examine this question of exchange which is said to be the *dues ex machine* of all the troubles. What is this exchange? It is simply this. That by reason of a mistaken policy the Indian Government has incurred many a State obligation in gold while collecting all its revenue in silver. That it discharges railway interest and pensions to civil and military officers in gold, and that beyond these it purchases stores and other articles in England which have to be paid for in gold. That so far these “Home Charges,” as the expenditure above referred to is called, are steadily growing. And with such growing expenditure exchange thereon grows apace. The sterling liabilities—a portion of which, it is notorious, is unjustly foisted on India, as was made clear before the Welby Commission by both official and Indian unofficial witnesses—have steadily grown from 12½ millions, which was the average of the five years ending with 1876, to 17 millions or thereabouts. And no expenditure in recent times has grown faster than the military. It is the appalling growth of the military expenditure since 1885, when owing to the revival of the external policy of aggression under Lord Dufferin, there was an addition to the strength of the existing army by way of 10,000 European and 20,000 native troops, which has mainly to answer for the embarrassed finances, and next the repeated border expeditions which have entailed something like 12 crores within 12 years. (*Hear, hear.*)

But to come to the sterling obligations. Practically, these have increased to the extent of about 4½ millions while silver has been depreciating in its gold value. It has often been proclaimed from the platform of the Finance Minister in Calcutta that a million charge of sterling correspondingly entails a greater loss in exchange. That even a fall of a penny adds over a crore to the burden of that item. If this be the economic fact, was it wise on the part of the Government of India to have gone on adding to their sterling obligations from time to time, while silver measured by the value of gold was steadily declining? Commonsense would have suggested one of three alternatives: either a cessation of borrowing in sterling or no borrowing at all or borrowing in silver. But as a matter of fact they have been burning the candle at both ends. At one end they are under one pretext or other increasing their sterling obligations entailing heavier “loss by exchange” so called; while at the other they are incurring heavier expenditure on account of border warfare, generally unprovoked and uncalled for. Is it possible that a country situated as India is, under a foreign domination which drains away a greater portion of its annual surplus of wealth, can withstand that burden yearly growing heavier? (*Hear, hear.*) But this is the situation. The cry that so many crores of Rupees have now to be annually paid as the equivalent of the sterling liabilities in a depreciated silver currency, would never have been heard were it not for the policy which has entailed those obligations. Diminish these and *pro tanto* so many less number of Rupees will have to be paid for the equivalent, which is the same thing as bringing greater relief to the Treasury. The cry, I repeat, must cease, with the greater diminution in the Home Charges. But it should not be forgotten here that all these Home Charges are paid in produce. Therefore, it has come to pass that with the increased burden of exchange, the producers of produce have to part with larger quantities which, however, have not brought to them any corresponding gain in

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money value. The economic effect of these charges is that prices of the staple articles of exports have been lower. At any rate, the ryot has parted with his larger produce at or about the same price that he did twenty years ago with a less quantity. We are now-a-days hearing too much of this cant of larger exports. But a little study of the question will at once tell you that these larger exports, for a debtor country like India, mean nothing short of larger sacrifices of the national wealth. (*Hear, hear.*) And while such is the condition of the producers they have artificially raised the value of the Rupee which, it is superfluous to say, adds not a little to their burden. Whether there is any corresponding gain is problematical. Yet this important question has hardly been investigated by the Currency Committee.

To return to the Home Charges. Those having reference to the military expenditure are very considerable indeed. Many of these charges have been protested against. I am quite convinced that if the burden on account of military expenditure alone was reduced, a material relief would be afforded and India would be able to pay its way without the wail of exchange. This military expenditure, as I have often observed on the Congress platform and elsewhere, is the consequence of the policy of external aggression pursued by the English Government since the acquisition of Quetta in 1876 and the date of the Second Afghan War. It is with a view to maintaining its supremacy in the East that England has, as the predominant partner in the matter of Army expenditure under the fatal Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, imposed the most inequitable burdens on India. These burdens have been inveighed against not only by this Congress and by the country at large, but by the Government of India itself in more than one public despatch. They were recounted before the Welby Commission. One of the latest despatches submitted to that body observed as follows: "Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India, on armaments and fortifications, to provide for the security of India, not against the domestic enemies or to prevent the incursions of the warlike people of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of all these great and costly measures reaches far beyond Indian limits and the policy which dictates them is a colonial policy. We claim, therefore, that in the maintenance of British forces in India and even liberal view should be taken of the charges which should be legitimate Indian revenues." (*Hear, hear.*)

It will be thus seen that a part of the sterling obligations in England is unjustly foisted upon India, while military expenditure grows apace regardless of India's ability and regardless of the economic conditions of the people. It is the combined pressure of these two burdens which have now proved too heavy to be borne; and that the so-called "loss by exchange" is the tangible manifestation thereof. If owing to this exchange the Indian Government now cries aloud for an alteration in the currency, is it not strange for it to ignore the very root and origin of that exchange? And if the root can be eradicated where may be the necessity of change in the currency? But it is most astonishing to observe that the Indian Government should beat about the bush and attribute to silver all the faults which should properly be attributed to the policy which for years past is augmenting the sterling liabilities of which the most inequitable and oppressive is the military expenditure. Again, to me it is most astonishing that not a single official or non-official witness has submitted to the Currency Committee this aspect of the present situation. Perhaps the only non-official witness who had a perception of it was Sir Forbes Adam, a gentleman of great Liberalism, than whom very few understand better the real Indian view of this currency question (*Cheers*). His is a name to be conjured with. But even Sir Forbes was not able to bring clearly to the notice of the Committee this aspect of the currency to which I am now referring. The question was asked, if the currency was to remain undisturbed, how was the heavier loss by exchange, with the greater decline in the gold value of silver, to be met? To that it is a matter of regret no definite reply was made. Curtailment of the Home Charges, specially military, should have been the

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answer. It is true that nearly one third of these are on account of interest on Guaranteed and State Railways. But there has been a culpable neglect in this particular liability. It was years ago, I think, somewhere about 20 years since, that Sir John Strachey, as Finance Minister, recommended that the railway liabilities should be commuted into silver. Had that been adopted the Indian Government might not have been in the sorry plight that it is to-day and might not have thought of tinkering or tampering with the currency. But that recommendation was pigeonholed by the India Office, the vested interests being too powerful. As the time however for the purchase of the two remaining Guaranteed Railways is now very imminent, there is nothing to prevent the India Office from buying these companies off and issuing the necessary debentures for their purchase in silver, say at an annual interest of $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent. payable in silver. It would be a fixed and certain liability. The relief which might be given to India by this one transaction alone would more than compensate for all the evils the country has suffered in the past. I admit that the vested interests will do their best to resist the suggested commutation. But if there be sufficient moral courage and statesmanship at the India Office the difficulties could be easily overcome. As to the interest on the sterling loans which now average about 24 millions, nothing need be said. The amount of interest is not so burdensome as the Home Charges of the Military Department which in recent years has mounted up to 33 millions. In fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will perceive from the figures I am just going to quote that, next to the interest on State and Guaranteed Railways, the heaviest burden of sterling obligations is on account of the Army Services in England. In 1896-97 the various obligations stood as under:

Railway Interest	...	...	5.80
Military Charges			3.68
Interest on Gold Loans	...	...	2.67
Civil Charges	...	...	2.28

The balance is made up of miscellaneous items. It will be thus seen that were there a curtailment of the military charges incurred at home and were there a fair and reasonable commutation of railway interest into silver, the difficulties of the Indian Government would at once be solved. Where there is a will there is a way. But so long as no effort is made on behalf of the Indian people, and so long as the vested interests are deliberately pampered and nursed, there can be no hope of any financial salvation. Not even a gold currency may mitigate the growing burdens.

But I shall now specifically refer to these military charges which demand 33 millions and over of sterling remittances per year. In my supplementary evidence, in connexion with the Welby Commission, I observed that the whole burden of exchange entailed on the Indian finances during the ten years ending 1895-96 was 43 crores of Rupees or say 4.3 crores per year. Of this as much as 27 crores or 63 per cent. was on account of military expenditure alone. This heavy sum might have been considerably less but for the fact of the addition made to the Army in India in 1885. Had the strength of the Army been maintained at the figure it was prior to that year, I estimated that the military exchange would have come to 12.85 crores in the decade. Practically then the increased exchange which India had to pay in the ten years for the increased Army Services came to 14.52 crores in ten years. Now, I would for a moment endeavour to fix your attention to the net burden of new and enhanced taxation during the same period. In his rebutting evidence, given before the Commission on 21st July 1897, the late Mr. Jacob, whose premature death I and my other friends who were witnesses greatly deplore, and whose courtesy we all greatly appreciate, stated that taxation amounted to 23.31 crores. To this has to be added, as I pointed out, suspended famine grants and unrefunded provincial balances amounting to 5.41 crores. The total comes to 27.72 crores. Now according to Mr. Jacob's

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own figures, the increased cost on account of the increased troops amounted to 33·94 crores in ten years *without exchange*. With exchange it came to 48·46 crores. Had there been no additional troops all this sum might have been saved against which as much as 27·72 crores of new taxation, &c., had to be raised. In fact while 48·46 crores might have been saved, the net expenditure of exchange, as just stated, would have been no more than 28·73 crores. Practically, the result would have been a surplus of about 20 crores in the decade, despite the fact that Civil Charges had also greatly increased but some of which being of a reproductive character much complaint against their growth need not be made.

From the above facts it would be clear to you that India has in no way suffered on account of exchange, because exchange would have been fairly met from the revenues, without even a pie of taxation, had it not been principally for the additional military expenditure. Is it impossible to curtail the strength of the Army and bring it back to the number at which it stood in 1885? It would save the Treasury about 3·89 crores without exchange or 5·34 with exchange! This, again, brings us to the practical part of the currency problem. I answer the question which the Committee put to some of the witnesses, including Sir Forbes Adam. The Committee inquired of these witnesses, how they would meet the extra charges which might have to be paid in case exchange went below one shilling, were the mints reopened. I say that these charges could be easily met by the curtailment of the military expenditure which now entails per annum a charge of 2·73 crores for exchange. If the Army was reduced there would be a saving to the extent of 1·45 crores in exchange alone. The charges for Army Services proper would besides be less by at least 3 crores. Then, if England only contributes her fair share towards the cost of maintaining her supremacy there would be a still further saving. Of late we have heard that the Welby Commission may propose such a share, amounting to 1½ crore of Rupees. But this is still a matter in the clouds till we know what the belated report of the Commission actually recommends. (*Hear, hear.*) Even then there is the British Treasury to deal with—a very rough and powerful obstruction. But the savings which I have just referred to should easily suffice to meet the extra demand for greater loss by exchange which has long been held out as a bugbear before the ignorant public. On my part, I do not think that, were the mints reopened to free coinage under proper safeguards and limitations, the Government would find any difficulty whatever in meeting the apprehended greater loss, without a pie of fresh taxation. (*Hear, hear.*) Aye, not even if exchange went as low as 10 pence. But the fact nevertheless remains that it is the Home Charges which are at the root of the difficulty. Consequently the agitation should proceed, not for the reform of the currency, which has nothing the matter with it, but for the policy on the lines I have indicated. This practically means that the British Government should modify its present policy which regulates all expenditure. The economic evils of carrying on the administration by a costly foreign agency are entirely owing to the present mistaken policy. It is against this policy that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been inveighing these many years. India is being bled to an extent unparalleled in the administration of any country in the world, ancient or modern. If the British Indian Administration itself, is unparalleled its bleeding of India too is unique. Cease that bleeding and India will revive. It will be soon in a position to accumulate the surplus wealth which is now drained to England, and have enough capital of its own to develop its material resources with great advantage both to England and India. As Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji truly observed at the meeting in Lancashire last month, the more India grows rich the more it will be in a position to extend its trade in Lancashire goods. Instead of its whole trade with the United Kingdom coming to only two shillings per head it would come to twenty shillings. But the bleeding must cease before that happy event could be realised. It can only cease when the policy of the costly employment of the foreign agency, in all its ramifications, administrative and commercial, is reversed. The exchange difficulty, now so absurdly found fault with, will cease to exist. India would breathe

freely. The currency will operate automatically as it has hitherto done, and both the State and the people will be prosperous. At present not only are the people but their industries and manufactures also are throttled, and under a mistaken conception it is going to throttle them further by its insensate currency proposals!

It is to be devoutly wished that the Currency Committee will take evidence on all the points I have just referred to. The mass of evidence recorded up to date reveals absolutely nothing. And no one seems to have touched on these points, which alone in my opinion are most relevant to a correct diagnosis of the present complaint. Some witnesses have indirectly referred to the points, specially Sir Forbes Adam with his unique experience of the Indian people and the Indian economic question. I for one must admit that I am altogether disappointed with the whole evidence. It is mostly official or officialised. The independent evidence, if at all, is on the side of those who are for the reopening of the mints, though, in interested quarters, we have off and on been told, there is the strong belief that it is beyond all hope. That remains to be seen. Lord Rothschild believed in extended exports first and extended railways afterwards. But when may we expect extended exports? Not while the exchange compels, under the present unnatural policy, the producers to part with their produce at low prices. Not while India continues to be a debtor country. The exports would be beneficial to India only when the unnatural economic condition ceases. It is therefore to be earnestly hoped that evidence of competent representative Indians will be taken by the Currency Committee in order to arrive at a correct understanding of the economic situation and be able to advise the Secretary of State as to which is the right and proper remedy to be adopted in the matter. (*Hear, hear.*)

If then, I repeat, the military expenditure was curtailed and brought down to the figures at which it stood in the time of Lord Northbrook and Lord Ripon, then I say with confidence, and without the least hesitation, that the entire financial situation would be materially altered for the better. India might pay its way without adding a pie to the existing taxation. Again, if the fire-works which are incessantly being let off at a heavy expenditure, which has averaged over 1 crore during the last 12 years, beyond the statutory limits of the country, were put a peremptory stop to, and if the many domestic reforms that have been hung up for many years past, as our friend Mr. Surrendranath Bannerji observed yesterday, were taken on hand, India would really be in a condition of progress. And I may here take the opportunity to remind you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the Herschell Committee had strongly recommended curtailment of expenditure as a first step before taking any action whatever with regard to the closure of the mints. So that in recommending curtailment of expenditure I am not recommending anything new. This curtailment can only follow a change in the present policy which is erroneous. When the policy is put on a sound and natural basis the aspect of expenditure will also be changed and changed for the better. The whole question therefore to be determined is not currency, but *policy*. We must agitate from year to year until the present policy undergoes a material modification. We must agitate till we drive home the truth so clear to us, that the unnatural system of administration is at the root of the financial difficulties and not currency. We should leave no stone unturned to bring the authorities to discern this aspect of the question, if indeed they are not already aware of it. During the 14 years that the Congress has successfully held its annual session, I have found that on almost all the burning questions of the day, the original views held by it, though at first ridiculed and discredited, have at last come to be recognised and acted upon. That experience tells me that in this matter also the position which the Congress will take up in the spirit of the Resolution I have moved will eventually be proved to be absolutely sound. This is my firm conviction, and on the strength of that conviction I now commend the Resolution to your judgment. (*Applause.*)

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The PRESIDENT:—This will be seconded by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras). Our Bengal friends have to leave soon, and I hope that you will give them some chance.

Mr. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (Madras):—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding this Resolution and in doing so I wish to add a few words to what Mr. Wacha has so well said. The subject is an extremely technical and difficult one, and at such a gathering as this it is possible only to speak shortly on the outlines to point out the consequences of the Government's measure to the people. You know the circumstances which led to the closing of the mints in 1893. The continuous fall in the gold value of the rupee led to a constant increase in the amounts required to pay the Home Charges, and the fluctuations in the rate of exchange rendered all certainty in the financial calculations of the Government impossible. The Government could not foresee whether exchange was going to rise or fall. Some radical reform was felt to be necessary if the country was to be saved from an impending bankruptcy. Bimetallism and other proposals having been decided to be out of the question, the Government thought that there were only two alternatives open, either to go on as usual and meet the increasing Home Charges from increased taxation, or to assimilate the Indian currency to that of England by the establishment of a gold standard. The latter alternative was adopted, and as the first step towards this object the mints were closed to the coining of silver and the rupee has since been forced up by persistent contraction of the currency to a value in the neighbourhood of 1s. 4d. "The proposal was", as Mr. Finlay said before the Currency Committee, "to pass eventually to a gold standard. In order to do that, it was intended, first of all, to reduce the rupee to the position of a token coin while it still retained full unlimited power of legal tender like the five franc piece in France. The initial step taken was to stop additions to the currency. Then the other measure that would be necessary to support its value as a token coin would be to get a store of gold as a backing. It was hoped that that store would come under the notifications which offered to take gold at 1s. 4d. By increasing the contraction of the currency there would be a continuous rise in the exchange value of the rupee, and this was to go on until the stage was reached when the rupee having reached 1s. 4d. it would be profitable to send gold to the mints". Mr. Finlay said that as soon as the exchange rose to 1s. 4d. gold would be sent to the mints. This stage would not be reached for some time, and it is the policy of Government to cut short the period of transition in the interest of Indian trade. To do this, the Government propose to withdraw rupees from the currency and melt them down, if necessary. In this way they hope to cause a further contraction; and a more rapid contraction, than there would be if rupees were not melted down. Simultaneously, they propose to borrow gold in England and ship it to India to form a gold reserve. Thus the pivot of the whole scheme is the contraction of the currency and the forcing up of the rupee. The contraction of the currency would lead to a fall in the prices; then exports would increase and imports would fall off, thus bringing about a rise of exchange. This is, of course, the *theory*. But as a fact, neither have the prices fallen nor the excess of exports over imports increased during these five years. Other defects too in the Government's scheme were exposed in the course of the examination by the Currency Committee, which it is not possible to dwell upon here.

But supposing the Government's scheme, or the scheme put forward by British merchants and Bankers which, so far as this country goes, would be the same in effect, is adopted and works as it is expected to work, what would be the consequences to the people? Why, these consequences would prove disastrous to them as I will try to show briefly in the course of my remarks. Sir Antony MacDonnell, one of the official witnesses before the Currency Committee, as well as some other non-official witnesses, admitted that though the alternative which the Government finally chose to adopt would avoid a direct addition to the taxation of the people, it

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would still involve an indirect addition as burdensome as the other, only the people would be unconscious of the addition and there would be no political danger! Sir Antony MacDonnell was sure that there was nothing in the economic condition of the people which made this indirect additional burden too heavy for them to bear. These gentlemen from their Olympian heights and in receipt of fabulous salaries may look at the economic condition of the people through magnifying glasses, but we assembled in this Congress know the truth about the economic condition of the people. We know how their backs, already bent under the accumulated load of taxation, will completely break by the addition of a single straw. In this most important question, as Anglo-Indian merchants have looked solely to the interests of their trade, so has the Government looked to nothing but exchange—an exchange at 16d. per rupee. Between these two dominant interests, the interest of the people of the country has been most flagrantly neglected.

It does not require a very intimate knowledge of the people to realise the utter unsuitability of a gold currency to them amidst their circumstances of crushing poverty. Taxes will have to be levied in silver, and in Southern India, for instance, where the great majority of the ryots do not pay more than ten rupees to Government, to levy the tax according to a gold standard will be a most ruinous addition to their burden, for while the intrinsic worth of ten rupees as bullion will not exceed 100 pence, the fictitious value of the same as fixed by the State will be two-thirds of a sovereign or 160 pence. In other words the poor ryot who till now sold 100 pence worth of produce to meet the Government's demand will have, if the Government's currency proposals were accepted, to sell 160 pence worth of his produce. He will have his burden of taxation increased by 60 per cent. Yet we are told that the addition is only indirect and the ryots will not be conscious of it! The Government's scheme, it is said, will lead to a fall of prices and increase of exports. If prices should fall, it would have the same effect on the ryots of virtually increasing the tax, and in view to the recent settlements of land revenue, based as they are on the assumption that prices had risen, the hardship would be two-fold. And what about the debts that the ryots have to pay to the money lenders? They will also be increased, for no fault of the ryots. I was sorry to read Lord Northbrook's opinion regarding the effect of the Government's scheme on the silver savings of the people. He thinks that by far the major portion of these savings is in coin, in rupees—not in the shape of ornaments. His Lordship is entirely wrong, as he would have seen if he had turned to Mr. O'Connor's evidence instead of to Sir Antony MacDonnell's for information.

I have said that the pivot of the scheme is the contraction of the currency; but by the contraction of the currency and the high rate of interest which would ensue, it is the foreign merchants like Kalli Brothers that would benefit and not the people, because they could dictate their own terms to the producers who, being pressed by the demands of the Government, part with their produce to these merchants or their agents for comparatively low prices previously fixed before the harvest. It is said that fluctuations in exchange scare away English capital, and to attract this capital to India and to develop the hidden resources of the country with the help of this capital, the legislation of 1893 which closed the mints was undertaken. Supposing English capital is attracted and flows into India in millions, is it after all such an unmixed blessing? The foreign exploitation of the country which is already a source of ruinous drain will only go on on a wider scale, and Lord Salisbury's process of bleeding to death will only be more complete. English enterprise in this country benefits English merchants and, beyond affording employment to a few hundreds more of Indian coolies, confers no substantial and enduring good on the people. I do not in the least undervalue an increase in the funds available as wages to our labouring population, but is it not better that these funds should come from the savings of the people themselves effected by the expansion of indigenous industry, than that they should be brought by foreign capitalists?

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These considerations, which are so patent and so full of significance to us, have been entirely ignored by those in whose hands lies the solution of the currency problem. The Government of India have shut their eyes to them, and while their interest and that of the British merchants commanding the foreign trade of India have been represented before the Currency Committee by competent witnesses, no such witnesses have been summoned to represent the interest of the Indian people—the most important and the only interest entitled to consideration. Ladies and Gentlemen, as Mr. Wacha said, the whole financial difficulty of the Government is due to the enormous Home Charges that they have to meet every year. If these Home Charges were reduced as they might and should be, the exchange question will receive its right solution. These Home Charges incurred in consequence of the absentee Government to which India is subject, are in fact a tribute which India pays to England for the privilege of being ruled by her. But while India undoubtedly reaps invaluable benefits from her connection with England, to England herself India is a source of gain in several ways; her wealth, her status, and her commerce all being under infinite obligation to this country. This fact has been freely acknowledged by some eminent British Indian statesmen, and if only Her Majesty's Government will recognize this fact and do justice to India by taking upon themselves a fair and adequate portion of these Home Charges, all tinkering with the currency will be unnecessary. Agriculture and trade will flourish, and prosperity and contentment will reign in the land. With these observations, Ladies and Gentlemen, I once more commend this Resolution for your acceptance.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. V. KRISHNASWAMY IYER (Madras):—

Resolution XIV.

An additional
Member in the
Executive Councils
of Madras
and Bombay.

Mr. V. Krishna-
swamy Iyer.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in placing before you the proposition which has been committed to my charge. It runs in these terms:—

“That, having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with Councils of three and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be a native of India.”

You will see from the wording of the proposition that has been placed before you that it naturally divides itself into two parts. The first part of the proposition deals with the question of increasing the number of members that constitute the Councils of the Governor of Madras and the Governor of Bombay. The second part of the proposition requires that the additional member to be appointed to the Councils of these respective Governments should be a native of India. Now, Gentlemen, when I took charge of this proposition it seemed to me to be a proposition which would be welcomed on all hands, welcomed not merely by those that are assembled in this hall but also by our rulers. There are, however, some in this hall perhaps and a great many outside this hall who are likely to imagine that this proposition is somewhat of a radical character. I have been told by a distinguished and honorable friend of ours that as practical politicians we should not venture upon propositions that savour of a radical character. Gentlemen, I quite agree with that proposition and I flatter myself that I am no radical but a conservative politician; and it is because this proposition that I have the honour to place before you has elements of a conservative character that I ask you to give your acceptance to it. [The speaker had to stop here for a few seconds owing to some confusion in the visitors' gallery.] Now, Gentlemen, I would ask your attention to the proposition before you which is one of great importance and I would entreat you to listen to the few words that I have to address you in patience.

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swamy Iyer.

Gentlemen, I was going to deal with the first part of the proposition and said that it was of a conservative character. In Madras within the last few months two members of the Council have retired and their places have had to be filled up by two more members of that distinguished Service which has supplied to this country many an able administrator. At the time of the appointment of these new members, there necessarily had to take place a readjustment of the functions that were entrusted to the members of Government. You are aware that the business of Government is carried on according to the cabinet system in England whereby each member of Government is entrusted with the portfolio of some particular department. In consequence of the change in the *personnel* of Government, a change had to be made in the portfolio that had to be entrusted to the respective members of Government. One morning I found on a glance at the newspaper the various functions assigned to each member of Government and, mark you, Gentlemen, it was dismay that struck me at the multiplicity of duties that were entrusted to each of the members of Government. Now, when the two members of Council in addition to the Governor have to perform these various functions you will naturally find that they feel themselves unequal to the discharge of their duties. And very recently in Madras they had to appoint an additional Secretary to Government in order to help the Government in the discharge of their duties. Therefore, Gentlemen, when I ask you to resolve that instead of there being a mere Secretary who can only prepare materials for the decision of the Governor and the members, there should be an additional member to be placed in charge of a portion of the work that devolves on Government, you will see that we are not merely earning the thanks of our countrymen but the thanks of Government themselves. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, you have adopted a number of resolutions but I do not know whether there is one resolution on paper for which you are likely to earn the thanks of the Government. I believe I have the good fortune to move a proposition for which we shall not only earn the thanks of our countrymen outside this hall, but also earn the thanks of the Government.

Now, Gentlemen, I said a little while ago that I was a conservative politician and that this proposition was of a conservative character. In the year 1793 the number of Councillors of these respective Governments was fixed; it was fixed at that time at three. The Statute which fixed the maximum at three still remains unaltered. In 1833 forty years later, it was arranged that the number of members might be kept at a figure not exceeding three according to the pleasure of the Secretary of State, then, the Board of Control. Subsequently, Gentlemen, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Madras and Bombay was added as an extraordinary member to the Executive Councils of these respective Governments. The Commander-in-Chief continued as a member down to 1893, and in 1893 the Commander-in-Chiefship of the forces in these respective Provinces was abolished, and in consequence there is no Commander-in-Chief sitting at the Executive Council of each of these two Presidencies. The result of this change is of momentous importance, and it was because of this change which had the result of taking away one member from the Executive Council that the first part of this resolution that I have the honour to place before you was moved in the Congress of 1896, and you will also see that the wording of this resolution reminds you of the history of the proposition itself. Now, Gentlemen, since the abolition of the Commander-in-Chiefship in 1893 the Government of the respective Provinces has been conducted by a Governor assisted by two Councillors. The two Councillors are distinguished men of the Service to which they have the honour to belong; but however distinguished they may be and however able they may be, it so happens that being members of that Service, who have been trained in the traditions of that Service, who have risen from the lowest rank in the ladder of that Service and who have imbibed the prejudices in which that Service is reared, their minds run in a groove which is not certainly the groove that you would like your statesmanship to run in. These men are masters of detail, but notwithstanding occasional exceptions, they are not the men to wield the destinies of the Empire, to mould the policy of the

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Government. (*Hear, hear*). You, therefore, are anxious that the Governments of these respective Provinces should be administered by statesmen sent directly from England and so the Governorships of Bombay and Madras are being thus filled, as far as possible. If these statesmen are to have a free hand, are to have merely advice from these Councillors and are not to be overridden by the prejudice or bias of these Councillors, then, Gentlemen, it is necessary to strengthen their hands by the appointment of a member who does not belong to that Service, whose training is outside that Service, whose judgment is free from bias of any sort and who will be able to render to the Governor that assistance which he needs. Now, Gentlemen, it stands to reason that there is more likelihood of one member out of three agreeing with the Governor than one member out of two, especially if that member does not happen to be a member of the Civil Service. I believe you are quite aware that it is competent for the Governor to over-rule his Councillors; and in matters concerning the tranquillity and order of the country, in matters which are essential to the welfare of the country, it is competent for the Governors of the respective Provinces to over-rule their Councillors. Gentlemen, the power may be a valuable one and it is a power which I know has been exercised at times. But no Governor who has to pull on for five years with his two Councillors will care to over-ride them by the exercise of his prerogative whenever he meets with any difficulty from them. It is, therefore, necessary that the Council should be strengthened by the addition of a member who is not of the Civil Service. Now, Gentlemen, the Council of the Secretary of State for India consists of 10 to 15 members. At present, I am told, it consists of 11 and according to Law it must consist at least of 9 members who have been either servants of the Crown in India or who have been residents in India, for a space of 10 years. As regards the remainder the rule itself suggests that they may be persons who have not been in the service of the Crown in India, that is for the purpose of enabling the Secretary of State to have the advice of independent members conversant with the details of a particular department of knowledge, it may be of finance or other matters of imperial policy. The assistance of such men it will be necessary for the Secretary of State to have. Similarly as regards the Council of the Governor-General of India, it consists of five members of whom three must be men who have been in the service of the Crown in India; with regard to the remaining two, one of them must be a Barrister, and the other a financier often sent out to this country from England, or a military officer. The principle of appointing a member not of the Civil Service is not a new principle; it is a principle which obtains in the Government of this country both with regard to the Council of the Secretary of State for India and the Council of the Governor-General of India. I ask you whether I am not right in saying that I am perfectly conservative in asking you to accept the suggestion that the third member to be added to the Council should be one who is not a member of the Civil Service and who free from the prejudices of that service will be quite able to deal with questions from an impartial stand-point.

