

LAL MOHUN GHOSE



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Lal Mohan Ghose.



F the numerous politicians that India has produced during the past thirty years and more, one of the greatest was undoubtedly Lal Mohan Ghose. The first to start his political career in Great Britain, he became a true pioneer in fighting his country's cause in that land. His work was, as such, a difficult one; and the effective manner in which he carried it out made the work of his successors more easy. Both by his tact and by the mellifluity of his tongue, he made the cause of his country the cause of the better mind of England. The success he attained even as early as three decades ago testifies as much to his sound judgment as to the inherent sense of justice and fair play of the English race. His breadth of view, and his sobriety of thought had on English audiences as telling an effect as his moderate language and simplicity of faith. He believed in nothing so well as the justice of the cause he represented and that he was content to express in measured language on his hearers. The effect was magical; they

were electrified ; and they made his cause their own. That is how Mr. Ghose an Indian came to be chosen for a Parliamentary seat by Englishmen, in their own land. That is how he paved the way for the success of the veteran Dadabhai Naoroji. And that is a measure of the success that always awaits honest workers on India's behalf in England, and that is, indeed, one reason why the life of Lal Mohan Ghose should be of perennial interest to us.

EARLY LIFE.

Lal Mohan Ghose was born on 17th December, 1849, in Krishnagar, Eastern Bengal. His father Ram Lochan Ghose was one of the founders of what is now well-known as the Dacca College, and later became a Principal Sadr Amin (corresponding to Subordinate Judge, First Class) and won the confidence of Government and the approbation of the public in that capacity so far that when the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred it was felt that in his case, at any rate, the distinction had been won by merit. Lal Mohan received his early education at Calcutta, where he obtained the first prize in each class of the School Department. His father was a great disciplinarian and the principles on which he brought up his son left a marked impression upon him. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in the

First Class and as the first boy in the whole Presidency.

FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND.

Mono Mohan Ghose, his elder brother and well-known subsequently as a great criminal Barrister and an ardent Congressman, had just returned from England. He sent Lal Mohan to England to study for the Bar. Arriving in Britain in 1869, he joined the Middle Temple and was called to the Bar in 1873. He returned forthwith to Calcutta and joined the High Court there as an Advocate.

While in England, as a student, he had paid special attention (besides law) to the study of the leading English poets and historians. He had also joined a small Debating Society called the "Laconics" in London, one of whose chief rules was that each speaker was to speak at every meeting and his speech was never to exceed five minutes. If a member did not speak at two successive meetings he was fined five shillings. He also attended frequently the addresses that were then being delivered by Mr. John Bright and modelled his style on that of that great public speaker of England.

SECOND VISIT TO ENGLAND.

The services of such a man were found necessary soon in India. The agitation about the Indian Civil Service Examination, started by

Surendranath Banerjea, reached the crucial stage in 1878 and Lal Mohan was chosen to represent the Indian side of the question in England. He reached Great Britain in 1879, with numerous memorials for presentation to Parliament. He soon won over John Bright to the Indian cause, and ere long he was in the thick of the fight. The first and the most famous of the meetings he addressed was held in Willis's Room in London and a remarkable success it was. Sir David Wedderburn, elder brother of Sir William, presided and he was supported on the platform by a number of Englishmen well-known for their sympathies with India, including no less than thirty members of Parliament.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Ghose foreshadowed the birth of the Congress when he said : " the various races are being gradually welded together into one common nationality, they are beginning to co-operate with each other in the discussion and agitation of political questions and the national pulse is beginning to beat with unison ;" he mentioned the dire effect of famines ; he asked for Permanent Settlement throughout India, protested against the practical evasion of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal by the imposition of public works and road cess ; condemned the increase of land tax in Northern India and Punjab, the

increment of salt tax by 40 per cent., the small limit of exemption of the income tax, the diversion of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling from the Famine Insurance Fund, and the opium trade. He condemned the repeal of the import duties on cotton goods, the Arms Act, and our exclusion from the Army, "a policy calculated to alienate the sympathies and to irritate the feelings of the people of India." He also pleaded for the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions of Magistrates. The following is beautiful :

"But sir, all these complaints are as nothing in comparison with another subject, which is regarded by us as the very fountain-head of all our grievances. I allude to the utter absence of any system of popular representation in India. I am aware that it is the fashion among Anglo-Indian officials to treat all such demands with contemptuous sneers ; but sir, I feel that the time is not far distant when the voice of a united nation will make itself heard across the seas and oceans that roll between your native land and ours, and it will make itself heard too in tones that will demand and secure a prompt recognition, nor can England without being utterly false to all her traditions to her history and to herself continue to refuse to us that boon of a constitutional Government. (*Loud Cheers.*) There is a pride still more legitimate and a glory even higher which should be the aim and aspiration of a civilised and a Christian nation—I mean the proud consciousness of having done your duty and the glory of having risen superior to the paltry consideration of a narrow-minded and short-sighted policy. If you do us that justice which I seek at your hands, you will have erected for yourselves a monument more lasting than brass ; you will have inscribed your names in imperishable characters upon the scrolls of fame, and you will have left to your child-

ren a richer and a more glorious heritage than that of physical empires however broad and however magnificent; you will have bequeathed to them an everlasting moral empire graven deep in the hearts and memories of a grateful people." (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

Throughout the speech were sentences pregnant with prophetic instinct. Great sensation prevailed at the meeting. Mr. Bright summed up the situation when he said: "I am not sure that it would not be better that we should separate now under the influence of that grand speech (of Mr. Ghose's) than that I should try to add anything to its beauty or its force." In the annals of no agitation has such an electric effect, (in more senses than one) followed. Within 24 hours telegraphic orders were issued to establish the Statutory Civil Service. Sir Fred. Halliday, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and then in the India Office, told Mr. Ghose: "You have been agitating a good deal, Mr. Ghose, for reforms. We shall take the wind out of your sails, for, we have agreed to send instructions to establish the Statutory Civil Service." Those were days when we did not get stones when we asked for bread. That was undoubtedly a great speech; in fact, the finest performance of Mr. Ghose, both before and after. It was appreciated by great public speakers in England as a truly magnificent piece of English oratory. The perfection that Mr. Ghose attained to in the art of public

speaking at this time is well illustrated by the following anecdote which comes from a reliable source.

