



CONGRESS PANDAL, KARACHI, (1913).

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Introduction.

Karachi is to be cordially congratulated on having been able to hold for the first time in her midst a session of the Indian National Congress which was both memorable and successful. Memorable, because that remarkably progressive city was the only important one in the Presidency of Bombay where no Congress had been held during the twenty eight years of its strenuous existence. The Presidency is singularly fortunate in having four times its session, for the wider political education of the people, at four different cities other than the capital. First and foremost, there was convened in 1895, a session at Poona, the Salamanca of the Deccan, and, secondly, there was another in 1902 at Ahmedabad, the next bright city of cotton manufacture in the country, at both of which the Presidential Chair was ably occupied by the brilliant and eloquent Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. The Third time a session of the Congress was held in 1907 under the equally eloquent and learned Presidentship of another Bengalee, no other than Dr. Rashbehary Ghosh, at the historic town of Surat so inseparably connected with the earliest prosperity of British trade and commerce in India under the mighty aegis of the Great Moghul; while the fourth and last, but not the least important, was held in 1913 at the modern city of Karachi which, thanks to the phenomenal enterprise of her merchants and the gratifying civic spirit of her men of light and leading, has taken such vast strides and bids fair besides to be the halfway house between Western and Eastern Asia. Not only is the Karachi Congress memorable for the reason stated. It was also memorable on account of the unparalleled enthusiasm it evoked in the whole of Sind which was fully evidenced in the exceedingly large number of Sindhi delegates who had assembled in the elegant pavillion, of excellent acoustic properties, which the Congress organisers owed to the talents of Mr. Durgdas B. Advani. That enthusiasm, moreover, seemed to have prevailed in the thousands of other Sindhi men, non-delegates, who densely crowded the visitors' gallery from morn to eve throughout the three days' proceedings of the session. Lastly, it was made memorable by reason of the unanimous election of a Mahomedan gentleman, well known not only in the public life of Madras for many a year, but in the annals of the Congress itself. The Honourable Nawab Syed Mahomed had been a conspicuous figure on the Congress platform since 1894 and a staunch and consistent supporter of its cause. The election of such a personage, at a juncture when Moslem political activity had taken a satisfactory new departure in the common politics of the Empire, was the outstanding feature of the Karachi session. Twice only in the annals of the Congress had there been a Mahomedan as President. The ever to be remembered Mr. Badrudin Tayabji distinguished himself as the President of the third Congress at Madras in 1887 and the late lamented Mr. R. M. Sayani was invited to preside at the Congress held in Calcutta in 1896. Both were advanced Mahomedans of great culture, eminent public spirit and independence, and withal gifted with true political insight of a high order. Broad minded as they were and free from all narrow and racial prejudices, they were able in inculcating a spirit of tolerance among their own backward co-religionists and exhorting them to share in the deliberations of the Congress, fully convinced that the political welfare of the two great Indian Communities could only be brought to a successful issue when they co-operated together for the common object. They were the advance guards among the educated Mahomedans of their respective days carrying aloft the standard of

the Indian National Congress and propagating its beneficent object for the common good of the country. Unity of thought and unity of action—these were the shibboleths they uniformly pronounced. Mahomedans then were backward in their political progress; but these two had unerringly forecast the dawn of that day when higher education would bring them in a line with their more advanced brethren of the Hindu community. As such they were political seers who foresaw with a clear vision what must happen in the near future. They were no dreamers. They were both men of action. Each in his own sphere was sedulous in propagating those higher ideals which when persistently entertained and realised lead to the building up of a nation. Their clear vision foresaw the time when the tide would turn leading eventually to the ultimate goal of self-Government to which all Indians aspire under the aegis and benign influence of the British Government. Educated in the school of Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji and honourably associated in active public life with their colleagues, the late Mr. K. T. Telang and The Honorable Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta no two Mahomedans in the Bombay Presidency had striven more ably and consciously towards the achievement of the object they had nearest to their heart. Unlike the majority of backward Mahomedans their horizon was not limited. It was wide enough to gaze upon and to-day we find how far-sighted they were. Under the circumstances the selection of the Nawab Syed Mahomed as the President of the Karachi Congress was in reality an event by itself to make it memorable, seeing that he was the third Mahomedan President after the long interval of seventeen years.

As to the success of the Congress it goes without saying that it was nothing but a success. It was a success owing to its intrinsic merits. That is to say, that in the large number of able men who were present from the different provinces as delegates, the Congress was able to carry on its proceedings not only with the greatest harmony but conspicuous ability. Just before the opening of the sessions, it was felt as a keen disappointment that some of the veteran leaders would not be able, by reason of ill health or pressure of other important public engagements, to participate in the proceedings of the Congress. The absence of such stalwarts as The Honorable Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Surrendranath Bannerji, of Messrs. Gokhale and Malavaya was deplored. The leading promoters and organizers feared that the Congress, without their experience and guidance, might prove a poor affair. But all these apprehensions fortunately proved to be ill-founded. Of course, the assemblage of delegates was a mixed one, that is to say, there were delegates belonging to the other generation as well as those of the rising. But undoubtedly the latter predominated. In spite of the fact of the absence of the leaders named, the brilliant proceedings of the very first active day of debate demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that all anticipations of the leaders were realised. The Subjects Committee had many a good man and true, well conversant with the larger and graver problems which were spoken to in the open Congress. To show how far debates of an intelligent, and even animated character, were carried on the first evening of the Subjects Committee, it is only worth recording here the number of hours they persistently sat out. Generally, the first evening occupies from 2 to 3 hours in discussing and putting into body and form the resolutions to be placed before the Congress on the following day. But on this occasion the sittings of the Subjects Committee occupied fully 4 hours and more. Indeed, it may

be said with truth that the real debate at Congress time is to be heard in the room of the Subjects Committee. There, the *pros* and *cons* of all the important resolutions on the burning questions of the day are threshed out with as much ability, perseverance and persistency as knotty questions in a Select Committee of the House of Commons. It is after such a thorough discussion that resolutions are framed and brought forward on the Congress platform. It is not surprising that these resolutions are more or less carried with unanimity after the principal speakers and supporters have had their say. Having become fully conversant with the arguments and facts for and against a given question, it is not difficult for them to elaborate those, each in his own way, in the open Congress. Not that there are not dissentients. But such is the discipline of the Congress and such the spirit of tolerance which prevails among the delegates assembled that the dissenting persons subordinate their own views to the views of the majority as already formulated in the resolutions framed after thorough discussion in the Subjects Committee. Again, generally, the most competent who may have made a particular question their own and studied it in all its manifold aspects, are booked to move and second the resolutions, while others are content with supporting them. Thus it is that a subject is exhausted and votes are taken. It sometimes happens that amendments are put and allowed to be discussed or ruled out of order where they are not submitted in conformity with the constitution and the rules framed under it. But amendments are generally rare, though the constitution fully provides where there is a determinate difference of opinion how votes are to be taken by delegates belonging to each province. At Karachi some of the subjects involved knotty questions of a most intricate character. All the same they were well thought out and argued and fair decisions arrived at. On such occasions the discussion sometimes assumes an animated if not acrid aspect. Lively parleys take place. But in the end resolutions are arrived at which are deemed fairly passable. It is in this spirit of mutual toleration that all subjects are considered. Given a well experienced President, accustomed to public life and conversant with order and procedure, everything passes off smoothly and harmoniously while there is a distinct advantage in the way in which the give and take method finds fair play. And as the Subjects Committee consists of both old and new delegates there is offered a kind of education and experience which is of the utmost value. The restraining influence of the seniors, with their long experience, has a marked effect on the younger and more impulsive or impetuous. But these soon learn the discipline the Subjects Committee teaches. So in due course the juniors themselves are able to get a good hearing and in time become practised and experienced Congressmen. Thus the amalgam works most successfully. Such amalgam was not absent at the Karachi meeting and conduced not a little to final unanimity on such questions as the Public Service Commission, Education, Self-Government and so on. On other less interesting and important topics there was not much difference of opinion, while as regards the condition of Indians in South Africa there was, of course, a perfect agreement, each delegate being impressed with the common sentiments prevailing in and out of the Congress.

As is customary, the first day's proceedings were simply confined to what may be called the welcome address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the inaugural address of the President. In a neat and elegant speech,

which was full of sound common sense, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, who is a veteran on the Congress platform, cordially welcomed the delegates, briefly referred to the rapid rise of Karachi, and expatiated at some length on the three or four large problems of Indian Administration awaiting solution, including the approaching reform of the India Council. The speech was happily conceived and felicitously expressed. There was not a little delight when the practical Chairman alluded to some of the pressing provincial problems on which the Sindhi mind has for some time past been greatly exercised, specially the land revenue assessments. Thus the provincial touch given by the deft pen of the Chairman made the whole body of Congressmen and non-Congressmen aglow with interest.

It is superfluous to place on record here the fact that the Presidential address which at each sitting of the annual Congress, inaugurates the session, was delivered with marked ability, sobriety of judgment, and a patriotic spirit of fellow-feeling and listened to with close attention. In a voice which was clear and audible in all parts of the House, the President made point after point as he warmed with each of the subjects he handled. It would be out of place in this Introduction to refer to his many salient and striking observations. These must be read and studied in the text itself. But like his two Mahomedan predecessors in the Chair, he waxed well and wisely on the opportune hour which was about to bring the Hindus and Mahomedans, subjects of a common Sovereign, on a common platform, to represent to the ruling authorities the common interests which at present demanded their sympathy and active support. This part of his address was very well listened to and elicited no little appreciation. The delegates instinctively felt that the Congress was taking a new departure at the right psychological hour. The hour had come when both Hindus and Mahomedans must advance along the political line with definite objects and aims. As yet their respective organizations stood apart while discussing common aims, aye, even some communal aspirations as to local government. But the time was fast approaching when such distinctive platforms would be acknowledged an anachronism. As yet there were some differences of opinion. It was inevitable. But they were the differences which anticipated an ultimate agreement on definite and decisive lines. The more there was the growing consciousness of identical aims and aspirations, the quicker would be the movement towards a common platform. That would mark a stage, the stage whence the forward march to the distinct goal must begin with a united heart and united sentiment. That, in short, was the substance of the principal parable in the inaugural address of the President. At the conclusion a dramatic touch was imparted when as a follower of true Islam he referred, almost with visible emotion, if not a tear in the eye, to the deplorable events which had overtaken the Otoman empire. He trembled for the fate of Pan-Islamism which was so dear to his heart and the heart of his co-religionists in all parts of the world. There was a lyrical dash in that part of his address which not a little enhanced the human interest he had raised in the address. Altogether it was an address which was a credit to an enlightened scion of a noble Mahomedan family which has left an imperishable page on the history of Southern India.

It would be a waste of time and energy to refer to the several Resolutions passed at the Congress or the many able, well reasoned out speeches made there

at, while it would be nothing short of invidiousness to allude to the more important ones. Where each strove his best to give out what was the best in him on a given subject it were not well to pick and choose. Moreover, it would be unfair to the speakers themselves who must be allowed, each in his own way, to unfold his own views which in a way are a common property of the country at large. Those views are best perused in their original in the Report.

The one Resolution above all others which may be deemed to be somewhat new, if not unfamiliar, was that on the reform of the India Council which the Secretary of State announced some time ago. The reform is urgent. It is over ripe. It was quite ripe when the National Congress first met in Bombay in 1885 and voiced the voice of the whole country at the time. It was then deemed essential to agitate for its entire abolition. It was loudly observed in all parts of India that Indian progress and Indian ambition was checked and obstructed by that Council the majority of whom were retired members of the two branches of the Service in India. In the first place, the members were appointed for life, and in the second place, they were hardly in touch with the India of the day on whose affairs they were called upon to give their final pronouncement. The pace at which the country was making progress in a variety of directions, economically, politically, intellectually and socially, demanded a periodical change in the composition of the members. Their own ideas of the India of their day were so crystallised and become so impervious to the new changes continually going on in this country, that it was hopeless to make them realise the necessity of the changes demanded in the administration. Obsolete or fossilised ideas of government were the subject of criticism both in the Anglo Indian and the Indian Press. The European Chambers of Commerce were then an independent body, imbued with a sober spirit of reform. Their public spirit was a great example to the progressive Indians. Those joined in the chorus of dissatisfaction at the ways of the oligarchy ruling in camera at White Hall. So it became a universal cry that the abolition of the India Council was a preliminary to all reform. The first Indian National Congress faithfully echoed that cry. It was regularly heard at some subsequent Congresses. But a change then came over the spirit of the dream. The stalwart spirits of the Anglo-Indian community had either retired or been silenced. Some vigorous efforts were made in Parliament, thanks to the efforts of the late Mr. Slagg and others, supported from behind by the British Congress Committee, to have a body of picked Parliamentarians from both the Houses as a Standing Committee to bring Indian grievances and Indian aspirations on the floor of the House for purposes of reform. Meanwhile, thanks to the agitation of the Congress led by the redoubtable Mr. Bradlaugh in the Commons, a bill for the reform of the Legislative Councils was introduced in to the House. After some vicissitudes it was withdrawn on the distinct promise made to the author of the Bill by Lord Cross, then Secretary of State. Before it passed in its final shape Mr. Bradlaugh had died. The right of interpellation and discussion of the annual budget was grudgingly granted, specially after the vigorous speech of Mr. Gladstone who insisted on a living representation of the people in the reformed Councils. Owing to these facts the old cry for the abolition of the India Council had subsided. It subsided also because the life membership of the Council was abolished and the number reduced to a dozen. The retirement was made compulsory after ten years. In spite of these superficial changes no great improvement was noticed in the method and manner of the business done at the

Whitehall Council. Meanwhile dissatisfaction began to grow owing to the many imperfections discovered in the working of the Legislative Councils reformed in 1892. Things went on in this haphazard fashion till the days of Mr. Morley. That virile Secretary of State was so far responsive to the long agitation for elected Councils that he devoted a greater portion of his Secretaryship to the elaboration of the new scheme now introduced into India with the cordial co-operation of Lord Minto. But he found no time to reconstruct the Council itself save that he reduced the limit of service to seven years and introduced the Indian element therein. No doubt it was a change for the better but the people were not quite satisfied with it, as it still hardly altered the real oligarchical, secretive, and obstructive character of the Council. So the cry for its radical reformation has again been loudly heard for some time past. The Congress at Karachi has so far rendered a public service by drawing pointed attention of the ruling authorities to the triangular reform advocated in its resolution. The various public bodies in India and their leading organs of opinion should now hammer away at this subject. The secretive method, which is also the obstructive, should be knocked on the head. Elected Indian members of proved merit and ability confided by the people should be appointed to the Council in a reasonably larger number, and a few select parliamentarians also who will work as a kind of judicial tribunal between the retired Civil Servants and the elected Indian members. Above all, the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be included in the British estimates as is the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The last is a reform of the greatest value as it will give the House of Commons that real and supreme control over the conduct and action of the Council which is so much needed. From being an autocrat the Secretary of State himself will have to be on his good behaviour. This is the sum and substance of the new reform demanded by the Congress. Indians must press for it. The success of such reform will depend on the vigour, independence and public spirit with which it is pressed.

A few words might in conclusion be said on the admirable manner and the enthusiastic spirit in which the Karachi Congress was organised. The leading persons actively engaged in the organisation were entirely new to the work. Some of them had no doubt known how a Congress was organised elsewhere, specially in the capital cities. In places like Amraoti, Nagpur and Bankipur, the resources were limited and the organisers were greatly hampered, notwithstanding an earnest desire to do their very best. But where resources are ample there is nothing to prevent a successful session being accomplished. Of late, however, it is a matter of regret to have to say that for some reason or another a session has not been all that could be desired. Enthusiasm seemed to have cooled down. The number of local delegates, let alone outside ones, had materially dwindled down. Depression prevailed. It is a matter of rejoicing to observe that that depression had disappeared in Karachi. All seemed to have worked enthusiastically and with the one object of making the Congress a thorough success. It seemed, judging from all that had been done, that though new to the work, the organisers had done admirably by way of comfort and convenience for the delegates. There was an intelligent division of labour. There was a consideration of the duty to be discharged and that with perfect harmony. There was no needless interference and there was no divided responsibility. Each Sub-Committee had had its own well defined

functions and responsibilities. These were discharged with a spirit of alacrity and judiciousness which are beyond all praise. The stalwart band of volunteers, mostly men of business and profession, were told off for their respective duties which left nothing to be desired. They were seen best at the hard work imposed on them when embarking and disembarking or entraining and detraining delegates from the other provinces and Presidencies. The discipline was admirable and worthy of enterprising Karachi. Their welcome reception of the President was magnificent. They entered on their processional march with the greatest alacrity and energy and won the admiration of all Karachi which had turned out in its hundreds and thousands to view the Presidential procession and occupied every vantage ground on the line of the long route. Altogether it was a sight which the men of Karachi will proudly remember for many a day of their lives. The spectacular display was indeed an object lesson to the vast mass of the population. They understood at once the *raison d'Être* of the popular demonstration and realised that the Congress was an active and living organisation to voice their legitimate grievances and aspirations such as no other organisation was able to devise.

Lastly, it was indeed creditable to Sind that it sent as many as five hundred delegates and more. The total number of delegates reached 550, a number which was in pleasing contrast with some very poor ones at recent Congresses. As stated at the outset the Karachi Congress was not only memorable, but successful from all points of view. It has chalked out an additional landmark to guide and direct its immediate successors on their long onward march on the path of Progress and Reform.

D. E. WACHA.

23rd February 1914.

Resolution No. I.

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country by the death of Mr. J. Ghosal, who was a staunch worker in the Congress cause, and Mr. Justice P. R. Sunder Aiyer.

Moved from the Chair and Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. II.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

- (a) This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by the Ministers of the South African Union, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Act and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to the Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment.
- (b) This Congress expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in Natal in the recent strikes and entirely disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed by the South African Union to enquire into the matter, as two of its members are already known to be biassed against Indians and as it does not include persons who command the confidence of Indians in South Africa and here.
- (c) The Congress tenders its most respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question.
- (d) This Congress requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to take the steps needed to redress the grievances relating to the questions of the 3 £ tax, indentured labour, domicile, the Educational test, validity of Indian Marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa.
- (e) That this Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds.

Proposed by—Diwan Bahadur Govind Raghava Aiyer, (Madras.)

Seconded by—Lala Lajpat Rai (Punjab) in Hindustani.

Supported by Mr. J. Chaudhari (Bengal.)

„ „ Lala Goverdhandas (Punjab) in Urdu.

„ „ Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy, (Bombay.)

„ „ Mr. Thakurdas Khemchand (Sind.)

„ „ Mr. Hafiz, (Sind) in Sindhi

„ „ Mr. Chandrabansi Sahai, (Behar.)

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. III.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

That this Congress concurring with previous Congresses urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the best interests of the Empire and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken to be really effective must place all judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every Province.

Proposed by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, (Madras.)

Secoded by Mr. Khitish Chandra Gangoli, (Bengal.)

Supported by Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, (Sind.)

Supported by Mr. Abdul Rahman, (Sind.)

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. IV.

That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All India Moslem League of the ideal of self-Government for India within the British Empire and expresses its complete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various Communities in the country which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. This Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all the sections of the people to help the object we all have at heart.

Proposed by Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, (Bengal.)

Secoded by Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, (Berar.)

Supported by Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, (Bombay.)

„ „ The Honourable T. V. Seshagiri Aiyer, (Madras.)

„ „ Mr. D. A. Khare, (Bombay.)

„ „ Mr. R. V. Mahajani, (Berar.)

„ „ Mr. Mathradas Ramchand, (Sind) in Sindhi.

„ „ Mr. C. Gopal Menon, (Madras.)

„ „ D. E. Wacha, (Bombay.)

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. V.

COUNCIL REFORM.

That this Congress is of opinion that the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, should be abolished, and makes the following suggestions for its reconstruction :—

- (a) That the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English Estimates.
- (b) That with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected.
- (c) That the total number of members of the Council should be not less than nine.

- (d) That the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number of members, who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.
- (e) That not less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council should consist of public men of merit and ability unconnected with the Indian administration.
- (f) That the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less than 10 years and have not been away from India for more than two years.
- (g) That the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative.
- (h) That the term of office of each member should be five years.

Proposed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, (Bombay.)

Seconded by Mr. N. M. Samarth, (Bombay.)

Supported by the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao, (Madras.)

„ Mr. Gopaldas Jhamatmal, (Sind.)

„ Babu Surendra Nath Mullick, (Bengal.)

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. VI.

This Congress strongly protests against prohibition of immigration, resulting from the operation of the Canadian Privy Council order No. 920, generally known as the "Continuous Journey Clause," as the order in question has, practically the effect of preventing any Indian, not already settled there, from going to Canada, in as much as there is no direct steamship service between the two Countries, and the Steamship Companies refuse through booking, and further subjects the present Indian Settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from bringing over their wives and children. This Congress, therefore, urges upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of the said Continuous Journey Regulation.

Proposed by—Sardar Nand Singh.

Seconded by—Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.

Supported by—Mir Ayub Khan (in Urdu.)

„ „—Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhry (in Urdu.)

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. VII.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

- (a) This Congress places on record its indignant protest against, and emphatically repudiates as utterly unfounded, the charges of general incompetence, lack of initiative, lack of character, etc. which some of the witnesses, among whom this Congress notices with regret some of the highest administrative officers, have freely levelled at Indians as a people.

- (b) This Congress begs to express its earnest hope that the Royal Commissioners will, alike on grounds of justice, national progress, economy, efficiency and even expediency, see fit to make recommendations which will have the certain effect of largely increasing the present very inadequate proportion of Indians in the high appointments in the public services of their own country; thus redeeming the solemn pledge contained in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858.
- (c) In particular, this Congress places on record its deep conviction:—
- (1) that justice can never be done to the claim of the people of this country unless the examinations for the recruitment of the superior offices of the various services be held in India as well as England;
 - (2) that the age limit in the case of candidates for the Indian Civil Service should not be lowered, as such a step will operate to the disadvantage of Indian candidates as well as prove detrimental to efficiency;
 - (3) that the Judicial and Executive services and functions should be completely separated and the Judicial service recruited from the legal profession and placed in subordination to the High Court instead of to the Executive Government;
 - (4) that such restrictions, as exist at present against the appointment of persons other than members of the Indian Civil Service to certain high offices, be removed;
 - (5) that any rule or order which in terms or in effect, operates as a bar against the appointment of an Indian as such to any office under the Crown for which he may otherwise be eligible, should be rescinded as opposed to the Act and the Proclamation hereinbefore mentioned;
 - (6) that the division of services into Imperial and Provincial be abolished and the conditions of services be equalised as between Indians and Europeans, and that in case the division be maintained, the recruitment of the Executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service be made by means of an open competitive examination instead of by nomination;
 - (7) that in case the said division be maintained, the Indian educational and other services be recruited in India as well as England, and Indians of the requisite attainments be appointed thereto both directly and by promotion from the respective Provincial services;
 - (8) that civil medical posts should not be filled by the appointment of members of the military I. M. S. or I. S. M. D., and a distinct and separate Indian Civil Medical Service should be constituted therefor and recruited by means of a competitive examination held in India as well as England; educational and scientific appointments, however, being filled by advertisement in India and abroad;

- (9) that the present scale of salaries is sufficiently high and should not be raised and further, that exchange compensation allowance should be abolished, as it has been a costly anomaly since exchange was fixed by statute; and
- (10) that the people of those dominions of the Crown, where they are not accorded the rights of British citizens, should be declared ineligible for appointments in India.

Proposed by Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur.

Seconded by The Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sarkar.

Supported by Mr V. V. Jogayah Pantulu.

„ „ Mr. Mathradas Ramchand.

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. VIII.

That this Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book, and urges that the same be repealed, specially, in view of the recent decision of the High Court of Calcutta, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

Proposed by Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, (Bengal.)

Seconded by Mr. D. G. Dalvi, (Bombay.)

Supported by Mr. J. Chaudhari, (Bengal.)

„ „ Mr. Kishindas Jhamrai, (Sind) in Sindhi.

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. IX.

LAND SETTLEMENT.

That this Congress is strongly of opinion that a reasonable and definite limitation to the demand of the State on land and the introduction of a permanent settlement directly between Government and land-holders in ryotwari areas, or a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those provinces where shorter periodical settlements on revision prevail will substantially help in ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the Agricultural population.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.

Seconded by Rao Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing.

Supported by S. Soma Sundaram Pillay, (Madras.)

„ „ Mathradas Ramchand, (Sind) in Sindhi.

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. X.

That this Congress again respectfully points out to the Government of India the injustice of keeping the higher ranks in the army closed against

the people of this country, and urges that the same should remain no longer unredressed.

Moved from the Chair and Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XI.

EDUCATION.

(a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its donation of larger grants towards the extension of primary education in India, is strongly of opinion that a beginning should now be made for introducing free and compulsory education in some selected areas.

(b) That the Congress, while approving of the proposals by Government for introducing teaching and residential Universities, is strongly of opinion that, that system should supplement and not replace the existing system of University Education, as otherwise the progress of higher education among the poorer classes will be seriously retarded.

(c) That this Congress reiterates its prayer to Government to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements.

(d) That this Congress records its strong protest against the action of the Government of India vetoing the selection by the Calcutta University of Messrs. Rasul, Suhrawardi and Jayaswal, as lecturers, on the ground of their connection with politics; as the bar of politics is so general as to lend itself to arbitrary exclusion of the best scholarship from the lecturer's chair, so detrimental to the interests of education in the country.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XII.

That this Congress is strongly of opinion that all the High Courts of India, inclusive of non-chartered High Courts, should have the same direct relation with the Government of India alone, as the High Court of Fort William in Bengal has at the present time. The Congress is, further, of opinion that the Chief Judge of unchartered High Courts should be appointed from the members of the bar.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XIII.

SWADESHI.

That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of India, to labour for its success, by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XIV.

That owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave results from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XV.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

That this Congress expresses its regret that the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission, with regard to the further development of local self-government, have not yet been given effect to, and urges that the Government of India may be pleased to take steps, without delay, to increase the powers and resources of local bodies.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XVI.

COUNCIL REGULATIONS.

That this Congress records its sense of keen disappointment that at the last revision of the Legislative Council regulations, the anomalies and inequalities, rectification of which the four previous Congresses strongly urged upon the Government, were not removed. And in order to allay the widespread dissatisfaction caused by the defects complained of, and in view of the experience of the last four years, this Congress earnestly prays that—(1) there should be a non-official majority in the imperial Legislative Council; (2) there should be a majority of elected members in all Provincial Councils; (3) the system of voting by delegates be done away with, where it still exists; (4) the franchise be broadened by simplifying the qualifications of electors, basing it on education, property or income; (5) the Government should not have the power arbitrarily to declare any person ineligible for election on the ground of his antecedents or reputation; (6) no person should be held ineligible for election on the ground of dismissal from Government service or of conviction in a criminal court or from whom security for keeping the peace has been taken, unless, his conduct has involved moral turpitude; (7) no property or residential qualification should be required of a candidate nor service as member of a local body; (8) a person ignorant of English should be held ineligible for membership; (9) it should be expressly laid down that officials should not be allowed to influence elections in any way; (10) Finance Committees of provincial Councils should be more closely associated with Government in the preparation of the annual financial statements; (11) there should be a Finance Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council as in the case of Provincial Legislative Councils; (12) the right of putting supplementary questions should be extended to all members and not be restricted to the member putting the original question; (13) the strength of the Punjab Council be raised from 26 to 50 and more adequate representation be allowed to the Punjab in the Imperial Council.

And further this Congress, while recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Mahomedans or the other communities where they are in a minority, disapproves of the present regulations to carry out this object by means of separate electorates.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XVII.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS FOR U. P. AND PUNJAB.

That the Congress again urges, that an Executive Council, with an Indian member, be established in the United Provinces at an early date, and is of opinion, that a similar Council should be established in the Punjab too.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XVIII.

That the all India Congress Committee be authorized to arrange for a deputation consisting, as far as possible, of representatives from different provinces, to England, to represent Indian views on the following subjects :—

- (1) Indians in South Africa and other Colonies,
- (2) Press Act,
- (3) Reform of the India Council,
- (4) Separation of Judicial and Executive functions,
- (5) And important questions on which Congress has expressed opinion.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XIX.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

That this Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other members of the British Committee, and resolves that the organization of the British Committee and *India* should be maintained.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XX.

That this Congress expresses its sense of deep regret at the retirement of Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. D. A. Khare, from the office of its General Secretaries, and begs to place on record its sense of warm appreciation of the very signal and distinguished services rendered by the former for 18 years, and the latter for 6 years, to the cause of the Congress.

Proposed by Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur.

Seconded by Mr. C. P. Ramasawmy Aiyar, (Madras.)

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XXI.

That the Honourable Nawab Syed Mahammud Bahadur & Mr. N. Suba Rao Pantulu be appointed General Secretaries for the next year.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, (Sind.)

Seconded by Mr. D. G. Dalvi, (Bombay.)

Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XXII.

That the Congress of the year 1914 be held in the Province of Madras.



REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-EIGHTH
Indian National Congress,
HELD AT
KARACHI,

On the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1913.

First Day's Proceedings.

1st Day. Friday, 26th December 1913.

The twenty-eighth session of the Indian National Congress met to-day at 2-30 in the afternoon. The pandal was nicely decorated, each of the sixteen gates bore mottos in characters of gold describing the aims and objects of the Congress. The dais was occupied by members of the Reception Committee and distinguished visitors. Both the visitors' galleries were nearly full.

Shortly after two, the President-elect accompanied by ex-Presidents and other distinguished Congressmen entered the pandal by the main entrance facing the pandal. A procession was formed headed by the Captain of the Volunteers and members of the Reception Committee to welcome the President-elect who advanced through a passage lined by Volunteers amidst shouts of "Bande Matram" and cheers.

The President took his seat on the dais and on his right sat the Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, on the right hand side of the President sat the Hon. Mr. D. A. Khare, Messrs. D. E. Wacha and Bhupendra Nath Basu, the Hon. Mr. Gokhaldas Kahandas Parekh, Mr. Baikunt Nath Sen, the Hon. Mr. T. C. Sheshagiri Iyar and Mr. N. M. Samarth. On the left side sat Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Pundit Bissen Narain Dar, Mr. Jinnah, Lala Lajput Rai, the Hon. Mr. Ganga Parsad Varma and the Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas.

The proceedings began with the singing of three songs, one welcoming the delegates and visitors and the second welcoming the President-elect, and the third song was a patriotic one specially composed for the occasion and sung by the boys of Gandharba Vidyalaya and Pundit Vishnu Digamber.

The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then read the following welcome Address:—

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

It gives me no little pleasure to have the proud privilege of offering you on behalf of the people of Sind a hearty welcome to the Twenty-eighth Session of the Indian National Congress.

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I call the privilege proud because, in spite of the sneer that is hurled at you that you speak not for the illiterate masses, there can be no question that you sum up within yourselves what stands for the best in the intellect, the culture and the public spirit of this country, which, as Lord Morley once reminded the House of Lords, was the Englishmen's only empire (Hear, hear.)

We welcome you the more heartily because of late it has been ceaselessly diined into our ears by those, who had been only a little while ago denouncing us as dreamers, as unpractical politicians and visionary agitators, that after the Council Reforms, the *Raison d'etre* of the Congress had disappeared, its occupation gone, and that it had better pack up and depart, as its functions could be more effectively exercised through the Legislative Councils. Our replies to this unsolicited and disinterested advice are: First, that to close the institution whose activities gave us the Council Reforms would be killing the means through which more reforms may be acquired, (Hear, hear): second, that, that is not the be-all and end-all of Congress which has other purposes to serve besides. Here the Bengalee, the Parsi, the Madrasi, the Mahratta, the Punjabi, the Sindhi meet together year after year, thereby drawing closer the ties by which the Congress has knit them. (Cheers). They compare notes, take stock of the progress made and the aspirations unfulfilled, the grievances unredressed, consider the wants of individual Provinces as well as the interests of the whole country and plan out the action for the future. Besides, it is only through the weight and influence of this Assembly that we can achieve some of the objects concerning our Nation as a whole. Take for example the acquisition by the Indian people of a status of equality with the other members of the British Empire, the importance of which has been only recently accentuated by the treatment our South African brethren are receiving at the hands of the Union Government, (Shame shame) and British Indian immigrants of other Colonies are receiving there. Then again it is only at this platform that we can achieve the ideal so dear to our heart, the value of which has been urged upon us by all well-wishers and friends, *viz.*, the welding together of the different elements of our country into one homogenous whole.

The idea of holding a Session of the Congress in Sind was a dream of the late Mr. Tahilram Khemchand, C. I. E., (Hear hear) who, if alive, would have been addressing you these words of welcome from this seat. In him Sind lost at the prime of life a leader of great achievement as well as promise. (Cheers.) His lofty conception of public life, righteous discharge of duty with a sole eye to the common weal without ostentation and regardless of the plaudits or gibes of the multitude, serve as a beacon light to all the public men of this Province.

After his death we had been patiently awaiting the realization of his dream as a succession of untoward circumstances year after year stood in the way. That, Sind which dates its connection with the Congress from its birth in Bombay in 1885 when she sent her foremost sons to make up the modest roll of 72 delegates, who constituted the total strength of the First Indian National Congress, should have been so tardy in reciprocating the hospitality she had so long enjoyed, might at first sight appear as a reproach. But those of you, who have kept abreast of the times, will, I am sure, pardon timid and backward Sind if she shrank from so arduous an undertaking while the Congress was

passing through a period of storm and stress. However, having received some sort of assurance as to a favourable hearing, Sind went prepared in 1911 and submitted her invitation to the Subjects Committee of the Calcutta Congress of that year for the Session of the Congress of 1912 being held in Karachi. In some quarters, the Karachi Congress of 1912 was considered so foregone that announcements of the same were already inserted in the newspapers. Nevertheless, in Behar there appeared on the scene a rival with such formidable claims that we had to give in. So far back as 1910 Behar had seriously prepared to invite the Congress of 1911 to Bankipore. But having subsequently discovered that the Congress days would be concurrent with Moharrum, a matter of great inconvenience to them, they had to drop their invitation. Having thus been prior in the field to Sind and having further set their hearts on commemorating the consummation of their long cherished desire for the Provincial independence of Behar granted by the Royal announcements at the Delhi Durbar, the claim of the Beharees to the Congress of 1912 appeared so irresistible that in fairness Sind had to retire from the field. At the same time Karachi's next best claim was recognized and the Karachi Session of 1913 was unanimously resolved upon on the spot. Thus our hope, however deferred so long, has been at last fulfilled. And we are thus now in a position to extend to you a warm and hearty welcome—(Cheers.)

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S I N D .

This Province, unlike the land of last year's gathering, the Chairman of whose Reception Committee with glowing pride could dilate upon the glories of its hoary past, has no antiquity to boast off. It had no Patliputra the capital of India, where Megasthenes resided for some time and wrote an account of the Indo-Aryans of those days and their magnificent Empire, it had no monarchs of world-wide fame like Chandragupta and Asoka. It is not the birth place of great founders of religion like Budha or Mahavira. It never reared up anything like a Nalanda University. Geographers, who are fond of discovering resemblances, having found on the map some affinity in shape between Africa and India, have named Sind as Young Egypt, with which its community of interests ceases with the Nile and the Indus both mighty rivers supplying the life-blood of the people. Forming the western boundary of India Sind has had naturally to bear the first onslaught of all Invaders of India, who all came from the West, beginning with Alexander the Great, the relics of whose passage through Sind still exist. The fort of Sehwan has withstood the ravages of twenty-two centuries and reminds one of the advent of the Great Conqueror. Alexander navigated a fleet of two thousand vessels through the Indus, which was detained by gales for three weeks at an anchorage, which the Greeks call Alexander's haven, which some historians identify with Karachi Bay—a theory which has been disputed by others who show by evidence that there never was a town on the site of Karachi or anywhere near it until two centuries ago. Sind was the first Indian Province conquered by Mahomedans so early as the year 711 A. D. The latest Hindu rulers of Sind had their territories extending from Multan to the sea and from the desert to the hills including a part of Baluchistan.

Sind enjoys the proud distinction of being the birth place of Akbar the Great, who is always bracketed with Asoka, they being reckoned two of the

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greatest monarchs India has ever had. Akbar's memory is kept green by his birthday being celebrated in Sind.

On the conquest of Sind by the British in 1843 it was administered as a separate Province with Sir Charles Napier as its Governor. After his departure in 1847, it was annexed to the Bombay Presidency and still continues to be so, although in several matters the Commissioner-in-Sind, unlike the Commissioners of the other Divisions of the Presidency, has been invested with the powers of the local Government. Still the Province possesses several geographical and ethnological characteristics which give her the hall mark of a self-contained territorial unit. The Punjab has been long casting very covetous eyes upon this Province and urging her claims to an annexation, which became most insistent after the announcement of territorial changes by His Majesty the King Emperor at the last Delli Durbar. But Sind has set her face resolutely against all such blandishments (Hear hear) and prefers to continue a part of the Bombay Presidency until such time as destiny permits her, to her own advantage, to attain to Provincial autonomy (Hear hear).

DECENNIAL REVISION SETTLEMENTS.

Sind being an essentially agricultural Province where no other premier industry has yet obtained a foot-hold in spite of spasmodic efforts on behalf of Textile industries, in the domain of material advancement, we are faced only by agrarian and irrigational problems. The foremost of these problems is the Revisional settlement. While in the rest of the Bombay Presidency when assessment has been fixed on land it is not revised before a term of thirty years, in Sind it is liable to revision every ten years. And whilst in theory this Revision is supposed to work both ways, that is where produce has increased, in the direction of enhancement of assessment, and when it has decreased in that of reduction, and this is ever and anon urged by Government in defence whenever complaint in this connection is made to them, in practice this Revision is practically synonymous with increase of assessment, and the result of this shorter term of Revision is more frequent over assessment. And what is worse the conditions of enhancement at each recurring settlement are not defined. The Zemindar does not know on what grounds the state will claim increase at the Revisions. As Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt has said "Uncertainty is a greater evil than over assessment."

FALLOW RULES.

Another land problem that has been agitating us is that of fallow rules. When what is called the Irrigational settlement was first introduced in Sind, a scheme was framed by which fallows were left out of account, and only actually cultivated land was made liable to the payment of assessment. Government knew that large tracts would remain uncultivated every year and the amount of assessment was fixed so high as to cover the loss of revenue on uncultivated lands. Subsequently a set of fallow rules was framed which provided that if a survey number had not paid one full assessment for four consecutive years it would be liable to assessment for the fifth year and if the assessment was not paid in due course the number would be forfeited. This would appear to be in direct contravention of the understanding at the intro-

duction of the Irrigational settlement. Although Government say the forfeiture clause is nominal because the land would be restored to the holder whenever he took it upon payment of arrears of fallow assessment, this forfeiture clause in practice works harshly. The excuse put forward in its favor, that it is intended to put down the abuse of idle or bankrupt landholders continuing to hold lands which they have not the means or intention to cultivate, is untenable; as in regard to relinquished lands it is admitted that if land in occupancy cannot be cultivated or is resigned it may be taken that there is some good reason for it, because experience has shown that it will always be cultivated, provided that there be water and labor available and the soil has become fertile.

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It is well known that the Sind Zemindar tenaciously sticks to his land and would not allow an acre to remain uncultivated so long as he can help it.

IRRIGATION.

