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INTRODUCTION.

THE Thirteenth Session of the Indian National Congress will long continue to be regarded as memorable in the history of political progress in this country. Held in a year of disasters, disheartening and dispiriting, amidst difficulties of the most extraordinary kind, unprecedented in the annals of the Congress, against an opposition from the officials as sudden and unexpected as it was unjustifiable and uncalled for, its success is an achievement of which the advocates of political reform have every reason to be proud. That success is not a mere indication of the individual energy and resourcefulness of the small band of workers who laboured for its accomplishment, but is a convincing proof of the strength of the Congress cause, the hold it has obtained over the country and the devotion felt for it by whole classes of people.

The Thirteenth
Congress.

The year 1897 was a year of calamities to the Indian people. Famine, pestilence, earthquake, floods, fires, war, political prosecutions, race-feeling, distrust—all contributed to fill the cup of human misery to the brim. Even the proverbial Oriental Fatalism winced under the combined effect of these misfortunes, and men asked each other what had this country done to deserve this heavy trial.

When in December 1896, the Berar and Central Provinces Committees invited the Congress to Amraoti, they and those whose mouth-piece they were had no idea of the difficulties and trials in store for them. The grim spectacle of famine stalking through the land was not absent from their minds; but they thought, and rightly so, that the pecuniary difficulties were not insurmountable and ought to be overcome in the country's cause. And so far as the people of Berar were concerned, they fully came up to the expectations formed of them. Berar for its size and population showed a public spirit, which deserves to be followed by many other parts of India. If the Central Provinces were not able to show the energy and the self-sacrifice which they did in 1891, and to take the lead as they did on that occasion, it is not their fault but their misfortune. Three years of successive failures of crops culminating in famine had rendered the population utterly helpless. If at such a juncture they were able to raise a substantial amount as contribution towards the expenses of the Congress, it was all the more creditable to them. Both in Berar and in the Central Provinces the men who gave munificent contributions for the Congress made large grants towards the hundreds of thousands of rupees spent for the relief of their unfortunate brethren who were starving from the famine.

Formidable
difficulties thrown
in the way of the
Congress.

The bubonic plague, the unfortunate Poona murders and the sudden recrudescence of distrust and race animosities, which followed from them, caused infinitely greater trouble and proved a source of infinitely greater

anxiety than anything else. The dislike of the reform movement represented by the Congress assumed from the time of the Poona occurrences a violent form. In the denunciation and obloquy heaped on the devoted heads of the educated classes, suggestions were freely made for putting a stop to the Congress and all political associations of the people of this country. They were, however, confined to irresponsible writers in the Press. But when the plague re-appeared in Poona in September and assumed alarming proportions there, a high medical and sanitary officer at Nagpur gravely proposed that on account of the existence of the plague in Poona and the places adjacent to it, the meeting of the Congress at Amraoti should be prohibited. A similar suggestion was made to Mr. Lucas, the District Magistrate of Amraoti, but he scouted the notion of prohibition and supported the Secretary of the Reception Committee in his contention that precautionary measures of a general nature applicable to all should be taken and no specially harsh restrictions should be imposed on people arriving for the Congress. Before, however, he could lay his suggestions and those of the Congress Committee before his superiors, he went on leave. In the meanwhile the question of taking action in view of the coming meeting of the Congress went through another channel before the Resident at Hyderabad, who is the head of the Berar Administration. The proposal before him was that, either the meeting of the Congress should be prohibited, or that stringent quarantine regulations should be laid down and enforced. All this happened at the end of October. By that time the preparations for the Congress had made considerable progress. The contracts for the construction of the Congress pavilion, residential quarters, offices and other structures required, had been given long before, and the actual construction itself had commenced. Food, furniture, lighting and all the thousand and one things required for the convenience and comfort of the delegates had been arranged for. For all these purposes vast liabilities had been incurred. The threatened action of Government caused consternation and dismay among the members of the Reception Committee and all friends of the Congress cause. It was not mere vexation at losing thousands of rupees without any return to show for them, it was not the disappointment of losing the great and valued honour of acting as hosts to the delegates from all parts of the country, but it was the chagrin at the mouth of the country being shut up precisely at the time when it should have been open to voice the people's voice. There was also the dread of their Berar being considered, howsoever undeservedly, as the unlucky province where the Congress received its quietus. That was the cause of the anguish and bitterness felt by the Reception Committee. One of the chief officers in the administration wrote demi-officially to the Secretary, Mr. Mudholkar, advising the Committee "as a friend and not as an official only" to defer the meeting of the Congress to the next year. To suggestions coming from such quarters and in such spirit the most anxious consideration was due, and it was so given. After consulting their best friends both in and out of Berar, and weighing every argument that

could be urged for and against, the Reception Committee were satisfied that if certain precautions were adopted, there would be absolutely no danger of the importation of the plague into Berar by the delegates and visitors to the Congress and their servants. They were anxious not merely to stop the mouths of the opponents of the Congress, but felt that in the interests of the people for whom they worked, it was most essential that every safeguard should be adopted to secure immunity from infection to the residents of the Province and to the visitors who came there for the Congress. They themselves, therefore, suggested very effective, though perhaps stringent, precautionary and preventive measures. The Resident and the Commissioner were satisfied of their earnestness and *bona-fides*, and they were told that, unless the plague appeared in Berar, the meeting of the Congress would not be prohibited ; at the same time to insure the Province against importation of the plague, stringent precautions applicable to all persons arriving in Berar, whether for the Congress or any other purpose, were necessary, and the sanitary authorities would frame rules effectually to carry out this object. This was all that was wanted ; and the Congress party in Berar thought that its troubles were over. They were, however, soon to be disenchanting and convinced that the troubles had only just begun. Within a few days after this came a letter from the Commissioner informing the Committee that the site selected by them for the Congress camp was considered objectionable by the Sanitary Commissioner on account of its proximity to the town and the civil station and that until his return to Amraoti all work should be stopped. What effect this letter may have produced on the minds of the Committee may well be imagined. But our Berar friends were equal to the occasion. A deputation waited upon the Sanitary Commissioner and explained to him in full the sanitary measures they were going to adopt. This had the desired effect, and the Sanitary Commissioner was satisfied that, so far as the Committee was concerned, nothing would be left wanting to secure protection from the outbreak of an epidemic, and from that time forward the Sanitary Commissioner, while examining every step with the closest scrutiny, was their friend. The plague, however, suddenly broke out at a place in Khandesh less than 30 miles distant from the western boundary of Berar. This created almost a panic in the official and non-official circles. The vigilance at Malkapur, the examining Railway station in the west of Berar was increased to almost a painful degree, and not only were the few men, who came from Poona, detained there in quarantine for over a week, but even Mr. Bonnerjee, coming direct from England and passing only a few hours in Bombay, was stopped for the greater part of a day. In the meantime the District authorities were so far carried away by the panic as to issue circulars advising people to abstain from going to Amraoti. Again the Reception Committee rose equal to the occasion and while pacifying the District authorities and allaying popular fears, they took energetic steps to prevent the unnecessary detention of Congress delegates. To prevent the President and the Madras and Bombay delegates from being detained, the chief men of the party themselves ran down to Badnera,

the junction of the G. I. P. Railway with the Amraoti State Railway. All these labours had the desired effect. Official fears and misconceptions were allayed to a great degree and the damper which popular enthusiasm had received was completely removed. When the President and the Madras and Bombay delegates arrived, there were over 500 people on the special platform erected by the Congress Committee and thousands in the station compound and on the road leading to the Congress Camp, all vociferously cheering the President and the delegates and blessing the righteous cause which brought them there. From that time forward all was plain sailing and no hitch worth mentioning occurred (except petty though annoying interferences by subordinate police officials) till the conclusion of the proceedings.

Arrangements of
the Congress
Pavilion.

The Congress Camp was located on a spacious piece of ground near the Railway premises and within a minute's walk from the special platform constructed there. It afforded room for the Congress pavilion, a drawing room, reading room, restaurants, the numerous offices required for the general use of the delegates and visitors, and quarters for the residence of delegates whether living in European or Indian style. One new feature of the Congress Camp was an exhibition hall, wherein were displayed numerous specimens of silk and lace embroidery work prepared by Indian ladies. Though the number and variety of the exhibits were not, on account of the prevalence of the plague in the Bombay Presidency, what the lady promoters wished, the display was such as to evoke expressions of enthusiasm from all the delegates and visitors about the resources and powers of organization shown by the lady managers, particularly Mrs. Joshi, wife of one of our well-known Congress leaders, and the promising skill and dexterity exhibited by their sisters in Berar and the Bombay Presidency.

Surrounded by structures as attractive as they were useful, the chief Pavilion was a work of art, which reflected credit on its author for his conception and powers of execution. To accommodate the largest number within the smallest compass and to secure acoustic properties, Mr. S. V. Bhagwat, the engineer and the architect, hit upon the plan of giving a semi-circular shape to the Pavilion, placing the dais on the central portion of the diameter. The roof was arranged in three tiers with ornamental trellis work between each tier which immensely helped the ventilating and acoustic properties of the hall and added to its beauty.

Delegates.

The number of delegates who attended was 692, and considering what extraordinary difficulties existed, it was a most satisfactory number. Against the Deccan and Guzerat Districts quarantine of the most stringent kind was enforced and nobody could come from those parts without spending a week at the Detention Camp at Malkapur. A very small concession was made in favour of Bombay City, at that time affected by the plague in a comparatively mild degree; and men like Messrs. Wacha, Setalwad and Cama could escape detention only by obtaining certificates from the President of the Plague

Committee. Madras, Bengal and N.-W. Provinces delegates, unaffected though their presidencies were by the plague, had to obtain certificates; and to crown all, the identity of every delegate had to be certified both at Malkapur and Badnera by some responsible member of the Reception Committee. And this rule was enforced not only against people coming from outside Berar but also against Berar delegates themselves. These dangers and difficulties kept away hundreds who would otherwise have attended. But it is no mean proof of the vitality of the Congress cause that so many people braved all these risks to attend the Congress.

Of the delegates, 619 were Hindus, 57 were Mahomedans, 8 were Parsees, 5 were Europeans and 3 were Native Christians.

A glance at the list of delegates, appended to the report, will show that the delegates represented all the professions and interests. There were merchants, traders, land-holders, members of the old Watandar class (ancient hereditary village and sub-district officers), lawyers, doctors, professors, journalists, religious preachers, retired Government servants, money-lenders, contractors and engineers.

One gratifying feature, which deserves to be noted, was the large number of ladies who were present throughout the session. There was only one lady who came in the capacity of a delegate; but the number of ladies who attended as visitors exceeded that on any previous occasion. The majority came from the Hindu community, the Maratha Brahmin section being the one most strongly represented. There were also many Parsee ladies, however, and some European. It is possible some of the lady visitors came only to see the sight; but there is no doubt that the majority evinced a degree of interest not to be expected in mere sight-seers. They were as punctual in their attendance as any of the delegates and watched the proceedings with no little keenness. This was only natural. The women of India are taking more and more interest in the subjects which enlist the sympathies and rouse the activities of their male relations. The events of the year had profoundly stirred the feelings of all the classes of the Indian nation; and the difficulties thrown in the way of the Congress, the unmerited obloquy cast upon it and the persecution with which the educated class was threatened, while they stimulated the energies of those who worked actively in the national cause, called forth everywhere amongst men and women a genuine sympathy for its success.

The deep sympathy
of Lady Visitors.

The whole proceedings breathed that spirit of true and firm loyalty, combined with independence and frankness, which characterise the utterances and acts of the Congress party. This year there was with this feeling mixed the humiliating and bitter recollection that they and all the educated Indians had been only recently subjected to unjustifiable and baseless suspicion and undeserved reviling at the hands of their rulers. Ignorance, prejudice, race pride, impatience of criticism had often led members and

The spirit that
prevailed in the
Congress Camp.

sections of the British community in India to express doubts about the loyalty of educated Indians and to revile them in no measured terms. The infection spread this year to the seat of Government; and responsible Councillors of the State, without check from the head of the Government, used language towards whole classes and communities which was as unwise as it was unjustifiable. Conscious of the honesty of the sentiments which guide them, never forgetting for a moment that their very existence and the prosperity of India are bound up with the maintenance of the British Government, the educated Indians, whose voice the Indian National Congress is, are unable to understand how the great and generous nation, which has championed the cause of Liberty in all quarters of the globe, which in India itself inaugurated and carried out for a number of years a policy of enlightenment, justice and humanity, should suddenly pause in its course of righteousness and liberality, reverse its own procedures and cast off as untrustworthy and dangerous the children of its own mature statesmanship and magnanimity. If there is any portion of the vast mass of humanity which obeys the British rule, which is firmly and devotedly loyal, it is the class of educated Indians. But theirs is not an indiscriminating and inappreciative loyalty. While they admire all that is great, all that is good, all that is just, all that is truly Christian in the methods of administration which Great Britain has established in India, they do not hesitate for a moment from pointing out the weaknesses incidental to it and demand their removal. It is a matter of the deepest regret that the truly loyal persons, who want to perpetuate the connection of Great Britain with India by removing the deficiencies which mar the good effects of that connection, should be stigmatised as disaffected and seditious by shortsighted and prejudiced people, and their voice now echoed by responsible heads of administration.

Resumé of the
Address of the
Chairman of the
Reception
Committee.

The proceedings were commenced by a speech from Mr. G. S. Khaparde, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates. In doing so he referred in short to the features of the year which was about to close, justly characterising it as "the worst period during the last forty years." "It would appear," said he, "as if the adverse fates had sat in consultation as to how they could possibly give us the utmost trouble, on purpose, I suppose, to test the strength and solidarity of the movement inaugurated just twelve years ago." First came the famine in all its devastating fury, but it did not injure the Congress cause; for to combat it our men zealously seconded the efforts of the devoted officers of the benign British Government, and it appeared that the rulers and the ruled had combined to fight a common enemy. This not suiting the objects of the adverse Fates, they sent the plague with its attendant disagreeable measures. To this was added a war beyond the North-West Frontier—a ruinous and unprovoked war which had no advantages to offer, but was potent in hampering the resources of Government. To these fruitful sources of misfortune were added fires, floods and earthquakes. "To dishearten and strike terror, and in the midst of the confusion caused by all

these, they (the adverse fates) sent out the Demon of Distrust to stalk the country by getting two most unfortunate and deplorable murders committed at Poona and enveloping them in a deep mystery. Then arose "the scare of a widespread conspiracy, and the so-called State prosecutions followed as an unfortunate sequence, accompanied by unexpected deportations, for reasons not disclosed even up to this day." Friends are being mistaken for foes. "The educated classes are the offsprings of the environments created by the British Government itself. Their aspirations are those that are inspired by western culture, and yet they are not so recognized by those who put the seed of education into them and fostered it with the loving care of a parent." Against these adverse circumstances the Congress workers fought with faith in the great Ruler of the universe and with the conviction that He at any rate saw that in their heart of hearts there was nothing but loyalty and a desire to offer their help to so improve that administration as to render it permanent and the people under its sway prosperous, happy and contented. Referring to the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty he happily called it as "the only ray of light that penetrated the otherwise impenetrable gloom of the year."

Adverting to the difficulties which had to be surmounted he asked "what cause is there which is pronounced to be good without surmounting these difficulties?" And the fact of their presence there under the circumstances and in the numbers in which they came was itself a guarantee of success. If ever a session of the Congress was necessary, it was so now. The Congress was a movement "designed to interpret the thoughts of the rulers to the ruled and to represent the grievances of the people to the powers that be. This task always arduous is doubly arduous this year." But he hoped that the principles of the English constitution would make their path easy. "We are," said he, "making humble efforts to be included as living beings in that constitution, to have the proud glory of being able to say *civis Britannicus sum*, and we should not be discouraged if we are opposed, traduced and even abused. This opposition and misrepresentation should always teach us to examine our programme more and more carefully, to eliminate from it errors that we may have been led into, and render it as acceptable as we possibly can, to those who do not see eye to eye with us in this matter. We have to walk in a spirit of conciliation, and harshness even in thought or word must be strictly avoided."

After the conclusion of the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Honorable Mr. Surendranath Banerjea proposed in his glowing periods the election as President of Mr. C. Sankaran Nair, a pleader of the High Court of Madras, and for many years a member of the Madras Legislative Council. This proposal was seconded by Mr. M. V. Joshi (Berar) and supported by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad) and by Mr. C. H. Setalwad (Bombay) and was carried unanimously. The President was then conducted to his seat, the whole audience rising to their feet to cheer him.

Election of the
President.

Mr. Sankaran Nair is an excellent specimen of the war-like community of the Nairs of Malabar. Of a fine presence and pleasing countenance, a high and thoughtful forehead, his very appearance is prepossessing and he looked an admirable President. His address delivered in a quiet and unassuming manner was indicative of the character of the man, a harmonious blend of independence and moderation. His style is at once simple, clear and terse, free from affectation or bombast. The whole address is worthy of careful perusal and study.