Mr. Broadhurst, the well-known M. P., had come late and had to stand just outside the door. When the speech was over, Mr. Broadhurst was conducted to the *dais* from where he delivered his speech. He said :

“Gentlemen, having had the misfortune to come late I could only hear, but could not see who was speaking ; and whilst I stood there I said to myself surely that must be the speech of one of our great Parliamentary orators. But when I came into the hall I found it was that of our distinguished fellow subject from India.”

This remark called forth tumultuous cheering, in which Mr. Bright took the lead.

He also spoke before British constituencies on the Vernacular Press Act, the Civil Service Regulations, and other high-handed acts of Lord Lytton. He interviewed the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone, then leader of the Opposition, and so well did Mr. Ghose coach him up that when Mr. Gladstone spoke in the House of Commons, a few hours later, his audience was struck with the depth of his knowledge, especially when he went to the length of explaining that *Somprakash* meant the Monday journal, the machinery of which had been confiscated. The Liberals came into power shortly after, with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister. Thus, it was a great

thing to have made Mr. Gladstone commit himself to this policy when in opposition. Lord Hartington, (afterwards Duke of Devonshire) Secretary of State for India, received a deputation, of which Mr. Ghose was the principal worker, and as a result of this, the Vernacular Press Act was shortly afterwards repealed.

At one of these several meetings, he made the acquaintance of Lord Rosebery, the prince of public speakers at present in England. It was at a dinner preceding the Manchester Demonstration. Lal Mohan was given a seat of honor next to Lord Rosebery. They chatted gaily and when they appeared on the platform, Mr. Ghose preceded Lord Rosebery. Such was the grace, the fluency, the diction, which meandered through Mr. Ghose's speech, that the Mammoth Hall echoed and re-echoed with thundering cheers. Lal Mohan sat down, the whole audience of some thousands of sturdy Englishmen rose *en masse* and cheered as they had never cheered before. Lord Rosebery cordially shook Mr. Ghose by the hand and said : " I congratulate you. I am only sorry I have to *follow* you." Lord Rosebery began his oration thus : " Gentlemen, we have just listened to a most eloquent speech from our fellow subject and *fellow countryman* from India. I say *fellow countryman* advisedly, for,

in my judgment every citizen of the empire, no matter to what particular portion he may belong by birth or nationality, ought to be regarded as a fellow countryman." (*Loud cheers.*) Another meeting was organised by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, and the subject of the Address was the financial and general policy of the Government of India. Mr. S. Booth, the Vice-Chairman of the Chamber presided. The speech he then made was a notable one as may be seen from the following short quotation from it, and it sums up in a short space the position of India both at that time and now :—

"During the century and a half," said Mr. Ghose, "that had elapsed since the foundation of the Indian Empire, England had done much to earn the lasting gratitude of India, to impress the people with the conviction that the continuance of British rule was for their benefit and safety. But, while all that was freely and ungrudgingly admitted, they could not help thinking that the Government of India had of late clearly and unmistakably manifested a desire to depart from that line of justice and generous confidence which had hitherto been followed with excellent results, and that the present administration in India was disposed to consider the people more as a hostile and newly subdued race, than the citizens of a great free and peaceful Empire, as the subjects of a Sovereign to whom they were as loyal as their English fellow-citizens."

On his return from England, he had a great reception accorded to him at Calcutta, on 4th March, 1880, the late Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal, C. I. E., being in the

chair. He complimented him on the highly satisfactory manner in which he had carried out the "very delicate and responsible duty entrusted to him by his countrymen." Mr. Ghose's speech, in response to the vote of thanks passed in his favor, was an admirable one. "The best in the Town Hall," said Kristo Das Pal on hearing it, "since that of George Thompson, M. P."

THIRD VISIT TO ENGLAND.

A few months later, Mr. Ghose again sailed to England to speak on Indian wants and to protest against the repressive policy of Lord Lytton. On this occasion he spoke at the Anniversary of the Aborigines Protection Society, and produced an excellent impression by his judicious criticism of Sir Bartle Frere's Zulu policy. The following short passage is taken from it as it enshrines an important truth :—

"Englishmen are excellent judges and arbitrators when they themselves have no interest one way or the other in the subject-matter of the dispute"—a statement that was received with laughter and cheers. "But," he added, "when it is otherwise, when their own interests are concerned, they are very much like other human beings (much laughter and cheering) and hence the sound old maxim of English law that no man should be a judge in his own case."

He also spoke at the London Peace Society of which Mr. Bright was a member. On his return home Mr. Ghose was accorded a warm reception (4th November 1880) at the Framji

Cowasji Institute, Bombay, the chair being taken by Mr. V. N. Mandlik, C. S. I. Mr. Mandlik claimed him as a representative of Western India as well and Mr. Ghose in his reply laid his finger on the great truth underlying Indian political success when he said :—

“ Believe me, gentlemen,” said he, “ the very first condition of success in the great national struggle in which we are at present engaged, is not only that we should be perfectly united amongst ourselves, but that English people, who are in the last resort, or at any rate in the last resort but one, the arbiters of our destinies, should know that we are so united.”

Reaching Calcutta at the end of 1880, he resumed practice at the Bar until 1882, when he took an active part in the Meeting held in that year for thanking Lord Ripon for repealing the hated Vernacular Press Act of his predecessor. The next year, India was literally convulsed by the Anglo-Indian agitation against the so-called Ilbert Bill. At the ever memorable Dacca Meeting (29th March, 1883), Mr. Ghose made one of his most powerful speeches. Its raillery, its invective and its dash have combined in making it one of the most popular speeches ever delivered in India. Though there are few Indians who have not read it *in extenso*, there is still the necessity to quote a passage or two from it. It is desirable to state here that Mr. Branson, a Barrister of Calcutta, had delivered a violent speech against not only Indian men

but also cruelly defamed Indian women. Mr. Branson had sneeringly referred to Indian criticism "as verily and truly the jackass kicking at the lion," to which Mr. Ghose replied, raising his audience to his own warmth of feeling. He said :—

The time has now arrived when all those great qualities, of which I have spoken, will be severely tested. Your own conduct must show whether or not you really deserve to be gradually admitted to your full and proper share in the administration of the country, which I rejoice to think is the settled policy of that large-hearted statesman whom God in infinite mercy has called to rule over this ancient land. (Cheers.) Your own conduct must furnish the best vindication of that policy and the most complete refutation of the predictions of your opponents. Remember you have opponents of various kinds. There are honorable antagonists whose fancied interests turn them against you, but who will never stoop to resort to the base weapons of calumny and vilification. Opponents of this kind we can all respect, however much we may regret that they are not far-sighted enough to see that after all there is no conflict of interest, and that in the advance of liberal ideas, in true progress, and, above all, in the impartial and equal administration of justice lies the best hope of the permanent stability of British rule in India. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, there are others of a baser sort—a rabble rout made up partly of a few Englishmen unworthy of the name, and partly of a heterogeneous horde whom an English gentleman well known in Bombay has well described in verse as :—

"A motley crew
Of each possible shade, of each possible hue,
White, grey, black and brown, red, yellow, and blue,
The pucca-born Briton and Eight-anna Eu
—Rasian and Greek, Armenian and Jew."

(Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Some of them have lately achieved an unenvied notoriety in the Town Hall of Calcutta. They have "brayed the heroes of the long-eared kind." At that time I was detained in my village home in Vikrampore on account of some domestic business, and not having arranged for the newspapers to be sent to me as I was daily expecting to start for Calcutta, I was in entire ignorance of what had transpired for upwards of three weeks until my attention was called to a paragraph in a vernacular newspaper. But it was only the other day when I visited this city that I had, for the first time, the opportunity of reading in your own Northbrook Hall a full report of that meeting. And when I read those speeches, I wondered how it was that our friends in Calcutta—some of whom, as you know, have no occasion to be afraid of the oratorical powers of any champion that is likely to be pitted against them in India, and who are not in the habit of writing out their speeches, as, I am informed, these redoubted orators did. (Roars of laughter.) I wondered how it was that the Calcutta people were sitting down tamely under this outrage, and how it was that public meetings had not been called all over India in order to denounce in fitting language the authors of these unparalleled insults. I have been told that the citizens of Calcutta, after much anxious deliberation, decided to preserve a dignified silence. It speaks much for their moderation and temper; but I cannot agree with them. I believe there are moments in the history of a nation when the virtues of patience and forbearance may be carried too far. (Hear, hear.) This is one of those moments. Already the action of the Calcutta people has been misrepresented. A correspondent of a Bombay newspaper has telegraphed to say that the Natives have been cowed down. Therefore, I say, hesitate no more to enter the lists. Ride in fearlessly, and God-speed the right. But as you love your country, as you wish your cause to succeed, take care to confine your agitation within strictly constitutional limits. Do not imitate the pernicious example of your opponents who, calling themselves Englishmen, were not ashamed to speak the language of sedition, and to suggest lines of action utterly subversive of law and order. You, on the

contrary, make law and order your motto. Let our Governors, let our beloved Viceroy, let our August and Gracious Sovereign herself, see with mingled feelings of surprise and gratification that by a strange irony of fate it was reserved for the Natives of India to teach the Anglo-Indian community how a peaceful and constitutional agitation should be carried on without resort to the language of calumny, of sedition, and of menace. (Cheers.)

Then he said :—

No, gentlemen, the memory of the foul language and unheard-of insults which were deliberately uttered on that occasion amid the shouts of a sympathising audience can never be obliterated by any apology, however humble, or any retractation, however complete. I am anxious there should be no difference of opinion amongst us. I will, therefore, with your permission, refer to one or two of the choicest flowers of rhetoric which were used by this consummate master of the language of Billingsgate. We are first of all told that this Bill had been introduced in order to “remove a sentimental grievance which rankled in the minds of a few blatant Bengali Babus.” But, I ask you, whom would you rather call “blatant?” The men who speak the language of reason and moderation? Well, if we are somewhat heated and excited now, we have received ample provocation. (Cheers.) I ask you to whom would you rather apply the term “blatant?” To the men who lift their loyal voices in favor of justice and of equality in the eye of the law, or to the man who was wicked and seditious enough to call upon Englishmen to “rise as the Athenians rose against Philip,” and who, for lack of argument, vilifies a nation and calumniates individuals? (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, we have in the next place a carefully prepared, but nevertheless a feeble paraphrase of a well known passage in Macaulay’s Essays. We are told that “what the stiletto is to the Italian, so are false charges to the Bengali;” but those who live in glass-houses ought not to be the first to throw stones at others. It ill becomes the unblushing calumniator, who utters the

falsest slanders, to talk in the same breath of false charges with stimulated indignation. But, gentlemen, the next passage is richer still. "Verily and truly," said this orator, "the jackass kicketh at the lion." If this, indeed, were the case, nothing could be more presumptuous or ridiculous. But even the jackass is not foolish enough to insult the majesty of the lion. But if the pitiful cur chooses to cover his recreant limbs with the borrowed hide of the lion, then I think the kick of the jackass is his only fitting punishment. (Loud cheers.) But the climax of impudence is reached in the next passage to which I shall call your attention. With a brutality unsurpassed, unequalled, and with a total absence of shame, he covered himself with lasting infamy by levelling his cowardly insults against the innocent and unoffending women of this country. He dared to tell his hearers that our ladies "were used to the foul multitudes of the Court." Let the whole country throughout its length and breadth declare with one voice what it thinks of such conduct, and if the authors of these insults venture to appear in any public assembly, let their ears be greeted with one universal hiss of indignation, so that, stung with shame and remorse, they may fly far from the country whose air they have polluted with their pestilential breath. (Cheers.) Well, when I read this last infamous passage, I asked myself, can it be that Englishmen have sunk so low as to accept such a veritable "Yahoo" for their spokesman? (Hisses of indignation.) Can it be that any assembly of English gentlemen with one single spark of their English honor left in them, could have listened to such language with patience? No, gentlemen, I rejoice to think it has not yet come to that. Although in the excitement of the moment some of them might have missed the point of this shameful observation which was artfully put in the midst of a very involved sentence, yet as soon as they had time for reflection, they hastened to protest against such language and to express their sense of shame at having been obliged to listen to it; and I am happy to think that men like Mr. J. Croft in Calcutta and Mr. Wordsworth in Bombay are not solitary exceptions, but represent the views of a large and honorable minority. (Cheers.)