Then with regard to the second part of the resolution, I have only a few words to say. That part asks you to give your adhesion to the principle that the member to be added to the Councils should be a native of India. Gentlemen, I do not see there is anything radical in this proposition at all. I tell you, Gentlemen, that it is of far greater importance that we should have some gentleman who is acquainted with our feelings, with our wants, with our peculiarities and with our difficulties, having a direct voice in the deliberations and decisions of the Government than that the Government should ask unauthorized bodies for advice and go about seeking for assistance here and there, should be misled and misinformed in matters of great importance to this country. Now, Gentlemen, there are riots taking place in various parts of the country between various sections of the community; there is the delicate question of official patronage in regard to important positions of trust and responsibility; there is again the question, which is also a very delicate question, of legislating in certain departments relating, it may be, to our marriage laws and to our social customs or to other matters in which we feel a great interest

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and in regard to which for want of information and knowledge, by reason of the fear to tread upon our corns, the Government is unwilling to make the least move. In all these matters if you have as a member a native gentleman who has risen in the service, a gentleman who has not merely acquired an amount of administrative experience but who is also acquainted with the feelings and the wants of our community, if you have such a man in the Council Chamber to whom the Governor and other members may naturally turn for advice, if you have a person competent to give advice, is there any chance of the Government going astray as we too often find it doing at present?

Now, Gentlemen, I have only very few words to add. The addition of a native member to the Executive Councils is, as I have told you already, of very great importance. You speak of the Press as the interpreter between the Governors and the governed. You speak of the Congress itself as one of the great interpreters that you can organise between the Governors and the governed. We are here to tell the Government what we want, we are here to tell the people outside what the intentions of the Government are. Can you have a better interpreter of the wants and aspirations of India than the person who has got the confidence of the people but who at the same time possesses the confidence of Government and who will be able to explain to them our feelings, who will tell them that even when we seem to go astray we are not going astray by reason of any improper impulse and who will tell us even when the Government is acting wrongly it is not acting wrongly from bad motives, and therefore a person who will be able to cement the Governors and the governed and will bring about a harmonious relation quite as much as any agency that has been at work in this country? Therefore I ask you, Gentlemen, to give your adhesion to this proposition.

PROFESSOR PARANJPE (Poona):—

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates,—The proposition that I stand here to second has already been proposed to you. My predecessor said that it could be divided into two parts. I also mean to divide the same proposition into two parts, but in a slightly different manner. The first part relates to the wisdom of the policy that has been observed by the Government in appointing statesmen from England to the Governorships of Bombay and Madras. Well, there is a sort of wisdom no doubt and wherever wisdom is seen the Congress is ready to acknowledge that wisdom and to give credit to the Government that has shown it. The charge is very frequently brought against institutions like the Congress that they are not so very ready to acknowledge the good that is done to them. But in such cases we have got these proofs to show. The second part of the resolution relates to our demand. We acknowledge the gift. But something more is wanted. If a demand is made for what is wanted further, that should not speak for the dissatisfaction of the people. This proposition contains both the things—the satisfaction of the people in the first part of it and in the second a sort of dissatisfaction, though not in the technical sense of the word. Let the Government and Government officials redress the grievances and then the dissatisfaction, or whatever other word you may be pleased to use, will disappear. The second part which relates to our demand is with regard to the fact that for the present there are only two members in the Councils of Provincial Governments and both of them are selected from the Indian Civil Service. One great evil which is attached to this system is that the Councillors that come to sit in the Governor's Councils come with certain prejudices. Anglo-Indian Civil Servants come from England to India and become Collectors or Assistant Collectors. From that position they rise up to be Commissioners and afterwards some of them are fortunate enough to become Councillors in the Executive Councils of the different provinces. Since reaching the rank of Assistant Collectors they have got a knowledge of the details of the country. It is to be admitted that the knowledge that they acquire is a very good thing and is very useful to the people of the country, but knowledge does not go single-handed. In their case that knowledge is accompanied by

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Member in the
Executive Councils
of Madras
and Bombay.

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swamy Iyer.

Professor Paranjpe.

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Professor Paranjpe.

certain prejudices, and those prejudices and those wrong impressions that they carry with them into the Councils of the Governors are prejudicial and detrimental to the interests of the people; and if anybody objects to two Civilian Councillors, it is simply for this reason: that the prejudices with which their minds are impressed are detrimental to the cause of the people. Now, these prejudices ought to be balanced by something else. As the Statute stands at present there is something to balance the prejudices of these Civil Servants and that is the Governors that come from England. They are statesmen not tainted with the prejudices with which the minds of these Councillors are tainted. The Governors that come from England are fresh. They have got a sort of kindness for the people. All are equal in their eyes, all are fair-minded. To the prejudiced Indian Civil Servant, Babus of Bengal and Brahmins of the Deccan are quite a different sort of people. To a new comer from England, they are simple men, ordinary men; to him there is nothing wrong in the heads of these persons. The Governors or statesmen that come from England come without any prejudices; they are above all prejudices and not tainted by all those wrong impressions; they are fair-minded and they will balance the prejudices of these Councillors. That is true; but that is not sufficient. The Governor is after all one person. The Councillors are two in number. One is always to be defeated by two so far as the numerical strength is concerned. For that reason the Government should be requested to appoint an additional member, and that member should be a native of India so that he might inform the Government of the real needs of the people and be useful in removing the prejudices that are carried by the Indian Civil Servants into the Councils of the country.

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

Mr. P. R. SUNDARA IYER (Madras):—

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Certain Old
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Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very much pleasure in submitting the next proposition to your consideration. The substance of the proposition is this. We request the repeal, the immediate repeal of three Statutes in force respectively in Bombay, Bengal and Madras which enable the Government to administer martial law when there is no war, which authorise the Executive to put themselves beyond the restraints of law and the requirements of justice occasionally. Now the proposition is in these terms:—

“That this Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the necessity of repealing Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, in as much as the principle and provisions thereof are contrary to the traditions and sense of justice of the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and indeed, of all civilized Governments, and in as much as they are a standing menace to the liberty of the subject.”

Now, Gentlemen, you will notice that these Statutes were passed, one of them in 1818, another in 1819 and the third in 1827. That was very soon after the British nation had completed the conquest of the greater portion of India. It was only fifteen years after the British had conquered the fairest portion of the Province of Madras by a treaty with the Nawab of Arcot. It was only twenty years after the fall of Tipu which gave the Government another considerable portion of the Madras Presidency and I believe it was only nine years after the Peshwas ceased to reign. I believe I may fairly say that the British Government was then a new Government and the Government that had died out had not become a thing of the past. There must have been many people in those days who must have lived under both Governments. There must have been many people who probably suffered by that change. It is not strange that at that time the Government should have thought it necessary to have a reserve of power which would enable it to go beyond the law, whenever this new Government should be threatened with any serious disturbance.

It is not strange, I say, that it should have been considered right even to trench upon personal liberty which is the first gift of a civilized Government to its subjects. (*Hear, hear*). I take no objection therefore, Gentlemen, to the passing of these statutes at that time. Now, it is a remarkable proof of the popularity of the British rule that the Government seldom found it necessary to put these Statutes into operation. The British Government proved itself immensely superior to all previous Governments. The Government has acquired the love and esteem of the people of this country, has not merely secured their loyalty. Gentlemen, I am not going to sing the blessings of the British rule, but we may all say this—there is only one Government under which we can all be happy, and that is the British Government (*Cheers*). I am quite sure that none of us has the slightest desire to exchange the British Government for any other. (*Cries of “No, no.”*) We had forgotten these Statutes. They had never been put in force, but in 1897 in the month of July the Government of Bombay or perhaps, I should say, the Government of Lord George Hamilton, reminded us of these Statutes. One morning, the Natu Brothers, men who are now known throughout the length and breadth of India on account of their misfortunes, members of a noble family, found themselves arrested (*Cries of “Shame!”*). They were not told why—not until the month of September. There was a brief explanation and that was that their detention was necessary in order to prevent internal commotion in a certain part of India. More than that they have not been told up to date.

Now, Gentlemen, before proceeding further I must draw your attention to these Statutes so that you may see what they are. The object of the statute is stated to be this. The preamble tells us: “Whereas reasons of State, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion occasionally, render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings or when such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case or may for other reasons be inadvisable or improper”. Gentlemen, I ask you to mark the object of this law and the occasions on which it was intended to be put into force. There are three cases in which it was intended to have operation. The first is when it is necessary to maintain the alliances formed by British Government with foreign princes; the second is the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection; and the third is the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotions. Now it is fairly clear, I believe, to you all that this was really intended only to have operation in a time of war, to maintain its alliances with foreign powers, to preserve the peace in Native States allied to British Government. There is another cause *viz.*, the security of the British dominion from foreign hostility and from internal commotion. One would naturally understand this fear to refer to the time of a civil war. It would perhaps then be proper on the part of the Government to act under this Statute; it was under this last clause the Government purported to act. They thought apparently that there was probably a chance of civil war! A civil war in these days! What a pity the Government should not have been aware of its own strength! They did not know that they were the strongest Government in the world and that there was not the slightest chance of any disturbance of a serious nature of the peace of the country. Now to proceed, you will then see what it is they can do under the statute: “When any of the considerations stated in the preamble of this Regulation may seem to the Governor-in-Council to require that an individual should be placed under restraint without any immediate view to ulterior proceedings of a judicial nature, it shall be lawful for the Governor-in-Council (provided always that, with reference to the individual, the measure shall not be in breach of British law) to cause such individual to be apprehended in such manner as the Governor-in-Council may deem fit, and when apprehended to be delivered over to any officer in whose custody

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it may be deemed expedient that he shall be placed with a warrant of commitment to such officer's address." That is to say, they have the power of arresting and keeping a person as long as they choose. What did the Government do in the Natu case? I am not going, Gentlemen, to permit myself to dwell upon the wrongs done to the Natu family. That is not the proposition before us. I am going to touch upon it for a second only to see what kind of action the Government may take on a particular occasion if this Statute is allowed to remain in the Statute-book. The Natus were arrested in July with absolutely no explanation of the case till September. Then we were informed that the Government apprehended internal commotion in some part of India. The officers of Government were interrogated, with regard to the cause of the detention, repeatedly by the Hon'ble members of the Legislative Council and by our friends in England. What was the result of the interrogation? They shuffled, prevaricated, contradicted themselves and behaved like very bad witnesses indeed. (Cries of *Shame*). Till now the Natus have not been told the real reasons for their detention. Some reasons were given in the Legislative Council and elsewhere. It was said that an English nurse was improperly pressed not to do her duty and it was said that an English soldier was defamed. These are causes leading to a civil war surely! An English nurse pressed not to do her duty and an English soldier being defamed are causes from which an internal commotion was apprehended! (*Hear, hear.*) That was the sort of judgment that Lord George Hamilton possessed when he gave his consent to put this Regulation into force in the Bombay Presidency.

After our experience of the way in which this defunct statute, a statute which none of us—the public at large and few lawyers—heard of till 1897, although it was passed in 1817, has been put into operation and after our experience of the possible uses to which it may be put, it is our duty to ask the Government to repeal the Statute at once. At the last Congress some of us had more faith in these Statutes not being used in the manner they have been. We were content to ask that the use of this Statute should be safeguarded by enacting necessary provisions as to the reasons being stated for its being used and as to the persons detained under the Statute being brought to trial within a reasonable time. We have waited a whole year and we have seen nothing done. Are we then radical in calling for its total repeal? I believe that Mr. Kristnasawmi Iyer will be able to vote for this proposition and be convinced that we are sufficiently conservative in politics when we ask that this Regulation should no longer be on the Statute-book. Nor are we asking, Gentlemen, for anything extraordinary. This is a power which few Governments possess. It is not possessed by the British Government against British subjects in their own country. You have all heard of the right of every Briton to complete personal immunity from arbitrary detention except for a criminal charge or on account of conviction of a criminal offence or for a debt. The Habeas Corpus Act was passed only in the time of Charles II. But Habeas Corpus Act was not the Statute that gave the right of personal liberty to every Briton. No, that right was much older than the Act. It was as old as the English constitution and was affirmed by the Magna Charta. The writ of Habeas Corpus existed in the common Law long before the Habeas Corpus Act. The principle was no man shall be touched except under the law for a crime which is duly charged against him and should be brought home to him within a reasonable time (*Cheers*). Even in this country, you are probably aware there is nothing similar to this power when you pass the realms of Criminal Law. There is not such a thing as what the lawyers call, an Act of State towards the subject in the Civil Law. I say that there should be no such thing in matters Criminal. It may or may not be that every Government should possess the power to ask foreigners over whom their jurisdiction is limited to go away from the country at a moment's notice. It may be that it is necessary to have such a power in order to prevent foreigners from coming to India for the purpose of fomenting strife amongst the people and getting them to support foreign invasion. But it is not necessary that they should have such powers against their own subjects. It is not a power which

any civilized Government ought to wish for. In its own interests the Government ought to deprive itself of such a power, because whatever excellent reasons the Government may have for exercising it, it will never be trusted when it does so. Whether you all agree with our learned President or the other gentlemen who have spoken of the re-actionary measures of the last two years or not, there can be no doubt in the minds of even the most rabid Anglo-Indian journal that the enforcement of this Statute was a highly re-actionary measure. In the usual course of things it should have been put in a Statute to repeal all defunct enactments. Such a Statute is passed from time to time by the Legislature formally to bury all dead enactments. That was the kind of thing that ought to have been done to this Regulation. Instead of that they have given new life to it.

I say that the power conferred by this Statute is absolutely unnecessary, but there are friends amongst us who say that even against the subjects of the State, in the circumstances under which India is at present placed, it is necessary to have a reserve of power to be used, no doubt with great circumspection, on occasions when it may have to be used. We shall be reminded probably that there are different races and different sects in this land, that racial strifes have not yet died out and that it is possible to imagine that Government may legitimately use such a Statute as this. Now whatever racial strifes there may be, it is my own conviction that we have got plenty of other laws adequate to suppress them. The Government has amended the Police Law in order to be able to put a punitive police forces at any place. It has got a dozen other Statutes which it could invoke to put down petty strifes between party and party. But let me grant for a moment that occasions may arise in which the Government may have to act in the way it has done in the case of the Natu brothers. Even then I say it is unnecessary that this law should exist. Under this law the Government is not bound to state any reason for its action or to limit itself to any time. It can act entirely at its own sweet will and pleasure, I say this Regulation is unnecessary for this reason; there is another Statute which, if such exceptional time should come on again, if the exercise of such power should be rendered necessary, can be invoked by the Government in its favour. I refer to the Indian Councils Act. Section 23 of Indian Councils Act gives power to the Governor-General to make ordinances himself without consulting his Council. These ordinances may have temporary force. The section provides that the Governor-General may in cases of emergency make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good Government of British India or any part thereof and any ordinance so made has, for such period not exceeding six months from its promulgation as may be declared in the notification, the like effect as a law made by the Governor-General in Council at a Legislative meeting; but the power of making ordinances under this section is subject to the like restrictions as the power of making laws at Legislative meetings; and any ordinance made under this section is subject to the like disallowance as a law passed at a Legislative meeting, and may be controlled or superseded by any such law. The power given by this section should be called into action only on urgent occasions. It has only been exercised six times up to now. The reason for a resort to it should always be recorded, and these, together with the ordinance itself, should be submitted without loss of time to Her Majesty's Government (Para 26 of Sir Charles Wood's despatch accompanying of Indian Councils Act the 1861.) You see therefore that the Governor-General can pass an emergent ordinance in five minutes. Supposing we had not the Act under which the Natu brothers were arrested, the Bombay Government would only have had to wire to the Governor-General, and he, by a stroke of his pen, could have promulgated an ordinance which would have the same force as law. I must draw your attention to a passage in the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, accompanying the Indian Council's Act of 1861. He adds this commentary or rather corollary to Section 23. He says, "By section 23 the Governor-General of India is vested with a new and extraordinary power of making and promulgating ordinances in cases of emergency on his own responsibility. It is due to the supreme authority in India, who is responsible

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for the peace, security, and good government of that vast territory, that he should be armed with this power, but it is to be called into action only on urgent occasions; the reasons for a resort to it should always be recorded, and together with the ordinance itself, should be submitted, without loss of time for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government."

You may ask me why abolish the regulation when there is another Statute which the Government can make use of. The reason is this. Under section 23 of the Indian Council's Act the Governor-General cannot pass any ordinance which may be in force for 6 months. But then he has to put down in black and white his reasons for exercising his power in this extraordinary fashion, and he has to submit his reasons to Parliament, and when he does so our friends then can raise a debate, and the action of the Governor-General may be subjected to criticism. He cannot shuffle and prevaricate as on this occasion the Secretary of State and other people have been doing. The thing will have to be done deliberately. Deliberation will give the mind time to cool. Very probably out of a hundred occasions which suggest themselves to the Governor-General on which he may possibly act under the section, he would not do so in more than ten cases. Now this, as I have already told you, has not been a defunct provision of law. I find that the Governor-General has acted on this power in 6 cases. The Act under which the Natu brothers were arrested had been a dead enactment. If we had asked for the repeal of the enactment before the arrest of the Natus, it would have been easily done. We are a little bit late but I hope we are not too late. They have got everything they want in the Indian Councils Act. Instead of stating any reason for shutting up persons in prison without letting them know why, the Governor-General has to state his reasons. He has only to promulgate the ordinance and they get six months to prepare the evidence and more time is unnecessary if there should be a prosecution. In the case of Natu brothers they have not yet been released, they are still under surveillance and there is no knowing how long this state of things may go on. I do not want, Gentlemen, to permit myself to indulge in epithets regarding the action of the Government. As I stated, we are not concerned with the case of the Natu brothers. Perhaps we may take it as fairly conceded even by Government that there is no justification for arresting them. Here is an enactment which is full of mischief and which is absolutely of no use. Here is another enactment which will serve all the purposes which that Statute could possibly serve and the other enactment is one in the working of which we have safeguards that it would not be used mischievously and without consideration. I say, therefore, if you want any law we have got it. Besides, if the Government want to pass a special law the Imperial Government can pass the law in one day. They have only to suspend the standing orders. We know from experience they are not slow to suspend standing orders. The Government has done it in similar cases. My Madras friends are aware that we have got a class, turbulent at times in Malabar District the Moplahs. The Government, in order to deal effectively with that class at short notice, have passed a Moplah Act. That Act has been in force for some time. Under that Act there is a trial, you cannot shut Moplahs up without reason, but you can try them summarily. They have an opportunity of defending themselves. The Government have the power to deport a Moplah outside Malabar if there are proper reasons for it. Now the Natu Brothers asked for a trial and requested for a departmental enquiry if no trial could be given. There was no answer. The Moplah Act is much better. There is no reason whatever why, when it becomes necessary to have a special measure at special times, a special law should not be passed. Do it by legislation; and do not do it by an Executive Act. Legislation will be deliberate, it will give time to others to represent their view of the question and it will give time to Government to steady its head. I say, Gentlemen, this is a measure which ought not to remain on the Statute-book. It is a confession of weakness on the part of Government. It is a standing menace to our liberty. More than that it is a confession on the part of Government that after a century of British rule, they still require such a Statute and that they cannot say that their Empire is built upon the affection of the people sufficiently to make it unnecessary to have to put them in jail without any trial. I therefore say it is absolutely necessary to repeal these Regulations.

THE HONORABLE MR. KALICHARAN BANNERJEE (Bengal):—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the honour to second the resolution which has just been presented to you. After the exhaustive arguments in support of the resolution with which we have been favoured I have very little to add. I would endeavour to support the proposition mainly on two grounds. Firstly, having regard to the course of legislation since the years 1818, 1819, and 1827, we might very well presume that the necessity no longer exists for adding to the reign of law what we might describe as the reign of discretion, of extraordinary discretion; and secondly, that the discretion vested in Government by these obnoxious Regulations has been exercised so unwisely and so unreasonably that the time has come for it to be withdrawn. Going back to the first ground I would say, as you have already been told, that the Regulations date so far back as three quarter of a century ago. Legislation has developed and developed by rapid strides since those times and has culminated in such provisions of the law as are embodied in the recent amendments of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. Surely we may take it that with all these provisions of law at the disposal of Government it should not be necessary for Government in certain instances to invoke discretion as distinguished from law, as unfettered by law. But more than that, as I have urged, the discretion vested in Government by these Regulations has not been exercised in such a way as to justify a continuance of the power in them to exercise that discretion any longer. Even in legislative enactments where there is room left for the exercise of discretion on the part of our Judges, distinction is drawn between wise and reasonable discretion and its opposite, and in order to safeguard the exercise of a wise and reasonable discretion the Legislature have, in certain instances, laid down in specific language as to what would be considered under the law a wise and reasonable discretion. I understand by a wise and reasonable discretion, a self-justifying discretion. In other words when any Judge or even an Executive Officer exercises any discretion which the law allows him to exercise, that discretion should be exercised on occasions and under conditions which would justify that discretion in the eyes of the public. It should not be necessary to justify that discretion by any argument. Its justification should be evident to the public. Now in connection with the discretion vested in Government by these Regulations, let us see whether having regard to the recent case referred to by the mover of the resolution the discretion has been exercised wisely and reasonably. Now, before I refer to the specific case, I would refer to a test to which this discretion of the Government of Bengal was put in connection with the Regulation of 1818. If the discretion vested in Government by these Regulations were exercised in a good cause, the public perhaps would have nothing to say. Now, not long ago the Bengal Government was invoked to use the provisions of this very Regulation in dealing with certain persons or class of persons concerned in immoral traffic and the Bengal Government in their reply to the memorial declared that they were doubtful whether they could apply this Regulation to a case like that. They were not prepared to use the discretion vested in them by this Regulation for such a purpose as was indicated in the memorial submitted to them. Therefore we have not before us an instance, even in one single solitary instance in which the public have been satisfied that the discretion vested in Government by these Regulations has been exercised in a good and noble cause. Then coming to the discretion exercised in the recent case, we have to remember that even Lord George Hamilton was not prepared to defend the exercise of discretion on the part of Government in this case as wise and reasonable. All that he was prepared to hold was that the Government had acted within its authority. It is one thing to be able to say that Government, in any one instance, acts technically within the limits of its authority, and it is a different thing altogether positively and affirmatively to hold that the discretion has been exercised wisely and reasonably. Then Lord George Hamilton had to take refuge in what I may describe as a portentous

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insinuation that possibly some justification of the exercise by Government of the discretion in this particular direction might be forthcoming in the near future. That was the only defence Lord George Hamilton was prepared to put forward on behalf of Government. Then when we come to test it still further, what do we find? You have been told what the provisions of these Regulations are. The preamble refers to reasons of State policy. Now in this particular case we have a case of reasons of State policy, not known to the State, because when Lord George Hamilton had to assign some reason for the course that had been taken—in fact the outcry was so reasonable that even he had not the courage to take shelter under those mysterious words with which the preamble to the Regulation opens. He was not prepared simply to say there are reasons of State policy. He ventured to assign a reason and the reason that he insinuated in the first instance was shortly after discredited by a judicial pronouncement as you were told in the course of the opening address of our President. And then he had to shift his ground as we were also told, indicating clearly that although the alleged basis of the operation was some reason of State policy, it was a reason that was not only a mystery to the public, but it was a reason which was a mystery to the State. He said that as a rule no doubt such a Regulation as this should never be enforced and it was only on an emergent occasion there should be any occasion for putting into force a Regulation or non-regulation like this. And yet when we talk of an emergency I take it that it should be an emergency to which the State and the public alike should be alive. We should know something of it and the State should know something of it. But as far as our present knowledge goes, the emergency is only upon paper, the emergency is only in the imagination; not one fact has transpired to show that there was or is anything in reality in connection with the alleged emergency. So I take it that as far as the discretion exercised in this case is concerned we are in a position to say that it has not been wisely and reasonably exercised. Not only so but we are in a position to say that on the contrary the discretion has been most capriciously exercised. If then we have a Regulation in the Statute-book in regard to which it is possible for Government to exercise a discretion of that kind, the sooner such a Regulation is blotted out of the Statute-book the better (*Cheers*). On these two grounds I would second the resolution that has been proposed to you.

Mr. JOHN ADAM (Madras):—

Mr. John Adam.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I was rather unexpectedly asked to support this Resolution. I do so with very great pleasure as it is one which requires, certainly at this period of the discussion, very few words to commend it to your favour. There is only one point which the previous speakers, I think, have left unnoticed and I think it is an important one and therefore I shall put it in as few words as possible. My friend Mr. Sundara Iyer has pointed out to you in his usual able manner that the power which is given by these Regulations,—that reserve of power which every one of us must admit that every Government must possess under certain circumstances if it is to exist at all—that reserve of power is given under proper limitations—limitations which might be shown not to be very dissimilar to the limitations under which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus exists in England—to the Governor-General by Section 23 of the Councils Act. Now the remarkable thing is that the power so given to the Governor-General under Section 23 of the Councils Act has been found amply sufficient for the purposes of the whole of India except the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and those other portions of the country to which the Bengal Regulation has been extended. You must remember that these three Presidencies are the most advanced and educated in the whole of India, the most remote from the frontier, the most remote from any fear of foreign invasion or foreign trouble, where almost since the time these Regulations were passed there have practically been no troubles. There are many portions of India, including Burmah, where one would have thought such a Regulation to be necessary but for which the general powers given in the Councils

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Act are sufficient. One would think the old University centres of Madras, Bombay and Bengal the very last where the Regulations would be found necessary to supplement the other extraordinary powers that are given to the Governor-General. Therefore I think that these Regulations stand almost as an insult to the three great Presidencies. The Governor-General has all the powers necessary and he could act in the same way under the Councils Act as he does in other portions of the country where the Regulations are not in force. I think that is a very important point to consider when we are dealing with this question. The real question is not whether the Government should have some power of this kind but whether these antiquated and long forgotten Regulations should remain as its embodiment in modern civilisation. I have nothing more to add to what my learned friend has already stated than to bring this special point to your notice. I am sure you will all support this resolution.