Our great irrigational problem, which has been ringing in our ears for years, on which reams of reports have been written, portentous conferences held, which has gone through the whole gamut of the circumlocation department, is Rohri Canal project with a barrage at Sukkur. The question has run through the whole process of recommendations from the Commissioner in Sind to the Government of Bombay, from Government of Bombay to the Government of India and from them to the Secretary of State for India. We were all along in hopes that the project would be ultimately sanctioned but only recently the sad intelligence has been conveyed to us that in spite of all favorable recommendations of all the grades of authority in India the scheme has been knocked on the head in its final stage by the Secretary of State vetoing the Barrage and keeping the Canal alone. As Sind has a very scanty rainfall it has almost entirely to depend for its irrigation on the waters of the Indus carried through Canals. The Barrage was intended to harness the Indus for the purpose of feeding this Canal perennially and in abundance. The news has come so unexpectedly as to have taken our breath away.

KARACHI.

Karachi, to which the British Conqueror of Sind Sir Charles Napier removed the Capital of Sind from Hyderabad, is one of those modern cities which owe all their importance and rank to their Geographical position as sea-ports, thereby being the inlets and outlets of the trade of the world. From a mere collection of fishing huts like Bombay it has grown up to a city of Mansions, of Halls, of great Commercial Houses, of wharves, piers and quays. It has made marvellous strides in the development of its trade and its harbour facilities. It is the emporium of trade for the hinterland not only of Sind and Baluchistan but of the Punjab and Upper India. The figures of her combined export and import trade, when she was first conquered by the British in 1843, were only 11 *lakhs* odd and now they are nearly 60 crores of Rupees. And its harbour from being a mere creek, which could not admit even country craft with safety, has now come to possess commodious wharves, along which can be berthed many an Ocean-going steamer. Indeed it is said that there is no port east of Suez where a steamer can be discharged and loaded with greater

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despatch and ease than in Karachi. However, she is not content to rest on her laurels, but is furiously and restlessly striding along her march of progress.

The transfer of Capital from Calcutta to Delhi and the recently announced Trans-Persian Railway connecting Europe with India have concentrated public attention upon this port. Being nearer to Europe by 200 miles than Bombay its claims to be the base of the overland route to Europe are superior to that other port for Provinces like the Punjab, Baluchistan, Rajputana, and the United Provinces, which can be more expeditiously served from Karachi than Bombay, whilst it has been projected as the Asiatic terminus of the Trans-Persian Railway. It is these vast potentialities which have fired the zeal of her admirers. One prophet of Karachi's greatness has drawn a chart showing how Karachi "the Star of the East" as he lovingly christens it, is destined to be "the hub of the commerce of Asia from which all the main routes of trade and travel necessarily radiate, and to be the centre of Three Continents and therefore the meeting place of all the Railways in the world" ("Hear hear.")

There can scarcely be any doubt, however, as to Karachi's incontestable claim to direct mail service to Europe which has now been recognized on almost all hands, and which it is hoped will be conceded to her in no distant future. This coupled with a direct broad-gauge Railway to Delhi will not only be of incalculable advantage to Karachi and the hinterland but bring the Imperial city and the neighbourhood much nearer to the British Isles and Western Countries than they are at present.

Well, if Behar was anxious to mark its triumph by the Congress of 1912, is it amiss on the part of Karachi to usher in her great boom by the Congress of 1913? ("Hear hear.")

HINDUS AND MOHAMEDANS.

BROTHERS,

Having introduced ourselves to you by giving you a brief account of our Province and this city, before proceeding further I pause to take note of a happy change that has of late come over and which augurs well for the future of the country. I mean the improvement in the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans, the two great communities of the country—(Cheers.) The prophetic vision which the last year's Reception Committee Chairman held forth to our mind's eye of "three hundred and fifteen million human beings marching on the road of peaceful progress with one ideal, one aim full of determination and enthusiasm," appears, I am happy to observe, within measurable distance of accomplishment—"Hear hear."

It is a source of no little gratification this new awakening that has come to our Mahomedan brethren that the "progress of our common motherland must depend upon a hearty co-operation among all her sons and that the Mahomedans must form conceptions of broader obligations and wider responsibilities to the country as a whole towards the nation-building.—("Hear hear.") The adoption by a Council of the Moslem League the accredited body of the whole Moslem community in India last year under the Presidency of H. H. The Aghakhan ("Hear hear") of the ideal of self-Government suitable to India under the ægis of the British Crown was a message to us that our Mahomedan brethren were falling into line with the creed of the Congress.

—(“Hear hear.”) The able Secretary of the League in the address he delivered recently at a meeting of the London Indian Association held at the Caxton Hall explained that “The study of the poets and philosophers which had brought about a new political consciousness to the Hindus twenty years ago brought about the same consciousness to the Moslem twenty years later.” He further said “It would not do to mistake these signs for an ebullition of Moslem temper which would subside as soon as it had arisen. But these were symptoms of the effect that education on similar lines had produced on two communities living side by side and recognizing a common destiny above the existence of separate entities and the “Din” of communal claims.” And you, Sir, have set the seal of your approbation on these sentiments by accepting our humble request to guide us in this year’s deliberations, (“Hear hear”) for which we are very grateful, though it is historically correct to refer to the two previous Presidentships of the Congress, one occupied in 1887 by the most distinguished and advanced Mr. Budrudin Tayabji; and the other in 1896 by the well known Mr. Sayani. And I feel no hesitation in heartily responding to the appeal made by Mr. Wazir Hassan to the Hindus to lend every assistance, we can, to the Moslems, for, if the two communities work together, they must march shoulder to shoulder.—(“Hear, hear.”)

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INDIAN COUNCIL REFORM.

It ought to be no purpose of this welcome address to make a survey of the whole political horizon or to deal with those various problems which the Congress has to consider from year to year and which must be left to the worthier hands of the President and you all. All I need do is to focus your attention on the most momentous topics which claim your consideration at this Congress. Foremost among these I must allude to a reform which for India underlies all other reforms. I feel that it is incumbent on this Congress to respond to Lord Crew’s cordial invitation in his speech in the House of Lords delivered on the 31st July last to suggest Reforms of the India Council, whereon His Lordship proposes to bring a Bill next year. I have no doubt you will give due weight to the moderate suggestion of our revered and beloved leader Sir William Wedderburn (cheers) that one-third of the members might be representative Indians to be selected out of those recommended by the elected members of the Viceroy’s and Provincial Legislative Councils, one-third officials with Indian experience and the remaining one-third trusted public men unconnected with the Indian Administration. Nothing could be more desirable than to have independent Indian public opinion represented on the India Council, which, hitherto being almost wholly recruited from among retired Anglo-Indian officials, constitutes a stronghold of bureaucracy and therefore could hardly be expected to decide without bias questions arising between Indian and Official Interests. For that reason the present India Council has proved worse than the old Council of Directors under the East India Company, for, while the latter consisted of only the nominees of the Officials in India, the former consists of those Officials themselves.

JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

No little water has passed under the bridges since the subject of terminating the unholy alliance between Judicial and Executive functions in this country

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was first mooted, but it still seems, nay, the recent events accentuate the painful impression that we are as far from the goal as ever. From Congress, from platform, from press year in and year out it has been incessantly urged that there could be no greater blot on the administration of criminal justice in India than the vesting of Magisterial functions in Executive Officers. But it seems as if we have been all along hammering on cold iron or preaching in the desert. In the words of Edmund Burke "For so many years we have been lashed round and round these arguments. We have had them in every shape. We have looked at them in every point of view. Invention is exhausted. Reason is fatigued. Experience has given judgment. But obstinacy is not yet conquered." It has been admitted by the highest authorities, by witnesses who could never be charged with pro-Congress proclivities,—that the suggested Reform is a Counsel of Perfection. This admission does not date from Lord Dufferin's memorable St. Andrew's Dinner Speech of 1888. But go nearly a century back and you find Lord Cornwallis in 1793 giving it his opinion that Revenue officers should be deprived of Judicial powers. Again in 1861 when the Police Bill was under discussion Sir Bartle Frere a member of Viceroy's Council said that the Reform was one which must be carried out sooner or later and that the only difficulty in the way was "prejudices of a long standing." With certain variants you find these utterances repeated time after time. No reply has yet been vouchsafed to the memorial which Lord Hobhouse with Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant and many other eminent Judges and great men presented to the Secretary of State in July 1899, advocating this reform.

Numerous examples are cited from this platform year after year of the failure of justice and abuse of authority occasioned by the combinations of these functions. Every lawyer practising in Criminal Courts can quote you instances by the score. And yet every kind of conceivable or inconceivable exception is taken to the carrying out of the Reform. Yesterday it was the prestige theory that was being trotted forth with the utmost solemnity and when that was exploded, that of expenditure was hoisted up.—(Laughter.) The hollowness of the prestige theory was apparent from the every-day spectacle of Officers, nay, even the underlings of other departments like the Forest, Irrigation, &c., commanding as much power within their spheres without Magisterial powers as Revenue Officers do within theirs. The Financial bogey was easily laid by the formation of Mr. R. C. Dutt's scheme for Bengal and Sir Pherozeshaw's for Bombay, under which it was shown that an experiment could be made without imposing any additional burdens on the exchequer.

It was very painful to observe how official witness after official witness at the Public Service Commission went on bolstering up the existing order of things and pouring cold water on the suggested reform with a persistence worthy of a better cause.

VICEROY AND SOUTH AFRICA.

We shall be wanting in our duty if we do not express our profound gratitude to the courageous nobleman who rules over the destinies of India (cheers) for the manly stand he has taken by his Indian subjects in face of unmerited obloquy, in the struggle our heroic brethren in South Africa are

carrying on to vindicate the self-respect and honour of their motherland. By his action on the present occasion His Excellency has crowned the series of sympathetic measures he has adopted for the benefit of the people of this country. In Lord Hardinge we have a ruler, the key-note to whose rule is love of Indians and an abiding desire for their political as well as material advancement. In this case Lord Hardinge has rendered a great service not only to the country but to the whole Empire. To all those who criticize His Excellency's utterances at Madras and the representations made by him on behalf of the South African Indians as indiscreet the obvious and conclusive answer is that in view of the glowing prospects held out by the Imperial Government to the Government of India when first negotiating for Indentured Indian labour for the Natal planters in 1859 as shown by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his Bombay speech, that after their period of Indenture the Indentured labourers would be allowed to acquire land and settle down as free men far more comfortably than as agriculturists in India, His Excellency as a statesman of honour feels it his duty to protest when he finds that the pledges given to his predecessors and practically passed on by them to the parties affected are being trodden under feet. I consider this to be a most important aspect of the case which brushes aside all the clap-trap about the Union Government being a self governing body and therefore not open to interference by any body.

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Having regard to this circumstance the conduct of the Ministry in not raising even their little fingers to remove the disabilities of the Indians when the Union Act was passed in Parliament is entirely indefensible and is a sorry exhibition of weakness.—("Hear, hear.")

There could not be conceived a darker chapter in the history of the Empire than the persecution to which our countrymen are subjected in South Africa which the South African Government openly advocate and unblushingly admit as intended to drive away Indians from South Africa, the whole object being to utilize them as cattle but not allow them to live as free men.—(Shame.)

All that is involved in this burning problem has been so exhaustively and repeatedly told that it will be waste of time for me to enter into all the details, specially after the very recent eloquent and ardent expressions of opinion by prominent citizens in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Suffice it to say that in discussing this subject I would invite your attention to the advisability of advocating retaliation on the lines already suggested and to the great necessity of maintaining the supply of funds to our brethren. Along with this question, I would also invite you to consider the treatment Indians are receiving in other Colonies of the British Empire and whether or not they are entitled to the ordinary rights of citizenship and equality of treatment with the Colonials in all parts of the Empire. It behoves us, if we wish our countrymen to have all the rights of Imperial citizenship, to support all of them who are scattered over the various colonies in the Empire.

CURRENCY.

It seems to me high time that this Congress expressed its condemnation of the Currency system under which about 40 millions sterling of India's money consisting of paper Currency Reserve, Gold Standard Reserve and Floating

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Cash Balances is withdrawn from this country and used in London for loans to Joint Stock bankers, bill brokers and finance houses of that city. In the first place this money earns only $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest in London, whereas in India it could be lent on 5% . In the second place being in India it would on the one hand largely assist Indian Trade, as one of the crying needs of India now is more capital with which to develop her natural resources, and on the other it would greatly ease the money market and thus serve as a check upon monetary crises like the appalling one we have so recently witnessed. Under the present arrangement not a pie of those stupendous millions goes to the benefit of India. Is our money to be made a football for foreign exploiters to play with? Are the interests of the millions of population from whom the money is taken and whom the currency operations affect to be considered a negligible quantity, while those of a microscopic but clamorous and influential minority to be pandered to? Should foreign trade be financed at the expense of the Indian Taxpayers? Moreover, the sooner the scandal of these huge cash balances is done away with the better. This cash balance from 4 million odd pounds in 1907 has swollen to near upon 18 million pounds in 1912. Does not this clearly show that we are overtaxed? The British Chancellor of the Exchequer so adjusts his budget as to be frequently in debt to the city to the extent of some millions, whereas for India the reverse process is adopted of holding these enormous balances in hand so that they may be made use of by the London Financiers at half the rate of interest that would be procurable in India and may help the trade of England where capital is overflowing, and be removed from India which is in sore need of it and whose industries and resources are crying for development

Further, it is a Financial anachronism that the state should do banking business. This anachronism should be ended by the establishment of an independent State Bank to which should be assigned all the banking business now done by the State. Above all, when is India expected to acquire full fiscal freedom?

Herein I take this opportunity of paying a tribute to Mr. Webb (cheers) the able and energetic Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and for long their representative on the Bombay Legislative Council, a hero of hundred platforms who has been heroically fighting currency battles on behalf of the people of this country at heavy odds and to whom this city owes an immense debt for the part he has played in the development of its trade and in bringing it up to the front rank of sea port towns in India ("Hear hear.")

Since writing the above I have had a glance at the interim Report of the Currency Commission from which I learn many things about cash balances and other matters said by various witnesses. But I cannot say what conclusions can be derived therefrom, seeing that the opinions vary so much. At the best, further evidence has to be taken and a final report remains yet to be published, when our countrymen shall have the opportunity of learning for themselves how the Currency question stands.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

We must record our protest against the policy of Government under which the appointment as lecturers by the Calcutta University of such three men of learning as Messrs. Rasul, Suhrawardy and Jayaswal was vetoed on the ground

of their connection with politics. At the indignation meetings held in this behalf it was rightly pointed out that the bar of politics was so sweeping and so vague that every one of the members of this Assembly or of Legislative Councils or of societies of War Relief Funds could be included in it, which if carried to its logical conclusion, would be subversive of our most cherished privileges. The policy no doubt owes its origin to the desire to keep all kinds of students as far away from the supposed infection of politics as possible. But policies like these have the great drawback of defeating their own ends.

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It is hoped that Government will come round to realize the narrow-mindedness of their action.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

He will be a bold man who can, with any assurance, forecast what conclusions Lord Islington's Commission will arrive at. But this Congress cannot but notice with regret the spirit in which European witnesses have given their evidence. Well, human nature being what it is, it would be too much to expect those whose vested interests would receive a rude set back to make any admission favouring the larger employment of Indians in the public Services. And hence the Indian, needs, must be condemned as wanting in back-bone in capacity, in efficiency and as having been tried and found wanting.

Of what avail the enunciation of high-sounding principles, promises of equal opportunities without distinction of colour and creed if what is promised to the ear is broken to the heart?

There could, however, be no opportune time than this for the Congress to urge upon the Government the desirability of so adjusting the services as to afford larger scope for the employment of Indians more specially in the higher grades than has been hitherto the case.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion I heartily thank you brother delegates for the lengthy and tiresome journeys you have undertaken, Karachi being at the extreme end of the Peninsula from some of you. I have, moreover, to thank the Authorities with whom our relations have always been cordial for their readiness for whatever help we required of them. I have also to thank all my colleagues on the various Committees including Seth Isardas Assanmal the Merchant Prince of Karachi for his most munificent assistance and Mr. Ghulamali Chagla ("Hear hear") the General Secretary to whom most of the credit of organizing this Congress is due. I also express gratitude to Mr. Tiwary of the Servants of India Society who, at great inconvenience and sacrifice, has been long with us and throughout rendered us his valuable advice.

As we are wanting in the resources, the organizing capacity and the experience of other cities where Congresses have been held before, there must have been many drawbacks in our arrangements ("No no") which with all humility I will ask you to overlook and to forgive.

Now I invite you, brother delegates, to proceed with the formal election of our President-Elect The Hon'ble Nawab Sayed Mahomed, the scion of a noble family who has so steadfastly stood by us through good and evil report.—
(Prolonged cheers.)

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

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Election of
President.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahommed Bahadur was then formally elected President.

In moving the Resolution Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar said:—

Mr. Chairman, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—The proposition I have been called upon to move is a formal one. According to the constitution of the Congress the election of a President is settled months before the actual meeting of the Congress by the votes of the various Congress Committees and it was nearly three months ago that the country pronounced its votes and decided that this year the selection should fall upon the Hon. Nawab Syed Mahommed Saheb Bahadur. Gentlemen, it is not a new and untried man we have called upon to preside over our assembly in this year's deliberations. It is nineteen years since our friend appeared on the Congress platform. He took a leading part in the proceedings at the Congress held in Madras in 1894 and it was in that year that I had the honour of making his personal acquaintance. His is a family which has been connected with Congress from its earliest years. Our friend is only carrying on the tradition established by his revered and admired father, Mir Humayan Jan. Our friend the Nawab Saheb is the scion of a noble family and the son of a noble father. When in past times our Mohammedan fellow-countrymen looked askance at the Congress and when the Congress was regarded by no few Mohammedan gentlemen as too bold, then the Nawab Saheb came forward and firmly took his stand on the Congress platform and has steadfastly adhered to the principles of the Congress during all these twenty years. The high culture and training which he has inherited have planted in him the main principle of patriotism, which, I am glad to see, is now being recognised more and more in this country. In 1903, exactly ten years ago our distinguished countryman was Chairman of the Madras Reception Committee and on that occasion he welcomed us, the delegates, to the city of Madras. On that occasion he delivered an address which was as instructive as it was interesting. Our friend the Nawab Saheb has all these years been working on the Viceregal Legislative Council and if there is one thing to be said about his attitude there it is that his thorough independence of spirit and genuine patriotism have governed all his actions.

We have in our President a gentleman of whom we have every reason to be proud. He is a man of noble traditions and it gives me the greatest pleasure to call upon him to take his place in the Presidential chair, to which he has been called by the united suffrages of our countrymen.

Rai Bakuntznath Sen Bahadur (Bengal) in seconding the motion said:—Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—After the eloquent way in which the proposal has been placed before you by my esteemed friend Mr. Mudholkar for your acceptance, it is superfluous for me to say anything to advocate your electing the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammed as your President of the Indian National Congress this year. The idea is that the different provinces should voice forth their views as regards the election of the President and I have been entrusted with seconding this proposi-

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tion as coming from the Bengal Presidency. That is my only justification for detaining you for a few minutes, to add to what has already been so eloquently said by my esteemed friend the mover.

A nobleman by birth, a descendant of the Mysore family, a man of intellectual solvency, having acquired knowledge and qualifications which are well-known, he is perhaps the fittest man available at this juncture to preside over our deliberations. He has been a Congressman since the year 1887, when the first Indian National Congress was held in Madras. Since then the Nawab Saheb has been a sincere worker. He has acted in different capacities and his advice and co-operation have helped us in our onward march. He has been occupying a seat in the Imperial Council for the last ten years, if I mistake not. He has been elected not as the representative of the Mahomedan community but he is the representative there of the Madras Council which represents all sects and communities.

Now gentlemen, I have one word more to add. The election of the Nawab Saheb would show the catholicism of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress has been carrying on its work unmindful of caste, creed or colour, unmindful of any difference between different interests. The Indian National Congress always elects as its leader a man of intellect. Gentlemen by accepting the proposition you will do one thing, *viz*:—you will greatly help in reconciling different interests. With these remarks I ask you to accept the proposition with acclamation.—(cheers.)

Mr. Gopaldas Jhamatmal (Sind) in supporting the Resolution in Sindh, spoke in the following terms:—

Mr. Chairman, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—

It is with feelings of the greatest pleasure and sincerest gratification that I associate myself with the proposition which has been moved in such eloquent terms by my friend R. B. R. N. Mudholkar and admirably seconded and supported by R. B. Bai Kuntha Nath Sen.

Brother Delegates, when in the memorable Christmas of 1907 and before the commencement of the session of the Congress at Surat, all the delegates from various parts of Sind assembled in the Congress Camp resolved to invite the Congress to hold its next Session at Karachi, the question naturally arose amongst them as to who should be selected to preside over the deliberations of the Sind Session. And gentlemen, it will not surprise you to learn that all the delegates with one voice approved of the selection of the Honourable Nawab Sayyad Mahomed Bahadur of Madras. But on account of the unfortunate split this was not to be. Our province is not a very advanced one, and owing to the extremely painful incidents at Surat our leaders could not muster courage to invite the Congress to Sind for some time. When Sind however had the opportunity and the honor of having a Session of the Congress in its midst the members of the Reception Committee expressed their unanimous desire in favor of the selection of the Honourable Nawab Saheb of Madras. And it is extremely flattering to us of the Reception Committee that all the Provincial Congress Committees without a single exception approved of the suggested selection. On behalf of the Reception Committee, I beg to tender our most heartfelt thanks to them for their support in the matter.

Brother Delegates, Nawab Saheb is not unknown to us. From the earliest days of the Congress movement he has been a most earnest and zealous worker for the Congress cause and has ever distinguished himself for his sturdy independence utter selflessness and the moderation and sobriety of his views. By his life-long devotion to the interests of us all Indians, irrespective of their caste, creed or religion he has richly earned the honourable and eminent distinction of being an Indian first, anything else afterwards. To him the Hindus are his right eye and the Mahomedans his left eye. A pious shiah, a deep thinker, a noble philanthropist, a broad-minded patriot and a constructive critic of the highest order, Nawab Saheb is a commanding personality in the public life of modern India.

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Brother Delegates, I need not detain you any longer over this proposition which I am sure you will unanimously pass with acclamation.

Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhry (Punjab,) also eloquently supported the Resolution in Urdu, which was carried with acclamation.



THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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The Honourable Nawab Syed Muhomed Bahadur then read the following Address.

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank you most heartily for the honour you have done me by unanimously electing me to preside over this great national assembly. I consider it is not merely an honour but a duty which every citizen owes to his country to respond cordially to any call which may be made upon him to assist in an undertaking which has for its object the advancement, welfare and happiness of his fellow-countrymen.—(Cheers.)

The Congress has from its very inception set before itself the ideal of a united Indian Nationality and has been consistently advocating the cause of the Indian people as a whole without being influenced by party or sectarian considerations incompatible with that high ideal. The changes that the country has undergone during the last one generation, that is, since this organisation came into existence, are immense and the Congress I think may well take credit for bringing about not a few of them. My predecessors have advocated reforms in the administration of the country for which they considered it was ripe, and it is my good fortune to preside at a time when some of the more important reforms have been carried out and are in working order. The concessions made to the Indian public opinion as represented by this Assembly are in no small measure due to the sympathetic consideration which it received at the hands of Lords Morley and Minto. The foresight and statesmanlike grasp of the problems affecting our country displayed by them at a critical time saved it from drifting into a situation extremely disastrous and alarming, raised the reputation of British statesmanship higher than ever and earned for them the abiding gratitude of the people. (Hear, hear.)

With the accomplishment of some of the more important reforms, it appears to me that this organisation has entered on a new phase of its existence which must be marked by greater practicality and directness of aim. In this view the position of your President is rendered more difficult, and I confidently look to your co-operation to lighten the task that devolves upon me. I propose to confine myself only to a few subjects which demand our immediate attention.

It has been said, of course, by some freindly critics of ours, that with the introduction of these necessary and much delayed reforms, the need for an organisation such as the Congress has ceased, in as much as the various enlarged Legislative Councils are representing the wants and requirements of the people to the Government and are exercising a real influence over the administration. I readily admit that the new Councils go a great way in that direction and are really taking

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a very useful share in the administration. But I emphatically differ from the view that the Congress has outlived its days.—(Hear, hear.) As I have said before, we have entered on a new phase which is bound to prove more useful and beneficial alike to the Rulers and the Ruled. There are many questions requiring settlement in which we are deeply interested and which can be dealt with only by such an organisation as this.

Royal Message.

Gentlemen, fortunately for us our interests are placed by Providence under the fostering care of a benevolent Monarch whose first concern is the happiness and well-being of his subjects.—(Cheers). In reply to the address presented to His Imperial Majesty at Bombay on the eve of his departure to England after the historical and ever-memorable Coronation Durbar at Delhi our beloved Sovereign exhorted us, his subjects, in these words:—"We fervently trust that our visit may by God's grace conduce to the general good of the people of this great continent. Their interests and well-being will always be as near and as dear to me as those of the millions of my subjects in other quarters of the globe.—(Cheers). It is a matter of intense satisfaction to me to realise how all classes and creeds have joined together in the true-hearted welcome which has been so universally accorded to us. Is it not possible that the same unity and concord may for the future govern the daily relations of their private and public life? The attainment of this would indeed be to us a happy outcome of our visit to India. To you, the representatives of Bombay, who have greeted us so warmly on our arrival and departure, I deliver this our message of loving farewell to the Indian Empire." Gentlemen these are noble words and they have won our admiration and respect for His Majesty, and our hearts are filled with gratitude for such kindly sentiments. It is abundantly clear that His Majesty is fully conscious of the responsibilities of his exalted position and should therefore be rightly regarded as the "Shadow of God" on earth.—(Hear, hear.) When we are the subjects of the same Sovereign, are living in the same country which is our home, are governed by the same laws, are desirous of making progress in all walks of life and have the same aspirations, then, may I venture to ask what prevents us Mahommadans, Christians, Parsis and Hindus of all classes from joining hands together for achieving the common object?—(Cheers.) It is my firm belief that our united and joint action will prove more advantageous and beneficial to ourselves than making an advance by divisions. Whatever progress we have been able to make, and I may say we have made remarkable progress during the last thirty years, is largely due to the progressive tendency of our Government and their sympathy with the wants and aspirations of the people. And we look forward to the liberal instincts of our Government for granting to us from time to time concessions, which we may claim that we deserve. It is a matter of common knowledge that the British Government are always desirous of lifting up the people under their charge and if we show that we deserve success by working on proper lines, "there is no height to which, under the aegis of the British Crown, we may not rise."

Welcome Rapprochement.

In the eloquent address delivered by the late Mr. Budruddin Tyabjee as the President of the Third Congress held at Madras in 1887, he said, "It has been urged in derogation of our character as a representative national gathering, that one great and important community—the Mussulman Community—has kept aloof from the proceedings of the two last Congresses. Now, Gentlemen, this is only partially true, and applies to one particular part of India, and is moreover due to

certain special, local and temporary causes." These temporary causes alluded to by Mr. Tyabjee are now gradually disappearing with the progress of education and it is a happy sign of the advancing times that there is an increasing rapprochement between Hindus and Mussalmans—a rapprochement emphasised this year by the fact that the "All-India Muslim League" during its session held in Lucknow has adopted the following resolution, namely:—

"That the 'All-India Muslim League' places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend in the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities and hopes that leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action in questions of public good." Another resolution which the League has adopted defines its object as "the attainment under the ægis of the British Crown of a system of Self-Government suitable to India." I cordially welcome the spirit in which these resolutions are conceived, and I rejoice in the changed attitude which the Muslim League has adopted in its political course of action (Cheers) and in the happy and harmonious progress which it foreshadows for the Muhammadan and Hindu communities. My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi, who presided at that session of the League, referring to the question in his interesting address, said:—"The adoption of the alternative proposal put forward by some of our friends that the League should set up Colonial Form of Government in India as its ultimate goal is in my opinion inadmissible as well as politically unsound. The political conditions, internal and external, prevailing in the British Colonies have no analogy whatsoever with those obtaining in India and I am in entire accord with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah in thinking that the adoption of any course other than the one proposed by the Council would be absolutely unwise. Moreover, for a political organisation in a country circumstanced as India is and more particularly when passing through a transitional period, the adoption of a definite form of Government as the ultimate goal of its ambitions is opposed to principles of practical statesmanship." I need not pause to dwell on the criticism which is levelled at the ideal of the Colonial Form of Self-Government adopted by the Congress and takes in lieu of it Self-Government suitable to India. At the same time I cannot pass on without pointing out that the term "Colonial Form of Government" is sufficiently elastic and is in no way restrictive. Self-Government, as established in the various Colonies, is not on the same footing, but is based on different forms of constitution suitable to the conditions of each Colony and its position in relation to the Empire. Therefore, the ideal which the Congress adopted a few years ago after mature consideration and with the advice of its friends and supporters in England, was in my opinion a practical solution of the difficulties that were confronting us. We ourselves knew the difficulties of adopting any definite ideal while the country was passing through a transition, and the term, as I have said before, covers every possible form of government which may be ultimately decided upon. If it is definite, it is in one respect only, in that it affirms and proclaims the acceptance of the unalterable and necessary condition of British supremacy. In my opinion both the ideals are identical and I do not find any substantial difference in them, but only a difference of language. There is real concord in sentiment between the two communities and it goes without saying that no Colonial Form of Self-Government can hold good in India which is not modified by and adjusted to the conditions of this country. We may depend upon it that the leaders of thought in India will not accept an arrangement that falls short of their ex-

pectations and aspirations and therefore not suitable to their country. After all, it is a matter of detail and perhaps of academic interest. We are concerned with enunciating principles and are not and cannot be discussing details here at this stage. A genuine desire on the part of all concerned to solve the problems confronting us will remove all differences and misunderstandings. It is therefore eminently desirable that the leaders of both communities should come face to face to find a *modus operandi*, approaching the questions vitally affecting our well-being in a spirit of conciliation and fraternal co-operation.

Gentlemen, I do not wish that our efforts should resemble that of a Captain who goes with a few followers to explore an unknown part of the globe or one who climbs upon a certain peak in the solitude of the Himalayan region to discover its relative position with that of other hills. Our commonsense teaches us that the entire population of the country composed of all sections, united and resolute, should raise itself from the depths of disunion and dissension, to the elevated plane of constitutional method for the purpose of representing our wants and requirements to the Government. My opinion is therefore emphatic that the existence of such an organisation as this is absolutely necessary in the future as it has been in the past.—(Hear, hear.) In fact our political propaganda is about to receive that accession of strength which is so very essential to the achievement of the common ideal. For, in the words of Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, “the ideal of Self-Government which the All India Muslim League has placed on its programme is an important step towards the formation of that great nationality for the building of which all Indians are aspiring.” I rejoice to see a conclusive proof that the members of the religious fraternity to which I belong have resolved not to live in a state of perpetual isolation from other communities, even though it may be “splendid isolation.”—(Cheers.) In support of this I repeat the words of my friend Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan “that the progress of their common motherland must depend on a hearty co-operation among all persons.” I still more rejoice to find that it is not due to temporary or accidental causes that this new policy has been decided upon, but is the direct result of circumstances which exist and are incessantly working to remind them of higher conceptions of duty and patriotism.—(Hear, hear.)

Policy of “Unite and Rule.”

Gentlemen, it is sometimes said that the policy of our Rulers is one of “divide and rule.” But the observations of Mr. Montagu in the course of his Indian Budget Speech in the House of Commons in August last clearly show that the present Government at any rate are anxious that harmony and co-operation should exist between the various races professing different religions in India, especially Hindus and Mussulmans. Our Under-Secretary of State observed, “I said something about the relations between the Mussulman and Hindu some years ago. I think it is possible to say something more to-day, because it is difficult for Indian national ideals to take any intelligible or any satisfactory form so long as the great Mussulman community stands apart from the rest of the Indian population. I am confident of the future. I believe that the Indian peoples of all races know fully well to-day that the desire and the intention of the Government, communicated to all its officers and understood by them, is that there should be complete harmony between all the races there. The maxim “*divide et impera*”—one of the most dangerous maxims—has no place in our text-book of statesmanship. I can state emphatically that, if the leaders of the Mussulman and Hindu communities could meet and settle amongst themselves

some of the questions which from time to time arise out of and foster differences of opinion and tradition, they would find ready co-operation from the Government." Gentlemen happily for us, the policy of Government at present is one of unite and rule and it would be a great mistake on our part if we do not take advantage of it and utilize it to our full benefit; for our doing so would not only conduce to the progress of our country but would be a solid contribution towards the stability of British Rule.

An Appeal.

Gentlemen, I entirely agree with Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan when he says that Mussulmans were not conscious of Indian politics because of their backwardness in education and "when once the two communities shared the same temper as regards Western education, and the educational disparity between them was removed, national unity would be assured. I feel I cannot conclude my observations on this all-important question without referring to the appeal which my friend Mr. Wazir Hasan so eloquently and earnestly made to his Hindu fellow-countrymen to lend every assistance they could to the Muslim community. He appealed not only to their magnanimity but also to their political sagacity to remove the existing educational disparity which stood in the way of unity and progress. I desire to associate myself most cordially with this appeal and I feel sure that my Hindu brethren will heartily reciprocate and respond to it by acting up to the sentiment conveyed by it. (Hear, hear.) Indeed they have given manifest proof of this disposition by their cordial and ready sympathy with our efforts to give succour to our wounded and distressed fellow-religionists in the late Balkan War. If this spirit of co-operation and mutual good will is maintained and steadily promoted, the day should be near at hand when the two sister communities will be found working shoulder to shoulder for the cause of their common motherland and towards the realisation of their national destiny.

Indians in South Africa.

Gentlemen, the foremost question that is just now agitating the public mind in this country is the question of our brethren in South Africa. The tale of woe that has been reaching us from there, since the Boer country became part of the British Empire, is really heart-rending and that the responsible British Statesmen should have been so far unable to do anything by way of attempting a settlement fills us with profound sorrow, almost with despair. We know the hardship to which our fellow-countrymen are subjected and we cannot pay a fitting tribute in words to the courageous manner in which they are enduring those hardships; for, they are confident that British justice and sense of fair-play will ultimately prevail. Gentlemen, this unfortunate question has assumed an acute form and reached a stage where we have to pause and ask, whether we are not British subject? The treatment accorded to Indians clearly shows that the Colonists take it for granted that we are not. At any rate, they have so far failed to recognise the claim of the Indians to consideration as British subjects. The war with the Transvaal was undertaken mainly, if not solely, on the ground of ill-treatment accorded to the British Indian subjects and it is to be greatly deplored that their position should have become much worse after the incorporation of the country into the world-renowned British Empire than it was ever before. May I ask in your name when the object with which that costly war was undertaken is not gained, where is the justification for it? I have the authority on this point of no less a person than the Marquis of Lansdowne who was Minister for War when the conflict began and was well-qualified to make a pronouncement on the situation by reason of his

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having been the Viceroy of India previously. Lord Lansdowne speaking at Sheffield in 1899 said:—"A considerable number of the Queen's Indian subjects are to be found in the Transvaal, and among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic, I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of these Indians. And the harm is not confined to the sufferer on the spot: for what do you imagine would be the effect produced in India when these poor people return to their country to report to their friends that the Government of the Empress, so mighty and irresistible in India, with its population of three hundred millions, is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small South African State?"

Gentlemen, we cannot be too thankful to Lord Amthill who has taken up our cause in South Africa in right earnest. His sympathy for the people of this country which he uniformly manifested during his term of Governorship in Madras has endeared him to all of us. And as a very large number of immigrants go from the Southern Presidency it is but fitting that his Lordship should arise his voice in defence of the rights of those whom he had governed with sympathy and benevolence. Lord Amthill referring to the speech of Lord Lansdowne aptly observes, "Those were far-sighted and prophetic words, for at that time India was quite unconscious of the indignity, and it is only after the lapse of a decade that we have seen 'the effect produced in India.'" The views expressed in 1899 by Lord Selborne, who afterwards became High Commissioner at the Cape, were no less emphatic than those of Lord Lansdowne and I make no apology for repeating them here. "Was it or was it not," asked Lord Selborne, "our duty to see that our dusky fellow-subjects in the Transvaal, where they had a perfect right to go, should be treated as the Queen in our name had promised they should be treated? If they agreed with him and admitted that these were questions which we had to answer as trustees before our fellow-countrymen and before history, then they would agree with him also that the path of duty was to be ruled not by sentiment, but by plain facts. We were trustees for our brothers all over the world. Trustees also for our fellow-subjects of different races and different colours. For all those and the unborn children of these. Therefore, the test we had to apply in an emergency like this was the simple test of duty. Was it or was it not our duty to see that the rights and the future interests of those he had named should be maintained? Was the British Government going to make its name respected and to have the pledges given by it faithfully observed? Was it going to see that the British subjects wherever he went all over the world, whether he were white or black, was to have the rights which his Queen had secured for him?" Gentlemen far from any indications appearing that their lot would in a measurable distance of time be made less intolerable to them, they are being subjected in an ever-increasing degree to fresh disabilities and indignities such as are traceable clearly to the inebriation of the Boer mind caused by sudden acquisition of independence and power. Apart from higher considerations of justice, fairness and humanity, the consideration of Imperial interests, as to how their attitude and conduct towards the Indian subjects of His Majesty will affect the prestige of the Empire to which the Boer as well as the Indian owes allegiance is deliberately disregarded by the Union Government. The fate of one hundred and fifty thousands of our brethren and countrymen settled in South Africa cannot be a matter of indifference to us, as I am sure it cannot be to our Rulers. The heroic struggle that they are carrying on against overwhelming odds evokes our heart-felt sympathy for them and our deepest indignation against their oppressors. But, Gentlemen, what could our sympathy and indignation do in this situation? We can send, as indeed we are already sending so liberally, pecuniary relief to the oppressed, but we cannot restrain the hand

that oppresses. It is for the Imperial Government to step in and alter the course of things in favour of our brethren. We have had any amount of expressions of sympathy, of encouragement and of hope, but no prospect of action is yet within our sight. The spectacle of a world-wide Empire embracing about 500 millions of people as its subjects, being powerless to restrain an irresponsible Colony is not only unedifying in the extreme but is incomprehensible and causes dismay to the Indian mind. The position is now vastly worse than before, not merely from the point of view of the increasing disabilities and the intensity of suffering, but from the point of view of their moral effect. In the days of the Boer Government the Indian settlers had the feeling that their wrongs were due to an unjust and unsympathetic foreign State which only needed to be brought to the notice of their own Government to be remedied. But to-day they find the Imperial Government standing by while blow after blow is deliberately aimed at them with terrible precision and effect. This indifference has aggravated the situation and has roused bitter feelings between two countries of the Empire and is certainly derogatory to the high character of British statesmanship. Not only that, it leads one to think that this indifference in effect encourages the South African Union in the belief that their mistaken policy has the support of the Government at Home.