Finally, he remarked :—

Well, gentlemen, one more reference to these speeches, and I have done with the subject. We were taunted several times with being a conquered race. But if we had been conquered, we have at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that our conquerors were the freeborn sons of England, and not men of a mixed race who only came into existence after the British conquest, and whose exact nationality it would be difficult to determine. Well then, if all these old sores are to be re-opened ; if the friendly feelings which have so long subsisted between the two nations, and which for so many years have been fostered and cultivated by a succession of wise and generous statesmen, are to be rudely disturbed ; if we are to be thus taunted and insulted, let it at least be done by genuine Englishmen, if they are disposed so far to abuse their privilege as conquerors, but not by Eurasians masquerading in the borrowed mantle of Macaulay. (Peals of laughter.) We will not permit any pseudo-Englishman, any Brummagem Britisher, who is “ neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring,” who is disowned by both England and India alike,—we will not permit such a man to slander our nation and insult our country. (No, never!) If such a person dares to hold the language of contumely and insult towards us, we shall make an example of him. We shall not disgrace our cause by doing anything unlawful or improper ; but we shall only give him, free of charge, the immortality which an admiring correspondent of the *Englishman* has proposed to confer upon him by means of a Statue, but it shall be the immortality of infamy. Our platforms shall ring with denunciations ; our newspapers shall keep alive the memory of the outrage ; and our poets shall sing of his infamy until his name shall become a bye-word and a hissing reproach to after-ages and to generations yet unborn.

The country was as good as Mr. Ghose's words. The Attorneys held a Meeting and by a formal Resolution declared “ to hold no com-

munication with Mr. Branson professionally or otherwise." Mr. Branson's practice fell from many thousands to nothing, and he had thus to compulsorily retire from India in the prime of life. The Indian Barristers of Calcutta have to bless Mr. Ghose for the favourable eye with which the Indian Solicitors now look upon them ; for, this led to a strong national feeling throughout Bengal.

FOURTH VISIT TO ENGLAND.

Before long, Mr. Ghose had once again to fight the country's cause in England. The Ilbert Bill controversy had claimed as its victim Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, who was imprisoned for mistakenly taking to task a Judge who was alleged to have ordered the production of a holy idol in Court. Mr. Ghose made a number of speeches on his old friend's behalf and the impression he produced on English audiences was something phenomenal.

CONTESTS DEPTFORD.

It won for him the friendship of many local Liberals, who induced different constituencies to adopt him as their candidate. He eventually chose Deptford, fought it out twice but failed. It is known, however, that he lost his chance by the defection of the Irish voters, who under the influence of Mr. Parnell, the head of the Home Rule Party, worked against Liberal interests. The Liberals of Deptford

marked their appreciation of Mr. Ghose by subscribing for him a richly illuminated Address which was publicly presented to him by Lord Ripon. In handing the testimonial, that noble Lord thus addressed him :—

“ Mr. Ghose, your position is a unique one, you are the first Indian who has been chosen a Parliamentary candidate. You may well be proud of the confidence you have earned of so many Englishmen. This presentation marks the regard and confidence of Liberals of Deptford. Show it your countrymen as a convincing proof that the Englishmen *here* at any rate (the emphasis on *here* referred to the hostile attitude of Anglo-Indians during the Ilbert Bill) are ready to greet on equal terms all portions of Her Majesty's subjects. (*Loud cheers.*) I wish you every success and pray that God may shower upon you His best and choicest blessings. (*Loud cheers.*) ”

CONTROVERSY WITH LYTTON.

A service that Mr. Ghose rendered during this period of his stay in England deserves mention here. Mr. Ghose's former agitation in England had roused the fury of the British people to a white heat and the reflex effect on Lord Lytton was very great, indeed, as was proved in 1884. It is an open secret that Lord Lytton retired from India smarting painfully under the lashings of this eminent Indian speaker, and thought he would give him a back-handed slap. A deputation waited on Lord Kimberley. Mr. Ghose on that occasion asked some inconvenient questions about Lord Lytton trying to close the Civil Service to Indians. Lord Lytton immediately afterwards indignant-

ly wrote to the Press denying this. Mr. Ghose did not speak without book, and he pulverised Lord Lytton, when in a cogent letter to the London *Times* he hoisted Lord Lytton with his own petard by quoting the following from Lord Lytton's Despatch itself :—Para. 32. "In the opinion of the Government of India and of most of the Officers who have been consulted it is desirable that when this Special Native Civil Service is constituted the ordinary Covenanted Civil Service should no longer be open to natives." Another para., after referring to the mythical impossibility of Europeans serving under natives went on to say : "So long as natives can obtain admission to Covenanted Civil Service by competition, this difficulty (Europeans serving under Indians) will be liable to arise and the only complete remedy would be to close the competitive service by law to natives of this country." The Secretary of State's reply was crushing indeed : "It would involve an application to Parliament, which would have no prospect of success and which I certainly would not undertake." Mr. Lal Mohan's triumph was as complete as it could well be.

FINAL RETURN TO INDIA.

Mr. Ghose returned to India at the end of 1884 and resumed his practice at the Calcutta Bar. During the next few years

he sat on the reformed Bengal Legislative Council, having been chosen by the Presidency group of Municipalities as their representative. His work in the Council Chamber was quite in keeping with that he had rendered to the country outside of it. One of the most powerful speeches he delivered while still a member of that body was directed against the Jury Notification of Sir Charles Elliot, which was eventually withdrawn owing, partly at least, to his effectual criticism. In 1903, Mr. Ghose was elected President of the Nineteenth Indian National Congress held at Madras, in recognition of his many and varied services to the country. The address he then delivered was an able one. As early as 1879, Mr. Ghose had perceived the forces that were unifying the diverse races of India. "The various races" he had then said, "are being gradually welded together into one common nationality, they are beginning to co-operate with each other in the discussion and agitation of political questions and the national pulse is beginning to bend with unison." Mr. Ghose had the satisfaction only a very few years after that utterance to see the birth of the Indian National Congress. His journey to Madras was one triumphal progress, although from Calcutta to the Southern Metropolis. In Madras itself, he was received with great warmth

of feeling. The address he delivered on being installed in the Presidential Chair was one worthy of the occasion. Dilating upon the charge that the Congress represents the educated minority, he remarked :—

It has been said that the Congress represents after all a “microscopic minority.” Although this statement was first made several years ago, it is still echoed from time to time by those who are determined to disparage that movement and hold it up to ridicule. Perhaps they will be surprised to learn that an illustrious writer whose works have already occupied a prominent position in the classical literature of modern Europe has said, speaking of a country in the van of European civilization, that “it is only the *elite* of a nation who are alive to the sentiments of glory and liberty, who appreciate noble and generous ideas and are ready to make sacrifices for them. The masses of the people desire quiet and repose, except when they are stirred up by deep and mighty passions. I may venture to follow up these pregnant words by adding that inasmuch as history teaches us that opinion always percolates from the higher to the lower strata of society, and what are ideas of the educated minority to-day are bound to be shared by the masses to-morrow, it is the duty of all far-sighted statesmen to take time by the forelock and by the concession of well-considered reforms to ensure the contentment of the people and to enhance their loyalty and affection for the Government.