RAI NALINAKSHA BASU BAHADUR (Bengal):—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In obedience to the mandate from the Chair, I stand before you to support this resolution. After the able and eloquent speeches, that have been made in connection with this resolution, it is preposterous on my part to open my lips and in fact I do not know what to say in as much as everything that could be said on the subject of this resolution has already been said. I shall therefore confine myself to a brief description of how the provisions of the Bengal Regulation were resorted to by the Bengal Government to keep in custody certain persons who had the reputation of being Wahabees and how the action of the Government was challenged by the aggrieved individuals. Gentlemen, the first time we came to know the existence of these Regulations was not, as some of the learned speakers have said, on the occasion when the Natu brothers were arrested and confined but on the occasion when the supposed Wahabees of Calcutta were deprived of their liberty without being put on their defence. Gentlemen, about 20 years ago, an application was made on behalf of one Ameer Khan and one Hashmadad Khan of Calcutta to the Honorable High Court at Fort William in Bengal and it was prayed therein, that a writ of Habeas Corpus might be issued upon the Superintendent of the Alipore Jail to bring up the bodies of these two individuals, but the Honorable Court without issuing the writ, ordered the issue of a rule calling upon the Superintendent of the Alipore Jail to show cause why the writ applied for should not be granted. Gentlemen, the Government through their servant the Superintendent of the Alipore Jail showed cause and contended that Ameer Khan and Hashmadad Khan were kept in custody on the authority of the Bengal Regulation and that therefore the High Court had no jurisdiction to interfere. The well known barrister of the Bombay bar, Mr. Anstey, was engaged to conduct the case on behalf of the above persons and he most strongly contended that the Bengal Regulation was invalid, inoperative and had not any binding force upon the subject of British India. His arguments were, that the provisions of the Regulation were inconsistent with the first principles of Criminal Jurisprudence of England and that as the Indian Legislature borrowed their authority from that of England, the Indian Legislature certainly could not do that which the English Legislature could not do themselves. He also contended that the Regulation was not registered in the King's Court and therefore had not the force of law. Unfortunately, Gentlemen, these objections were overruled by the High Court and the result was that an appeal was preferred to the Privy Council and everybody expected that the matter would be authoritatively settled by a decision of that august body, and sanguine hopes were entertained that the important question as to whether the Executive Government, without bringing a man to trial, could keep a man in custody for years and years, would be decided by a judgment of the Privy Council. But the public were disappointed, the Government avoided the decision of the Privy Council by setting the men at liberty before the hearing of the appeal and with the liberation of the men the appeal fell to the ground, and there

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Repeal of
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was no case before their Lordships the members of the Privy Council to decide. I may tell you that great doubts are entertained as to the validity of the law in legal quarters and until the matter is again taken before the Highest Court, the question would remain within the pale of controversy and uncertainty. However be that as it may, if there was any necessity for a Regulation like this in those days when it was enacted, that necessity certainly does not exist now. The British rule was then in its infancy in many parts of India and the British had only conquered the land of the Indians but had not up to that time conquered their hearts, and the benefit of the British rule was not up to then fully appreciated. But, Gentlemen, after we have tasted the British rule for more than a century and a half, after we have received the blessings of that rule for this long period, after we have been given English education and after we have testified our devotion and unflinching loyalty to the British Crown over and over, is it not a matter of extreme regret to find that these Regulations still exist? Is it proper, Gentlemen, is it just on the part of our rulers to keep these Regulations in the Indian Statute-book any longer? In my humble opinion the existence of these Regulations up to the present time is a blot on the fair fame of the English nation and is a stain on the lustre of the British rule. On these grounds I beg to support this resolution and I hope you will pass it.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution XVI.
Simultaneous
Examinations.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution will be put from the chair. After the discussion that this question has already evoked, you will not deem it necessary that there should be any speaking with regard to this resolution. The resolution runs as follows:—

“That this Congress again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and urges the desirability of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, viz., Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest, and Accounts, both in India and in England, in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893. This Congress further points out that in regard to the employment of Indians the higher ranks of the Postal, Salt, and Abkari and Forest Services, the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have not been adequately carried out, and prays that in all ranks of the said Services more educated Indians should be employed.”

THE PRESIDENT:—It is suggested—it is desirable to comply with that suggestion—that I might now put from the chair the resolution No. 23, the last on the agenda paper. The resolution runs in these terms:—

“That the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, and ought to be cancelled without delay.”

This is also a resolution which has been spoken to, discussed and adopted at the previous Congresses.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution is with regard to technical education and let us make some self-sacrifice. I do trust that the speakers who come up will remember the limit of time announced on the first day. Mr. Mudholkar is the first person to be called upon to submit to that self-sacrificing ordinance.

Mr. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Berar):—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In obedience to the chair I shall make my remarks in presenting the resolution which is placed in my hands as brief as possible. The resolution runs thus:—

“That this Congress places on record its deep conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction and set apart more funds for a better and more successful working of the same.”

The resolution, Gentlemen, is one which deals with the bread of the people. The condition of the masses of this country is one which has always proved a source of great anxiety both to the Government and to the upper sections of the people. The natural resources of India have always been very great. The soil is fertile, the climate is excellent, and suited to all purposes of production of wealth, the geographical situation is very favourable, the people are thrifty, sober and hardworking. And yet in spite of these what do you see? In this land which was called at one time *Svarabhami* (the land of gold), 30 millions of the people of this country are said by Sir W. W. Hunter to go through life on insufficient food. Sir Charles Elliot and other persons whose authority I had occasion to quote on previous occasions have said the same thing. There is the long death roll presented by the famines. During the 45 or 50 years which preceded the enquiry by the Famine Commission of 1879 as many as 12 to 14 millions of people died from the effects of famine. There is the latest testimony afforded by the report of the Famine Commission of 1897, in which they admit that the condition of the labouring classes has in no way improved, but has deteriorated, and that the class of people who live from hand to mouth and who have no staying power in them has far increased. This is a serious state of affairs and you naturally ask why such a state of things should have come about. To put it in a nutshell it is this. The old industries of the country have collapsed and our old well-balanced industrial system has vanished, and agriculture has become practically the only source of living to the people. As the Famine Commission pointed out, 90 per cent. of the rural population and 80 per cent. of the total population are connected with the land. The land is the only thing from which they can get their food. But the land is not sufficient for their purpose. It is owing to this want of diversity of industries that these famines produce the hardships and miseries which they do. What the Famine Commission proposed was that there should be a thorough overhauling of the entire system and that every effort should be made to revive the decayed industries of India. At one time it was India which supplied the wants of the whole civilised world. It is now India which has to look to other countries for the supply of her wants. If you look to the trade returns what do you find? Your export is from 115 to 120 crores a year. Out of those 115-120 crores, except about 6 crores of yarn and manufactured articles, all that you export are raw produce such as cotton, wool, seeds, grains and hides. These and other similar things are sent out; and what you import are manufactured articles. The loss to the country from this state of things is estimated to be about 50-60 crores of rupees a year, which could have gone to increase the wages-fund and profits of the capitalists. They are now entirely absorbed by other countries. If you go on in that way, a time will come when your masses will be utterly unable to get even what little food they now get. The only way out of the difficulty is that our industries should be revived; but it is not possible to do that, unless we abandon the old paths and strike into new paths. It is as possible for a bullock cart to run a race with a locomotive steam-engine as it is possible for our hand-looms to compete with looms driven by steam power? In England itself, you find a great complaint made because the English people do not take to instruction in science in the same

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way as the people of Germany are doing. Germany is beating England in every field. If this is the complaint in England how much more should that complaint be made by us? There is a general feeling among the so called practical men that the study of science is not conducive to practical work. But here is what you see. It is on account of the advance which the West has made in modern science, it is by the application of steam power, by employing inventions which science has discovered—by the mechanical and chemical inventions discovered by men of science—that the West has made the great advance which it has done. It is therefore absolutely necessary for us to make a move. It must be admitted that Government are conscious of the great importance of this matter. It is a matter for great regret that what the Government have done is very little. You find in the Bombay Presidency there is only one Technical Institute; and even that Technical Institute is not like one of those Government Institutes Polytechnique that exist in Europe. Then there is a small Arts School. In Madras, I am told, it is the same and it is practically the same thing in Calcutta. Wherever you go you find the same thing. The great excuse for not doing what is needful is want of funds. Well, Gentlemen, we must say this, that while there is money for frontier wars, while there is money for the ever-increasing military expenditure, bloated armaments, when money is required for projects connected with relieving the condition of the poor masses it is not forthcoming. Gentlemen, there is one proposition which we can make to the Government and it is this. When the license tax was imposed in 1878 it was solemnly said that that tax was required for having a famine insurance fund and that the fund raised from that tax would be religiously kept for protecting the country against famines. There is no better way in which a portion of that money could be employed than by employing it to promote industrial education. If only 10 to 15 lakhs a year out of the 1½ crores which under these pledges ought to be devoted to purposes of famine insurance be applied to technical education, a very great advance will be made. What we want is not instruction in common carpentry, not instruction in smithery, but instruction in higher branches of applied sciences. Gentlemen, the subject is vast and I cannot now go into it. I will only mention two instances: Some years ago the wine industry of France was threatened, the vine plants were affected by an universal disease and seemed in danger of extinction. It was then that the great Pasteur applied himself to the matter and he found out what was threatening the vine plants. On that occasion and also on another occasion when the silk industry was threatened, it was the labour of the men of science which saved France. Similarly you find that the great advance made by America has been due, to a great extent, to the works of men like Edison and others. It is therefore necessary for us that the intellect of the country which has been running so far in a literary groove should, to a certain extent, be diverted to industrial and scientific pursuits. As I said in the beginning, the question of the revival of industries is a question with which not only the so called industrial classes are concerned, but the whole country is concerned; and as persons who profess to represent the elect of the people, it is our duty to devote the whole of our attention to it and ask both the Government and our own people to make greater exertions than have been done. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

MR. BOIKUNTA NATH SEN (Bengal):—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The resolution which I have the honour to second is one which needs no discussion and no argument. We all know that our indigenous industries are day by day fading away. I come from a district where there were three special industries—silk, bell metal and ivory works. Great endeavours have been made and are still being made for the preservation of these works, but I am sorry to say, we are not yet successful. The Government stepped in and did something for the improvement of sericulture, but it too has not succeeded. The effort was not adequate for the purpose. Then leaving aside the agriculture of the people, leaving aside a few men who belong to the two

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professions of medicine and law, a large number of people have to live and keep their body and soul together, and for them we ought to think of something. We have been, no doubt, making ourselves very busy about our grievances, our political rights, seeking for concessions and teasing the Government very often for others, but we have not been thinking of this. This is a question of vital importance (*Hear, hear*). I am sorry, Gentlemen, I was absent last evening when this resolution was drafted, because if I had been present I would have made a suggestion. Whether it would have been accepted by the Subjects Committee or not, I am unable to say, because you see up to a certain stage, the resolution is one which is acceptable to the Government. The Government will say, "Oh yes, it is necessary that there should be technical education." I may tell you, Gentlemen, then comes the latter part that "the Government introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for the better and more successful working of the same". I may tell you, Gentlemen, I had a talk, only a few months ago, with a Government official of a very high position—it was the Lieutenant-Governor—and talking about technical education he said, "Why don't you Congress fellows do it. The Government has got no money". I therefore think it is the duty of this Congress to initiate a movement for the purpose of raising funds by means of which you can start a technical institute. You can start one and then turn round upon the Government and say, "We have done this much. You ought to come forward and help us." (*Cheers*.) Gentlemen, without saying anything more I ask you to accept this resolution.

MR. MANAMOHAN NEOGI (Bengal):—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—In my humble opinion the question that is involved in this resolution is of such vital importance to the best interests of our country that the whole of our energy ought to be focussed upon this matter. Hardly a year passes, Gentlemen, in which we do not hear of harrowing tales of misery and starvation consequent upon scarcity and famines which are becoming daily the normal state of things in this country. It has been often said that India is the granary of the East and the garden of Asia. Such is unfortunately the state of things, Gentlemen, in this land. It has now become the duty of the rulers and the ruled alike to devise means which will do away with the deplorable poverty of our countrymen and which will put a stop to oft-recurring famines and scarcities; and in order to do that most effectively, it would be necessary, Gentlemen, to devise means to open outlets for our young men by means of which our countrymen, being properly trained, may develop the industrial resources of the country and improve the various indigenous arts which were once the monopoly of our countrymen and which, at one time, excited the admiration of the most civilized European nations. What is the state of things at the present moment? Foreign nations take out raw materials from our country and convert them into manufactured articles for our daily use, and in fact, we have to depend upon them and we have to look up to their tender mercies in order to get a supply of the most necessary articles of our daily life, no matter at what cost or price they may supply them. This would, Gentlemen, hardly have been the case if there had been a proper system of technical education in vogue in this country, if our countrymen had been properly trained in technical education, if our countrymen had been sent out to the different parts of the world to learn technical arts and the different branches of useful industries. If the Government makes proper, suitable and systematic arrangements to diffuse technical education among our countrymen, India will once more be the seat of fabulous wealth which is only a matter of historical interest at the present moment. Gentlemen, at present, there is an indication that our countrymen are gradually recognising their position with respect to this question. This year, you are aware, Gentlemen, that His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior has sent out two boys to Japan, one to learn glass manufacture and the other mineralogy. This year also the Maharajah Surjakaant of Mymensing, the District I have the honour here to represent, has promised to

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defray the cost of three boys who will be willing to learn technical education in Japan, Europe or America; and Gentlemen, he has already sent a boy to Italy to learn the art of painting. This leads me to hope that, in the near future, this technical education will take the foremost part, and will get the foremost place, in your attention; and we hope the Government will extend its helping hand for this purpose and try its best to make technical education a success in this country and earn the gratitude of our countrymen. With these remarks, I beg to support the resolution.

The PRESIDENT :—As an indication of the very great interest felt in this question we have the names of several other gentlemen to speak on this subject.

Mr. S. K. NAIR (Madras):—

Mr. S. K. Nair.

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates and Gentlemen,—The question of technical education which has been moved by my friend Mr. Mudholkar of the Central Provinces is a question of the greatest and most vital importance to our motherland. It is a question that I will not deal with from the same stand-points as the previous speakers have done, but will take altogether a different line, because that is a line which is absolutely necessary to be taken on an occasion like this and also because the National Congress most indelibly impresses upon the minds of the Government of India and the Government of England that there is no higher and more important question than the question of technical education. In a despatch from the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy here in India, I find written in the year 1888, the following words: "That Government should support technical education, as an extension of general education, and should promote and countenance such technical education of a special character, as may be applied to the service of existing industries, which will profit by the aid of scientific research, scientific method, and higher manipulative skill". I may as well leave these words of the despatch on this table and ask what has the Government of India done with regard to this despatch of the Secretary of State for India, and I may not be far from the mark when I draw your attention to the fact that as it is the case with regard to all other important despatches connected with the interests of this country, it has found its legitimate place in the waste paper basket of the Government of India office. (*A Voice of "Shame"*). Indeed it is a question no doubt for shame, because if there is one resolution, as Mr. Mudholkar rightly said, that most affects the material well-being of 300 millions of this vast Indian Empire, it undoubtedly is the question of technical education, because it is only by the gift of technical education that our dead industries can be brought back to life and new industries with European scientific skill can be established and promoted in a manner which will be creditable and glorious to the British Government. (*Cheers*.) Only one more quotation, Mr. President, and that is a quotation from a speech of His Excellency Lord Ripon, than whose name the natives of India cannot find a greater name as far as the righteous administration of the Indian Empire is concerned. What did Lord Ripon speaking in 1884 say in reply to the Poona Sarva Janik Sabha? He said: "I am deeply convinced of the great importance of technical education everywhere and especially in India. There is no country in the world, perhaps, in which it is more important that manufactures should spring up and that industries and arts should flourish, so that the pressure of population on the land may be relieved and new sources of employment may be opened to the masses of the people. Therefore, I trust and I have every reason to believe that this question of technical education will receive adequate attention from my noble successor, Lord Dufferin". Lord Ripon came and spoke these words as a note of warning to his noble successor. His noble successor reigned for five years and marched off to England, and he was succeeded again by Lord Lansdowne, and telegraphic news through the columns of the Press will bring information that his successor also will be going by P & O steamer to England, and yet the question of technical education has

never received the attention of any Viceroy, in spite of the importance that has been attached to it by such a Viceroy as the noble Marquis of Ripon. This is a resolution which is of the highest importance and I hope you will carry it unanimously.

Mr. JAISHIRAM (Panjab):—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—You have heard four speeches upon the subject and I have very little to add. At the same time I wish to point out to you that we should not depend entirely upon Government in matters like this as pointed out by my learned friend Boikunta Nath Sen. We ought to learn also to stand on our own legs. In the resolution we find an allusion made to the poverty of the people and the decline of the indigenous industries. If the Government of the day like, they can do a great deal, and it is undoubtedly the first duty of the Government to foster indigenous industries and to look carefully into the question of the poverty of India. But it is unnecessary for me to refer to the attitude which the Government of the day has adopted towards them and give reasons for the same. At the same time there are two matters that rest entirely in your hands. And the sooner you take them the better it will be. First of all, I would point out to you that you should use country made goods as far as possible. By using country made goods, you pay your own labourers, while by using foreign made goods you pay the foreigners; and therefore, the first thing which I would wish you to do is to try to have the country made articles as far as possible. This by itself will give impetus to the technical education to a certain extent. You will be pleased to learn that in our Province we have got a society known as Swadesah Vasthu Prachami Sabha, whose object is to improve Indian articles and to promote their use, and of which your humble servant is a member and the President (*Cheers*). I would suggest that when you go back to your places, you had better start societies of that stamp in your own provinces and see how far they work. Secondly, as pointed out by Mr. Boikunta Nath Sen, do try to raise subscriptions. And start private technical institutes, however humble they may be. You will be glad to hear that we have started a technical institute in our Province at Lahore. For the present it is maintained by private subscriptions, only and is working fairly well. Though established after the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty and in commemoration of Her Diamond Jubilee, nobody has heard yet of any help being accorded to it by the Government of the day. But, remember, Gentlemen, God helps those who help themselves! I need not enter here into the details of the merits of my suggestion, but I repeat again that you ought to learn to stand on your own legs. With these words, I support the resolution which has been laid before you.

Mr. SYED NIZAMUDDIN SAHIB (Madras):—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been called upon to support the resolution which has been so ably proposed, seconded and supported by four gentlemen. So my difficulty is what I am to add to what they have already stated. With regard to the principles of the resolution I have nothing more to say than what has already been said. As to the beneficial effects of a technical institution, I may mention one instance that exists for the Mahomedan community of Madras. There is a society in Madras—perhaps my Madras brethren know it—known as "the Anjuman" where technical education, to a humble extent according to our means, is given to many of our boys of the lower class. I am glad to say that within a short period of five or six years, we have turned out hundreds of useful boys who have become goldsmiths, embroiders, carpet-makers or rattan-makers and so on. Instead of turning out thieves or jutka-drivers, I am glad to say that these men earn a few annas a day and lead honest lives. With these words I heartily support the resolution.

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THE PRESIDENT:—This appears to be a resolution which will be supported not by speeches but by an offer just now communicated to me. It is communicated, in response to the appeal made by Mr. Boikunta Nath Sen to your noble impulse, to send students to Japan for the purpose of technical education. (*Cheers*). Mr. Tarpadu Bannerji supports the resolution by offering to send a student to Japan, and I trust that before we close our deliberations some other supporters of a similar practical character will be found.

Three *cheers* to Mr. Tarpadu Bannerji were given.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

At this stage Mr. BHUPENDRANATH ROSE said:—I may as well announce that shortly before I left Calcutta a friend of mine announced to me his intention of sending a boy to Japan or America for the purpose of receiving technical education.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, it will be, I am sure, a pleasing announcement to make that you have got another gentleman to support a student from his pocket.

Resolution XIX.
Constitution and
Working of the
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Hon. Mr. P. Rathnasabapathy Pillai.

THE HONORABLE MR. P. RATHNASABAPATHY PILLAI (Madras):—

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates,—The resolution which I have the honour to move for your adoption differs in a slight degree from the printed resolution which has been placed in your hands. I shall proceed to read the resolution as it has been subsequently modified.

(a) That all the Standing Congress Committees be requested to form Central Committees in their respective Provinces, for the appointment of agents and adoption of other measures, for furthering the objects of the Congress, such Central Committees submitting annually at the meeting of the Congress a report of the work carried out in their Provinces during the year.

(b) That the Standing Congress Committees at Madras, Bombay, Nagpur, Amraoti, Calcutta, Allahabad and Lahore be requested to take measures to give early effect to this Resolution.

(c) And further that a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, exclusive of the President and ex-Presidents now in India who shall be *ex-officio* members, be appointed to consider the draft constitution circulated by the Reception Committee of Madras and submit a definite scheme to the next Congress, and that this do form the first subject of discussion at the next meeting of the Congress:—

- (1) Baboo Aswini Kumara Dutt, Bengal.
- (2) Mr. D. E. Wacha, Bombay.
- (3) Mr. Joshiram, Punjab.
- (4) Mr. Gungaprasad Vurma, Oudh.
- (5) Pandit Mudon Mohun Malaviya, North-West Provinces.
- (6) Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Satara.
- (7) Mr. Bapu Rao Dada, Central Provinces.
- (8) Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Madras.

and

- (9) Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Berar, to act as Secretary to the Committee.

This resolution is an important step in the direction of extending the Congress work. One of the several well-meant criticisms directed against the Congress during the last few years

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is that this institution has been degenerating into annual Christmas *tamasha* of only three days duration, and that until the next feast comes nothing is heard of this institution. The resolution now before you answers this criticism in a practical manner by devising a *modus operandi* for keeping the perennial work of the Congress. It is for you to carry this resolution unanimously and what is more important, to carry it out in its entirety and with the loyalty which is due to our countrymen. The idea is the formation of Working Committees in important provincial centres for promoting the objects of the Congress. Each District in my opinion ought to have an Executive Provincial Committee whose business should be to educate the masses in the Congress literature by publishing and circulating broadcast pamphlets in all vernaculars and giving a summary of the various Resolutions of the Congress and the reasons therefor. If this system be adopted, I have not the slightest doubt that the work, and a rather invidious and difficult work coming on us periodically of raising subscriptions for expenses of the Congress will be very much facilitated and rendered easy. If the masses could be brought to understand the aims and objects of this vast movement, whose object is nothing more nor less than to serve their vital interests, I dare say that such a system of provincial activity by the institution of Executive Committees will render the task of obtaining funds for the periodical expenses of the Congress all the more easy. There is another item in the procedure now proposed for your adoption. It has often been said that the Congress deals a vast multiplicity of subjects of a complex nature and that it ought to concentrate its attention upon the leading topics concerning our Government. This argument is no doubt a plausible one. The Congress cannot help it. The interests of this vast Empire are so extensive, complicated and varied that the saying, "Brevity is the soul of wit" cannot hold good in the present instance, and without the vast and extensive programme affecting the multitudinous affairs of this Empire, the interests of the 300 millions of people cannot be properly served. Even this plausible objection which is directed against our Congress work can be obviated if the Provincial Executive Committees as suggested in this resolution, take up the programme of the Congress, work it up piecemeal, thresh it out completely and place it one by one before the authorities. If this method be adopted, the quantity of the Congress work may be reduced and the Congress may be enabled to concentrate its attention upon the leading topics affecting our Government. Another important matter proposed in this resolution is the desirability of framing a constitution for the Congress institution. The question of the adoption of a constitution for the Congress has been before successive Congresses for several years past and I hope the proposed representative Committee with its energetic Secretary Mr. Mudholkar will be able to frame a constitution and place it for adoption before the next year's Congress. If I may be permitted to indicate briefly the general outlines upon which this constitution should run, I would like to suggest that, above all others, there ought to be well defined electoral divisions with a fixed and definite number of seats allotted to each division, with the qualifications of the electors and the elected also defined in such a manner that a delegation to this unwritten Parliament of our country may be coveted as a prize. With these few observations I commend this resolution for your adoption.

MR. SURANDRANATH BANNERJEE who on rising was received with enthusiastic cheering said:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Yesterday it was my duty, I will add my most painful duty, to make a complaint against the retrograde and reactionary policy of the Government of India. To-day it is my duty, and also my painful duty, to make a complaint though entirely of a different nature. My complaint is not against the Government of India, but it is against this Congress, and it is against my friends of the Congress, whose confidence, I am happy to say, I enjoy in such a large measure. I am here, Sir, in obedience to a mandate from the inexorable nature of which I could not possibly escape. When I came on the platform

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I had not the least intention of making a speech. Since I came to the platform I was asked to speak in regard to the resolution about Natu Brothers, then in regard to another resolution which followed, and lastly I was transfixed to the 21st resolution. Well, Sir, I am here in obedience to that mandate. I ask now, what is the object of this resolution? It is a very important resolution, a vital resolution, a resolution deeply affecting the truest and the most cherished interests of this great institution. The object of this resolution, as I take it, is the diffusion and dissemination among the unenlightened masses of the principle of the Congress. Sir, I have heard it said—heard with pain and astonishment—that we, the people of the Congress for the last 14 or 15 years, have done little or no work. I will claim this on behalf of the Congress, that we have never taken up a question which we have not brought within the range of practical politics or in regard to which we did not provide a sound and a completely satisfactory solution. We took up the question of the separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions, and we have brought it within the range of practical politics. We took up the question of Police reform. The Police in Bengal has been partially reformed. (*Cheers.*) We took up question of the wider employment of our people in the public service of this land; and the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service of India has partially been carried out. Last but not least, we took up the question of reform and expansion of the Councils, and the Councils have been enlarged and reconstituted upon a partially representative basis. But we have done something more. The subjective triumphs of the Congress are even more significant than the objective triumphs. We have brought all the Indian races upon the same common platform, and have inspired them with a common sentiment of patriotism to our motherland. (*Cheers.*) We have filled them with a lofty ardour and devotion to live and suffer, and if need be, to die for the benefit and glory of the land. Is any achievement of any institution in modern times comparable to this vast, stupendous, phenomenal achievement of ours? I am surprised that Congress men should bring a charge of this kind. Of course I expected the *Times* to repeat this hackneyed charge again and again whenever it finds an opportunity. That great friend of ours, Reuter, has telegraphed to this country for the edification of the Anglo-Indian public the adverse comments of the *Times* in regard to your speech, Sir, the day before yesterday, that speech to which we listened with wrapt attention, intense interest and admiration. That speech has been described as vague, indefinite, and making no specific complaints. (*Cries of "Shame."*) So much for the truthfulness of the *Times* writer, and then the *Times* from facts proceeds to opinions. The *Times* says the Congress movement is on the wane. The Congress movement on the wane! Let the writer of that mendacious paragraph come here and witness with his eyes this great, this majestic assembly representing the wisdom, the intelligence, and the capacity of educated India. (*Cheers.*) He will find whether the Congress movement is on the wane or not. The Congress movement on the wane! Why, Sir, what does the resolution of to-day propose? Namely that an organisation is to be started at once for the wider diffusion of those principles which are so dear to us. We are not content with keeping the light to ourselves. We say: "Let the light spread broad-cast, let it radiate forth throughout the length and breadth of this land, illuminate it with its splendour, glory and its beneficence". We want the gospel principles of the Congress, tidings of great joy, to be communicated to the humblest resident of the meanest cottage. Are these indications of a declining movement? Sir, at the same time, I am prepared to admit that much remains to be done. We are not perfect. No human institution is perfect. Not even the Government of India is perfect (*Laughter*). It lays claim to infallibility. Those claims may be right or they may not be right. But at any rate we in the Congress are prepared to admit that much remains to be done so far as our work is concerned. And this resolution, with which I have been entrusted, makes provision for that work. The resolution is divided into two parts. In the first place it provides for the appointment of agents. These agents are to be appointed by whom? Appointed by the Central Committee. The object of the appointment of these

agents is the propagation of the Congress principles. The Central Committees do not exist now. A Central Committee exists only in Madras. As I said last night at the meeting of the Subjects Committee, I may say with regard to the backwardness of Madras that Madras can teach us many lessons which the more pretentious Presidencies will do well to learn; and one of these lessons is the lesson of constitution in regard to the various organisations which Madras takes in hand. Madras has the instinct of statesmanship about it. (*Laughter*). The moment it takes up a cause, it starts an organisation. Madras looks around with spectacles and asks, "Where is the constitution? Where are the rules? Are these rules practicable or impracticable? Are these rules fair and equitable? Will they carry out the ends for which they are destined?" These are the practical questions which suggest themselves to the Madrassite. He solves them in his own luminous way. Well, Madras has already got a Central Committee. I was not aware of it until last night. On board the *Bancura* we thought, 20 or 30 Delegates that were gathered together, we were going with a great secret in our bosoms, we were going to communicate to the members of the Madras Presidency and also to the members of other Presidencies this splendid idea, this inspiration so to speak, of a Central Committee; and when we laid this idea before the Subjects Committee, lo and behold to our astonishment, we discovered that there was a Central Committee at Madras. There is to be this Central Committee. This Central Committee is to supply the motive power; but Central Committees do not exist except in Madras as I have said. How are they to be brought forth into existence? The various Standing Congress Committees in the different metropolitan centres are to create a Central Committee, and then the Congress is to exercise a sort of revisional jurisdiction by the submission of reports which are to be laid before the Central Committee. Such in brief is the first part of the resolution. The second part of the resolution refers to the form of the constitution. I do not know how often we have discussed it how many pledges we have made in regard to it. I do not know how many pledges we have broken regarding it. In 1887 from this platform—it might not have been in Hyde Park,—a resolution was put forward by my friend Mr. Ghosal, the nestor of the Congress movement, to the effect that all Standing Congress Committees are to be required to submit a draft constitution before the next meeting of the Congress. The next meeting of the Congress was held in 1888. Next to 1888 we have had 10 meetings, but not in one of them was a report regarding the constitution submitted by any Standing Congress Committee. Sir, we are tired of repeating a particular charge against the Government of this country in season and out of season. We are complaining that the Government of India has made most solemn promises and has broken those promises. (*Laughter*). Might not the same charge be now flung into our teeth? (*A cry of "Shame."*) Of course that is a most shameful matter, but a part of that shame sticks to you, my dear Sir. (*Laughter*) I think it is a most shameful thing that we should hear and talk of the supremacy of the moral law, professing our assured belief as we did yesterday, that those laws were destined to triumph in a world of God's Providence, and then go home and sleep over those promises which we have made. I can conceive nothing more shameful than that. Brother-Delegates, let there be a departure this year. Let us resolve in our heart of hearts, take a solemn vow, enter into a solemn league and covenant, that this resolution which we accept to-day shall be loyally adhered to and loyally given effect to. What are your difficulties? Why should we not be able to propagate our principles amongst the masses? Why should we not be able to send deputations to England to instruct the enlightened British people and the masses, the masters of the destinies of the whole of India? What are the difficulties? Is not money forthcoming, or are men wanting? Have we no money? This rich country, the fabled land of wealth, no money among a population of three hundred millions of souls. (*Cries of "we have"*). Why, if we subscribe a cowrie each, we could have 50 lakhs. It is not that we have no money. We have not men. We are wanting in self-sacrifice, devotion, ardour and enthusiasm, which a case like this demands at our hands. Have we not missionaries in this cause? Read the history of the world. Twelve illiterate fishermen of Nazareth,

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fired with the divine ardour and divine afflatus, ignorant and illiterate, unable to speak a learned dialect, have created a most astonishing revolution that the world has ever witnessed. Have we not twelve men amongst us who will take a solemn vow even now at this moment, at this Congress meeting, that, during the next 12 months, they will devote their lives, their time, their attention, their resources, their all, to the services of that motherland whose glory, Sir, you described in such eloquent terms on the last occasion? (*Cheers*). You cheer me; I am not concerned about cheering. I want men. Will not that gentleman who cried shame come forward now? I want men. I will go on repeating until I have the men. It is a matter of most serious concern the men ought to be forthcoming. Look at these Brahmins of Poona, their magnificent self-sacrifice and devotion; look at their splendid work, the Ferguson College; look at the self-denying men, the members of the Aryan Samaj, who founded the Vedic Institution and their magnificent sacrifice. A cause that is to prosper needs such sacrifice. We want such sacrifice from you. It is no use your coming here once in 12 months, passing resolutions, cheering speakers, returning home and going to sleep. You must really make up your minds to do solemn, earnest and devoted work. You must really make up your minds to sacrifice yourselves even if it be for twelve months. The pursuit of money is fascinating; but the pursuit of a great ideal for the glorification of one's motherland is holy and inspiring. May God, the Giver of all good intentions, may He vouchsafe to this assembly the spirit, the fervour, the enthusiasm, and the energy which we need so much for the attainment of the glorious ends of the Congress! May the heavenly inspiration descend on this assembly, may Thou, God of nations, vouchsafe Thy light, Thy spirit, Thy inspiration, so that we may be led on by Thee to do that work which is Thine and our work—the salvation of our motherland, the land which is the land of our birth, that land which is the land of our sires, and that land which free and emancipated we propose to leave to our descendants, even unto remote generations! May you think over the matter, may you think of the patriotic fervour and enthusiasm for the benefit of your country and the glorification of your God! (*Lo! and continued cheers.*)

BABU ASWINI KUMARA DUTT (Bengal):—

Babu Aswini
Kumara Dutt.