It was Lord Morley who used for the first time in reference to Indians that happy phrase "The King's equal subjects" on a memorable occasion, and later on diagnosed the South African troubles as concerned with the "bar sinister." But by a curious irony of fate Lord Morley himself was a member of the Liberal Government which granted Self-Government to South Africa. It is in the highest degree surprising that the Liberal Government did not then bestow even a thought on the condition of thousands of Indian settlers there, and did not reserve to itself an express power of interference when an emergency arose in the broad interests of the Empire. It has been suggested in some quarters that a friendly conference of the representatives of India, England and South Africa might be held in London in order to discuss the situation and arrive at a satisfactory solution of this problem. But, Gentlemen, I have no faith in such a conference. I believe the time has come when we have to ignore the South African Union and look up to the British Government and appeal to them for intercession on our behalf. I say that we should ignore the Union, for the simple reason that the Boers will never accept our claims for better treatment, because they are convinced that the war was mainly undertaken, as I have already shown, for the sake of Indian settlers and that these have been the primary cause of the loss of their former independence. The British Government are responsible for the present difficulties which they could have easily foreseen and avoided by imposing conditions regarding the rights of Indian settlers at the time of granting Self-Government to South Africa. It is therefore that I say, that we should look up to them and make an earnest appeal to them. It is a pity that the Parliament had no hand in the matter; otherwise, I am sure our friends in Parliament would have raised their voice in support of our rights. I have more faith, I confess, in retaliatory measures such as the placing of an embargo on the importation of coal from Natal into this country, and the closing of the doors of competition for the Civil Service against the South African Whites. It seems to me that these are the only weapons at present available and the Government of India should lose no time in making use of them. I am aware that these measures have the disadvantage of being merely irritating without being directly effective or inflicting any real disability on the Colonists. But their moral effect would, I am convinced, be very great on our people and will not be altogether lost on the Union

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Government. By having recourse to these retaliatory measures our Government would be showing before the whole world that they are in earnest and would not tolerate the ill-treatment of Indian subjects of His Majesty in any part of the Empire. We have to advocate retaliatory measures because we have been driven to do so, much against our own will. We however hope that the resources of representation are not yet exhausted and that the Imperial Government have not yet done their utmost to secure justice for our countrymen. While recognising that their position is one of great difficulty in view of Colonial autonomy, I would at the same time point out that the present Liberal Government have claimed great credit for unifying South Africa as a triumph in that they have applied liberal principles in their Colonial policy, and it is inconceivable that Liberal principles in practice can under any circumstances involve injustice and oppression.

Gentlemen, at a time when the Indian sky was overcast with the darkest clouds of anxiety and grief for the sufferings of our countrymen in South Africa, H. E. the Viceroy made a pronouncement at Madras which has given immense satisfaction to the people of this country.—(Cheers.) In the course of his reply to the addresses of welcome presented by the Mahajana Sabha and the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, His Excellency observed, “Recently, your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust—an opinion which we who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved, and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who like myself, without being Indians themselves have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country.”—(Cheers). We are extremely grateful to our popular Viceroy who has gauged the feeling in the country in the right manner and has given expression to his own sympathy with the sufferers who are engaged in the present struggle. The *Communique* recently issued by the Government of India clearly shows that the matter is receiving their earnest attention and they are pressing the Secretary of State for an independent enquiry into the allegations of brutal treatment. I can say without any fear of contradiction that by taking up such an attitude His Excellency has rendered a signal service to the cause of the Empire.

Gentlemen, it was only the other day that His Excellency Lord Hardinge after the unfortunate occurrences at Cawnpore went to that city like an angel of peace and gave satisfaction and contentment to the inhabitants of Cawnpore. This was a proof of His Excellency’s noble-mindedness and in keeping with his reputation as a statesman of the first rank. The way in which our beloved Viceroy has identified himself with the Indian side of the South African question by his honest, sincere and courageous declaration, calls for the strongest support from us, in all his endeavours for doing justice to the millions committed to his charge. May he long live to continue to take interest in our affairs!

His Excellency Lord Hardinge with the true instincts of a great statesman rightly said in Madras that nothing but an impartial enquiry in which Indian interests are fully represented will satisfy the Indian people. What has now been done by the Union Government shows how little regard they have for the feelings of Indians and of those who stand by them in this matter. A domestic court of enquiry composed purely of South African settlers has been constituted to enquire into Indian grievances. I do not wish to say anything

against the gentlemen who compose this tribunal. They are no doubt estimable men, but they do not and cannot understand our point of view; they are bred up in traditions which lead them to think that we have no rights and consequently can have no grievances. It is impossible to understand how the Home Government can have consented to the appointment of such a committee. Mr. Harcourt spoke of gentle persuasion. If this is all that can be achieved by such a procedure, it is time that our measures are adopted. I believe I am voicing your sentiments when I say that this committee inspires the people of this country with no hope and its conclusions will leave the situation unchanged.—(Hear, hear.) We trust that the British Cabinet will realise that the situation is becoming graver every day and that it is absolutely necessary in the interests of the Empire that a Royal Commission composed of British statesmen, of Colonials and of Indians should be appointed to carry out a searching investigation of the allegations of cruelty and inhuman treatment.

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The India Council.

Gentlemen, notwithstanding the changes introduced in the government of this country by the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme, the improvements necessary in the existing administrative machinery are many and varied. The most important of these to which I desire to draw your pointed attention is that connected with the reconstruction of the Council of the Secretary of State for India which is at present under the consideration of His Majesty's Government. Having regard to the importance of the subject, I shall with your permission deal with it in some detail.

The Act of 1858 by which the Crown assumed the direct government of this country from the Company, provided for the Secretary of State for India a Council to advise and assist him in the administration of a vast dependency, but did not in the least relieve him of the responsibility which he owed to Parliament for the proper government of this country. The constitution and character of this Council have with very few modifications survived to the present day, despite the many attacks which have been made in successive years in and outside this Congress. The question of reforming this body has after all come up for consideration, and on the 31st July last, Lord Crewe made a statement in the House of Lords in which he referred to its elaborate constitution and outlined certain changes which he hoped would improve the efficiency and usefulness of that body. Lord Crewe also stated that changes which he intended to make would require statutory authority and he added that he would welcome any criticism or any fresh ideas which might be brought forward. The sole idea was, he said, "to improve and as far as possible perfect the machinery by which the daily, sometimes hourly, intercourse between those who represent the Imperial Government and those who control the actual Government, was carried out."

If the Congress had only to judge of this matter by the past history of that body, it is possible to come only to one conclusion, *i.e.*, that there is no use of attempting to mend the Council and that it must be ended. Resolutions in this strain have been passed by successive Congresses and it has been shown by a series of instances, how this body consistently and steadily acted in a reactionary manner in respect of all progressive measures, and how it has managed to preserve the privileges and sustained the claims of vested interests. I need not pursue this point any further because you are familiar with it. After the appointment, however, of two Indian members to the Secretary of State's Council, the changes in the *personnel* which Lord Morley introduced, and the influence of

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Lord Morley's own personality at the India Office went some way to make the agitation for the abolition of the Council less strong than before. The presence of the Indian members on the Council was distinctly recognised to have been of much advantage to Lord Morley himself, as affording him the Indian point of view and giving him what he called "an Indian angle of vision." Lord Crewe has, strange to say, not laid as much stress on this aspect of the matter as one would desire. But the people of India would attach the greatest importance to it, especially in view of Lord Crewe's statement that the Council is not to be abolished or stripped of its powers. The necessity for maintaining a body in England to advise and assist the Secretary of State for India was a matter of much discussion in Parliament at the time when the Act of 1858 was passed. Lord Stanley who was then responsible for the Bill in its final form explained the object of constituting the India Council to be to afford the Indian Secretary the means of ascertaining the needs and requirements of the territories for whose administration he became responsible to the Parliament. The ingrained idea of the Britisher has always been to ascertain the people's needs and requirements through their representatives, and this idea was frequently in evidence in the course of the debates on all the India Bills of that time. Mr. Disraeli, the Prime Minister, who was responsible for the India Bill No. 2, dwelt upon the desirability of introducing the representative principle in the composition of the India Council in London, but regretted that the then unsettled state of the country did not admit of a representation of the people of India itself. In the resolutions of the House of Commons upon which the last Bill was finally based, this was again referred to, but in the Bill itself the practical effect given to the principle was, curiously enough, limited to the election of a proportion of members of the Council by the Court of Directors and Proprietors of the old Company, leaving the rest to be filled by the Crown. The idea of election moreover was sought to be further kept up after the death of the Company, by a process of self-election by the body of members originally nominated by the Court of Directors and Proprietors who, it was assumed, represented Indian interests. In the course of his speech on the Bill, Lord Stanley observed, "If I am told that the proposed self-election is virtually an abandonment of that elective principle which the House has sanctioned, my answer is that we are willing to introduce the elective principle upon a wider scale if it were only possible to find a fitting and satisfactory constituency. I believe that recourse to the method of election as a way to the appointments to the India Council is the first idea which has entered the mind of every person who has considered the subject. The difficulty which all persons on further consideration have felt is that of constituting a constituency which would answer the purpose." The Earl of Derby who piloted the Bill in the House of Lords also used similar language.

Such was the state of things when the Council was brought into existence. What happened subsequently is well-known. While on the one hand the Council entirely deviated in its character and functions from the impress which was originally sought to be given to it, the people and the administration of India have, on the other hand, progressed so far that the necessity of ascertaining their needs and requirements by their own representative institutions has been widely recognised and acted upon. The India Council, with the modifications made in the next few years, became a mere creature of the Secretary of State, to be consulted at will by him or to be overborne by him whenever it set itself in opposition to Imperial interests. On the other hand, so far as the interest of India were concerned, the Council became, by its composition mainly from the ranks of the retired Anglo-Indian officials, a means of steady obstruction at all times to all progressive measures, very often obtaining great control and influence over

successive Secretaries of State whose interest in India, with rare exceptions, has been more or less of a transitory kind and who preferred to leave the routine of administrative duties to the committee of experts which Parliament in its wisdom had provided them with.

If Lord Crewe desires that this Council should survive and be a body useful to the Secretary of State for India, he must take account, on the one hand, of the original purpose for which the Council was instituted and, on the other hand, of the extent to which that purpose needs to be carried out under present conditions. In the first place, I think it will be agreed that, whatever the reforms introduced in the constitution and functions of the India Council in England, they should not in any sense be treated as interfering with the right of the people of India and the duty of the people of England to require the British Parliament, until such time as India attains to responsible Self-Government within itself, to watch and control as legitimately as is necessary and possible, the administration of India through a Minister responsible to Parliament. In the next place, whatever changes might be made in the India Council, they must strictly preserve that body as an advisory one and must not in any manner convert it into an administrative machine. In legal theory, no doubt, such a change would not and could not be effected because it would involve a fundamental antagonism to the first principle of British Constitution, namely, the Supremacy of the Parliament; but practically the changes in procedure now contemplated, I fear, are calculated to result in the establishment of an administrative body which would virtually be irresponsible. Lastly, the changes in its constitution should be such as to enable it to be, in practice as in theory, really advisory; that is, it should be so constituted as to make it capable of promoting Indian aspirations and giving steady and constant advice to the Secretary of State in respect of needs of progressive administration. If it was in 1858 considered essential that an elective element should exist in the Council, it needs no saying that at the present day it is absolutely indispensable.

In view of the express declaration of the Secretary of State that he has decided to retain the Council, I do not wish to discuss its abolition; and since suggestions have been invited, I think it is the duty and the privilege of this Congress to give its best consideration to the subject. The difficulty of providing an electorate for the India Council to represent the wants and wishes of the Indian people themselves has now ceased to exist. With the progress which has been achieved in this country within recent years and with the large and diverse forms of electorates which have been created all over the country, it is impossible to put forward the excuse of want of a proper electorate at the present day. Non-official members of the Provincial Councils, the bulk of whom are elected and represent the diverse interests of the people, have proved a perfectly satisfactory electorate in each Province, to return the elected representatives of the people to the Imperial Council, and no reason could be adduced for the Government not availing themselves of these electorates and the elected non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council itself, as proper constituencies for returning members to the India Council in England. We must therefore strongly urge on the Secretary of State for India that, in any reform he may contemplate in the constitution of the India Council, a proportion of not less than one-third of the members of that Council should consist of Indians elected by the non-official members of the different Legislative Councils in India.

The next requirement will be to confine the functions of the Council of India to those of advice, consultation and assistance, and not to extend

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them to those of administration. It is unlikely that the Council would consist of entirely elected members; but even if it did, it would be an unsound policy to convert the Council into an administrative body. What Lord Crewe contemplates, however, is a proposal "to attach each member of the Council to particular departments of the India office and initiate a system by which they may co-operate upon a particular work" and by this means he hopes "to initiate far more direct communication between the different official departments of the Government of India itself, without the necessity of passing through the various processes which at present are necessary." He considers, moreover, that from this point of view a Council of eight would be adequate, with a provision for ten, including a financial expert. Now, the effect of this proposed change must be apparent to all close observers, and that is that it will tend to tighten the control of the India Office over the departments of the Government of India on the one side, and, on the other, it will make the influence and power of each member of the Council of India in respect of the department to which he is attached much more effective than it can ever be under the present system of committees. It is obvious that in the future such every-day control and guidance over the Government of India as may be necessary should be provided in India itself through the means of the expanded Legislative Councils and not by means of a Secretary of State in England placed virtually under the guidance of retired officials. Lord Crewe, no doubt, says that his system would not make them controllers of the particular departments. But the result of the system which he proposes is bound to make them so. I would advocate the continuance of the Council as an advisory body, even if it involves "cumbrous and dilatory procedure," with the introduction of only such changes as would be more in consonance with the original intention of working it up to the constitutional standard, by the admission of a larger number of Indians than at present. With this end in view I would strongly urge the fixing of a limit much higher than what has now been proposed by the Marquis of Crewe. The proposal of Lord Crewe, moreover, will create a dual control over the departments administered in India and will lead to an increase in correspondence between India and the India Office involving considerable delay in the settlement of pending questions, not to speak of possible friction. Correspondence with the Secretary of State is a well-known means of discouraging discussion in the Indian Legislative Councils, and the more direct communication which Lord Crewe hopes to introduce, is calculated to affect the rights and privileges of the representatives of the people in our Legislative Councils in a serious manner.

I have already stated that an elective Indian element is essential and if it is not practicable to introduce it in the Council in respect of more than one-third of its strength, the remaining two-thirds might consist of other elements calculated to maintain its strength as a consultative and deliberative body. I would therefore suggest that another one-third should consist of members of Parliament and other men acquainted and in touch with the public and political life in England, while the remaining one-third may consist of ex-officials from India—Indian or European—who may be expected to bring to the Council the knowledge of actual administration which they have gained in this country. I am sure you will bestow your best attention on these suggestions and I would request you to deliberate upon them and express your opinion for the consideration of the Secretary of State who has invited it. I am confident that His Lordship will be pleased to give your proposal the weight they deserve as emanating from this National organisation. (Hear, hear).

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Coming to the questions connected with the Reformed Council, I need not refer to the regulations in detail which were framed by the Indian Government for carrying out the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. The Congress has in successive sessions expressed its regret that the regulations have not been made in the same liberal spirit in which the original reform despatches were conceived. The public in India, at the time when the regulations were issued, being anxious to give a fair start to the scheme did not express their full sense of dissatisfaction with the proposed regulations, especially as they were reassured in this behalf by the express declarations of Lord Minto's Government at the time, which were as follow :—

“The Governor-General in Council is conscious that many of the details of the scheme which is being introduced may be found on trial to be unsatisfactory or capable of improvement. Experience alone can show how far methods which are new to India give to the different classes and interests a measure of representation proportionate to their importance and influence, and to what extent an untrained electoral machinery is suitable to the varying circumstances of the different Provinces and the numerous electorates. Defects will no doubt be discovered when the rules are put into operation, but if this proves to be the case, the law admits of the regulations being amended without difficulty.”

It was hoped, therefore, that the anomalies and serious defects, both of detail and of principle, which were found to exist in the regulations would be rectified at the first opportunity which presented itself after the first elections had been held and the Reformed Councils constituted. It has been, therefore, a matter of extreme disappointment to the public in India that the revision of the Council regulations which was made last year was confined to making a few trivial changes and introducing a few amendments in consequence of the transference of the Imperial Capital to Delhi and of the other changes embodied in the Delhi despatches. In the constitution of the Legislative Councils different proportions have been fixed in respect of the official and non-official, as well as the elected and nominated elements in the various Provinces, much of which to the ordinary mind seems to be founded on no intelligible principle of differentiation. Bengal from the first started with an elected non-official majority in its Legislative Council and in the redistribution of territories made in 1912, both old Bengal and new Bihar have been given two separate Legislative Councils, having elected non-official majorities. On the other hand, Madras and Bombay, the oldest of the Provinces, have been provided with a non-official majority composed of nominated and elected members barely sufficient to satisfy the regulations.

By far the most serious of the drawbacks in the regulations, which have been allowed to exist in the revised regulations, are those relating to the disqualifications for membership, the arbitrary and unreasonable manner in which restrictions are imposed on candidates seeking election to the Councils, and the general disparagement of the educated classes that it involves. Property qualifications have been prescribed in various degrees and in various methods in the different Provinces and the decision of questions connected with electoral rules is committed to the absolute discretion of the Executive Government. It is our duty once again to urge an immediate revision of the regulations so as to make the non-official majorities in all Provincial Councils really effective for practical work, and to remove invidious differences in the qualifications prescribed for candidates seeking election.

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In spite of the repeated and unanimous requests of the people of the United Provinces for the establishment of an Executive Council there, the question is hung up without the authorities assigning cogent reason. Sir John Hewett's opposition to the proposal is too well-known to you, but with the change of the Lieutenant-Governorship in the United Provinces, it was hoped that it will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of Sir James Meston, and it is a matter of considerable surprise to those who knew His Honour as a man of liberal and progressive views, that he has not yet formulated proposal for establishing an Executive Council. In view of the fact that this question was the subject of a resolution which was moved in his Council and which received strong support from the non-official members, I am hopeful that it will receive due consideration at the hands of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

As regards the Imperial Legislative Council I may say that the representation of some of the Provinces is defective and for this reason I would suggest an increase of at least half a dozen seats on the Council and their being thrown open for popular election. We all know that at present we have at the head of the Government in India a sagacious statesman whose far-sighted and sympathetic policy has endeared him to the people of this country, and I fervently hope that His Excellency Lord Hardinge before laying down the reins of his exalted office will remove the present defects in the Imperial Council and make it fully representative.

Local Self-Government.

When the Government of India in 1908 submitted for approval to the Secretary of State the group of constitutional reforms which resulted in the passing of the Indian Councils Act, the Government of India claimed that their scheme as a whole "will really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual every-day administration." The fact that I want to emphasise here is what Lord Morley himself mentioned, that that scheme of reform "is not, and hardly pretends to be, a complete representation of the entire body of changes and improvements in the existing system that are evidently present to the minds of some of those whom your Government has consulted and that to the best of my judgment are now demanded by the situation described in the opening words of the despatch." Lord Morley proceeded to point out that it is "evidently desirable to present our reform of the Indian constitutional system as a whole and that from this point of view, it seems necessary to attempt without delay an effectual advance in the direction of Local Self-Government."

It is now five years, Gentlemen, since these words were written and the Government of India are yet maturing proposals for making an advance in this direction, "without delay." The reluctance to revive the old village organisation and to establish village panchayats is particularly pronounced in some Provinces, while a degree of tardiness in considering proposals for the expansion of local and municipal administration coupled with the oft-repeated desire to hedge further advance with overcautious restriction, is noticeable among all grades of administrative authorities in India. Lord Morley quoted the memorable words of Lord Ripon that "it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and started; it is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education," and that there is little chance of affording any effective training to the people in the management of local affairs or of the non-official members thereof taking any real

interest in local business, unless "they are led to feel that real power is placed in their hands and that they have real responsibilities to discharge."

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The Royal Commission on Decentralisation which submitted its report shortly after this, fully endorsed Lord Morley's views and insisted that the village should be made the starting point of public life in India, that village panchayats should be revived all over the country as the first unit of Local Government, and that the constitution and functions of other local bodies should be broadened and liberalised in various ways. The Imperial and Provincial Governments have been cogitating over this part of the recommendations now for over four years, and repeated inquiries in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils have not so far elicited any sympathetic assurance as to the recommendations being likely to be carried out in the near future. The latest announcement is that the Government of India have submitted their proposals to the Secretary of State and obtained his approval, and that they would shortly introduce the necessary legislation for carrying them out. It is not easy to anticipate what these proposals are, but the Congress has a right to demand that the Commission's recommendations should be fully carried out, and the proposals of the Government of India should be placed before the public as a whole and not piece-meal. We must impress upon the Government that this question should be treated as part of a progressive political policy and not as one of mere administrative exigency.

Primary and Technical Education.

The unrest that swept over the country from one end to the other is a thing of the past, at any rate, we are no longer face to face with its turgid waters and dangerous and insidious currents, but only with some of the evils that have lain beneath the surface of the unrest and are now discernible. Now that the storm has happily passed away, let us address ourselves to the task of meeting the underlying evils in the way they ought to be. There had been for years a steadily increasing feeling, on the part of the people, of dissatisfaction with their surroundings and a steadily increasing yearning for a better and more bearable existence. Even a casual observer must be struck by the desire manifested at present on every side for more light in the shape of education, both Primary and Technical. Primary Education, I need not say, is the remedy of remedies that will help the masses at present steeped in ignorance, superstition and lethargy, to get out of the slough of despond, and will teach them self-help by placing within their reach, through the medium of Literature, the benefits that would accrue from adopting modern methods and principles in their hereditary and time-hallowed occupation of agriculture and other small industries; and that will surely mould in them a frame of mind that would co-operate with the Government in any measure that may be taken for public good, by removing the disposition to believe in the ascription of wrong motives and intentions to Government as regards their particular acts and measures. In short, Primary Education will give more food to the masses, reduce to an appreciable degree the acuteness of the economic problem, remove most of the social evils and conduce to the stability of the British Rule.

It is a source of great pleasure and satisfaction to observe that the recent visit of Their Imperial Majesties was an important land-mark in the history of our country. Ever since the blessed day of their advent and ever since His Imperial Majesty emphasised in his speeches the need for a wider element of sympathy in the administration of the country and pressed for a rapid advancement of education as the panacea for all our social and political evils, the essential importance of education, as a factor of national prosperity has come to be fully

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recognised by the Government, and we gratefully acknowledge their earnest efforts to foster and push it forward. But at the same time we feel that they do not go far enough. The political fears that the Government entertain as regards the adoption of the principle of compulsion are altogether imaginary, and if the scheme which has been put forward is carefully considered and followed by Government, the administrative and financial difficulties with which the Government believe they are confronted, will soon disappear in practice. So long as the local institutions retain their strong official complexion, people would naturally hesitate to confide in them. But before these institutions are entrusted with the initiation and control of Primary Education, if they are made more popular and representative, the people would be glad to co-operate with them and would even be willing to bear the imposition of a special cess which will be ear-marked for the purpose of being devoted to Primary Education. I may point out that when, in the famous Despatch of 1854, Sir Charles Wood laid the foundation of the system of public education, a memorable advance was made. And as the authorities with genuine statesmanlike foresight, recognised that England's prime function in India was to superintend the tranquil elevation of the moral and intellectual standard of life among the people, I fail to see any plausible reason that could be adduced against making a modest and cautious beginning to introduce compulsory and free Primary Education in selected areas that may be considered to be ripe for it.

We in this Congress have noticed with pride and satisfaction the steps that have been taken by the progressive Governments of Baroda and Mysore to push on compulsory Primary Education in their territories. The latest to fall into line with these States in this regard is Travancore: May we not expect the action which has been taken by the enlightened Rulers of these States will be followed by the paramount Power? I think it may not be out of place to mention here that the Acts of the Legislature creating the Universities were passed immediately after the Great Mutiny and will ever remain a striking monument of the coolness, wisdom and foresight of the British race.

Before I leave the subject of education, I must ask the Government of the country to pay more attention to Technical Education than they have done hitherto. The problem of the poor and of the submerged is not so acute in India as elsewhere. But with the steady increase in the population that has been going on, with the rise in the price of food-stuffs and with an agrarian population which has been taxed to the utmost, it requires no prophet to say that the time will come—perhaps sooner than most people imagine—when the financial resources of the country will have to be strained to the utmost to cope with the situation. It is therefore necessary that a serious attempt should be made to push on Industrial and Technical Education by opening new schools and by subsidising at least some of the industries that deserve it.

Land Settlement.

It was that far-sighted statesman, Lord Cornwallis, who gave the Permanent Settlement to Bengal in 1793 which has proved a blessing not merely to landlords with whom it was concluded but to all classes of the community. Some portions of Madras also shared that benefit and it was the intention at the time that in other parts of India permanent settlements should be concluded with cultivators themselves. Read's Proclamation of 1796 for the settlement of the Baramahal, Munro's evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1813 and the correspondence in the fifties and sixties regarding the introduction of a settle-

ment, all point to the conclusion that the assessment was intended to be permanent and unalterable. The difference in system was to be only as regards the party with whom the settlement was to be concluded, but there was to be no difference in regard to permanency. It was a recognised principle during the first half of the last century that the settlement with whomsoever it was made was to be a permanent one and that the assessment should be unalterable. Subsequently, however, it was contended that the Government should not sacrifice the unearned increment to which it was entitled; but in order to minimise frequent interference which it was recognised would lead to hardship and discontent, it was decided to give permanence in the assessment for a period of years, leaving to the cultivators the enjoyment of all the profits during the currency of such period. The Famine Commission of 1860 again brought forward the question of permanent settlement. The President of the Commission stated:—"The good which has been done by partial action on sound principles is both a justification and an encouragement to further advance; and entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interests will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step, the first, and as I believe the most important measure, I have respectfully to submit for consideration is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity.

This recommendation was supported by the highest authorities, and the Government of India in warmly supporting it stated:—"His Excellency in Council believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of Government will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule; while under proper regulations the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general revenue of the Empire."

In his famous Despatch of 1862, the Secretary of State observed:—"After the most careful review of all these considerations, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue, not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of land revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are, or may hereafter be, fulfilled is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure to the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country."

The above despatch authorized a permanent settlement in tracts where four-fifths of the cultivable area had been brought under cultivation and assessed according to the then existing methods of settlement. Though this condition was found to have been fulfilled in most parts of the country, the decision was not given effect to, and, with the departure of Lord Canning and the change in the Ministry, narrower views prevailed, with the result that, after voluminous correspondence, the sound and sympathetic policy advocated by Lord Canning and sanctioned by Sir Charles Wood was given up. Again when that illustrious statesman, the late Marquis of Ripon, was at the head of the administration, he laid down the principle that in districts which had been surveyed and assessed by the Settlement Department assessments should undergo no further revision except on the sole ground of rise in price, a step which, in the words of one of my distinguished predecessors now no more, was the best compromise which could be effected after the old right had been sacrificed. But on the departure of Lord Ripon from India his proposal was vetoed by the Secretary of State in

his Despatch of 1885 in which, while abandoning the idea of a permanent settlement, he directed that enhancement should be based mainly on considerations of general increase in the value of land. Settlements and re-settlements are now regulated by the rules laid down in that Despatch. It is admitted that in the prosperity and contentment of the vast agricultural population lies the strength of the administration and that the measure of the ryot's prosperity largely depends on the revenue that he has to pay. Though we have been contending for now more than thirty years that the ryot's burden is not susceptible of any further enhancement, the fiscal side of the question dominates the policy of the Government and they are reluctant to forego the right of enhancing the assessment which they now possess. The English nation is a manufacturing nation, while India is a purely agricultural country. While the great increase in the manufacturing activity of Great Britain has given its inhabitants such extensive scope for employment that the want of land as a field of investment and employment for labour is comparatively little felt, India has no industries other than agriculture and is under the necessity of exporting her raw products. Her one national industry therefore deserves the fostering care of the Administration. The introduction of a permanent settlement, while securing the contentment and prosperity of the agricultural classes, will also indirectly augment the public revenue.

But the authorities do not seem to fully realise in practice that in a prosperous and contented peasantry lies the strength of the Empire. While doing our best to make them appreciate that the Permanent Settlement is the only solution of India's agrarian problem, it behoves us as practical men to moderate our demand to the extent to which the Government are likely to yield, never forgetting at a moment the object we have in view. It behoves us also to ask for the removal of the many serious hardships of re-settlements and the heavy burden of increasing assessments. May we not therefore reasonably urge that thirty years is too short a period for settlements and that it should be extended to a period of not less than sixty years in order to give it an appearance at least of quasi-permanency? We should also press on the attention of the Government of India the desirability of confining enhancements solely to a substantial rise in prices and of fixing a maximum limit of 12½% to enhancements in revisionary settlements. It was proposed by some of our eminent men that the rules for settlement should be embodied in a legislative enactment, and this proposal has had the approval of such a high authority as the Decentralisation Commission. While the Local Governments decline to allow the matter to be discussed in the Provincial Councils, the Government of India are not disposed to take action in the matter. It is therefore our clear duty to press the matter on the Government of India, in order that in the absence of permanent settlement they may at least agree to a compromise in the direction proposed, on the maxim of 'Half a loaf is better than no bread.'

While on this subject I should like to draw the attention of the Congress to the present grave economic situation caused by the increasing struggle for existence, the abnormal rise in prices and unemployment in the country. Food-stuffs are being sold at famine prices and the enormous rise has an oppressing effect on the average man. No doubt we can understand the plausible reason often put forward that modern facilities of communications are bound to have the effect of equalising prices. At the same time we cannot lose sight of the fact that high prices in manufacturing countries do not affect the people to the same extent as they do in this country where there are no industries—the only industry being that of agriculture. It is therefore the duty of the State to find some

remedy for the high prices now prevailing. I fully trust that the Government are not unmindful of their responsibility in the matter and will devise some means of checking this growing economic evil.

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The Public Service Commission.

Gentlemen, the question of the employment of Indians in the higher and more responsible positions in the Public Service of this country is not a question of merely individual careers, but is one of much higher and wider importance. Not to speak of the material and economic drain that the exclusion of Indians from higher posts in the public service of their own country involves, it is repugnant to the nation's sense of self-respect. With the growth of intelligence and self-consciousness among the people, there is an increasing disposition on their part to compare their own position with that of the other nations of the world, and to regard their present political status as incompatible with the rights of freedom and equality conferred on them by the British Constitution and guaranteed to them by British traditions. In the words of Sir Thomas Muir "the aim of the British administration of India was to be to raise the minds of the natives, to raise their character and to render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of the country, so that in fullness of time Indian would be able to frame a regular Government for themselves and to conduct and preserve it." We feel that we are not in this respect treated in accordance with the spirit of the proclamations and promises made by the British Sovereigns, the Parliament and responsible Ministers. It is therefore a matter of sincere pleasure and great satisfaction to us that a Royal Commission under the able Chairmanship of that eminent and sympathetic statesman Lord Islington, has been appointed to enquire into the question of Public Services. Without in any way anticipating the recommendations it may make, I can say that the manner in which the Commission began to take evidence during the last cold weather, amply justifies the hope that it will do justice to Indians when it comes to formulate its final conclusions. In the course of the speech in which he opened the sittings of the Commission on the 8th of January last at Madras, his Lordship said:—"We are confident that we shall receive such assistance and co-operation that subsequently when the fruits of our labours are published it may be found that we have reached a reasonable basis of agreement which will give satisfaction both to the just demands of the services and to the legitimate aspirations of His Majesty's Indian subjects and be consonant with the orderly development of the administration of this great country." Gentlemen, the remarkable insight and the keen interest displayed by Lord Islington in the course of the enquiry encourage us in the belief that the result will be gratifying to the expectations raised in the mind of the people. It will not be out of place for me to express a hope that the much-discussed question of the separation of judicial from executive functions will receive a solution at the hands of the Commission which will satisfy public opinion.

In the course of the evidence before the Commission, it was suggested by some of the witnesses that the Public Services in India should not be opened to those Colonists who do not treat Indians on a footing of equality. And if much stress was not laid on this, it was due to the fact that the situation in South Africa had not assumed such an acute form and so dangerous a proportion as at present. As the crisis in South Africa has become so threatening as to constitute an

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imminent danger to the interests of the Empire, I venture to submit to the Commission the advisability and necessity of laying down, as a matter of principle, that those Colonies which do not treat Indians as equal subjects of the King will not have a share in the administration of India, and candidates from such Colonies will be debarred from taking part in any competitive examination, or entering into any of the services of this country. In making an earnest appeal to Lord Islington and members of the Royal Commission to include this suggestion in their recommendations, I would like to point out that it is not only calculated to show to South Africa that the Commission wishes to maintain strict impartiality, but it will serve as a warning to other Colonies and prevent them from following the example of the Union Government. It will also strengthen the hands of the Government of India and the Imperial Government in any action which they may contemplate to take in an emergency.

Indians in the Army.

Closely allied to the question that I have now dealt with, is the question of higher career for Indians in the Army. Meeting at Karachi so close to places distinguished as the home of warlike races from whom the Indian sepoy is largely drawn, we can appropriately go into it at some length. From its earliest years the Congress has included in its resolutions a demand for the establishment of military colleges in India in which natives of India as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for appointment as commissioned or non-commissioned officers according to their capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army. That demand apparently remained unheeded till the advent of Lord Curzon whose Viceroyalty was a succession of promises either broken or only partially redeemed. You may remember, Gentlemen, that soon after his arrival he formed a *Cadet Corps* consisting of Indian Princes and Noblemen with head-quarters at Dehra-Dun. The Congress of 1901 held at Calcutta welcomed it as the first instalment of a policy which will culminate in the establishment of military colleges, as recommended by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, at which natives of India may be educated and trained for employment as officers of the army. The expectation was not realised and the Madras Congress in 1908 reiterated its demand, in view specially of the high recognition of the valour and fidelity of Indian troops by His Late Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, in his message to the Princes and the people of India. Lord Minto, true to the spirit of the policy of his Government, pressed on the authorities at Home a scheme framed by his Lordship in this matter which had the full support of his Council and of the Commander-in-Chief. The words in which he referred to the scheme, in the course of a speech he delivered as chairman of a meeting in London on April 24, 1912, deserve repetition here. That speech seems to me to be a remarkable illustration of his policy, his broad sympathies and of his grasp of Indian points of view which distinguished his career in India.

His Lordship said :—“ I must take friendly exception to what Sir W. C. Plowden has said as to my not having faced the question of Commissions in the Army for Indian gentlemen. I can assure you that I not only faced it, but that I fought it every day. It was my hobby the whole time I was in India to try and obtain such commissions for Indian gentlemen and I hoped that I had succeeded. It is curious that British opinion of to-day as regards the possibility of granting

commissions is less advanced than it was a generation ago. The views of many people to-day are much behind the times in comparison with those of distinguished officers even before the Mutiny. As long ago as 1844, Sir Henry Lawrence dealt with the question. Subsequently Lord Napier wrote a memorandum in 1885 on the same subject, stating that the Government of India had then the matter under consideration. Sir George Chesney, Sir Donald Stewart and others, all held the same views. All these distinguished officers admitted that a great injustice was being perpetrated in withholding such commissions; they maintained that young Indian gentlemen should have greater opportunities for military distinction; but at the same time they all laid down that they must not command British troops; and that the solution of the difficulty was the raising of special Indian regiments in which Indian gentlemen should receive commissions. I am afraid that racial antipathies, however narrow many of us may think them, are much stronger in India than they are at Home. I do not know why. But at any rate, we cannot do away with these racial antipathies by word of command; the only way to lessen them is by example and by constant sympathy for our Indian fellow-subjects. By force of example and by constant sympathy, let us hope that racial prejudices may gradually disappear. Under existing conditions it would, in my opinion, be a grave mistake to appoint a young Indian of good family to a British regiment or to a regiment of the Indian Army against the wish of its British officers. It would only create friction and we should be worse off than we were before. I fought this question in India over and over again and before I came away, the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief and all my Council were in agreement with me that the commission should be granted. We therefore framed a scheme for the raising of a regiment to be officered by selected Indian gentlemen who would generally have received a military education in the *Cadet Corps*. Our proposal was that the regiment should begin with a skeleton of a few British officers to give it a start; and young Indian officers should be grafted to it in the ordinary way, with *bona fide* commissions who would rise in due course of promotion; while the British skeleton will gradually disappear and an Indian officer will eventually obtain command of the regiment which would be in the course of 20 years or so. The scheme was sent Home and it was my earnest hope that it would receive official sanction before I left India. I am sorry to say I do not know what has happened to it since then. I feel, however, that it would be unfair to the Government of India not to take this opportunity of saying that, as far as they were concerned, the necessity for the commission was recognised and the difficulty was dealt with. "The opposition to our proposal was at Home!" Gentlemen, this last sentence illustrates the spirit in which the India Council deals with Indian aspirations. Fortunately however, a beginning has been made by His Majesty nominating two or three Indian noblemen only recently and it remains for the Indian National Congress to bring to bear on His Majesty's Government the weight of the unanimous and earnest wish of the Indian people for a satisfactory solution of this important question.

Islam Outside India.

Before I conclude, I desire to refer however briefly, to the troubles and misfortunes that the Muslim world outside India has endured during the past few years. The period has been fraught with fateful changes in the recent history of

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Islam, changes materially affecting the importance of Muslim countries as independent countries which stirred Muslim feeling throughout the world to a degree seldom witnessed before. The Mussalmans who have seen the subversion of the Ottoman power in Europe, and the strangling of Persia, cannot find the same comfort as before in their past achievements or present temporal power, when they have to think of the future of Islam. The progress of the unfortunate Balkan War was anxiously watched by Mussalmans of India, its disastrous results caused the greatest concern and disappointment the dismemberment of Turkey by depriving her of her European Provinces evoked wide-spread regret, in which non-Muslims also shared, and the fate of Muslim States and their treatment by Europe made the deepest and most painful impression.

I do not consider it necessary to go at any length into the subject as abler men have fully dealt with it on other occasions. I trust that it will not be construed as a desire on my part to underrate in any way the supreme importance which the question has in the eyes of the Muslim. European critics in estimating the effect of the Turkish reverses in the Balkans on the Muslim world have generally failed to take into account the Muslim opinion itself. But M. Mijatovich who has represented Servia both at Constantinople and at the Court of St. James's is very conciliatory when he says that "Political interest made us, the Balkan nations, paint the Turks as cruel Asiatic tyrants incapable of European civilisation. An impartial history would prove that the Turks are rather Europeans than Asiatics, and that they are not cruel tyrants, but a nation loving justice and fairness and possessing qualities and virtues which deserve to be acknowledged and respected. The martial era of the Turkish history having been, not ingloriously, closed, historical Providence seems to have in store a high mission for the Turks." Gentlemen, the defeat of Turkey, while it has caused intense grief and depression to the Islamic world, has also brought Muslims closer together in a way that nothing else was capable of doing. The worst adversity has its lessons to teach him who has a mind to profit by it. The Mussalmans have realised the full import of the grave crisis in their history, which has roused in them a feeling of brotherhood. They never before felt the strength of Islam as a unifying force so keenly as they do at present. They had great faith in the essential beneficence of modern civilisation. But it is greatly to be deplored that that faith has been rudely shaken; and they rightly feel that their future lies in their own hands. I look upon the desire for unity and self-reliance manifested by my co-religionists as an awakening pregnant with great possibilities for the future.—Cheers.

Conclusion.