Speaking of the Deportation Regulations, he observed :—

Apart from the question of the actual Administration of Justice, we are every now and again threatened with new laws or amendments of old Acts, that are more worthy of Russian than of British legislators. To begin with, it should never be forgotten, and we should never be tired of reminding the British nation that while the scandal of *lettres de cachet* was abolished in France in

1789 amid public rejoicing, the representatives of the English people, who pride themselves upon being the eldest sons of liberty introduced the ancient and hateful engine of oppression into this country in 1818 and 1821. Nor has it been suffered to remain idle and forgotten. Only a few years ago, two prominent citizens of Poona were laid by the heels and kept in confinement for a considerable period without any charge being formulated or any prospect of their being brought to trial before any judicial tribunal. Would any Government have dared to do such a thing in the British Isles? If it had, it would have been the beginning of the end so far as that administration was concerned. Simultaneously with the arbitrary imprisonment of the Natu Brothers, we had a Sedition Act of Draconian severity passed in a great hurry as if the country was in the throes of a revolution, and a number of political prosecutions instituted, and the Judges being also in a state of panic, several well-known and respected citizens were convicted of charges of which not one of their fellow countrymen believed them to be guilty. One of these unfortunate victims, on presenting himself before the Calcutta Congress of 1901, received a splendid ovation which showed that in the opinion of his fellow countrymen he was a persecuted martyr and not a culprit. Well, gentlemen, we had just begun to hope that the dark clouds of those days of panic had rolled by, when the Government of Lord Curzon has thrown another bomb-shell in our midst, by the proposed amendment of the Official Secrets Bill. One of these precious amendments proposes, contrary to every maxim of civilised jurisprudence, to throw the burden of proof upon the accused person, in other words the prosecution is relieved of the duty of giving evidence in support of its charges so that the accused person must be convicted almost automatically if he cannot prove the negative proposition, *viz.*, that he is not guilty. Mr. Arundel, with the *naivete* so characteristic of Anglo-Indian officials, declares that under the old Act there were difficulties in the way of obtaining convictions. Mr. Arundel is a genius. He has been the first to discover the method of securing convictions automatically. After

this it is hardly worth while to refer to other amendment such as that which seeks to gratify the *amour propre* of the Executive Officers by placing the petty secrets of their offices, such as the projected promotion by favor of a particular official over the heads of worthier men, on the same level with important Military and Naval secrets the divulgence of which may be fraught with great and perhaps fatal danger to the Empire. No wonder that this proposal of the Government has been too much even for its most steady supporters among the conservative Anglo-Indian Press. I desire to express our special thanks to the Calcutta *Englishman*, which true to its British instincts, has made a vigorous protest against this Bill which it described as a deliberate attempt to Russianise public affairs. Gentlemen, we freely admit that Military and Naval secrets should be safeguarded against espionage, but apart from those matters, to me it is inexplicable why the Government of India, although it has always at its head a statesman brought up in the free and healthy atmosphere of England, should display such strong impatience of criticism and such a morbid antipathy against the liberty of the Press. If they are confident in the justice of their proceedings, why should they not be able to say like Maitre Labori on a well known occasion, *Nous voulons la lumiere, toute la lumiere ?* (We want light : we court all possible light.) A just and honest administration has nothing to lose by courting publicity and criticism. A great historian and eminent statesman of the last century tells us that "the Press may have absolute freedom without danger ; truth alone is formidable ; whatever is false is powerless ; and the greater the exaggeration the weaker its effect. No Government has ever yet been overthrown by lies. A week's exaggeration and lies exhaust all the pens of pamphleteers and libellers : Governments have only to allow them to declaim. But a Government requires time and philosophy before it is prepared to admit these truths." Well, gentlemen, when will our Government acquire philosophy enough to admit these truths ? Viceroys and Governors of different schools succeeded one another, but with a few bright exceptions, such as Lord Ripon,

they all seem to accept the vicious tradition of repressive legislation as one of the unquestioned axioms of statecraft.

Referring to the *rapprochement* between Hindus and Muhammadans and of Britain's Mission in India, he remarked :—

It is another hopeful sign of the times that there is an increasing *rapprochement* between Hindus and Mahomedans,—a *rapprochement* happily emphasised this year by the fact that of all the men of light and leading of which Madras can boast, the Congress party have selected you, Sir, to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee of our great national organisation. Our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen who may have at one time looked askance at the Congress, on account of the misrepresentations of those who are interested in dividing us, are now daily becoming more and more convinced that their interests as well as ours can only be advanced if we heartily co-operate with each other. There may have been a time, Sir, when the East India Company found it necessary to adopt a policy which in a letter, addressed to your great ancestor, General Bonaparte well described as *diviser pour regner*. Happily we can now hope for better things for we are no longer ruled by an irresponsible, and scrupulous and avaricious body of traders whose only object was to mercilessly exploit the country and whose rapacity and inhuman methods roused the indignation and fired the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan. Our Government is now under the control of Parliament and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our destinies are linked with those of a nation that has ever been distinguished by its fervent love of liberty proved not merely by their own political institutions but displayed on various occasions with rare generosity on behalf of distant and oppressed peoples. Although a British poet has sung :—

Did peace descend, to triumph and to save,
When free-born Britons, cross'd the Indian wave?

Ah, no!—to more than Rome's ambition true,
 The nurse of Freedom gave it not to you?
 She the bold route of Europe's guilt began,
 And, in the march of nations led the van!

Still, for our part, we prefer to cling to the belief that the English people are not barbarous conquerors, but that they are champions of liberty whose divine mission it is to rekindle the torch of genius in this ancient land of civilization and to raise us once more to a position in some degree worthy of the greatness of our past history.