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates,—I rejoice that this resolution which has been so dear to my heart has been moved by the Honorable Mr. Ratnasabapathy Pillay and has been seconded by no less a personage than Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee. I rejoice at the fact that our leader has taken it up and has moved the audience over this question, but then at the same time, as I say, it is my misfortune that I have to follow him. I cannot possibly impress upon you the importance of this resolution in the way in which my friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee has done. Nevertheless I must speak a few words. Mr. President, I have told you, it is the resolution in our programme which is exceedingly dear to my heart. I have been thinking over it for years and years and at last this year I venture to place it before you. Now, Babu Surendranath Bannerjee said that we had been alleging complaints against Government and that in this resolution we alleged complaints against ourselves. Really we ought to criticise what we have been doing and in such criticism we ought not to spare ourselves; we ought to be out-spoken, we ought to be plain with ourselves, straightforward and honest. In fact, in pointing out the defects of the Government we have been, I fancy, counting spots on the sun, rather, passing clouds over the sun, that have darkened the glory of the sun only for a short time, the British Government. I call it the sun, for is it not the British Government that dispelled the gloom that had settled upon this country for ages? Is it not the British Government that have helped the growth in us of ideas of freedom and citizenship, of self-respect and self-reliance, of noble inter-dependence, of loving brotherhood among the nations of India, nay, among the nations of the world? Have not the British Government propounded those ideas, those principles which find such a glorious embodiment in the Indian National Congress? I under-

stand that the policy of the British Government has always been characterised by beneficence and good-will towards us. But, Gentlemen, we sometimes meet clouds, and those clouds, I fancy, merely represent the fumes in the brains of some erratic rulers. The Vernacular Press Act represents the fumes in the brains of Lord Lytton but the good sense of Lord Ripon blew those fumes away. The Sedition Law represents, I think, the conceit of some other ruler, I may name Lord George Hamilton, and I confidently hope that the day is not distant when this Sedition Law will be removed from the Statute-book. I feel confident within myself that the strong sense of justice of the British nation will not allow the Sedition Law to be disfiguring the Statute-book for a long while. The British Government has been compared to the sun so glorious, so powerful and so animating. And what shall we compare ourselves to? I think we should compare ourselves to the course of dull, cold and lifeless air. The traces of love that we have evinced during the 13 years of the Congress are, I think, due to the bright sunshine of British rule with the result that 20 different nationalities have been blended together and are being knit together on this Congress platform in bonds of regard and affection. Is this not due to the sunshine of British rule? That more than fifty thousand rupees were raised, I might almost say within the twinkling of the eye, for Mr. Tilak! Is not that due to the sunshine of British rule? We clamoured about the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils—a voice which the Government could not but listen to. Was it not due to the British rule? Gentlemen, really we are compelled to admit that we have done what we have achieved under the auspices of the British rule. As for ourselves, I should say we have been quite negligent in doing what we ought to do. To be plain spoken, to be straightforward to ourselves, I should say we have not done what we really promised to do. Promises that were made in the first session of the Congress were promises which in the second were dead, and we have not redeemed our promises. There is no doubt about the fact—we have been false to ourselves. Now, the time has come. This resolution exhorts you to redeem the promises you made to the Indian nation. We are not to sleep over this resolution. We have to work, work with earnestness and all the resources at our command. We have got to do that, Gentlemen. If we do not do that, our Congress will be of no use. We cannot expect that the Government will ever listen to our prayers and remonstrances unless we are earnest about them. Simply moving resolutions is of no avail. I, therefore, hope that we will work according to the resolutions that have been placed before you. It is necessary for us that we should throw our hearts into this work. How many are amongst us to die for this cause? I think I am rather too strong but then I think I ought to be outspoken. I think there is very much of lip patriotism. There are heaps of Mammon and Belial who come here to show any amount of patriotism, and it is not given to me to attack the patriots. The doors of real patriotism are shut against them by the Almighty Father himself. Unless you obey the commands of the Most High, and unless you lay yourselves at the disposal of the Most High, I do not think you can expect any good can come out of the Congress. We are patriots of Nandilal stamp. I shall tell you what I mean by that. A friend of ours has described an ideal patriot—Nandilal—in a witty song. The patriot has made a solemn vow that he would devote his life to the cause of the country; and then because his life was so precious—the life of a patriot—he thought the best thing he could do was to prolong it as much as he could. In order to prolong it, he had, in his routine, made arrangements to keep for 12 hours of sleep and eat as much of the dainties and delicacies of the world as he could possibly digest. As ill-luck would have it, his brother was attacked with cholera and some friend came and said, “Your brother is attacked with cholera. Would not you go and nurse him.” He replied, “I think it is my duty to nurse him, but I cannot nurse him, since I have to take care of my life. I have to preserve this life for my country. I would not risk my life for my brother, and my life should be preserved lest I should catch the infection.” The man did not go and the brother died. That sort of patriotism is rampant amongst us. Well, friends, we want real, solid patriotism, good work and by that work we want to educate the people. There are some people who come forward and say that the people understand everything about the

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Congress. I know most of the people—the masses—do not understand anything about it and do not take any interest in that, unless you go and explain to them what you are doing. The other day I came across a Pandit who asked me if the Governor-General was going to preside over the Congress. An educated gentleman said, "I do not know if you have got the elective element in the Legislative Councils." So, we have to educate the people, we have to gather statistics and we have to hammer the principal resolutions for a whole year. If we do that work, I am sure you will be able to come better prepared next year. If we do not do it, if we go on taking degrees, we cannot expect much good from the Congress. Our friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee asked if there was one man here who would devote his time to this cause. (Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee announced that he had received eight names). We will make use of all the time that we can spare for the Congress.

Mr. M. V. JOSHI (Berar):—

Mr. M. V. Joshi.

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates.—It is impossible for me not to be conscious of the disadvantage of having been preceded by eminent speakers but I have to support this resolution as a part of the duty that has been assigned to me by our Chairman. Two things have been abundantly clear during the last 14 years of the existence of this great national assembly. One is the continuance of the British Committee on behalf of this Congress in England to educate public opinion there, and the other which is of equal importance is that we should have Central Committees throughout the country to educate public opinion here. The resolution before you has reference to this latter part of our duty. Gentlemen, we have always been wanting something in the way of a constitution and there has been this year a strong consensus of opinion that we should have, if possible, a Central Committee on behalf of all the Congress circles. We have not got that resolution before you. But we have got an earnest, in the shape of a small measure, of what is to come to you in the next year as a living constitution of the Congress that will guide its future steps in years to come. It is only as an earnest of the good things that are to come to you in the way of a living constitution, and let me trust as an earnest of the good work that you are expected to do throughout the next year, that this resolution is placed before you. But, as my friends have put it to you, a constitution is not everything. We are going to make a constitution, but a constitution cannot make us. An abounding self-sacrifice, an intense moral earnestness of purpose and above all a hopefulness that will sustain us in doing the Congress work, these are needed as pre-requisite and essential things for the propagation of the Congress cause. Well, Gentlemen, I hope as my friend has said, this year will mark a distinct departure in our conduct from what has gone before. Let the year 1899 be a distinct departure from what we have been doing before, I mean to say, let us acquire, if possible, any of those qualities or a combination of those qualities. You remember when the President spoke of the motherland the whole assembly was almost electrified, more especially, by that splendid peroration which bespoke his inner heart. If you really require that devotion to the motherland, you cannot do better than by doing your duty as suggested by the previous speakers. We had, up to this, feelings, thoughts and ideas and let us hope that in succeeding years they will give place to action. With these remarks, I beg to support the resolution.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

MR. BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJI:—In response to the appeal I made, five men from Satara, two from Poona, one from Darwar, one from Bengal and one from Berar have offered to devote themselves to the work of the Congress during the next year. Madras has not yet come forward.

THE PRESIDENT:—I intended to adjourn the Congress, but there are special reasons why we should now take up the omnibus resolution. I will now call upon Mr. Grubb to move the resolution. He is to leave Madras this evening. He comes from the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association of which Mr. Caine whom we know so well is the Secretary and Mr. Grubb is the Honorary Secretary.

MR. GRUBB then moved the following resolution:—

(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating—

(a) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, and 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option; (b) a modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued; (c) the establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian Army; (d) the authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India; (e) the discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government; (f) the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India; (g) the establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest—

(a) Against the scheme of re-organisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, even those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(c) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

(iii) And that this Congress, also concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its firm conviction:—

(a) That the time having come when greater facilities are imperatively required for

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higher education and the proper development of the Indian intellect than what are at present offered by examinations alone, the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of a teaching function and for a wider scope of learning so as to suit generally the requirements of the present day.

(b) That, having regard to the facility of intercourse between all parts of India and Assam, the time has now arrived when the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893, should be repealed.

(c) That it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief should be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

(d) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education, a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final.

(e) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury, before the High Court and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jury or of the assessors shall be natives of India.

(f) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of forest subordinates in various ways, which have led to much discontent throughout the country: that though the objects of forest conservancy, as announced in the Resolution of 1891, are declared to be not to secure the largest revenue, but to conserve the forests in the interest chiefly of the agricultural classes and of their cattle, the existing set of rules subordinates the latter consideration to the former, and an amendment of the rules with a view to correct this mischief is, in the opinion of the Congress, urgently called for.

(g) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand.

MR. GRUBB:—

Mr. President and Friends,—This is my first visit to the Indian National Congress. I came to it, to a large extent, with an open mind. I shall leave it with a convinced mind. I have always had sympathy in the main with the objects of the Congress. But it has not been until the last 3 days that I have been fully convinced of the righteousness of the cause in which you are engaged. (Cheers.) As I have listened to the speeches which have been delivered from this platform I have been struck with three things: firstly, the moderate tone of every one of these utterances; secondly, the almost superabundant loyalty of every one present (cheers), and, thirdly, the unanimity and enthusiasm which has pervaded the entire assembly. Now the duty that has been allotted to me is to move the omnibus resolution. It is my intention to confine

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myself to one seat in that capacious conveyance and that seat is the one referring to the Excise policy of the Government of India, which is dealt with in the first clause of the resolution. The subject is so vast that it places one under peculiar temptations of diffuseness. I think I will therefore read the letter which I had left with the President when I was expecting to run away before I had an opportunity of speaking to you. (The President:—It cannot be found.) But I understand that the letter cannot be found, so I will just state what I have to say in two or three words. I have been in India only 16 days or thereabouts. I have travelled in the Bombay Presidency, in the Deccan, and in Southern India and I have found a universal expression of opinion to this effect that the habit of drinking is much more general among the people than it was formerly, and opinion is also unanimous that this result has been brought about by the unwise Abkari policy pursued by the Government of India. The Government professes to be guided by the principles enunciated in the despatch referred to in the resolution. It was my intention to read that despatch but time will not permit of it. We were told only yesterday that the way to hell was paved with good intentions. Well, I am afraid that the Government of India have been doing a good deal of stone paving not only in respect of the Abkari policy but also in respect of other things as well. Their intentions may be all right but their actions are often all wrong. We do not want the Government to go to hell. We want them to go to heaven. We want them to go the right way which is the way of Excise reform, upon the principles which they themselves have enunciated in successive despatches. At present their Excise policy is, it is to be feared, dictated by considerations of revenue only and revenue has to be kept up to the maximum chiefly in consequence of that perennial bug-bear, the North-western frontier. That is only an imaginary enemy. But the real enemy at the gate is this habit of drinking and that enemy will be over-running this fair land if the mistaken Abkari policy of Government is persisted in. I hope the Delegates will not only support this resolution by their votes but will give their strong, earnest and active support to the movement which seeks to save the people of India from a vice which has been one of the curses of the nations of the West. (Cheers.)

MR. JOHN ADAM (Madras), who on rising was received with cheers, said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Mr. Grubb has very modestly contented himself with nothing more than occupying one seat in this omnibus, and he has left me to drive the team. I think it might more properly be called a tram car than an omnibus, for any omnibus ever constructed is too small to contain the enormous number of subjects that have now come to be comprised within its capacious limits. Of course it would be absolutely impossible, and you could not expect me, especially at this late stage of the proceedings, to speak at any length on the resolution or even to enumerate the several heads included in the resolution. I do not know if I am even expected to read the resolution itself (The President:—It may be taken as read), or else in the reading of it I should certainly exceed any reasonable limit of time which may be allotted to me. I only wish to say first, that it has been sometimes said that it is rather a useless thing to go on passing a resolution of this kind which embodies such a large number of previous resolutions, I do not think myself it is useless, even if it serves little immediate good object. It takes very little time and very little trouble for us to do it. We have here resolutions in reference to the various reforms or grievances or whatever they may be called, which “we strongly advocate,” or against which we “strongly protest” or as to which we express “our firm conviction”. With reference to all of them they are subjects in which a great many of us take a deep interest, and we have to be very careful that the Congress passes resolutions with reference to these subjects. If we drop them altogether and pay no attention to them, we are apt to be told afterwards that we have either lost all interest in them or found that the previous reasons which we gave for supporting them are unsound. Now it is just these subjects which have a tendency to drop out of the public mind and which perhaps are not so pressing at the

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present moment, as to which we may suddenly find that one day some over-zealous administrator unexpectedly thinks that he has an opportunity of making his name famous or notorious; he introduces something new with the remark that nobody has raised any objection to it for so many years. It is, therefore, necessary to keep on record our opinion with reference to the very large number of subjects which are contained in this resolution. We can only take up at each succeeding Congress a few of the more important subjects which may be called the subjects of the moment. It will be impossible to go through the whole of the resolution as it touches a very large number of subjects. There may be friends here who perhaps do not know much about some of these subjects, and do not know our views upon them; and for the benefit of those persons who desire to really instruct themselves in these subjects, I wish to take this opportunity of commending to them a very useful publication, for which I think the Congress ought to be very grateful to Madras. There is an young energetic Madrassee who has brought out what I consider one of the most useful books—and I say so although I am a contributor to it—in connection with the Congress that, I think, has ever been published. You will find in that book not only all the resolutions that have been passed by the Congress but also a collection of all the Presidential addresses from the commencement. As you know, these Presidential addresses are pronouncements of the greatest value upon all these subjects by those who have been or are leaders of Indian thought ever since the Congress was started. In addition to that, the book contains a number of preliminary articles dealing with the most important subjects which have been brought before the Congress, introduced by a most admirable introduction by our friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, whom we all lament not to have here, and followed by one of the most admirable articles, which I ever read,—but which I am sorry to say some of our newspapers have not thought proper to leave you the luxury of reading in the original form, by unfairly copying it at full length into their pages—an article on the Congress by our friend Mr. Norton who reviews the whole situation with his inimitable skill and literary talent. There are other articles upon different subjects. If any gentleman here has any doubt about anything connected with this omnibus resolution, he will only have to spend Rs. 2 upon the purchase of this book, take it home and read it, and he will thereby derive a great deal more good than from the longest speech I could deliver. I have, therefore great pleasure in seconding this tram car resolution.

MR. HABIBULLA SAHEB (Madras):—

Habibulla
Saheb.

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Borrowing the language of the Hon'ble Mr. Anandachari in his speech delivered here yesterday I find that I represent the lull whereas the previous speakers have already represented the storm. Here is an omnibus resolution which necessarily required a driver to conduct it and that driver has been Mr. Grubb. Evidently he was satisfied with a seat in the omnibus and has put me to the difficult task of conducting that omnibus myself. I regret to have to state that I am conscious of my own incompetency, nay of my inability to undertake this task. When the honour of having my name bracketted with the names of the most eminent speakers that have preceded me was offered to me, it was not without very great hesitation that I accepted it. In doing so I was simply tempted by the consideration that I would thereby be giving the lie direct to the baseless and ill founded insinuations that are now and again recklessly hurled by the critics of the Indian National Congress that the Mahomedans as a community are inimical to the Congress propaganda. (Cheers.) But, Gentlemen, I am, at the same time, constrained to admit that a majority of the Mahomedans are certainly not favourable to the Congress. Do not be startled by this announcement. Bear with me for a moment and find out the real cause. Every disease has a remedy. You must concede, Gentlemen, that the Mahomedan community to which I have the honour to belong has not yet drunk deep at that fountain of Western learning and knowledge from which

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the members of other communities have profited so much; and while the cry of the National Congress for these last 18 years has been "agitate, agitate, and agitate" in all reasonable directions, the cry of the Mahomedan community during this corresponding period has been "educate, educate and educate". When my own community would raise itself from the present slough of ignorance to that pitch of knowledge and learning, I am perfectly sanguine that in the fulness of time you will have amongst them equally ardent, though not more ardent, votaries to the Indian National Congress as you have now in other communities (Cheers).

I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without referring to a sad incident which has transpired during the current year—an incident which necessarily calls for some expression of condolence at the hands of such a representative and august assembly as this—I mean the untimely, sad and mournful death of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for whose qualities of head and heart nobody had a greater respect than my humble self—and I am sanguine that the several gentlemen who represent the Presidency in which that patriot lived would agree with me in thinking that his death is not only to be mourned by the community to which he belonged but also by the country at large, and inasmuch as at our meeting yesterday we passed several resolutions of condolence with the families of eminent gentlemen who have left this world since the last session of the Congress, I think that at least a passing reference to the memory of such a great and distinguished Mahomedan gentleman who served India will not be out of place.

I shall simply content myself with reserving a seat for me in this omnibus in common with Mr. Grubb. I shall touch a little upon clause (e) which refers to the jury system. Being a member of the legal profession, it is that subject that is of considerable interest to me; and any comments that I shall make on the subject will be the result of personal experience. Now Gentlemen, the concession that is asked in this resolution is one which, I dare say, the authorities can grant to us without any objection whatsoever. No doubt in a long catalogue of our demands for which we agitate from this platform, we have got various resolutions which the authorities can put off on some pretext or other. There are some resolutions to which the Government may at once say that their adoption would entail an additional expenditure which the finance of the country is not capable of. There are again some other resolutions which the authorities may discountenance. ~~as their adoption would seriously interfere with their~~ distribution of the big loaves and fishes which have till now been exclusively reserved for Europeans in this country. There are again some other resolutions which can be postponed by the authorities on the pretext that their adoption would necessarily mean the destruction of the prestige of Government. But here, Gentlemen, is a resolution which I have placed before you and which could reasonably be said to be void of all such objections. Here is a resolution which does not entail any additional expenditure on the exchequer of Government. Here is a resolution which does not ask Government to deprive itself of the loaves and fishes reserved for its chosen sons. Here is a resolution which does not usurp the prestige of Government, but simply asks for plain justice, unalloyed justice (*Hear, hear*). Those of you, Gentlemen, that are familiar with the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure (not of course in the unenviable position of accused persons)—those of you, I say, that are acquainted with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code relating to the trials of cases by jurors and assessors would have noticed that a certain very humane departure is made in this Code so far as the Europeans and Americans are concerned. While that is so, I ask, is it not reasonable that the natives of India should ask for some indulgence, some privilege, some concession which they think could be granted to them without any objection whatsoever? Now, Gentlemen, most of you are familiar with the nature of trials that are held in Sessions courts by juries constituted under the present rules. I am not for one moment going to dispute the honesty of purpose, the sense of justice and the sense of fair-play on the part of the Europeans that sit as jurors. All that I complain of and

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Mr. Habibulla Sahib. sanguine that when this phase of the question is represented to the authorities they will not say "No" to this request of ours.

There are at the same time in this omnibus resolution various other matters, various other details, which have been oft and anon thoroughly discussed and thoroughly threshed out by persons abler and more competent than myself from the Congress and other platforms as also by the newspaper writers; and I think that at this closing hour of our proceedings I will not be justified in taking up your precious time by asking you to bear with me patiently while you cannot command any further patience. It is with these few remarks that I commend this omnibus resolution to you for your generous approval. (*Cheers*).

Mr. A. C. PARTHASARATHI NAIDU, (Madras) who was received with a loud applause, in supporting the omnibus resolution, delivered a *polyglot* speech, of which the following is the substance:—

Mr. A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Brother-Delegates:—I had intended to speak upon a resolution, for which I had collected facts and figures. That resolution, however, was put from the chair. Instead, I am put down to speak upon this resolution. Perhaps, those who proposed my name (I am told Sri Kesava of Gowtanrapuri and Sri Ramachandra of Secunderabad) thought that, true to the signification of my name, I would prove a better driver of the omnibus. But, I regret I cannot drive it on as fast as you would wish me, since it is a very heavy one, and fully loaded. I am commanded to address you only in Telugu (*Loud cries*, "No, no, in four languages, go on, go on") on this omnibus resolution. The delicacies intended for your *grub*—I mean for your chewing and inwardly digesting that are consigned in this omnibus,—consist of a variety, such as the Arms Act, the granting of Licenses, Military Colleges, the Volunteer system, Compensation Allowance, Educational Service Reorganization, Salt Tax, Dethronement of Indian Princes, Jury System, Forest Rules, Income Tax, Emigration and Excise System. On this last subject, Mr. Grubb, the proposer, has spoken; my predecessor, Mr. Habibulla Saib, has touched upon the jury system; while Mr. Adam, considering the length of time it would take him to read this omnibus resolution, contented himself by recommending to the assembly a recent publication on Indian Politics, which is an exposition and justification, in an elaborate way, of the reforms, advocated in this resolution, in terse language. I am afraid my time is so limited that I can hardly hope to say a word or two (*Cries* of "go on, go on, take time"). I thank you, Gentlemen, for your encouragement; but, I am bound to obey the chair. (The President beckons the speaker and asks him to go on). The rules, framed under the Arms Act, create an undesirable invidious distinction, amongst the subjects of Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress; our prayer therefore is that the rules should be rendered equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India, without distinction of caste, creed or colour. (*Hear, hear.*) If the Indian subjects of Her Majesty are given the privilege of using arms, it would not only tend to arrest that process of emasculation, which has been the inevitable outcome of those rules, but it would also serve to render available to Government the disciplined support of the serried phalanx of thousands of our countrymen ready to do and die on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. (*Cheers.*) In this connection, I mean, Gentlemen, speaking on the rules framed under the Arms Act, we must raise our voice respectfully against the present illiberal mode of granting licenses. Our proved innate loyalty to our rulers necessitates the alteration of the rules

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relating to the issue of licenses, at least to people inhabiting those parts of the country where wild animals abound, to whom a liberal concession of licenses to keep arms should be freely granted. At present, licenses granted to persons for life long tenure are sometimes cancelled on frivolous grounds, such as that swords and guns of Damodhur and Balakrishna were found in a well at Poona! Unless and until clear proofs of misuse are shown, who is there in this assembly that would say it is justifiable to take away life long tenure licenses? (*Cries* of "No no"). Similarly, Gentlemen, no justification is needed for the establishment of Military Colleges in India. That our Indian soldiers from the good old days of *John Company* have in many a hard fought battle proved that they are endowed with bravery, pluck and endurance, and in all essential matters they are equal, if not superior, to European soldiers. The generous testimony of English Officers of every rank from the Indian Commander-in-Chief downwards places this fact in the category of indisputable truths. Are our brave, though dusky, warriors paraded before English people in Jubilee processions, as a matter of idle form to satisfy theatrical necessities or to show to the world that England has raised in India a class of heroes who, in might of arms, are not unworthy to rank with the flower of European soldiery? On the Frontiers in quelling disturbance; in Egypt in battling with England's enemies, wherever our soldiers have fought, their courage and general bearing have been the theme of a stream of genuine expressions of admiration and respectful regard on the part of English observers, of which we have every reason to be proud. (*Hear, hear.*) Therefore, Gentlemen, if a college be established and better training be given to the natives of India, it would be a great gain to our rulers, not to speak of the usefulness of their service in case Russians ever attempt an invasion of India. In the face of this, if our rulers fail to see their way to the establishment of Military Colleges, that blessed Volunteering System, at least, may be modified. The rules, relating to the admission into the volunteer corps, are so very stringent, native gentlemen—like Messrs. C. Sankaran Nair, B. Sankaram and M. Venkatasawmy Naidu,—find access to it, only to estrange themselves, at no distant date. While admission into the corps to men, born and bred in this country known as Eurasians and East Indians, is a walk over; to Hindus and Mohammedans, it is otherwise. Is it the atrocious crime of colour that bars the way? Or, may it be our Hindu names, or our being hatless? Can you, Gentlemen, suggest any sensible reason for our exclusion from a sphere of duty, in which God and Nature have fitted us to shine? (*Applause*). The question of granting Compensation Allowance is another item embodied in this resolution. That it should be discontinued has been our prayer, on the score that it is an additional unnecessary burden on the poor tax-payer of India. The Government tell us that there is no money for providing, say, Technical education. But the amount annually allotted in the Indian Budget under Exchange Compensation to European Officers, would alone suffice to equip a number of Technical Institutes throughout the country. Similarly, in this case, every department is now being starved and rendered inefficient thereby. While amongst the natives, competent men are available, needing no Compensation Allowance, there is no reason why those other than natives should be exempted from passing public examinations (remarkably the Upper Secondary Examination) and be posted to situations entitling them to Compensation Allowance? (*Shame*). For instance, in the Salt and Abkari Department, there are 18 Assistant Commissioners, and of them only one (Mr. A. Krishnasawmy Iyengar, B. A.) is a *native* and who is therefore disqualified for Compensation Allowance. In the Inspector's grade as well, there are many who draw Compensation Allowance. The claims of Inspectors like Messrs. Vasudevulu Naidu and Koman Menon, who are, both by education and by meritorious service, quite eligible to be made Assistant Commissioners, have been ignored; while non-natives, with no educational qualifications whatever (for, in the whole department, one or not more than two are graduates amongst the Europeans) are given highly paid situations with Compensation Allowance, as well. Our thanks are due to Mr. Crole, for introducing the competitive system; but even after that, examination-exemptions are largely availed of, resulting at present in the existence of ten such