Gentlemen, the decade that is closing with the current year is a momentous period in the history of our country, a period of stress and storm such as marks great upheavals in the march of humanity. In fact, the Indian unrest from which, thanks alike to the good sense of the people and to British statesmanship, we have safely emerged, was part of the prodigious wave of awakening and unrest that swept over the whole of Asia during all this period. You are aware, Gentlemen, that this period was ushered in, roughly speaking, by the victory of Japan over Russia, and it may be said to have ended with the Balkan War and its disastrous results to Turkey. In India Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty which at the beginning raised great hopes in the minds of the people, constituted but the lull that usually precedes the

storm. Through the exceedingly difficult and anxious year that followed, the ship of Indian administration was steered by the capable hands of two British statesmen who, assisted by the eye of sympathy lent to them by His Imperial Majesty, diagnosed the disease in our administration and applied the remedy. Their names will stand out prominently in the pages of Indian history in relation to this period. A wider field has been opened for the satisfaction of our aspirations by associating the people in the Government of country. The reforms that have been introduced are far-reaching in their character and are necessary steps for giving the people a much larger share in the administration of their country. Lord Minto, in fact, interpreted the reforms in this way, if I remember right, in a memorable speech he made in London soon after his return from India, and added, in effect, that it would be unwise to withhold for long, fiscal autonomy from India. These reforms depend for their success on the unity and solidarity of the Indian people among themselves and their hearty co-operation with the Rulers. Gentlemen, it was my privilege in 1903, addressing the Congress at Madras, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, to point to the harmony that subsisted, so far as that Presidency was concerned, between the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities.—(Cheers.) Now, as your President, I am exceedingly happy to bear testimony to the important fact of the misunderstanding and distrust that divided the two communities in other parts of the country, having become almost a thing of the past.—(Cheers,) as shown by the trend of responsible public opinion among my co-religionists during the past few months and by their unusually large attendance within this hall. “If you want progress, be at peace with all, was said by one of our wisest men, the celebrated poet and philosopher, Hafiz. Muhammadanism, rightly understood, has no antipathy to any other religion. It is based on the widest conception of liberalism and democracy. A policy of narrow aloofness or intolerant hostility is alien to the spirit of my religion. Gentlemen, the times are with us. Let us, Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians, all join hands in brotherly co-operation and press forward, with confidence and faith in the work that lies before us. I have already dealt with the advance that is being made by my co-religionists towards a rapprochement. May I now earnestly request my Hindu brethren to embrace this opportunity, to step forward and to clasp the extended hand in a spirit of earnestness,—(cheers) of good-will and of appreciation? I have many friends among you. I know that you have been anxious to join hands with your Mussalman brethren. The time is riper now for a clear understanding than it has been for years past, Concessions there must be, and sacrifices you cannot avoid. When harmony has to be restored and conjoint work has to be done, we must ignore trifles which actuate small minds, and concentrate our activities upon the larger work of consolidation.—(Cheers.)

Under the suzerainty of the most powerful and progressive of modern nations, our goal should be the attainment of autonomous Government in India,—(Hear, hear) as indicated in the memorable Delhi Despatch of our beloved Viceroy; and although it may not be within the reach of the generation I have now the privilege of addressing, still it should be the constant endeavour of all of us to secure it for posterity. Only by such endeavour shall we show that we have really profited by our contact with the British nation, its literature and civilisation, and that we are true to the traditions in which we have been nurtured. Let us strive for unity amongst us, for the advancement of the nation, and

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for bringing the forces of progress and of solidarity into line with our achievement in the past and of our expectations for the future. If these sentiments animate us, we must not lose a moment to take at the flood the tide of national unity which has in-flowed in this, our Motherland. That tide, by God's grace, will surely sweep away in its majestic onward course the unnatural and artificial barriers of race, colour and religion.—(Cheers.)

The President then resumed his seat amid great applause. The Congress was then adjourned till noon the following day.



SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

SECOND DAY
Resolutions I & II.

Saturday, 27th December 1913.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Congress re-assembled on Saturday the 27th December 1913 at noon.

The President then moved the first Resolution which was put from the Chair and passed standing.

Resolution No. I.

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country by the death of Mr. J. Ghosal, who was a staunch worker in the Congress cause, and Mr. Justice P. R. Sunder Aiyer.

Moved from the Chair and Carried unanimously.

Resolution No. II.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

- (a) This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by the Ministers of the South African Union, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Act and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to the Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment.
- (b) This Congress expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in Natal in the recent strikes and entirely disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed by the South African Union to enquire into the matter, as two of its members are already known to be biassed against Indians and as it does not include persons who command the confidence of Indians in South Africa and here.
- (c) The Congress tenders its most respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question.
- (d) This Congress requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to take the steps needed to redress the grievances relating to the questions of the 3 £ tax, indentured labour, domicile, the Educational test, validity of Indian Marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa.
- (e) That this Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds.

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Resolution II.

Proposed by—Diwan Bahadur Govind Raghava Aiyer, (Madras.)

Seconded by—Lala Lajpat Rai (Punjab) in Hindustani.

Supported by Mr. J. Chaudhari (Bengal.)

" " Lala Goverdhandas (Punjab) in Urdu.

" " Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy, (Bombay.)

" " Mr. Thakurdas Khemchand (Sind.)

" " Mr. Hafiz, (Sind) in Sindhi

" " Mr. Chandrabansi Sahai, (Behar.)

Carried unanimously.

Diwan Bahadur Govind Raghava Aiyer (Madras), in moving this resolution, said: Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is perhaps in consequence of the importance of this resolution, which deals with the condition of our brethren in South Africa, that it should have precedence on the agenda paper.

The resolution which I am asked to place before you for your acceptance runs as follows (reads):—

Gentlemen, this resolution is, as I have already said, really the question of the day. The literature relating to this question has already become so large, and so familiar to all are the agitations from so many platforms, and from so many standpoints has the matter been discussed in the newspapers and by the community of this country that really little is needed from me on this most melancholy question of our brethren in South Africa. A concise statement to the people was made recently in Bombay by Mr. Gokhale (Cheers)—whose absence we regret to-day and the cause of whose absence we more deeply regret. It is perhaps as well that I should turn to a few of the points upon which this question has to be faced.

Those who have sympathy with us say we have to do with a self-governing colony, that the South African Union is formed of a number of self-governing States, and that India ought to take care how it deals with it.

I for one should be the last to say anything against Self-Government in South Africa. The end we are striving at; the goal we have placed before ourselves, is Self-Government within the Empire, and it is from this that we shall be able to enjoy the privileges that appertain to self-governing colonies. In the fulness of time, if we have self-Government within the Empire, we shall be able to enjoy those rights legitimate in self-governing colonies.

But over and above the rights of self-governing colonies there are the requirements of justice and of common humanity—(cheers); there are the demands of common humanity. Our friends and countrymen in South Africa ask only to have work and to lead and live their lives as human beings having a conscience and as self-respecting citizens of the Empire. But that is denied them ("Shame"). It is too much for us to ask from any colony equality and tolerance and the rights of citizenship?

Gentlemen, another objection put forward is why we should seek to establish opinion on this question. It is that citizenship carries with it the right not to be interfered with by any other Government than their own. It comes to this, that you are not able to enforce your own rights and requirements within

your own domains and that you find another Government dealing with you in a manner other than British Government might.

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Gentlemen, on that question we should ask that the law be altered. It implies that the Government is too weak to enforce what it makes over. Can there be anything more abject than that ?

Then it is said that it is not so much a social question as an economical question. Can it be said that this is an economical question ? In the past England has not hesitated to put fetters upon India when the interests of Manchester have clashed with the interests of India. It has placated Manchester. If economical matters can be set aside for reasons like this can it be said that they cannot be set aside for justice to our countrymen in the South African Union ?

As the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has observed there are six questions to be pressed upon the South African Union. The first is that the social barrier should be removed ; the second concerns the right of Indians to enter Cape Colony before the emigration order ; whether the £ 3 tax ought to be abolished, and the making of marriages by Mahomedans legal.

Now, gentlemen, so far as these six points are concerned I think, for one, that very little reason or argument is required to impress them upon the South African Union.

I shall not trouble you with detailed observation on any of these points. I will confine myself to the question of the £ 3 tax. There was something like a definite promise held out to Mr. Gokhale, when he visited South Africa last time, that every step would be taken to have this tax removed. Now it is said that no such promise has been held out to Mr. Gokhale. You may differ from Mr. Gokhale, you may not feel as he feels, but no one can say that he is not of unswerving honesty.—(Cheers.) Long before that we were given to understand that it was only a question of time for the abolition of this tax. Under these circumstances very little discrimination is needed whether to believe Mr. Gokhale or the South African Union.

Gentlemen, then we also ask the Government to take such measures as are needed for the Indians in South Africa to have favorable terms. We have been asked what those measures might be. We have been asked if we will adopt retaliatory measures. Retaliatory measures cannot harm South Africa, but the salutary effects will be very great.

With regard to recent events, there has been, as His Excellency the Viceroy pointed out, a categorical denial of such treatment, and it may be said that as the matter is still subjudice, as it is, that it should not be discussed here, but I should like to state that although our allegations have been met by a denial from the responsible Government of South Africa, that denial does not seem to indicate that they have used discretion in the steps they have taken. When you find such observations as those of the Viceroy's that the Government of South Africa has not been judicial, that is implied reason for thinking that cruel demands must have been resorted to. We have also information on that

SECOND DAY point from persons of high repute like Mr. West, that the allegations of cruelty
 Resolution II. against the South African Union have a large basis of fact underlying them.

The next point is one of a pleasing character. It is that of passing thanks to the Viceroy—(cheers), for his speech on the South African question. Coming as it does from such a high place, with all the authority that attaches to it it indicates what he has felt. You may feel assured that he feels all that we do about the conduct extended to our brethren in South Africa and that he felt it was his bounden duty to protest against it.

There are other people, Englishman, Germans and others from whom we can claim justice.—(Cheers.)

It is that principle which soars high above all ideals, and it is that which agitates him in pursuing this policy. We owe a large measure of gratitude to him for his courageous statesmanship. He is an honest man, a just man, an Englishman.—(Cheers.)

There is another portion of the resolution with which I must trouble you. Gentlemen, those of our countrymen who are now in South Africa can better realise the critical position in which they have been placed. We have been told that the South African Government have refused to in anyway modify the constitution of the Committee appointed to enquire into the grievances of Indians in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi finds it impossible to take part either as witness or in any other way. And unless there is some representative of the Indians, passive resistance will be continued. It is our duty to help them to the extent that lies in our power, to give them our sympathy and support and also to liberally help them with money. It must be said to the credit of Bombay that she is promptly and unstintedly helping our South African countrymen. I hope that other Provinces will also follow the example of Bombay. We must be prepared to spare the last pie that we can to help our countrymen in South Africa. We must show to the South African people that a dark people, even Indians, have a sense of self-respect. We owe this for the honor of India. We should be ready to make any sacrifice.—(Cheers.)

Lala Lajpatrai in a most eloquent and stirring speech in Hindustani seconded the Resolution.

Mr. J. Chauduri, Bar-at-law (Bengal), in supporting the resolution said;—
 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In supporting this resolution I have no desire to enter upon its details. I shall confine myself to some of the broader issues of the question which are of vital importance to British Indians. The South African question has brought into prominence the question of the position of British Indians and the status of British Indians in the Empire. The self-consciousness of the British Indians is a fact that is being recognised by the highest Executive authorities both in India and in the United Kingdom. What the people of India have been enquiring in their innermost mind is why should we be treated as a less favoured people than the citizens of the British Empire. Every self-respecting Indians hates her motherland,—which we do not love less dearly than any people their own on the face of this world,—being called a dependency. We have helped as much in building and consolidating the British Empire in India as any Britisher. India was won and is also being defended to-day against foreign aggression by our own army and our

brethren's blood. The administrative machinery is being moved and attended to in all details by our own countrymen, it may be under the guidance of a few Englishmen representing our gracious Sovereign the King-Emperor. We are steadfast in our allegiance to the most constitutional of all monarchs on the face of the world. We have fought for our sovereign even beyond the seas. The Boers came under British rule only yesterday. It cost England its best blood and taxed its resources to the utmost to establish British sway in South Africa. The professed object of the British war with the Boers was to ameliorate the conditions of British Indians in the Boer country. Those who but yesterday had been the deadly foes of the British have now been given the fullest privileges of a colonial government and with what result? The result has been that the Union Government has imposed an outrageous tax on British Indians in Natal. They are not only being denied the right of citizenship but are being treated as slaves, nay, worse than slaves in the plantations and mines. Who ever heard before of a mine being declared a prison and miners being forced to work under prison regulations and punished as criminals for refusing to work? It is impossible to conceive of a greater stigma on the much vaunted civilisation of the West. Human ingenuity cannot devise a more iniquitous form of oppression. When men of our own kith and kin are being subjected to such heart-rending iniquities, so long as we have flesh and blood in us, we cannot help feeling strongly on such matters. Nay, we feel a mortification and shame which but for the espousing of our cause by a just and courageous Viceroy would have broken forth into flames of wrath and indignation, which it would have been hard to appease even by the Imperial Government. We are a patient people. We have been holding our soul in patience in the expectation that justice will be done to our South African bretheren and the iniquitous laws and acts of oppression will be things of the past before long. So long as they are not, it would be the bounden duty of every true born Indian to back our South African bretheren in their struggles by helping them by taxing our resources, which are not over-abundant, and if need be by adopting the passive resistance movement, which is now confined to South Africa, as a pan-Indian movement which will make itself felt throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. We wish to convey our deepest sympathy. Whole-hearted encouragement and profoundest admiration to our gallant brothers and sisters in South Africa in their sufferings, and our devotion to that great Indian patriot, Mr. Gandhi, who, like the self-sacrificing prophet of God who have all flourished in the East, has been following their footsteps and carrying on the work of our All-merciful and Almighty Father to lift up and succour a suffering people.

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Mrs. Gandhi also furnishes to the world the example of an Indian woman which would be worthy of emulation by the West. The ideal of the East is that the interests of the man and women are not antagonistic. They are but one and are identical. If the Indian women have any special ideal it is that of self-immolation and self-effacement for the well-being of those committed to their care. A Hindu wife is an indissoluble partner of her husband's in the path of duty, nay "Dharma" which is a much more comprehensive word. Mrs. Gandhi has exemplified in her person the high ideal of womanhood in the East.

Our sisters in South Africa are acting in the same spirit of self-immolation as did their Hindu sisters at Chitore and their Moslem sisters in the more recent ravages in the East. The Eastern women prize their honour more than their

SECOND DAY lives. What greater insult could have been levelled against them than the denial to them of the status of wives? We are sure that God Almighty before whom they swore to be of one body, one mind, and one soul with their husbands will help them in their struggles in maintaining their vow and vindicating the honour of the womanhood of the East. The sufferings of our brothers and sisters in South Africa raise a very grave issue before us. The days are gone by when we could not look beyond our own villages and country. We are every day being drawn into the vortex of the modern civilization of the world. We have taken our measures and found that intellectually or morally we are not their inferiors. We are conscious of the fact that it is by shedding our own blood and extending our helping hand that we have led Britons to the path of glory. They take pride in India being the brightest jewel in the British Empire. Is it not a matter of mortification to us that when the interests of a people who were but yesterday the deadly foes of the British people and of the British Indians are at conflict. We are to go to the wall? When even our elementary rights and liberties are in jeopardy are we to be placed at the mercy of the most upstart amongst the Colonials. India has long enough been exploited for the benefit of the colonies. The bread problem is getting more acute in India everyday. The time is coming when the Colonies should form an outlet for surplus population, or at any rate, form the legitimate field of trade and commerce carried on by British Indians. We are determined that the Imperial Government shall not go back upon the pledges given by the Gracious Queen Victoria that the British Crown is bound to the British Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as bind it to other subjects of the British Empire. We are a patient people and we have been watching the action of the Imperial Government with the keenest interest. But we are none the less determined that we are our brethren in South Africa, nay, in all the British Colonies must have justice and fair play.

Lala Goverdhandas of Punjab supported the Resolution in Urdu in the following terms.

The Resolution, which I have been asked to support has been so ably moved by our respected leader Lala Lajpat Rai that it requires no speech of mine to commend it to your favourable acceptance. The inhuman treatment, which is being meted to our Indian Brothers and Sisters in South Africa, the color bar, which is being imposed upon us, and the indignities to which we are being subjected there, have stirred the educated people and the masses from one end of the country to the other. What I want to impress upon you is that we did not go to South Africa on our own initiative. We were no party to all these arrangements. The Government of India, over whose destinies rules a sagacious, far sighted, able and sympathetic Viceroy Lord Hardinge. who by his Statesman-like speech in Madras on the subject has endeared himself to our countrymen and forged one more link to bind our heart. is responsible before the Divine Bar to protect us from the inhuman laws and to support our claim for the elementary rights of citizen-ship. When Sir George Grey was the Governor of Cape Colony the Durbar Corporation requested him to supply coolies for Agricultural, Mineral and industrial works. The Governor wrote to the Government of India and they agreed to supply indentured labour.

The emigrants could not leave the service for three years. So useful and

productive was the Indian labour, that a law was passed to the effect; "No free Indian was entitled to a free passage to India, unless he remained 10 years in the Colony." This arrangement continued till 1806. In 1877 another law of emigration was passed and the Indian Coolies, Merchants and Traders had free access to these Colonies. Again the White Races raised hue and cry again this indentured labour and a commission of enquiry was appointed. They came to the following conclusion; "The absolute and conclusive evidence has been put before the Commission that several Industries owe their present existence and condition entirely to Indian Labour, and that if importation of Indian Labour was abolished under the present conditions the Industries would decline and, in some cases, abandoned entirely." The treatment of Indians by the colonists had reached to such a climax that the London Times in 1895 wrote that it is a "State Perilous war to Slavery." Another radical paper expressed its opinion on the condition: "Monstrous Wrong and insult to British Subjects, disgrace to its authors and a slight upon ourselves." Again, the Cape Colony Government sent a deputation to India in the time of Lord Dufferin for an imposition of the 3 £ tax. The Viceroy agreed to the proposal on the condition that the refusal of the emigrant to return shall not constitute a criminal offence. In the Act there was no mention that the tax will be levied on women and children also. In 1890 the Act was amended and children and women were also brought under the penalty to pay £ tax. Gentlemen! what is our position to-day in South Africa? Are we treated as men under the "Union Jack?" Even the elementary rights of citizenship are denied to us. I will quote here the words of the Protector of the emigrants in Durban. "Most of them re-indenture from sheer necessity and not from choice or any motive of prospective rights." It is thousand pity that the British Government is helpless to protect the rights of India in their own self-Governing Colonies. What is the impression in the minds of the public? I will quote Lord Morley: "People in India would ask whether it was not want of will, rather than want of power, which led the British Government to say its hand." Gentlemen! I do not wish to take much of your time, but I will call upon you to rise to the occasion and press for the repeal of these barbarous Laws. Sir Thomas Hipslop said at one of the meetings of the Natal Planters. "We want Indian, as indentured labourers, but not as free man." Show by yours steadfast devotion to the cause that we will live in the Colonies as free men and not as slaves."

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Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy in supporting the Resolution said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is my proud privilege to address to you a few words under the auspices of this great national assembly of ours, an assembly whose importance cannot be gainsaid even by the bitterest of the enemies of India.

The question on which I am asked to speak is a question, as you know, which appertains to our bretheren South Africa. What I tell you is nothing but a thrice told tale of woe and misery inflicted upon our bretheren in South Africa in the name of humanity and civilisation. The question has been dealt with so exhaustively throughout the length and breadth of India that there is very little for me to add, and my predecessors have very ably spoken upon this important question. The point that I want to bring before you all is that Indians are not wanted in South Africa and even in other parts of the British Colonies

SECOND DAY as free men. The colony makes no secret of the fact that it wants Indians, but as only beasts of burden; as indentured labourers living in a state a semi-slavery for the benefit of white planters. It was only a few months ago that the South African Agricultural Union, a body of Natal planters, adopted the following resolution:—

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“That this conference is of opinion that the abolition of the £ 3 tax on time expired Indians in Natal would be detrimental to the labour supply of the province and contrary to the interests of South Africa.”

And Sir Thomas Hyslop in moving the resolution said with brutal frankness that “the effect of the license is to prevent Indians from settling in the country. We want indentured labourers but not as free men.”

I say, gentlemen, that this is the position of our bretheren in South Africa and this has been so emphatically brought forward to the eyes of the public in the admirable address which the Hon. Mr. Gokhale delivered at Bombay quite recently. It is a pity that we should miss him here on this occasion; if he was present he would have brought again before you the facts in a more admirable manner. There remains little for me to say how much he was agitated to this, both in and outside India, on the Platform, and in the Press, to bring about a compromise between the Colonial Government and the Indians. You know also very well how Mr. Gandhi, glory be to his name, has fought with the Colonial Government for the past several years and how he and his colleagues have been released and how he is again agitating that unless those privileges which they demanded are granted, they will again begin the passive resistance movement.

Our worthy President at this Congress has also said that apart from the higher considerations of justice, fairness and humanity, the consideration of Imperial interests as to how their attitude and conduct towards the Indian subjects of His Majesty will affect the prestige of the Empire to which the Boer as well as the Indian owes allegiance is deliberately disregarded by the Union Government.

To my mind the real cause of the whole trouble is not based on the economical consideration that the continued presence of the Indians in the Protectorate will diminish the chances of the white races competing with the Indians in this sphere of commerce and trade, but that the white races have entertained the ideas and notions that they are superior beings and as such they could rule the coloured races, including the Indians. The economic theory that the country will be subverted is preposterous. My warning note to you, “Sir,” is this, that it is now high time that we should assert ourselves that we are equal to the white races if not superior to them. Whatever may be the causes of the past decadence we are certainly equal to them. So long as these ideas remain with the white races, that they are superior to us, so long the trouble is bound to continue and will continue. How could we get rid of this? We could only do this by bringing about a complete regeneration in our country in social, physical and intellectual matters and how could we do it? We could do it by bringing about complete harmony among ourselves. We must unite, we must combine and co-operate.

The salvation of India lies in the true union of the people and her onward march of progress depends upon constitutional and constructive methods.

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When England and America think of the Union of the Anglo-Saxon race all over the world, when you find the "entente cordiale" between England and France an accomplished fact, when you find that Europe, consisting of different nationalities and powers, can maintain what was known as the "concert of the powers" during the recent war, is it too much to ask, to appeal to Hindus and Mohammedans, the two great communities in India, to combine in one harmonious union for the common good? We have to live together in every district, town and hamlet where our daily life is interwoven with each other in every square mile of one common country. This is the problem of all problems that the statesman in India has to solve before any true advance or real progress can be achieved and before the race and colour bar can be broken to pieces—(Cheers.)

Mr. Thakurdas Khemchand in further supporting the Resolution said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been asked to support this resolution which I do with the greatest pleasure. It is said that the position of the man who plays the second fiddle is not a very happy one, but I think that old saying is not always true. Take, for instance, my own case at present. I find that the proposer of this resolution has already dealt with it so exhaustively that there is nothing left for me to say except possibly one or two formal things *viz.* that the resolution has my heartiest and deepest sympathy and that I accord my fullest support to it. On the other hand, I find, that the story of the trials and troubles of our Indian brethren in the Transvaal is so pathetic, so tragical, and so heart-rending that it would require a heroic effort on the part of an ordinary human being like myself to narrate it fully without breaking out into tears, and that effort has already been successfully made by my predecessors so that my task has been considerably lightened. It is not therefore always true that the position of the man who plays the second fiddle is not a happy one.

There is only one phase of the question on which I should like to touch and in my opinion it is the most important of all its phases. Never before in the history of this country have the hearts of the people been so much excited and overwhelmed with grief as they have been to-day in connection with the present Indian calamity in South Africa. The indignation created throughout the country is not confined to enlightened men who read newspapers and follow the current of events in the different parts of the world. It is shared by the educated and uneducated alike. It has spread in the school-going world and what is most striking is that it has penetrated even into the zenana. It is indeed very interesting to see some of our women-folk bursting forth into tears of touching sympathy on being told the tale of misery and oppression of their sisters in a far-land, how they are being mercilessly treated as concubines and subjected to all sorts of indignities and degradation which the human mind could possibly conceive. The ennobling acts of heroism and chivalry of that selfless saint of the twentieth century, that paragon of purity, that soul of sanctity, Mr. Gandhi (Cheers) have stirred the heart of India to its very depths. That is a phase that must gladden the soul of every one of us, every true son of India. It is undoubtedly a very happy sign of the times to see men, women and children of all races and religions combining themselves into one

SECOND DAY harmonious whole to offer a united and determined opposition to that most inhuman ordinance of the South African Government in order to save the honor and prestige of the mother-land. We must feel proud of that phase and congratulate ourselves truly on it. Even the British Government should be proud of that noble phase of Indian character. I say, it should be England's pride, England's glory to love the very name of India and take immediate steps to save its afflicted sons and daughters from the indescribable hardships that are being heaped upon them by that irresponsible and tyrannical Government of shylocks. Let us trust in the old saying "the darkest-midnight heralds the brightest dawn."

The Resolution was further supported by Mr. Hafiz in Sindhi.

Mr. Chandrabansi Saliay (Behar) also supported the resolution. He said :— Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution I have been asked to support has been so eloquently moved by Dewan Bahadur Govind Raghava Iyer and supported by our leader Lala Lajpat Rai (Cheers), that it requires hardly any word of mine to commend it to your acceptance. The speakers who have preceded me belong to the older generation. As a delegate from Behar and as a representative of young India, I emphatically assert that young Indians are no less enthusiastic about the matter, I, for one, am ready to go a-begging from door to door to collect subscriptions (Cheers) for the South African Fund and to organise a band of co-workers. We want our leaders to organise volunteer corps. As long as the passive resistance movement continues, as long as Mr. Gandhi is in mourning, gentlemen, we shall beg from door to door, we shall go from village to village, from town to town and from province to province.

By the Immigration Act our sisters are no longer the lawful wives of their husbands. Mrs. Gandhi is no longer the lawful wife of Mr. Gandhi. (Shame, shame). Ladies and gentlemen, are we to sit idle? Certainly not. We should send from here the sinews of war. What Mr. Gandhi wants, to keep up the struggle, is money, and this should be sent every month and not at random. As long as the struggle lasts, money must be sent to South Africa from India. At this National Assembly of ours I ask you to take a solemn vow. In Congresses and Conferences you pass resolutions, make speeches and then as soon as you get out of the pandal you sleep over them. You should not do so over this question. You should agitate year in and year out. The question of our national prestige is involved in it. The question is whether we are the equal subjects of his Majesty the King-Emperor. Ministers of the Crown in their speeches have always said that Indians are the equal subjects of the Crown. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 lays it down; and this pledge was reiterated by her illustrious son and by her no less illustrious grandson, George V, our King-Emperor. But events in South Africa have brought home to us that *we are not*. The reason why, it is not far to seek. Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope you will excuse me for detaining you so long (Cheers.)

Chairman : Before I put this resolution to the vote I would like to announce that I have received a telegram from Japan to say that the Indian community settled there have contributed Rs. 5, 500 and asking me to remit this sum to Mr. Gokhale (Cheers.) One pandit has sent me £1. I shall ask you to contribute your mite to this fund before the Congress closes.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. III.**SECOND DAY**

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

Resolution III.

That this Congress concurring with previous Congresses urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the best interests of the Empire and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken to be really effective must place all judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every Province.

Proposed by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, (Madras.)

Seconded by Mr. Khitish Chandra Gangoli, (Bengal.)

Supported by Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, (Sind.)

Supported by Mr. Abdul Rahman, (Sind.)

Carried unanimously.

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer (Madras,) in moving the resolution, said: The resolution which I have been ordered to move is in these terms (reads) Mr. President, we have been listening to orations on a previous resolution on passive resistance a passive resistance carried on under the highest traditions and full of the noblest ideals. In placing this resolution before you we are face to face with a passive resistance of another kind, emanating from the Government—laughter—passive resistance by no means heroic. The Government in spite of declarations by responsible ministers from 1850 onwards has pursued a policy of active and defective passive resistance.

In no country in this civilised world is the function of prosecutor combined with the function of judge. The beaurocratus of the Civil Service have successfully contrived to keep this problem in back-ground.

In presenting the Financial Statement of the 28th of March 1908 Sir Harvey Adamson referring the scheme of separation of the judicial and executive functions said it was undoubtedly a basic fact that if the two functions were combined the atmosphere of impartiality in this country could not be carried on. He said, in memorable words, that it was not only that a judge when he had the police organisation at his back was inefficient as a judge when conducting a trial, but it was necessary for the effective administration of justice that there should be no fusing of the two powers in the same person. When justice is meted out there ought to be no suspicion.

Any number of cases may be cited to show that the combination of the functions in the same officer, the combination of police powers and judicial powers in the same person, will not lead to satisfactory results. The instances given by Mr. Monomohun Ghosh will show the defects of the combination of the functions. Assuming for the sake of argument that the officer in whom the two functions are combined also combines in himself impartiality with an adequate energy. But would such combination of functions produce a feeling of security? Would not an aggrieved person feel "Here is a machinery which hunted me down and now sits on judgment." It is essential for the ends of justice that a feeling of security and impartiality should exist. It is hardly necessary after Sir Harvey Adamson's admission to reiterate argument after argument. Now what are the arguments against this reform? The argument of prestige has been blown to pieces by Mr. Monomohun Ghosh and in the articles of Mr. Prithwis Chandra Roy. The next argument is the question of expenditure. Mr. R. C. Dutt prepared a scheme showing how simply, how effectively the

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Mr. Khitish Ch. Gangooly (Bengal) in seconding the motion said. Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—

The question of the separation of the Judicial from the Executive function is almost as old as the Congress, for it was taken up at the second Congress held in Calcutta in 1886 and has since been carried through all the sessions of this great assembly. Yet the question appears to be as fresh as if it were of yesterday. Every year brings its accumulated testimony of wrong and injustice to bear upon the question, but nearly one score and ten such years have rolled away without bringing this vital questions within a measurable distance of solution. It is the oldest case on the file of the Government and yet there is none to call that Government to account for this extraordinary delay in disposing of it either one way or the other. Responsible Statesmen and Ministers of State have not been wanting who have been in full sympathy with us as regards this great grievance, but as far as the practical solution of it is concerned they have all been like James in the Bible who was always very liberal in his profession of sympathy for the poor but never had wherewithal to relieve them.

Gentlemen, it is no longer a secret that it is the fancied prestige of the beurocracy that stands in the way of this great reform for which the people have been crying themselves hoarse during the life time of a generation. It is feared that if the District Magistrates are divested of their judicial control in the administration of criminal justice in this country the whole fabric of this stupendous administration will come down with a rush, the consequence of which it would be simply horrible to contemplate. We have yet to learn

gentlemen, that British rule in India is built upon such a slender foundation. **SECOND DAY**
 If really there is no more solid basis for such a huge fabric, then the sooner it is pulled down and reconstructed upon a sound concrete foundation the better for England and India. Gentlemen, the Commissioner of a Division has no criminal function and he is yet the administrator of a Division composed of 4/5 Districts but does he suffer in prestige on that account? The plea of prestige is as unsound as it is illusory. That plea implies that true dignity and strength of a Government consists not in moral but in physical forces—that judicial functions must be subordinate to extrajudicial idiosyncracies, or, in short, law must abdicate its supreme function in favour of arbitrary means and methods to keep the people in terror. But Gentlemen, we Asiatics are by instinct and tradition worshippers of moral force and not of physical powers. Call us heathens, call us idolators, call us anything you like the doctrine of might is right finds no place in our Scriptures neither in the Vedas nor in the Koran and we are Votaries neither of Moses nor mammon. Lord Minto was for repressive measures. Lord Hardinge is for conciliation. With us the latter is a much stronger Viceroy than the former. Lord Hardinge believes in moral influence, in the superior power of justice and sympathy and he has the courage of his convictions. Now will anybody tell us if men like Lord William Bentick and Lord Canning, like Lord Ripon and Lord Hardinge have not made far greater and truer prestige than any other administrator in India?

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If that is so, what becomes of the fetish of the prestige of the Indian beauracracy?

Gentlemen, it is an open secret that an attempt is now being made in Bengal to reduce the control of the District Magistrates over the police with the apparent object of meeting some of the strongest arguments for the seperation of the two functions. This will lead simply from the frying pan into the fire. To divest the Magistrate of all control over the police would be not only to still further demoralize the police service, but also to weaken the magistrate as the head of the district administration. For the efficiency of the administration it would certainly be more preferable that the magistrate should lose all judicial control over the Subordinate magistracy, than that he should be divested of the slightest control over the police. Yet such is the apparent obstinacy of a hide-bound beauracracy that it will prefer anything to adjust concession to a universal demand of the people. It is a sign of unpardonable weakness with that beauracracy which has yet to learn that the greatest weakness consists in the fear of being called weak.

Gentlemen, it is no tinkering, no playing hide and seek that will solve the question. It is a real and a great blot in a great administration. We have a great Statesman now at the head of the Indian administration and we fervently hope that the question will at last find a satisfactory solution to it before Lord Hardinge lays down the reins of his great office.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai supported the Resolution in Sindhi.

Mr. Abdul Rahman (Sindh), in supporting the resolution, said:—Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, at the call of the President, I have the honour to support the resolution. I shall be very very brief. It is a question which concerns not only lawyers but every one. It is of the utmost importance that every-

SECOND DAY one should have confidence in the Judicial Courts; from that stand-point it is a reform which should be supported by everyone of us. Some of you would say that we lawyers are selfish. Practising for a number of years in courts I personally know the grievance of lawyers arising out of the combination of the functions. See my experience alone, and you will see for yourself how desirable it is that the two functions should not be combined in the same hand. Every executive officer has the nuisance of touring where the pleaders, parties and witnesses should be present. Take into consideration the expenses and troubles. Then when you arrive there you are told; "Oh, Sahib is very busy with revenue work, your case will be taken up to-morrow." How often have I been told that the magistrate is busy with revenue work. This personal knowledge deprives us of the confidence that these officers administer justice. They administer justice no doubt. But the question is what sort of justice. The nature of their duties brings them in contact with so many works and they have their likes and dislikes. The real judicial officer should be one above all reproach. The executive officer should be in touch with the people and the Judicial Officer should be in the court. The two functions should be completely separated. In the scheme formed by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt it has been well proved, it has been very convincingly laid down, that the separation, if carried out, would not involve any increase in the expenditure. You may think that double the number of officers will be necessary. But Mr. Dutt's scheme shows that it is not so. The real reason why these functions are not separated is the fetish of prestige. Against that it is not mere executive function that brings about that result. There are officers without that function.

Take for instance the engineers. Are not people very respectful towards them? I should not be presumptuous, but that is my humble opinion. Gentlemen the gong is there (laughter and cheers.)

The Resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. IV.

HINDU AND MOSLAM UNITY.

Resolution IV.

That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All India Moslem League of the ideal of self-Government for India within the British Empire and expresses its complete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various Communities in the country which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. This Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all the sections of the people to help the object we all have at heart.

Proposed by Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, (Bengal.)

Seconded by Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, (Berar.)

Supported by Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, (Bombay.)

„ „ The Honourable T. V. Seshagiri Aiyer, (Madras.)

„ „ Mr. D. A. Khare, (Bombay.)

„ „ Mr. R. V. Mahajani, (Berar.)

Supported by Mr. Mathradas Ramchand, (Sind) in Sindhi.
 „ „ Mr. C. Gopal Menon, (Madras.)
 „ „ D. E. Wacha, (Bombay.)

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Resolution IV.

Carried unanimously.

Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu (Bengal) in moving the proposition, said I believe it requires no words from me to commend this resolution for your acceptance. Gentlemen, I must confess I am in a somewhat difficult position before you to-day. My roll never has been to address audiences from public platforms. I regret to-day that owing to the long distance which people from my province have got to come to be present at this congress some of the stalwarts in Bengal—for instance my friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea (Cheers)—have been unable to come, for I should have liked a resolution of this description to have been moved by him. It is difficult for me, a matter of fact man as I am, to carry you to a higher plane of thought. Gentlemen, it is not an easy thing for our bretheren of the Moslem League to have come publicly forward from their platform and to have adopted as their ideal that which we adopted from the very first as the highest ideal to which we people of India could address ourselves. That ideal, namely self-government within the Empire, the means by which that ideal will have to be attained, have been lucidly put before the Congress and the country at the various sessions we have held in the past. You will remember that, that ideal has been in the past the subject of very strong criticism, not only from our more timid brethren in India but from officials holding the highest positions in the country. We still remember the classic phrase which Lord Dufferin used of the congress and its object when he said that “The congress people were trying hold in their hands the reins of the chariot of the sun.”

Naturally when that was the attitude of the official community towards us, when we were unable to make our objects and ideal appreciated and understood, some of our Moslem brethren, less advanced probably than we were, more timid than we were, more cautious than circumstances justified, more hesitating than many of their own co-religionists, did not join our platform, and naturally they took time to consider what their position would be with regard to the congress. I, for one, do not complain. We felt and realised that with better knowledge and understanding the differences would soon be obliterated and that our Moslem brethren would see eye to eye with us. I think we can congratulate ourselves, I think we can congratulate our friends in the Moslem League, that they have at last seen realised and publicly declared that India can rise if we all, Hindus and Moslems concentrate our attention upon the one united ideal, that they have realised that the India of to-day is not the India of the Hindus, nor the India of the Moslems, nor of the Anglo-Indians, much less the India of the Europeans, but an India in which Hindus, Moslems, Parsis, Christians Anglo-Indians nay even Europeans can have a share (cheers). To go forward we must march shoulder to shoulder, it will not do for one part of the community to advance and the other lag behind. If we must move forward the whole must move. Gentlemen, it may be asked—it has been asked—as to why we in this Congress to-day reiterate what we have been saying for twenty years. My answer is that occasion has arisen, an occasion that will have a great effect on the future.

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That occasion is this, that the Moslem League at its last session, led by the advanced, by the more far seeing amongst them, by the more patriotic among them have adopted the principle so widely advocated in our Congress. If that is so and if you and I stand on the same platform, if you and I feel the same, so far as the national cause is concerned, if we stand face to face what is there to prevent the older, the more catholic, the more experienced body from extending the right hand of fellowship to their brethren, and saying that the time has gone by when we were divided, the time has come when we are united and must be united.

Gentlemen, I do not overlook that there have been differences in the past : but what were they ? When you have before you an ideal such as this will you stand apart ?

I ask you Hindus, that whatever differences there may be in the forms and observations of ceremony, yours has been the race in the world that has taught that tolerance in religion ought to be the cardinal principle in human life and conduct. If there has been any it is the Hindu of India. Indians in India, that have taught for centuries the lesson of tolerance and toleration in the matter of religious observances, and will it be said to-day, in the twentieth century, that we are forgetting this great lesson ? If it may be so said, then we are unworthy to be called Hindus, unworthy to inherit the great traditions which have come down to us. May I also make an appeal to our Moslem brethren ? Their own Prophet Mohemet inculcated the great principle of the equality of man and the democracy of nations.

If there have been misunderstandings in the past, let us forget them, let them run out like the sand of your desert through the interstices of the mind. Let us set about writing a new horoscope for India on the scroll of time and the India of the future will be a stronger, nobler, greater, higher, and aye a brighter India than was realised by Asoka in the plenitude of his power, a better India than was revealed to Akbar in the wildest of his visions. Shall we fail ? Do we suffer from any misgivings ? If you do then you are not fit to enter the temple of our Mother which the joint labours of Hindus and Moslems have raised for us. I tell you that I do not fear that we shall fail. God willing, we shall not fail. God willing we shall cling to the banner which we have raised. Storms may come and waves may dash but if only we hold fast, if only we have courage and heart, if only we stand together, the banner will always fly triumphant, and together will be gathered Hindus and Moslem in a united empire which will be higher and nobler than any thing in the past.—(Cheers.)

I have pleasure in moving this resolution for your acceptance.—(Cheers.)