The Presidential
Address.

Beginning with a reference to the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, he very fittingly called Her Majesty as the living embodiment to the Indian people of what is good in British supremacy. "While Englishmen in India, inflamed by race animosity and the recollections of the Sepoy Mutiny, were calling for terrible reprisals, she unmasked, forgetting and forgiving, issued her gracious proclamation."

The foolish and ridiculous cry of disloyalty of the educated classes naturally engaged his attention and he completely demolished that superstructure of ignorance, prejudice and misrepresentation. "Forty years," says he, "of peace and progress seemed to have amply justified the wise and generous statesmanship of the great Empress, but suddenly this year, we have been startled with the cry of sedition directed not against any specific individual, nor even against a number of persons, but against a whole class, the product of the liberal policy inaugurated nearly half a century ago." He demonstrated how absurd the charge of disloyalty was and showed on what the sentiments of

LOYALTY

which animate the educated classes were based.

Generous Loyalty
of Educated India.

"We are well aware of the disordered state of this country when it passed, with its insecurity of person and property, under British rule, of the enormous difficulties our rulers had to overcome in introducing orderly administration without any help from the then existing agencies. We recognize that the association of the people in the government of the country except to a very limited extent was then impossible. We also know that British rule cleared the way to progress and furnished us with the one element, English education, which was necessary to rouse us from the torpor of ages and bring about the religious, social and political regeneration which the country stands so much in need of. We are also aware that with the decline of British supremacy we shall have anarchy, war and rapine. The Mahomedans will try to recover their lost supremacy. The Hindu races and chiefs will fight amongst themselves. The lower castes who have come under the vivifying influence of Western civilization are scarcely likely to yield without a struggle to the dominion of the higher castes. And we have Russia and France waiting for their opportunities. The ignorant masses may possibly not recognize the gravity of the danger attendant on any

decline of England's power in the East. But it is ridiculous to suggest that those who have received the benefit of English education are so short-sighted as not to see and weigh that danger. (Cheers.) While, however, full of gratitude for what Great Britain has done to India,—for its government which secures us from foreign aggression and ensures security of person and property,—it should not be forgotten for a moment that the real link that binds us indissolubly to England is the hope, the well-founded hope and belief, that with England's help we shall, and, under her guidance alone, we can attain national unity and national freedom. (Hear, hear, cheers.) The educational policy of the Government, a policy which combines beneficence with statesmanship, justified such hopes in us. Those hopes were confirmed by various pledges. Those pledges were followed by the creation of institutions by which we were admitted to a share in our ordinary government which must surely, though slowly, lead to the full fruition of our aspirations."

Brought up by English professors on English classics and history, with English types of character ever present before us, fed on English literature every day, "it is impossible not to be penetrated with English ideas, not to acquire English conceptions of duty, of rights, of brotherhood" while the study of law has materially contributed to the growth of mental independence.

"Imbued with these ideas and principles, we naturally desire to acquire the full rights and to share the responsibilities of British citizenship. We have learnt that in the acquisition of those rights and in the recognition of the principles on which they are based, lies the remedy for the evils afflicting our country, evils similar to those from which England herself once suffered." The differences of race, religion and caste-divisions—as great and pronounced there as here—have all "disappeared in the common struggle for freedom, and in the combined effort to retain it when acquired, in which each required the help of its antagonist and each was required to concede to others the right claimed for itself, and which, therefore, resulted in the recognition and solemn affirmation of principles of government which obliterated all distinctions of race or religion, caste or class. Those principles affirmed the equality of all before law and government, the right of self-government by the people themselves through their representatives, and complete freedom of speech and discussion as the very breath of national life. (Hear, hear.) It is the hope that one day we may be admitted as equal sharers in this great inheritance, that we shall have all the civil rights associated with the English Government, that we shall be admitted as freely as Englishmen themselves to worship in this temple of freedom—it is this hope that keeps India and will keep her always attached to the British. (Hear, hear, cheers.) This hope is sustained by pledges solemnly made; and the sentiment of loyalty to the British connection created by repeated declarations that we shall be gradually allowed the full rights of English citizenship is already in full force." There are the pledges of 1833, and 1858, and they have been redeemed in part. "The press has been enfran-

Political Reform.

chised. Partially elected members sit in our local and Legislative Councils. We can enter the civil service through the open door of competition. These blessings are no doubt now coupled with conditions which unfortunately detract from their value. But these great and healthy principles have nurtured and consolidated a sentiment of affection. All that England has to do is to persist resolutely in the line of policy she has initiated and thereby deepen that feeling of loyalty which makes us proud of our connection with England." (Hear, hear, cheers.) "Thus the only condition requisite for the fruition of our political aspirations is the continuance of the British Rule. The fond hope that India may one day take her place in the confederacy of the free English-speaking nations of the world can be realised only under England's guidance with England's help. Years must elapse, it is true, before our expectations can be realised, before we get representative institutions on the models of those of the English-speaking communities. Slavery we had under our old rulers, Hindu and Mahomedan; we may again get it under any despotic European or Asiatic Government. But we know that real freedom is possible only under the Government of the English nation, nurtured in liberty, hating every form of tyranny and willing to extend the blessings of representative Government to those capable of using it wisely in the interests of freedom and progress. (Cheers.)

Social and religious reform.

"Great as is the necessity of British rule for the political emancipation of our country, even greater is the necessity for social and religious reform. In the present circumstances of India, inhabited as it is by followers of various religions, various sects, classes, very often with antagonistic interests, any Government which is not strictly secular and absolutely impartial must be disastrous to the best interests of the country." "To break down the isolation of the Hindu religion, to remove the barriers which now prevent free social intercourse and unity of action, to extend the blessings of education to the lower classes, to improve the position of women to one of equality to men, we require the continuance of a strictly secular Government in thorough sympathy with liberal thought and progress."

~~He then goes on to refer to certain notable events of the year. The famine that has devastated this country is naturally the first to claim his attention. "We render," says he, "our hearty thanks for the magnificent aid received by us from the people of Great Britain and other countries. (Cheers.) We recognize the great sympathy and ability with which the famine administration was carried on in India. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the same energy, if directed to discover and remove the causes of famine, would be of far greater benefit to the country. (Hear, hear.)~~

AT THE ROOT OF THESE FAMINES IS THE GREAT POVERTY OF INDIA."

Indian Poverty.

"The poverty of the country reveals itself to us in every direction, in every shape and form. It shows itself in the poor condition of the labouring population and of the great majority of the ryots who are under-fed, and who are without, not only the comforts, but even the absolute necessities of life and who lead a life of penury and toil unredeemed by any hope of provision against the frequent vicissitudes of the seasons, sickness or old age, when they must be dependent on relatives and strangers."

Even a partial failure of crops in one year leads to terrible scarcity or famine. Recurrence of famines has become a normal condition and each famine finds the staying power of the masses reduced. "In a fertile country, with every variety of clime capable of producing every variety of product, with a population thrifty and hard-working, if the produce is not sufficient for the population, it must be due to some defect in the system of administration which does not protect the fruits of industry, but scares away capital from the land." The feeling is gaining ground that for this extreme poverty, ever present scarcity and recurring famines, Government are morally responsible. The great remedy is

A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF GOVERNMENT REVENUE FROM THE LAND,

which will result in the attraction of capital to land and the creation of a class of landholders interested in the maintenance of law and order. The proposals of Lord Canning to grant permanent settlement sanctioned by the Secretary of State were under the pressure of increased expenditure set aside. "Our Government ought to concede the permanent settlement immediately to all parts of India and in those parts where from local circumstances a permanent limitation of land revenue is not feasible," any increased demand for land revenue by executive action should be permissible only with the sanction of the Legislative Council.

Its Remedy.

The next remedy is to put a check on expenditure. There are no effective checks now. The Budgets ought to be submitted to the Legislative Councils for approval and members ought to have the power of moving resolutions in connection with them.

Reduction of Military Expenditure.

"The biggest item of expenditure is the military expenditure. Our true policy is a peaceful policy. We have little, if anything, to expect from conquests. With such capacity for internal development as our country possesses, with such crying need to carry out the reforms absolutely necessary for our well-being, we want a period of prolonged peace. We have no complaint against our neighbours, either on our north-west or our north-east frontier. If ever our country is involved in war, it will be due to the policy of aggrandisement of the English Government at London or Calcutta. An army is maintained at our cost far in excess of what is required for us. The military element is supreme in the Viceroy's Council. For interests other than Indian, countries are invaded, all the horrors of war let loose at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. As England directs our foreign policy and as wars are undertaken to maintain English rule, the English treasury ought to pay the entire cost, claiming contribution from India to the extent of India's interest in the struggle. This would secure a thorough discussion of any foreign policy in the English Parliament. It would also enable Indian members in the Viceroy's Council to protest against any unfair distribution of the war expenditure when the Budget has to be passed."

A large portion of unnecessary expenditure is due to the idea that the English are a foreign and superior race holding India by the sword and that the Indians are, as a rule, not worthy of trust and confidence. "To us this idea is hateful and therefore we insist upon equality before law and Government." This is why we protest against the principle under-

Inequality of Laws.

lying the Arms Act and the existing system of volunteering and demand that the higher grades of the Military Service be opened to the natives of this country, ask for the establishment of Military Colleges and press for admission into all the branches of the Public Service on an equal footing with Europeans.

" Apart from economic necessity, the stability and permanence of British connection require that not only no positive disqualification should exist but that the rules intended to make the declarations of 1833 and the Queen's promise of 1858 a dead letter must be removed."

" The concession of these demands means an enormous increase in India's defensive strength against any foe; it means a reduction in taxation which at the rate it is now growing, must involve the ruin of the country. These distinctions, on the other hand, cast a slur on our loyalty, accentuate race prejudices in a most invidious form and relegate Indians to the position of an inferior race and silently ensure the emasculation of our manhood." To this feeling of race superiority is due the refusal of the South-African and Australian colonies to treat us on terms of equality and " the frequent contemptuous treatment of respectable people by soldiers." " The racial feeling is confirmed by the belief generally entertained in India that it is almost impossible to secure the conviction of a European accused of any heinous offence." . . . " On this race question, no concession is possible. No compromise can be accepted so far as it lies in us.

WE MUST INSIST ON PERFECT EQUALITY.

Inequality means race inferiority, national abasement. Acquisition, therefore, of all civil rights conferred on Englishmen, removal of all disabilities on Indians as such—these must be our aim."

The Poona incidents.

Referring to the measures taken to combat the plague in Poona, he gives a short summary of the complaints made with regard to them, and points out that those representations were certainly entitled to attentive consideration, however much the authorities might have disagreed with them. " Their objects were honest, their methods were proper. Their language was not respectful, it was perhaps violent, but men dominated by feelings of distress are often carried beyond what strict prudence would dictate." Treating these complaints with contempt, the Anglo-Indian community were thrown into a state of unreasoning panic by the unfortunate murders of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. Unable to understand the native feeling or misled by interested or ill-informed writers, they, or rather a considerable portion of them, suspected a deep design in these murders and jumped to the conclusion that there was a deep-laid conspiracy, which could have been planned only by educated cunning, and an attack was commenced on the Vernacular Press and the educated Indians, perhaps unexampled in its virulence since the mutiny. Then followed the arrest and deportation of the Nattu brothers and the press prosecutions. " The arrest of the Nattu brothers was and must remain a great blunder. It recalls the worst days of irresponsible despotism. Liberty of person and property is a farcé if you are liable to be arrested, imprisoned, and your property sequestered at the will and pleasure of Government without being brought to trial. (Hear, hear.)"

About the press trials he says :—

Press trials,

“ If there is any offence in India which ought to be tried by a native Jury, it is the offence of sedition. It was possible that a native Jury who knew the language and who were in a more favourable position to form a correct judgment of the probable and intended effect of the articles on native mind would not have convicted; it was certain that a European Jury in that state of public excitement would convict.”

“ This Poona incident enforces the necessity of ceaseless vigilance in keeping the English public correctly informed of whatever passes in India and of thus counteracting the mischievous effects of the dissemination of incorrect news. It emphasises the necessity of extending the system of Trial by Jury to India on the same conditions as it is granted to Europeans. It also shows that the Executive Government can deprive us of our liberty of person and property at its own will and pleasure. It has brought into disagreeable prominence the unsatisfactory nature of the law of sedition. The Government of India have announced their intention to alter such law in the light of recent events. We trust the Government of India will bear in mind that in the circumstances of this country, anything which checks freedom of public discussion is most deplorable. Such check may become a temporary, if dangerous bar to quiet and steady progress. The stream of our national progress will nevertheless move on. It will become dry only when our holy rivers of India become dry. (Hear, hear.) Its progress at present under sympathetic guidance is smooth. Its unwise obstruction may compel underground passages or its overflow. (Hear, hear.)”

“ We deprecate most strongly any intemperate language in criticizing Government measures. We are bound to assume that any objectionable measure must have been due either to ignorance or to error of judgment. We have also to remember that after all our salvation lies in bringing home to the majority of the people of England our real wishes and feelings and that the persons whose actions are criticized are their own kith and kin, that the system of Government we attack was framed by men for whom they feel just respect and esteem. Any violence, therefore, will do us infinite harm, it may possibly prevent us from securing a hearing.—A false, incorrect, or even doubtful allegation will discredit us in the eyes of Englishmen, and the cause of reform may be thereby put back for generations.

“ Let me say at once that in the remarks I make I deem it superfluous to proclaim our loyalty to the British throne or to the British constitution, or to add that we have not the slightest sympathy with any speech or writing which would regard a severance of our connexion as a desirable consummation. (Hear, hear.) We naturally take a pride in the lives of the great men who have lived for India, and we would draw the attention of our rulers to that part of our ancient history which we think they might usefully study. (Hear, hear.) But we are also aware that the present has its roots in the past and the past is responsible for our lowly condition. We, who claim equality at the hands of Englishmen, would deplore and resist any attempt to revive the days when any caste or class as such was privileged before the law, when a Brahmin for instance, could claim immunity from punishment! We claim equality for all, Brahmins and Pariahs alike. It is this same feeling that prompts our criticism of any act on the part of our Rulers which may seem to recognize any inequality. It is by the removal of these inequalities before law between European and Indian and by the degree of self-government conceded to us that we measure our progress towards freedom.

“ Gentlemen, I have done. I am afraid I have wearied you with my lengthy remarks (voices—no, no), but I hope I have succeeded in placing before you clearly some points relating to our present political condition. We have no need to despair of our political

The Political future
need not be de-
spaired.

future so long as we depend upon Great Britain, but let us at the same time be alive to our duties and responsibilities. India expects great things from us; the whole civilized world is watching the changes coming over us. Shall we be content to leave India as it is, or shall we go on and do all in our power to lift it to a higher level. Years of subjection, nay, we may even say, servitude, have sapped the strength of the Indian nation, dwarfed its growth, and stripped it of all that was grand and noble in it, and if India is ever to occupy a better position than she fills at the present moment and take her proper place in the scale of nations, it must be entirely due to the zealous efforts of her educated and enlightened sons. Let '*Nil Desperandum*' be our motto; let not 'insidious smile or angry frown' deter us from following the straight path of duty; and with the welfare and progress of our land as our end and aim, let us endeavour under a solemn sense of responsibility as well as loyalty to our country and to our Sovereign to bring about that glorious future which must inevitably crown our efforts." (Loud and continued cheers.)

The speech was listened to with rapt attention and almost every word of it approved and applauded.

The first day's proceedings terminated with the usual election of a Subjects Committee which set to work immediately to discuss and settle the subjects and recast the resolutions proposed by the Reception Committee.

First Resolution.
The Forward
Policy.

The first resolution moved on the 28th dealt with the Forward Policy. It was moved by that veteran publicist and politician, Mr. D. E. Wacha, of Bombay. His speech was as usual full of information and crammed with facts and figures. We must refer our readers to the speech *in extenso* printed in the body of the proceedings. We can only give here a few extracts. In the opening part of his speech he states, with perhaps a shade of grim satisfaction, "that all the prophecies of the Congress in reference to military expenditure, the financial burdens that it entails on the country, and the evil consequences arising therefrom, have been slowly and steadily verified." Beginning from the very beginning, he takes us from the minute of General Jacob submitted to Lord Canning's Government in 1856 and that of Sir Henry Rawlinson submitted to the India Council in 1865, to the first successful attempt to inaugurate the Jingo policy made in 1876 by Lord Lytton under the command of Mr. Disraeli, and shows how the disasters of the Second Afghan war put, for a time, under the guidance of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon, a strong curb on that policy, and how, revived under Lord Dufferin, it has thriven under the regimes of Lords Lansdowne and Elgin.