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exempted men in the Salt and Abkari Department. Are we not therefore, Gentlemen, quite justified in raising our unanimous voice against the granting of Compensation Allowance? The re-organization of the educational service is indeed a great hardship to the natives. This re-organization has resulted in simple demoralization; for a distinction has for the first time been drawn between Indians and Europeans apparently on political grounds, which cannot but tend to demoralize the service. Natives of versatile genius, like the late lamented Rai Bahadur Gopaul Rowjee, or Rai Bahadur Runganatha Mudaliar, or why go so far? one of our worthy President's attainments could have been made, under the old system, Principals of colleges. But, now, however superior may be the attainments of a native, he can neither hope to get more than Rs. 700 at the end of his career in the service, nor aspire to become a Principal. Is it wrong, therefore, for this national assembly presided over by a wrangler of the Cambridge University (*applause*) to enter its protest against a reorganization, which bids fair to prove the source of a new corruption and a new demoralization? (*Cries of "No, no"*). Gentlemen, there is another greater hardship which is felt by one and all. It is the Salt Tax. Salt is not a luxury, even the poorest of the poor need it, since they cannot drink their *conjee* without it; and consequently the poor are placed at a great disadvantage by the present Salt Tax. That this department is worked to the utter detriment of the peoples' welfare is evident from the fact that, according to the revenue returns, ending November last, there has been an increase of 26½ akhs in the Salt Department. If the intention of Government be to do good to the people rather than to add to the revenue, they should have ere long placed salt within easier reach of the people. That it is not so deplorable. For the sake of revenue, the Government has a monopoly of the salt trade, thereby putting a restriction upon the free use of an article, which forms the greatest necessity of life to human beings and animals as well. It was an Under Secretary of State for India in the Gladstone Ministry of 1880-85 who declared from his place in Parliament, with the willing assent of both sides of the House, that the English Minister or Indian Ruler who would be in a position to effect the reduction and the eventual extinction of this tax would be conferring a boon upon the people of India not unlike that conferred by Cobden upon the English people by the repeal of the Corn Laws. Shall we not live in the hope that a Cobden would still rise up amongst our rulers and free us from this hated tax? Coming to the question of the deposition of Indian princes, I trust, that our paternal Government will not accuse us of disloyalty when we make bold to suggest to them that, while professing to dispense justice with *sword* and *scales*, they should not tolerate the desposition of any unfortunate Indian Prince, unless the maladministration of such a Prince is established beyond doubt to the satisfaction of an impartial tribunal. (*Hear, hear*). The Jury System is another important item in this resolution. It should be extended to all District Courts alike. Those chosen to serve as assessors are mostly uneducated, and further their verdict is over-ruled by the judges. At a time when educated men were not available, it was not possible to get men to serve on the jury. Now, as there is no such difficulty, it may be freely extended. In the Presidency capitals one half of the jurors should be natives. For instance, in the unfortunate Mr. Tilak's trial, 6 Europeans and 3 Natives sat in judgment. In such an important case, turning upon the interpretation of vernacular languages, whether Natives or Europeans are better fitted to adjudicate on the *guilt* or *innocence* of an accused person, it is for you, Gentlemen, to say. (*A cry of "Natives only"*). The Forest Department, in spite of some very benevolent intentions and professions, is another harassing nuisance to the rural population, and it leads to their discontentment. In framing the rules, Government profess to conserve the forests in the interest of the agricultural classes, but not to derive large revenue. Whereas, the existing rules, subordinating the latter to the former, subject poor ryots to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in diverse ways, and, consequently, the rules in question should be speedily amended in view to dispel the discontentment from the minds of the ryots. On the Excise System, I have only a word to say. That a Christian

Government, unmindful of moral considerations, should for the sake of revenue, foster a trade in intoxicating liquors, &c., which have the most pernicious effect on the community, is quite objectionable, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option is absolutely necessary. Lastly, as regards the Income Tax, we are not to be understood as protesting on principle against the imposition of the tax in any shape or form. What we protest against is, the imposition of the tax on a miserably low minimum. A wise Government, looking before and after, would rather keep the minimum as high as possible in ordinary times, so that in any emergency the minimum may be lowered. But then we have a Government which is using up all its resources, and hence we have the Income Tax imposed here on a principle economically unsound. The remedy for this and other financial ills we so much suffer from is Peace, Retrenchment and Reform. Peace on our frontier; Retrenchment following in the wake of Peace; and internal Reform the necessary outcome of a policy of Peace. We profoundly feel that the great reforms we earnestly recommend in the Omnibus Resolution are delayed, simply because there is no peace in head quarters—they are so restless about the Mad Mullah's vagaries or other movements of frontier tribes. Peace, therefore and the consequent saving of money running to waste on the frontier campaigns are essential factors in the salvation of India. With peace and retrenchment, as the marks of a provident statesmanship, we can well imagine Lord Curzon, presiding over the march of events, the happy ruler of a contented, loving people. Having thus far, Gentlemen, driven the omnibus, I now retire, commending this resolution to your unanimous acceptance, leaving one or two items in the omnibus untouched and unexposed, since I have already exceeded the time allotted to me. (*Loud Cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT:—It is fitting that this omnibus resolution should have been spoken to in four languages, and I do not think that any other languages are necessary.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned for lunch at 4-20 P.M. and re-assembled at 4-50 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next two resolutions are to be put from the chair. But before I do so I wish to say that it has just been brought to my notice that some people have been circulating or trying to circulate leaflets of the most objectionable character. I do not know what they are and I have not looked at them. If there are any people who want to discredit the Congress because they are the enemies of the Congress and if there are any such enemies of the Congress not inside but outside this hall, all that I can say is their attempt will meet with supreme contempt—I will use a stronger term—loathing and abomination, and I trust that every right thinking citizen of India will treat attempts of this character with the same feeling. I have much pleasure in making a pleasing announcement and that announcement is this: The first resolution that you passed to-day related to the important question of currency legislation and the attempt at tinkering with it. I am sure that you will be glad to learn that in this matter we have the sympathy and support of such an influential association as the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. (*Cheers*.) Commerce is one of the most vital elements in the life of England. As Manchester has to deal largely with India, in the future its interests will grow; and therefore it becomes the friend of India and the cause of good Government in India, upon which foundation alone the commercial prosperity and industrial development of a country can depend. This is the telegram that I have received and it was not in my hands when the resolution was so eloquently and ably moved by Mr. Wacha. The telegram is from the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, from Mr. Forbes Mitchell, a well-known gentleman of Calcutta, and a friend of India's cause. This is what he telegraphs: "Mr. Barclay, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, cables that many here hope the National Congress will protest against the gold standard." I am glad, Gentlemen,

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Resolution XXI.

The Punjab
Legislative
Councils.

THE PRESIDENT.

that before the receipt of the telegram we have already recorded our protest and it is satisfactory to know that our protest finds sympathetic response and even support in such influential and potent quarters as the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. They are so anxious to have our support, Ladies and Gentlemen—this fact is an important and potent factor in the present situation—that the telegram goes on to say, “If you would be so good as to accept it, please pass such a resolution”. We have passed it and we have cabled it. That is one of those signs to show that India is in the minds, hearts and consciences of the people of England and that Indian interests are being looked upon as identical with the interests of that great country. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I proceed to the resolution which runs in these terms :—

“That this Congress, while thanking the Government for granting the boon of a Legislative Council to the Punjab, places on record its regret that they have not extended to the Councillors the right of interpellation, and to the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination such as are enjoyed by the Councillors and people in other provinces.”

It is difficult to understand why the Punjab and the Punjabis and the Sikhs who deserve so well of the Government should not have the rights which other provinces that have Legislative Councils do possess. This is an old friend and therefore without any remarks I put it from the chair.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution runs in these terms :—

Resolution XXII.

Legislation
for Berar.

THE PRESIDENT.

“That the Province of Berar, though not a part of British India, being administered by the Governor-General in Council in the same way as any portion of British India, while the important work of legislating for the province is performed by the Executive, instead of by the Legislative Council, resulting often in unsuitable and inconvenient legislation, this Congress, therefore, humbly prays that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General in Council, all laws, and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.”

Surely this is not an extravagant demand to make. We do not want any changes in the constitution of the Supreme Council. All that we want is that the Supreme Legislative Council should be entrusted with the work of legislating for this province also, which though not nominally yet, theoretically is attached to British India and is being practically so ruled and administered.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution is a new one and it is but right that there should be some speaking.

MR. V. C. DESIKACHARIAR (Madras) :—

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates,—The resolution which I have undertaken to place before you for your acceptance reads thus :—

Resolution XXIII.
Plague Expenditure.

Mr. V. C. Desika-
chariar.

“That the adoption of measures against the Plague being a matter of imperial concern and recognised as such, this Congress is of opinion that the expenditure incurred in connection thereof should be borne by the Government and not charged to the funds of the Local bodies.”

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Resolution XXIII.
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Mr. V. C. Desika-
chariar.

Now, Gentlemen, I undertook to move this proposition and place it before you for your acceptance on two grounds. First of all, no long speech is necessary to commend this resolution for your acceptance; and secondly, whether the expenditure is met from the Imperial Exchequer or by local bodies, it is the money of the people collected in one shape or other that has to be paid; it comes from the taxes collected either by Imperial Government or by local bodies. There is this essential difference which you have to bear in mind. If the local bodies have to pay their resources, crippled as they are, are not enough to meet their legitimate wants, wants which are more pressing than the plague expenditure itself. I happen to be connected with a local institution, the Municipality of Madras, and I know the difficulties experienced in meeting the expenses of the plague. We have spent in 9 months something like Rupees 92,000 and when we went to Government with a request for a contribution, they said “We will neither give you the money nor lend you the money”. I, for one, as a member of the Council felt aggrieved at the way in which they treated our request. We asked only for a contribution and it would have been quite enough for them to have told us that they were not in a position to give us anything, but they went further and said that they would not even lend us the money. After some consideration I found that they themselves were in such a bad position on account of the system of provincial contracts under which even the Provincial Government found their resources crippled and unable to meet extra expenses. After repeated requests the local Government—I must say in this connection a word about our sympathetic Governor, His Excellency Sir Havelock whose name has become almost a household word during the short period he has been reigning over this province—has sympathetically written to the Government of India asking them to give us a loan of two lacs of rupees at 4 per cent. That subject is to be considered at the adjourned meeting of the Commissioners to be held on the 2nd January. The importance of this resolution will be apparent to you if you only consider how these poor local bodies find it impossible to cope with their expenditure. There is every reason as to why the Provincial Government and the Imperial Exchequer should find money for such expenses. It is not due to any insanitation of any particular locality that the plague has come into India. At any rate for a long time the plague was unknown to this country; it has been imported—the best of our doctors are unable to trace the origin—into this country and from place to place it has been spreading and working its ravages. Bombay has had its turn and suffered the most. Calcutta has had its turn and Madras too is having its turn. We do not know whether we have seen the end of it yet. From a telegram from the Punjab we find that there were four sporadic cases. Therefore it is a matter for serious consideration as to who should pay the expenditure and it is only just that the Imperial Exchequer should pay for these expenses. I received a paper from a member of a Local Board in one of our districts in this Presidency and he tells me that the budget estimate for plague expenses for the next year is one lakh of rupees while the income of that Municipality is only a lakh; although the Government promises to pay one-fourth of the expenditure, yet when three-fourths of the income is taken away for plague expenses, how is the Municipality to look after other useful wants such as the maintenance of roads? I need not detain you any longer at the fag end of the meeting and I would strongly commend this resolution for your acceptance without any further remarks.

MR. G. B. PHANSALKAR (Bombay) :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is not, sir, only on the ground of poverty, the poverty of local bodies, that we beg to appeal to you to adopt this resolution. It is not only on that ground that we beg of Government for such a large amount but also on several other grounds. First of all you will be pleased to consider that for sometime the disease was confined to Bombay; but now if you read the papers you will find that the plague is reported to have broken out at different places all over India. It is known to have got hold of Bombay, Calcutta, Mysore and this

Third Day.

Resolution XXIII.
Plague Expenditure.

Mr. G. B. Phansalkar.

Presidency also. In the first place the fact that it has extended all over India is itself a reason for the Imperial Government, to come forward to help us; and secondly, there is another reason that all the medical advisers to Government have put this disease down as an infectious one. If you admit this doctrine, it necessarily follows that if the disease breaks out in one place, say in Bombay, it is necessary to prevent its spread to other parts of the country. If you do not do that, the plague will spread and the whole country is likely to be brought under its clutches. Thirdly, there is one more reason. It is no doubt true that the alleged measures for stamping out the plague have in some cases proved successful. But if you are pleased to examine the causes of the forces that have been at work to bring about these measures, you will find that it is the Anglo-Indian trade that has prompted such severe and strict measures for stamping it out. It is the Anglo-Indian trader that suffers the most from plague, because so long as India stands in the category of affected countries the goods exported therefrom cannot be admitted into any foreign country without quarantine. It is for this reason that Government has been pressed from home and has received mandates to check the spread of the plague. Government has promised to bear some portion of the expenditure on the ground of its duty not to allow the disease to spread to the various parts of the country. There is one more reason, a reason which was specially alluded to by my predecessor, namely, the poverty of these local bodies. Besides, these local bodies have to incur expenditure under very peremptory orders, so much so that the least disinclination on the part of the local bodies to carry out the orders, entails the suspension or abolition, in certain cases, of these local bodies. We have often made demands for a commission to enquire into certain questions, but happily without our asking and without our moving in the matter, we have got a commission to enquire scientifically into the origin and spread of the disease. I appeal to you on three grounds, firstly on the ground of our poverty, secondly on the ground of the disease being infectious, thirdly, that the disease having been admitted to be infectious, pressure has been brought to bear upon the Indian Government to put its measures into execution for not only Indian interests but also for Anglo-Indian interests. With these few words I recommend the proposition to your acceptance.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—We now come to certain resolutions of a somewhat formal character.

Resolution XXIV.

Confidence in
Mr. Dadabhai
Naoroji.Mr. T. Chithambara
Row and Mr. Joge.

MR. CHIDAMBARA ROW (Madras):—Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the pleasant duty of proposing this night is a resolution which does not require any speech at all and which I am sure, you will adopt on the mere reading of it. It is a resolution concerning our leader, statesman and friend of India, Dadabhai Naoroji (*Cheers*.) The resolution is in these terms:—

“That this Congress again expresses its full and unabated confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the representative of the people of India, and hopes that he will be re-elected by his old constituency of Central Finsbury or any other Liberal Constituency.”

MR. JOGE (Bombay):—This is a resolution in regard to which you all join with me in giving your most cordial assent. I hope you will join me in wishing that our grand old man will be re-elected as the representative of Central Finsbury. With these words I beg to second the resolution.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution I had better put from the chair. It runs as follows:—

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Resolution XXV.

Vote of thanks to

British Committee

and their expenses.

THE PRESIDENT.

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

“And that a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication *India*, and also for the expenses of the joint General Secretary's Office, and that the several circles do contribute, as arranged, either now or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1899.

I will say only one word in putting this resolution to the vote, from the chair, with reference to the services of Sir William Wedderburn. Though he retired after completing his service in India, yet he is true to the salt of India and is devoting himself all the hours of his life to the service of this country. Such a man deserves to be remembered with gratitude. (*Cheers*.) The British Committee is furthering that work. What I want to say specially to you is that the best way to show that gratitude is by helping them to help us, by helping them to carry on the work, by sending pecuniary contribution,—not only by sending them, but by sending them in due time. Ladies and Gentlemen, a little bird has whispered that not only for the year to come money has to be paid, but there are certain small outstandings. I do not know whether it is so or not. But if it be so—I am afraid it is so—I am sure you will try to wipe off that debt and give good heart and cheer to the minds and spirits of our friends in England so that they may go on doing the work not only with unabated zeal, but with increased facilities also.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I beg to propose that this Congress reappoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., who is better known as the Father of the Congress to be General Secretary and Mr. D. E. Wacha to be Joint General Secretary for the ensuing year.

Three cheers were then called for Mr. A. O. Hume with the most enthusiastic response.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, I feel tempted to say one word in bringing this resolution before the Congress. The first day of the year that closes to-day, I spent with Mr. Hume several hours. On the 1st January 1898 I devoted several hours to a talk with him with regard to matters of Indian progress; and I can bear testimony to the fact that though he has been away from the soil of India, his heart is not away from us, his thoughts are with us, his energies and prayers are fully and entirely with us. You will remember the letter, the stirring letter, which he wrote the other day and which was read at the meeting held at the Westminster Hall in which all the burning fervour of love for India and good wishes for India and for the aspirations of India breathe through every line. That is the gentleman to whom on the closing day of the year we are to send the best expressions of our gratitude. So long as the Congress lives, and even when the day should come when the Congress should cease to exist by reason of its programme having been accomplished and not for any other reason—I hope that time may come from that point of view—and then and even thereafter, the name of Mr. Hume will be remembered in the grateful hearts of the grateful Indians. (*Cheers*.) As to Mr. Wacha (*cheers*) our Finance Minister, his modesty has prevented him from being present at this moment. We know what services he renders to our cause. I will only say one thing on his behalf namely, that time is not distant when you will be able to further strengthen his arms and add to his capacity by giving him an assistant, a paid assistant, who will be able to work throughout the

Resolution XXVI.
General Secretary
and Joint General
Secretary to the
Congress.

THE PRESIDENT.

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Resolution XXVII.

Meeting Place of
the XV. Congress.

Mr. Gangaprasad
Varma and Pandit
Sham Narayan.

year and who under his direction will carry on the Congress work and carry aloft the Congress standard from Bombay to Madras and from Calcutta to Lahore and in every other part of the country. Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose this resolution from the chair.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—There is the resolution as to invitation. I am glad to be able to announce that in spite of illness, in spite of weakness, our friend Mr. Gangaprasad Varma has come here in order to tender that invitation to you personally. Mr. Gangaprasad who comes from a bed of illness is a staunch Congress worker in the North-West Provinces.

MR. RAMANADA CHATTERJI:—

MR. PRESIDENT and friends,—I read this invitation on behalf of my esteemed friend Mr. Varma with the greatest pleasure. "In the name of the citizens of Lucknow, I may rather say in the name of the Congressmen throughout the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, I beg to offer you a cordial invitation to meet at Lucknow in December 1899. Gentlemen, Oudh is a backward province, backward in every line of progress. We might not be able to accord you a right royal reception as Madras and other Presidencies and Provinces have done in the past, but in case you accept our humble invitation, I assure you that, backward though we are, we shall make every effort to make you comfortable during your short stay amongst us, and make the sitting of the Congress at Lucknow as grand a success as this and other sessions have been in the past".

Pandit Sham Narayan seconded the invitation and in doing so addressed the meeting in Urdu.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I will now call upon Mr. Bhupendranath Bose to move the next resolution in the exercise of his almost immemorial privilege of addressing us now in connection with the gratitude we owe to the Reception Committee.

MR. BHUPENDRANATH BOSE (Bengal):—

Gentlemen,—The President has been good enough to refer to my moving this resolution, the resolution of returning thanks to the Reception Committee of Madras and the band of Volunteers, as my almost established privilege. The President is not quite accurate. It is true that this high privilege was bestowed upon me at the Provincial Conference in Bengal, presided over by our distinguished president; but so far as the Congress is concerned, it was only last year that it was felt having regard to the extreme difficulties under which the Reception Committee at Amraoti was able to organise the Congress that a distinct and separate resolution of thanks should be moved, and I was chosen as the humble instrument of this Congress to move that resolution, not on account of my worth because my worth is nothing, but because, Gentlemen, I have tried in my own humble way in the Congresses which have assembled in Bengal to serve the delegates who honoured us by their presence. And though the resolution with which I have been entrusted, does not deal with the questions of the hour, I feel that it is a proud distinction to be selected by our President for the honour of moving this resolution. Indeed I consider the privilege so high that I think it necessary to present my credentials to you justifying my selection. Those credentials were not necessary last year, but I shall presently tell you

Resolution XXVIII.

Thanks to the
Reception
Committee and
Volunteers.

Mr. Bhupendranath
Bose.

why they have become necessary this year. It is true that I have no pretensions to the glittering tinsel which adorns the breast of my friend the Honorable Mr. Ananda Charlu, yet you will be very much mistaken if you suppose that I had no official recognition. I was one of that band of determined men who, last year in Calcutta, signed a requisition to the Sheriff, asking him to convene a public meeting in Calcutta to protest against the sedition bill. Little did I dream and little did those who signed the requisition with me, dream that their names would form the subject of scrutiny and examination in high quarters. You may well imagine our astonishment and wonder when next morning we found that the Finance Member of India had taken the pains to find out who we were. He was surprised that a meeting should be called in Calcutta at the instance of men whose names did not find a place in a publication well known in Calcutta as Thacker's Directory. While it has never been my ambition—and it has never formed the subject of my dreams—that my name should find a place in that noble book of worthies, on hearing that a reference was made to that book, I naturally felt curious to see who were the men whose names appeared in that book. That book lies on my table for every day reference and on turning over the leaves of that book, I found that it contained the names of the august members of the Legislative Council of India who do not, unhappily for us, always make good laws. That certainly was a worthy place for them; but to my regret I found also that that book contained the names of all the shoemakers whose shops crowded on the sides of Bentinck Street in the purlieus of Calcutta and who are not too well-known for turning out good shoes; and though my aspiration was to see my name in that book, yet, my Aryan blood repelled against the idea of my name being associated with these worthies of Bentinck Street; and although at one time I hoped that eventually I should by some means or other be able to persuade the publishers to include my name in that book, I gave up that aspiration. Gentlemen, that was not all. I have other credentials. We found also that we, who profess to represent the advanced opinion of India, we, who profess to voice the sentiments, the feelings, the aspirations and the emotions of the voiceless millions of India, were called—shall I tell you what we were called by one whose name shall be nameless?—jays and carrion kites. I present myself with these credentials, firstly the credentials of my name not being found in the Directory where the names of shoe-makers are found, and secondly the credential of being, as it were, one of the noble band of workers throughout India known as jays and carrion kites. The names do not mean anything, we do not care what we are called, but we care for the work we do. But Gentlemen, I also present myself to you and I stand before you on other credentials. I stand before you in moving this resolution of thanks on behalf of the Congress to the Reception Committee of Madras, as a brother bound to you by ties of blood, and higher than that, bound to you by the common tie of our love to our own motherland. I know of no higher credentials, no higher title which would authorise me to address you. Gentlemen, if the difficulties of the situation of last year were great—and they were great, there was the famine, there was the earthquake and there was the plague—the difficulties, this year, have been greater. The plague last year was practically confined in its operations to one province, but this year it has been spreading to other Provinces; the provinces in the north, south, east and west have been affected and it was felt doubtful whether we should at all be able to assemble in Congress at Madras. Letters after letters, intimations after intimations, were sent to the people of Madras, enquiring anxiously if it would be possible to hold the present session of the Congress, but our Madras friends stood to their pledged word at the last Congress. They said come what might, they would hold the Congress; and to-day we see the fruition of their resolution. We see the Congress as successful as any which preceded it, and we must thank the people of Madras that they were able, in this year of distress and of such anxious suspense, to organise this Congress at all. The warmest thanks of all India, not only of those who are present here, but of every man who takes a pride and feels a pride in the cause of the Congress, in the cause of the political advancement of the country, the thanks of every man in India, of every true son, are due to the people of Madras. Gentlemen, I

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Resolution XXVIII.

Thanks to Reception
Committee
and Volunteers.

Mr. Bhupendranath
Bose.

Third Day.

Resolution XXVIII.
Thanks to Reception
Committee and
Volunteers.

Mr. Bhupendranath
Bose.

must not forget and I cannot forget the volunteers in this resolution of thanks. They have, brahmins as well as other castes, laying aside the prejudices of ages and of customs heavy with antiquity tried their best and did their best to make our brief sojourn in this city comfortable. India expects, young men of Madras, much of you. It was you who first set the example of forming yourselves into a band of volunteers for the purpose of Congress work and your example has been followed in other provinces of India, with conspicuous success (three *cheers* were accorded to the volunteers). I cast no reflection or make no insinuation when I say that I have attended various sessions of the Congress, I have seen the working of the volunteer bands in different provinces, but I say honestly and truly, the conduct of the volunteers in Madras is exemplary and ought to be followed (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, we know the Congress has tried to hold fast, through evil report and through good report, to the standard which the Congress has raised; and though perchance our hearts may at times have failed, though perchance our steps may at times have faltered, though perchance clouds of disappointment and anxiety may have obscured our vision, you young men of Madras, I hope, will carry on that standard, that standard of love for our country and of duty and service to its cause, carry on that standard unflinchingly and courageously to a higher platform and a nobler destiny, and may yours be the day when a brighter era shall dawn in India, knitting together in bonds of sympathy and love the races of the east and the west, whom, unhappily, undeserved suspicion and unworthy prejudice now keep apart. With these words, Gentlemen, I propose a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee of Madras and to the Volunteers. (*Cheers*).

Mr. P. RAMACHANDRA PILLAY (Secundrabad):—

Mr. P. Ramachandra
Pillay.

In deference to the Presidential mandate I rise before you to second the resolution so eloquently moved by the last speaker. I have been selected for this honorable task not because I am fit for it but because I come from Hyderabad. I have accepted the task with very great pleasure. Gentlemen, in spite of the plague threatening them on the one side and heavy rains pouring in on the other, the Reception Committee have made this Congress as great a success as the two Congresses previously held in this city. Though Madras has been unjustly termed the benighted Presidency, it is not behind others in its devotion and its attention to the cause of the National Congress. Gentlemen, we must also thank the Volunteers who assisted in this Congress under the able captaincy of Dr. T. M. Nair,—they are all sons of gentlemen and I am told that 30 of them are graduates—I therefore ask you to carry this resolution by acclamation.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

On the motion of Mr. Bhupendranath Bose, three hearty cheers were given to the members of the Reception Committee and the Volunteers.

Mr. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (Madras):—

Resolution XXIX.
Vote of thanks to
the President.

Mr. G. Subramania
Iyer.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is now my pleasant duty to offer on behalf of the Reception Committee of Madras and on behalf of the Congress generally their most heartfelt thanks to Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose for having presided over the deliberations of this assembly during these three days. (*Loud and continued cheers*.) Ladies and Gentlemen, as you have seen, the office of the President at the meetings of the Indian National Congress is not an office of particular ease. It is one which involves a good deal of exertion, physical and mental. It is a great condescension and kindness on the part of Mr. Bose that he should have agreed with his usual public spirit to come down from Calcutta and to preside over the deliberations of this assembly. I need not say that he has discharged his onerous duty with great satisfaction to all that have been

witnessing our deliberations (*Cheers*). Nor is this all. After his arduous labours in England when he came down to his native place, he was smitten with a bad illness which at one time spread great anxiety and sorrow over the whole of India on account of his health. Thank God, it is the good fortune of the National Congress that he soon rallied and his health was restored to him (*cheers*), and it is to-day the peculiar distinction of the fourteenth session of the Indian National Congress that its deliberations have had the advantage of Mr. Bose as the President. Ladies and Gentlemen, the Congress has done many things for this country. It has done one thing for which, at all events, this country is beholden unto this movement. It has enabled the country to discover its own great men (*Hear, hear*); it has enabled us to know who are our great men—the men fit to lead us. This assembly has been through 14 years and it has brought to the notice of the Indian public and the public of the outside world who are interested in the welfare of this country, that among the educated classes of India there are a large number of men who can take an intelligent and loyal interest in public movements and who can carry them on, not only with moderation and ability, but with an eye to practical good to themselves and to the Government. (*Cheers*). I would just bring to your memory, among the names of those distinguished gentlemen, the successive Presidents of the National Congress, who have guided the deliberations of the Congress and brought them to a successful issue. These illustrious countrymen of ours would have been, but for the singular opportunities furnished by the Congress, more or less vegetating in their own cities, or at the best, would have been parochial politicians with their sympathies and interests confined to the comparatively narrow spheres of their respective Provinces. It is due to the Congress that to-day Mr. Bose is not merely a distinguished citizen of Calcutta, but is also one of the leaders of the people and one of the friends dear to the people of Madras. The great work of unifying the public interests of the country and creating a common bond of personal sympathy and friendship among the leading men, of not one part of the Empire, but of all its parts, is entirely the work of the Congress. This session of the Congress at Madras has the privilege of adding one more name to the distinguished band of Presidents of our National assembly, whose names will be cherished with love and gratitude by posterity as the makers of United India. It is the prayer of all assembled here that the exertions that Mr. Bose has undergone during those days will not injure his health, that when he goes back to Calcutta he will have his usual health restored to him and that during the next 12 months the Congress will have the advantage of his enlightened, able and sagacious guidance (*Cheers*). Ladies and Gentlemen, we wish him God speed to his native place, we wish that it will be his privilege to continue his patriotic and beneficent labours for the advancement of our dear motherland. (*Loud and continued cheers*).