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholker in seconding the resolution said :—Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentleman, it is at the command of the Chair that I stand before you again to-day. It is a proposition which is fraught with immense good to the country. It requires the pronouncement of men representing the different Provinces and requires the support of the different Communities. It is on that ground that I have acceded to the command of the chair to speak in support of this proposition. Not that it is a proposition which is not in consonance with my views or with the opinion I have ventured for the last 30 years of my public life. But for one who has been working for the cause I consider it unnecessary to come and sympathise with it again. Gentlemen those who have

been associated with the Congress from its earliest years know that its fundamental principle is that all Indians are brothers and that they should work in consonance "United alone they can stand" has been the principle of principles of the Congress.

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Even before the establishment of the Congress in 1885 there appeared in the political horizon of the country the Bengal National League which was carrying on the work which was done by the Indian Association of Bombay and other associations of Calcutta and other places. It was after the establishment of the Bengal National League that came the revelation to Mr. Hume the dawn of a new life in the country. He recognised in it the commencement of our national life. He saw in that little organisation the springing up and the eventual rise of a great national Assembly. He was joined by leading men of other places Poona, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and your Mr. Dayaram (cheers.) who established the Congress in 1885. The basic principles of the Congress were that there would be no distinction between caste, creed and colour, all Indians were brothers and they should work in union, they were to work for the establishment of that kind of Self-Government which would be suitable to the condition of India as times altered. Gentlemen, it was in the Congress of 1889 that certain persons were elected to go to England as representatives of India for the purpose of getting the reform which has now been enunciated—enlargement of the Legislative Council. We said that we were equal British subjects. Let us have all the rights and privileges of full-blown British citizens. That has been the guiding principle of the Congress from the beginning. Mir Humayun Jhan father of our President (cheers) Mr. Tyebji and other gentlemen of the Mahomedan Community whose education, culture and enlightenment enabled them to see the potentiality of the organisation joined it and consistently worked shoulder to shoulder with us. Unfortunately a considerable portion of our Mahomedan brethren did not join us in this work. But I may tell you—and I can speak from personal knowledge—that several of those who took important part in special Mahomedan developments had admitted that the time would come before long when there would be no difference between Hindu views and Mahomedan views.

When after the Congress of 1893, I was returning home it so happened that Nawab Mehdlihi was also travelling in the same carriage with me. We knew each other from Hyderabad and also because he came from Berar. He asked me what were the resolutions passed at the Congress. I said "Nawab Sahab you have no sympathy with the Congress." He replied:—"No you are wrong. I have sympathy with your movement but we are not in a position to join you to-day. Let a few years pass when you will see we shall join you and work shoulder to shoulder with you." Now, what I have said about that gentleman may also be attributed to many leaders of special Mahomedan movements. That time has passed away. Some water has passed under the bridges. What do we find now? We find that the organisation established for advocating special Mahomedan views adopting the fundamental principle of the Congress (cheers.) The Mahomedans now recognise the opinion that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities in the country. It is a matter of extreme satisfaction and pleasure to see that our Mahomedan brethren have now extended the right hand of fellowship. Whatever might have been the misapprehension in the past let us now work together. This

SECOND DAY is an eminently satisfactory position. I for one am very glad to welcome the
 Resolution IV. change that has come over them:—(Cheers.)

Mr. Jhangir Bomanjee Petit of Bombay supported the resolution in the following terms:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition which has just been placed before you.

The resolution records in appreciative terms, the intense satisfaction of the country at the first visible indication of a genuine desire on the part of the two great and important communities that form the bulk of the population, to work in a spirit of harmonious co-operation for the welfare and advancement of our Motherland.

Without exaggeration, this event in my opinion, forms a memorable landmark in the Political History of the country, and opens a new era, laden with tremendous possibilities for the future.

The adoption by the All-India-Moslem League, the only representative Moslem body in the country,—of the congress programme and the recognition by them of the ultimate goal of local self-Government for the country on colonial lines are events pregnant with good, the significance of which cannot be over-rated.

Those who had eyes to see had predicted long ago that our Mahomedan brethren would ultimately see the wisdom of co-operating with the other sister communities for the regeneration and advancement of our common country; and it is a matter of deep gratification to us now to realise that that day has dawned earlier than many of us had expected. It was tantamount to doing our Mahomedan friends a gross injustice, to imagine that the elevating influence of western culture that had inspired the Hindus with the ideas of Nationality, would be lost on them.

There are, of course, people in this country, whose policy and interest it is to divide the country as far as possible, who had predicted that the Hindus and Mahomedans would and could never unite; but that, the day they did unite, it would mean the consolidation of a really strong and stable national life which would be a powerful instrument for good in the country and a force to be reckoned with. Ladies and Gentlemen, we accept their judgment about the formation of a powerful national life in the event of union; but we deny their claim to predict that there never shall be union.

The indication of friendship and cordiality given by the resolution of the All-India-Moslem League, is the earnest of more to come in the future; and, I for one, Ladies and gentlemen, have no doubt whatsoever, that the day is not far distant when the Hindus and the Mahomedans will jointly speak and take part in the deliberations of our Motherland in the name and on behalf of the people, for the good, the progress and the emancipation of the country which we all love so much.

Mr. D. A. Khare, in supporting the resolution, said :—

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Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution, and in doing so I offer you a reflection which has been on my mind during the past year.

Years ago India was divided into separate communities, each striving to overwhelm the other. But certain events last year have certainly changed the whole outlook. From enemies we have become friends, and we have still to become greater friends. The attitude of the Moslem League now shows that the whole of the political future of India will be on different lines. The Moslems of India have now recognised the great truth that the Congress grasped some twenty years ago.

I have no doubt as years roll on that unity will increase and bring the public of India together, make them sink all their differences, and make them observe one another as good brothers, so that we shall achieve the goal of self-Government within the British Empire and I have no doubt that a new Indian community will be established by the brotherhood of Moslem and Hindu. If we make this our common cause we shall achieve our end.

Mr. Mathradas Ramchand also supported the Resolution in Sindhi in the following terms :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES.—

I have been ordered to explain to you in Sindhi the Resolution which has been put before you in English by the previous speakers.

You all know that this Indian National Congress was started about thirty years back. From the very beginning it was one of its cherished aims that the whole Indian Nation be united; that all sections of it should work harmoniously in order to achieve its object, that is, to be able to govern itself under the British Government. For some years the Congress fared well, but within a few years after its start there came a schism by which our Musلمان brothers began to keep themselves away from it. Not only that they actually began to oppose its work. The Congress men realized that this attitude of Mahomadans was due to their backwardness in education and that an unfair advantage of this backwardness was being taken by those whose interests were opposed to the solidarity of the Indian Nation. But they fully believed that as soon as this disparity of Education was removed, the Musلمان brethren will begin to realize the utility of the Congress movement and will veer round to it of their own accord. This was but natural. Living with their Hindu Brethren under the same law and under the same Government, bearing the same disabilities and same disadvantages, it was not a very difficult task to prophecy that with the development of their minds, the Muslman will awake to their sense of wrong and will not wait to throw off their lethargy and indifference and would join their hands with other sections of the Community to work out the national salvation. Gentlemen this honor of their awakening has come, though there is not the least doubt that it has taken long to come. Better late than never. The Moslam league at its last Meeting at Luknow passed a remarkable Resolution in which they asserted that the ultimate goal of Mohamadan aspirations was self Government under the Aeges of the British Crown and that they believed that the success of their efforts depended upon the harmonious working

SECOND DAY and co-operation of all sections of the Indian Nation. Gentlemen such a Resolution as this could not but cheer the minds of those who have been working at it in good odour and bad. The Resolution in my hands which you have been asked to approve and pass refers to this happy change of attitude by our Muslman brethren. Gentlemen when they have publicly declared their sense of awakening, it is but fair that we should express our appreciation of their course of conduct which they mean to adopt towards the long cherished ideal of this Congress *i. e.* the unity of the Indian Nation and the harmonious working of all its component parts.

With these few words, I recommend to you this proposition for your approval and I hope you will be pleased to pass it with acclamation.

Mr. C. Gopal Menon in supporting the resolution said:—

Gentlemen, I have been asked to support the resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded, by previous speakers. There is no need to go into details. All that I wish to point out is that I consider this definite pronouncement from our Mahomedan brethren as an important epoch in the history of the National Congress and it deserves our hearty welcome. The Congress has been working for the last 28 years. During these 28 years there have been differences of opinion to the effect that some section of the community has been keeping back from taking active interest in its work. But to-day these differences of opinion have been removed by the resolution which has been passed at the last Moslem League. Our Mahomedan brethren have now stretched their open hands to us for joint and united action to achieve the goal we have all in view *viz*: Self Government. They now ask us to join them to work for the common goal. Gentlemen, I am reminded of the Stanza of Whitman in this connection:—

“Comrade, I give you my hand

“I give you my love more precious than money;

“I give you myself before preaching a law,

“Shall we stick to each other as long as we live.—(Cheers.)

Mr. Wacha, supporting the resolution, said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen: only one word from me. I dare say you have all read in the Scriptures of the Nativity of Christ and of the Star of Bethlehem. In my opinion the Indian National Congress has entered upon a new nativity. With that new star the Indian National Congress will achieve new success.

I am now attaining fast the age of Methusalah, I am three score years and ten and I may not live to see the fruition of this new departure (“No, No”) but let me hope that the new Star of Bethlehem will lead you to a new Jerusalem.—(Cheers.)

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried with loud acclamation.

Resolution No. V.**COUNCIL REFORM.****SECOND DAY**

Resolution V.

That this Congress is of opinion that the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, should be abolished, and makes the following suggestions for its reconstruction :—

- (a) That the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English Estimates.
- (b) That with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected.
- (c) That the total number of members of the Council should be not less than nine.
- (d) That the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number of members, who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.
- (e) That not less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council should consist of public men of merit and ability unconnected with the Indian administration.
- (f) That the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less than 10 years and have not been away from India for more than two years.
- (g) That the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative.
- (h) That the term of office of each member should be five years.

Proposed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, (Bombay.)

Seconded by Mr. N. M. Samarth, (Bombay.)

Supported by the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao, (Madras.)

„ Mr. Gopaldas Jhamatmal, (Sind.)

„ Babu Surendra Nath Mullick, (Bengal.)

Carried unanimously.

Mr. M. A. J. Jinnah (Bombay) in moving the resolution said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, you do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in this city of Karachi where I was born (cheers), where I have found by me after my arrival at this city personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood, I was delighted to see so many of my Sindhi friends who are here.

Gentlemen, the resolution which I am going to place before you is a resolution on a dull subject. Therefore if you expect any rhetoric or any kind of literary speech from me you will be disappointed. The resolution is this (see over.) Now gentlemen, you all know, at least most of you know, that the present Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, consists of members who have all served in India in one service or another. That is to say, the India Council which is supposed to be advisory to the Secretary of State consists of officials. That council is divided into separate

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groups which are called Committees. Each Committee has a designation given to it according to the functions of the Secretary of State it performs. You have the Political Committee, you have the Judicial Committee, you have the Revenue Committee, and these Committees are formed principally to advise the Secretary of State on these questions. Now one objection, and that is the strongest against the constitution of the Council, is that it is entirely composed of officials who go from this country. I do not say that officials are, as a class, an undesirable class. But they go from this country with certain formed opinions of the administration of this country. These are the men who with their set opinion formed after years-and-years service in this country go back to the India Council to advise the Secretary of State who is the head of the Government of India. This is one objection, the second objection is that in this Council there is no place given to the views of the people of India from the non-official point of view. The third objection is that the members of Council guide the Secretary of State for India. The function of the Council should be that of an advisory Committee. The Secretary of State for India is for practical purposes the head of the Government of India. He should not be absolutely in the position of figurehead. I think most people will agree with me when I say that the present constitution of the Council makes the Secretary of State a greater Moghul than any Moghul that ruled in India. For this reason the Council should be so formed as to be able to advise the Secretary of State. And the Council as at present constituted should be abolished.

We further submit that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the English estimate. At the present moment the Secretary of State is not responsible to anyone. He can come to any conclusion he likes and is responsible to nobody. Such a state of things is undesirable. We all know that although somewhat late, it is proposed that this Council should now be reformed. This council was formed as far back as 1858. It is a wonder to me that it has so long been unreformed. The necessity for reform is obvious. We have got reformed Councils in the different parts of the country. We have in the Imperial Council, Local Councils and even in the Executive Councils non-official members. But the Advisory Council of the Secretary of State is purely an official body. It is purely an official tribunal. The Secretary of State has announced that he now proposes to reform the Council. It is better late than never. For that purpose opinion is invited from all parts of the country. It is in the fitness of things that we should express our opinion. The first thing that we say is that this Council should not be changed so far as its character is concerned, namely, this council should not be administrative, but should remain an advisory council. Then our proposal is that it should consist of 9 members and three of them should be Indians chosen by the elected members of the Imperial and the Local Councils. These three members would be in a position to place before the Secretary of State the Indian point of view. We have no desire to deprive the Secretary of State of the services of those men who served in this country in the Civil Service or any other Service. We say that three men from the Services in this country should also be elected to the Council. The remaining three should be selected from men of ability, but not connected with the administration of this country. They would be able to advise the Secretary of State regarding matters of this country. It is a reasonable proposition and I hope the Secretary of State will feel that it requires his full consideration.

Gentlemen, I need not detain you any longer, I commend this resolution to your acceptance.—(Cheers.)

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Resolution V.

Mr. N. M. Samarth, in seconding the resolution said :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, as to the resolution, you have been told reasons why we are dissatisfied with the present Council of the Secretary of State. One great reason we have why the salary should be placed upon the assessments is the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. We want the Secretary of State for India to be accountable to Parliament in the same way that the Secretary of State for the Colonies is accountable. We want his representative to be really resident in India. With regard to the constitution of the Council Lord Crewe proposes eight members.

Formerly the maximum was eighteen. Now I know that trouble about too many is urged, but in a multitude of councillors there is safety. We say that the number of the members of the Council there should be nine. It will not do to have too limited a number of members.

I think we are right in saying that the present body should be changed into an administrative body. Another proposal is ventured that a portion of the members should be nominated and a portion elected. Some of our critics say we are making absurd demands and I would ask them to make reference to the debates of 1858.

In the 1858 debates there was a resolution in the Council of the Secretary of State that there should be a portion nominated and a portion elected. There was no suggestion to give India anything like representation by election, it was only thought to secure English on the Council. The proposal found no favour. A proposal was then made that the council should consist of practically the whole of India, with some from amongst all parties. That is to say wanted election without representation. The proposal failed. Later there was the proposal put forward that Indians should be represented on the Secretary of State's Council, and he made a notable advance in having two members on his Council. And we say, now, that the time has arrived when a further advance should be made by appointing representatives by election (cheers). To this it is said that the Secretary of State as a member of the Cabinet ought to have the whole matter in his hands and that any election will be so much thwarting of his power.

The country has made great advances and we have now local councils and provincial legislative councils, and we suggest that our proposal really means a gradual evolution.

The next question is the composition of the council. A speaker has already told you that we want one third. It is fair that the official element and the civilians should have representatives.

The Government have thought about the proposal in Council.

The great objection is the civilians of a certain state of opinion and they might wish the Council to be composed of this element, and you are then deprived of advance. Advance should be by direct representation.

SECOND DAY*Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao (Madras) who also supported the resolution said:—*

Resolution V.

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

The resolution which I have been asked to support is one which involves within its scope various important questions of principle which require consideration and scrutiny. I am sure you will not, within the limited time at my disposal, expect from me a detailed consideration of the matter from various standpoints. I shall content myself by making a few observations on the important aspects of the resolution and leave the details to you. You are aware that the question of the representation of Indians on the Council of the Secretary of State for India has been before the Indian public for many years. At the first session of the Congress held at Bombay a resolution was passed that the Council of the Secretary of State as at present constituted should be abolished. The council as at present constituted cannot help the administration of the country so as to serve the best interests of the country. It is, I believe, for this reason that the Congress adopted a resolution in 1885 for its abolition. Then we find that the same resolution was continued by resolutions of the Congress in later years. I find that at the tenth session of the Congress held at Madras, it was not only resolved to urge for the abolition of the council but that the discussion of that subject should be taken up by the House of Commons. I find that as years rolled on, the congress was taking up the same view again. In the 20th Session of the Congress held at Bombay under the distinguished presidency of Sir Henry Cotton (cheers,)—it was resolved that the expenses of the Council of the Secretary of State should be placed on the English estimate and that the appointment of Indians on the council should be made by the elected members of the Imperial and local councils. Therefore you will see that the important portions of the resolution dealing with the representation of Indians was taken up, and appealed to in respective sessions of the Congress. And when in 1905, the Congress met at Benares under the distinguished guidance of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokale (cheers,)—I find again that a resolution was passed urging that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on British estimate. It was also suggested that there should be Indian members of proved ability in the Council of the Secretary of State. Gentlemen, this is a modest resolution and we are entitled to suggest that these reforms should be introduced. Then coming to the history of the Council, we find that in 1885 when Lord Palmerston introduced the Bill to give a Council to the Secretary of State, it was pointed out that there was no adequate representation of Indian interests. When the second Bill was introduced, it was found difficult to suggest an Indian electorate. It was found difficult as to how Indians should have representation in the Council. We have now salutary reforms inaugurated in our councils and we have various electorates in the various parts of the country. I believe that it is high time now that there is proper representation of Indian interests in the Council. Under clause D of the resolution we suggest that the elected members of the Imperial and local Councils should have the right to elect their representatives. Let us now make one common stand and urge for the acceptance of these reforms. Let us go a step further and say that we have a right of representation in the Council of the Secretary of State.—(cheers.)

The Resolution was supported by Mr. Gopaldas Jhambmal in Sindhi in the **SECOND DAY**
following terms:—

Resolution V.

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

I have been called upon to support in Sindhi the proposition, which the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah has placed before the Congress, for the benefit of those who know the Sindhi language only. It is on the India Council Reform and runs thus in Sindhi. (It was then translated in Sindhi.)

Brother Delegates, I do not think many words are necessary from me to commend this proposition to your unanimous acceptance. It was in 1858 when the crown assumed the direct administration of Indian affairs that the India Council was created. But its constitution provided no machinery by which independent Indian opinion could be made known to the Secretary of State. It was merely an Anglo-Indian official body. This Congress in its very first session in 1885 demanded its abolition. No heed was paid to this resolution until 1907 when Lord Morley introduced the Indian element into his Council by nominating two Indians on his Council. Now we have not a word to say against the present two Indian members of the India Council who are discharging their onerous duties in as satisfactory a manner as can be done under the circumstances. But there is absolutely no guarantee that their successors will be like them. Lord Crewe in his speech in the House of Lords on the 31st of July last stated that he intended to introduce legislation for the reform of the India Council and has invited constructive proposals. One of the reforms advocated in this resolution is that one-third of the members of the India Council should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. The Indian element in the Council would then be truly representative. Another momentous reform that is urged in this resolution is placing the salary of the Secretary of State on the British Estimates. It is a reform which has been urged for a long time and was advocated in the minority Report of the Welby Commission, and if it be conceded not only will the Indian Exchequer be relieved of the burden which ought never to have been imposed upon it, but greater facilities will be afforded for discussing Indian matters in the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. Surendra Nath Mullik (Bengal) in supporting the resolution said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

With the shadows of the evening before us, I don't propose to detain you long in supporting this resolution nor do I think it necessary to say much to commend this resolution to your acceptance. There is noly one point to which I will refer. We from Bengal are of opinion that this (first) part of the resolution is perhaps the whole of it or that it is like the paradox that part is greater than the whole. The first part viz. "That the Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished" is to my mind the whole of the resolution. When this institution has lost all its usefulness it is only proper that it should be killed outright (laughter). In the old days of Hon'ble The John Company the Board of Directors had some control over matters Indian. It is common knowledge that the Secretary of State is now a mere machine and the best way to deal with his Council is to remove it altogether (laughter). Then to attract the attention of the British public to matters Indian, the best thing to be done

SECOND DAY is to get his salary charged on the English estimates i.e. he should get his salary not from us but from the British Government at home. The only method by which we can make Englishmen take interest in our matters is to touch their pockets. So long as you cannot directly touch their pockets you have no hope. We don't trust in these Advisory Councils, Boards of Councillors and things of that kind. I must admit that we Bengalees are prepared to accept only as an alternative the latter portion of the resolution. You can say that you shall have in the council three men of your own and the other three men should be men of proved merit and ability. What even then. Who are the men to be selected for the latter? One of them will be perhaps an ex-president of the Chamber of Commerce, one an Ex-Director of the B. N. Railway (laughter), and the remaining one the Manager of the Borneo Company (renewed laughter). All three of them may be K. C. S. I.'s men of merit and ability unquestionably. But what have we got to expect from them? Indeed they would be worse-absolutely worse than ex-civilians. I have greater faith in civilians than in such men steeped in prejudice against our legitimate aspirations who come here to fill their pockets during a part of their lives with gold mohurs and then go away. The best way is to put the whole thing under the control of Parliament. If you want to put the Secretary of State under the control of Parliament place his salary on the British estimates,—to be paid by the English people. Then and then only can you expect that control from Parliament which you can't under any other circumstances expect.

You all know when an Indian matter comes before Parliament the reply generally is "Hon'ble member would remember that India is not a party question." Undoubtedly we have got some very sincere friends in Parliament and when they try to do some good to us that is the attitude that is taken now by the members of the Parliament generally. But the moment you put your hands into their pockets, they will say "That is the Secretary of State for India, what does he want"—(laughter).

Now we men of Bengal think that the first part of the resolution is practically the whole resolution viz. The council of the Secretary of State should be done away with altogether. Let it be relegated to the limbo of the past. What is the good of the Council? Supposing you have three of your own men. But if six others happen to be against you what is the good? There is yet another aspect of the matter. Rely solely on the conscience of the British people. If you can do that you have some chance of success with those honourable gentlemen in the Parliament with unbiassed minds. If however you have a council only and want to go to votes there for the decision of your fate then you have no chance. Don't rely on what is called the sundried bureaucracy. If you lose your cause there as you are sure to do, then it will be told that the matter was well considered by the Council of the Secretary of State and that the majority after due deliberation was against you. I have told you what the majority consists of so we must altogether give up the idea of a Council or of a Board so constituted to decide our fate. On the other hand let us do our level best to see that we have real Parliamentary control over our affairs. If we are true to our goal and if our goal is self administration of the country on colonial lines then we should have no Advisory Board or Council or anything of the kind—(cheers).

On being put to the Vote the Resolution was Carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned till noon of the next day.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THIRD DAY

Resolution VI.

The Congress again met on Sunday the 28th December 1913 at noon.

Resolution No. VI.

INDIANS IN CANADA.

This Congress strongly protests against prohibition of immigration, resulting from the operation of the Canadian Privy Council order No. 920, generally known as the "Continuous Journey Clause," as the order in question has, practically the effect of preventing any Indian, not already settled there, from going to Canada, in as much as there is no direct steamship service between the two Countries, and the Steamship Companies refuse through booking, and further subjects the present Indian Settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from bringing over their wives and children. This Congress, therefore, urges upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of the said Continuous Journey Regulation.

Proposed by—Sardar Nand Singh.

Seconded by—Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.

Supported by—Mir Ayub Khan (in Urdu.)

„ „—Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhry (in Urdu.)

Carried unanimously.

Mr. Nandsingh Sira in moving this resolution, said : Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : The resolution I am entrusted and ordered by our President to commend to your favour and acceptance requires the eloquent and appealing tongue of a Lajput Rai, the oratorical flow of a Surendra Nath Bannerjee, and the statesmanlike and logical exposition of a Gokhale, to give satisfaction to your intellects. In this respect, ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely sorry to point out that you will be thoroughly disappointed. The resolution reads as follows :—

“This Congress strongly protests against the prohibition of emigration resulting from the operation of the Canadian Privy Council Order No. 920, generally known as the “Continuous Journey Clause,” as the order in question has, practically, the effect of preventing any Indian, not already settled there, from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no direct steamship service between the two countries, and the Steamship Companies refuse through bookings, and further subjects the present Indian Settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from bringing over their wives and children. This Congress, therefore, urges upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of the said “Continuous Journey Regulation.”

Ladies and Gentlemen, the duty that has fallen to my lot, as you you know, is to relate the sad talk of the grievances of our brethren in Canada. Christmas week brings happiness, gladness and joy to the world, but to us Indians it brings this year the harrowing tale from South Africa, and a deplorable story of events from Canada; tales that send a thrill, a shudder, and a tremble through our hearts, and that stun the bodily sensations to nought.

THIRD DAY That great inspirer, that saint warrior, that life and soul of our struggle in the Colonial world, Mr. Ganhi, has been released, but for the benefit of the Boer Commission. Still, there are hundreds of our sisters and brothers in the jails of the heartless Boer Government. They inspire us with spirit, and infuse life into our hearts for the upkeep of the now raging warfare in South Africa, on which depends not only India's honour, but marrow of our national and international existence.

Resolution VI.

Belonging to a community which is backward in matters political and educational, I am glad to see that the Sikhs are entangled in this, our present struggle in Canada, and look every time to their war medals. They have begun to feel, in their land of five rivers that injustice is done to their countrymen, and to their blood-stained breasts and arms. They have now learned that the treatment of the authorities in Canada towards Indians is inhuman, unnatural and unjust. This condition of our countrymen in the Colonies has shaped the shoe in such an unnatural and uncivilised manner that it pinches all the parts equally, and equally we have learned to feel its effects, as on this occasion we join hands as one united nation, and with one heart and one voice we condemn the Colonial atrocities. The far off vision of this great national assembly is now to hand and its goal is coming to be realised.

We Indians do not put forth shallow talk of loyalty and attachment to the British Crown like the Colonies, but we have manifested it through our actions and endeavours for the supremacy of the British Empire. India has shed lustre on the moral code and ethics of the British Empire with her noble blood, and her sons to-day are fighting a very gigantic battle of King George's Empire to make it solid, with a real and substantial foundation, the basis of which must be the Queen Victoria's Proclamation, which nowadays seems to us like the proverbial "Colonial Provinces." Providence has deemed us to be constituted as one, under one flag and one king. "We do not recognise the power of those who think they have a right to do wrong." How funny it is that in India we are British subjects in England we are British subjects, but in Canada we are required to produce some bond of British citizenship, which we can only ask our King Emperor over again to supply.

Now, ladies and Gentlemen, you have been hearing these things for the last decade or two and especially during the last few months, and your ears have been ringing over and over again with this beaten subject, but under all circumstances we have to face it boldly and have to solve it. In Canada we have neither status as British subjects nor as immigrants. One thing is as ambiguous as the other, like the continuous journey clause of the Dominion Government. It was as far back as twenty-five to thirty years ago that our countrymen have been emigrating out of India to various countries, for instance, to the Malay States, Hong-Kong, Phillipine Islands, Borneo, Shanghai, etc, in the Far East, and to Australia and its neighbouring islands in the South, and it was mostly from these places that our brethren went towards Canada and the United States in the year 1905. They were quite welcome then in Canada and consequently their number rose to the figure of 6,000 in a couple of years. In the year 1907 restrictions began to be imposed upon us and our further immigration was altogether stopped into the Dominions. At present there are only 4,500 males, for no females are allowed to join with their husbands in Canada ("—Shame")

The advent of the years 1907-08 introduced laws into the Canadian Legislation totally excluding the Indians from entering Canada. The "continuous journey clause" and another requiring Rs. 675/- to be shown at the time of landing were conjointly passed which gave the desired effect of total exclusion of Indians and the prohibition of the wives and the children of our brethren who are already domiciled and settled in Canada, a great shame to that civilised part of the British Empire. The "Continuous Journey Clause" requires that Indians should come to Canada through continuous voyage without any change of a steamer even, on the way. There exists no such communication between India and Canada and further the Steamship Companies decline to issue through tickets to us, from which it is apparent that they are in some secret understanding with the Canadian Government—hence continuous journey is impossible. Happily for us the Chief Justice of British Columbia has condemned as illegal all the Federal Orders in Council which have hitherto restricted the entrance of Indians into that Province. This verdict of the Supreme Court is in our favour and it seems as if we can right away proceed to Canada as free British Subjects, but the Steamship Companies who do not issue tickets is one, the communique recently published warning against the glut in the labour Market is another, while continuous journey is the third grave hinderance in our way. His Excellency the Viceroy on the 20th instant pointed out this decision in reply to our representations, stating "That there is a very strong feeling among classes wielding considerable political influence in Canada against any relaxation of the restrictions" and that the "Chief Court order has produced forcible protests and a demand for more stringent legislation is this feeling of Canadians consistent with the Imperial considerations? Will Canada go against the unanimous voice of 315 millions of their fellow subjects, their Viceroy and his Government? We desire that no legislation should be passed in Canada which is opposed to our interests as well as that of the Empire, and unless it is consulted and discussed with our Government and the champion of our cause Lord Hardinge. His Excellency assured and reassured us of his active co-operation and sympathy for which we are highly obliged to him. In the year 1908 a scheme based upon all false grounds was chalked out and launched by the Canadian Government with a view to get rid of all the Indian community to British Honduras, as indentured coolies and they were offered Rs. 25 a month with some rations weekly. Our people earn in Canada about Rs. 180 per month and are quite free immigrants, of course without any rights and privileges of British citizenship in Canada. This whole evil was nipped in the bud when our brethren declined to avail themselves of this "tempting offer" of General Swayne, the then Governor-General of British Honduras who was deputed by the Downing Street Office for the purpose. General Swayne then explained in clear terms the cause why Indians were being transported. He said "One of those things that make the presence of East Indians here or in any other white Colony, politically inexpedient, is the familiarity they acquire with the whites, the instance of which is given by the speedy elimination of caste in this Province as shown by the way all castes help each other. These men go back to India and preach ideas of emancipation which if brought about would upset the machinery of law and order. While this emancipation may be a good thing at some future date the present time is too premature for the emancipation of caste. Thus ended the British Honduras calamity.

THIRD DAY Washing their hands clean of this our brethren in the Dominion of Canada
 Resolution VI. began taking an interest in business and real estate property and upto now they have invested about 2 crores and 10 lakhs of rupees in such enterprises.

They own in many cases their own dwelling houses and such property etc. and are a very prosperous community in British Columbia, compared class by class. Under the unjust Canadian immigration law it is not a wonder cases of hardships happened, seeing the disheartening conditions of a father being forcibly separated from his children and a husband from his dear wife. Where was the heart that had not melted and where was the eye that had not shed a tear of sympathy. Our countrymen were led to represent their case to the Federal Authorities at Ottawa. With that view they sent a delegation in the year 1911, which was promised by the then Minister of the Interior that "the case of their wives and children shall be immediately attended to and other parts also settled in a just and straight-forward manner." We waited for its fulfilment for a year and a half and reminded the Authorities over and over again but to no effect. Seeing that the Canadian Government have turned deaf ears to their representations our countrymen delegated the present delegation to approach you here and the India Government as well as the Government in London, the results of which you know well.

Now sisters and brothers, through you to this our National Parliament, and through this year's National President and this National body to the Indian Government, the Imperial Government and lastly to our King Emperor, I appeal very respectfully, but strongly and emphatically to mitigate these troubles and try and remove this ban in the way of King George's Empire's solidarity and assert your right of the citizenship of this vast "Empire on which the sun never sets" and because proud like the old Roman who said "Civis Romanus Sum."

Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra (Bengal) in seconding the resolution said, My countrymen, the world is God's and all men have the right of free access all over the world. But this has been forgotten by many nations and races. This is the cause of the quarrel and struggle that raged all over the world. Now, what is the crime committed by our countrymen who sojourn to Canada and other white Colonies? It is said that they are sober. Is that a crime? (laughter and cheers) It is said they are industrious. Is that a crime? (applause.) It is said they are frugal, they are not addicted to wine or other liquors. Therefore they can compete well with the white people of the Colonies and that is the great crime for which they ought to be transported from Canada and other places ("Shame," "Shame.") It is said that by living in those countries they would be familiar with the dark side of the character of the white people, so they ought to be deported, (laughter.) Do you think that for these reasons a great people ought to be transported from the Colonies over which British flag flies? Now, gentlemen, there are only 4,500 Indian people in the Colony. What is that to the millions inhabiting that land? It is said that Indians break the law which has been passed to shut the gate of Canada against them. What is the law? The Canadian Government passed a law that those who did not go direct from this country to Canada should not be allowed to land in that Country. You all know there is no direct communication. We ask the Canadian Government "Why this unnecessary law"? Why not

tell the world that you would not allow Indians to go to your country? But why pass this unnecessary and cowardly law? ("Shame," "Shame.") We pray to his Excellency Lord Hardinge, to whom we are extremely grateful, to intervene on our behalf and we also ask the Canadian Government to abolish the law. The Canadian Government on account of a notification issued by the Government of India promise to do something to remove the difficulties of Indians. Hope is brought to our mind that the law will soon be abolished. We pray to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to intervene without delay to put an end to the law which takes away the birth right of Human beings.—(Cheers.)

THIRD DAY

Resolution VI.

Mir Ayub Khan very eloquently supported the Resolution in Urdu in the following terms:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, before I proceed to support this resolution which has been so ably and fully proposed by the Sirdar Sahib in English, I would like to say just a few words of explanation which I deem very necessary. My friends and acquaintances in Sind in special and others in general would like to know what has caused me who was sitting all these days in this assembly as a mere visitor, to quite of a sudden jump up on the stage this morning and step forward soon after to inflict a speech on you. I have all along maintained that the ideals of the Indian National Congress are very high and it has done a lot of good to India and the cause of its sons. It was owing to the Congress's unfriendly attitude towards the question of the separate representatives on the Legislative Councils and certain other point which were of vital importance to the Moslems in India, coupled with certain local matters which I need not explain, that I thought fit of keeping aloof from taking any part in the Congress. But your resolution passed yesterday welcoming certain resolutions of the All India Moslem League and expressing a sincere desire to co-operate with your Moslem brethren, and also seeing that one of the resolutions to be moved later on from the Chair recognises the advisability of special representation of the Moslems and other minorities on the Councils had impressed me so very deeply, that when I was invited this morning by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai to take a seat on the dais and then asked by him, several other friends and our worthy President to speak on the subject I had no go but to obey them; and I am jolly glad I did so. Co-operation and appearance of the Hindus and the Mohamedans on a common platform in the interests of the Motherland is a great cause for which we must be prepared to make grand sacrifices and the more advanced a Community is, the greater sacrifices it should make to bring about a lasting and true union. Mohamedans will have to make some sacrifices also, but you my Hindu Brethren must be prepared to make tremendous ones, because Educationally, Politically and financially you are far ahead of us the Moslems.

Coming to the question of the treatment of Indians in Canada, I need say but a few words, because in the first place the mover has told you all what should have said been and the seconder has done ample justice to it; and secondly I was asked to speech at a moment's notice and had no time to concentrate my thought and prepare a speech for an assembly like this, where you find men of facts and figures from Madras and Bombay, eloquent speakers from Bengal

THIRD DAY and Urdu speaching Zahandanan-i-United Provinces and Zinda Delan-i-Punjab.
 Resolution VI. What a poor attempt it would be for a Baluch from the wilds of Baluchistan addressing you in Hindustani not his monther tongue.

You know well by now what shameful treatment our bretheren in the Colonies have been receiving at the hands of the Colonials. Our only fault is that we are what the white term a coloured race. We the Indians have proved that wherever we go and settle down we lead an honest and contented life of respectable citizens. Is it a crime to lead a simple, clean and contented life of a true Indian and beat the colonials in open and fair dealings in trade? What we ask is nothing more but the right of every British citizen to live freely in those parts of the globe where the British flag flies. If the Colonies refuse to grant us these just and fair rights, we have a cause to complain and demand justice at the hands of the Imperial Government whose loving and loyal subjects we have always been and Insha-Allah we shall ever remain. We are the dwellers of that land which is admitted to be the fairest jewel in the British Crown, and gives the English King the title of an Emperor. Would we be asking too much if instead of asking the privilege of the fairest jewel we merely ask the rights of common subject of the Crown. Everywhere in the Colonies we have our best men, who have proved to the world that they are not only a credit to themselves but to the land they belong to and the Empire they have the honour to be loyal-to-the-Core subjects of. In Canada we have men of admitted qualifications, whose breasts shine with medals and other orders for unique services rendered to the Crown. These men mostly belong to the martial Sikh race and have spent the best portions of their lives in the service of their King and Country. Now that they have retired to lead a peaceful life and spend their remaining days in pursiut of lawful trade, they are being harrassed by the Canadian authorities and subjected to all sorts of humiliations. If they return to their houses to-day rest assured they can easily find more comfortable houses here. But they refuse to do so in the interests of India and its sons, bravely facing all difficulties and proving to advising the world that within their framework of old bones of theirs there still beats the same brave and noble heart which won them the admiration of the world and decorations for their noble breasts.

It is our duty to help them in every lawfully possible way and give them all financial assistance as long as the struggle continues. We are standing for a right and just cause and trusting as we do in the justice of the benign Imperial Government, we are sure to succeed in the end.

With these few words I have the greatest pleasure in supporting this resolution which I trust you would unanimously carry. Before I sit down I would once again appeal to you to give every penny you could conveniently spare towards the help of these brave strugglers in different Colonies. Don't fail to do your utmost, otherwise you will give these heroes of ours sufficient cause to blame you and fling that taunting couplet of immortal poet Ghalib **غالب** at you, viz.—

کس طرح لیگا بلائین کوئی آسودہ خاک
 کچھ نہ پہنچے تیری گیسو جو کمر تک پہنچے -

(Loud and continued cheers.)

Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chauthri also supported the Resolution in Urdu.

THIRD DAY

Resolution VII.

The Resolution being put to the vote was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. VII.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

- (a) This Congress places on record its indignant protest against, and emphatically repudiates as utterly unfounded, the charges of general incompetence, lack of initiative, lack of character, etc. which some of the witnesses, among whom this Congress notices with regret some of the highest administrative officers, have freely levelled at Indians as a people.
- (b) This Congress begs to express its earnest hope that the Royal Commissioners will, alike on grounds of justice, national progress, economy, efficiency and even expediency, see fit to make recommendations which will have the certain effect of largely increasing the present very inadequate proportion of Indians in the high appointments in the public services of their own country; thus redeeming the solemn pledge contained in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858.
- (c) In particular, this Congress places on record its deep conviction:—
- (1) that justice can never be done to the claim of the people of this country unless the examinations for the recruitment of the superior offices of the various services be held in India as well as England;
 - (2) that the age limit in the case of candidates for the Indian Civil Service should not be lowered, as such a step will operate to the disadvantage of Indian candidates as well as prove detrimental to efficiency;
 - (3) that the Judicial and Executive services and functions should be completely separated and the Judicial service recruited from the legal profession and placed in subordination to the High Court instead of to the Executive Government;
 - (4) that such restrictions, as exist at present against the appointment of persons other than members of the Indian Civil Service to certain high offices, be removed;
 - (5) that any rule or order which in terms or in effect, operates as a bar against the appointment of an Indian as such to any office under the Crown for which he may otherwise be eligible, should be rescinded as opposed to the Act and the Proclamation hereinbefore mentioned;
 - (6) that the division of services into Imperial and Provincial be abolished and the conditions of services be equalised as between Indians and Europeans, and that in case the division be maintained, the recruitment of the Executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service be made by means of an open competitive examination instead of by nomination;

THIRD DAY

Resolution VII.