"It was in that year that Shere Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, was struggling with internal difficulties in his own dominions. Hence it was considered a most favourable opportunity by the Jingo party in power in England to seize it, make a move forward, and if possible to occupy Afghanistan. It was this party, at whose head was Mr. Disraeli, who invited Lord Northbrook, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to find a pretext for hostilities with the Amir. But his Lordship was a sagacious statesman who knew exactly what the invitation meant. He knew thoroughly well that once English soldiers put their foot beyond Peshawar there would be no halting. Step by step there would be an advance. Post after post would have to be occupied and fortified. The Government would be impelled to go forward and forward until none could say where it might be made to halt eventually. Lord Northbrook could easily forecast what the future

of that policy would be. Hence when he was invited by Mr. Disraeli to find a *casus belli* with the Amir he courageously declined to do so and resigned office.

After that disastrous event the eyes of the people of England were opened and the Liberal Ministry of Mr. Gladstone came to our rescue by contributing five millions sterling towards that cost. It also put a strong curb on that policy. But that check only lasted for a time. It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon that we had some breathing time. (Hear, hear.) It was he who extricated the country from the morass of financial embarrassment into which it was plunged by Lord Lytton's Government and once more put the whole of the Indian revenue and expenditure on a sound basis: so much so that when he left India, after having laid down his high office, the financial condition of the country was indeed all that could be desired. (Cheers.) He reduced taxation to the extent of three crores of rupees by remitting the duty on salt-tax, namely, making it Rs. 2 per maund; by abolishing all import duties save on arms and liquors; and by remitting other taxes which were known to be oppressive in certain parts of the Empire. In spite of this remission of 3 crores, Lord Ripon and Major Baring (now Lord Cromer) left the finances of India in such a healthy condition that the revenue balanced expenditure.

Lord Dufferin came and the policy was again put into motion. At first there was the Penjdeh scare which cost us 2 crores. But what followed that scare? The army was increased by thirty thousand troops of whom ten thousand were Europeans and twenty thousand natives. That has cost the country a permanent additional burden of 2½ millions sterling.

The army was increased in 1885. But what was the first effect of that increase? We went to Burmah and forcibly seized that province under a hollow pretext.

Upper Burmah became a sort of white elephant to us. Although the military expenditure there has lately been reduced, that new Province has cost us 16 crores during the last twelve years.

Suffice to say the expeditions have cost fully six crores, apart from the cost of the present one which is likely to exceed five crores. I may say that altogether from 1885 upto date our frontier expeditions have cost us well-nigh eleven crores. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to consider what these eleven crores mean. Suppose that these eleven crores had been saved, to what good purpose might the sum have not been applied? Why, the famine expenditure itself will not cost you eleven crores. We might have paid the entire famine expenditure and spent the balance on works of public utility like irrigation, education and so forth. Or, we might have saved the sum which would have diminished the borrowing to which the Imperial Government has lately been obliged to resort. If again you look at the military expenditure proper, you will find that since 1886 the extra cost which it has entailed on this country amounts to thirty-three crores of rupees without exchange. The additional burden of military exchange, I may inform you, amounted in 10 years (from 1885 to 1894) to 14½ crores. How usefully might these thirty-three crores have been spent on objects of public utility? If not, we might have avoided all the enhanced and new taxation which has been imposed on this account and which aggregates twenty-two crores.

We have absolutely derived no advantage from these expeditions and from the increased army force. At the same time the country has gone backward and has just been able to extricate itself from the throes of a famine which is admitted to be the severest of the century. All other pressing domestic improvements have been hung up. Irrigation and other public works have been starved. So is education. So are other reforms. We have been crying for the separation of judicial from executive functions, which would not cost, according to Mr. Jacob's evidence, half a crore, although that measure, if adopted, would confer the greatest boon on the people,

The expenditure is said to be incurred on securing British supremacy in the East. If that be so, those who wish to maintain it for Imperial purposes, must pay the expenses."

In closing his speech, Mr. Wacha gave an extract from a recent article of Sir Auckland Colvin which we reproduce here:—

“Taxation in India has in the last three years reached high water-mark. So far as revenue has been kept abreast of expenditure, it has been only by reimposing taxation which had been taken off or by the addition of fresh fiscal burdens. I need not re-enter on the ground travelled over by me in previous years published in this Review in 1894 and 1895. The relief which may be hoped for from further improvement in exchange has almost reached the furthest limits which under the existing conditions of the currency can be expected, but insufficient as it is, is probably in excess of any relief which can be looked for were the mints to be reopened under the most favourable conditions. The artificial condition of the currency is a source of apprehension and of uncertainty to all alike, to the Government, to men of business, to the native bankers, and especially to all classes connected with agriculture—in other words, nine-tenths of the population. The resources of the country are drained temporarily by famine, the population harassed by plague, the relations of the Government and the people in more than one important direction are notoriously strained. There has never probably been a moment when India was less prepared to meet fresh financial obligations, or to add to its difficulties by embarking in enterprises of which the consequences to its finances are likely to prove crushing though for the moment their full effect may not be apparent. It has been too much the custom in responsible quarters and men of either great political party in this country to speak in later years of the finances of India as though the political climate of India did not affect them. . . . From 1838 to 1897, progress and advance beyond the Indus have always brought with them the arrest of progress to the east of it; and it is on this account that leading natives of India, whether of the old and orthodox or the new University brand type so universally regard the present policy with disfavour. This too was the bedrock of Lord Lawrence’s position. His strategic view may be open to criticism but his view of the strategical line to be adopted was a part only and not the most important part of his policy on this subject. No scheme of strategical frontier could be sound in Lord Lawrence’s eyes which was not consistent with the progress of the country, the development of its resources and the contentment and loyalty of the people.”

Mr. G. Subramania Ayer (Madras), the able editor of the *Hindu*, seconded Mr. Wacha’s proposition in an effective and neat little speech. Let us see what he says:—

“The forward Policy is not the Indian Policy. The true Indian policy was the policy of Lord Lawrence, a policy of masterly inactivity, a policy of prepared vigilance on the Frontier and abstinence from all interferences with the frontier tribes, a policy that was determined by a due consideration of the financial soundness of the Government of India, a policy founded upon the great truth that every policy which is not conducive to the prosperity and contentment of the people of India was unwise and impolitic.”

This forward policy due to the new Imperial Jingoism has proved ruinous to the country. As Colonel Hanna says the frontier expeditions have cost us nearly seventy millions, or if the conquest of Burmah is taken into consideration, one hundred crores of rupees. To this is to be added the cost which the continuation of this policy entails, the cost that is of keeping a sufficient force to occupy the regions conquered and that of carrying on the civil administration of these countries,

With reference to what is often said that these wars are undertaken out of the philanthropic mission of England to carry civilization amongst barbarians, he said :—

“ Well, this may be a philanthropic mission indeed. But if that mission is to be undertaken by England, if the English people want to have that glory of crushing barbarism under the wheel of civilization, let them pay for it. (Cheers.) They are welcome to do so, but tax not the poor, half-starved Ramaswamy of Madras. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Ramaswamy of Madras has nothing to do with the civilization of the Afridis or the civilization of the Pathans, nor the people of the Bengal Presidency nor the peasant of Berar. What have we to do with the civilization of the barbarians if they are barbarians living beyond the natural frontiers of India? It is enough if we pay for our own expenditure. There is a good deal to be done for the civilization of our own people and their progress, and why on earth should we be burdened with the cost of civilizing the Afridis and the Pathans? (A voice: “ Benevolence.”) Let those who want benevolence pay for it. (Cheers.) What is the result of the forward policy? The result is, ladies and gentlemen, what 20 or 25 years ago was an Indian appendage, an Indian Empire, has ceased to be an Indian Empire; it is an Asiatic Empire. Burmah and further border lands beyond the Himalayas no more form a portion of India than Kamatschatka. The thrifty and the half-starved peasants of India are virtually paying for the Asiatic Empire. It is high time that this Congress do enter its emphatic protest against this frontier policy which has cost not only millions of money but is sure to cost much more in future and entirely absorb all the resources available for the good progress and advancement of the people. Therefore, after all, what is the practical result of this war that has been going on for several months? Are we sure that the great army of sixty thousand troops—well disciplined, valorous and superior—are we sure that this army has conquered these Pathans? Some say that Pathans have conquered the British army. (Laughter.) It is extremely doubtful and it looks as if they have to go on with another campaign of six months and Heaven only knows what that will cost. I am sure and you are all sure that if this forward policy were to continue, India would be absolutely crushed and there is no hope for India unless and until this forward policy is put an end to, knowing people say that it is not easy to induce the British taxpayer to pay for the cost of this expedition. If he will not pay and if the Indian people cannot afford to pay, how is this to go on? I have just read in a Bombay paper that serious negotiations are being carried on to sell away our State Railways. What? Has it come to that? Has it come that the Government of India should sell away its State Railways in order to find the money to pay for this expedition? Nothing can be more shameful, more disastrous and more discreditable to the statesmanship and the good government of this country.”

The second resolution is in a manner a part and parcel of the first and yet it stands apart by itself; for in this resolution the prayer for the assistance from the British Treasury is based upon the peculiarly embarrassed circumstances of the country due to famine and plague. Mr. Baikunt Nath Sen (Murshidabad) who moved it is well known on the Congress platform as a well informed and effective speaker, and by his simple exposition and impressive delivery he carries his audience with him without the help of any ornate rhetoric. Said he :—

“ The people of this country live from hand to mouth. Failures of two crops bring on famine. They (the people) are taxed very heavily. The Government of India with its income in round numbers of fifty millions has to meet the home charges by making a remit-

Second Resolution.
Financial Justice
to India.

tance of almost half of it. One-third again goes to meet the military expenditure. There is left a balance of about one-sixth for the internal administration of the Empire. . . . The military operations beyond the north-western frontier are likely to cost a very large amount of money. No fore-cast or estimate can be accepted. . . . The Government is already in an embarrassed condition. The people are too poor to pay any further taxes. In ordinary circumstances, in the normally existing embarrassed condition of the finances, the Government would not find sufficient funds to meet this military expenditure. But to our misfortune the normal condition of the finances has been disturbed by the appearance of calamities like famine and plague. The famine affected the agricultural and generally the land-owning interest altogether. The poor ryots could not reap their crops and the landlords also could not get their rents. . . . Trade and commerce have been affected by the plague. . . . While there is this abnormal condition introduced by these two calamities, how is the Indian Government to meet this little bill ? ”

Revenue cannot be developed and curtailment of expenditure would mean the starving of objects which go to improve the intellectual, moral and material condition of the country. Without determining whether the policy is right or wrong, as the present war was partially at least for Imperial purposes, a contribution from the British Treasury seems just and necessary and is supported by precedents.

Mr. Jaisiram (Lahore), the well-known Punjaub pleader, who seconded the proposition, gave a quotation from Sir David Barbour's evidence before the Indian Expenditure Commission which summarises the existing financial situation. It runs thus :—

“The facts which I have brought to your notice may be briefly recapitulated—an eastern country governed in accordance with expensive western ideas ; an immense and poor population ; a narrow margin of possible additional revenue ; a constant tendency for expenditure to out-grow revenue ; a system of Government in India favourable to increase of and unfavourable to reduction of expenditure. No financial control by intelligent and well informed public opinion either in India or in England ; an insufficient check on expenditure in India ; a remote and imperfect control exercised from England ; a revenue specially liable to fluctuations year to year and growing foreign payments.”

To these two propositions a supplementary one was added authorising the President to submit a petition to Parliament embodying the prayer contained in resolutions I and II.

In moving and seconding this supplementary resolution Mr. S. M. Deo (Berar) and Pandit Shyam Narayan (Oudh) explained in Marathi and Hindustani respectively, what the speakers on the first two propositions had said.

The third resolution, while expressing the grateful acknowledgments of the Congress to the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure for the opportunity afforded by them to representative Indian witnesses to state fully the case on behalf of India, submitted the views of the Congress about dealing with the matters referred to the Commission.

As regards the machinery to control expenditure action was proposed on three lines : (1) By making the non-official members of the Viceroy's

Council more directly representative of the people and giving them the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget ; (2) by having a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience on the Council of the Secretary of State, nominated thereto on the recommendation of the elected members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils ; and (3) by the appointment, each year, of a select Committee of the House of Commons to enquire into and report upon the financial condition of India. As regards the progress of Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and the progress of the people, and that a large saving and a more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the Public Service. As regards apportionment of charges, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the Empire are involved, and especially that the expenses of the present war beyond the frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer.

This proposition puts in a nutshell the main demand of the Congress and states clearly and concisely the administrative reforms deemed essential to the welfare and progress of the country. To men not biassed by personal or class considerations or misled by ignorance or misrepresentations, this enunciation of the Congress creed will not strike as in any way revolutionary in character or dangerous in its effects on the British connection. Indeed to those who know anything of politics it will strike that these demands have the support of responsible statesmen and experienced and far-sighted administrators.

This resolution was moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad), a favourite speaker on the Congress platform. He pointed out that the machinery to control Indian expenditure was at the best very defective and worked very feebly so far as the interests of India were concerned. The Executive Council, who spent the taxes, did not pay any taxes themselves or but paid very little, and there was not therefore the same anxious consideration shown as to how and when the money should be found, as it would undoubtedly have been, if the money had largely to come out of their own pockets. The House of Commons exercises or can exercise very little actual control. Unnecessary and unjust burdens have been thrown on India and unproductive expenditure enormously increased. The exchange compensation allowance, the Afghan and Burmah wars and the frontier expeditions show this clearly. The facility of borrowing and the absence of any effective check have enormously increased the national debt. A discussion in the Legislative Councils followed by a division would be in some measure a check on extravagance or reckless borrowing. In order that the non-official view may be put properly before Government, the non-official members must

be more directly representative of the people. The Secretary of State's Council must either be ended or mended. So long as it is kept in existence, the Indian element ought to be represented in it. An annual examination of the financial condition of India by a select Committee of the House of Commons will be of great value as the members of that House who do not, as a rule, enter into the maze of Indian finance will naturally attach great weight to the report of a Committee of their own House. In dealing with the reduction of military and civil expenditure the speaker pointed out that a larger saving and more efficient administration might be obtained by the substitution of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the Public service. "The Government," he said, "are fully satisfied that the native army is loyal. Government have had a splendid proof of the loyalty of the brave Sikhs and of other soldiers that have been fighting on the frontier. The Government and the whole English-speaking world, the civilized world which has read accounts of the valorous deeds of the twenty-seven Sikhs who died at Sheergaon (cheers), have generously and justly given the due measure of praise to the valorous Sikhs and other soldiers who have fought and died there for the glory of the British Crown. Now, gentlemen, we are happy to know that there is a universal feeling amongst Anglo-Indians and Indians also that the memory of these deeds should be properly perpetuated. I do not think that there can be any better course adopted to do that than to recognize that henceforward these restrictions which prevent Indians of merit in the army from rising to the topmost ladder of the service shall be no more; let it be remembered that these twenty-seven Sikhs who died at Sheergaon have with their blood sealed the doom of that policy which prevents Indians, who have served their sovereign and their country right loyally and valorously from rising, as European members of the service do rise, to the higher grades of the military service. (Cheers.) I am sure that any other recognition or reward of that merit, pardon me for saying so, becomes trifling so long as this has not been done. . . . In the Civil Service of the country you find that a great bulk of the work, the most important work, is carried on by Indian Agency. Government trust us with all that. It is only at the head of the district, it is only at the head of an executive body, that they insist upon having a European member in most instances. We say 'is not the century of English rule during which you have entrusted us with your secrets, during which we have helped you to carry on the administration of the country to our good and to your glory, enough to satisfy you of the fidelity and trustworthiness of the natives who have received education and whom you have appointed to these services?' If this is not so, then I say it is a very sad commentary upon the English rule in India. I claim it has been so, it is proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Indians, to whatever posts they have been appointed, whether as High Court Judges or as Commissioners of Divisions or as Collectors of Districts or holding any other responsible situations, have been true to their salt and sovereign, they have acted as gentlemen of education and position as any European gentleman of

education and position would have acted under such circumstances. Where then is the justification, where then is the excuse for keeping up this state of things? Why not permit Indians more freely to join the service and to rise to the top, if they show the necessary merit and qualification for it? The result would be largely to the good of India and greatly to your glory. There would be a great saving effected in the administration of the country. So well informed a writer as Sir William Hunter has said that the interests of the administration demand now a larger substitution of the Indian element for the European. The money is not forthcoming, you have exhausted the resources of the country and if you go on paying for the services of European members of the service at the high rate you do and if you go on multiplying their number and thereby multiply the liability for exchange compensation, you will find that you will become bankrupt one day if you are not already far from it. Therefore people have suggested wisely that you should substitute a larger Indian element in the administration of the Empire. . . . But is it at all becoming the high civilization of Great Britain, is it at all befitting, is it at all compatible with, the enlightened Government which has obtained for centuries in Great Britain that the British Government should have to be told to take a leaf out of the pages of the great Mogul Emperor, to find a parallel for these things? Is it necessary for us to tell them that under the rule of Akbar a Todar Mall was appointed Finance Minister and a Birbal was appointed Governor? If these things happened in the days of Akbar, why should not they happen in the time of a far greater sovereign than Akbar—the great Queen-Empress of India?”