THE HON'BLE MR. N. SUBBA ROW PANTULU (Madras):—As our President has been disabled from putting this resolution to you, it has devolved upon me to put it to you for your acceptance.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT who, on rising, was received with loud and continued cheers, addressed the assembly as follows, in bringing the proceedings to a close.

Brother-Delegates, to quote the words of my friend who moved the resolution, my friends among the people of Madras, eight and twenty years ago, there was a stranger who spent a night in your city. He was a humble pilgrim to the shrine of learning in the land of our rulers. The steamer that carried him stopped for a night and enabled him then to see a little of your grand city. Did he dream then that it would be his fortune to be installed in this chair and to be received with the kindness, the overwhelming kindness, that he has met with from the moment that he landed on the pier the other day to the present? On that occasion, true I

Third Day.

The President's
Concluding Speech.

had my friend and honored leader, Mr. Keshab Chunder Sen, with me. (*Cheers*). Therefore it was possible for me to receive some foretaste in his company, of the kindness that distinguishes this city, but yet, as I said, not the wildest fancy, not the loudest voice of imagination, could have suggested to me the possibility of the honor that you have rendered me here. I got down the other day and through miles of procession amongst men and women, amongst flowers being scattered in the streets, and flowers thrown from the numerous arches under which I passed, it was my privilege to come to this pavilion and to come to this park. That was your kindness and you add to that by passing this vote which has been so feelingly and so eloquently moved. Years ago I read a little book called "Through the Looking Glass," and, as you would expect, in the looking glass things looked topsyturvy, the reverse of their natural order; and when you, my friends, thank me for, as you are pleased to call,—I am ashamed to repeat the words—the condescension and kindness on my part, all I can say is that things seem here to be rather the reverse of what they ought to be, (*Cries of "No, no"*) because it is to you my thanks are due for filling to overflowing and more than overflowing, the cup of your kindness, which kindness will ever remain engraven on my heart. Ladies and Gentlemen, with regard to the work of the Congress, it was my privilege to say something on the opening day. I will not refer to that. I have not had the time even to refer to papers and telegrams that have been appearing; but I learn from what fell from the lips of my friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, there has been a charge brought that the accusations against Government are of a vague and general character. This one remark and one remark alone shall I venture to make: that in the facts that I stated, in the charges, if that is the name—the name may or may not be correct—that were brought, if there are specific allegations, they are allegations directed to a definite issue for judgment on evidence adduced and for decision. To the charges that were brought, as I said, I would not refer, because I am hoping that the day of reaction will soon pass away. Yea, the brighter day, has already begun, and in the Viceroyalty that is inaugurated and that is being inaugurated, we shall have a blessed era of domestic reform and progress. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thought it would fall to my share and that it would be my privilege to thank the Reception Committee and the Volunteers for all that they had done, but I need not go over that ground. That ground has been covered with eloquence, ability, and feeling by the very people who had used the credentials of the common tie of citizenship and brotherly love. That task has been performed. Therefore all that I can say is that I echo from the bottom of my heart every one of the sentiments that were given expression to. We are indeed beholden unto you, our friends, members of the Reception Committee, for your wonderful success in spite of the difficulties that were unprecedented in the history of the Congress in these many years of its existence. In spite of these difficulties, you have brought it to such a successful issue. I learn you took it up before your time came to take it up, with that zeal and self-sacrifice which is the foundation of national greatness, the basis of National progress. You stepped into the breach and took up the charge, which nobly, my friends of Madras, you have discharged. This is the first time that the Congress has been held in a city where actual cases of Plague and more than the Plague, the scare of Plague, did indeed exercise a terrorising influence over the minds of many. In spite of this, it has happened. As to the Volunteers, need I say how great is our gratitude to them for their willing and cheerful service rendered with love and enthusiasm, rendered with humility and devotion, which is an example to us and which ought to be an example all the days of our life. All that I can hope and pray for them is that this devotion will grow with the growth of their days, that this enthusiasm and this love of country as manifested in the service to us, the loveliest of the people, the servants of the country, this devotion, may grow, broaden, brighten and increase until, in the fulness of time, it may accomplish results for the regeneration of our motherland, which at the present time is almost beyond dream.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are on the eve of a new year, literally on the eve of a new year.

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The President's
Concluding Speech.

It is usual with many of the communities to select a motto for the new year, to start on a new year with a motto which is ever present before their minds and before their eyes. I ask this Congress, I ask also those who are present here within the reach of my humble voice, to select a motto for themselves which will embody the principles of their life, of their action in this year, the last of the century, that is now opening before them. May I take the liberty to suggest one motto for them: (*Cries of "Yes"*)? Let me suggest the motto "Love and Service" (*Cheers*). You have cheered the name of India, the great motherland, whenever it has been mentioned. Now, let it not be simple cheering, but let it be loving the country; the love that is implanted in the depths, deepest depths of your heart, a love that grows out of it, covers all the regions of your heart. The spirit of love grows and grows until it enables you to achieve the work that has to be done, if India is to be no longer, as I said the other day, a dying but a living nation. Love the country, love your countrymen, the children of the common mother. Be they Hindus, Mahomedans or Christians or whatever be their religious persuasion, matters not, they are all brothers. Love them with brotherly love. (*Cheers*). Permit me, friends, before I go on with a few remarks of mine, to refer to one observation which fell from my friend who moved the resolution. He said that in failing health I had been able to come, and the thought then came to my mind, that while I am deeply thankful to you for that indulgence, for that kindness and sympathy and for that forbearance, which has enabled me to carry on that work and for which I appealed to you on the opening day, my gratitude is also due to a higher power that rules the destinies of nations, that gave me strength when I expected no strength. Shall I tell you, friends, a secret? The day before I left Calcutta, I arranged with a dearly loved and honored friend that he would read for me that address which I had written. I did not then anticipate that I should have even the strength given to me to read it before you, but God, in his kindness, has sustained me, and let me therefore, with doubly grateful heart, remember his mercies and ask that these mercies may be a portion of us, that we may be enabled to test the steadiness of that love which alone gives strength to carry on the work that has to be done, that love of which I spoke, the love to your country, the love to your countrymen, the love to God, the animating principle of your life, and of your action and, may I add, even love to those who assail and attack and misrepresent us. It is a difficult thing and an extremely difficult thing. It is not in human nature, not to resent being called, as my friend has been called, jays and carrion kites, I know the sentiments that naturally arise on those of animosity and anger, against bitter taunts of that kind, but I hope it may, to some extent at any rate, be possible for us that while we attack a policy, while we are vigorous in our denunciation of acts which are against our rights, and while we are vigorous and earnest in our efforts to hurl back and push back that dark rolling tide of reaction of which I have been speaking, to remember what the blessed prophet of Kapilavastu said, that it is not by hatred that hatred is conquered, but by love (*Cheers*). Never were truer words uttered, and Christ, the sincere Lord, said the same thing. "It is by love alone that you can conquer your enemies." Difficult as it may be, I trust that, however much we may be the victims of cruel prejudice and crueller misrepresentation, yet we may be enabled in that spirit of love to carry on the sacred mission that has been entrusted to us. If indeed, friends, you cultivate that spirit of love, then from the beautiful flower of love, will come, in time, a naturally beautiful fruit, and the fruition of the other word which I put before your "service". Love that is really deep in your hearts, that really overflows from your hearts, vitalizes, permeates, every atom of your being. From that love must spring the fruit of action and service, and zealous and self-sacrificing effort. Ladies and Gentlemen, with reference to the work of the Congress, do you love it? If you love it, I ask, pray and implore you to save the Congress by working for it, by services on its behalf. I have known of people and I have talked with many, whose interest in the Congress cause is flagging, whose zeal is abating, whose hope is dwindling from day to day. Why? Not because the principle which the Congress embodies, enunciates and proclaims from the house top, from the pavilion, year after year, has grown less dear to them

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or that they have altered their attitude and their convictions in regard to it. No, no. On the contrary, as I have stated, as they have seen the growth of the political history of nations more and more, they have been convinced that there is a political salvation for India, through the principles of a loyal and organized agitation, the principles that the Congress embodies and carries out. But they have felt that there is only a talk for three days and not the influence of your love, not that progressive advance from day to day, from month to month, and from year to year, which ought to be the necessary function of a healthy organic growth. If they do not find it, they lose—I was almost going to say ought to lose—the natural, inevitable interest in their work. Therefore if you want to save the Congress, if you want to make it fulfil its high functions, work for it. I rejoice, Ladies and Gentlemen, to find that resolution about provincial committees on which my friend to the right, spoke so eloquently, carried to-day. I rejoice to find that you have adopted it. But, remember that it is not by injunction to Provincial Committees to spread the principles of the Congress, to bring publications out and to teach those principles to the masses and to submit reports, it is not by injunction that you save the Congress or carry the country ahead in its path of reform, progress and political advancement. Each of us must be ready to serve the country. I am glad to learn that in response to that eloquent appeal of my friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, several delegates have tendered willing services to the cause of the Congress. Let that number multiply. Let there be a larger and larger number of what my friend Mr. Tharapadu Bannerji characterised some time ago, Congress workers, who will really do their work for the Congress. It is this work that is our need. I feel strongly, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it is not by talking, that we shall be saved. Our talk may be the talk of the angels of the heaven. That will not save us. There must be life behind. The word that is allied to love is self-sacrifice. That is the guiding principle which will pierce like the most piercing of the lances through your heart. We want love, self-sacrifice. Never was progress achieved without self-sacrifice. That is the law, the eternal law of God. Our ancestors believed in sacrifices. They might have been sacrifices in a material sense, but they embodied a central spiritual truth. You, in worshipping God, your divinity, give sacrifice, sacrifice in that eternal, in that spiritual, in that higher sense which sanctifies you, which enables you to face danger, to overcome every difficulty and not to be daunted by the threats of the mightiest in the world. If you know that you are on the side of the truth, if you know that you are the servant and follower of Him in whose hands the destiny of this great Universe lies, if you know that, you are not frightened or terrified in spite of the frowns of all the mighty rulers or councillors of this world. Embody that love in your heart, embody that principle of sacrifice. If we do that, indeed, then shall we be blessed. There was a reference made in the speech in moving the resolution, to something about the Congress discovering the great men of this country. There was some reference to the work that great men do in it. While I am glad to know that the Congress finds its great men, I fear that my friend, who imagines that the Congress has succeeded in that discovery in the present case, has committed a very great mistake indeed. (*Cries of "No, no"*). At any rate if you feel so, I want to add something to it, something to supplement it. The thought came to my mind as I listened to him, that if a great victory is to be achieved, it must be by a fight by the soldiers. If we have our leaders, and we have honored leaders I know, it must be the zeal, devotion, and sacrifice of you and me who belong to the rank and file that will enable us to march onward. Let me tell you one incident of that great battle of Omdurman that took place the other day. I am not going to refer to its military aspect or to its achievement or to its results or to the scientific accomplishments of the modern engines of destruction, but to one little story of heroism which I read, which touched me extremely and which, it seemed to me, was something worth remembering by you and by me, who have to do our every day work without appreciation, it may be, against slander and calumny, it may be, without receiving that meed of sympathy and encouragement for which the human heart naturally longs. This is what I read. There was the famous charge of lancers in that battle,

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the famous charge in order to decide, in fact, the fate of the battle. One of the Captains or Colonels in response to a toast in London as regards the incident said this: That it was not really they that won the fight, but it was the spirit of the soldiers. This incident, which he mentioned, I place before you. There was a soldier, he said, among the lancers who was very ill, but he knew that there was to be a battle on the morrow and he would not report his illness to the Doctor. Then those who were in the army, those who were fighting with him, thought it absolutely their duty to report the illness to the Doctor. When the Doctor came, he did not find this soldier, he had hidden himself in such a place that it was impossible for the most diligent inquirer to find him out. Next morning knowing that he might also have a chance to join in this affray, what did he do? Though almost he was on the point of falling down, he groomed his horse and prepared like other soldiers as if he would join in the fight; but he did not join in the fight, he fell down in that attempt and he died there. That is the spirit, Ladies and Gentlemen, of a man whose achievements are not heralded in gazettes and newspaper reports. That is the spirit of the humble man who has faith to sustain, who has got love of the country implanted in him, who has not the rousing cheers of the multitude to encourage him in the path of the work for the country, who, yet, is determined to do his little best, to bear a little of the great burden of the great task, of the great mission that has to be accomplished. And that was the thought that came very strongly to my mind; that it is not by discovering great men, though it has got its uses certainly, it is by having a higher, nobler, more sacred spirit of the work of the country and love for the country, services for the country, implanted into your minds, that you can possibly hope to get on and to achieve even a fraction of the work that must be accomplished if India is to recover her position in the scale of nations. Let us trust and pray that it will be possible for us to have a few seeds of that divine plant, love, sacrifice in life, implanted in our hearts. It may be that these seeds may not at once germinate. I hope they will. At any rate, let Madras be associated in our minds, let the closing day of the fourteenth session of the Congress be associated in our minds, with something, I will not use a high expression, something of a new birth, something of a spirit, something of the stir of a new and nobler impulse in our minds. It may be that, as we are referring to the work of the humble and the unknown, the thought may come into the minds that, after all, how few are we to achieve this great work to undo the destruction and havoc that have been rendered by centuries of our misfortune in the past. Ladies and Gentlemen, my friends, I will address you no longer as Brother-Delegates, I shall drop that qualification from the mind, I shall say fellow-citizens, children of a common mother, friends associated in a holy cause, I ask you if your heart faints at the thought that you are so few amongst the multitude of millions of this land. I will tell you an incident that impressed me. I was once on a visit to Agra where many of you have been. If you had been there, you must remember that there is one particular chamber in the ruins of the old palace, so far as it exists now, known as Sis Mahal, the room of mirrors. That is the place to which a guide often takes you in order to show you a very rare sight. What is that rare sight? When you go there by yourself, you see that there are hundred other multiplications of you. More than hundred mirrors are placed there and arranged so that one image is reflected into an army. So real is the impression, so vivid is the impression that you come to the belief that you are no longer alone in that chamber, but there are hundreds besides you. Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not that glass that you require; it is a mirror of love, mirror of faith, mirror of self-sacrifice. (*Cheers*). You will then find yourselves multiplied a hundred fold and a thousand fold. You will feel the strength of thousand armies crowd unto you through the invisible, through the mysterious secret influence that works there. You will find your weaknesses vanishing and in the place of it, there comes a sacred flow that revivifies the spirit, that drives away all faint heartedness, all weakness, all consciousness of insufficiency from you, and enables you to achieve deeds which formerly seemed impossible to you and then perhaps to the invisible eye of faith you will find not yourself alone. It may be that in your dark dungeon or cell you are not alone but accompanied

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Third Day. by hundreds, it may be that the spirits of our great forefathers, it may be the spirits of ministering angels that God sends down in His kindness, you will find yourselves not alone, you will find there are hundreds of those ministering spirits whispering to you, encouraging you, and speaking to you, when you are about to faint, holding you up, sustaining and supporting you in the midst of your trials. That is indeed an experience worth striving for. We learn from those blessed of this world who have gone through that experience that such a thing does exist, that a child goes through the martyrdom, allows its hands to be burnt and body to be destroyed and consumed by the cruel flame, because that gives unto the heart the strength that does not belong to the child or to that man or woman, but strength that the great infinite divine presence sends down in mercy to the praying self-sacrificing heart. Let that be our prayer as we part company, as we come to close our work. As in the evening lights are lighted in dark and gloomy chambers, so if there are loveless chambers in our hearts, if there are dark gloomy chambers in our hearts, let the light of love, sacrifice and faith shed its light, when the dark-shades of darkness flee away, there will be beautiful visions of happiness which no word can utter, blessings which no heart listen and realise. Let that be our prayer. Ours, my friends, was a praying nation. In the past, ours was a nation distinguished for piety. Let us not lose that inheritance of our ancestors. Brethren, Hindus and Mahomedans, all brethren, united by the highest and sacred-est of ties, we are associated by God as the children of one common motherland, let us all ask God that He might send down the love of the country sanctified by love to Him, sanctified by the superiority of the spirit of sacrifice without which all talk is absolute nothing, sanctified by that spirit of sacrifice that we may be in the closing year of the century of some benefit to our country, and that we may have earned by the time we next meet again at Lucknow, something of that blessing that follows from a righteous purpose accomplished faithfully. We may fail in accomplishing all that we have before us, but if the spirit is in us, and if we go in the right direction with that earnestness in us, what may we not achieve, we microscopic minority? If one man has got the strength of God and the strength of deep love of the country, that one man will be stronger than a thousand, than a ten thousand. Ask for that strength and it shall be ours. Do we not remember how in the days of the ancient Rome whenever there was a fissure in the earth which nothing could possibly fill up, one jumped into the pit which had opened and again closed and Rome was again saved from that impending destruction. That is what is wanted. How many of us are prepared for that sacrifice. How many of us are prepared at any rate for taking some step towards that sacrifice. That is the question of questions, not the passing of resolutions. That is easily done in the cheer to the echo of any period that may fall from us, but it is the writing of these resolutions into the tablets of your hearts with that steel, cutting steel of sacrificing efforts. That is what is wanted. Depend upon it, that if it comes, no difficulties can stand in the way. It may be to-morrow or it may be 5 or 10 years hence, matters not; but we shall be blessed by God and the blessings of our motherland shall be on us. It is not right, my friends, that I should detain you further. (*Cries of 'No,' no.*) My closing words will be this: I shall ask for your prayers on my behalf. There was reference made to my failing strength. I do not know how it is that in spite of these apprehensions I have been able to stand this strain. I am one of those who believe in the vitalising influence of human sympathy, and, my friends of Madras, my friends gathered here from Lahore, Bombay and from all the distant parts of the country, it is possibly your sympathy that has enabled me to stand this strain which was beyond my wildest dream. It may even be, my friends, that I shall return to Calcutta actually stronger. I hope it may be so (*Cheers*). My friend the Doctor, no warmer any man can have the fortune to possess, knows under what difficulties even in the voyage, the difficulties of a physical character, I had to contend with; yet I thank you still more for that gift, precious gift of sympathy and kindly thought that has enabled me to bear the strain and not entirely be overwhelmed under its great and crushing responsibilities. As I said, I will not detain you, there is no occasion

to detain you more; all that I ask of you to remember on your behalf, is one substantial result of the Congress in Madras may be that we shall carry something of that spirit—a little self-sacrifice willingly made is acceptable, as we are told, to the Gods—and let us make that sacrifice. Let us not leave this hall until we have registered a mental vow, until, bowing our heads with all solemnity, we have resolved in this year that, between the meeting at Madras and the meeting in that ancient city of Lucknow, we shall have recorded some progress, some march in the path towards love and service. I thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for your resolution, for your kindness, and I pray that the blessings of the Lord may be on us, on every one of us, that we may have strength given us to fulfil whatever mission He has entrusted to each of us, to be true to the light that He has lighted within us, and that we may be enabled to serve the cause of the country by our lives and the sacrifice of lives. (*Cheers*).

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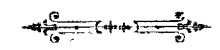
The Congress then dissolved at 6-30 P.M., amid cheers for the Queen-Empress and the Congress.



G. A. SATESAN & Co., PRINTERS, ESPLANADE ROW, MADRAS.

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APPENDIX.



LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

FOURTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT MADRAS, DECEMBER 1898.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1	Madras.	Madras.	IV, V, VI. Municipal Divisions.	Mr. D. V. Hanumantha Row.	Brahmin	Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 25th December 1898
2	"	"	"	" N. Krishnasami Naidu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra.	High Court Vakil.	"
3	"	"	"	" K. Venkatalingan, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
4	"	"	"	" W. S. Seetharam Naidu	"	Shrotriarnadar of Uttukadu.	"
5	"	"	"	" V. Masilamoney Pillai, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
6	"	"	"	" W. S. Sami Naidu Garu	Hindu Vysya.	Landholder ...	"
7	"	"	"	" C. Mukundah Naidu ...	"	Dubash, Dean & Co.	"
8	"	"	"	" G. Ponnusawmy ...	Indian Christian.	Hd. Clerk, C. S. M. Office, Egmore.	"
9	"	"	"	" B. R. Krishnasawmi Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
10	"	"	"	" S. K. Nair ...	Hindu Nayar.	Landholder ...	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
37	Madras.	Madras.	II Municipal Division.	Mr. N. Lakshimikantha Row.	Brahmin.	Merchant	Ata Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1898.
38	"	"	"	" N. Venkata Rathnam...	Vysya.	"	"
39	"	"	"	" Thummanatham, B.A....	Brahmin.	Landholder	"
40	"	"	"	" P. Venkataramiah ...	"	Merchant	"
41	"	"	"	" C. V. Seshachella Chettiar.	Hindu Vysya.	Landed Proprietor.	"
42	"	"	"	" K. Lakshimi Narayana Chettiar.	"	Merchant	"
43	"	"	"	" G. Narayana Chettiar...	"	"	"
44	"	"	"	" Thatha Kurathalwar Chettiar.	"	"	"
45	"	"	"	" G. M. Rangiah ...	Hindu Sudra.	"	"
46	"	"	"	" Durasawmi Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
47	"	"	"	" T. Balakrishna Pillay...	Hindu Sudra.	Contractor	"
48	"	"	"	" K. Ethirajulu Chettiar.	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant	"
49	"	"	"	" C. Kamu Chetty ...	"	"	"
50	"	"	"	" T. V. Apparow Naidu...	Hindu Sudra.	Member, District Board, Chingleput.	"
51	"	"	"	" S. Subbiah Chetty ...	Hindu Vysya.	Solicitor, High Court.	"
52	"	"	"	" S. Vaidyanadhan ...	Brahmin.	"	"
53	"	"	"	" Peethamber Nursu ...	Hindu Gujarati.	Sowcar	"
54	"	"	"	" J. V. Ramasami Naidu, L. M. & S.	Hindu Sudra.	Physician & Surgeon.	"
55	"	"	"	" K. Lakshmana Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vysya.	High Court Vakil.	"
56	"	"	"	" Y. Ranasawmi Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	"	"
57	"	"	"	" W. Krishnama Chariar.	"	Merchant	"
58	"	"	"	" C. Rajagopala Chariar.	"	Landholder	"
59	"	"	"	" K. A. Veeraraghava Chary, B.A.	"	Assistant Master, Pachayappa's College.	"
60	"	"	"	" P. Raghvaiah Chetty...	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant	"
61	"	"	"	" P. R. Gopala Charlu, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
62	"	"	"	" T. Ethiraja Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra.	"	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
63	Madras.	Madras.	II Municipal Division.	Mr. Venkatasubramiah, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1898.
64	"	"	"	" N. S. Rajah Ram	"	Merchant	"
65	"	"	VII Municipal Division.	" M. C. Krishnama Chary, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
66	"	"	"	" M. Parthasarathy Iyengar.	"	Landholder	"
67	"	"	"	" L. Thirumal Row Saib,	"	"	"
68	"	"	"	" D. Gopal Row.	"	"	"
69	"	"	"	" V. Narayana Patter	Hindu Vysya.	Banker	"
70	"	"	"	" T. Ghansham Singh	Kshattriya.	Merchant	"
71	"	"	"	" M. A. Thirunarayana Chariyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
72	"	"	"	" T. V. Narasinga Row	"	Zemindar of Aska.	"
73	"	"	"	" I. M. Kuppusawmi Naidu.	Hindu Sudra.	Special officer under Rajah of Ramnad.	"
74	"	"	"	" G. Venkataranga Row, M.A.	Brahmin.	Secretary, Pachayappa's Charities, Madras.	"
75	"	"	"	" G. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	"	Printer and Publisher, Editor of the <i>Soudasa Mitran</i> & Municipal Commissioner, Triplicane.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 23rd December 1898.
76	"	"	"	" P. Thiruvengada Chariar.	"	Landholder	"
77	"	"	"	" N. Narayana Murthi	Brahmin.	Retired Govt. Serv. and First Grade Pleader.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
78	"	"	"	" A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu.	Hindu Sudra.	Proprietor Anthraprakasika.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 23rd December 1898.
79	"	"	"	" T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
80	"	"	"	" T. Nagoji Row	"	Landholder	"
81	"	"	"	" K. A. Sreenivasa Row.	"	"	"
82	"	"	"	" A. Venkata Subba Row.	"	"	"
83	"	"	"	" T. Gurasami Pillay	Hindu Sudra.	Assistant Surgeon.	"
84	"	"	"	" C. Sreenivasa Chary	Brahmin.	Partner of the Firm Sreenivasa Varada Chari & Co.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
85	Madras.	Madras.	VII Municipal Division.	Mr. S. Varada Chariar	Brahmin.	Partner of the Firm Sreenivasa Varada Chari & Co.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
86	"	"	"	" S. Veeraraghava Chari	"	Note Registrar, Bank of Madras.	"
87	"	"	"	" G. S. Ramasami Iyer, B.A.	"	Professor, Wesleyan Mission College.	"
88	"	"	"	" C. Bashiam Iyengar, B.A.	"	Merchant	Ata Public Meeting held on the 23rd December 1898.
89	"	"	"	" S. Raghava Chary	Brahmin.	Landholder and Contractor.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 25th December 1898.
90	"	"	"	" M. Thirumala Chariar	"	Landholder	Ata Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
91	"	"	"	" Thoolji Ram Lala	Kshattriya.	"	Ata Public Meeting held on the 23rd December 1898.
92	"	"	"	" R. Sadagopa Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
93	"	"	"	" I. V. Ramanuja Row, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
94	"	"	"	" D. R. Balaji Row, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
95	"	"	"	" G. G. Narasimha Chari, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
96	"	"	"	" P. K. Krishna Row, L.M. & S.	"	Physician and Surgeon.	"
97	"	"	"	" M. C. Alagasinga Perumal, B.A.	"	Teacher, Pachayappa's College.	"
98	"	"	VIII Municipal Division.	" P. R. Sundram Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 22nd December 1898.
99	"	"	"	" C. S. Rajagopala Chariar.	"	Landholder	"
100	"	"	"	" V. C. Desika Chariar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Municipal Commissioner and Lecturer in the Law College.	"
101	"	"	"	" V. C. Sesha Chariar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
102	"	"	"	" V. Rungasami Iyengar.	"	Landholder	"
103	"	"	"	" S. Gopalasami Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
104	"	"	"	" R. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
105	"	"	"	" P. Subbiah Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra.	"	"
106	"	"	"	" M. Venkatarama Sastry	Brahmin.	Veternary Practitioner.	"
107	"	"	"	" T. V. Gopalasami Mudaliar.	Hindu Sudra.	Landholder	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
108	Madras.	Madras.	VIII Municipal Division.	Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	At a Public Meeting held on the 22nd. December 1898.
109	"	"	"	" P. Subramaniam Iyer.	"	Attorney-at-Law, and Municipal Commissioner.	"
110	"	"	"	" Appadurai Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
111	"	"	"	" M. S. Narayanasami Iyer.	"	Landed Proprietor.	"
112	"	"	"	" S. Vasudeva Chary, B.A.	"	Headmaster, Wesleyan Mission College.	"
113	"	"	"	" V. Krishnasami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Editor of <i>Madras Law Journal</i> .	"
114	"	"	"	" Manika Mudaliar ...	Hindu Sudra.	Contractor ...	"
115	"	"	"	" M. Venugopaul Pillay.	Hindu Vysya.	Banker and Sowcar	"
116	"	"	"	" M. Rungasami Iyengar.	Brahmin.	Mirasidar ...	"
117	"	"	"	" S. Rungasami Iyengar.	"	Asst., Mylapore Bank.	"
118	"	"	"	" Govindaraja Pillay ...	Hindu Vysya.	Proprietor, Messrs. Goodwin & Co.	"
119	"	"	"	" K. Ramachandra Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
120	"	"	"	" M. Runganatha Mudaliar.	Hindu Sudra.	Manager, <i>The Madras Standard</i> .	"
121	"	"	"	" S. Samanna of Bangalore, B.A.	Brahmin.	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held at Mylapore on the 20th December 1898.
122	"	"	"	" S. P. Venkataramanjulu Naidu.	Hindu Sudra.	Dubash, Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co.	At a Meeting held at Mylapore on the 11th December 1898.
123	"	"	"	" T. R. Subramania Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	At a Public Meeting held at Mylapore on the 20th December 1898.
124	"	"	"	" T. Ramachandra Row...	"	St. Thomé, Mylapore.	"
125	"	"	"	" R. Kuppusawmy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	At a Public Meeting held at Mylapore on the 22nd December 1898.
126	"	"	"	" S. V. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar.	"	1st Asst., W. M. Girl's School, Royapetta.	"
127	"	"	"	" T. V. Swaminatha Iyer, B.A.	"	Professor of Mathematics, St. Thomé's College, Madras.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
128	Madras.	Madras.	VIII Municipal Division.	Mr. K. Sreenivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	At a Public Meeting held at Mylapore on the 22nd December 1898.
129	"	"	Mahajana Sabha.	" C. Karunakara Menon, B.A.	Hindu Nayar.	Editor, <i>The Hindu</i> .	At a Meeting of the Sabha held on the 24th December 1898.
130	"	"	"	" K. Ramachandar, B.A....	Brahmin.	Merchant, & Secretary, Oriental Co-operative Society.	"
131	"	"	"	" M. Venkatasami Naidu.	Hindu Sudra.	Dubash, Binny & Co.	"
132	"	"	"	" G. Parameswaran Pillay, B.A., M.R.A.S.	Hindu Nayar.	Editor, <i>The Madras Standard</i> .	also elected at Calicut, Palghat & in the 3rd & 5th Divns., Madras.
133	"	"	"	" Dr. T. M. Nair, M.D. ...	"	Private Practitioner.	"
134	"	"	"	" C. Krishnan, B.A. ...	"	Barrister-at-Law...	"
135	"	"	"	" P. V. Krishnasamy Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vysya.	High Court Vakil.	"
136	"	"	"	The Hon. Mr. C. Jumbulinga Mudaliar, B.A., & M.L.	Hindu Sudra.	High Court Vakil, Vice-President of the Dist. Board, Cuddapah, and Member of Legislative Council, Madras.	"
137	"	"	"	Mr. V. Rayaru Nambiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nayar.	High Court Vakil.	"
138	"	"	"	" K. P. Madhava Row, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Triplicane.	also elected at a Meeting held at Triplicane on the 8th December 1898.
139	"	"	"	" B. N. Chandik ...	Non-Brahmin.	Merchant	"
140	"	"	"	Hon. P. Anantha Charlu, B.L., C.I.E.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, and Member of the Viceregal Leg. Council.	"
141	"	Tanjore.	Mayavaram.	Mr. S. Krishnasamy Iyer, B.A.	"	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held at Mayavaram on the 11th December 1898.
142	"	"	"	" Rathnasamy Nadar ...	Indian Christian.	Landholder and Municipal Councillor.	"
143	"	"	"	" M. S. Natesa Iyer ...	Brahmin.	"	"
144	"	"	"	" R. Lakshmana Iyer ...	"	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
145	Madras.	Tanjore.	Mayaveram.	Mr. S. Raja Ram Iyer ...	Brahmin.	Landholder ...	Ata Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1898.
146	"	"	"	" T. A. Alaga Pillai ...	Hindu Velala.	Landlord, Municipal Chairman, Mayaveram; and Member of Taluk Board & Devasthanam Committee, Kumbakonum; & Member, District Board, Tanjore.	Ata Public Meeting at Mayaveram on 11th December 1898.
147	"	"	"	" D. Natesa Iyer ...	Brahmin.	Landholder ...	"
148	"	"	Negapatam.	" V. Reinga Row, B.A. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	Ata Public Meeting held at Negapatam on 5th December 1898.
149	"	"	"	" Vappakundu Marakayar	Musalman.	Mirasidar, Municipal Councillor, Taluk Board Member, Harbour Trust Board Member.	"
150	"	"	"	" S. A. Punchapikasa Iyer, B.A., L.T.	Brahmin.	Headmaster, St. Antony's High School.	"
151	"	"	"	" R. Sreenivasa Iyengar, B.A.	"	Pleader and Landholder.	"
152	"	"	"	" G. S. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader ...	"
153	"	"	"	" A. V. Poonusamy Iyer.	"	Landholder and Pleader.	"
154	"	"	"	" P. S. Nata Raja Sastri.	"	"	"
155	"	"	"	" S. Kuppusamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
156	"	"	"	" C. R. Kunjitha Ratnam Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Municipal Member.	"
157	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. J. Ratnasabapathy Pillai, B.A.	Hindu Vysya.	Pleader & Mirasidar, Municipal Chairman, Dist. Board Member, and Member of Leg. Council, Madras.	"
158	"	"	Kumbakonum.	Mr. S. Muthusamy Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader.	Ata Public Meeting held at Kumbakonum on the 2nd December 1898.
159	"	"	"	" T. S. Vasudeva Chetty.	Non-Brahmin.	Merchant ...	"
160	"	"	"	" C. Krishnasamy Iyer ...	Brahmin.	2nd Grade Pleader.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
161	Madras.	Tanjore.	Kumbakonum.	Mr. S. Sivasubramania Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Mirasidar ...	Ata Public Meeting held at Kumbakonum on the 2nd December 1898.
162	"	"	"	" V. C. Chidambara Dikshid.	"	Landholder ...	"
163	"	"	"	" A. B. Rajagopala Chettiar.	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant and Dist. Board Member.	Ata Public Meeting held at Kumbakonum on the 2nd December 1898.
164	"	"	"	" S. Krishnasamy Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Hd. Master, Town High School.	"
165	"	"	"	" T. B. Venakta Rama Chetty.	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant, West Aiyar Street.	"
166	"	"	"	" T. S. Sivavadivalu Odier	Hindu Sudra.	Municipal Councillor, Mirasidar, Davasthanam Committee Member, Nagapali.	"
167	"	"	"	" T. S. Sivaswamy Odier.	"	Mirasidar & Municipal Chairman.	"
168	"	"	Nannilam.	" M. R. S. Manikum Pillai.	Hindu Velala.	Mirasidar ...	Ata Public Meeting held at Nannilam on the 2nd December 1898.
169	"	"	"	" N. Subramania Iyer ...	Brahmin.	Mirasidar & Tamil Munshi.	"
170	"	"	Shiyali.	" T. R. Streenivasa-chariar, B.A.	"	1st Grade Pleader	Ata Public Meeting held at Shiyali on the 2nd December 1898.
171	"	"	Tiruvalur.	" T. S. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	"	Ata Public Meeting held at Tiruvalur, on 16th December 1898.
172	"	"	"	" T. K. Ramaswamy Iyer.	"	Pleader & Mirasidar.	"
173	"	"	"	" S. Vydinath Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
174	"	"	Tanjore.	" T. A. Raghava Sahib ...	Hindu Kshattrya.	Palace Pensioner.	Ata Public Meeting held at Tanjore on the 16th December 1898.
175	"	"	"	" T. Sambamoorthy Row, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
176	"	"	"	" K. Veerasawmy Iyer...	"	Pleader ...	Ata Public Meeting held on the 5th & 16th December 1898.
177	"	"	"	" P. S. Seetharama Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	Govt. Pleader ...	Ata Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1898.
178	"	"	Puttukotah.	" S. Ramaswamy Iyer ...	"	Pleader ...	Ata Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1898.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
179	Madras.	Trichinopoly.	Trichinopoly.	Mr. G. Sessa Iyengar, B.A....	"	Hd. Master, Native High School.	Ata Public Meeting held at Trichinopoly on the 16th December 1898.
180	"	"	"	" V. Sreenivasa Iyer ...	"	Superintendent, A. V. T. Institution.	"
181	"	"	"	" S. R. Rengasamy Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader & Municipal Councillor.	"
182	"	"	"	" K. Vasudeva Iyengar...	"	Mirasidar & President, Dt. Board.	"
183	"	"	"	" S. S. Pasupati Iyer, B.A., L.T.	"	Professor, S. P. G. College.	"
184	"	"	"	" K. V. Subba Iyer, B.A., L.T.	"	Asst. Master, St. Joseph's College.	"
185	"	"	"	" M. L. Muthuveeran Chettiar.	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant ...	"
186	"	"	"	" P. G. Sundra Sastriar, B.A.	Brahmin.	Manager, Native High School.	"
187	"	"	"	" K. S. Kuppusamy Iyengar.	"	Mirasidar ...	"
188	"	Madura.	Madura.	" A. Rengasamy Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	Dist. Court Vakil.	Ata Public Meeting held at Madura on the 11th December 1898.
189	"	"	"	" K. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
190	"	"	"	" Munusamy Bhagavatar.	Hindu Vysya.	Trader ...	"
191	"	"	"	" M. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Dist. Court Vakil.	"
192	"	"	"	" K. Rama Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
193	"	"	"	" P. N. Muthusamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor.	"
194	"	"	"	" K. Ramachariar, B.A....	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant ...	"
195	"	"	"	" C. Sreenivasa Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
196	"	"	"	" D. Sundra Raja Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
197	"	"	"	" R. Muthusamy Pillai, B.A.	Hindu Vysya.	2nd Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	"
198	"	"	Dindigul.	" S. A. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Hd. Master, A. M. Middle School.	Ata Public Meeting held at Dindigul on the 18th December 1898.
199	"	"	"	" L. Ramakrishna Iyengar, B.A.	"	Pleader ...	"
200	"	"	"	" A. R. Seetarama Iyer, B.A.	"	Pleader & Secy., to the Union Club.	"
201	"	"	"	" S. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	"	Pleader and Secy., to the F. T. Society & Bar. Association.	"

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202	Madras.	Madura.	Dindigul.	Mr. L. A. Vengusamy Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Secy., A. V. Mahajana Sabha.	Ata Public Meeting held at Dindigul on the 18th December 1898.
203	"	"	"	" P. Somasundram Pillai, B.A.	Hindu Velala.	Pleader & Davastanam Manager.	"
204	"	"	"	" Kasim Rowther ...	Musalman.	Merchant and Commission Agent.	Ata Public Meeting held at Devakotta on the 20th December 1898.
205	"	"	Devakottah.	" M. R. Chinniah Chettiar	Hindu Sudra.	Dist. Board Member.	"
206	"	"	"	" Chokalingam Chettiar.	"	Zemindar of Devakottah.	"
207	"	"	"	" Vellyan Chettiar ...	"	"	"
208	"	"	"	" A. R. M. Vyravan Chettiar.	"	Devastanam Committee Member.	"
209	"	"	Sivaganga.	" S. R. M. M. Ramasamy Chettiar.	"	Merchant of Kana-dukathan.	Ata Public Meeting held at Sivaganga on the 4th December 1898.
210	"	"	"	" S. R. M. M. Chidambara Chetty.	"	"	"
211	"	"	"	" S. M. Narayanasawmy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Hd. Master, Rajah's High School.	"
212	"	"	"	" P. S. Anantharayana Sastrial.	"	Pleader. ...	"
213	"	Tinnevely.	Tinnevelly.	" P. Seetharama Iyer, B.A.	"	Landholder, and Lecturer, Hindu College.	Ata Public Meeting held at Tinnevely on the 1st December 1898.
214	"	"	"	" S. Palaniandy Mudaliar, B.A.	Hindu Sudra.	1st Grade Pleader, Vice-President, Tinnevely Taluk Board, Member District Board, Palamkotta.	"
215	"	"	"	" M. Krishna Row ...	Brahmin.	Landholder ...	Ata Public Meeting held at Tinnevely on the 12th December 1898.
216	"	"	"	" A. Krishnasamy Iyer...	"	"	"
217	"	"	Satur.	" M. V. Baghavanta Row.	"	Pleader, Satur ...	Ata Public Meeting held at Satur on the 10th December 1898.
218	"	"	Ambasamudram.	" S. Ramasubbia ...	"	General Secretary, Mahajana Sabha.	Ata Public Meeting held at Ambasamudram on the 11th Dec. 1898.
219	"	"	Tuticorin.	" P. Veerabhadra Pillai...	Hindu Vysya.	1st Grade Pleader.	Ata Public Meeting held at Tuticorin on the 11th December 1898.

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220	Madras.	Salem.	Thirupathur.	Mr. S. A. Venkatrama Iyer.	Brahmin.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Thirupathur on the 17th December 1898.
221	"	"	"	" T. A. Seetharama Iyer.	"	Merchant	"
222	"	"	"	" A. Chinnaswamy Chettiar.	Hindu Vysya.	Mitadar of Sakkinayakam Pattai.	At a Public Meeting held at Thirupathur 15th December 1898.
223	"	"	"	" P. Ponukrishnaswamy Pillai.	Hindu Sudra.	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held at Thirupathur 17th December 1898.
224	"	"	Salem.	" K. Venkata Row, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1898.
225	"	"	"	" Abdul Rahiman Saib...	Musalman.	Merchant	"
226	"	"	"	" V. Kasthury Chettiar, B.A.	Hindu Vysya.	Pleader & Sowcar.	"
227	"	"	"	" V. A. Venkatachary.	Brahmin.	Book-seller	"
228	"	"	"	" W. Veeraswamy Iyer...	"	Pleader	"
229	"	"	"	" N. Sreenivasa Iyer, B.A.	"	"	"
230	"	"	"	" N. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A.	"	"	"
231	"	"	"	" P. T. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
232	"	"	"	" S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, B.A.	"	Pleader	"
233	"	"	"	" Abdul Karim Saheb ...	Musalman.	Merchant	"
234	"	"	"	" S. Rajham Iyer	Brahmin.	"	"
235	"	"	"	" C. M. Mahamud Saheb.	Musalman.	Municipal Councillor.	"
236	"	"	"	" K.S. Lakshminarasaiyer	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
237	"	"	"	" Mahamed Abdul Kadir Saheb.	Musalman.	Merchant	"
238	"	"	"	Hon'ble. C. Vijiaragava Chary.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Councillor, and Member of the Leg. Council. Madras.	"
239	"	"	"	Mr. B. V. Narasimha Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held on the 10th December 1898.
240	"	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore.	" K. Ganapathi Iyer, B.A.	"	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 14th December 1898.
241	"	"	"	" T. R. Ramachandra Iyer.	"	1st Grade Pleader. Karur.	"

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242	Madras.	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore.	Mr. A. Laljee Saib	Gujerate...	Merchant	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
243	"	"	"	" M. Sambandha Mudaliar, B.A.	Hindu Sudra.	Landholder & Municipal Councillor.	"
244	"	"	"	" S. P. Narasimalu Naidu	"	Proprietor & Editor of the <i>Crescent</i> and Hony. Magistrate and Member, Taluk Board. Municipal Councillor & Merchant.	"
245	"	"	"	" M. Giri Chettiar	Hindu Sudra.	"	"
246	"	"	"	" N. Kolandavelu Pillai.	"	Chemist and Druggist.	"
247	"	"	"	" C. N. Dorasawmi Iyer...	Brahmin.	Landholder	"
248	"	"	"	" K. V. Sreenivasa Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
249	"	"	"	" C. V. Venkatarama Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
250	"	"	"	" K. Narayana Sastri, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
251	"	"	"	" N. V. Desikachariar, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
252	"	"	"	" R. Vengu Iyer.	"	Pleader	"
253	"	"	"	" V. Rungasami Iyengar.	"	Agent, Gresham Life Office.	"
254	"	"	"	" K. A. Venkatakrishna Iyer.	"	2nd Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	"
255	"	"	"	" T. S. Balakrishna Iyer.	"	Govt. Pleader	"
256	"	"	"	" C. M. Padmanaba Chariar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
257	"	"	"	" N. Ramasami Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
258	"	"	Dhara-puram.	" D. Alagirisami Naidu...	Hindu Vysya.	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1898.
259	"	"	Chinna Darapuram.	" C. V. Jaga Row	Brahmin.	Mirasidar	At a Public Meeting held on the 15th December 1898.
260	"	"	Gopichetty-palayam.	" G. S. Krishnaiyan	"	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1898.
261	"	"	Sathiyamangalam.	" S. T. Sundaram Iyer...	"	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 15th December 1898.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
262	Madras.	Coimbatore.	Amaravathi Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. K. L. Sundaram Iyer...	Brahmin.	Pleader	At a Meeting of the Amaravathi Mahajana Sabha, held on the 11th December 1898.
263	"	"	Pollachi.	" K. C. Darasawmi ...	Hindu Sudra.	Editor, <i>Varavarthamani</i> .	At a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1898.
264	"	"	Karur.	" T. Padmanaba Chariar.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
265	"	N. Arcot.	Vellore.	" W. Vijiaragava Mudaly	Hindu Sudra.	Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1898.
266	"	"	"	" W. Mahadheva Iyer ...	Brahmin.	Sowcar and Landholder.	"
267	"	"	"	Rev. J. Scudder, M.D. ...	American Christian.	Principal, Arcot Mission College.	At a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1898.
268	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ayadurai Iyengar, B.A.	Brahmin.	Headmaster, Arcot Mission College.	"
269	"	"	"	" Hajee Azzullah Saheb.	Musalman.	Municipal Councillor & Merchant.	"
270	"	"	"	" Mahomad Habibulla Saib.	"	Vice-President of the Taluq Board and Pleader.	"
271	"	"	"	" M. Krishnasami Iyer ...	Brahmin.	Taluq Board Member and Pleader.	"
272	"	"	"	" P. S. Raghavachariar, B.A., L.T.	"	1st Assistant, Hindu High School.	"
273	"	"	"	" M. R. Venkata Row ...	"	Assistant Master, Hindu High School.	"
274	"	"	"	" G. Chengureddy ...	Hindu Sudra.	Landholder, Ambur	"
275	"	"	"	" T. R. Swaminatha Iyer.	Brahmin.	Pleader, and Secretary, Sri Mahant High School.	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
276	"	"	"	" V. C. Seshachariar ...	"	Pleader	"
277	"	"	"	" N. Krishnamachariar ...	"	Sowcar and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1898.
278	"	"	"	" V. Umamahaswara Iyer.	"	Member of the Devastanam Committee, and Pleader.	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
279	"	"	"	" C. Srinivasa Iyengar ...	"	Pleader	"
280	"	"	"	" J. Puniakoti Mudaliar.	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant	At a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1898.
281	"	"	"	" T. S. Kumarasami Iyer, B.A., L.T.	Brahmin.	Assistant Professor, Arcot American Mission College.	"
282	"	"	"	" V. Gopalakrishna Mudaliar.	Hindu Sudra.	Medical Practitioner and Municipal Councillor.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
283	Madras.	N. Arcot.	Vellore.	Mr. P. Rama Iyengar ...	Brahmin.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
284	"	"	Chittore.	" C. V. Sreenivasa Charlu, B.A.	"	1st Grade Pleader, Member Taluk Board.	At a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1898.
285	"	"	"	" L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
286	"	"	"	" V. S. Venkatarama Iyer.	"	Pleader	"
287	"	"	"	" M. K. Ramasami Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Editor of the <i>Awakener of India</i> (a monthly journal).	"
288	"	"	"	" P. Alwar Chettiar ...	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1898.
289	"	"	"	" P. C. Thiruvengadachariar.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
290	"	"	"	" N. Srinivasa Varadhachariar.	"	"	"
291	"	"	"	" L. Venkataragavaia, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
292	"	"	"	" G. Gurunadha Chengalraya Naidu.	Hindu Sudra.	Landholder, Member of the Chittore Union, and Honorary Magistrate.	"
293	"	"	"	" G. Sreenivasa Chariar.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
294	"	"	"	" D. V. Rajagopala Chariar.	"	"	"
295	"	"	"	" V. D. Arunachella Mudaly.	Hindu Sudra.	"	"
296	"	"	Sholingur.	" L. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyer.	Brahmin.	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1898.
297	"	"	"	" T. Varadiya ...	"	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1898.
298	"	"	"	" A. N. Narayana Chariar	"	Pleader, and Landholder.	"
299	"	"	Ambur.	" T. S. Ramasawmi Iyer.	"	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
300	"	"	Tirupati.	" K. Krishnama Charlu.	"	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1898.
301	"	"	"	" C. Krishnasawmi Iyer.	"	"	"
302	"	"	"	" M. K. Sreenivasa Charlu.	"	Inamdar	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
303	Madras.	N. Arcot.	Kaveripak.	" K. Kandasami Mudaliar.	Hindu Sudra.	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th December 1898.
304	"	"	"	" P. Devo Moóaliar	"	Merchant, & Landholder.	"
305	"	Malabar	Palghaut.	" K. S. Venkateswara Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader.	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
306	"	"	"	" K. P. Achuta Menon	Hindu Nayar.	"	"
307	"	"	"	" K. Sreenivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
308	"	"	"	" K. M. Kochin Elaya Nair.	Hindu Nayar.	"	"
309	"	"	"	Dr. A. Govinda Menon; L. M. & S. Mr. V. T. Venkatachela Iyer.	Hindu Nayar. Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner. Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	"
310	"	"	"	" L. A. Subramaniya Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
311	"	"	"	" P. K. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	1st Grade Pleader, and Municipal Councillor.	"
312	"	"	Calicut.	" K. Natesa Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
313	"	"	"	" V. Raman Menon	Hindu Nayar.	2nd Grade Pleader.	"
314	"	"	"	" T. R. Ramaswamy Iyer.	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader, Calicut.	"
315	"	"	"	" M. Gopala Menon	Hindu Nayar.	High Court Vakil & Honorary Magistrate.	"
316	"	"	"	" T. A. Kalyanakrishna Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
317	"	"	"	" M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nayar.	"	"
318	"	"	"	" B. K. Raghavan Nambiar, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
319	"	"	Cannanore.	" T. M. Appu Nedungadi, B.A., B.L.	"	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
320	"	"	"	" Kunhi Rannan	"	Devan to H. H. Sultan Ali Rajah of Cannanore.	"
321	"	"	"	" K. Ramunni	"	1st Grade Pleader, and Municipal Councillor.	"
322	"	"	"	" A. C. Kunhi Raman Nambiar.	"	Managing Member, A. C. Tharvad.	"
323	"	Ganjam.	Berhampore	" T. Venkata Narayaniah, B.A.	Brahmin.	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 22nd December 1898.
324	"	"	"	" A. Appala Narasiah Chetty Garu.	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant	"
325	"	"	"	" A. Joggiah Chetty Garu	"	"	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
326	Madras.	Ganjam.	Berhampore	Mr. P. Venkatakrishna Row.	Brahmin.	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1898.
327	"	"	Aska.	" K. K. Ramalingam Panthulu.	"	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
328	"	"	"	" P. Balakrishna Panthulu	"	Landholder	"
329	"	"	"	" K. V. Gopal Row	"	Pleader	"
330	"	Vizagapatam.	Vizagapatam.	" Gariwalla Venkataraman, B.A.	"	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 15th November 1898.
331	"	"	"	" Vepa Ramasam Panthulu, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	At a Public Meeting held at Vizagapatam on the 15th November 1898.
332	"	"	"	" Yagneeswara Chinthamani.	"	Editor <i>Vizagapatam Spectator</i> , English Weekly.	At a Public Meeting on the 15th November 1898.
333	"	"	"	" K. Venkanna Panthulu.	"	1st Grade Pleader & Municipal Councillor.	"
334	"	"	Vizayanagaram.	" Bikkavaloo Swamy	"	Mukasdar & Hony. Magistrate.	At a Public Meeting held at Vizayanagaram on the 9th December 1898.
335	"	"	"	" Ati Appadu Panthulu	"	1st Grade Pleader.	At a Public Meeting held at Vizagapatam on the 15th November 1898, on the 9th December and on the 15th December 1898.
336	"	"	"	" Gariwalla Appayya, B.A.	"	Private Secretary to P. Venkatapathy Raju Garu and Mukasdar.	At a Public Meeting held in Vizayanagaram on the 9th December 1898.
337	"	Godavery	Coconada	" Y. Kamaswara Rao Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader, Coconada.	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
338	"	"	"	" D. Seshagiri Row, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
339	"	"	"	" D. Subramaniam Iyer, B.A.	"	Pleader, Coconada.	"
340	"	"	"	" Vadreini Venkatratnam Garu.	"	Inamdar, Pittapur.	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1898.

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341	Madras.	Godavery	Coconada.	Mr. N. V. Somayajulu ...	Brahmin.	Inamdar, Pittapur.	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 17th December 1898.
342	"	"	"	" G. Venkata Row Panthulu.	"	Retired Sub-Engineer.	"
343	"	"	"	" M. Ramachandra Row, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
344	"	"	"	" Ganjam Venkataratnam Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader, Coconada, Vice-President, Godavari District Board and President, Godavery District Association.	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 5th December 1898.
345	"	"	Rajhamundry.	" N. Kristna Row Panthulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Rajamandry.	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 14th December 1898.
346	"	"	"	The Hon. Mr. N. Subba Row Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Member of Legis. Council, Madras.	AtaPublicMeeting held at Rajhamundry on the 4th December 1898 and also at Chicacole on the 22nd November 1898.
347	"	"	"	Mr. A. Kanaka Raju, B.A....	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
348	"	"	"	" C. H. Venkataramiah Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader, Rajhamundry.	"
349	"	"	"	" K. Venkataratnam Garu	"	Hd. Master, Mission School.	"
350	"	"	"	" D. V. Ramana Row Garu.	"	Native Doctor	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 4th December 1898.
351	"	"	"	" Kanchoo Morti Venkataramachendra Row.	Hindu Sudra.	Landed Proprietor and Contractor.	"
352	"	"	"	Sree Rajah K. R. V. Krishna Row Bahadur, B.A.	"	Zemindar, Pollavaram & Editor, <i>The Saraswathy</i> , a Telugu Monthly Magazine.	"
353	"	"	"	Mr. Satyavelu Lakshmipati Garu.	Brahmin.	Landholder	"
354	"	"	"	" G. Ramamurthy Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader	"
355	"	"	"	" S. Bhima Sankar Row Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader & Municipal Councillor.	"
356	"	"	"	" M. Seethiya Garu	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant & Landholder.	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 14th December 1898.
357	"	"	"	" C. Vema Sundaram Garu.	Brahmin.	Landholder	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 4th December 1898.

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358	Madras.	Godavery	Rajhamundry.	Mr. M. Lakshmanadas Garu	Brahmin.	Landholder	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 14th December 1898.
359	"	"	"	" M. Atchutharama Iyer.	"	"	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 4th December 1898.
360	"	"	"	" C. Lakshimi Narasimha Garu.	"	Telugu Pandit and Managing Editor, <i>The Saraswathy</i> , a Telugu Monthly Magazine.	"
361	"	"	"	" Kopparthi Yeggama Row Garu, B.A.	"	Landholder	"
362	"	"	Narsapur.	" Kasthury Sitapathy Row Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 18th December 1898.
363	"	"	Bhinnavaram.	" M. Venketarama Panthulu Garu, B.A.	"	Landholder	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 16th December 1898.
364	"	"	Ellore.	" V. Prasadaram Panthulu, B.A.	"	Pleader	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 14th December 1898.
365	"	"	"	" Hakim Nafayana Doss.	Hindu Kshattriya.	Native Doctor	"
366	"	"	"	" S. Sundararama Sastry, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
367	"	Krishna.	Guntur.	" K. Sreeraghulu Naidoo Garu.	Hindu Vysya.	Landholder	AtaPublicMeeting held on the 11th December 1898.
368	"	"	"	" V. Bayanachalu Garu.	Brahmin.	2nd Grade Pleader, Municipal Councillor and Landholder.	"
369	"	"	"	" A. M. Sandra Siva Iyer, B.A.	"	Headmaster, S. H. School, President, Tax Payers Association and Municipal Councillor.	"
370	"	"	"	" R. K. Yeggama Ramia Garu, B.A.	"	Pleader	"
371	"	"	"	" C. H. Surya Pragasa Row Garu, B.A.	"	Asst. Master, S. H. School, & Hony. Magistrate.	"
372	"	"	Bezwada.	" T. Gopala Krishna Moorthy.	"	2nd Grade Pleader, Gudivada.	AtaPublicMeeting held at Bezwada on the 27th November 1898.
373	"	"	"	" M. Gajapathi Pillai	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant & Landholder.	"
374	"	"	"	" D. Soobandey	Brahmin.	Tutor to the Minor Raja.	AtaPublicMeeting held at Bezwada on the 18th December 1898.