- (7) that in case the said division be maintained, the Indian educational and other services be recruited in India as well as England, and Indians of the requisite attainments be appointed thereto both directly and by promotion from the respective Provincial services ;
- (8) that civil medical posts should not be filled by the appointment of members of the military I. M. S. or I. S. M. D., and a distinct and separate Indian Civil Medical Service should be constituted therefor and recruited by means of a competitive examination held in India as well as England ; educational and scientific appointments, however, being filled by advertisement in India and abroad ;
- (9) that the present scale of salaries is sufficiently high and should not be raised and further, that exchange compensation allowance should be abolished, as it has been a costly anomaly since exchange was fixed by statute ; and
- (10) that the people of those dominions of the Crown, where they are not accorded the rights of British citizens, should be declared ineligible for appointments in India.

Proposed by Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur.

Seconded by The Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sarkar.

Supported by Mr V. V. Jogayah Pantulu.

„ „ Mr. Mathradas Ramchand.

Carried unanimously.

Rai Baikuntnath Sen Bahadur (Bengal) in moving the resolution said : Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution No. VII. on the agenda paper on the Public Service Commission has been placed in my charge. I shall place that resolution before you (reads). It is a very very long resolution and it is not practicable for one who has not got a broad shoulder, to carry it through within the time limited by our constitutional rules. I am a thoroughly loyal Congressman and I respect the chair. I respect our rules. I shall be the last person to break the rule. At the same time, it is necessary that I should ask your indulgence for a few minutes more to enable me to make some observations in respect of certain portions of the resolution. I must divide the work between myself and the other speakers to follow. They will discharge their duty and I will not unburden them of their part of the duty. This resolution consists of several component parts. The first thing I would take up is that of our critics. Our oponents might say that "the Royal Commission is going on with its work, why do you now introduce this resolution ?" I shall say a few words to show that not only there is justification for such a resolution but that there is an absolute necessity for it. Gentlemen, very grave charges have been levelled against Indians as a people, as a nation, by some witnesses giving evidence before the Commission, some of them occupying high positions. Now these grave charges, to put them in a condensed form, are these : that we have got defects in our moral character : that we have not got the power of physical endurance and that we are wanting in administrative efficiency, that we lack the power of initiation. These charges brand us with permanent disabilities or we have defects in our moral character, physical strength and mental and intellectual

capacities! If we now keep quiet, if we do not say anything from this Congress which represents the whole of the Indian population then it might be construed by the members of the Commission that our silence indicated admission partial admission of the charges which we are not prepared to admit. This Congress therefore, indignantly and emphatically denies the charges levelled against our people. This is the first portion of the resolution. It would not do simply to repudiate the charges that have been hurled at us by a mere denial. But I give some reasons, the mere mention of the names of Sir K. G. Gupta, Messrs. R. C. Dutt, B. L. Gupta, Satyendranath Tagore, J. N. Gupta, K. C. De, S. C. Mukerjee is a sufficient reputation of the charges. What valuable services these gentlemen have rendered to the Government and to the country! These names are sufficient to show whether or not they are wanting in moral character and courage, physical endurance and powers of initiation. Gentlemen, I am only taking the names of Bengal officials because I know them best. I cannot overlook the fact that when after the partition of Bengal there were anarchical disturbances in East Bengal, some of these Bengalee civilians were in charge of districts where 50, 60, and even 70 p. c. of the population was Mahomedans. As for instances Bagra, Pubna and Rungpur, these gentlemen kept the district tight and there was no disturbances, whereas in other districts such as, Mymensingh, Dacca and Barisal where there were British born civilians, there were great disturbances. Comparisons are invidious, but I say this that Indians acted successfully while others failed. I challenge those gentlemen who brought these charges against Indians. I had the honour to give evidence before the Commission, and of course I was very adversely criticised in some quarters (laughter). I ask them not to make a vague charge but to point out where an Indian officer has failed. Let them point out the places, let them name the officers. I don't think they will be able to name one. Those gentlemen who deposed as regards the incapacity of Indians have also been joined by members of the European mercantile community. The reason is obvious. They wish the officials to be their kith and kin. If there be British born civilians in charge of districts where they have big concerns they may expect much more from them than from an Indian independent officer, I say emphatically that there is no ground whatsoever to substantiate the charges brought against us.

So far I have dealt with the first part of the resolution. The second portion of the resolution expresses the hope of the Congress regarding the results of the Public Services Commission (reads). I have very great respect for the personal of the Commission. Although we should not take a pessimistic view of the thing we may express the hope that they will do justice to our grievances, in view of the progress we have made, the considerable march we have taken in the cause of education. In this connection it is a gratifying feature that during the last few years our Mahomedan brethren have taken long strides in education and on this they should be congratulated. If you take the statistics for the last five or six years you will find that Mahomedans are graduating from the University in fairly large numbers. In view of the policy of the Government enunciated by statute, by the Chartered Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, (cheers), of 1858, which we look upon as our Magna Charta, justice has not so far been done to us. The notification of 26th August 1910 No. 1128 published

THIRD DAY in the India Gazette the Government of India follows the same policy (reads).
 Resolution VII. Such being the case, such being the policy of Government and in view of the progress we have made generally in respect of education and physical development, we can fairly ask for simultaneous examination, for the Indian Civil Service in India and England. I am not for having many centres in India, I am for an examination in India simultaneously with that in England of an identical nature. There should be no difference whatever. There are several grounds of complaint with regard to the examination, that is held at present. More marks are allotted to Latin and Greek than to Sanskrit and Arabic. That is not fair. But we don't mind it if the examination is held simultaneously and is of an identical nature. Some witnesses examined by the Royal Commission expressed their apprehension that if simultaneous examinations are held in England and India then the service in course of time would be swamped by Indians. No, there would be a small percentage indeed. Gentlemen, students brought up in luxury are not so brilliant as the students trained up in the school of adversity. Students who cannot afford to pay their expenses of their stay in England for a few years are generally the brilliant jewels of the University. But if the examinations are held simultaneously those students will have an opportunity to appear and we shall have in the Service brilliant scholars of the different Indian Universities. I shall say one word more. The relation between the British born members of the Civil Service and its Indian members is not always what it ought to be. I hope the Royal Commission will emphasise by their observations that they stand on a footing of perfect equality. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance—(Cheers.)

The Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sarkar (Bengal) who seconded the resolution said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the first and foremost principle that should be recognised in connection with this subject is that India should be governed in the interest of Indians and that our children have a birth right to serve our mother country, in the different branches of the Public Services and that non-Indians should be admitted only when occasions of clear necessity arise and even then for a short time.

What is the arrangement that prevails here in the Public Services? The upper branch is synonymous with European and the lower with Indian. This is as indefensible in principle as it is *mischievous in practice*. Under this system an Indian can never aspire to rise to any post higher than that of an assistant in any department. Of course there are a few exceptions. We are to remain content as a nation of assistants. Could anyone conceive of a greater injustice? But how is this system sought to be perpetuated by our adversaries? The strongest point from which we are assailed is that of efficiency. We are, they say, inferior morally and intellectually and that we lack initiation. We are prepared to take up the challenge. Is there anybody prepared to say that Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee is an inefficient Vice Chancellor, Dr. J. C. Bose, an inefficient Professor or Sir Krishana Govinda Gupta, an inefficient administrator or Rai Annanda Chasu Sarkar, Secretary in the P. W. D. Bengal an inefficient Engineer? The fact is that most of the Indian officers who have got opportunities have won distinction. Even those Members of the Provincial or Subordinate Service who in spite of their disabilities and humiliation have struggled and gained eminence, have not been granted a foothold in the superior service. Take for instance, the case of Dr. P. C. Roy. Is there a

chemist in this country who can hold the candle to him. But he is to remain all his life in the Provincial inferior service, ("shame, shame.") The fact is that there is no opportunity for our men. If one Dr. Roy has developed into what he is it breaks our hearts to think that a hundred more who could have developed if opportunities were given have blighted. I do not like to tire your patience by multiplying examples. Is there anybody who can say that the administrators of Mysore, Travancore, and Baroda are men of inferior abilities or questionable efficiency? When opportunities occur our people know how to avail themselves of them and distinguish themselves. But the question naturally arises which is the greater asset to England? A contented India with a contented educated class able to rise equally in rank in the Public Services with Europeans or a public irritated and dissatisfied? Gentlemen, it is perhaps useless to argue with vested interests and service prejudice; and without detaining you longer, I second the resolution.—(Cheers.)

Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu of Berhampore (Madras) in supporting the Resolution said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

In supporting this resolution I will confine myself, considering the time we have at our disposal, to Clause (1) of the Resolution namely simultaneous examinations. This subject is a very important one and it has been well kept before the public by that whole-hearted and distinguished patriot, whom we are accustomed to call the Grand Old Man of India and who has been spending the twilight of his life at Varsova. It was he who first moved the Resolution relating to this subject at the first Session of this Congress held in Bombay in 1885 and which has ever since been the chief plank on this Platform. The unfortunate history of this question is a history of promises broken, pledges unredeemed and hopes unrealized. Gentlemen, you are aware that before this country passed from the East India Company into the hands of the Crown there were what were called periodical enquiries every 20 years into the moral and material condition of this country. In 1833 there was one such enquiry and after the said enquiry the Parliament decided that by reason of their colour Indians should not be excluded from the higher ranks of the Government service provided their education and integrity fitted them to hold them and passed an enactment to that effect. Again in 1853 there was a similar enquiry and it was then found that the enactment of 1833 remained a dead letter. Though the same view was emphasised in 1853 as in 1833 nothing tangible was done till 1858. In 1858 there was the Royal Proclamation known as the Magna Charta of our rights and liberties issued by that great and good Queen Victoria of blessed memory and at the time great hopes were entertained about the holding of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in this country. As a matter of fact a Committee was appointed to carry out the noble intentions contained in that Famous Proclamation and its report was in favour of holding simultaneous examinations. But this report was put aside as it did not commend itself to the then Secretary of State. In 1868 the question was again brought to the front by the Hon'ble Mr. Fawcett well known in those days as "Member for India" in the House of Commons and as a result thereof in 1870 a few of the appointments which were exclusively reserved for the Civil Service were thrown open to Indians and the Sop that was thrown satisfied us to some extent. Next we come to the famous resolution of the

THIRD DAY Hon'ble Mr. Paul in favour of simultaneous examinations in the House of Commons on the 2nd day of June 1893 a red letter day in the annals of Indian History. This resolution was passed and was referred to the Indian Government but nothing came out of it. The last word on the subject was said in 1910, by the Hon'ble Mr. Earle who held out no hopes in reply to an interpellation by our distinguished friend Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu. On this question we might well say what was said by Edminel Burke with regard to the American question and repeated by the foremost of our Indian statesmen of the present day on this platform at Madras "we have had this question in every shape. We have examined it from every point of view. Our invention has been exhausted. Reason is fatigued. Experience has given judgment. But the Anglo-Indian obstinacy is not yet conquered." Let us, however, hope that the Royal Commission now sitting will be able to conquer it. You will thus see justice of our claims to have simultaneous examinations and are being put off in spite of solemn pledges and repeated promises. One of the chief objections urged against holding simultaneous examinations is that the higher ranks of the service will be swamped by Indians. This can be remedied by insisting on an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the services. Another objection is that the British character of the administration cannot be maintained if Indians get into the service in large numbers. This can also be remedied by requiring candidates that pass the examination in India to spend a year or two in an English University.

One word more with regard to the age limit and I shall be done. We often complain of the evils of entrusting first class Magisterial powers to Civilians whose ages when they begin to exercise them usually range from 24 to 26. How much more shall be our complaint if even this age be reduced as it should be if the age limit for the Civil Service examination be lowered. There is no doubt that the higher age will give the service a superior class of men, whether Indian or European.

With these words I beg to support the proposition.—(Cheers.)

Mr Mathradas Ramchand supported the Resolution in Sindhi in the following terms :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES—

I have been ordered to render to you in Sindhi the Resolution about the Public Service Commission for the benefit of my Sindhi knowing brotheren, and explain to you for your acceptance. It has already been ably proposed, seconded and supported in English. Gentlemen, you know full well that the Indian people have long been complaining about their disabilities in Public Service and about their difficulty in securing an adequate share of the highly paid appointments in that service, and various other matters bearing upon their status in official life. They have also complained about the unholy union of Executive and Judicial functions. Look any where you like, the stamp of inferiority is attached to Indian name. This Congress has been since its very start doing its best to put legitimate grievances before the Government but with very little success. After all the cry was heard by the liberal Government in England and that Government has appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into all these matters and to submit its report. The evidence was taken last year and is being taken even now. Gentlemen, the whole of the European witnesses

appears to have made a combined attempt to condemn the whole nation as **THIRD DAY** inefficient, deficient in character, and wanting in initiative and therefore unfit **Resolution VII.** for higher appointments. If any stray cases of inefficiency &c., had been mentioned by these witnesses, we would not have minded it. The wonder of it is that even the heads of administrations have not hesitated to put a blot on the nation as a whole. Not only that, but they have been claiming higher salaries. The age for Civil Service Examination which was recently raised to the present figure of 24 years, after a long and tedious agitation, is attempted to be lowered. They wish that it should be brought down to 17 or 18. The minimum age for Matriculation Examination has been put down at 16. Now you can imagine how an Indian boy can pass his I. C. S. Examination at the tender age of 17 and 18. How any mothers can part with their children at a tender age of 14 or 15, as between two to three years residence and training is necessary for passing that Examination. It looks like our coming out shorn when we went in for ears. A protest against this unfair blot on our national character is very necessary and emergent. We must let the Commissioners know in time why this attempt to blacken our nation is being made by those who wrongly believe that their interests are likely to be threatened by this Commission. And it will be a pity if this Country comes out worse than it was when it asked for a public inquiry into its legitimate grievances. Gentlemen, you must show your sense of self respect. It is with these words that I request you, Gentlemen, to pass this Resolution unanimously.

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

Resolution No. VIII.

THE PRESS ACT.

That this Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book, and urges that the same be repealed, specially, in view of the recent decision of the High Court of Calcutta, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

Proposed by Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, (Bengal.)

Seconded by Mr. D. G. Dalvi, (Bombay.)

Supported by Mr. J. Chaudhari, (Bengal.)

„ „ Mr. Kishindas Jhamrai, (Sind) in Sindhi.

Carried unanimously.

Babu Bhupendranath Basu (Bengal,) in moving the resolution said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I have been called upon to move a resolution which is more or less technical in its character. Therefore I feel that in a mixed assembly like this it would be hardly possible for me to deal with all its details nor do I think it would be desirable having regard to the limited time at our disposal, that I should do so; I shall only take you through the broad features we have to consider and then I shall ask your verdict as to whether this legislation should be in the Statute Book of the country. The resolution is that the Press Act of 1910 should be repealed in view of the recent decision of the High Court of Calcutta, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory.

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Resolution VIII.

Gentlemen, you will remember that I am dealing now with what may be described as a piece of panic legislation. The Government of India, like all other Governments, with not always an easy conscience, is liable to panics but unlike other Governments, the Government of British India must not forget that its position is peculiar, and that nothing is more calculated to do it harm than its liability to panics and that nothing is more dangerous than hasty action undertaken in fear or anger. Sedition may pass, like the breath of the wind, anarchy may raise its matted locks in dark and unholy corners, but that may also go, but what will not go is the impression that a handful of boys with explosives in discarded tin pots, that a few hysterical newspapers, may disturb the equilibrium of the Government of India and bring it down head over heels. And that is what happened in 1910. The Indian Press was liberated in 1837 amid circumstances of great solemnity, with a declaration that boldly looked the future in the face. The early rulers of India were not timid men, were not frightened of shadows and not men who carried their hearts on their sleeves, not men who troubled themselves with continental analogies, not men who ran to Austria or Russia for models of Government. They rescued India from misrule and anarchy, they wrested the dominion from the French, they wanted to give India the benefits of British administration, they wanted to infuse the country with the spirit of British rule. They were men who wielded alike the sword and the pen and were at home alike in the busy haunts of men and in the seclusion of the Council Chamber. This is what Sir Charles Metcalfe, the liberator of the Indian Press said to a deputation that waited on him in 1837. Referring to those who were opposed to the removal of the licensing laws for the Press he said "if their argument be true, that the spread of knowledge may be ultimately fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point and maintain that whatever may be the consequences, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our dominion would be a curse to the country and ought to cease." These are memorable words and their grave significance should never be lost sight of. Unfortunately they were lost sight of in 1910, and the Government of India took a hasty and hurried step toward what Sir Charles Metcalfe sought to avoid. Did they think that they were, by the law they were passing, killing sedition? Did they believe that they were choking off the subterranean channels through which moisture was brought to that plant of noisome growth? They must have, but the question may be asked have they succeeded. The answer is writ in large characters for the man who runs to read. And so it was anticipated by those whom panic and passion had not blinded to reason. Sedition driven underground is more dangerous than sedition whose roots you can reach with your eyes open. We barred our way to the sources of the danger. And Gentlemen, it was not as if there was no law dealing with sedition, it was not as if we had not succeeded in suppressing newspapers which were offending. In Bengal the "Sandyha" had gone, the "Yugantar" had gone, the "Bandemataram" had gone. Sir Herbert Risley declared in his speech that out of 47 cases for sedition instituted under the law then existing, the Government had secured a conviction in every one of them. What more could be wanted? The answer was given that the prosecutions involved great labour and much consideration consequently the Government wanted a sweeping measure not causing so much trouble. Alas! the blindness of rulers and men how human schemes go the wrong way? Gentle-

men, you will allow me to pass to another branch of the subject. The Govern- **THIRD DAY**
 ment of India had to put a salve on their own conscience, they had to reconcile **Resolution VIII.**
 the British public and a liberal administration—they had to re-enact what
 Gladstone had helped in removing, and who could find for them more plausible
 reasons, than that keen, gifted, and astute scholar and politician Sir Herbert
 Risley? He brought into requisition the laws prevailing in Austria, the condi-
 tions of which, he said, were similar to India, forgetting that Austria—Hungary
 had their own dictats and that ministers could be removed. But these slight con-
 siderations do not affect our rulers when they show analogies from the Continent
 of Europe for the enactment of introduction of a retrograde or reactionary
 measure: Said Sir Herbert, “we in India shall be better off than Austria
 because the Bill does not propose to confer any power on the police; they will be
 absolutely outside it and will have nothing whatever to do with its administra-
 tion.” I think there is a difference between the police and the C. I. D. the one
 is open, public, the other secret, subterranean, and Sir Herbert was only think-
 ing of the public police, keeping the C. I. D. in reserve. How is the law adminis-
 tered? As soon as an application is made for registration to the magistrate, he
 refers it to the C. I. D. and upon its report depends the fate of the newspaper
 or the press. There are many Pressmen in this assembly, and they will correct
 me if I am wrong. But Sir Herbert Risley had not only to throw dust in the
 eyes of the British Public: he had also to reintroduce on a much larger
 scale what, as I have said was repealed by Gladstone, namely the Vernacular
 Press Act of 1878, and he tried a justification by pointing out the difference. It
 was not like the Press Act of 1878, a purely executive measure. The initiative,
 indeed, rested with the Executive Government, but ample security against
 hasty or arbitrary action was provided in the form of what was virtually an
 appeal to a highly competent judicial authority. This was not all: this does
 not rest on the elusive assurance of an astute statesman. The Law Member at
 the time, whose honesty and candour are above all question, said in words of
 great emphasis that he had provided safeguards which would make a Local
 Government, hesitate before it made an order of forfeiture because there was a
 tribunal which would sit over it and reverse its decision. There was another
 safeguard under Section 4 of the Act which required the setting out of the
 offending words, signs of visible representations. These were the safeguards:
 the Local Government would have to particularise the offence and there would
 be the right of appeal. Yet no Local Government did set out particulars. In a
 recent case the High Court of Bengal held that the declaration of forfeiture was
 invalid and illegal, but the invalidity was protected by Sec 22 of the Act and
 the High Court had no power to interfere. Then, as regards the safeguards of
 appeal, this is what the Chief Justice has said of the two alleged checks on exe-
 cutive action, supposed to be furnished by the Act: one, that the intervention of
 the Courts is ineffectual, while the other, for this very reason, can be, and in this
 case has been, disregarded, without impairing the practical effect of a forfeiture
 purporting to be under the Act. Well, gentlemen, this is what we have come to.

We have a special law of a very drastic nature without any safeguards.
 We say that the law is not necessary: we say that that law can never serve the
 purpose for which it was intended, we say that that law will make the criminal
 administration more difficult because it will shut out the sources of information:
 we say it will make the general administration of the country a matter of grave

THIRD DAY concern, for it will act as a wet cloth on all expressions of public opinion, we say that, situated as the Government of India is, foreign in its composition and aloof in its character, that law is a source of great peril: that it is against the spirit of the British constitution, that it is derogatory to the self respect of a nation, of a people, if you will, fast developing in self-consciousness, and we say on the authority of the highest tribunal that the safe guards supposed to be provided do not exist, and we appeal to the Government of Lord Hardinge, who has shown a courage in his treatment of great and burning questions like the partition of Bengal, the grievances of Indians in South Africa, the just indignation over the huge bungle in Cawnpore, comparable only to the early administrators of India, to remove a dark and inglorious spot on what is justly regarded as the brightest jewel in the British crown—(cheers.)

Mr. Dalvi (Pleader, Bombay) seconded the resolution. He said.

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

In seconding this resolution, I find myself in a double difficulty. I cannot illumine the subject with the same authority, experience and knowledge as my predecessor Mr. Basu. Secondly, the Press Act has not been tried on such an extensive scale in my province as it is in some other presidencies. With this reservation, therefore, I shall address myself to the general features of my subject, endeavouring to appeal more to your reason than sentiment in this respect.

The subject may be divided into two parts (1) As to reasons why the Act ought never to have been passed and (2) Having been enacted, why it should be repealed after five years' experience of its working.

As to the former, it is needless to repeat all the arguments that were put forward at the time, though, I should like to add that they hold good with the same force even at this day.

We are more concerned today with the second part of the subject, viz as to why we pray for its total repeal, from the statute Book.

You will remember that this Act was passed by the Government of India in a year of panic when the so-called political unrest, with its excesses in the form of anarchy and bomb-throwing was at its height, and neither the Government nor the people could see things in their proper bearing and true perspective. Fortunately for us and the Government, things assumed a different aspect at once. His Majesty the King Emperor "came, saw and conquered" the heart of his people. It was a unique circumstance, that soon after the Royal visit was over, a chorus of speeches from His Excellency the Viceroy, the Provincial Governors and Lieutenant-Governors down to the Collectors of Districts went up assuring the people that the unrest in its worst forms was at an end. Are we not therefore justified in asking that a piece of legislation which was intended to meet a particular situation should not any longer disfigure the statute-book, striking needless terror in the hearts of Journalists and authors? I say therefore that the Press Act is at present superfluous. Such a prayer would have been unnecessary if the very wise amendment proposed by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale in the Council restricting the operation of the Act to three years had been adopted.

The Act has been in operation for five years now. If my argument that **THIRD DAY** the unrest is at an end is not based on facts then the alternative argument Resolution VIII. must prevail, namely, that the Act has failed of its effect. It is not denied that the Press is well kept under restraint since the passing of the Act; but, if anarchy and bombs still survive, it is obvious that it owes its existence to other causes than the writings in the public press. The analysis of the true causes of anarchy on this hypothesis is therefore wrong, and, rather than keep this act in force, we should seek the proper causes and apply the right remedy. I have always believed that the public press was hardly responsible for the recent anarchical crimes. While the evil which the Act is intended to check is practically untouched, the average Journalist is held in terror by the dangerous powers which it vests in the hands of executive.

Let me illustrate my meaning from the working of the Act in my own province. Soon after it was put into force, securities were indiscriminately demanded from several papers of good repute, when they went up for declaration until the Hon. Mr. Gokhale obtained an authoritative explanation from the Government of the exact scope and purpose of the security-sections for the guidance of the Magistracy. Even then, one or two cases did occur in which it is highly doubtful whether the articles in question did seriously offend against the law. Our principal grievance however relates to the proscribed literature. The list of books condemned is very long, and while we do not regret the extirpation of literature of which the better class of readers knew nothing until it was notified as proscribed, there have been a few books which stood distinctly in a different category. In this respect, the remarks of Sir L. Jenkins in the Comrade case of Calcutta are very apposite and pertinent. Speaking of the section relating to proscription His Lordship observes:—

“It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of these sections may not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. They would extend to writings which may even command approval. . . . Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.”

The dangers of the Act would have been largely mitigated if a right of appeal were provided to the High Court from the order of the executive. We had been under the impression, especially after the assurances given by the Hon. Mr. Sinha, the Law Member of the Government of India in his speech in Council, that such a right was provided until we were told by the Chief Justice of Bengal in the Comrade case that such a right did not exist. His Lordship said “The High Court’s power of intervention is the narrowest; its power to pronounce on the legality of the forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred.” It is the essence of good Government that the acts of the executive should be subject to the impartial scrutiny of the Judiciary.

Only the other day, their Lordships of the Privy Council decided in a recent case that provisions in an enactment by which the jurisdiction of the Civil courts to examine the acts of the executive was barred were *ultra vires*. Under the peculiar circumstances created by the Act, such a power of appeal is absolutely needed. The writings in the press deal with the acts of the executive from day to day, It is but natural that some of them may not meet with public approval. But it is equally natural that the high executive official,

THIRD DAY who has done them with the best of intentions and in the true interests of the people as he understands them, should sometimes resent the criticism of the press, and it is not unlikely that, his patience being exhausted, he might easily outstep the limits and make the poor Journalist feel the rigour of the law. When such a divergence of opinion between the critic and the criticised arises who is to judge, if not, an independent authority like the High Court of Judicature? Otherwise, the person criticised becomes the Judge in his own cause and also carries out his own punishment.

I submit, therefore, that, for the reasons stated above, we pray for a total repeal of the Act in the first instance; and failing it, we at least request that the right of appeal to the High Court should be fully and unequivocally provided.

In supporting the resolution on the Press Act of 1910 Mr. J. Chaudhuri said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

I was not put down to speak on this resolution, but since I have been called upon by the President to support it, I shall do so. In doing so you will appreciate my difficulty in speaking impromptu. I suppose my friends who wish me to speak on the resolution are desirous that I should deal with the technical portion of it. This I shall do as popularly as the nature of my subject will permit. The first question that may be asked with regard to this resolution is "What case have you made out to claim repeal of the Press Act?" It may be asked "Does the Comrade case of Sir Lawrence Jenkin's judgment in that case furnish sufficient ground for the repeal of the Act?" The "Comrade" case dealt with a certain pamphlet which the Executive Government in this country declared forfeited by a notification under the Act. The question raised in the case was, was the notification sufficient under the statute? The learned judges held that even if the notification was not, they had no powers to interfere. But that case does not disclose how the Press Act presses hard ordinarily against every press man and how at times it is a source of great annoyance and hardship to him. You know all owners of press, publishers of newspapers have got to register the press and make publishers' declaration under the Registration Act of 1867. Formerly, the only formality that was required of a printer or publisher was to go before a magistrate to make a declaration. The New Press Act says that whenever a Press has to be declared before a magistrate the magistrate may call upon the pressman or publisher to furnish security. In this connection I shall refer you to Sir Herbert Risley's opening speech when he introduced the Bill before the Council. He said that the Press Act would not affect the existing newspapers and presses and that the administration of the law would not be placed in the hands of the Police. But what happens in practice now? I shall tell you from personal experience. Printers and publishers of newspapers may die, and they in fact do die and even the Government of India cannot by legislation ordain otherwise (laughter) or the proprietor of a press or newspaper may have to dismiss the printer or publisher. In such cases the proprietor of the press has to make a fresh declaration before a magistrate. The magistrate makes over the application to the Police or rather to the C. I. D. for report and the result of the application depends upon the report that the C. I. D. is pleased to submit. Sir Herbert Risley's assurances are of no avail. The Press Act is administered to-day against those assurances. Judges and magistrates have to interpret the law as they find it in the Code, they cannot refer to anything else. I shall tell you from personal experience what a source

of annoyance it is to journalists to have to make a printers' and publishers' **THIRD DAY** declaration in these days. I edit the "Calcutta Weekly Notes." I do not discuss in that journal any public question, although occasionally I have to criticise the law as enacted by the Legislature or laid down by the Judiciary. Resolution VIII. But the bulk of my work comprises reports of the judgments of the Privy Council and the Calcutta High Court. My printer who was also the publisher died last year and I had to run backward and forward between my editorial Office and the Presidency Magistrate's Court for four months, or may be more, to get a new declaration for a printer and publisher. The C. I. D. after a prolonged enquiry was unable to find anything against the new printer, but he was not acceptable as a publisher as it was said that his knowledge of English was not as perfect as it could be. But in a printer and a publisher we look for a sense of responsibility and not literary attainments. It is absurd to insist upon a publisher's literary attainments. For instance, in the course of journalism we have to publish Latin or Sanscrit, or, it may be, Greek or Arabic texts. If the C. I. D. view of the publisher's attainments has to be carried to its logical conclusion then only linguists of Dr. Ross's attainments can be offered by us as our printer or publisher. (Laughter.) However, at the end of four months or more, the manager of the office was accepted as publisher, but not before enquiries had been made regarding him both in Calcutta and in his native district and village. By the special permission of the Magistrate, I was excused giving security while this investigation was going on. If all this happened to a legal journalist you can imagine what would be the fate of an Indian public journalists if they had occasion to make a fresh declaration. When a Pressman has to make fresh declaration the Law is that the magistrate may ask for security. It is purely discretionary with him whether he does so or not. If he does so with regard to existing presses and newspapers it would be a violation of the assurance given by Sir Herbert Risley and reiterated by Mr. Sinha in his closing speech. Yet there would be no legal remedy against the improper exercise of such discretion. This, to my mind, is the most objectionable feature of the present Press Law. The magistrates and the Police are in fact the masters of the situation and Pressmen, especially, the Indian Section have been placed at the mercy of the Police and the magistracy. I shall refer in this connection to the "Habul Matin" case. The "Habul Matin" was a Persian paper of Calcutta. I am not here concerned with the merits of the case which also do not appear from the report of the judgment in the "Calcutta Weekly Notes" of the 15th September last. Here the magistrate called upon the editor to furnish security at the instance of the Police Commissioner and not by notification of the local Government. The editor moved the High Court on the ground that no security could be demanded from an existing newspapers. The matter came before Mr. Justice Hassan Imam, who is regarded as one of the most independent judges of the Calcutta High Court.—(Cheers.)—His Lordship issued a rule, but when the rule came on for hearing, the Court decided that they were powerless in the matter. Of course, under the extraordinary powers possessed by the Calcutta High Court their Lordships might have questioned the order of the magistrate if the assurances given by Sir Herbert Risley had been embodied in the Act. But leaving alone that hypothetical case and looking at the law as it is the High Courts have no jurisdiction to interfere with the irresponsible and discretionary powers of magistrates under the Act. It is this arbitrary magisterial power that ought to be done away with. The asking for

THIRD DAY security means binding a mill-stone on a journalist's neck to start with. After
 Resolution VIII. this has been done his fall means but a step forward. Over and above this local Government may also require any newspaper to furnish security without disclosing any reason in the notification as was done recently in the case of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and against this also there is no appeal. The so-called power of revision is given to the High Court only where a press or a newspaper or other literary work has been forfeited. That is when the mischief has been done and when the paper has ceased to exist. But we have just heard from the previous speakers how Sir Lawrence Jenkins has declared that the safeguard even in this behalf is illusory. I shall content myself by referring you to the judgment of Mr. Justice Stephen in the "Comrade" case. He is the son of Sir Fitz-James Stephen (cheers). His Lordship says, in fact, that he entertained no doubt as to what his conclusion would be in this case. But, His Lordship observed, that his absence of doubt arose from the absence of materials for coming to a decision. In utter despair His Lordship said, further, that never was a judge placed in a position in which he was, since the birth of British jurisprudence, and His Lordship concluded by saying that under the circumstances he was not at all sure of his conclusion (Laughter.)

In conclusion, I have only to say that the law has been weighed by the judges and not only all the essential grounds for doing justice have been found wanting but its scope has been described by the Chief Justice in terms which can only mean that it is drastic in its operation. I have pointed out to you, also, how going back upon the assurances given by Sir Herbert Risley, the operation of the Act has now been entrusted to the police and how the power of the magistrate to require security is both arbitrary and irresponsible and further how the supposed legal remedy against an order for forfeiture is unmeaning and illusory. The result is that the present Press Act is as drastic in its operation as Lord Lytton's Press Act of 1876 and the so-called safeguards embodied in it are both absurd and unmeaning. Mr. Gladstone got Lord Lytton's Act repealed with a severe indictment and I presume that I have made out a good case for the repeal of the present Act which after all, I have shown, is quite on a par with its condemned predecessor. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Mr. Kishindas Jhamrui also supported the Resolution in Sindhi in the following terms:—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

I have been commanded to support the resolution, on the desirability of Repealing of Press Act, in Sindhi. I translate this resolution in Sindhi (Resolution translated.) You might be all remembering how and when the Press Act was introduced. It is No. 1 of 1910. It was passed at the time when there was unrest in India and the Government had got nervous over it. The proper palliatives were not thought of then and the muzzling of the Press was considered to be one of the ways of putting it down. The Press, you know Brothers, ventilates the feelings of the public and represents the public voice. If no scope is left for the people to give vent to their feelings, it is possible that that may give rise to discontent. Our venerable leader, the Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu and other gentlemen who spoke before me, have distinctly shown to you, how the safe-guards prescribed in the Act are merely illusory. This is also clear from the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins

the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court in a well-known "Comrade" case reported in 18 Cal. W. N. P. I. This gentleman was once Chief Judge of the Bombay High Court and is well-known for his keen sense of justice. I can well point out to you here that the Press Act violates the fundamental principle of English Criminal Law according to which the prosecution must prove that the accused is guilty. In the opinion of the Chief Justice, under the Press Act, the hopeless task lies before the accused, while applying in revision to the High Court to prove that the pamphlet forfeited is not seditious and does not create hatred amongst the different communities. Such proof having not been adduced, the case was decided by the High Court against the applicant. And since the unrest is now set at rest and troublous times have been tided over, there appears to be no need for the existence of such an Act on the Statute book. I therefore appeal to you, Brothers, to unanimously pass the above resolution and I, on my part heartily support it.

THIRD DAY

Resolution VIII.

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

Resolution No. IX.

Resolution IX.

LAND SETTLEMENT.

That this Congress is strongly of opinion that a reasonable and definite limitation to the demand of the State on land and the introduction of a permanent settlement directly between Government and land-holders in ryotwari areas, or a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those provinces where shorter periodical settlements on revision prevail will substantially help in ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the Agricultural population.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.

Seconded by Rao Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing.

Supported by S. Soma Sundaram Pillay, (Madras.)

„ „ Mathradas Ramchand, (Sind) in Sindhi.

Carried unanimously.

The resolution was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao (Madras,) who said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am again appearing before you to-day to move resolution No. IX. I pray to take a little of your time and ask your indulgence. The resolution is placed before the Congress at the close of the proceedings. Although it is the last resolution of the Congress placed for discussion, it is an important one and requires your earnest and careful consideration. The prosperity of this country is linked up with the subject matter of the resolution. It deals with the welfare of the agriculturists who form the bulk of the population. It is a resolution which has been put forward at various sessions of the Congress. The resolution was pressed forward at various Provincial Conferences at Madras and elsewhere. The matter affects the most important question of the economic condition of the country. The resolution is as follows:—(Reads.) The resolution consists of two portions which have to be considered separately, although they are interdependent. The first portion suggests that there should be a reasonable and definite limitation to the demand of the State on land. The second portion urges for permanent settlement or a long term settlement of not less than 60 years should be introduced.

THIRD DAY**Resolution IX.**

Brother delegates, it is not necessary for me to put forward any special facts to support the position that the condition of our agricultural population is generally one of misery. I am aware that some officials and some non-officials have been trying to infer from the Income Tax, Excise and other collections, that we are growing in riches. But the village agriculturists are in as miserable a condition as before. It was urged some time ago that the growing population of the country and the carelessness and improvident folly of the agriculturists are responsible for their misery. This argument does not bear a moment's examination. Compare the increasing population of India with the figures in other countries in Europe and you will find that the increase in population in India does not keep pace with the increase in population in those countries. It is necessary to pay a glowing tribute to Mr. R. C. Dutt (cheers,) who fought hard with Lord Curzon for a long time and proved that the chief reason for the miserable condition of the agricultural population was over-assessment and defects in the methods of assessments. It is now necessary to find means by which this condition may be improved. A close study of the famines of the country—the famines of 1876, 1896 and 1897 would suggest even to a casual observer that the best means by which the condition might be improved is by introducing fixity of the demand on land and also by introducing permanent settlement or long term settlement for not less than 60 years. You find that the incidence of land taxation is far higher in those places which do not enjoy permanent settlement than in permanently settled estates. You find so far as the incidence of land taxation is concerned, the people in Bombay and Madras are in a more disadvantageous position than the people in Bengal who are in a better position. If you consider the details, there are various methods in the matter of assessments. I can speak regarding the condition in Madras. So far as the Madras Presidency is concerned the rate of assessment on land has been fixed at half the net produce. As Mr. R. C. Dutt pointed out, the assessment ought to be made in proportion to the produce; but it is now made also according to the soil. Then again so far as my Presidency is concerned it is the standing rule to demand the maximum share of produce as land revenue. The amount is 33 p. c. Mr. R. C. Dutt pointed out that even a more favourable assessment would had a miserable state of things. When the Bengal Tenancy Act was in contemplation, 20 p. c. of the produce was accepted by the Government of Bengal but it was rejected for the reason that the percentage to be realised must be less than that. When 20 p. c. is fixed as the annual demand in Bengal, how can you compare with the state of things in places where the demand is 33 p. c.? I leave these things for your consideration. Before I close I wish to point out that in the old Permanent Settlement Regulation promulgated in the time of Lord Cornwallis it was clearly laid down that it was necessary to introduce permanent settlement, as the Hon'ble Board of Directors thought it necessary to do so to advance the prosperity of the country, and to promote the ease and happiness of the people. This was one of the principles therein enunciated (reads.) That principle was also set forth when permanent settlement was introduced in some Provinces. When the permanent settlement was accepted by the Secretary of State in 1867 the Government of India suggested to modify the form. About fifty years have elapsed since the Secretary of State recommended it and although the Congress has been urging for its introduction with all the force at its command the programme appears to be as distant as ever. We have not only to pass this resolution at this Congress but move in the provincial conferences, to see that something is done to improve the condition of the agricultural population.—(Cheers.)