At the close of his speech he appealed to the rulers to repose greater trust in the people.

“Trust will beget trust which will add to the affection of the people and will add generally to the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants of the Empire; and the glory to England will be great. England has begun with trusting the people; it began to trust us when it began to educate us, and now having trusted us for such a long time, having placed nearly three-fourths of the civil administration in our hands, having appointed us so largely to the army; acting on that trust which has never yet been betrayed and which never shall be betrayed, does it become England now to ponder and say that it is not proper to employ Indians in the higher ranks of the service? Do away with trust. Act upon the principles laid down by the Queen, and you will find that these principles will lead to great prosperity of the people, the curtailment of expenditure and to the enlistment of Indians in the higher grades, and the stream of mutual good-will among the people and among the rulers and the ruled will flow more to the greater happiness of both and will lead to all those feelings of distrust, sometimes of desperation, being done away with, which just now hamper the hands of Government and so much hamper the educated Indians.” (Loud and continued applause.)

Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt (Bengal), who seconded the proposition, referred to what Sir Auckland Colvin had stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission that the Government of India did not pay sufficient atten-

tion to the financial results of the measures they adopted. Mr. Parthasarathi Naidu (Madras) supported the resolution in English and Mr. Keshao Rao Joshi (Nagpur) dealt with the subject in the Marathi language.

The fourth resolution was the omnibus resolution which re-affirmed a number of resolutions passed at previous Congresses. After it was explained in Marathi by Mr. V. H. Karandikar (Berar), it was put from the chair without any discussion, as were also the resolutions dealing with the Simultaneous Examinations and the gagging of the press in territories belonging to Native States administered by the Governor-General.

Mr. John Adam
on Fixity of Re-
venue Assessment.

The seventh resolution dealing with that most important agrarian question—the permanent settlement of the Land Revenue demand—was moved by Mr. John Adam (Madras), a true and staunch friend of India, and one who has studied most carefully some of the burning Indian problems of the day. The reason for making a speech in support of this resolution was “year after year the Government in various parts of the country are making their settlement operations more harsh and more severe, they are neglecting more and more the principles which have been laid down for their guidance by their great predecessors, and they are causing the revenue demand to press more and more harshly upon the great bulk of the population.” This procedure “is very largely responsible, if not wholly responsible, for the continual poverty and the ever recurring fits of extreme misery which unfortunately afflict this country and especially the agricultural portion of it. . . . Men like Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, Sir Thomas Munro and Elphinstone . . . and a host of others have over and over again in the most emphatic way repeated the expression of their opinion as to the want of a permanent settlement being the cause of the great evils which afflicted the masses of the population, and they have over and over again declared that the only safe, the only sound, wise and statesmanlike policy for this country is to introduce throughout the whole of it principles of permanence of demand and fixity of tenure for the agricultural population.” As Lord Cornwallis said the attention of Government ought to be directed to render the assessment upon the lands as little burdensome as possible. This is to be accomplished only by fixing it.

“A terrible famine desolated the North-Western Provinces of India in 1860. Such relief as it was possible to organize was organized; and when the calamity was over, the new Viceroy tried to seek out the true preventive for such calamities. To an earnest and sympathetic administrator like Canning the true remedy revealed itself at once. He remarked that at each recurring land settlement the Government could increase its demand from the produce of the land. He marked that the extension of cultivation and improvement in the prices of crops could not, under such a system, benefit the Indian tenant as it would benefit the British farmer. He comprehended that under this system the people of India could save nothing, and could have nothing to fall back upon in years of bad harvest. And he had the courage to recommend that the Permanent Settlement, which had proved so beneficial to the people of Bengal, should be extended to other parts of India.”

“ Viscount Halifax, writing as Secretary of State in July 1862, says :—

‘ After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty’s Government are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue, not only to those immediately concerned 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 be hereafter fulfilled is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to insure, in the highest degree, the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects in the country.’ ”

Unfortunately a considerable change has since 1862 come over the policy of the Government of India and the Home Government, with reference to fixing permanently the revenue settlement of the country, and we are now told that it has been demonstrated that not thirty years or twenty years but twelve to twenty years is about the best and most satisfactory period of settlement. Up to 1895 there was a standing order of the Government of Madras to the following effect :—

“ It is to be explained, however, to the ryots that there will be no re-classification of the soils or calculations of fresh grain values, that the rates of assessment will be revised entirely with reference to prices,—and that no attempt will be made to assess any additional value which may have been given to land by improvements effected by ryots, even if carried out by means of capital borrowed from Government.”

Indeed in 1889 the Government of Madras, in answer to a representation impressing upon Government the value of permanent settlement, wrote as follows :—

“ The recommendation that legislation should be undertaken for the purpose of defining authoritatively the status of the ryot need not be noticed at length, for it is made under a misapprehension of the real fact. Nor has the Government any intention of revising the classification of soils. This principle has been repeatedly laid down and is very clearly stated in the settlement Manual. The statement to the contrary in the Manual of Administration is incorrect and the re-classification of the Chidambaram Taluk is not a violation of the assurances of Government, as this taluk has never been settled on the system now followed throughout the rest of the Presidency.”

But in 1895 a sudden discovery was made and it was stated that in a despatch of 1883 the Secretary of State had announced that any idea of a permanent settlement throughout the whole of India must be formally abandoned. And now the following standing order is substituted in place of the one quoted above :—

“ At each settlement and resettlement of a District, Government will fix at its discretion the period for which such settlement or re-settlement shall be in force. The Collector shall then notify the period in the District Gazette, and explain to the ryots that the new rates will not be liable to alteration during the currency of the settlement period ; but on the expiry of the said period Government reserves to itself the right to revise the assessment in such manner as may then seem just and proper, either with reference solely to

a rise or fall in prices, or with reference also to other considerations such as would require a re-classification of soils or a recalculation of the grain out-turns." *

The speaker pointed out that the only rule with reference to the land revenue demand "seems to be to fix it at the maximum amount which can safely be extracted from the people; that is which will just not compel the people to abandon the land and so prevent anything at all being collected." Various arguments are advanced, but they can hardly bear examination. The only reason seems to be that Government want money and they know it is the easiest way to obtain it. "They squeeze the agricultural population and owing to peculiar circumstances, peculiar habits and long established customs of the population, it is possible to thus obtain an enhanced revenue without actually driving the people off the land." A quotation from a Madras Revenue Officer is very much to the point :—

"Capital is freely sunk at home on a limited lease with an unconditional surrender at the end. A Scotch farmer, for example, will not hesitate to embark his whole fortune on 30 years. For, at the end of his lease, if he and his landlord can't agree as to terms

* *Note.*—It is difficult to understand the position taken up by the Madras Government since 1895. The resolutions of the Government of India of 1882 and the despatch of the Secretary of State of 1883 explicitly state, it is true, that the idea of a permanent settlement pure and simple must be formally abandoned. But the resolution of the Government of India, the principles of which were accepted by the Secretary of State unreservedly admits that "the existing system of complete periodical settlements involve serious evils the most prominent of which are, the uneasiness arising from uncertainty, the risk of undue enhancements, the annoyance to the people and cost to the State, of field operations, and detailed enquiries into the returns of landed property and the check to expenditure on improvements. These evils, it was thought, might in the main be avoided, without incurring the disadvantages of assessments absolutely fixed in perpetuity. It has therefore been decided that, in the first place, the rule already existing, but which, on the half-assessments principle, has not always been observed, shall be effectually enforced, that assessments shall not be enhanced on account of improvements made by the owner or cultivator. Subject to this rule, and where experience has shown existing settlements to be reasonably adequate and equitable, there will be no general revision of the field work, and assessments will be raised on three grounds only :—Extension of cultivation, increase of produce due to improvements made by the State, and rise of prices, enhancements on the latter ground being strictly limited. These principles, which have been in general accepted by the local Governments and approved by the Secretary of State, will for the future govern the revision of periodical settlements throughout India."

In other words, the Government in 1882-83 while abandoning the permanent settlement pure and simple granted by the despatch of 1862, guaranteed in its place a modified permanent settlement which, so far as the Ryotwary Districts go, meant that there would be no "re-classification of soils or a recalculation of the grain out-turns."

See also the discussion on the Bill No. 3 of 1885 to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code. (Bombay Government Gazette, August 9, 1886, part V, page 78.)

In the discussion which ensued at the second reading of the Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. Peile, now Sir James Peile, and member of the India Council, said :—

"The obligation binding on this Government in these matters, and especially in regard to avoiding re-classification wherever it can be avoided, is guaranteed by a higher mandate than any provisions which could be inserted in a local Act. It is guaranteed by the broad principles for the security and encouragement of agriculture laid down by supreme authority for the whole Indian Empire. . . . The objects held in view by the Government of India in 1883 were :—

(1) That a period should be fixed in the fiscal history of every district after which there should be no further attempts to obtain fresh valuations of the soil ;

(2) That the future assessments of land revenue should be arranged under such rules and in such a manner as will enable the proprietors of land to forecast with tolerable precision and without official aid the enhancement of revenue to which they will in future be subject ;

(3) That the settlement should be such as to secure to landholders the profits of all improvement which they may make on their estates."—EDITOR.

for the future, he realizes his stock, &c., and moves with ease to where he can get land on terms that suit him better. But in India, it is not one, nor a thousand, but perhaps a hundred thousand ryots, that must take up this 30 years lease at the same time; and it is 100,000 ryots that must be prepared, when the lease is up, to realise also, at one and the same time, and move if necessary. But how is the agricultural stock of a district of ten or fifteen thousand square miles to be realized? And where are 100,000 ryots to go? The position of Scotch and Indian lease-holders at the end of the lease is very different; and this affects the whole question."

The Hon'ble Mr. D. S. Garud (Bombay) in seconding the proposition pointed out that enhancements were of the very essence of the existence of the Survey and Settlement Departments and that the peasantry which was the salt of the country was going down every year: the only way to save them was to give a greater fixity and permanence to the revenue demand. A statesman, he concluded, who would give a permanent settlement to all India would be the greatest benefactor not only of India but of the British Empire.

Mr. S. V. Bhagawat (Berar), Mr. D. N. Khare (Central Provinces) and Mr. Pandurang Bapuji (Berar) addressed the meeting in Marathi, the subject being one in which at least half the audience as owners of land felt the very greatest interest.

The next resolution, which dealt with what an epigram-loving Viceroy called "a counsel of perfection," the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, was moved by Mr. J. Chowdhari (Bengal). He referred to Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose's labours on the subject and his demonstration of the urgency and practicability of this reform. He was seconded by Mr. C. H. Setalwad (Bombay) who referred to the two schemes formulated by the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta for Bombay and Mr. R. C. Dutt for Bengal showing how the reform could be carried out without any additional expenditure.

"However the authorities have chosen to shelve the matter. And to my mind the real truth lies in the fact that the executive authorities see in this reform the curtailment of their uncontrolled power and therefore they do not wish to carry out this reform."

The ninth resolution referred to the newly appointed Famine Commission and gave expression to the conviction that famines are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the Civil and Military departments, which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity; and that the true remedy against the recurrence of famines lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries, which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

This proposition was put from the chair as it had been thoroughly discussed on previous occasions and the views of the whole reform party bearing on it had been so aptly put by the President in his address.

The Hon'ble Mr.
D. S. Garud
on Survey
Settlements.

Mr. J. Chowdhari
on separation of
Judicial from
Executive
functions.

The New Famine
Commission.

The generous help of the British public and the Colonies during the Famine.

When the Congress met on the third day, the first question that engaged its attention was one on which, it is pleasant to note, the Congress and its opponents would entertain no difference of opinion. This proposition was divided into two parts, in the first of which gratitude was expressed to the British public and the peoples of the Colonies and other foreign countries for the generous aid afforded by them to the starving millions of this country during the last famine and appreciation of the services rendered by many men and women—English and Indian—and the pecuniary help given by them. In the second part instruction was given to the various Congress Committees to raise a sum of a thousand pounds to be sent to the Lord Mayor of London for putting up a memorial expressing the gratitude of the people of India for the help rendered to them. Every one was agreed as to the first part, but some few were of opinion that on account of the calamities—famine and plague—through which the country had passed and the danger still looming of a greater spread of the plague, it would perhaps be found difficult to raise the requisite amount, and that therefore the wiser course would be, first, to raise money without passing a resolution as to any fixed amount. With the exception of these few persons, the proposition was accepted by the general body of delegates and passed.

Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay.

The eleventh proposition was moved by the Honourable Mr. N. Subba Row (Madras), who observed that though at first sight the resolution appeared as of a provincial character, still when closely examined it would appear that it was connected closely with the intention of the Proclamation of 1858. Owing to the efforts of the Congress leaders, and especially to those of Mr. Bradlaugh, the Congress demand about the reform of the Legislative Councils has been partially granted by Government. This concession, even though not sufficiently liberal, has materially improved matters. The additional members appointed to the Councils under the new Act have proved useful adjuncts of those Councils. But they can only criticise. Government is not bound to do anything beyond listening to those criticisms. The effect of the concession of extended Councils was, so to say, to give to Indians admittance to the outer walls of the temple of the Government. By the resolution now proposed admission was sought inside the temple. The knocking at the outer door of the temple, though carried on for the last few years, has not changed the *spirit* of the administration. The spirit of isolation which was the characteristic feature of the British administration has continued. The aim and object of the Congress is to fuse as it were both the rulers and the ruled and to make them imbued with one identical spirit in India. The present administration, although valuable in itself, is in many respects ignorant of the real wants of the people. The reason is that it does not associate itself with those who have a real insight into the feelings and aspirations of the people. The honourable gentleman referred to the hasty action of the Bombay Government in deporting the Natus and imposing the Punitive Police on Poona, &c., and attributed this conduct to ignorance reigning in the

Council of Bombay ; and by way of remedying this evil, and with a view to avoid similar occurrences in future, it was that the Congress suggested that the Executive Governments of the Presidencies should associate with themselves an Indian who would understand the real feelings and grievances of the people. He asked if natives were found competent enough to be raised to the highest judicial tribunals of the land and to administer justice side by side with Englishmen, why should they be unfit for Executive Councils ? Why should British Government drive the best talent of the land to seek Dewanships in Native State ? He ended by observing that the Congress did not find fault with the present administrators or their good intentions or their capacity ; what the Congress complained about was that the administrators were wanting in that knowledge of and sympathy with the aspirations of the people of the country which was necessary for the progressive conditions of India. He said if real Indian statesmanship was associated with English statesmanship in the Government of different provinces, India would be spared in future the recurrence of the deplorable spectacle which Bombay showed.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay) in seconding the proposition said that he entirely approved of the wise policy of Government of appointing to the Governorships of Bombay and Madras statesmen from England to the exclusion of the services in India, but complained that good statesmen were very rarely appointed and that India had even the bitter experience of accepting "sportsmanship" for statesmanship. These provincial Governorships were not held in high honour in England, and good statesmen could not be tempted to accept them. He said the administration of a province was a position of great trust, and to competently fill it gentlemen of judicial temperament were necessary. A Governor was in the position of a helmsman, and the whole administration receives the colouring of the principles and ideas which actuate and guide him. He complained that latterly there was a tendency to exclude the judicial element from the Councils, and urged that it was necessary that Executive Councils should receive expansion. He reiterated the question of the previous speaker that if natives could be good judges and able legislators, why should they not make successful members of the Executive Council.

The next proposition was moved by the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea (Calcutta) with his usual heart-stirring eloquence. It referred to a matter which had deeply moved the public mind and had raised serious apprehensions about the liberty of person enjoyed under the British administration—the sudden incarceration and detention for months without trial of the Natu brothers. It was to the following effect :—

"That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and care and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

The Natu Brothers and the old Regulations.

“(a.) This Congress therefore urges that none of these Regulations should be put into force except after notification by the Local Government concerned that the circumstances contemplated by the preamble of the Regulations exist in its Province or in some definite area within the Province, and that it intends, if necessary, to exercise the powers vested in it ; and further that in no case should such powers extend to keeping a person arrested under them in custody for a period longer than three months without his being brought to trial before a Court of Justice.