CALCUTTA CONGRESS OF 1906.

Mr. Ghose took part in the subsequent Sessions of the Congress, notably in the Calcutta Congress of 1906. Speaking at it, he thus touched upon the value of constitutional agitation in India :—

I refuse to recognise in India any political party excepting the party which desires to secure the interests of our common country and to promote our national regeneration (applause). But if, nevertheless, you choose to call our older men, if you choose to say that they belong to the moderate party and if by the moderate party you mean the party which believes in constitutional agitation, then I unhesitatingly say that I myself belong to that (hear, hear). At the same time, gentlemen, I must say that, of late, I have observed with regret that there has been a disposition in some quarters to treat constitutional methods with contempt (cries of 'no, no.') Well, you disclaim it? I gladly accept that disclaimer. I believe, I am glad to believe, that we, all of us belong to one united party (hear, hear).



I can only say this, that we the older men have striven all through our lives to do our duties, to fight the political battles of our country to the best of our abilities and to the best of our lights (cheers). We only say

this, that if we can take to ourselves no other credit, we may at least take to ourselves this credit that in the evening of our lives we have the satisfaction of seeing that our efforts have succeeded to a large extent in welding together our various communities (cheers), and that we have also succeeded, to a very large extent, in raising and in creating sentiments of common nationality and common interests, and in raising them from the lower plain of provincial patriotism to the more lofty platform of national patriotism (hear, hear). Gentlemen, the question is frequently asked in various forms, the question which resolves itself into this: Have we advanced or have we retrogressed since the commencement of this political agitation? Well, gentlemen, I can only say this in answer to that question, that although we have had disappointments, and as our venerable President told us, bitter disappointments—I will go on to add, disappointments almost enough to make many of us lose heart in the efficacy of constitutional agitation,—still I must say that the history of that agitation in this country has been an unchequered and an unredeemed chronicle not failures and disasters (applause). I am not frightened by words any more than by shadows. We may be called political mendicants, but I will give one illustration which I hope will go home to you. If we have a starving mother at home and we have no money in our pockets, who is there in this Assembly who will be ashamed to beg for her (cheers and applause)? If so, shall we be more ashamed to beg for the common Mother, the Land which gave us birth (hear, hear, cries of “no, no” and applause)?

These words have a peculiar value at the present moment when constitutional agitation in India has been passing through a crisis.

VIEWS ON SWADESHI AND PARTITION.

One of the last speeches that Mr. Ghose made (if not *the* last) was at the Calcutta Meeting of 1906, over which he presided and

spoke on the subjects of Swadeshi and Partition. As regards the former of these he said :—

I have always consistently throughout my public life told you, my fellow-countrymen, that I have ample faith in the just instincts of the British people. (Applause.) That faith still continues unabated in spite of recent events. I have every reason personally to be grateful to the English people, but great and unabated as is my faith in the justice of the British nation I am bound to warn you that men do not, any more than Providence itself, shower blessings upon those who are not prepared to help themselves. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, it is that I am rejoiced to find that you gentlemen have started this Swadeshi movement, which, if kept up and persevered in, is calculated to be so beneficial to our country. (Loud cheers.) Let me, however, take this opportunity of telling our non-official English friends that this movement does not owe its origin to any feeling of resentment or revenge, (hear, hear) that it has no necessary connection with the Partition question, and that as a matter of fact it was started long before the last burning question was suddenly sprung upon the unfortunate people of Bengal. The first and main object of this movement is to develop the resources of our country and to revive the indigenous industries which have been killed by the pressure of foreign competition, and, I am compelled to add, by means of legislation which to say the least no one would come forward and defend to-day.

But if, at the same time, this Swadeshi movement is also calculated prominently to draw the attention of the British public to Indian political questions, which usually do not come home to them, because it is such a far cry from India to England, then it would be still more beneficial. (Applause.) It was said by the Corsican patriot, Paoli, that the English are a nation of shopkeepers,—a statement often erroneously attributed to the great Napoleon. However, it is an undoubted fact that the English people are a mercantile nation and everyone knows that you cannot draw the attention of “Bannias” to any question whatever which does not

directly or indirectly affect their commerce or their trade.

At the same time, gentlemen—and I now specially address myself to the younger portion of my audience and I appeal to you with all the earnestness I can command, to remember that any use of force or violence is not only to be entirely deprecated, but that it will assuredly deprive us of the sympathy of many influential friends and throw back our cause by many a long year. (Hear, hear.)

BENGAL PARTITION.

He thus referred to Mr. Brodrick's part in the carrying out of the Bengal Partition Scheme:—

I only desire to say only one word about Mr. Brodrick. What has been his conduct in the House of Commons? On one occasion he assured the House when he was in receipt of a conditional resignation from Lord Curzon, that there was no foundation in the rumour that the Viceroy had sent in his resignation. Under what code of ethics could such a statement be justified? If such is the standard of Western veracity I am glad that ours is different. On a later occasion he promised to supply the House with the necessary information to enable it to form its judgment and yet without keeping his word and behind the back of the House of Commons he has sanctioned the scheme of partition in a most indecent hurry. He has thus violated all the traditions of the mother of Parliaments and done his best to destroy the high reputation which the British Parliament has so long enjoyed, not only within its own dominion but in all foreign lands.

AS A LAWYER.

As a Lawyer, Mr. Ghose commanded a large *clientele*, more especially in the mofussil. "You know Lal Mohan merely as a politician," observed a leading Calcutta Lawyer not long

ago ; " it is only his legal friends who know what fine forensic abilities he has." He was a skilful cross-examiner and shone particularly well in criminal cases. When Mr. Ghose came out from England, a Judge is reported to have said : " What the House of Commons has lost, the Courts of Justice have gained, because for putting his case effectively and withal concisely he is one of the best. It is a pleasure to listen to Mr. Ghose's terse and vigorous arguments." Mr. Ghose had never been grasping in his fees. Many a poor man owed his freedom and life to Mr. Ghose's disinterested labours. He never took up a case which he was convinced had no legs to stand on. He was not long ago offered heavy fees, if he would but conduct the appeal in a murder case. He returned the brief, remarking that there was no chance of acquittal and he would not like to take money when he could do no good, especially as the man would be hanged. So he was. Mr. Ghose proved by his untainted professional life that one can attain the first rank as a Lawyer, without having recourse to questionable means. A mutual friend overheard the late Sir Charles Paul, Advocate-General of Calcutta, saying " Lal Mohan, what is our practice coming to ? It was a *profession* at one time, it is fast sinking into a *trade*."