Rao Bahadur Hiruand Khemsing (Sind) in seconding the Resolution said:— **THIRD DAY**

Resolution IX

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

The evil of short period settlements is more acutely felt in Sind than perhaps in any other part of British India. The Province of Bengal has its Permanent settlement, the Presidency of Bombay has its 30 years settlement, but in Sind we have got only 10 years settlement. Every ten years, the rates of assessment are revised and every revision means an increase of the rates. When Sind was first conquered it had its own Governor in Sir Charles Napier. During his time the position of the Sind Zamindar was not unlike that of the Bengal Zamindar. At his departure, Sind was not considered sufficiently large to have a Governor of its own. Sind was therefore annexed to the Government of Bombay and with this annexation, was introduced the Ryotwari system of Bombay which lowered at once the status of the Zamindars from proprietors to mere occupants. There was however one consolation in this act of spoliation, in that the Zamindars were left in undisturbed possession of the lands which they held. In 1882, however, was introduced the settlement which goes in Sind by the name of irrigational settlement. Upon its introduction, the rate of assessment per acre was increased from four to six times and the possession of the Zamindars' holding was restricted to the cultivated land or that which was immediately fit for cultivation. The waste lands which belonged to the Zamindars were taken away from them by a stroke of pen. Here was another act of confiscation. The Honorable Mr. Harchandrai told you, gentlemen, in his welcome address that he was proud of his connection with Bombay and that Sind had rightly refused to go over to the Punjab. I do not know if the agricultural population of Sind is grateful to the Government of Bombay for what it has done for them, or can echo the same sentiment with the Honorable Mr. Harchandrai. Sind is supposed to be a part of the Bombay Presidency. May I ask why a 30 years settlement is guaranteed to Bombay and only 10 years to Sind? Is not the Sind Zamindar entitled to have the same period of rest as his brother in Bombay? You gentlemen who live in the Towns have no idea of the poverty of the people who live in the villages and upon the soil they cultivate. In the happiness and contentment of the tillers of the soil lies the prosperity of the State. In its own interests therefore the State must put a limitation on its demand upon the land. Otherwise the poverty of the people will deepen and increase. The remedy lies in the permanent settlement, but if that is not possible, long term settlements should in any case be granted. With these words I second the Resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. Mathradas Ramchand supported the Resolution in Sindhi in the following terms:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES—

The Resolution in my hands refers to the land question. It requires that the land in this Country should be settled Permanently as in Bengal; failing that the settlement should be for 60 years at least. You have heard Mr. Hiruand on this question. He has ably explained to you in English and I am required to do so in Sindhi for the benefit of my Sindhi knowing brethren. Those of you who are connected with agriculture know that in this Province only 10 years settlement is allowed to us while in no part of the Country it is

THIRD DAY less than 30. The history of this question is known to every one. When the British conquered Sindh, there was no question of ownership. Every body was owner of his own holding. During the first three or four years during the Government of Sir Charles Napier this right of the Public was recognized. After he left Sindh, this Province was attached to the Bombay Presidency and with one stroke the proprietary right was annulled and the occupancy right prevailing in the Bombay Presidency was introduced in its stead in this Province. Since then the irrigational settlement was introduced under which the whole amount of the assessment was charged on the portion cultivated, leaving the rest fallow for four years. Under this system, the land owners were permitted to get as much of their holding surveyed as was then considered fit for cultivation, leaving the rest to be surveyed whenever the zamindar wished. Notwithstanding this understanding the Government Registers now show that the unsurveyed land is put down as Government waste. The Rayat is now struggling to get this cured and the Highest Court in the Province has decided this question in favour of the subject. (The Secretary of State *vs.* Mushtaksing). The Court has held that the Rayat is still the owner of the land left without survey.

Now Gentlemen you can hardly realize what the revision of a settlement every 10 years means. It always means enhancement, never any reduction and sometimes an enhancement of 33% is allowed. What reliance could be placed by the agriculturists on this settlement? What capital could be invested in land under such a precarious settlement? Again no one knows on what principles the enhancement is made. The pitiable sight of the Rayats' poverty could hardly be realized unless seen. When the whole of India is crying against 30 years settlement what could be the lot of the Sindh agriculturists under 10 years settlement can be realized only by those who have suffered under 30 years settlement. The interests of the Government as well as of the Rayat require that the perpetual settlement should be allowed. But under these circumstances it should not be less than 60 years.

A striking instance of this short-sighted policy I am going to place before you. There is a part of Hyderabad District which is called Tando Division. The settlement was to be revised there in 1908-1909. Government deputed a concenecious Officer to do the work. He took about 12 months to make his report. He went very carefully and minutely into all the necessary questions of water-supply, the paucity of labour, the rise of wages as well as of rates. He came to the conclusion that the enhancement should be only 4 annas per acre in some villages only. His report was endorsed by the Collector of Hyderabad. As law requires objections were invited. The public even raised various objections to this enhancement. The report was forwarded to the Commissioner in Sind. In the meantime some time passed, and a good year for cultivators intervened. The Commissioner in Sind who was a new arrival was struck by the yield of that year. His mouth watered. He decided to tour in that Division during the last years cold-season to see for himself. He took 20 days to go about in that vast area. Gentlemen you will be surprised to learn what he did. He at once reported to the Government to add one rupee to the old assessment, per acre that is raised the enhancement from 4 annas per acre to one rupee, and that too without inviting any objections as required by law. Even the liberal Government of Lord Willingdon did not hesitate to sanction

this proposal and communicated its approval by a wire within three days **THIRD DAY**
before the commencement of the New Revenue year. Resolution IX

But the nemises has overtaken it. This year the prosperity of Tando has gone. The whole division was submerged by rain. Then came the destruction of the crops by rats and Ruro. Then came upon it the tightness of the money market. The yield is between 4 annas and 8 annas in the rupee. But even small as it is the produce can't be financed. The agriculturists can't sell the produce. Next month the Government assessment will have to be paid. Nearly half the Division requires remission from Government assessment. So one good year is followed by a very bad year, and one does not know what may happen during the raining 9 years. This is the result of enhancing assessment without any fixed principles and without serious consideration and upsetting deliberate opinion of a capable Officer by a hasty tour of a few days by a superficial survey.

With these few words I recommend the proposition placed before you for your acceptance.

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

Resolution No. X.

Resolution X.

INDIANS AND ARMY COMMISSIONS.

The following resolution was moved from the chair and carried :—

“ That this Congress again respectfully points out to the Government of India the injustice of keeping the higher ranks in the Army closed against the people of this country, and urges that the same should remain no longer unredressed.”

Resolution No. XI.

Resolution XI.

EDUCATION.

The following resolution was moved from the chair and carried :—

“(a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its donation of larger grants towards the extension of primary education in India, is strongly of opinion that a beginning should now be made for introducing free and compulsory education in some areas.

“(b) That the Congress, while approving of the proposals by Government for introducing teaching and residential Universities, is strongly of opinion that, that system should supplement and not replace the existing system of University Education, as otherwise the progress of higher education among the poorer classes will be seriously retarded.

“(c) That this Congress reiterates its prayer to Government to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements.

“(d) That this Congress records its strong protest against the action of the Government of India vetoing the selection by the Calcutta University of Messrs. Rasul, Subravardi and Jayaswal, as lecturers, on the ground of their

THIRD DAY connection with politics; as the bar of politics is so general as to lend itself to arbitrary exclusion of the best scholarships from the lecturer's chair, so detrimental to the interests of education in the country."

Resolution XI.

Resolution No. XII.

Resolution XII.

HIGH COURTS.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried:—

"That this Congress is strongly of opinion that all the High Courts of India, inclusive of non-chartered High Courts, should have direct relation with the Government of India alone, as the High Court of Fort William in Bengal has at the present time. The Congress is, further, of the opinion that the Chief Judge of unchartered High Courts should be appointed from the members of the Bar."

Resolution No. XIII.

Resolution XIII.

SWADESHI.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried:—

"That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of India to labour for its success, by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice."

Resolution No. XIV.

Resolution XIV.

INDENTURED LABOUR.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried:—

"That owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave results from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly insists on the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere."

Resolution No. XV.

Resolution XV.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried:—

"That this Congress expresses its regret that the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, with regard to the further development of local self-government, have not yet been given effect to, and urges that the Government of India may be pleased to take steps, without delay, to increase the powers and resources of local bodies."

Resolution No. XVI.**THIRD DAY**

Resolution XVI.

COUNCIL REGULATIONS.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried :—

That this Congress records its sense of keen disappointment that at the last revision of the Legislative Council regulations, the anomalies and inequalities, the rectification of which the four previous Congresses strongly urged upon the Government, were not removed. And in order to allay the widespread dissatisfaction caused by the defects complained of, and in view of the experience of the last four years, this Congress earnestly prays that—(1) there should be a non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council; (2) there should be a majority of elected members in all Provincial Councils; (3) the system of voting by delegates be done away with, where it still exists; (4) the franchise be broadened by simplifying the qualifications of electors, basing it on education, property or income; (5) the Government should not have the power arbitrarily to declare any person ineligible for election on the ground of his antecedents or reputation; (6) no person should be held ineligible for election on the ground of dismissal from Government service or of conviction in a criminal court or from whom security for keeping the peace has been taken, unless, his conduct has involved moral turpitude; (7) no property or residential qualification should be required of a candidate nor service as member of a local body; (8) a person ignorant of English should be held ineligible for membership; (9) it should be expressly laid down that officials should not be allowed to influence elections in any way; (10) Finance Committees of provincial Councils should be more closely associated with Government in the preparation of the annual financial statements; (11) there should be a Finance Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council as in the case of Provincial Legislative Councils; (12) the right of putting supplementary questions should be extended to all members and not be restricted to the member putting the original question; (13) the strength of the Punjab Council be raised from 26 to 50 and more adequate representation be allowed to the Punjab in the Imperial Council.

And further this Congress, while recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Mahomedans or the other communities where they are in a minority, disapproves of the present regulations to carry out this object by means of separate electorates.

Resolution No. XVII.

Resolution XVII.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS FOR THE U. P. AND PUNJAB.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried :—

“That the Congress again urges that an Executive Council, with an Indian member, be established in the United Provinces at an early date, and is of opinion, that a similar Council should be established in the Punjab, too.”

THIRD DAY
Resolution XVIII.

Resolution No. XVIII.
ENGLISH DEPUTATION.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried :—

That the All-India Congress Committee be authorized to arrange for a deputation consisting, as far as possible, of representatives from different provinces, to go to England, to represent Indian views on the following subjects :—

- (1) Indians in South Africa and other Colonies.
- (2) Press Act.
- (3) Reform of the India Council.
- (4) Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.
- (5) And important questions on which Congress has expressed opinion.

Resolution XIX.

Resolution No. XIX.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

That this Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other members of the British Committee, and resolves that the organization of the British Committee and *India* should be maintained.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

The President in moving this resolution from the Chair said: I would like to say a few words in connection with this resolution. You know the British Committee have been doing yeomen service to the cause in England for the last twenty-three years, and year after year it has been putting forward its best efforts to carry into effect the wishes of the Congress. At the most economical estimate they have to spend Rs. 20,000 per year and this amount is borne from the delegation funds. Last year, it was resolved that the amount of the funds should be Rs. 3,000. Unfortunately only half of the guaranteed fund has been received by the Committee. It is necessary for this Congress that this most valuable organisation should be maintained. I therefore trust that this right hand of the organisation will get the support it needs.

Resolution XX.

Resolution No. XX.

RETIREMENT OF GENERAL SECRETARIES.

That this Congress expresses its sense of deep regret at the retirement of Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. D. A. Khare, from the office of its General Secretaries, and begs to place on record its sense of warm appreciation of the very signal and distinguished services rendered by the former for 18 years, and the latter for 6 years, to the cause of the Congress.

Proposed by Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur.

Seconded by Mr. C. P. Ramasawmy Aiyar, (Madras.)

Carried unanimously.

In moving the resolution Rai Baikunt Nath Sen Bahadur (Bengal) said, **THIRD DAY**
 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the Congress I express deep regret at the retirement of Mr. Wacha, whose friendship I have had the honour to enjoy for nearly 20 years. When I have expressed my deep regret at his retirement and shed tears of regret, at the same time I shed tears of joy that he will be relieved of certain onerous duties which he has been performing for the past eighteen years with credit to himself and benefit of the highest degree to the Indian National Congress. Mr. Wacha has done excellent work for over forty years. He has ever devoted his time to the economic regeneration of the country and has at the same time been carrying on for the last eighteen years the onerous tasks as General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. **Resolution XX.**

The services rendered by him have been simply invaluable.

He will be substituted by another equally eminent man. The Congress is in duty bound to record its warm appreciation of Mr. Wacha's services, I may add its gratitude also.

As regards Mr. Khare, a busy lawyer, devoting his time—a man with whom time is money to the cause of Congress. He has been associated with Mr. Wacha for the last six years, both doing their best for the advancement of the Congress cause. Personally I know something of the nature of the work which these men do. He has rendered valuable service and is entitled to our gratitude.

The Congress would be wanting in its duty if such a resolution had not been placed before you.

Mr. Ramswami Aiyer (Madras), in seconding the resolution said: Mr. President and Brother Delegates: I have been called upon to second the resolution in which we express our sense of appreciation of the efforts and the indefatigable industry with which the retiring secretaries have discharged their duties.

Gentlemen, all of us came here Congress after Congress and see the great work that is turned out in a manner passing realisation, but few of us are aware of the exacting work demanded before the Congress is carried out, and what continuous correspondence with the leaders of the various provinces before the Congress can be carried to fruition. The task of the secretaries is becoming greater year by year in the matter of collecting funds for the support of the British Committee of the Congress in England. These retiring secretaries have done yeomen service to the cause of the Congress. They have to urge the different provinces to subscribe their mite to make the work of the British Committee a success. That is only part of their work. Few of you realise the sacrifice of time they have to make. After their labours they retire because they want to leave their places to other men.

It will be a long time before we can fill the places of these Secretaries. The greatness of the Congress is due in no small part to the substratum of work turned out by the secretaries.

We should be wanting in gratitude if we did not place on record some resolution like this, that we are mindful of their sacrifices of time and labour. We are aware only of the spectacular effort of the Congress, but the greater

T **THIRD DAY** part of their work is carried on under great trials and struggles and it is this
R Resolution XX. organisation which is the foundation of the Congress: That the work may go
 higher and higher under their inspiration is the prayer of all.

Chairman : I place this resolution with the greatest regrets.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu : I ask for three cheers for Messrs. Wacha and Khare.

These were given and the resolution was carried.

(Resolution of thanks to the Secretaries.)

Mr. Wacha in replying, said : Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, on behalf of myself and my co-secretary I cordially thank you for passing this resolution with acclamation. So far as our duties were concerned I may say we have done nothing but those duties as demanded by the cause. They have been a labour of love. We are devoted to the work of the Congress, and though we retire now, speaking both for myself and for Mr. Khare, the interests of the Congress shall be next to our heart. Our interest in it will be abiding. We shall always be at the service of the Congress.

May I venture to give one little piece of advice to the younger generation before me. It is this: The Congress has now been twenty-eight years in existence. It has passed through many phases, through the phase of ridicule, of contempt and obloquy, but it has gone on doing its work through all these years firmly achieving its object step by step. Go forward in the same way.

The Congress has now entered upon a new era. It has taken a new departure; our Moslem friends have joined us and a new star has thus arisen on the Congress horizon. This star will shape the future destiny of the Congress. We shall go forward step by step till we reach our goal and that goal is self-government. In that goal the Congress will find its new Jerusalem.

You must not expect that the Congress will be a bed of roses. There will be gales, there may be storms, there may be hurricanes, but as in the past you shall encounter them safely. You shall anchor in a heaven of safety after navigating the Scyllas and Charybdeses in your course. So, I say, go onward. We have no wings to soar, but let us climb step by step until we reach the summit of our goal, the goal of self-government.—(Loud and prolonged Cheers.)

Resolution XXI.

Resolution Yo. XXI.

NEW SECRETARIES.

That the Honourable Nawab Syed Mahammud Bahadur & Mr. N. Suba Rao Pantulu be appointed General Secretaries for the next year.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, (Sind.)

Seconded by Mr. D. G. Dalvi, (Bombay.)

Carried unanimously.

The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas said: No word of mine is necessary to commend this resolution to you. All that I need say after what Mr. Wacha has said is that we feel extremely grateful to these two gentlemen. If the gales and hurricanes come you will feel grateful to these two for taking up these duties. **THIRD DAY**
Resolution XXI.

I have great pleasure in seconding this proposition, I believe that a Bombay man should second this resolution, as Bombay has been the home of the Congress. Its Secretaries have so far been Bombay men and I believe I can speak with pride that Bombay has developed the Congress upto the age of twenty-eight and now hands it over to two Secretaries from a sister province. I have no doubt that in their hands the work of the Congress will prosper.

Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay) seconded the Resolution which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Subha Rao (Madras), in reply to the resolution said: On behalf of myself and the Nawab Saheb I thank you for electing us your Secretaries. I feel that the work has been well done during the past years by the retiring Secretaries, Messrs. Wacha and Khare. The main duty in connection with this office is to raise funds to keep up the British Congress Committee in London. Last year we passed a resolution voting nearly Rs. 18,000 for the support of the Committee and we allotted the money to different provinces. The late Secretaries have not been able to realize more than half, and we want now to raise the other half. We should all think about this matter and respond to the call of the General Secretaries. We know the London Committee is the right hand of the National Congress organisation and you must supply it with the sinews of war and supply that cheerfully.

Gentlemen, I invite the next Session of the Congress, the 29th Session to Madras. From the shores of the Arabian Sea to the shores of the Bay of Bengal is a rather far cry. Though we shall not be able to supply you with the comforts you have given us here we shall give you a warm welcome.

So far as this Session is concerned it is the most successful that has been held and when the Congress returns to Madras after seven years we shall find delegates gathered in large numbers than ever before from Bengal which boasts of being the premier province, Bombay which boasts of being the premier town and the U. P. which boasts the holy town of Benares. I invite you to meet next year in Madras.

Resolution No. XXII.

That the Congress of the year 1914 be held in the Province of Madras. **Resolution XXI**

VOTE OF THANKS.

Mr. Ghulamali G. Chagla (General Secretary, Sindh) said: Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. It happily falls to my lot to perform the most pleasing duty of the evening, namely, to propose a most hearty vote of thanks to our most worthy President, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur, for having conducted the proceedings of this august body. (Cheers). Although the duty is pleasing it is nevertheless very delicate, and at this moment I feel quite unequal to it for one or two reasons. The chief reason of my inability to do justice to this otherwise pleasing subject is that the Congress

THIRD DAY veterans during these two or three days have been so lavish in patting me on the back—little child of the Congress as I am—that my head has been turned, and how can you expect one whose head is turned to make a well thought speech. This gives me an opportunity of saying that I fully take the responsibility of all the mismanagement you have found (“no, no”), and as to those departments which are working successfully I give the fullest credit to my colleagues, and any success is due absolutely to them. On this occasion I cannot resist the opportunity of thanking most heartily Messrs. Jamnadas, Lokamal, Kalumal, Ghulam Hussain Kasim and Motilal, our captain, and other members of the Committee. I am glad I have this opportunity of thanking specially my colleague Mr. Durgdas B. Advani. The pandal has been solely designed by him and everything in it has been done by him.

Proceeding to the subject proper it is a great pleasure to me to place before you the hearty vote of thanks, which I am sure, will be received with applause. Those who have listened to the admirable presidential address of the Nawab Sahib and those who have read it in print have realised the thorough manner in which every question is dealt with and the thorough way in which it has been considered. He has given proof that politics is not the monopoly of lawyers, and I for one will be glad if it ceases to be the business of lawyers. We shall get on better if politics are taken up by business men in large numbers.

Ladies and gentlemen, the presence of the Nawab Sahib as President has been productive of issues of vital importance. The Moslem entente resolution which we passed yesterday was mainly due to him, and the effects of that resolution will, I am sure, be far reaching. The greatest service you have done, Sir, is the conversion of Mir Ayub Khan to the Congress. Our adversaries are in the habit of telling us that Mahommedans have kept aloof from the Congress. I am a Mahommedan and Mr. Youssuf Ali is a leader of the Community. We have rising young men in A. Rahman and Hafiz, and to-day we have had the pleasure of having enlisted as a delegate Mir Ayub Khan. I have purposely laid stress upon this phase of the question, not because the addition of a member here and there is by itself a thing of great consequence but because the aim of the Congress can only be attained by co-operation, and this cannot be brought about until Moslems and Hindus unite. We have taken a decisive step forward and the credit of all that is due to our worthy President for whom I propose a most hearty vote of thanks.—(Cheers.)

In seconding the motion Babu Bhupendranath Basu (Bengal) said :—Gentlemen, I almost feel ashamed, if an old lawyer like myself was capable of that sentiment, to stand before you in reference to a resolution of the Congress. In the previous resolution that I had the honour to move I explained the difficulty of the position to you. In the present resolution my difficulty is greater, although of a different character. As the mouth piece of the Bengal delegates, I have to give suitable expression to our appreciation of the services that our President has rendered to us, a no light task (cheers.) My friend who proposed him as President of this Assembly referred to his ancient and noble birth. Noble lineage has no doubt its claims upon our imagination. What impresses me more closely however, is that for the last twenty years our friend, forgetful of his high rank, forgetful of the difficulty in which he might be put, has joined hands

with us.—(Cheers.) Nawab Sahib, you have done us a great honour by presid- **THIRD DAY**
 ing over our deliberations. You will not take it as impertinence on my part Resolution XXII.
 if I say that you have discharged your duties with ability—(Cheers.)

My friend, Mr. Wacha, I cannot refer to you without a feeling of the deepest emotion. I am absolutely unable to give expression to my feelings. It seems to me like a rush of water to a drowning man, when I think that he is retiring. He has, given us the assurance that he would abide by us and stick to us. I hope and pray that his health may permit him to work with us—(Cheers.) He has referred to a new star on the Congress horizon. I think also that a new star has arisen on the Congress horizon. The election of my friend Nawab Sahib as President has demonstrated, if anything was necessary to demonstrate it and has accentuated the fact that we men of the Congress are not bound or handicapped by any consideration of caste or creed. If our Moslem brethren have joined us there need be no fear of lack of appreciation of their work in our ranks.—(Cheers.) Some have expressed the fear that the Congress movement may be lacking interest. (“No. No.”) I for one do not entertain this fear, and I think that this fear, if it grows at all, in our minds, has been dispelled by the presence of my friend and the speeches that we have listened to from him and his other Mahomedan colleagues. The Secretary has referred to a prominent gentleman belonging to the Moslem faith joining us to-day. He may be sure that the example of my friend the Nawab Sahib and that of the gentleman who has delivered to-day one of the most interesting speeches that the Congress has ever listened to will influence others to join us. It would be a welcome day to us if our Moslem friends joined in a larger number and greater volume than in the past (cheers). To Hindus and Mussalmans alike I say that this Congress is no sectarian temple. It is not open only to a particular class. Lay aside the cover of self. Come inspired with devotion to your country; fired with a lofty enthusiasm come to it. With soul, heart, and mind to do good to the cause of the country come to it. Brahmin or Pariah, you are welcome. There is no special temple, there is no special tabernacle. Gentlemen, I trust that most of my Hindu friends, and I certainly for one, shall feel highly gratified if our Mussalman brethren take the lead. Let them do it. Their ancestors held up the light of civilisation in the dark days of Mediaeval Europe. They established in Spain a university to which flocked scholars from all over Europe. What if they regained that solidarity? What if they gained back their place? What if they told us, “Be one with us, come forward with us. We have taken the lead. “Stop forward.” Where is the man in the Congress, patriotic Indian, who will refuse to go? Nawab Sahib, we have followed you in this session of the Congress. May your example live unto posterity. Let other Mussalman friends stand by us as you have done. If they do so, if, Nawab Sahib, they follow your example then I have no fear for the cause of my country. I have no fear for the future of India.—(Cheers.)

Gentlemen, I don't like to detain you longer. Bear in mind the service our worthy President has rendered in the past and to-day. Bear in mind while you part that he is one of our general Secretaries. I ask you friends in the Congress to carry the motion by acclamation.—(Cheers.)

Mr. Lokamal Chellaram eloquently supported the Resolution in Urdu.

THIRD DAY

Mir Ayub Khan in supporting the Resolution in Urdu spoke to the following
 Resolution XXII. *effect:—*

Nawab Sahib and members of the audience. Pray don't be frightened to see me once again and for the second time during the course of the day on this stage, as I wont take more than two minutes of yours in having the unique privilege of supporting this last proposal so ably presented by Mr. Chagla most eloquently seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Basu and supported in high flown Hindi by my friend Mr. Lokamal who notwithstanding his repeated assurances to be very short has said all what could be said on the subject.

Our worthy President comes from a noble family being a direct descendant of Tipu Sultan, the Tiger of Mysore. While Tipu had proved himself to be a daring and chivalrous soldiers of his day the Nawab Sahib has proved himself a true leader of the day, a man in whom Mahomedans as well as Hindus can fully trust to guide their destinies. In his Presidential address while speaking with unquestionable authority on all the important questions as the spokesman of this assembly, he has proved to the Moslem India how keenly he has felt their wants and said all what could be said to safeguard those interests of his co-religionists which are of vital importance to them. Sind, where the light of Islam first dawned upon India and where the greatest of Indian Emperors (Akbar) was born, is proved to heartily welcome the Nawab Sahib a distinguished Mahomedan of the day, as the President of the very first Congress held here. I wish I could find sufficient words to adequately support this all important proposition. Besides, owing to sore throat I am unable to tax my voice any further, or else I would have continued to speak even if the Nawab Sahib were to break his gong by repeated ringing. With these few words I most heartily support this proposition and call upon you to carry it with thundering cheers and deafening hurrah.

The Resolution was carried with loud acclamation.

President's Reply.

President's Reply.

The following is the concluding speech of the President:—Gentlemen, from the bottom of my heart I thank you for the very warm vote of thanks which you have just passed. I desire to convey to you once more my grateful appreciation of the great honour you have done me by electing me to preside over the deliberations of our national assembly. I thank you all for the ready and willing assistance you have rendered to me in the discharge of my duties and for the indulgence you have shown me in carrying them out. It is not necessary for me to sum up the work accomplished during the last three days. I will only repeat what my predecessors have said so often that the work of this Congress is by no means over with the three days Session but that the three days work is only the starting point and guide for continued and steady work in the course of the year that opens out before us. I do not wish to indulge in common places but let me impress upon you that the Congress is not concerned with any work of momentary or local importance nor with accomplishment of isolated objects. It aims at sustained and systematic work towards continuous progress including peace and plenty, self-improvement and solidarity. The Indian National Congress is not an annual show but is an organisation designed

to stimulate and guide serious national work in which all who have confidence President's Reply.
in the country's advancement on modern lines and have faith in its future destiny
are called upon to labour in a spirit of self-sacrifice and co-operation, of public
virtues specially demanded by the exceptional conditions of the country. As
the visible representation of our national aspirations, the Congress will attract
and rally together the best minds among us and even occasional failure would impel
them to strive onward further in the belief that for communities as for
men the test of abiding greatness is the capacity for self-denial and disinterested
devotion to public good. The zeal, earnestness and mutual confidence manifest
among all that worked for the success of this session, among the delegates,
members of the reception committee, and volunteers are undoubted indications
of our determination to be a united nation. Let us not hesitate, falter or
despair. Let us march forward on and on. Let us be up and doing and not
rest until the goal is reached. You gave me a very warm reception on my
arrival here and during my stay here I have received great kindness from you,
for which I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to you. I shall carry
with me the very happy recollections of your city and of your excellent qualities
which I assure you will endure till the last hour of my life. Once again I
express my grateful thanks for all you have done to make my stay among you
comfortable and pleasant.—(Loud cheers).



APPENDIX A.

List of Members of the Reception Committee (who were also delegates) of the 28th Indian National Congress :—

OFFICE-BEARERS.

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. | The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas— <i>Chairman.</i> | |
| 2. | Rao Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing | } <i>General Secretaries.</i> |
| 3. | Ghulamali G. Chagla, Esq. | |
| 4. | Lokamal Chellaram, Esq. | } <i>Secretaries.</i> |
| 5. | Kalumal Pahlumal, „ | |
| 6. | Jhamandas Valabdas, „ | |
| 7. | Durgdas B. Advani, „ | |
| 8. | Dipchand T. Ojha, „ | } <i>Treasurers.</i> |
| 9. | Shewaram Dewanmal, „ | |
| 10. | Lala Motilal— <i>Captain of the Volunteer Corps.</i> | |

OTHER MEMBERS.

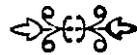
11. Seth Isardas Asanmal.
12. R. B. Seth Vishtndas Nihalchand.
13. Seth Chellaram Duloomal.
14. The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.
15. Rao Bahadur Tekchand Udavdas.
16. Wadhupal Oodharam, Esq.
17. Isarsing Hazarising, „
18. Seth Srichand Vishindas.
19. Seth Udhavdas Vishindas.
20. „ Lekhraj Chellaram.
21. „ Chandumal Chellaram.
22. „ Satramdas Chellaram.
23. „ Khushaldas Chellaram.
24. „ Khemchand Chellaram.
25. Achalsing M. Advani, Esq.
26. Ardeshir Framji, Esq.
27. A. R. De Cruz, Esq.
28. Seth Asudamal Dwarkadas.
29. Rao Bahadur Amolakchand Govindram.
30. Seth Amarchand Madhavji.
31. „ Asanmal Manghanmal.
32. „ Asardas Sahibrai.
33. A. Rahman, Esq.
34. Seth Asardas Shewaram.
35. „ Pahlumal Jesamal.
36. „ Khubchand Pahlumal.
37. Harumal Valabdas, Esq.
38. Yusifali Alibhoy, Esq.
39. Rahimtulla G. Chagla, Esq.

40. Seth Pragji Kala.
41. „ Khetsi of Kala Ghella.
42. „ Beharilal Jagamal.
43. „ Bashomal Tirithdas.
44. Britto, Esq.
45. Seth Bodaram Rochaldas.
46. Cawasji Jal Seth, Esq.
47. Seth Chandiram Hemraj.
48. „ Cooverji Khinji.
49. „ Chinmarsing Ramsing.
50. „ Chuhardas Rayatmal.
51. „ Chetumal Jashamal.
52. Mukhi Chandumal Valiram.
53. „ Jethanand Pritamdas.
54. Bhai Sobhraj Hotchand.
55. Dr. Chainrai.
56. Doongersi Samji Joshi, Esq.
57. Seth Damoderdas Hemandas Karani.
58. „ Dayaram Goverdhandas.
59. „ Kewalram Goverdhandas.
60. „ Rewachand Valabdas.
61. „ Dhanamal Sangatrai.
62. „ Durgdas Parshotamdas.
63. „ Dasumal Rajaram.
64. „ Dhanamal Chellaram.
65. „ Dialdas Mulchand.
66. Dalpatrai Isardas, Esq.
67. Dipchand Chandumal, Esq.
68. Seth Ebrahimji Hakimji.
69. „ Esaji Ismailji Karimji.
70. R. B. Seth Fatehchand Tahilmal.
71. Seth Gangaram Tikamdas.
72. „ Govindram Lalchand.
73. „ Ghulam Hussein Kasim.
74. „ Govindji Virji.
75. „ Govindram Dayaldas.
76. „ Gerimal Isardas.
77. Hafiz, Esq.
78. Seth Gidumal Fatehchand.
79. „ Wadhumal Fatehchand.
80. „ Gidumal Lekhraj.
81. Gopaldas Jhamatmal, Esq.
82. Harchandrai Tahilram, Esq.
83. Hirdaram Mewaram, Esq.
84. Seth Harbhagwandas Lula.
85. Srikishindas Harbhagwandas Lula, Esq.
86. Seth Hasamal Chellaram.
87. „ Hardasmal Labooram.
88. Mukhi Harkishindas Gurudinomal.
89. Seth Hasasing Tahilsing.

90. Hiranand Santokram, Esq.
91. Seth Isardas Dharamchand.
92. Isardas Dialmal, Esq.
93. Kimatrai Bhojraj, Esq.
94. Kishindas Jhamrai, Esq.
95. Seth Khubiram Gangashahi.
96. „ Kirpaldas Kaliandas.
97. „ Kisumal Tirithdas.
98. „ Khushiram Hukumatrai.
99. „ Khushaldas Mangatram.
100. „ Khiasing Ramsing.
101. „ Kimatrai Girdharidas.
102. Lokumal Tulsidas, Esq.
103. Seth Lalemal.
104. „ Lalji Lakhmidas.
105. „ Haridas Lalji.
106. „ Ratansi Lalji.
107. „ Lakhmichand Kanayalal.
108. Lalchand Navahrai, Esq.
109. Seth Lalchand Motiram.
110. Khubehand Fatehchand, Esq.
111. Seth Chainrai Virbhandas.
112. „ Lunidasing.
113. „ Lilaram Lakhmichand.
114. Merwanji Mancherji Cama, Esq.
115. Mulchand Pesumal, Esq.
116. Seth Muljimal Maughanmal.
117. J. L. Lalwani, Esq.
118. M. L. Lalwani, Esq.
119. Seth Motilal Goverdhandas.
120. „ Manghoomal Jethanand.
121. „ Morarji Sunderji.
122. Manilal Shamji, Esq.
123. Seth Madhoram Hardevdas.
124. „ Mahtabrai Chuhamal.
125. „ Multanchand Kishingopal.
126. Mulchand Gurdhinomal, Esq.
127. Seth Madhavdas Isardas.
128. Mathradas Ramchand, Esq.
129. Diwan Mushtaksing.
130. Seth Metharam Ramrakhiamal.
131. Masand Isardas.
132. Seth Jasraj Valji.
133. „ Jankidas Banarsidas.
134. „ Jamnadas Sunderji.
135. „ Lakhamsi Raisi.
136. „ Jivraj Lakhamsi.
137. Jethanand Pesumal, Esq.
138. Seth Naraindas Asanmal.

139. Seth Nandlal Harichand.
140. „ Nur Mahomed Lalan.
141. „ Nanikchand Ganpatrai.
142. „ Narsomal Rayatmal.
143. „ Naraindas Utamechand.
144. „ Narsumal Gokaldas.
145. Naraindas Motaram, Esq.
146. N. M. Samarth, Esq.
147. D. E. Wacha, Esq.
148. The Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas.
149. „ Mr. Gokaldas Khandas Parekh.
150. D. A. Khare, Esq.
151. D. G. Dalvi, Esq.
152. Seth Narsumal Gokaldas.
153. „ Nebhandas Jethanand.
154. Udharan Shewakram, Esq.
155. Pesumal Ochiram, Esq.
156. Seth Sahijram Khiamal.
157. „ Lekhraj Khiamal.
158. „ Rewachand Fatehchand.
159. „ Ratanchand Fatehchand.
160. „ Rampartab Ramchand.
161. „ Raghunath Kalianji.
162. „ Ramdas Morarji.
163. „ Ratansi Parshottam.
164. „ Ramrakhiamal Jethanand.
165. „ Sunderji Anandji.
166. „ Shivaldas.
167. „ Dwarkadas.
168. „ Santdas Devkishindas.
169. Santdas Mangharam, Esq.
170. Sukhramdas T. Ojha, Esq.
171. Seth Thawerdas Janimal.
172. „ Tolaram Nebhanmal.
173. „ Tourmal.
174. Tirithdas Chandunmal, Esq.
175. Tulsidas Mulehand, Esq.
176. Seth Tharumal Dwarkadas.
177. „ Thakurdas Fatehchand.
178. „ Tilumal Seumal.
179. „ Tejbhandas Sunderdas.
180. „ Thakurdas Tilumal.
181. „ Tourmal Gopaldas.
182. „ Tirithdas Lunidaram.
183. Bhai Runchoredas Pritamdas.
184. Seth Tarachand Parsram.
185. „ Verhomal Seumal.
186. „ Valabdas Umersi.
187. Versimal Dewannal, Esq.

188. Seth Vishindas Fatehchand.
189. „ Dayaram Jethanand.
190. „ Vishindas Goverdhandas.
191. Vilaitrai Jethmal, Esq.
192. Seth Wadhupal Adupal.
193. Wadhupal Belaram, Esq.
194. Bulehand Kundanmal, Esq.
195. Seth Watupal Wasiamal.
196. „ Gangaram Tilokchand.
197. „ Shamdas Hiranand.
198. „ Udhavdas Hemraj.
199. Thakurdas Khemchand, Esq.
200. Ramchand Khemchand, Esq.
201. Hassaram Vishindas, Esq.



APPENDIX B.

List of other Delegates to the 28th Indian National Congress.

BOMBAY.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
1	Mr. Madhavdas Mangatram ...	Hindu	Zamindar	Sukkur Meeting.
2	„ Pritamdas K. Adwani ...	Do.	Courtactor	Hyderabad
3	„ Visbindas N. Adwani ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
4	„ Valiram Kodumal ...	Do.	Land ord	Karachi, 6-12-1913.
5	„ Janmadas Shanidas ...	Do.	Merchant	Do.
6	„ Khialdas Venandamal ...	Do.	Trader	Do.
7	„ Tulsidas Radhakishandas ...	Do.	Pleader	Do.
8	„ Parsram Dharamdas ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
9	„ Ramji Jeram ...	Do.	Merchant	Do.
10	„ Naghji Anandji ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
11	„ Nanji Loji ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
12	„ Jethmal Parsram ...	Do.	Teacher	Hyderabad Sind.
13	„ Amarnomal Junjimal ...	Hindu Lohana	Merchant	Karachi 6-12-1913 Dt. Congress Committe.
14	„ Ramechand Jethmal ...	Do.	Hd. Clerk, B. R. Herman & Co.	Do.
15	„ Dayaram Awatrai ...	Do.	Merchant	Karachi 6-12-1913.
16	„ D. Kishinchand ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
17	„ Asumal Mulchand ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
18	„ Haji Rahimtallah Thawar... ..	Khoja Mahomedan	Do.	Do.
19	„ Haji Hashim Ramzan ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
20	„ Kanji Govindji ...	Hindu Lohana	Do.	Do.
21	„ Ramji Hansraj... ..	Do.	Do.	Do.
22	„ Gokaldas Ramji ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
23	„ Jethalal Kalyanji ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
24	„ Valabdas Assanaud ...	Hindu Bhatia	Do.	Do.
25	„ Ghanshandas Kalumal ...	Hindu Lohana	Do.	Do.
26	„ Rahimtallah md. Fazul ...	Mahomedan	Private Service	Hyderabad Sind.
27	„ Goduram Gumanmal ...	Hindu Brahmin	Do.	Karachi 6-12-1913
28	„ Pohooram Tirathdas ...	Hindu Do.	Do.	Do.
29	„ Gangaram Parmanand ...	Hindu	Salesman in S. M. O. Dosa, Karachi	Do.
30	„ Valimahomed Latifali ...	Khoja Mahomedan	Merchant	Do.
31	„ Chhangomal Nenumal ...	Hindu	Do.	Jacobabad, Sukkur Elected 4-12-1913.
32	Dr. Hoondraj Shinhomal ...	Do.	Medical Practitioner	Do.
33	Mr. Hiranand Tahkandas ...	Do.	Merchant	Do.
34	„ Chellaram Harumal ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
35	Soth Muriymal Kbilumal ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
36	Mr. Newandram Parsoomal ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
37	„ Maidinomal Meromal ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
38	„ Muriymal Kbilumal ...	Do.	Do.	Do.