“(b.) That this Congress, while feeling that the Government of Bombay must have acted under a sense of responsibility in arresting the Sardars Natu under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, is yet of opinion, that five months having now elapsed from such arrest, it is the duty of the Government, in the interests of justice, and also to allay the disquiet and uneasiness which has been created in the minds of the people at large by the arrest, to bring them—the Sardars Natu—to trial without delay, or, if the Government have no sufficient evidence against them to place before a Court of Justice, to release them.”

The summary we give here of the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath's speech does not, we are conscious, do full justice to the masterly array of facts, the vigorous logic, the searching criticism of that powerful oration. Every one in that vast audience was thrilled and electrified by it.

After referring to the misfortunes under which India was then suffering and mentioning that the Congress had an arduous and responsible task before it, the honourable gentleman proceeded to say that the repressive and retrograde policy Government had inaugurated was the greatest misfortune of India, and that she had to face a very grave crisis. There was a tendency on the part of the present rulers to depart from the traditional liberal policy of Anglo-Indian administration. After recounting the several boons the British Government had conferred on India, such as a Free Press, Local Self-government and the enlarged Legislative Councils, the speaker asked whether the rulers were prepared to stifle the very ambitions they themselves had awakened and put back the clock of progress. He wondered that the Poona murders, which everyone deplored, should have so unsettled the mental equilibrium of Government. The Congress denounced violent methods, and believed that order was the first condition of political progress. The speaker said that the quartering of the Punitive Police on Poona was a mistake ; and the trial of Mr. Tilak a greater mistake ; and the incarceration of the Natus a still greater one. Personal liberty was the inalienable birth-right of British subjects and the indefeasible adjunct of British citizenship, and every British subject was interested in maintaining this right free from encroachment of autocratic power ; and the voice of protest raised by the Congress was sure to evoke a response in every civilized quarter of the world. The Indians were British subjects and were entitled to the privileges of British subjects, and the Congress will strive its best to secure those privileges, by constitutional means. If *Civis Romanus sum* was the boast of the ancient world, *Civis Britannicus sum* was the distinction of the Greater Britain to which India belonged. The Regulation III of 1818 was objectionable on grounds of expediency and justice. After referring to the answers of Lord George Hamilton in the House of Commons in the matter

of the Natus, the speaker showed how untenable the "conspiracy theory" was, and said that if Chaphekar's confession was true, it absolved all except himself and his brother from blame. There was nothing to connect the Natus with the murders, and the speaker complained about the reticence of Government when requested to explain the reasons of their detention. Lord Sandhurst's reply that they were detained for reasons of State was altogether unsatisfactory. The people were entitled to know those reasons. Government had its obligations and duty towards the people. Security of life and property were the great foundations on which rested the vast, the stupendous, the colossal fabric of British rule in India, and these would be seriously endangered if one could be arrested and kept in custody for months together without trial. The Regulations were passed in 1818, 1819 and 1827, when the times were disturbed and Government had some justification in enacting them. The times had, however, altered and the country was quite peaceful, and the ordinary Criminal Law of the land was sufficient to keep order. The speaker said he could understand what *religious* fanaticism was, but he had never heard of *political* fanaticism. Ireland was in a chronic state of disaffection, and yet it could do without such regulations, and why not India? England herself had supplanted despotic methods in India by forms of constitutional Government and by the ordinances of Divine Providence, British Government was bound to press forward the career of beneficence and progress which she initiated. The speaker drew a contrast between the noble acts of Government in 1837, 1877 and 1887, when the boons of the Proclamation, larger admission into public service and enlarged Councils were extended to India on the one hand, and the repressive policy of Government in 1897 on the other. The speaker assured the audience that it was, however, a passing phase and that there was no reason to despair :—

"Despotism has been banished from Europe. Banished by whom? By England, the august mother of free nations. (Cheers.) And it is her high mission in Asia to supplant despotic methods by the forms of constitutional Government. Our rulers cannot remain stationary. Lord Lansdowne said on a great occasion that men and things cannot stand still in this Empire of the Queen. Nor can they go back. By this irresistible mandate of nature, by the ordinances of Divine Providence, they are bound to press forward in that career of beneficence and progress which has added to the stability of British rule in India and which has won for it the lasting gratitude of the teeming millions of my countrymen. To us it is a matter of inexpressible regret that in this year of the Jubilee, while the rest of the Empire are rejoicing in the accession of enlarged freedom, of extended trade, and of universal happiness, we the people of India should have to deplore the retrograde policy of the Government of India; and the bitterness of this disappointment is intensified by the reflection that in the past, in all celebrations connected with the august personality of our gracious Sovereign (cheers), a substantial boon was conferred, or at any rate the promise of a substantial boon was made. In 1857 when Her Majesty undertook the Government of this country, she consecrated her connection by the issue of that Proclamation which is our Magna Charta (cheers), our watch-word, our battle-cry, the gospel of our political deliverance. In 1877, when Her Gracious Majesty assumed the Imperial title, the solemn promise was made for the wider employment of the people of India in the public service of their country. In 1887, when the Jubilee was celebrated,



Lord Dufferin foreshadowed the expansion of the councils on a representative basis, and what have we got in the year 1897, in connection with the crowning celebration of the most glorious reign that the world has ever seen? A profusion of titles and decorations conferred upon persons, some of whom are men like Sir Manohurjee Bhownagree (cries of "Shame"), followed by a policy of repression and retrogression. But I do not despair. There are elements of hope that cheer and stimulate us in the depth of our despondency. The attention of the British public has been prominently called to Indian questions. We have only met with a temporary check. It may be in the words of Mr. Gladstone (cheers), whose birthday is to-day, that the banner which we hold aloft may droop in our sinking hands, but there can be no doubt that others will rise, who born in happier times and under more fortunate conditions and aided by the irresistible forces which silently develop themselves in the bosom of society, will carry that flag, if not, to an easy, at any rate, to an assured victory. The noblest heritage that we can leave to our children is the heritage of enlarged rights, safeguarded by the loyal devotion and fervent enthusiasm of an emancipated people. If we are not able to do that, let us see to it that the rights and privileges which have come down to us from the past, and which we hope to transmit to those who come after us, may remain unimpaired and untarnished. It is inspired by such feelings and animated by such convictions that we desire to record this emphatic protest against these arbitrary proceedings of the Government, and I am sure, having regard to the justice of our cause and the righteousness of our demand, the great God of nations who silently and slowly but with irresistible might leads kingdoms and communities onwards to their destined ends will vouchsafe to our prayer his choicest blessings in plentiful abundance. (Loud and continued applause.)"

Mr. R. K. R. Cama (Bombay) in seconding the proposition referred to the Preamble to the Regulation of 1827, and pointed out that the enactment was intended to be brought into operation only in times of great danger when there was apprehension of a foreign invasion or internal rebellion. He showed that since the troublous times of 1827 India had changed vastly and that the British Government in India had become solidly established, not merely on physical strength, but also on the contentment and loyalty of the people. He said Government showed a deplorable want of confidence in their own strength and in the benevolence of their rule, when they startled the Indian public by the arrest of the Sardars Natu, under a Regulation, which was looked upon as obsolete. He referred to the defence given by Lord George Hamilton of the hasty action of Government, and wondered how a responsible minister could give utterance to such absurd views. Since 1827, the Criminal Law of the land had been codified in all its branches and the ordinary law was more than sufficient to meet cases of emergency. A false alarm was caused by the unfortunate murders at Poona, the Chitpur riots and the Frontier troubles, which the public of England was misled into thinking were the results of general discontentment. He said the Natu brothers had been in custody over five months and people were entitled to know the reasons of their arrest and to claim that they should be brought to trial if there be evidence against them. He ended by observing that the modification in the law suggested by the Congress was necessary in the ends of justice.

Mr. P. Kesava Pillai (Madras) in supporting the proposition dwelt on the invidious race distinction that was observed in the administration of justice in India and gave a concrete instance from the Madras side.

Mr. Alfred Nundy (N. W. P.) pointed out that the proposition suggested a reform which was essential in the interests of all communities.

Mr. V. K. Kale (Berar) explained the resolution in Marathi and made a pithy speech in support of it.

The thirteenth resolution dealt with the recent move on the part of the Government to increase the severity and multiply the terrors of the law of sedition. If the press prosecutions in the Deccan had evoked sympathy, and the arrest and detention without trial under *lettres de cachet* of peaceful citizens had roused apprehensions amongst the different sections of the Indian community, the wanton and unjustifiable attack on the liberty of speech and the liberty of the press created profound sensation in both the Indian and the Anglo-Indian communities. Non-official Europeans, who on account of their want of acquaintance with the facts of native Indian life, did not bestow much thought on the unwisdom of the press prosecutions or the principles involved in the case of the Natus, but who at the same time had not resigned themselves to the guidance of the official organs in the press,—instinctively perceived that the so-called proposed amendment of a few sections in the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code involved consequences of a most serious character and threatened the very existence of those principles which a free-born Briton considers as the very breath of his nostrils. The opposition against the amendment of the law of sedition did not consist on this occasion of the *bctenoirs* of the officials, the Indian National Congress and its friends and adherents, but included also the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Calcutta Bar Association and the Planters' Association.

The new amendments in the law of sedition.

The resolution was couched in the following terms :—

“ That this Congress views with alarm and anxiety the changes proposed in the existing law of sedition as defined in Section 124A, and of circulating false reports as defined in Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code, and is of opinion that Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code requires amendment, not in the direction of greater stringency but in that of greater freedom, and if the law of sedition in India is to be made the same as it is in England, the administration of it ought to be safe-guarded substantially in the same way as it is there, namely, that the trial of accused persons must always be by jury, at least one half of whom should be persons of the same nationality as the accused, and that their verdict should be unanimous. And this Congress strongly protests against cases of sedition being made triable by Magistrates and not by Courts of Sessions and High Courts exclusively, as heretofore, and against the proposal to invest District Magistrates with the power of calling upon persons who, in their opinion, disseminate disaffection, to find sureties of good behaviour for twelve months. This Congress is further of opinion that the changes in the law now proposed will be altogether at variance with the pledges given by Sir James FitzJames Stephen when passing Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code through the Council and will deal an irreparable blow to liberty of speech and freedom of the press, thus retarding the progress of the country and creating terror instead of confidence in the minds of the people.

That a copy of this Resolution be submitted to the Legislative Council by the President.”

It was moved by that veteran and trusted leader of the educated community, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (Calcutta). He pointed out that the section relating to sedition did not exist in the Penal Code as originally passed, but was introduced by Sir James Stephen in 1870. From 1860 to 1870 Her Majesty's Government got on without the section, and from 1870 to 1897 there was no occasion for appealing, except once—and that too unavailingly—to that section. Even now, Mr. Bonnerjee said, we should not have heard anything about any sedition in the country, such as would necessitate a change in the law but for the unfortunate events which happened at Poona on Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee day. The law as laid down in the section framed by Sir James Stephen was explained by Mr. Justice Strachey of the Bombay High Court in Mr. Tilak's trial, but the people of the country generally believed that it was not a proper exposition of the law. But even the law laid down by that learned judge was better than the Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers. Under the amendment of Mr. Chalmers, no public speaker, no writer in the public press would be safe. The proposed measure showed an utter distrust of the people on the part of the Government—a distrust no way deserved as the Indians were, as a people, perfectly loyal to the Government and never dreamt of subverting it or of rendering any help active or passive to its enemies to subvert it. It is said that the only object in proposing the amendment was to assimilate the law of sedition in this country with the law on the same subject as it exists in England. But if the law of sedition in India is to be made the same as in England, we ought to have the same machinery for the administration of the law here as exists in England. In England trials for sedition are held before a judge who is a countryman of the prisoner, and by a jury who are also countrymen of the prisoner, and no trial can take place unless a true bill has been found against the prisoner by a grand jury who are also countrymen of the prisoner. Far from any such kind of machinery being given to us what was going to be done was to empower District Magistrates to try cases of sedition which was a most appalling thing as these officers are entirely dependent upon the good-will of the Executive Government. Further, Mr. Chalmers' Bill did not proceed on the lines of the English law of sedition at all. In conclusion the speaker made a very feeling appeal to Government not to persevere in its course :—

“ I should have thought that seeing that the country has just been passing through the last of a very severe affliction in the shape of famine, that there has been a recurrence of the plague in various parts of it, and that other circumstances, notably the press prosecutions in the Bombay Presidency, have stirred the mind of the people to its very depth, this is just the time where a wise legislator, even if there was necessity for it, would hesitate long before embarking on a process of action which is sure to give rise, as Mr. Chalmers' Bill has undoubtedly given rise, to great terror on the part of the people. But we, of course, according to our rulers, have no idea of the proper time and occasion for changes in the law. Lord Elgin's Government are all wise, and I am afraid that notwithstanding our protest, and I make bold to say the protest of every right thinking person in the country which will go to the Government, this Bill will be forced into law. All the

protests will be in vain. We must, however, carry our protest before a higher authority than even Lord Elgin's Government. We must go before the British Public. We must explain to them how the agents they have sent to govern the country on their behalf and in their name are dealing with the people, that is dealing in a manner wholly unworthy of the British name and the British love of freedom. And if we can convince them that we are right, I have no doubt that the British nation will rise in their wrath and free us from the trammels which Lord Elgin and his Councillors are forging for us. (Loud prolonged cheering.) ”

The resolution was seconded by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar (Berar). He pointed out that the proposed amendment involved an invasion over the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press granted by the British Government and was a distinctly retrograde measure. The general opinion amongst those of the people of the country who knew anything of this subject was that the exposition of the law by Mr. Justice Strachey was not in consonance with the law of sedition as enforced in England, and that section 124A should be made conformable to that law. What was, however, proposed in the Legislative Council was to put in the Penal Code a section which would render the law here harsher than it is in England, and an increase was to be made in the powers of the magistrates and the police such as never existed in the Criminal Law of India. The Bill said that comments on the measures of Government should be made in such a manner as not to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection. The speaker showed that this restriction practically rendered all criticism impossible, as even the most sober criticism of a wrong measure or a foolish policy must excite contempt if not hatred against it. He showed by quotations from works of authority that this was not the English law. He further showed that the proposed law would be worse than the existing Indian law. Under the English law and the Indian law prior to the amendment, a criminal intent was of the essence of the offence of sedition. But the amendment omitted all reference to a criminal intent. “ The result,” the speaker urged, “ will be this, that in no case can we be certain that even legitimate and most necessary criticism can safely be made. I think that neither in the interest of the governors nor in that of the governed is it safe that this should be so. The British Government by its very nature is a liberal Government, and constituted as that Government is, it is necessary for it to know the feelings and wants of the people. But if ordinary criticism made with the most *bona fide* purposes is to be rendered unsafe, the effect of it will be that nobody will think it safe to apprise the Government of what goes on. The administration of the country in every form will deteriorate, and both the governors and the governed will suffer by it.”

He then went into the other amendments of a harmful nature proposed to be made, and referred to the gagging nature of section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Bill under which magistrates were empowered to demand, without any trial, on what may after all be a mere suspicion, security from a speaker or writer for not uttering or publishing anything which in the opinion of the magistrate may be seditious or defamatory.

The discussion of the question was continued by Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar (Lucknow). Very justly did he point out that the amendment "has been thrust upon the Legislative Council with the utmost possible haste. It has been forced upon the Legislative Council, without giving the country any opportunity to express its opinion upon it, and also it has been introduced at a time when it was most inopportune that it should be introduced, because the general impression in the country is that it would not have been introduced but for the unfortunate murder of two European officials." × × × × "There are three things to be considered with regard to every measure that is brought before the Legislative Council. First, whether the evil which is intended to be cured does really exist. The second thing that is to be considered is whether the measure is efficacious enough to cure the evil ; and the third point to be considered is whether, while it cures the evil, it does not give birth to worse evils than the one it cures. Well, Sir, I shall have no difficulty in showing you that there is no necessity for such a measure as is now before the Legislative Council, nor even if it were passed into law it will meet the necessity of the hour, nor if it does meet it, will it fail to create worse evils than those it is supposed to cure."

He quoted a very pertinent passage from the minute of Lord Hobhouse, which runs thus :—

"As regards the principal subject on which the English and Native newspapers differ in form, there is no difference in spirit,—I mean the subject of class preferences. The English papers do not frequently attack the Government about it, because their own class is dominant. But let there be any attempt to treat classes with more even-handed justice than has been customary, and see what happens. Why, outcries and menaces, compared to which the complaints of the native newspapers are gentle murmurs. In the Meares case, I forget whether it was one of the newspapers or one of the speakers at a public meeting in Calcutta, who threatened that the European community would be in a state of rebellion, if that plain act of justice were maintained. Whoever was guilty of that particular piece of folly, the language of the English newspapers was outrageously violent against the Jessore magistrate, Mr. Justice Phear, and Sir Richard Couch, and threatened the Government with all sorts of disasters, if it supported the sentence. In the Fuller case we are now experiencing a manifestation of the same spirit, though in a milder form. According to English newspapers, our action is lawless, tyrannical, and foolish, and can only be accounted for by the union of gross ignorance with sinister motives. I believe that if we go further back into our history, *e.g.*, to the Black Act, we shall find that the violence and folly of the Anglo-Indian Press upon any proposal to treat the European and Asiatic communities more nearly on an equality used to be greater than they are now."