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375	Madras.	Krishna.	Bezawada.	Rao Bahadur M. Ethirajalu Pillai.	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant, Contractor, Vice-President, Taluk Board, Municipal Councillor, Hon. Magistrate & Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held at Bezawada on the 27th November 1898.
376	"	"	"	Mr. M. Parankusam Pillai...	"	Merchant, Landholder and Contractor.	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th November 1898.
377	"	"	"	" M. Subbiah Pantulu Garu.	Brahmin.	2nd Grade Pleader.	"
378	"	"	"	" P. Venkata Ramiah Pantulu Garu.	"	Pleader, and Landholder.	"
379	"	"	"	" D. Seshachalapathi Row	"	Editor, <i>Krishna News</i> .	"
380	"	"	"	" K. Sreeramulu Garu ...	"	2nd Grade Pleader.	"
381	"	"	"	" C. Hanumanthan ...	Hindu Vysya.	Pleader ...	"
				" R. Subba Ramiah Garu	Brahmin.	Agent of Messrs. Best & Co.	"
382	"	"	Masulipatam.	" V. Narasimham Pantulu B.A., B.L.	"	Inamdar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Masulipatam on the 4th December 1898.
383	"	"	"	" V. Ramakrishna Pantulu Garu.	"	Assistant Professor, Mission College, Guntur.	"
384	"	"	"	" R. Venkata Ratnam Naidoo, M.A., L.T.	Hindu Sudra.	Professor, Noble College.	"
385	"	"	"	" V. Venkata Ramiah Pantulu Garu.	Brahmin.	Inamdar ...	"
386	"	"	"	" K. Subramania Sastry B.A. B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
387	"	"	"	" P. Naga Bushanani Garu, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
388	"	"	"	" V. Sreepivasala Pantulu	"	Pleader ...	"
389	"	"	"	" K. Appiah Dikshathulu, B.A.	"	Landholder ...	"
390	"	"	"	" K. Gangarazu Garu ...	"	Inamdar & Banker.	"
391	"	"	"	" V. Surya Narayana Row	"	Pleader ...	"
392	"	"	"	" K. Venkatappiah ...	"	"	"
393	"	"	"	" V. V. Subba Row, B.A.	"	Pleader and Secretary, Krishna District Association.	"
394	"	"	"	" B. Venkata Raidu ...	"	Pleader, Masulipatam.	"
395	"	"	"	" M. Subba Row Sowcar.	"	Banker & Proprietor.	"
396	"	"	"	" L. Ramachandra Row...	"	Merchant ...	"

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397	Madras.	Krishna.	Masulipatam.	Mr. K. Krishnamachariar, B.A.	Brahmin.	Ud. Master, Hindu High School.	At a Public Meeting held at Masulipatam on the 4th December 1898.
398	"	"	"	" B. L. Narasimmalu ...	"	Inamdar ...	"
399	"	"	"	" A. Sriramaleo ...	"	"	"
400	"	"	"	" K. Rajatha Giripathy.	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant ...	"
401	"	"	"	" A. Pandarikakshudu ...	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader and Vice-President, Dist. Board	"
402	"	"	"	" R. V. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
403	"	"	"	" A. Krishniah Garu ...	"	Pleader, Munsiff's Court.	"
404	"	"	"	" D. Madhava Rao, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, District Court.	"
405	"	"	"	" S. Hanumantha Rao, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"
406	"	"	Narasara-pet.	" V. V. Seshavaram ...	Hindu Vysya.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1898.
407	"	Nellore.	Nellore.	" P. V. Rangia ...	Brahmin.	Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Nellore on the 10th December 1898.
408	"	"	"	" M. Venkatasubba Row.	"	2nd Grade Pleader.	"
409	"	"	"	" P. Ramachandra Iyer...	"	Pleader. ...	"
410	"	"	"	" T. Sreenivasa Charlu ...	"	Merchant ...	"
411	"	"	"	" S. Venkatasubba Row, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
412	"	"	"	" K. S. Krishna Menon...	Hindu Nayar.	Pleader ...	"
413	"	"	"	" M. Kondappa Naidu ...	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant & Landholder.	"
414	"	"	"	" A. Renga Reddi ...	Hindu Sudra.	Hony. Magistrate, Member District Board and Merchant.	"
415	"	"	"	" T. V. Venkata Ramier, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
416	"	"	"	" B. Venkatasubba Chetty	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant ...	"
417	"	"	"	" M. Chengiya Garu, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
418	"	"	"	" A. R. Arunachala Iyer, B.A., B.L.	"	"	"

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419	Madras.	Nellore.	Ongole.	Mr. P. Venkata Ramiah Garu.	Brahmin.	Banker & Member, District Board.	Ata Public Meeting held at Ongole on the 21st December 1898.
420	"	"	"	" K. Venkataramana Panthulu.	"	Manager, V. R. Hindu School.	"
421	"	"	Venkatagiri	" C. V. Ramachandra Iyer, B.A.	"	Hd. Master, L. V. M. High School.	Ata Public Meeting held at Venkatagiri on the 22nd December 1898.
422	"	"	"	" R. Venkatasubba Iyer, M.A.	"	Pleader	"
423	"	Chingleput.	Saidapet.	" N. Venkatasami Naidu.	Hindu Vysya.	"	Ata Public Meeting held at Guindy on the 27th November 1898.
424	"	"	"	" M. C. Venkata Charlu.	Brahmin.	"	"
425	"	"	"	" O. Sreenivasachariar, B.A.	"	"	"
426	"	"	Chingleput	" M. Sawminatha Iyer ...	"	"	Ata Public Meeting held at Chingleput on the 9th December 1898.
427	"	"	"	" K. K. Krishna Iyer, B.A., L.T.	"	Hd. Master, Native High School.	"
428	"	"	"	" T. M. Sreenivasachariar.	"	Pleader, Chingleput.	"
429	"	"	"	" T. K. Sreenivasachariar, B.A.	"	Pleader	"
430	"	"	"	" A. Ramaswami Iyengar.	"	1st Grade Pleader.	Ata Public Meeting held at Chingleput on the 4th December 1898.
431	"	"	"	" T. A. Alasingarachari...	"	"	"
432	"	"	"	" O. N. Desikachariar, B.A.	"	"	"
433	"	"	"	" M. Kumarasamy Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Mirasidar	"
434	"	"	"	" L. Ponnurungam Naidu.	Velala. Hindu Sudra.	Contractor	"
435	"	"	"	" C. S. Venkata Ramiah Garu.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court.	"
436	"	"	"	" Kadhar Bateba Sahib.	Musalman.	Municipal Councillor.	"
437	"	"	"	" M. Venkataraghavalu Reddiar.	Hindu Sudra.	Zemindar & Municipal Chairman.	"
438	"	"	"	" P. Ramanuja Chari, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil.	"
439	"	"	Conjeevaram.	" A. Krishnasawmi Iyer.	"	Landholder	Ata Public Meeting held on the 1th December 1898.
440	"	"	"	" C. Seshachella Mudaliar	Hindu Sudra.	"	"
441	"	"	"	" D. Raghavachariar ...	Brahmin.	Merchant	"

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442	Madras.	Chingleput.	Conjeevaram.	Mr. T. E. Kumara Venkata Chariar.	Brahmin.	Pleader & Municipal Commissioner	Ata Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1898.
443	"	"	"	" K. Ramanatha Sarma...	"	Merchant	"
444	"	"	"	" C. T. Parthasarathy Mudaliar, B.A., L.T.	Hindu Sudra.	Head Master, Pachayappa's High School, and Municipal Councillor.	"
445	"	"	"	" C. N. K. Appana Iyengar	Brahmin.	Hony. Magistrate and Merchant.	"
446	"	"	"	" C. Soobraya Mudaliar.	Hindu Sudra.	Sowcar & Zemindar	"
447	"	"	"	" N. S. Bashyam Iyengar.	Brahmin.	Merchant	"
448	"	"	"	" A. Rungaswami Iyengar	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
449	"	"	"	" V. Venkata Chariar ...	"	Pleader	"
450	"	"	"	" A. Krishnama Chariar...	"	"	"
451	"	"	Trivellore.	" N. C. Sreenivasa Chariar	"	Pleader and Landholder.	"
452	"	"	"	" Narasimha Chariar ...	"	"	"
453	"	"	"	" Parthasarathy Iyengar.	"	Landholder	"
454	"	"	"	" N. C. Sreenivasachariar.	"	Pleader	"
455	"	"	"	" P. N. Sreenivasachariar	"	"	"
456	"	"	"	" P. N. Narayanachariar.	"	"	"
457	"	"	"	" P. Narayana Iyer, B.A.	"	"	Ata Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
458	"	"	Madurantakam.	" A. Thiruvengkatachariar, B.A.	"	Mirasidar and Teacher, Hindu High School.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1898.
459	"	S. Arcot.	Cuddalore.	" M. A. Subbarayalu Reddiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra.	High Court Vakil.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1898.
460	"	"	"	" K. Lakshmana Row ...	Brahmin	Landholder and President, Samarga Sabha.	"
461	"	"	"	" K. N. Ramayachariar ...	"	Pleader	"
462	"	"	"	" V. Sreenivasa Row ...	"	Teacher, and Vice-President, Samarga Sabha.	"
463	"	"	"	" T. M. Kappusawmi Pillai, B.A.	Hindu Vysya.	Asst. Professor St. Joseph's College.	"
464	"	Cuddapah	Cuddapah.	" T. M. Narasimhachariar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader.	Ata Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1898.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
465	Madras.	Cuddapah.	Cuddapah.	Mr. H. Kuppu Row ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Cuddapah.	At a Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1898.
466	"	"	"	" M. Venkatasubbiah Garu.	"	Merchant & Dist. Board Member.	"
467	"	"	"	" C. Narasimhachariar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
468	"	"	"	" G. Venkataramiah ...	"	Pleader and Landholder.	"
469	"	"	"	" Y. S. Venkatasubbiah Chetty Garu.	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant & Municipal Councillor.	"
470	"	"	"	" Y. Venkatasubbiah Chetty Garu.	"	Municipal Councillor and Trader.	"
471	"	"	"	" A. R. Anantarama Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader.	"
472	"	"	"	" N. S. Rungasawmi Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
473	"	"	Nundalur.	" G. Seshiah Sastriar ...	"	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1898.
474	"	"	"	" C. Seshiah Sastri ...	"	"	"
475	"	"	Vayalpad.	" P. Venkataramaya Chetty.	Hindu Vysya.	Sowcar and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1898.
476	"	"	Proddatur.	" M. Lakshminarasimha Sastri.	Brahmin.	Pleader & Shrotriandar.	At a Public Meeting held on the 15th December 1898.
477	"	"	Madanapalle.	" B. Venkataramiah Chetty.	Hindu Vysya.	Treasurer, Madanapalle Lakshmi Kanta Nidhi and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1898.
478	"	"	"	" O. Mirah Sahib ...	Musalman.	Landholder and Merchant.	"
479	"	"	"	" R. Giri Row, B.A. ...	Brahmin.	Head Master, High School & Member, Madanapalle Taluq Board.	"
480	"	Kurnool.	Kurnool.	" Adoni Subba Row. ...	"	1st Grade Pleader and Member District Board.	At a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1898.
481	"	"	"	" P. Seshiah Chetty ...	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant & Agent, Oriental Life Office, Kurnool.	"
482	"	"	"	" T. Chidambara Row Garu, B.A.	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader, Chairman, Kurnool Municipal Council & Member, Kurnool District Board.	"
483	"	"	"	" G. Srirama Sastri Garu.	"	Law Agent, Kurnool.	"
484	"	"	"	" S. Nilakantam Pillai Garu.	Hindu Vysya.	Railway Contractor	"
485	"	"	"	" S. Venkatanarasimha Row, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Kurnool.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
486	Madras.	Kurnool.	Nandyal.	Mr. C. Vijayaragavachariar ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on the 15th December 1898.
487	"	"	"	" C. Subramaniya Iyer.	"	Pleader and Chairman, Union Panchayat.	"
488	"	"	"	" B. Konary Row ...	"	Pleader and Landholder.	"
489	"	Bellary.	Bellary.	" S. Narayanaswamy Iyer, B.A., L.T.	"	Asst. Professor, Wardlaw College.	"
490	"	"	"	" S. Mari Siddappa ...	Hindu Vysya.	Cotton & Silk Merchant & Hony. Magistrate.	"
491	"	"	"	" Y. S. Venkata Subbiah.	Brahmin.	Landholder	"
492	"	"	"	" Toolasi Doss Nursu ...	Hindu Sudra.	Manager, Cotton Spinning Mill Company.	"
493	"	"	"	" K. Venkata Row ...	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder.	"
494	"	"	"	" K. Srinivasa Row ...	"	"	"
495	"	"	"	" M. Vanketa Subbiah ...	"	Landholder	"
496	"	"	"	" D. Krishnama Charlu ..	"	Dist. Court Pleader.	"
497	"	"	"	" B. Madhava Row ...	"	Landholder	"
498	"	"	"	" T. M. Narasimhachari...	"	"	"
499	"	"	"	" G. Lakshmana Row ...	"	Municipal Councillor and Assistant Professor, Wardlaw College.	"
500	"	"	"	" N. S. Rungaswamy Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil.	"
501	"	"	"	" V. Krishna Row ...	"	Hony. Magistrate.	"
502	"	"	"	" T. Chidambara Row, B.A.	"	Landholder	"
503	"	"	"	" P. Seshayya Chetty ...	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant	"
504	"	"	"	" C. S. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil and Landholder.	"
505	"	"	"	" V. Somasundaran Mudaliar.	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant	"
506	"	"	"	" V. Sambandam Mudaliar.	"	"	"
507	"	"	"	" G. Srirama Sastry ...	Brahmin.	Landholder	"
508	"	"	"	" C. Subramania Iyer ...	"	"	"
509	"	"	Hespet.	" B. Seetharam Row ...	"	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.

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510	Madras.	Bellary.	Hospet.	Mr. C. Hanumantha Gond.	Brahmin.	Dist. Board Member and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
511	"	"	"	" K. Visvanatha Row ...	"	2nd Grade Pleader.	"
512	"	Anantapur.	Gooty.	" O. Madhava Row ...	"	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1898.
513	"	"	"	" M. Subba Row ...	"	"	"
514	"	"	"	" R. Subba Row ...	"	"	"
515	"	"	"	" C. Renga Reddi, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Velala.	High Court Vakil.	"
516	"	"	"	" P. Kesava Pillai ...	Hindu Vysya.	Pleader	"
517	"	"	"	" K. Hanumanthachari.	Brahmin.	"	"
518	"	"	"	" A. Sama Row ...	"	Sowcar and Landholder.	"
519	"	Mysore.	Ulsoor.	" A. Vadivelu ...	Hindu Sudra.	Journalist	At a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1898.
520	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Rao Bahadur Ranganatha Narsinh Mudholkar, B.A., L.L.B.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Councillor.	At a Public Meeting held on Amraoti on the 27th November 1898 and also at a General Committee Meeting of the B. S. Sabha held on the 4th December 1898.
521	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudev Narayan Jog.	"	Banker, Pleader, & Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 27th November 1898.
522	"	"	"	" Vishvanath Kashinath Kale.	"	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner & Hony. Secretary.	"
523	"	"	"	" Moro Vishvanath Joshi, B.A., L.L.B.	"	High Court Pleader and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 27th November 1898 & also at the General Committee Meeting of the B. S. Sabha held on 4th December 1898.

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524	Govt. of India.	Berar.	The Berar Sarvajanic Sabha.	Mr. Ganesh Srikrishna Khaparde.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Landholder and Vice-Chairman, Town Municipality.	At a General Committee Meeting of the B. S. Sabha held on the 4th December 1898, also at a Meeting held at Amraoti on the 27th November 1898.
525	"	Hydrabad.	Secundrabad.	" P. Ramachandra Pillai.	Hindu Vysya.	High Court Pleader.	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
526	"	"	"	" B. Krishna Iyengar.	Brahmin.	Attorney-at-Law of the Madras High Court & Advocate, Chief Court Bangalore.	"
527	"	"	"	" G. Krishna machariar, B.A., B.L.	"	Landholder & High Court Vakil.	"
528	"	"	"	" Keshava Rao Santuk Rao.	"	High Court Pleader, Nizam's Dominions.	"
529	"	"	Gulburgah.	" Giri Rao Madhava Rao.	"	High Court Pleader and Jahagirdar.	At a Public Meeting held at Gulburga, Nizam's State on the 10th December 1898.
530	"	"	"	" Vittal Rao Lakshman Rao.	"	High Court Pleader.	"
531	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Naik ...	"	High Court Pleader.	"
532	"	"	"	" Vaman Naik ...	"	Merchant	"
533	"	"	"	" Rangrav Anant ...	"	2nd Grade Pleader.	"
534	"	"	"	" Ramakrishnaiya ...	"	Contractor	"
535	"	"	"	" A. Govind Row ...	"	Pleader	"
536	"	"	"	" Parasuram Govind Bodas.	"	Proprietor, Kalyanachintak Press.	"
537	Bombay	Bombay.	Bombay.	" Khimje Hirji Kayani...	Jain.	Honorary Secretary the Cutchi Dassa Oswal Jain Community and Editor, the Cutchi Dassa Oswal.	At a Special Meeting of the Community on the 21st December 1898.
538	"	"	"	" Jaithabhoy Damji Megji	"	Member the Cutchi Dassa Oswal Jain Community. Landholder and Merchant.	"

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539	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Govind Dhonddev Dandavate.	Brahmin.	Member, the Poona Sarvajani Sabha, & Manager, Metal Manufacturing Co.	At a Meeting of the Managing Committee of the Sabha on the 30th November 1898.
540	"	"	"	" Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., L.L.B.	"	Member, the Poona Sarvajani Sabha.	"
541	"	"	"	" Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe, M.A.	"	Hon. Secretary, the Poona Sarvajani Sabha, & Editor and Proprietor, <i>The Kala</i> a Weekly Marati Journal.	At a Meeting of the Managing Committee of the P. S. Sabha on the 30th November 1898, and also at a Public Meeting held in Anandhoothra Theatre on the 12th December 1898.
542	"	"	"	" Mahadev Rajaram, M.A., L.L.B.	Hindu.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1898.
543	"	"	"	" Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	Brahmin.	Pleader & Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting of the P. S. Sabha held on the 15th November 1898.
544	"	"	"	" Bhikaji Mahadev Hardikar.	"	Member, the Poona Sarvajani Sabha General Agent.	At a Meeting of the Managing Committee of the P. S. Sabha held on the 30th November 1898.
545	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Damodar Jog.	"	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held in the Anandatha Theatre on the 12th December 1898.
546	"	"	"	" Narsimha Chintaman Kelkar, B.A., L.L.B.	"	Member, the Poona Sarvajani Sabha Pleader, Professor, Law-class & Editor, <i>The Mahavatta</i> .	"
547	"	"	"	Row Sahab Ramachandra Ganghadhar Karve.	"	Isamdar	At a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1898.
548	"	"	Satara.	Mr. N. G. Deshpande	"	"	At a Public Meeting held on the 15th December 1898.
549	"	"	"	" Ganesh Ballal Fansalkar	"	High Court Pleader.	"
550	"	"	"	" D. B. Parasnis	"	Editor, <i>The Bhaydarsha</i> .	"
551	"	"	"	" Balvant Shridhar Sahasrabudhe.	"	Pleader	"

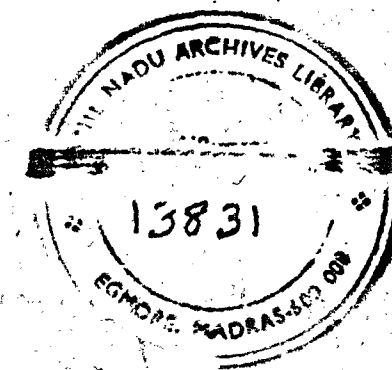
Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
552	Bombay.	Dharwar.	Dharwar.	Mr. Krishnaji Abaji Gurnji.	Brahmin.	Editor, <i>Kalidas-dharwar</i> .	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
553	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Hanmant Mudwekar.	"	Landholder	"
554	"	Hubli.	Hubli.	" Shanker Raoji Apte	"	Pleader, Municipal Member & Member, District Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1898.
555	"	Khandesh.	Khandesh.	The Hon. Mr. G. B. Garud, B.A., L.L.B.	"	Solicitor & Pleader, Bombay High Court, and Additional Member of Bombay Legislative Council.	At a Public Meeting held on the 21st December 1898.
556	"	"	"	Mr. S. D. Garud	"	Landholder	"
557	"	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	" Vinayak Shivaji Jog	"	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Pandharpur on the 11th December 1898.
558	"	"	"	" Frederick Grub	European Christian.	Merchant	"
559	"	"	"	Dr. P. J. Swami	Hindu Vysya.	Medical Practitioner.	"
560	"	Deccan.	Poona.	Prof. G. K. Gokhale, B.A.	Brahmin.	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona, Fellow of Bombay University, and Life Member, Deccan Education Society.	At a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 11th December 1898.
561	"	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Mahadev Rajaram Bodas, M.A., L.L.B.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader.	At a Public Meeting held at Bombay on the 11th December 1898.
562	"	"	"	" W. A. Chambers	European Christian.	Engineer	"
563	"	"	"	" Dinshaw Edulji Wacha.	Parsi.	Mill Agent and Municipal Commissioner.	"
564	Central Provinces	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	" Shridhar Vishunva Paranjpe, B.A.	Brahmin.	Teacher, Rao Sahel Doctor Dajiba Chawl.	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th December 1898.
565	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Benares.	Babu Jagol Kishore	Hindu Khatri.	Landholder and Banker.	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
566	"	"	"	Babu Govind Dass	Hindu Vysya.	Landholder, Banker, Municipal Commissioner & Honorary Magistrate.	"
567	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Rao Narayan Kariotkar.	Brahmin.	Landholder	"

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568	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Benares.	Shreemant Row Saheb Vasudev Raojee Chandraker.	Brahmin.	Landholder	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
569	"	"	Agra.	Mr. Kedonath. B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Vysya.	High Court Vakil.	"
570	"	"	"	" Ramdas Chattri ...	Hindu Vysya.	Professor, Victoria College & Bookseller, Commission Insurance Agent & Printer.	"
571	"	"	Allahabad.	Babu Ramanada Chatterjee, M.A.	Brahmin.	Principal of the Kayastha Patasala.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Patasala on the 4th December 1898.
572	"	"	Aligarh.	Babu Manohar Lall Varma.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held on the 19th December 1898.
573	"	"	"	Babu Lakshmi Narayan, B.A.	"	"	"
574	"	Lucknow	Lucknow.	Pundit Shiam Narayan Musladar.	Brahmin.	Pleader	"
575	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Prosad Varma.	Hindu Kshatrya.	Proprietor, Advocate and Hindustani.	"
76	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Mr. B. Jaishiram	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	At a Meeting of the Indian Association held on the 11th December 1898.
77	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Southern Metropolitan Division	" J. Ghosal	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at Bhowmipore on the 15th December 1898 & also at a Meeting of the Calcutta Progressive Association.
578	"	"	"	Babu Debender Chandra Ghose, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	High Court Vakil.	"
579	"	"	"	Babu Charn Chandra Ghose, B.A., B.L.	"	"	At a Public Meeting held at the Mall of the S. S. School on the 15th December 1898.
580	"	"	North Metropolitan Division	Mr. Radha Raman Kaijoti.	"	Merchant	At a Meeting of the Progressive Union of the Indian Association held on the 15th December 1898.

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581	Bengal.	Calcutta.	North Metropolitan Division	Babu Jotindranath Basu, M.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Attorney-at-Law, Fellow of the Calcutta University, & Municipal Commissioner.	At a Meeting of the Progressive Union of the Indian Association held on the 15th December 1898.
582	"	"	Indian Relief Association.	Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A.	Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate & President, Indian Association.	At a Meeting of the Indian Association held on the 9th December 1898.
583	"	"	"	Dr. M. M. Bose, M.D., L.R.C.P., (Edinburg), L.E.B.S., (Glasgow).	"	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, Physician, and Surgeon, 61/2, Raja Bazaar, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	"
584	"	"	"	Babu Nilaran Chandra Chatterji.	"	Journalist, Bernagore.	At a Meeting of the Indian Association held on the 9th December 1898 and also at Bernagore on the 11th December 1898.
585	"	"	"	The Hon. Mr. Kalicharan Bannerjee, M.A., B.L.	Bengali. Christian.	Pleader, High Court.	"
586	"	"	"	Babu Jotindra Mohan Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar	"
587	"	"	"	The Hon. Mr. Surandra Nath Bannerjee, B.A.	Brahmin.	Editor, Bengalee, Member, Bengal Legislative Council, & Municipal Commissioner.	"
588	"	"	"	Mr. Kanija Praramakavi Bigard.	Hindu Kayastha.	Editor	"
589	"	"	"	Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.	"	Medical Practitioner & Fellow of the Calcutta University.	"
590	"	"	Burdwan.	Rai Nalinaksha Bose Bahadur, B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Hon. Magistrate & Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Burdwan on the 4th December 1898.
591	"	"	"	Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Theist.	Pleader, Judge's Court.	"
592	"	"	Sylhet.	" Ramoni Mohun Doss	Hindu Kayastha.	"	At a Public Meeting held at Sylhet on the 14th December 1898.
593	"	"	Balasore.	" Fakir Mohun Senapathy	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at Balasore on the 14th December 1898.

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594	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Krishnagar.	Mr. Tara Padu Bannerji, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader & Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Krishnagar on the 2nd December 1898.
595	"	"	"	" Akboy K. Mitra ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Hony. Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	"
596	"	"	"	" Veni Bhusan Roy ...	"	Pleader, Judge's Court.	"
597	"	"	"	" Upendra Nath Sen ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar	"
598	"	"	Murshidabad.	" Hemendra Nath Sen, B.L.	"	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner & Joint Secretary, Murshidabad Association.	At a Public Meeting held at Murshidabad on the 12th December 1898.
599	"	"	"	Babu Baikuntha Nath Sen, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, and Vice-Chairman, Murshidabad Association.	"
600	"	Purneah.	Purneah.	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerjee, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, Judge's Court & Chairman, Purnea Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held at Purneah on the 14th December 1898.
601	"	Rajshahy.	Rajshahy.	Mr. J. Choudhuri, M.A.	"	Barrister-at-Law.	At a Meeting of the Rajshahy Association held on the 11th December 1898.
602	"	"	"	" Jotindra Mohun Bhaglin, M.A., B.L.	"	Pleader	"
603	"	Mymensingh.	Mymensingh.	Babu Manomohan Neogi, B.L.	"	"	At a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh on the 19th December 1898.
604	"	Barisal.	Barisal.	Mr. Upendra Nath Roy Chowdhuri.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Barisal.	At a Public Meeting held at Barisal on the 2nd December 1898.
605	"	"	Backerganj.	Babu Debendra Nath Senkar, B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader	At a Meeting held at Backerganj and Barisal Peoples' Division on the 11th December 1898.
606	"	"	"	Mr. Aswin Kumar Dutt, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar	"
607	"	"	"	" Hara Nath Ghose, B.L.	"	Pleader	"

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608	Bengal.	Bhagulpore.	Bhagulpore.	Mr. Rash Behari Lal Mondar	Hindu Gope.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate & Member, Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Bhagulpore on the 12th December 1898.
609	"	"	"	" Anant Prosad Mondar.	"	Zemindar	"
610	"	Calcutta.	Baranagore.	Babu Benodi Lal Ghose ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Trader and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1898.
611	"	Faridpur.	Faridpur.	" Prithvis Chandra Roy.	"	Zemindar	"
612	"	Calcutta.	Midnapur.	" Peary Lal Ghose ...	Brahmin.	Teacher	At a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1898.
613	"	"	"	" Dijendra Mohan Sugupta.	"	Landholder	"
614	Assam Govt.	Assam.	Assam.	" Ramani Moha Doss ...	Hindu Shaha.	Zemindar and General Merchant.	At a Public Meeting held on the 19th December 1898.



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