AS A LITERARY MAN.

Mr. Ghose was known to have been engaged for a long number of years past on some interesting literary undertakings. From his early life Mr. Ghose had exhibited a leaning towards literature and later in life he filled up his spare time in translating into English verse the great Bengali poem "Meghnad Bodh." The published portions of it show what a remarkable command he had over the English language. He was also engaged on a work in English on Napoleon the Great and the Times of the French Revolution which unfortunately he left unfinished at the time of his death. He was known to have dived deep into the original French literature bearing on the subject and to have unearthed many valuable historical documents. He had also sent to him, it is said on good authority, some important papers from Paris bearing on his subject.

AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER.

As a public speaker, Mr. Ghose was truly a pearl without a peer. He will long be remembered for his fine oratory. A moderate politician of sane views, he spoke with commendable breadth of view. Brought up in the best traditions of English public speaking he spoke directly and spoke with effect. He strictly adhered to the advice of his old friend

and master John Bright : "Never speak too often and when you speak, say what you have to say as shortly as you can." One of his speeches on the Ilbert Bill controversy in England delivered under the presidency of Bright, won for him undying fame in England. "Mr. Ghose", said the London *Echo* at the time, "has a commanding eloquence. We doubt whether there are a dozen men in the House of Commons who can speak the English language with equal force and purity." The *News of the World* remarked that "a meeting of Englishmen listened with delight to a Hindu gentleman whose language and diction would put ordinary English speakers to shame." And the London *Times* devoted to it a leading article full of virulent abuse, the best compliment it could pay! His great speech at Willis's will be remembered as long as Indians take an interest in public speaking. The speech he delivered in Calcutta on the Jury Notification produced a tremendous impression at the time. It was at this meeting that Sir William McIllwrath, Premier of New Zealand, heard Mr. Ghose and remarked to the Editor of the *Capital* referring to the other speakers: "We have enough of that kind. But that blackman, Mr. Ghose, speaks remarkably well. He speaks straight; he speaks to the point and knows when to stop."

CONCLUSION.

His literary work and his natural temperament led him take a calm interest in the political regeneration of his country. He was no firebrand; his intellect was a mature one and his experience had mellowed amidst the surroundings of a generation of English politicians who have shed an undying lustre on British political history during the past century. He believed in quiet work; in introspection; in moderation; in amity; and in steadfast constitutional agitation. His name is high on the roll of Indian political leaders and is destined to be handed down from sire to son with that veneration and respect that is ever due to the memory of its once august possessor.



APPENDIX.



Lal Mohan Ghose.

ON

“THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE.”

A LARGELY attended meeting of the representatives of the Presidency groups of Municipalities and friends and admirers of Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose was held at the Town Hall on Monday evening, 24th June, 1895, Rai Bahadur Gopal Chunder Mukerji, Chairman of the Cossipore-Chitpur Municipality, presiding. The meeting was called for the purpose of presenting Mr. Ghose, on the expiration of his term of office, with an address to express appreciation and approval of the manner in which he has discharged his duties in the Bengal Council.

In the course of his reply, Mr. Ghose said:—

I have always had one aim and one purpose in view, namely, to voice the opinion of my constituents and my fellow-countrymen, and to place our views and wishes before the Government, so that legislation might move along the lines of least resistance, and that our measures may be calculated to promote the best interests, not only of those whom we have the honour of directly representing, but the larger class of our fellow-countrymen who do not take any part in our elections, but who are, nevertheless, equally affected by our laws. And, gentlemen, if we have at all succeeded in achieving this high end, the credit is due, not to this or that individual, but it is due to the loyalty with which the elected representatives of the people were able to co-operate with each other (cheers); and is also largely due to the sympathetic and conciliatory attitude which the Government and our official colleagues invariably displayed towards us, even when they were unable to accept our

APPENDIX.

views. (Cheers.) And, gentlemen, I am also bound to add that the measure of our success has been in proportion as we have been able to bear in mind that sobriety of views, moderation of language, and a spirit of compromise are essential to success. (Cheers.)

We must not forget that the elected members are in a minority in all our Councils, and so far as it is possible to look ahead, we must continue to be in the minority. Well, then, our only hope of successfully serving our country is to convince Government that we are moderate and reasonable men, and that we understand the principle of give-and-take. If we do anything calculated to give rise to the impression that we are a party of unreasonable and irreconcilable obstructionists, well then, farewell to all hope of future usefulness.

It must also be borne in mind, gentlemen, that there is this fundamental distinction between the opposition in the House of Commons and the popular party in our own Legislative Councils. There the minority of to-day may be converted, into the majority of to-morrow, but here no practical politician will ever indulge in the vain dream that Government is going to entirely abdicate its own powers by conferring upon us an absolute and unrestricted Parliamentary Institution. At the same time I can well understand that occasions may arise when you may be forced to oppose the third reading of a Bill, when a measure is of such a character that you are entirely against its underlying principles quite apart from any amendment to a particular section which you may have moved and lost. I can also quite understand the Unionist party in the House of Commons voting against the Home Rule Bill, for no tinkering, or no amendment, could ever reconcile them to the fundamental policy of that measure. But, gentlemen, can any one say that we did not want any Municipal Act at all, or is it possible for any candid person to deny that the present Act is a great improvement on the old one? Well, because for these reasons I felt it my duty to differ from those who opposed the measure, some of our newspapers have gone the length of saying that my political principles have undergone a monstrous change. For my own part I am not conscious