Those who speak of the increase of sedition in this country ought to know what slur they cast upon the English people and the English Government ; for if true, what does it show ? "It shows that fifty years of English rule in India has failed ; that the more our education has advanced, the more we have become intimate with English life, the more we have identified ourselves with English sentiment and Western ideas which influence our social life, the more we have come to dislike the English people and hate them,—the more we have come to know them, the more we have come to hate them."

As to the efficacy of repressive measures Lord Hobhouse is again quoted :—

“ We have now in our law as much precaution against seditious writing as the original framers of the Code, the Law Commissioners of 1860, the Committee who settled the Code of 1860, and the Committee who settled the supplementary Act of 1870, considered necessary, viz., a penalty for exciting or attempting to excite feelings of disaffection. We ought to have a clear case for taking further powers without trying the efficacy of the law we have enacted after so much deliberation.”

The effect of such legislation is that it creates worse evils than those it is intended to cure. It is said that it is only the lower sort of journals that would be affected. But this would not be so. On the contrary both the higher and lower classes of journals will certainly not write openly and frankly as they do at present. It was pointed out by a member of the Government in 1877 that “ inconvenient, therefore, though the extravagance and occasional want of loyalty evinced by the Vernacular Press may be, we possess in it a useful barometer of Native feeling and sentiment ; a barometer such as no menaced or sycophant Press could possibly continue to be.”

Well did Mr. Ambica Charan Muzumdar (Bengal), who followed Pandit B. Narayan Dar, show in his forcible way that the charge of sedition made now, by the members of Government “ involved a tacit admission of incompetency and bunglings somewhere. When there is disloyalty, there is discontent. And a sudden outburst of discontent after a hundred and fifty years of settled Government—a Government that has unquestionably conferred a thousand and one blessings upon the Indian people—must presuppose mismanagement of no ordinary description at least in some quarter.” Then for whom were the Indian people seditious ? There was neither a Moghul Emperor nor a Maratha Peshwa for whom they should be seditious. “ We can only be seditious either for Russia or for anarchy. And lives there a thinking man in this country, who does not see that there is not much to choose between these two ? No, it is our best interest and truest patriotism to maintain British supremacy in India. It is no frothy sentiment of gushing loyalty, but the simplest dictates of commonsense and self-interest. I am free to confess that I like English Government, not for England and Englishmen, but for India and the Indian people. (Hear, hear.) England might still be England without India ; but India without England would be nowhere at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) × × × Lord Lytton had gagged the Indian Press, but even he did not gag the Indian people. It was reserved for your Radical Viceroy to forge fetters for both the Indian Press and the Indian public at the same time in one stroke of his pen.”

Munshi Abdul Talib and Mr. G. N. Kane (Berar) also addressed the meeting on the resolution.

The amendment
of the Code of Cri-
minal Procedure.

The fourteenth resolution recorded the protest of the Congress against the Criminal Procedure Bill then pending before the Imperial Legislative Council as being a retrograde and reactionary measure which will add to the already large powers of the police, invest magistrates with a discretionary authority which they did not possess under the then existing law and curtail the powers of the High Courts, all to the extreme prejudice of accused persons. Mr. John Adam (Madras), who moved the resolution, said in his prefatory remarks :—

“ We are told by Government that it has been usual, and that it is wise to revise from time to time the Codes so as to clear up any difficulties which may have been found in their interpretation and add any improvements which the course of time has found to be necessary—a principle which, perhaps, is all very well in itself ; but this last revision of the Code which has been produced before us does not, as the resolution states, and as I hope I shall be able in a very few words to show you, really carry out in any way what we have always understood to be the intention of these revisions. In fact, if you come to look at it you will find that with two exceptions, *viz.*, the provisions as to first offenders copied from the English law, which was originally intended to be introduced as a separate bill, and in fact which was introduced as a separate bill, but which has now been withdrawn—and the provisions enabling persons who cannot find security to be placed under police surveillance and not sent to jail, I do not think that there is a single improvement introduced into this Bill, there is not a single line added or altered in the direction of progress in the Criminal Procedure Code. As to clearing up doubts which may have arisen, these are infinitesimally few in number, two or three at the very most, and where they have been cleared up, they have been cleared up on the side of making the law more severe against accused persons. But besides that we have a large number of additions to the Bill all tending to produce the three results which are set out in the resolution. Now, I think you will admit that in the first place if the bill adds to the already large powers of the police it must be a retrograde and unwelcome measure. I, like a great many more here, spend a great part of my time in warring against the police, and I certainly do not wish them to be armed with more powerful weapons to enable them to fight better than they do now. But seriously, with all respect to the police, their general character throughout the country is not such as to make any of us desire that they should be armed with larger powers than they now possess. Then secondly, we say that it invests magistrates with discretionary authority which they do not now possess. Here again to increase in important matters the discretionary powers of the magistrates must be regarded as a retrograde measure. We have already discussed and passed a resolution with reference to the separation of the judicial, or more properly speaking, the magisterial and the executive functions, and we know that magisterial powers are very often and to a very large extent exercised by men who, however well-meaning they may be, have neither the training nor the experience nor the ability to act with discretion in the sense in which discretion is used in any form of legal procedure. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) With regard to many of them it is not their fault, for as I have said they have not had the training. It is not their business to be magistrates. It is merely a sort of off-shoot of their regular work, and they probably have never heard of the definitions which great lawyers have laid down as to what is meant by discretion or judicial discretion. I believe it was Lord Mansfield who said that discretion in a legal sense means “ sound discretion guided by law.” “ The magistrate must be guided by law and not by humour ”—not by the mere whim of what he thinks he would like to do. That is not discretion in the legal sense. Discretion guided by legal principles would compel a man in the exercise of his discretion even to do the very thing that he would not personally

wish to do. The third point which we say is bad and retrograde is the provision to curtail the powers of the High Court. I do not think I need say a word in support of the principle that if the Bill curtails the powers of the High Court it must be retrograde and reactionary. The extreme powers of the High Court granted under the Charters have always been looked up to as, in the last resort, the palladium of the accused person. There he feels that however hopeless, he has at least one friend, the Judge. High Courts, I know, are not faultless; sometimes one High Court takes one view of its duties and another High Court another. The Madras High Court sometimes does not think very highly of the decision of the Allahabad High Court or even the Calcutta High Court; and doubtless these High Courts repay the compliments. But of one thing we are always certain. We always feel that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice every High Court is guided by a sense of justice, and will do all in its power to redress inequalities and irregularities, or failures of justice which may happen amongst subordinate magistrates; and to curtail its power of doing so and practically to cut away such safeguards must do an infinity of harm."

He then quoted sections after sections to justify the animadversion ~~passed by him upon the Bill~~, and further details were supplied by Mr. Pandurang Govind, an experienced and eminent lawyer of Berar.

The fifteenth and the sixteenth resolutions referred to a question which to some may possibly appear as of a Provincial nature but has really speaking an Imperial character. They run thus:—

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

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

The Congress and the reform party have always regarded the improvement of the Legislative machinery as the first plank in their platform. The Councils enacting laws for those provinces which form British India proper have been enlarged and placed on a partially elective basis. The Punjaub has got a local Legislative Council and the demand of the Central Provinces may be expected to be granted before very long. It is true that though Punjaub has got a Legislative Council, the Councillors have not been granted the rights of interpellation and the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination. But this is only a question of time. Attention has now to be given to the case of those parts of India which though not British India proper are held and administered by the Governor-General in Council, Berar is the most important of such territories and the anomalous character of the system under which laws are framed for it

Legislation in
Berar.

naturally claimed the first consideration. The unsatisfactory results of this system were shown very clearly by Mr. P. N. Jog (Berar) and other speakers on the subject. The demand of the Berarees is so just, so reasonable and so entirely in accord with the principles of administration enunciated from time to time by responsible statesmen and members of Government that there should be no difficulty in granting it.

The Famine
Commission.

In the seventeenth resolution the Congress prayed that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the causes of periodical famines and the remedies for the prevention of the same. Mr. Ramanjulu Naidu (Madras) who moved it pointed out the great importance of extension of irrigation as a safeguard against famine. Professor A. S. Sathe (Poona) who seconded him emphasised the fact that famines in India are not a temporary calamity. They were the growth of a bad system of working, of a sort of bungling carried on for over a century.

"Some officials assert that the poverty of the masses, the recurrence of the famine and their utter and total prostration by the famine, in a single year, is caused by nature or caused by their own high living, their imprudence and so forth. I think this is rather a way of shelving off responsibility on poor helpless shoulders; this is a sort of official bungling, and official apologists, however powerful they might be, will have to succumb to facts—facts which tell too powerfully that the famine is a work of bad administration. (Cheers.) One of our most distinguished Professors, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, and that noble-minded Scotchman who just now preceded me, Mr. John Adam, have stated that our masses, our ryots, are the most sober, the most free from vice and the most industrious. I need only add my humble voice to say that they are so. Their poverty is not due to extravagance or internal causes, but due to causes which come from outside; and to these causes we must apply our remedy. I shall only describe to you in brief a very few of those causes. Firstly, there is no irrigation amongst us. There are so many railways, and it has been asserted over and over again by official apologists that they have been the means of checking the famine. But, gentlemen, there is one fallacy in that. Our famine is a famine of money and not of grain. We have got enough of grain, but the poor ryot has not got a single pie to buy grain in the time of famine. That is why our ryot is poor. Construct railways howmuchsoever you might, they will only help the English trade, but will in no way alleviate the distress of the poor masses. What we want is irrigation. We also want that these frontier expeditions which in the single year of 1896 have cost us much more than all the famines of this century should be put a stop to. We also want remission as well as suspension of revenue in times of the utmost distress to poor ryots, so that they may not be driven into the meshes of the sowcar."

After passing resolutions expressing confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and thanking the British Committee, the President and the Reception Committee, and carrying other resolutions of a formal nature and fixing upon Madras as the place of its next meeting in December 1898, the Congress was dissolved amidst enthusiastic cheers for the Queen-Empress.

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

THIRTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT AMRAOTI

On the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1897.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the present Frontier policy of the Government of India is injurious to the best interests of the British Empire in general, and this country in particular, as it involves frequent Military expeditions beyond the present limits of the British Indian Empire and causes great loss of valuable lives and public money ; and therefore entreats the British Nation to put a stop to this aggressive policy and to lay down that if such expeditions are found necessary, they being for Imperial purposes, the major portion of their expenses should be defrayed by the British Exchequer,

Frontier Policy.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That in view of the fact that the calamities of famine and plague have dislocated the already seriously embarrassed finances of this country and crippled its limited resources, and that the Military operations carried on beyond the North-West Frontier are for the protection of Imperial interests, this Congress prays that the British Parliament will, pending the settlement of the principle on which the Military charges are to be apportioned between Great Britain and India, be pleased to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the present war,

Contribution by British Treasury to the cost of the Frontier Expedition.

RESOLUTION II A.

Resolved—That this Congress authorizes the President to submit a petition to Parliament embodying the prayer contained in Resolutions I and 2 under his hand on its behalf,

Petition from the Congress to Parliament on Resolutions I and II.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this Congress rejoices that the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure was pleased to decide to admit the public to its proceedings, and further desires to express its grateful acknowledgments for the opportunity afforded by the Honourable Commission to representative Indian witnesses to state fully the case on behalf of India. With regard to the three divi-

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure.

sions of the reference the Congress desires most respectfully to submit the following prayers for the favourable consideration of the Honourable Commission :—

- (i) As regards the Machinery to control Indian Expenditure, it is prayed—(1) that the non-official Members of the Viceroy's Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people, and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget ; (2) that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected Members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils ; and (3) that each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to inquire into and report upon the financial condition of India ;
- (ii) As regards the progress of Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and the progress of the people, and that a large saving and a more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the Public service ; and
- (iii) As regards apportionment of charges, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the Empire are involved ; and especially that the expenses of the present war beyond the frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Lastly, that it be an instruction to the President to submit a copy of this Resolution under his own signature to the Chairman of the Royal Commission with the least practicable delay.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating :—

Excise policy.

Arms Act.

Military Colleges
in India.

- (a) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, and 105 of the Despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option ; (b) a modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of lifelong tenure revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ; (c) the establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a Military career as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian Army ; (d) the authorizing and stimulating of a widespread

system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India; (e) the discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government; (f) the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India; (g) the establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

Exchange Com-
pensation.

Council of the
Secretary of
State.

Punjab High
Court.

And this Congress, concurring with its predecessors, records its protests:—

(a) Against the scheme of reorganisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, even those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, (the words of the Resolution being: "In future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial service") advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

Reorganization
of the Educational
Service.

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

Salt Tax.

(c) Against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, appealing to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected.

Indian Settlers in
South Africa.

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

Representation of
Central Provinces
in the Supreme
Legislative
Council.

And this Congress, also concurring with its predecessors, expresses its firm conviction:—

(a) That in the interests of the public, the Medical Science and the Profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, (1) there should be only one Medical Military Service with two branches, one for the European Army and one for Native troops, worked on identical lines; (2) the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with due regard to the utilization of indigenous talent, other things being equal; and (3) there should be a thorough open enquiry into the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons

Military and
Civil Branches
of the Indian
Medical Service.

and Hospital Assistants with a view to the redressing of long standing anomalies and consequent grievances.

Amendment of the Acts of Incorporation of the three Presidency Universities.

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

Repeal of the Indian Emigration Act.

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

Deposition of Indian Princes or Chiefs.

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

Trial by Jury.

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

RESOLUTION V.

Public Service Commission and its recommendations.

Resolved—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, viz., Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest, and Accounts, both in India and in England. This Congress would once again respectfully urge on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people and as the only adequate fulfilment of the pledges made to them.

RESOLUTION VI.

Press in Territories under British Administration in Native States.

Resolved—That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department gagging the Press in Territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, again enters its emphatic protest against the same and urges its cancellation without delay.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the Policy of Government in Provinces where the settlement of land revenue is periodical in reducing the duration of the settlement while enhancing its amount, and expresses its firm conviction that in the interests of the country it is absolutely necessary that the land revenue in such Provinces should be permanently settled.

Land Revenue Settlement.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That this Congress is glad to note that the Government of India has appointed a Famine Commission and hopes that the Commission will institute a searching enquiry into the matter. At the same time this Congress once again desires to repeat its conviction that famines are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the Civil and Military departments, which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries, which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

Famine and Poverty of the people.

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—That this Congress expresses its heart-felt gratitude to the British public and to the peoples of the British Colonies, the United States of America and other foreign countries for the generous aid afforded by them to the starving millions of this country during the late dreadful visitation of famine, and also wishes to place on record its high appreciation of the services which many men and women—English and Indian—residing in this country rendered, and the pecuniary help they gave for the relief of those afflicted by that calamity.

Help from the British public and British Colonies during the famine.

And that it be an instruction to the various Congress Committees to raise a sum of a thousand pounds, to be sent to the Lord Mayor of London on behalf of the Congress, in order that he might be pleased to put some memorial in some conspicuous part of London expressing the gratitude of the people of India for the help rendered to them during the time of the last famine.

A Famine Memorial in London.

RESOLUTION XI.

Governorships of
Madras and
Bombay.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

Bengal Regulation
III of 1818,
Madras Regulation
II of 1819, and
Bombay Regulation
XXV of 1827.

Resolved—That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and care and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

- (a) This Congress therefore urges that none of these Regulations should be put into force except after notification by the Local Government concerned that the circumstances contemplated by the preamble of the Regulations exist in its Province or in some definite area within the Province, and that it intends, if necessary, to exercise the powers vested in it; and further that in no case should such powers extend to keeping a person arrested under them in custody for a period longer than three months without his being brought to trial before a Court of Justice.
- (b) That this Congress, while feeling that the Government of Bombay must have acted under a sense of responsibility in arresting the Sardars Natu under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, is yet of opinion, that, five months having now elapsed from such arrest, it is the duty of the Government, in the interests of justice, and also to allay the disquiet and uneasiness which has been created in the minds of the people at large by the arrest, to bring them—the Sardars Natu—to trial without delay, or, if the Government have no sufficient evidence against them to place before a Court of Justice, to release them.

RESOLUTION XIII.

Changes in the
existing seditious
law as defined
in Section 124A.