BOMBAY—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion demoni- nation and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occu- pation and address in full.	How and when elected.
39	Mr. Sitabdas Lilaram ...	Hindu ...	Merchants ...	Jacobabad-Sukkur 4-12-13.
40	" Dandamal Mewaram ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
41	" Gopalmal Kamoomal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
42	" Deoachand Amumal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
43	" Chhatomal Lokram ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
44	Mukhi Bazarimal Shikarimal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
45	Seth Atmaram Tharimal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
46	" Jethanand Thawerdas ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
47	Mr. Thakurdas Ramchand Wadbhau ...	Hindu Amil ...	Plender ...	Do.
48	" Giridarilal Partabrai Mirchandani ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
49	" Botchand Tolaram Tekchandani ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
50	" Jehangir Tomulji ...	Parsi ...	Miller ...	At the public meeting held on 6-12-13-
51	" Ammal B. Vazirani, B. A., L.L. B. ...	Hindu Amil ...	Plender-Karachi ...	Do.
52	" Mulechand Maglamal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
53	" Tulidas Shivandas Jugasia ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
54	" Dhanomal Thakurdas ...	Hindu Bhatia ...	Merchant-Idh Para Tatta ...	Do.
55	" Tarachand Ochiram ...	Hindu Lohana ...	Plender Naushahro Feroz, District Nowabshah ...	Do.
56	" Bhogchand Chotirmal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
57	" Babu Sandal ...	Hindu Pardeshi ...	Merchant ...	Do.
58	" Hassanand Mungaldas ...	Hindu ...	Do. ...	At the public meeting held at Karachi on 6-12-13.
59	" Dhanomal Bulechand ...	Do. ...	Zamindar ...	Do.
60	" Dialmal Tailikram ...	Do. ...	Agent ...	Do.
61	" Morarji Amarsi ...	Do. ...	Merchant-Karachi ...	Do.
62	" Nensi Chapsi ...	Hindu Lohana ...	Do. ...	Do.
63	" Nalthambi Nadar ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
64	" Ramji Govindji ...	Hindu Catchi ...	Do. ...	Do.
65	" Jafferji Abdul Hussain ...	Mahomedan Bori ...	Merchant c o Ismailji Karimji ...	Do.
66	" Garmukhdas Dotaram ...	Hindu Amil ...	Graduate ...	Do.
67	" Khunchand ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
68	" Detaram Slaundas ...	Do. ...	Plender ...	Do.
69	" Narsindas Anandji ...	Hindu Lohana ...	Service, Tally Contractor ...	Do.
70	" Valiram Alanchand ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
71	" Parsram Rewachand ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
72	" B. B. Doshu ...	Do. ...	Service ...	Do.
73	Manvi Fateh Mahomed ...	Mahomedan ...	Native Physician ...	Do.
74	Mr. Gangaram Mohandal ...	Hindu Amil ...	Plender Larkana ...	28th November 1913.
75	" Virusing Kimatsing ...	Do. ...	Plender Larkana ...	Larkana
76	" Alamal Hussamud ...	Hindu ...	Merchant ...	Karachi meeting on
77	" Leelharan Salarnatni ...	Hindu Amil ...	Plender Larkana ...	28th November 1913.
78	" Annitlal Baldevdas ...	Hindu Patidar ...	Plender ...	At the Surat-I
79	" Nihalchand H. Advani ...	Hindu Amil ...	Service ...	Association Meetin Karachi 6-12-13.

BOMBAY—contd.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any,	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
80	Mr. Gobindram Ramdas	Hindu	Broker	Karachi 6-12-13
81	„ Jeramdas Morandmal	Hindu Bania	Pleader	Larkana 28-11-13.
82	„ Balchand Navalrai	Hindu Amil	Do.	Do.
83	„ Aimal Pamaudas	Do.	Do.	Do.
84	„ Detaram Morandmal	Hindu Bania	Do.	Do.
85	„ Partabsing S. Shahani, Bar-at-Law	Hindu	Do.	Karachi 6-12-13
86	„ Atmaram Sitaram Wagh, Esq.	Hindu, Gand Sonsavat Brahmin	Clerk, Mercantile Office Haji Kassini's Vade, Near, French Bridge Gurgaon, Bombay.	Bombay Pr. Congress 13-12-13.
87	Doongersi Naghjee... ..	Hindu Catchi	Merchant Karachi	Karachi 6-12-13.
88	Baba Kulianjee Moolji	Hindu Lohana	Contractor N. W. Ry., Karachi..	Do.
89	Ramchandira Vishnu Maliagun... ..	Brahmin	High Court Pleader Akola (Berar.)	Bevar Pr. Congress Needal- Anrooti 14-12-13.
90	Motiram Broker	Hindu	Merchant	Karachi 6-12-13.
91	Amritlal V. Thakar, Esq.	Hindu Lohana	Municipal Servant Vithaldas Road.	Bombay Prov. Congress Meeting 13-12-13.
92	Pritamsing T. Advani, Pleader... ..	Hindu Sikh	Princess Street, Kalbadevi, Post Bombay.	6th December, 1913.
93	D. G. Dalvi, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Do.	Pleader High Court Opp. Post Office Thakurdass.	Bombay Presidents asso- ciation at meeting of Lar- kuna held on 23-12-13
94	Shewaram Dharamdas	Hindu Shikarpuri	Merchant	Do.
95	Thakurdas Manghirmal	Do.	Do.	Do.
96	Adamali Ibrahimji	Bori Mahomedan	Dubashes	Elected at the Public Meet- ing held on 6-12-13
97	Husseinhoy Ghulam Hussein... ..	Do.	Do.	Do.
98	Atmaram Udhavdas	Hindu Panjabi	Merchant	Do.
99	Tekchand Gulabrai... ..	Hindu Lohana	Legal Practitioner	Do.
100	Ramchand Bulchand	Do.	Merchant C/o Bulchand Nathoomal.	Do.
101	Kernamal Kirpomal	Hindu Selha	Do.	Bijapur meeting on 13-12-13
102	G. D. Buch, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Nagar	Service	Do.
103	Fatoomal Maghamal	Hindu	Merchant	Meeting on 6-12-13
104	Gopalmal Metharam	Do.	Do.	Do.
105	Tejannal Metharam	Do.	Do.	Do.
106	Bherumal Khubchand	Do.	Pleader	Do.
107	Dhamamal Khubchand	Do.	Merchant	Do.
108	Motoomal Fatehchand	Do.	Do.	Do.
109	Udharam Virumal	Do.	Merchant	Meeting 30-11-13
110	Ajitrai V. Mehta	Do.	Do.	Meeting 6-12-13.
111	Jatmdia Lalobhai Mehta	Do.	Do.	Meeting at Karachi on 6-12-13.
112	Tekchand Vasanmal	Do.	Pleader	Meeting at Hyderabad on 30-11-13.
113	Hashmatrai Mohanlal	Do.	Do.	Do.
114	Mr. Motiram Ramchand	Do.	Do.	Do.
115	Masani Isardas	Do.	Manager Sind Bank	Meeting at Karachi on 6-12-13.
116	Dr. K. S. Malkani	Do.	Doctor Shikarpur	30th December, 1913.
117	Mr. Parmanand Ramchand	Do.	Zamindar	Do.

BOMBAY—contd.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegate with all honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Titles and	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
118	Mr. M. B. Sant	...	Hindu	Assistant Secretary Industrial Conference.	Barar Pro. Congress.
119	B. B. R. W. Mudholkar	...	Do.	Advocate Judicial Commissioner's Court.	Do.
120	Mr. Gobindram Rellumal	...	Hindu Lohana	Merchant	Karachi, Congress Com. meeting on 6-12-13.
121	.. Gopaldas Bhagechand	...	Hindu	Contractor	Hyderabad meeting on 30-11-13.
122	.. Gidamnal Bhagechand	...	Do.	Do.	Do.
123	.. Khemchand Naomal	...	Do.	Merchant (Sind) Worker	Karachi, 6-12-13.
124	.. Cooverji Devchand	...	Do.	Merchant	Do.
125	.. Bhimji Valji	...	Do.	Do.	Do.
126	.. Mulechand Tolaram	...	Do.	Do.	Do.
127	.. Gopaldas Thawardas	...	Do.	Do.	Do.
128	.. Shaikh Valiji Ebrahimji	...	Mahomedan	Do.	Do.
129	Naraindas Dharamdas	...	Hindu Amil	Contractor & Merchant	Do.
130	Hemundus Ramrakhionmal	...	Hindu	Banker	Do.
131	Pritundus Hukumatrai	...	Hindu Amil	Private Practitioner	Hyderabad 30-11-13.
132	Lekhrāj Hukumatrai	...	Do.	Pleader	Do.
133	Khanchand Jethmal	...	Do.	Zamindar	Do.
134	Tilokchand Hosomal	...	Do.	Do.	Do.
135	Thawardas Metharam	...	Do.	Do.	Do.
136	Khilluram Dayaldas	...	Hindu Khatri	Merchant	Karachi, 6-12-13.
137	Nihalchand Dhopatrai Vaswani	...	Hindu Lohana	Zamindar	Do.
138	Keshamal Tejomal	...	Hindu	Merchant	Do.
139	Moolchand Tejomal	...	Do.	Merchant C/o. Seth Naomal Newaram.	Do.
140	Rohiram Ramdas	...	Do.	Merchant C/o. Naomal Khemchand & Co.	Do.
141	Gurmukhdas Khemchand Notani	...	Do.	Zamindar	Do.
142	Sir Fazalbhoy Currambhoy	...	Mahomedan	Merchant	Bombay Presidency Association.
143	M. A. Jinnah	...	Do.	Bar-at Law	Do.
144	M. T. Kaderbhoy	...	Do.	Merchant	Do.
145	R. S. Naik, M. A., Bar-at-Law	...	Ayano	Barrister, Bombay High Court.	Do.
146	V. R. Naik	...	Do.	Landlord	Do.
147	Keshav Rao	...	Do.	Pleader	Do.
148	J. R. Gharpure	...	Do.	Pleader, High Court	Do.
149	Mr. Tillamal Menghraj, M.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu	Private Service	13 Nov. 1913.
150	.. Gopaldas Wadhmal	...	Hindu Nanik Panthi	Pleaver	Public meeting on 30-11-13
151	.. Chaterbhuj Mankestwar Bhatt	...	Hindu Brahmin	Do.	Meeting at Sukkur on 15-12-13.
152	Pandit Maridbar	...	Brahmin	Do.	December 1913.
153	Mr. S. H. Masand	...	Hindu	Contractor	20th December 1913.
154	Chuharnal Hassasing	...	Hindu Amil	Pleader	20th November 1913.
155	Hushmatrai K.	...	Hindu	Do.	Hyderabad Dec. 1913.

BOMBAY—contd.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
156	Parsram Harsoomal	Hindu	Pleader	Karachi 6-12-13.
157	Jhamatmal Gulabrai Lalwani, B. A., LL. B. ...	Do.	Law-Queen's Road	15th December 1913.
158	Mr. Isarsing Tolasing	Hindu Amil	Pleader	Sukkar, 15-12-13.
159	„ Balchand Hemandas	Hindu Nanak Panthi	Do.	Hyderabad, 30-11-13
160	„ Lilaram Manghoomal	Hindu	Do.	Public Meeting on 30-11-13.
161	„ J. K. Mehta	Do.	Secretary Indian Chamber of Commerce.	Karachi, 6-12-13
162	„ Hotchand Jhamrai, Pleader	Do.	Pleader	Do.
163	„ Pessumal Tarachand, Pleader	Do.	Do.	Do.
164	Diwan Gopaldas B. C.	Do.	Retired	Do.
165	Kodumal Isardas, B. A.	Do.	Land Lord	30th November 1913.
166	Mr. C. H. Maus	Do.	Merchant	Do.
167	„ C. F. Vaswani	Hindu Amil	Do.	Public Meeting 30-11-13.
168	„ N. P. Mansukhani	Hindu	Land Lord	30th November 1913.
169	„ Rochiram Tekchand Bhatia	Do.	Merchant	6th December
170	„ Isardas Meghjumal	Do.	Do.	Do.
171	„ Hasomal Mulchand	Do.	Pleader	Hyderabad, 30-11-13.
172	„ Karamchand Jethmal	Do.	Zamindar	Do.
173	„ Chabaldas Rochiram	Do.	Pleader	Karachi, 6-12-13.
174	„ Tekchand Gurnamal	Do.	Zamindar	Do.
175	„ Shewakram Gardinomal	Do.	Zamindar & Land Lord	Do.
176	Rijharam	Do.	Pleader	Shikarpur.
177	Himatsing Khansing	Do.	Zamindar	Hyderabad, 30-11-13.
178	Ratansing Gulabsing	Do.	Land Lord	Do.
179	Ghaushandas Showkising	Do.	Zamindar	Do.
180	Tejumal	Do.	Do.	Do.
181	Kewalram Jethanand Shiwdasani	Do.	Pleader	Karachi, 6-12-13.
182	Lilaram W. Mahtani	Do.	Merchant	Hyderabad, 30-11-13.
183	Narsingdas Khemchand	Hindu Bhatia	Pleader	30th November 1913.
184	Dharamdas Belaram	Hindu	Contractor	Hyderabad, 30-11-13.
185	Isardas Udharan	Do.	Bar-at-Law	Do.
186	Gianchand Belaram	Do.	Zamindar	30th November 1913.
187	Dr. Waliram Charatsing	Do.	Medical Practitioner	Do.
188	Chandrabansi Sahay	Do.	Bar-at-Law	13-12-13 B. Pro. Cong. Committee.
189	Jehangir B. Petit, Esq.	Parsi	Merchant	Bombay Presi. Congress Committee.
190	Dadabhoy Burjorji	Do.	Gentleman	Do.
191	B. T. Bellara	Hindu Sohra	Clerk	Karachi District 6-12-13.
192	Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ramaubhai Mahipatram	Hindu Nagar Rrahmi	Pleader Ship	Gujrat Sabha, 15-12-13.
193	Dipechand Ramdas	Hindu Lohana	Merchant	Karachi, 6-12-13
194	Paroomal Hemandas	Do.	Do.	Do.
195	Ramdas Hemandas... ..	Do.	Do.	Do.
196	Vishindas Sawaldas	Do.	Pleader	Do.

BOMBAY—contd.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
197	Sakhawatrai Notaldas	Hindu Lohana	Pleader	Karachi, 6-12-13.
198	Jannadas Shewaram	Do.	D.	Shikarpur.
199	Tulsidas Shivandas... ..	Do.	Do.	Sakkur Dec. 1913.
200	Rochaldas Karamchand	Do.	Do.	Do.
201	Ramechand Pitambardas	Hindu Bhatia	Land Lord Tatta	Karachi, 6-12-13.
202	Kewalram Vishandas	Hindu	Merchant	Do.
203	Choohermal Rewachand	Do.	Do.	8th November.
204	Tahilram Bazarwal	Do.	Pleader	30th November 1913.
205	Budhasing Morosing	Do.	Do.	Larkana. Do.
206	Chandiram Mulchand	Do.	Do.	Do.
207	Udharan Khubchand, M. A., LL. B.	Do.	Do.	Karachi, 6-12-13.
208	Asadmal Rewachand	Do.	Mg. Clerk, Messrs. Harchandrai & Co.	Do.
209	Mukhi Dayaram Vishindas	Do.	Merchant	Do.
210	Malkani Hardasmal Gurbamal... ..	Hindu Amil	Pleader	Do.
211	Mukhi Harkirshindas Gurdinamal	Do. Bhaiband	Merchant	Do.
212	Pararam Detaram	Hindu Amil	Banker	30th November 1913.
213	Asanand Tulsidas... ..	Do.	(Bhiria Sind)	6th December 1913.
214	Shivji Cooverji	Do.	Merchant	6th December 1913.
215	Kishindas Seth Hardasmal	Do.	Contractor	Do.
216	Keshawdas B. Shahani	Do.	Journalist	30th November 1913.
217	Nandiram Virumal	Do.	Pleader	6th December 1913.
218	Tahilram Maniram... ..	Do.	Do.	Do.
219	Topandas Mirbhasing	Do.	Do.	Larkhana.
220	Hotechand Atmaram	Do.	Merchant	Karachi, 6-12-13.
221	Jassomal Dhurandas	Do.	Do.	Do.
222	Sujan Sing Fatehsing	Do.	Pleader	Hyderabad, 30-11-13.
223	Holaram	Do.	Do.	Larkana.
224	Jemal Lokmal	Do.	Do.	6th December 1913.
225	Sarnamal Hasomal	Do.	Do.	Do.
226	Gopal Krishna Doyadhar, M. A.	Do.	Editor Dayan Prakah member servants of India Society Bombay.	Do.
227	Balchand Tilamal	Do.	Merchant	Do.
228	Showakram Gehimal	Do.	Do.	Do.
229	Chandiram Dholandas	Do.	Pleader	Sukkur 1913.
230	Gopaldas Harchandmal	Hindu Lohana	Merchant Nowabshah	Do.
231	Linaran Adoomal	Hindu	Merchant	Karachi, 6-12-13.
232	Anukul C. Mishir, B. M. & S.	Bengali Brahmin	Doctor... ..	Karachi at Bombay.
233	Bhojraj Jethanand	Hindu Lohana	Merchant	Hyderabad, 30-11-13.
234	Ghanshamdas Thakurdas	Do.	Do.	Do.
235	Tyabali Moosaji	Muselman Bori	Merchant	6th December 1913.
236	Gidmal Awatrai	Hindu Amil	Pleader	Do.

BOMBAY—contd.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
237	Ardeshir Burjorjee Master, Deplomate in Honours City and Guilds of London Techn. Institute Finsbury London.	Parsi. ...	Chemical Manufacturer and Electric Engineer Tardeo Terraces, Bombay.	6th December 1913.
238	Mr. Lilaram Bakbrai ...	Hindu Amil ...	Pleader Larkana ...	6th December 1913.
239	" Naraindas Hurgobind ...	Hindu ...	Zemindar ...	28th November 1913.
240	" Pesumal Awadrai ...	Hindu Amil ...	Pleader ...	Do.
241	" Ramchund R. Shivaldasani ...	Hindu ...	Clerk to Messrs Satianda & Co.	Do.
242	" Jhamatmal Gidoomal ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	6th December 1913.
243	" Naraindas Lalchand ...	Hindu Lohana ...	Do.	Do.
244	" Ghaushamdas Subsoomal ...	Hindu Amil ...	Do.	Do.
245	" Holaram Variomal ...	Hindu Mukhojia ...	Do.	Do.
246	" Ramsing Girdarsing ...	Hindu zaz ...	Do.	Do.
247	" Chandiram Jethanand ...	Hindu ...	Manager Weaving Factory Roh.	Do.
248	" Pandit Durjapustad ...	Arayan ...	Pandit ...	Do.
249	" Sitaldas Thakurdas, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu ...	Pleader ...	Do.
250	" Vudhiomal Righumal ...	Do. ...	Merchant ...	Do.
251	" Jethmal Gangaram ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
252	" Rijhoomal Isardas, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Do.	28th November 1913.
253	" Thanwardas Isardas, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
254	" Chuharmal Tokhasing ¹ ...	Do. ...	Zemindar ...	Do.
255	" Shewaram Sobhasing ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
256	" Maghanmal Jhamatmal ...	Hindu Lohana ...	Merchant ...	Do.
257	" Kuranchand Paramchand...	Do. ...	Do.	Hyderabad, 6-12-13.
258	" Ramchand Parmanand ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
259	" Lalchand Gobinbux ...	Hindu Amil ...	Owner ...	Do.
260	" Harchandrai Sobraj ...	Hindu Bhaibun ...	Merchant ...	Hyderabad, 30-11-13.
261	" Annasaheb Lele ...	Arayan ...	Zemindar ...	Do.
262	" Dayaram Asumal ...	Hindu Amil ...	Pleader ...	Do.
263	" Ramchand Lokumal ...	Hindu Bhaibund ...	Merchant ...	Larkana, 28-11-13.
264	Rao Bahadur Ramchandra Ganesh Munde, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader vice Chairman Distt. Board Yeotmal.	Hindu Brahmin ...	Pleader ...	Berar, 18-12-13.

PUNJAB, UNITED PROVINCES.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
265	Rao Vajinath Das Shahpuri ...	Hindu, Nagar Brahmin.	Rais and Banker ...	United Province Congress Committee, 10th Dec. 1913.
266	B. Sitaram ...	Agarwas, Vaisya ...	Banking ...	Benares, 18th Dec. 1913.
267	Mehta Khrishna Ram, B.A., LL.B.	Nagar, Brahmin ...	Legal Practitioner ...	Do. 18th Dec. 1913.
268	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani ...	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Editor of the "Lender" Secretary News Papers, Limited, Secretary the United Pr. Congress Committee	United Province Congress Committee, 10th Dec. 1913.

PUNJAB UNITED PROVINCES—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
266	" Mehta Bahadur Chand ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Lahore ...	Lahore.
270	" Jai Gopal Sethi ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Bar-at-law, Lahore ...	Do.
271	" Dhamodhardas Khandelwala ...	Hindu ...	Landholder, Mirzapur ...	19th Dec. 1913.
272	" B. Kedas Nath Khandelwala, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu, Khandelwala ...	Legal Practitioner Mirzapur ...	Do.
273	" Charanjit Lal Lethi ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Contractor ...	Lahore, 19th Dec. 1913.
274	" Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru ...	Hindu, Kashmiri, Brahmin.	Member Servants of India Society, Allahabad.	19th Dec. 1913, United Province Congress.
275	" Lala Lajpat Rai Pleader ...	Hindu, ...	Pleader ...	19th Dec. 1913, Lahore.
276	" J. Chandheri, M.A. ...	Do. ...	Bar-at-law ...	Patna Dist. Association,
277	" L. Mulraj ...	Do. ...	Trader ...	13th Dec. 1913.
278	" L. Mukund ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
279	" L. Dhalan ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
280	" L. Gobindram ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Jhang.
281	" L. Rajaram ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
282	" L. Dovi Dayal ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
283	" Rambhoy Duller ...	Brahman ...	Do. ...	Lahore.
284	" Pandit Gopaldas Sharma Rai Sahib, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin, Hindu ...	Legal Professor Orth U. P.	Allahabad, 19th Dec. 1913.
285	" Pandit Bishan Varayan Das ...	Do. Do. ...	Bar-at-law ...	Pr. Congress Committee, Allahabad, 19th Dec. 1913.
286	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.	Khatri, Hindu ...	Editor of Proprietor of the Advocate and Hindustan, Lucknow.	Prov. Congress Committee held on 19th Dec. 1913, Lucknow.
287	Mr. Pandit Ikhlat Narayan Magalden ...	Hindu, Kashmiri, Brahman.	Bar-at-law, Member Municipal Board, Lucknow	United Pr. Congress Committee, 19th Dec. 1913.
288	" Mani Lal, M.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Vakil Hardoi (Oudh) ...	District Congress Committee 7th Dec. 1913, Lucknow.
289	" Mansurnat Das Jaini, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Muzaffernagur.	Aynn, Jainisen Vaishya.	Legal Profession and Zamindar, Muzaffernagore.	23rd Dec. 1913, Agra and Oudh.
290	" Kalka Prasad, B.A., LL.B., Vakil Lillhar Dt. Shahjhanpur.	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Vakil ...	District Congress Committee, held on 21st Dec. 1913, Sahajhanpur.
291	A. K. Bose, B.A. ...	Hindu Kayastha ...	Pleader ...	Do. 19th Dec. 1913, Sitapur.

MADRAS AND BURMAH.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address if any.	How and when elected.
292	Mr. C. P. Ramswamy, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	.....	High Court Vakil ...	Madras, Melejan Sabha, 6th Dec. 1913.
293	" Chavalu Lakhmi Narayan, B.A., LL.B., 1st Grade Pleader.	Hindu, Brahmin ...	1st Grade Pleader, Amalaguruni, Godaveri.	Madras, 14th Dec. 1913.
294	" Vadron Ramasoodity, Pleader, Amalapuram.	Do. ...	Pleader, Amalapuram ...	Do.
295	" Daggirala Lakhmi Doovalejee, Landholder, Cocounda.	Hindu Teligu, Brahman.	Landholder ...	Do.

MADRAS & BURMAH.—contd.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address if full.	How and when elected.
296	" Mutha Manichagaram Chetti, Merchant, Cocanada.	Hindu, Vyaya	General Merchant and Banker Cocanada, Godavari District.	Madras, 11-12-13.
297	" R. M. Palat, Bar-at-Law.	Hindu, Nagar	Barrister-at-Law, No. 44, Ponnawilla Road.	At the General Meeting held on 6th Dec. 1913.
298	" S Somasundaram Pillai	Hindu	Equine—Madras, High Court Vakil, Madras.	Madras Provincial Congress Committee, 12th Dec. 1913.
399	" Rao Bahadur S. Venkata Narasmita, Rao B. H.	Brahmin	Pleader, Municipal Chairman and Taluk Board Member, Kurnool.	Kurnool District Congress Association, 5th Dec. 1913.
300	" C. Venkata Ranga Reddy, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu, Sudra, Kajur.	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor, Kurnool.	Do. ...
301	" V. V. Jagrah	Hindu, Brahmin	Pleader, Municipal Councillor, Member Taluk Board Berhampore.	Ganjam District Association, 16th Dec. 1913.
302	" C. Gopal Memon Avergli	.....	Dubasha, Messrs. Wilson & Co., Madras, Hon. Secretary, Madras Mahajain.	6th Dec. 1913.
303	The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Aujar Hal, B.A., B.L.	.....	Pleader, B.A., L.L.B.	12th Dec. 1913.
304	Mr. V. Masilamani Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu-non Brahman	Hevanil...	Do.
305	" K. Srinivasa Anjugar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin	Do.	Do.
306	The Hon'ble Mr. P. V. Sashgur Aujar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
307	Mr. T. S. Visvanatha Isyerange, B.A.	Brahmin	Journalism, No. 108 Registered, Triplicane, Madras.	6th Dec. 1913.
308	" A. Daravanny Isyeranzl, B.A., LL.B.	.....	High Court Vakil No. 43, Sinchi Chetty Street, G. Forum Madras.	Do.
309	" V. Ramasarni Auja	.....	.....	18th Dec. 1913.
310	" T. A. Ramchundra Rowavest	.....	Proprietor, Messrs. Vest & Co., Mount Abu.	6th Dec. 1913.
311	" P. Rangasami Anjugar	Hindu, Brahmin	High Court Vakil	12th Dec. 1913.
312	" T. V. Muttukrishna, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
313	V. S. Ramswami Ayangar, Esq.	Hindu	.....	Do
314	Mr. Krishnamoorthy Iyer	Hindu, Brahmin	Clerk, Zamindar's Office	Trichinopoly, 18th Dec. 1913.
315	" P. Duni Twany Aiyar	Do.	Editor, Tanjore Times, Tanjore.	19th Dec. 1913.
316	" Rebala Supharaynadu, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Vakil, Nellore	30th Nov. 1913.
317	The Hon'ble A. S. Krishna Rao, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	High Court Vakil	Do.
318	Mr. Thundur V. Sivaramayya, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	Vakil, Nellore	Do.
319	" Bezwada Pattabi	Hindu, Kapu	Landholder, Buchireddipalem, Nellore.	Do.
320	" Rebala Sunderarami Reddi	Do.	Landholder, Mopur, Nellore	18th Dec. 1913.
321	T. M. Narasimha Charlu, B.A., B.L., Member Dt. Board, Cuddapur.	Hindu, Brahmin of the Sri Vishnava sect.	First Grade Pleader, and Landholder, Cuddapur.	Do.
322	Mr. A. Ladagogreacting, B.A.	Do. Do.	1st Grade Pleader	Do.
323	" N. Lubha Rao Pantalu	Hindu, Brahmin	High Court Vakil	Do.
324	" C. T. Ahur Auty, B.A.	Hindu	Merchant	6th Dec. 1913, Madras Mahajan Sabha.

BENGAL AND BEHAR.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinction.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
325	Babu Krishna Kumar, Jnrth. B. A. ...	Brahmin ...	Journalist Editor, the Sarjibarim.	United Bengal, 6th Dec. 1913.
326	Babu Lalit Mohandas, M. B. ...	Do. ...	Educationalist ...	Bengal Prov. Congress Committee 6th Dec. 1913.
327	Babu Gagan Chandra Biswas, B. E. ...	Bengali, Hindu ...	Zamindar and Contract Badkula Dist., Nadia.	Nadia District Ass. at Krishnapa, 15th Dec. 1913.
328	Devendra Nath Mukerji, B. A., LL. B. ...	Bengali, Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Samgor, C. P. ...	As representatives of Sangar Helsabha Association.
329	Mr. Jnanandranath Lahiri, Asst. Secretary and Treasurer of the Faridpur District Association and the Distt. of the Faridpur Bank, Ltd.	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Pleader, Dist. Court Faridpur, F. B., S. E.	1st. Dec. 1913.
330	Mr. Latschandra Mazandra, B. L., Municipal Commissioner, Asst. Secretary to the Faridpur Distt. Association and the Distt. of the Faridpur Bank, Ltd.	Hindu, Kayartha ...	Pleader Dist. Court do.	1st. Nov. 1913.
331	Mr. Khitesh Chandra, Ganguba, B. L. ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Zimandar, Pleader, Dist. Court Faridpur, F.B.S.E.	.....
332	„ Krishnadas Roy; Member Distt. Board, Vice-President, District Association, Faridpur.	Do. ...	Zimander and Merchant, 17, Horochandra Mullik's Lane, Hotkhala, Calcutta.	.....
333	Babu Monorangan Banerjee, B. L. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Judge's Court, Deesa...	13th Dec. 1913.
334	Hon'ble Dr. Nilraton Grier, M. A., M. D. ...	Brahmo. ...	Medical Practitioner ...	6th Dec. 1913.
335	Baboo Bhoopandeanath Basu, M. A., B. L. ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Attorney-at-Law Ex. Member Imperial and Bengal Legislative Council.	Do.
336	Pandit Sunderlal Misser ...	Panchayat, Hindu, Brahmin.	Merchant and Banker ...	Do.
337	Hon'ble Mr. Ramareundhou Das ...	Bengalee, Hindu ...	Landholder Member. of the Legislative Council Assam.	Do.
338	Mr. Premathanath Bonugea, M. A. ...	Hindu ...	Eductionist ...	Do.
339	Babu Satyanandu Bore, M. A., B. L. ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Landholder ...	Do.
340	Mr. Prithvis Chandra Roy, Editor, India World.	Do. ...	Zimandar and Journalist, 86, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.	1st Dec. 1913.
341	Babu Nilmain Batlachovja, B.A., Municipal Commissioner Member Murshidabad Dist. Board and Ladheer Local Board.	Hindu, Brahmin ...	Zamindar ...	29th Nov. 1913.
342	Babu Hemandra Nath Sen B. L., Vakil, Calcutta High Court, Zamindar and Hon. Secy: Vakil's Assoc., Calcutta High Court.	Hindu, Vaidya ...	Vakil, 76, Masjidbori Street, Calcutta.	29th Dec. 1913
343	Rui Boikunt Nath Sen, B. L. Vakil, Zamindar, Ex. Member Bengal Legislative Council, Vice-President Murshidabad Ass. and Municipal Commissioner.	Do. ...	Vakil and Zimandar, Berhampur (Bengal).	Do.
344	Mr. Surendranath Mullick, M. A., B. L. ...	Hindu ...	Vakil, High Court ...	6th Dec. 1913.
345	„ Babu Nanda Gopal Bhandio ...	Bengalee, Hindu, Brahman.	Merchant, Landowner, Majidia, Krishnagary Dist., Nadia.	15th Dec. 1913.
346	Radharaman Sabha, B. A., LL. B. ...	Hindu, Basya, Solea's.	Pleader, Pubues, (Bengal) ...	... ..

CANADA DELAGATES.

Serial No.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles and honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion denomination and caste if any.	Profession and calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
347	Nand Singh Sikra	Sikhs ... ..	... ..	At the Meeting held at Canada on 22nd Feb. 1913.
348	Balwant Singh	Sikhs ... ..	.....	Do
349	Narain Singh	Sikhs ... ..	.....	Do

APPENDIX C.

List of Members of the Subjects Committee of the 29th Indian National Congress.—

BOMBAY.

EX-OFFICIO.—

1. Mr. D. E. Wacha.
2. „ D. A. Khare.
3. The Honourable Mr. Gokaldas K. Parekh.
4. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas.
5. The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.
6. Mr. N. M. Samarth.
7. „ M. A. Jinnah.
8. „ Mathradas Ramchand.

LOCAL SECRETARIES (SIX IN NUMBER.)

9. Mr. Ghulamali G. Chagla.
10. Rao Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing.
11. Mr. Lokamal Chellaram.
12. „ Jhamandas Valabdas.
13. „ Kalumal Pahlumal.
14. „ Durgdas B. Advani.

ELECTED.

15. The Honourable Mr. S. B. Upasani.
16. Mr. R. P. Karandikar.
17. „ Jehangir B. Petit.
18. The Honourable Sir Fazulbhoj Curreembhoj.
19. Mr. M. P. Kaderbhoj.
20. „ D. G. Dalvi.
21. „ G. K. Devdhar.
22. „ J. R. Gharpure.
23. The Honourable Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas.
24. The Honourable Mr. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth.
25. Mr. Dipchand Tejbhandas Ojha.
26. „ Gangaram Mohanlal.
27. „ Gopaldas Jhamatmal.
28. „ Mulchand Pesumal
29. „ Chandiram Mulchand.

TEN MORE FROM THE PROVINCE OF SIND.

30. Mr. Wadhupal Oodharam.
31. „ Yusifali Alibhoj.
32. „ Thakurdas Khemchand.
33. „ Mahomed Hafiz.
34. „ Mulchand Gurudinomal.
35. „ Kishindas Jhamrai.
36. „ Lalchand Navalrai.
37. „ Wadhupal Bellaram.
38. „ A. R. De Cruz.
39. Mukhi Jethanand Pritamdas.

PUNJAB.

1. Lala Lajpatrai.
2. Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhry.
3. Mehta Bahadur Chand.
4. Mr. Charanjit Lal Sethi.
5. Lala Goverdhan Das.
6. Lala Devi Dayal.
7. Mr. Dholan Shal.
8. Lala Mul Raj Jali.
9. Mr. Jai Gopal.
10. Sardar Taran Singh.
11. Sardar Balwant Singh.
12. Sardar Narain Singh.

BERAR.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.
 Mr. R. V. Mahajani.
 „ M. B. Sant.

MADRAS.

EX-OFFICIO.

The Honourable Nawab Syed Mahomud Bahadur.
 The Honourable Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.
 Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriai.
 „ B. N. Sarma.
 Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.
 „ „ M. Admiarayaniah Garu.
 Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
 „ G. A. Natesan.
 „ C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
 „ V. V. Jogiah Pantulu.
 „ N. Subha Rao Pantulu.
 Honourable Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.
 Mr. V. K. Ramaniyachariar.
 „ K. A. Gunisami Aiyar.
 The Honourable Mr. B. V. Narasiniha Aiyar.
 Mr. K. Ekamharia Aiyar.

ELECTED.

1. Mr. K. Srinivasa Aiyar.
2. „ T. M. Narainachariar.
3. „ T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar.
4. „ C. Lakshminarayana.
5. „ C. V. Renayh Reddiar.
6. „ R. Subharaya Aiyar.
7. „ C. L. Pethachi Chattiar.
8. „ P. Duraiswami Aiyar.
9. „ C. Gopala Menou.
10. „ V. Rama Murti.

11. Mr. Pattabhirama Reddiar.
12. D. Roy.
13. A. Duraiswari Ayer.
14. P. S. Masindaram.
15. T. V. Sivarama Ayar.

UNITED PROVINCES.

EX-OFFICIO.—

1. Pundit Bishen Narayan Dar.
2. The Honomable Rai Bahadur Ganga Prasad Varma.
3. Pundit Iqbal Narayan Masaldan.
4. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

ELECTED.—

5. Pundit Hirday Nath Kunzru.
6. Pundit Krishna Ram.
7. Rao Vaijnath Das Shahpuri.
8. Pundit Venkatesh Narayen Tiwary.
9. Babu Akhay Kumar Bose.
10. Babu Kalka Prasad.
11. Babu Sita Ram.
12. Mr. Damodar Das Khandelwal.
13. „ Kedarnath Khandelwal.
14. „ A. K. Bose.

BENGAL.

EX-OFFICIO.

- Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur.
 Babu Bhupendra Natha Basu.
 Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.
 Mr. J. Chaudhari.
 Babu Prithwish Chandra Ray.
 The Honourable Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
 Babu Hemendra Nath Sen.
 „ Surendra Nath Mullick.
 „ Salit Mohan Das.
 „ Pramathanath Banerjee.
 „ Krishna Das Roy.
 „ Sabyananda Bose.

ELECTED.—

- Babu Gagan Chandra Biswas.
 „ Devendranath Mookerjee.
 „ Jnanendranath Lahiri.
 The Honourable Babu Ramaniendhar Das.
 Pundit Sunder Lal Misser.
 Babu Satish Chandra Mazumdar.
 „ Khitish Chandra Ganguli.
 „ Manaranjan Banerjee.
 „ Nandagopal Bhadwir.
 „ Radharaman Saha.
 „ Nilmani Bhattacharya.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

- Mr. D. N. Mukerji.

APPENDIX. D.

List of Members of the all India Congress Committee.—

BOMBAY.

EX-OFFICIO.

1. Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji.
2. The Honourable Sir Pheroza Shew M. Mehta, K. C. I. E.
3. D. E. Wacha, Esq.
4. The Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E.

ELECTED.—

1. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.
2. The Honourable Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh.
3. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas.
4. M. A. Jinnah, Esq.
5. H. A. Wadya, Esq.
6. Abbas S. Tyabji, Esq.
7. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai.
8. Daji Abaji Khare, Esq.
9. N. M. Samarth, Esq.
10. Mathuradas Ramchand Javheri, Esq.
11. N. V. Gokhale, Esq.
12. D. G. Padhye, Esq.
13. Govind Appaji Patel, Esq.
14. The Honourable Mr. Chimanlal H. Sitalvad.
15. The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.

MADRAS.

- The Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.
 Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriai.
 „ B. N. Sarma.
- Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaiahgava Aiyar.
 „ M. Admiarayanaiah Garu.
- Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
 „ G. A. Natesan.
 „ G. P. Ramasami Aiyar.
 „ V. V. Jogiah Pantulu,
 „ N. Subbarao Pantulu.
- Hon. Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.
 Mr. V. K. Ramniyacharian.
 „ K. R. Gunisami Aiyar.
- Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyar and
 „ K. Ekambara Aiyar.

BENGAL.

EX-OFFICIO.

- Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee.
 Dr. Rashvihari Ghosh, C. S. I., C. I. E.

ELECTED.—

Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur.
 Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar.
 „ Bhupendranath Basu.
 Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
 Mr. A. Rasul.
 „ Prithwish Chandra Ray.
 „ J. Choudhuri.
 Principal Heramba Chande Maitra.
 Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra.
 „ Kishorimohon Chaudhuri.
 „ Basanta Coomar Bose.
 Moulavi Abul Kassim.
 Mr. Bishnupada Chatterjee.
 „ Pravash Chandra Mitter.
 „ Surendranath Mullick.
 „ Pramathanath Banerjee.
 „ Lalitmohon Das.
 „ Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta.
 „ Sarat Chandra Guha
 „ Satyananda Bose.

PUNJAB.

1. Lala Lajpat Rai.
2. Lala Harkishan Lal.
3. Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhery.
4. Lala Duni Chand.
5. Lala Dharamdas Suri.
6. Mehta Bahadar Chand.
7. Lala Sangom Lal.
8. Shaikh Umar Buksh.
9. Jai Gopal Sethi.
10. Raizada Bhagat Ram.
11. L. Fakir Chand.
12. L. Bhana Ram.
13. Lala Murli Dhar.

BERAR.

EX-OFFICIO.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

ELECTED.

Mr. M. V. Joshi.
 Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle.
 Mr. R. V. Mahajani.
 „ G. N. Kane.
 Rao Sahib Ganesh Nagesh.