of any change, monstrous or otherwise. Change of a certain kind we all undergo as we live and grow older, and in my opinion he is not to be congratulated who does not undergo that kind of change. I trust I have not been altogether incapable of profiting by the experience gathered during the years that have rolled by since I first entered the arena of public life, and although it may be that the enthusiasm and energy of early youth may have a tendency to diminish, yet there is a compensating advantage in the sobriety of views and the maturity of judgment which age and experience generally bring along in their train. But apart from that, I am not aware of having abandoned one single idea or sentiment which any rational man can dignify with the name of principle, I am happily still able to identify myself, and I am glad that you are also able to recognise me as the same individual, who for years has humbly laboured, as occasion has offered and opportunity has served, through good report and through evil report, in sunshine and in storm, to serve his country according to his lights and the humble measure of his abilities. (Cheers.) Therefore, gentlemen, when I read these insinuations and innuendoes, I could not help asking myself wherein have I offended? I doubt very much if my poor intellect could have discovered the full extent of my offence. I was, however, enabled to solve the problem by a small paragraph to which my attention was drawn in *The Indian Daily News*, containing an extract from the letter of the Calcutta correspondent of some Madras newspaper, in which I found the high crimes and misdemeanours with which I was charged, set forth in detail as in the counts of an indictment. Well, I then became fully convinced of what I had suspected for some time—that there was growing up in our midst an extreme and irreconcilable party who scornfully repudiated all civilised methods of procedure in political controversy; who mistake side and swagger for manly independence; who think if you pay an ordinary mark of respect to the representatives of the Crown, you must have deserted the national cause, and that if you are courteous in your demeanour to those who do not agree with your views, then you must have aban-

doned all your old political principles. Gentlemen, critics, such as these, I do not hope or care to please. I certainly realised that our true position in Council was not that of an irreconcilable faction, but of a loyal, reasonable opposition, whose duty it was not to offer uncompromising opposition to every proposal from the Government, but faithfully to assist it by keeping it in touch with public opinion, and by placing and making such suggestions as we may conscientiously believe to be really calculated to promote the public welfare; and if, gentlemen, there be any among our countrymen who think that this was a false and erroneous conception of our duties, and that I set up a false ideal before myself, why then, him have I offended. If there be any who think that to have used the language of moderation and not to have "tickled the ears of the groundlings" by violent and utterly uncalled for attacks on some conspicuous individual, constituted treason to the cause of my country, why, then, I must be content to be a traitor in the estimation of such worthy and honourable men. If there be others who are of opinion that to have observed the ordinary courtesies and mandates of social life, and not to have adopted the methods of the Yañoo, furnish a conclusive proof of political apostasy, why, then, I must give them free leave to call me a renegade and a turncoat; and if, above all this, I have been guilty of having taken part in the proceedings of an anniversary meeting of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, which has the extremely wicked object of relieving human suffering among the most helpless portion of our own community, why, then, I must have passed all hope of salvation. (Laughter and cheers.)

And, then, gentlemen, the worst of is that I cannot hold out the slightest promise of reform. I have been brought up in a very different school. I received my first lesson in politics, at the feet of men who were English gentlemen first, and politicians and statesmen afterwards. I have also had the honour of serving my political apprenticeship in a country which is universally acknowledged as the mother and nurse of free institutions, where liberty of speech is not a thing of to-day, but is prized as one of the most precious birthrights of the

people, but where, nevertheless, gentlemanly manners are not usually looked upon as an insurmountable obstacle to political success, and where a courteous and respectful bearing towards those who differ from you is not considered inconsistent with faithful adherence to your own political principles, where bluster and bravado, excite ridicule and not admiration and where loyalty to your party does not demand that good taste and good manners and common sense should be cast overboard, and that you should assume an arrogant and insolent attitude towards all those who do not agree with you, and that personality and coarse vituperation should take the place of arguments.

But, gentlemen, as I have already said there are some amongst us to whom these ideas appear altogether old-fashioned, stale, flat and unprofitable, who care nothing for honest and faithful service, so long as they are not flavoured with the piquant sauce of personal vilification. Gentlemen, it is easy enough to win cheap popularity by pandering to the morbid taste of this new school of politicians. Their affections are a sick man's appetite who desires most that which would increase his evil. But, gentlemen, for my part, I can truly say that I have never set my sail to catch every passing breeze of popularity, and be the consequences what they may, shall not now stoop to barter my conscience and surrender my judgment in order to win the applause of the giddy or the thoughtless. Popular favour is proverbially fickle; speaking of the multitude the greatest of poets has said "with every minute you do change a mind. And call him noble that was now your hate, Him vile that was your garland;" but, gentlemen, if these extreme views to which I am referring had been confined merely to hot-headed and half-educated youths, they might have been passed over in silence, but when we find some men from whom better things might have been expected, occasionally allowing their brains to go wool-gathering, and lending themselves to swell the volume of the irrational chorus of the unthinking multitude, I think it is high time that a note of warning should be sounded. Speaking with some experience of practical politics and some knowledge of

the temper of the British nation, allow me earnestly and solemnly to assure you that the policy of pouring forth an unceasing torrent of invective against the Government and everything English is a fatal policy, that it will land us in disaster and humiliation, and that it is the surest way to harden the hearts and to deaden the sympathies of the English people, who are your ultimate court of appeal. Remember, gentlemen, that blood is thicker than water, and how absurd is it then to expect to win the favourable opinion of a great nation by constant and unmerited abuse of their own kith and kin. No one has a higher opinion than myself of the sense of justice of the British nation, and I shall, to the last moment of my life, remember with the greatest of gratitude the overwhelming kindness which I have received at the hands of the crowded British audiences and the generous support which was extended to me during two protracted electoral campaigns by thousands of British citizens, both electors and non-electors, at Greenwich and Deptford. But, gentlemen, before we can hope to appeal successfully to English opinion, we must put our own house in order. If we are to be as intolerant of honest differences of opinion as the Spanish Inquisition, if a half-dozen men are to set themselves up as our uncrowned despots, and to introduce a reign of terror in which the guillotine is to operate on our reputations instead of on our necks, then, gentlemen, public life will become absolutely intolerable, and our last stage will be worse than our first. I say, therefore, that if these dangerous ideas show any tendency to spread, then the time is near at hand when the sober and thoughtful portion of our countrymen will have seriously to reflect whether we are not fast approaching the parting of the waters, when moderate and reasonable men who desire reform and not revolution may have to steer a widely different course from that which commends itself to men of extreme and irreconcilable views. But I have the greatest faith and confidence in the wisdom and good sense, of the majority of our educated countrymen and if we are reasonable in our aims, and if we are constitutional in our methods, moderate in our language, and

temperate and just in our criticism, we cannot fail to have the powerful support of English opinion, both in this country and in England, in favour of the reforms which we advocate, and then we shall have succeeded in truly promoting the public good and in securing the social and political progress of our common country. I beg to thank you once more very heartily for the honour which you have done me to-day. (Loud Cheers.)

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