Resolved—That this Congress views with alarm and anxiety the changes proposed in the existing law of seditious as defined in Section 124A, and of circulating false reports as defined in Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code, and is of opinion that Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code requires amendment, not in the direction of greater stringency but in that of greater freedom, and if the law of seditious in India is to be made the same as it is in England, the administration of it ought to be safe-guarded substantially in the same way as it is there, namely, that the trial of accused persons must always be by jury, at least one half of whom should be persons of the same nationality as the accused, and that their verdict should be unani-

mous. And this Congress strongly protests against cases of sedition being made triable by Magistrates and not by Courts of Sessions and High Courts exclusively, as heretofore, and against the proposal to invest District Magistrates with the power of calling upon persons who, in their opinion, disseminate disaffection, to find sureties of good behaviour for twelve months. This Congress is further of opinion that the changes in the law now proposed will be altogether at variance with the pledges given by Sir James FitzJames Stephen when passing Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code through the Council and will deal an irreparable blow to liberty of speech and freedom of the press, thus retarding the progress of the country and creating terror instead of confidence in the minds of the people.

That a copy of this Resolution be submitted to the Legislative Council by the President.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That this Congress desires to record its protest against the Criminal Procedure Bill of 1897 now pending before the Imperial Legislative Council as being a retrograde and reactionary measure, which will add to the already large powers of the Police, invest Magistrates with a discretionary authority which they do not now possess, and curtail the powers of the High Courts, all to the extreme prejudice of accused persons.

Criminal Procedure
Bill of 1897.
retrograde and
reactionary.

RESOLUTION XV.

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

Right of interpellation to the Councillors of the Punjab Legislative Council.

RESOLUTION XVI.

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

All laws and orders for Berar should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council.

RESOLUTION XVII.

Resolved—That this Congress prays that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the causes of periodical famines and the remedies for the prevention of the same.

Scope of the Famine Commission.

RESOLUTION XVIII.

Confidence in
Mr. Dadabhoy
Naoroji.

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

RESOLUTION XIX.

Thanks to Sir Wil-
liam Wedderburn.

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

Rs. 60,000 contribu-
tion to the British
Committee.

And that a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and cost of the Congress publication *India*, and also for the expenses of the Joint-General Secretary's Office, and that the several Circles do contribute, as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1898.

RESOLUTION XX.

General and Joint
Secretary.

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

RESOLUTION XXI.

Congress of 1898
at Madras.

Resolved—That the Fourteenth Indian National Congress do assemble, on such day after Christmas Day 1898 as may be later determined upon, at Madras.

C. SANKARAN NAIR,

President, Thirteenth Indian National Congress.

DETAILED
Report of the Proceedings
OF THE
THIRTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT AMRAOTI .

On the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1897.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first sitting of the Congress commenced at 2 P.M. on Monday, the 27th December 1897.

MR. KHAPARDE, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in opening the proceedings, said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my duty to welcome you to Amraoti. The Reception Committee has done me the high honour to entrust me with that agreeable duty by electing me their Chairman, and if all duties in this world were half as pleasant as this one, life would be very enjoyable indeed ! Ladies and gentlemen, I welcome you to this people's hall with all my heart, on behalf of myself personally, on behalf of the Reception Committee particularly, and on behalf of all the well-wishers of our Congress cause residing in this province generally. But I am afraid I must ask you to take our will for our deed, for I am deeply conscious that our arrangements for your convenience and comfort are not so complete and satisfactory as I should wish them to be. (Cries of No, No.) I, however, take courage from the fact that though you are our honoured guests, you come here in the character of fellow workers in the great national cause, and as such our difficulties are your difficulties and our joys are your joys and our success is your success. (Cheers.) In this spirit then let us stand shoulder to shoulder and consider how we stand today. The year which is about to close has been about the most unfortunate we have experienced for many years past. Indeed without indulging in any exaggeration I may say, it has been the worst period within the last forty years. It would appear as if the adverse fates had sat in consultation as to how they could possibly give us the utmost trouble on purpose, I suppose, to test the strength and solidarity of the movement inaugurated just twelve years ago. First came the famine in all its devastating fury, if I may use such an expression. It spread its flames and smoke all over the country and cast a shade deep, dark and terrible in a manner in which it had never done before. Lank and gaunt figures, anxious and haggard faces, merest skeletons which were the veriest of apologies for human beings, were to be seen everywhere. Unsupportable grief and misery

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became the order of the day. But with all this it failed to accomplish its object, namely, of injuring the noble Congress cause. For, to combat it, our men zealously seconded the efforts of the devoted officers of the benign British Government, and it appeared that the rulers and the ruled had combined to fight a common enemy. The prospect appeared to be that when the famine was over, every one would realize the fact that though in ordinary times we find fault and offer criticisms, in times of danger we are at one with Government. (Hear, hear.) So our real and true loyalty would be proved to demonstration. This did not suit the adverse fates. So they sent the plague in a form in which it was absolutely unknown for centuries in this fair land. The medical profession knew little about it and knows little about it to this day, but it was felt, and rightly felt, that something must be done. Sanitary measures, segregation, which is exceedingly disagreeable at all times, became more disagreeable when the minds of people were already rendered despondent by the terrors of famine. But the cup of bitterness was not full to the brim, so the evil powers kindled a war on the Frontiers, such as has not been heard of all throughout the whole of the period of British administration. Nearly sixty thousand well-equipped, splendidly disciplined and ably officered soldiers had to operate against a few wild uncivilized tribes in their native mountains and fastnesses. This ruinous war had no advantages to offer but was potent in hampering the resources of Government both in men and money, and thereby rendering the combat with plague and famine somewhat unequal. But we might have yet pulled through it, as we eventually did, by subordinating all our differences of opinions to present dangers; but the evil elements did not want it. So they sent out fires and floods to oppress and harass different parts of the country, earthquakes to dishearten and strike terror, and in the midst of the confusion caused by all these sent out the Demon of Distrust to stalk the country by getting two most unfortunate and deplorable murders committed at Poona and enveloping them in a deep mystery. The whole resembled a scene, often witnessed in the beginning of a winter storm, the sky overcast with dark and threatening clouds chasing each other, winds blowing hard in contrary directions, thunder and lightning everywhere, and the thunderbolt about to fall, who can say, on whom and where?

On occasions of this kind it is well known to use a familiar Indian proverb, "a child does not recognize its mother and the mother does not recognize her child. Friends are mistaken for foes and well-reasoned conclusions are abandoned for hurried consultations and precipitate acts done on the spur of the moment." Thus arose the scare of a widespread conspiracy, and the so-called State prosecutions followed as an unfortunate sequence, accompanied by unexpected deportations, for reasons not disclosed even up to this day. These deportations are of persons descended from one who deserved well of, and received the reward from, the British Government itself. This will show you how friends are being mistaken for foes. You know that the educated classes are the offsprings of the environments created by the British Government itself. (Hear, hear.) Their aspirations are those that are inspired by western culture and yet they are not so recognised by those who put the seed of education into them and fostered it with the loving care of a parent. This will illustrate what I mean when I say that a mother does not recognize her child. We are not yet quite out of the clutches of this demon of distrust, and though our instincts lead us to run to our mother she will have none of us, believing probably that we shall communicate to her the plague bacillus which she suspects has impregnated our system. (Laughter.) There is the proposal to amend the Criminal Law and its procedure now looming before our eyes—looming at no great distance. You will have soon to consider and make up your minds about these proposed changes in the law of the land, and I will not anticipate your deliberations by saying anything about them. I have, ladies and gentlemen, endeavoured to give you, in brief, most of the adverse circumstances that have surrounded us during the unhappy year which is about to expire.

If these had their own way and we had nothing to oppose them with, we should not be here today. By way, therefore, of enlivening this otherwise doleful statement, I shall, with your permission, briefly touch upon the internal forces which have been at work with us to bring us here together. You all probably know that Amraoti is a town known to fame in our religious episodes. It was here that Rukmini, who by-the-bye was the incarnation of the goddess of wealth, sent up an earnest prayer for being wedded to Lord Krishna in the temple of Amba, which, I hope, you will not omit to visit. It was here that her prayer was granted; it was here that Lord Krishna came with a single chariot, opposed and successfully met the serried battallions of his opponents and carried away the beautiful and beloved Rukmini, who not only represents in the Brahmin religion all that is good and great, but also is the incarnation of the goddess of all worldly prosperity, of all human love, of all feminine graces, of all masculine virtues, of all that is permanent and enduring. Our Congress, having come to this temple of Amba and offered a humble but earnest prayer for success, could not, I believe, be under Providence turned away disappointed. We took courage from the fact that in our heart of hearts there was nothing but loyalty and a desire to offer our help to so improve the present administration, as to render it permanent, perpetual and everlasting, and to render the people under its sway, prosperous, happy and contented. (Applause.) This may not be known to some of our erring human rulers, but is known to the Great Ruler of all nations, the Great Giver of all good, the Omniscient source of all power. We felt confident that this thirteen years old child, coming to the doors of mother Amba, with folded hands, prayerful heart, in a righteous cause, could not but be lovingly taken up by the hand by the mother who blessed and granted success to the yearnings of both the loving Rukmini and the victorious Lord Krishna. (Cheers.)

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To shed light, as it were, on our difficult path there came during the year the Jubilee of the mother of all the nations of India, the giver of the Magna Charta of 1215, on which we have always and shall always take our stand. The celebrations held on that auspicious occasion were the only rays of light that penetrated the otherwise impenetrable gloom of the year, and we recognised in them the hand of mother Amba, who, as I said and we believe, is the giver of all good. Then there were letters from our grand old man, whom you easily recognize without my mentioning even his name. He worthily bears the name of his celebrated father, and I have no doubt history will delight in perpetuating the name and spreading the films of his noble ideas conceived in all sympathy for the good of our people. His great friend and adviser, one of the illustrious band which was present and assisted in the ushering of this now thirteen years old child into the world, and who has guided your deliberations on two most important occasions first favoured us with his advice and has come to help us with his presence. Ladies and gentlemen, local difficulties there were, but what good cause is there, which is not beset with difficulties local, provincial and, if I may say so, even imperial. I ask what cause is there which is pronounced to be good without surmounting these difficulties. In fact the test of a good and righteous cause is its capability, its vitality, its strength to cope with all kinds of adverse circumstances and to emerge out of all these triumphant and full in the glory of achieved success. This cause is yours and without the gift of prophecy I venture to predict that you are bound to succeed in the long run. The fact of your presence here under the circumstances and in the numbers in which you have come is itself a guarantee of success. You have left your homes and the dear ones in them in these days of pestilence, famine, earthquakes, fires, floods, and have travelled long distances to be present here to assist in the grand cause of bringing about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, a unification of their aspirations, a well-understood community of their real interests. If ever a session of our Congress was necessary it is most essentially necessary now. This movement is designed to interpret the thoughts of the rulers to the ruled and to represent the grievances of the people to

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the powers that be. This task, always arduous, is doubly arduous this year, as, one of our celebrated verses, taught to me in my early days, says—

नरपति हितकर्ता द्वेष्यतां याति लोके ।
जनपदः हितकर्ता ल्यज्यते पार्थिवेन ॥
इति महति विरोधे विद्यमाने समाने ।
नृपति जनपदानां दुर्लभः कार्यकर्ता ॥

Which I may roughly translate thus:—‘One who labours for the benefit of the king comes to be disliked by the people, and one who labours for the welfare of the people comes to be discarded by the king; when such conflict exists rare is the man who can do good both to the king and to the people.’ The English constitution has made the task of such a man easy; supreme in her prerogative Her Majesty reigns, joyful in the possession of their rights the people of England elect their representatives, the aristocracy of the land meets both, and all these three combined work for the weal of their Empire. This of course is the highest ideal. We are making humble efforts to be included as living beings in their constitution, to have the proud glory of being able to say *civis Britannicus sum* and we should not be discouraged if we are opposed, traduced, and even abused. This opposition and misrepresentation should always teach us to examine our programme more and more carefully, to eliminate from it errors that we may have been led into, and render it as acceptable as we possibly can, to those who do not see eye to eye with us in this matter. We have to walk in a spirit of conciliation, and harshness even in thought or word must be strictly avoided; nay, we must eschew even the semblance of these and always act on the old good proverb ‘soft words and hard arguments.’ With a view to induce sobriety and to prevent our fellow subjects, who dissent from us, from introducing their feelings and prejudices into the discussions, we must take care that we do not introduce our own feelings and prejudices, so as to provoke a retaliation. (Hear, hear.)

I feel, ladies and gentlemen, your task is difficult, but I know that you have hitherto been always moderate and reasonable, and I have no reason to believe that you will not be the same even in this year of trouble and tribulation.

It remains that you should now proceed to elect your President, and before I resume my seat, I would once more welcome you heartily to our province, which is very small and occupies the unique position of being neither British India nor a Native State.

Gentlemen,—I will now call upon the Hon’ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea to propose the name of the President of the Congress.

The Hon’ble Mr.
SURENDRANATH
BANERJEA’S speech
proposing Mr. SAN-
KARAN NAIR as
President of the
Congress.

The Hon’ble Mr. SURENDRANATH BANERJEA (Bengal No. 666 on the list), who on rising was received with loud cheers, said:—

Chairman of the Reception Committee, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to lay before you a motion which I am sure will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance. I have the honour to propose “that this Congress do elect the Hon’ble Mr. Sankaran Nair as President of the Congress.” (Applause.) Madras now gives us the second President, Bombay has given us three Presidents, Bengal has given us two, Madras has given us one. Madras now comes up to the standard of Bengal. We have very arduous duties before us. There is no mistake that we stand face to face with one of the greatest crises which have developed themselves in the history of this country. We are at the parting of the waves. Our rulers, after having pursued a career of beneficence for more than half a century, seem all on a sudden to be staggered at the marvellous success of their own work. They pause, they hesitate, they linger, they would fain go back. At such a crisis we need careful and wise statesmanlike guidance, and I feel convinced that you will have such guidance from our honourable and distinguished friend Mr. Sankaran Nair. He is a pro-

minent leader of the great community to which he belongs, one of the foremost citizens of Madras, an honoured and illustrious leader of the Congress movement. I feel perfectly confident that with your assistance he will do the amplest justice to that great office to which he has been called, the greatest to which a native of India can aspire (cheers), dependent as that office is upon the love, respect, the esteem and the gratitude of his countrymen. (Cheers.) I do not know that I should be doing justice to myself or to yourselves if I am to stand further between the Presidential chair and this assembly. With these words I propose the name of Mr. Sankaran Nair as the President of this Congress.

Mr. M. V. JOSHI (Bernar, No. 61 on the list) seconded the proposal in the following words :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After what we have heard from our illustrious friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea, I have really very little to add. This year there were peculiar circumstances and there were peculiar difficulties, in the way of the Reception Committee here, and not the least of them was the selection of a President. For, as you are all aware, the situation of this year made it incumbent on us to select a President to whom no exception could be taken. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, it required a really unique combination of three most essential qualities of unswerving devotion to the Congress cause, unquestionable loyalty, and what is above all, the most unblemished personal character. I am perfectly certain that you will find all these qualities in the most harmonious blend in the President that you are now going to elect. With these few words, gentlemen, I beg to second the proposition placed before you by my friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (Allahabad, No. 655 on the list) said :—Brother delegates, I am called upon to support this resolution, which I believe has already met with your unanimous acceptance, only in a formal way to show you that people of all parts of the country rejoice in the election. I assure you that when the fact was announced that the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair was to be elected President of the Congress, it was hailed with joy in all parts of the country, and I think you have only given expression to that feeling. I will not take up much of your time, but I will only say that if you wanted modesty, moderation and judgment combined with high intellectual ability, you have it all in the President, whom it is my duty to ask you to elect. I therefore ask you to elect him.

Mr. C. H. SETALWAD (Bombay, No. 54 on the list) said : Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the election of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sankaran Nair to the chair.

Mr. KHAPARDE :—Gentlemen, it has been duly proposed, seconded and supported that the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair be elected President of the Congress. If it is your pleasure that he should be so elected, you will please signify the same in the usual way.

The proposition was carried amidst great acclamation.

Mr. KHAPARDE :—The Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair has now been elected President of this Congress.

Mr. KHAPARDE then vacated his chair, which was taken by the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair amid loud and continued cheers.

The President, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair (Madras), then delivered the following address :—

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you heartily for electing me to preside over this great national assembly. We meet at the close of a year that will be memorable in the history of the British Empire. We have witnessed and we have taken part in the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of the reign of our Empress. We rejoice with our fellow-subjects of this vast Empire in the prosperity of that reign. We exult in our acquisition of political rights during

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The HON'BLE MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEA'S speech proposing Mr. SANKARAN NAIR as President of the Congress.

MR. M. V. JOSHI'S speech supporting the Resolution.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA supporting the Resolution.

MR. C. H. SETALWAD supporting the Resolution.

Presidential Address of the HON'BLE MR. C. SANKARAN NAIR.

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HON'BLE MR. C.
SANKARAN NAIR.

this period. We bless Her Majesty for her message in 1858 of peace and freedom when the occasion invested it with a peculiar significance. While Englishmen in India inflamed by race animosity and the recollections of the Sepoy Mutiny, which Ignorance still calls the Indian Mutiny, were calling for terrible reprisals, she unasked, forgetting and forgiving, issued her gracious Proclamation. It was a stern reproof to those who then clamoured for indiscriminate vengeance; it continues to-day a standing rebuke to those of her European subjects who would deny us the rights of equal citizenship. She is to us the living embodiment of what is good in British supremacy, and we may feel assured that her anxiety in our behalf which she manifested in 1858, her kindly regard shown on every subsequent occasion, both in times of joy and of affliction, will continue unabated for the rest of her life. Throughout our land her name is venerated; in almost every language the story of her life has been written and sung, and in years to come her name will rightly find a place in the memory of our descendants along with those great persons whose virtues have placed them in the ranks of Avatars born into this world for the benefit of this, our holy land. (Loud cheers.)

INDIA LOYAL.

Forty years of peace and progress seemed to have amply justified the wise and generous statesmanship of the great Empress, but suddenly this year, we have been startled with the cry of sedition directed not against any specific individual, nor even against a number of persons but against a whole class, the product of the liberal policy inaugurated nearly half a century ago. The charge of sedition, faintly heard years ago, against the Congress, a charge the absurdity of which has been often exposed, has now been revived against the educated Indians by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. We are tauntingly asked to study our past history for proof of our degraded condition from which the English Government has raised us, and to contrast it with the blessings we now enjoy. We do not need the invitation. We are acquainted with our immediate past; we feel grateful for the present. But, our opponents forget we are more concerned with the progress of our country in the future than with the benefits we have already derived under British rule.

We are well aware of the disordered state of this country when it passed, with its insecurity of person and property, under British rule, of the enormous difficulties our rulers had to overcome in introducing orderly administration without any help from the then existing agencies. We recognize that the association of the people in the government of the country except to a very limited extent was then impossible. We also know that British rule cleared the way to progress and furnished us with the one element, English education, which was necessary to rouse us from the torpor of ages and bring about the religious, social and political regeneration which the country stands so much in need of. (Hear, hear.) We are also aware that with the decline of British supremacy we shall have anarchy, war and rapine. The Mahomedans will try to recover their lost supremacy. The Hindu races and chiefs will fight amongst themselves. The lower castes who have come under the vivifying influence of Western civilization are scarcely likely to yield without a struggle to the dominion of the higher castes. And we have Russia and France waiting for their opportunities. The ignorant masses may possibly not recognize the gravity of the danger attendant on any decline of England's power in the East. But it is ridiculous to suggest that those who have received the benefit of English education are so shortsighted as not to see and weigh that danger. (Cheers.) While, however, full of gratitude for what Great Britain has done to India,—for its government which secures us from foreign aggression and ensures security of person and property,—it should not be forgotten for a moment that the real link that binds us indissolubly to England is the hope, the well-founded hope and belief, that with England's help we shall, and, under her guidance alone,

We can attain national unity and national freedom. (Hear, hear, cheers.) The educational policy of the Government, a policy which combines beneficence with statesmanship, justified such hopes in us. Those hopes were confirmed by various pledges. Those pledges were followed by the creation of institutions by which we were admitted to a share in our ordinary government which must surely, though slowly, lead to the full fruition of our aspirations.

Just look for a moment at the training we are receiving. From our earliest school-days the great English writers have been our classics. Englishmen have been our professors in Colleges. English history is taught us in our schools. The books we generally read are English books which describe in detail all the forms of English life, give us all the English types of character. Week after week, English newspapers, journals and magazines pour into India for Indian readers. We, in fact, now live the life of the English. Even the English we write shows not only their turns of thought but also their forms of feeling and thinking. It is impossible under this training not to be penetrated with English ideas, not to acquire English conceptions of duty, of rights, or brotherhood, (Hear, hear, cheers.) The study and practice of the law now pursued with such avidity by our people, by familiarising them with reverence for authority and with sentiments of resistance to what is not sanctioned by law, have also materially contributed to the growth of mental independence. (Hear, hear.)

POLITICAL REFORM.

Imbued with these ideas and principles, we naturally desire to acquire the full rights and to share the responsibilities of British citizenship. We have learnt that in the acquisition of those rights and in the recognition of the principles on which they are based, lie the remedy for the evils afflicting our country, evils similar to those from which England herself once suffered. We know that in Great Britain race differences between Norman and Saxon, at one period more virulent than those which at any time existed between Hindu and Mahomedan, religious intolerance which has scarcely been surpassed in India, class divisions equalling any in our own country, a degradation, political and social, of the masses which may be equalled here but could never have been exceeded—all these have disappeared in the common struggle for freedom, and in the combined effort to retain it when acquired, in which each required the help of its antagonist and each was obliged to concede to others the right claimed for itself and which, therefore, resulted in the recognition and solemn affirmation of principles of government which obliterated all distinctions of race or religion, caste or class. Those principles affirmed the equality of all before law and government, the right of self-government by the people themselves through their representatives, and complete freedom of speech and discussion as the very breath of national life. (Hear, hear.) It is the hope that one day we may be admitted as equal sharers in this great inheritance, that we shall have all the civil rights associated with the English Government, that we shall be admitted as freely as Englishmen themselves to worship in this temple of Freedom—it is this hope that keeps India and will keep her always attached to the British. (Hear, hear, cheers.) This hope is sustained by pledges solemnly made; and the sentiment of loyalty to the British connection created by repeated declarations that we shall be gradually allowed the full rights of English citizenship is already in full force. Such a pledge was made in 1833 when Parliament solemnly declared that race or religion or colour shall not be a disqualification for holding any appointment. This declaration of policy in a time of peace has been solemnly affirmed after the Mutiny. Already, the pledge has been in part redeemed. We have been admitted, as it were, into the outer precincts of the temple of Freedom. The Press has been enfranchised. Partially elected members sit in our local and legislative councils. We can enter the Civil Service through the open door of competition. These blessings are no doubt now

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coupled with conditions which unfortunately detract from their value. But these great and healthy principles have nurtured and consolidated a sentiment of affection. All that England has to do is to persist resolutely in the line of policy she has initiated and thereby deepen that feeling of loyalty which makes us proud of our connection with England. (Hear, hear, cheers.) I myself feel that there is very little reason to fear that England will reverse the past. To deny us the freedom of the press, to deny us representative institutions, she will have to ignore those very principles for which the noblest names in her history have toiled and bled. She cannot close all her educational institutions in the country. She cannot persuade us not to read the fiery denunciations of every illiberal form of government, of the petty acts of tyranny committed anywhere on the face of the earth, which appear in her papers imported into India week after week. It is impossible to keep out of India eloquent orations on Patriotism by men like Mr. Chamberlain—a Cabinet Minister holding up to admiration the memory of patriots like Wallace whose head was stuck up on the traitor's gate of the city of London, of Bruce guilty of foul murder in a church, of Emmet and other Irish leaders executed or hung for treason by the English Government. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible to argue a man into slavery in the English language. (Hear, hear, cheers.) Thus the only condition requisite for the fruition of our political aspirations is the continuance of the British Rule. The fond hope that India may one day take her place in the confederacy of the free English-speaking nations of the world can be realised only under England's guidance with England's help. Years must elapse, it is true, before our expectations can be realized, before we get representative institutions on the models of those of the English-speaking communities. Slavery we had under our old rulers, Hindu and Mahomedan; we may again get it under any despotic European or Asiatic Government. But we know that real freedom is possible only under the Government of the English nation (hear, hear, cheers), nurtured in liberty, hating every form of tyranny, and willing to extend the blessings of representative Government to those capable of using it wisely in the interests of freedom and progress. (Cheers.)

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM.

Great as is the necessity of British rule for the political emancipation of our country, ~~even greater~~ is the necessity for social and religious reform. In the present circumstances of India, inhabited as it is by followers of various religions, various sects, classes, very often with antagonistic interests, any Government which is not strictly secular and absolutely impartial must be disastrous to the best interests of the country. The customs, institutions, beliefs, practices of one community are denounced by others as unreasonable and destructive of true faith. Some of our reformers, hopeless of any internal reform, are building up a new social system and accordingly have adopted an attitude so antagonistic to the popular religion that they are regarded as seceders from Hinduism. Others again have formed themselves into sects each claiming to be orthodox and denying to others the merit of adherence to the true Hindu religion. We have also preachers in our midst who while deprecating any revolt or open defiance urge the purification of the Hindu faith. The gulf between Hinduism and other religions has been considered impassable. But attempts are being made with some success to re-admit converts into Hinduism. Steps are being taken in some places to mitigate the rancour of religious hostility between Hindus and Mahomedans. Some of the lower castes resent the galling yoke of caste so bitterly that they seek refuge in Mahomedanism or Christianity. The original four castes had multiplied into a number that must appear to every man unreasonable and absurd. There seems to be a general desire to break down the barriers between these numerous castes. Knowledge is accessible to all. The Vedas and other holy books are now common property; equality in knowledge must eventually lead to the practical removal, if not the entire destruction of the great barriers that now divide the various classes. Again you

are aware of the attempts that are being made to restore our women to the position which competent authorities maintain they occupied in ancient India. We want, in brief, to eliminate, if necessary, from our system all that stands in the way of progress. We desire to absorb and assimilate into our own what appears good to us in western civilization. (Hear, hear.) This is impossible under a Government which would uphold a particular social system or a particular form of religion to the exclusion of others as some of the ancient Governments of India did. To break down the isolation of the Hindu religion, to remove the barriers which now prevent free social intercourse and unity of action, to extend the blessings of education to the lower classes, to improve the position of women to one of equality to men, we require the continuance of a strictly secular Government in thorough sympathy with liberal thought and progress.

Gentlemen, I do not propose to refer to the various subjects that we have been continually pressing on the attention of our Government and of the public. This year, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers) and our four Indian witnesses have stated our grievances before the Welby Commission with a fulness and clearness which leave nothing to be desired. They have stood the test of cross-examination by those who have constituted themselves the advocates of Indian Government and their evidence will remain on record as a protest against some of the shortcomings of British administration. Our thanks are due to them. (Cheers.)

FAMINE.

I shall accordingly content myself with referring to certain notable events of this year. Naturally, the terrible Famine that has devastated our country first claims our attention. We render our hearty thanks for the magnificent aid received by us from the people of Great Britain and other countries. (Cheers.) We recognize the great sympathy and ability with which the Famine administration was carried on in India. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the same energy, if directed to discover and remove the causes of famine would be of far greater benefit to the country. (Hear, hear.) At the root of these famines is the great poverty of India. (Hear, hear.) The Madras Board of Revenue recently estimated on the returns furnished by local officials with reference to ryotwary tracts, that, in a season described as generally favourable for agricultural operations, there was no grain in the presidency for five out of a population of 28 millions. If this is true, the miserable state of the people with regard to food supply in seasons less favourable may be easily conceived. For ourselves, it is unnecessary to rely upon Government estimates and returns. The poverty of the country reveals itself to us in every direction, in every shape and form. It shows itself in the poor condition of the labouring population and of the great majority of ryots who are under-fed, and who are without, not only the comforts, but even the absolute necessaries of life and who lead a life of penury and toil unredeemed by any hope of provision against the frequent vicissitudes of the seasons, sickness or old age when they must be dependent on relatives or strangers. The once well-to-do ryots are becoming reduced to the position of poor tenants, their poverty preventing them from carrying on any cultivation that requires capital. Parents find it difficult to give their children the education which their profession or station in life demands, or indeed any education necessary wherewith to earn their livelihood; the extreme poverty of the class to which the majority of students belong could easily be ascertained. Even a partial failure of crops in one year leads to terrible scarcity or famine. Famine at certain intervals of time is becoming a normal condition of things in India. In 1877 and again this year, the loss of life has been terrible. Each succeeding famine finds the staying power of the masses particularly in the ryotwary districts reduced. Is this state of things to continue for ever? Are we not entitled, are not those who so generously come

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to our help entitled to ask the responsible Government, whether any steps have been taken to prevent a recurrence of the famine? In a fertile country, with every variety of climate capable of producing every variety of product, with a population thrifty and hard-working, if the produce is not sufficient for the population, it must be due to some defect in the system of administration which does not protect the fruits of industry but scares away capital from the land. If the produce of the country is sufficient for the population and yet as a fact the food stock remaining in the country does not suffice for consumption, the state of things must be due to some enormous drain on the resources of the country. The feeling is gaining ground, that the Government is morally responsible for the extreme poverty of the masses, for the scarcity that prevails almost every year in some part of the country or other, for the famine that so frequently desolates the land and claims more victims and creates more distress than under any civilized Government anywhere else in the world. The flippancy that would dismiss the entire problem from consideration with the remark that all this is due to over-population and is irremediable, is as dangerous as is the deep-rooted belief that distress is a visitation of Providence for the sins of our rulers. One great Viceroy has had the question under consideration, and to him the remedy in so far as the increase in wealth from the land is concerned was clear. It is Permanent Settlement of Government Revenue from the land. The Settlement officer will not then increase the revenue and deprive the cultivator of the increased produce due to his labour, or his capital. (Hear, hear.) Labour and capital will then be attracted to the cultivation of the land. There will be a large increase in the agricultural produce in India. There will always be a large reserve of food stocks in the country available in times of scarcity. The fixity of taxation will create a class of landholders interested in the maintenance of law and order. The policy of Government was once settled in favour of permanency, but in recent years under pressure mainly of Military expenditure the policy has been changed and the revenue enormously raised. Our Government ought to concede the permanent settlement immediately to all parts of India and in those parts of India where from local circumstances a permanent limitation of land revenue is not feasible, it would be a step in the right direction if any increased demand for revenue by Executive action is permitted only with the permission of the Legislative Council. This would not be an adequate remedy, but it is a measure that will help to produce great and satisfactory results.

The next remedy that obviously suggests itself has reference to expenditure. Government agencies are notoriously extravagant, at least in the opinion of those who have to find the money, and the foreign policy of the Indian Government imposes a burden on the tax-payer which is already becoming too heavy to bear. (Hear, hear.) The checks that exist are not sufficiently effective. The Budgets at present are only offered for criticism. They ought to be submitted to the Legislative Councils for approval and the members ought to have the power of moving resolutions in connection with them. As the officials always form the majority, Government could never be embarrassed by an adverse vote, whereas in its differences of opinion with the Home Government, a resolution of the Legislative Council could naturally be a great support to it. The biggest item of expenditure is the Military expenditure. Our true policy is a peaceful policy. We have little, if anything, to expect from conquests. With such capacity for internal development as our country possesses, with such crying need to carry out the reforms absolutely necessary for our well-being, we want a period of prolonged peace. We have no complaint against our neighbours, either on our north-west or our north-east frontier. If ever our country is involved in war, it will be due to the policy of aggrandizement of the English Government at London or Calcutta. An army is maintained at our cost far in excess of what is required for us. The military element is supreme in the Viceroy's Council. For interests other than Indian, countries are invaded, all the horrors of war let loose at

the expense of the Indian tax-payer. As England directs our foreign policy and as wars are undertaken to maintain English rule, the English treasury ought to pay the entire cost, claiming contribution from India to the extent of India's interest in the struggle. This would secure a thorough discussion of any foreign policy in the English Parliament. It would also enable Indian members in the Viceroy's Council to protest against any unfair distribution of the war expenditure when the Budget has to be passed.

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INEQUALITY OF LAWS.

It is also to be borne in mind that a large portion of this unnecessary expenditure is due to the recognition, not perhaps openly in words, but in acts and policy by Government of the idea that the English are a foreign and superior race holding India by the sword and that the Indians are, as a rule, not worthy of trust and confidence. To us this idea is hateful and therefore we insist upon equality before law and Government. We maintain that no distinction ought to be made between classes or races, that the Queen's Proclamation should be adhered to, and therefore we protest against the principle underlying the Arms Act whereby no native of India may possess or carry arms without special license while Europeans and Eurasians may bear arms unquestioned. We appeal to our Government to authorize a system of Volunteering for Indians and not confine it practically to Europeans and Eurasians thereby creating and fostering class prejudices. For the same reason we demand that the military service in its higher grades should not be restricted to Europeans alone but should be practically opened to the natives of this country and that colleges be established for training them for the military career. On the same ground we press for admission into the Public service on an equal footing with Europeans. Apart from economic necessity, the stability and permanence of British connection require that not only no positive disqualification should exist but that the rules intended to make the declarations of 1833 and the Queen's promise of 1858 a dead letter must be removed. For, the Civil Service, the Police, the Forest Service, the Salt Service, and even the Educational Service rules are framed apparently on the assumption that a European is by mere reason of his nationality fit and an Indian for the same reason is unfit for the higher appointments in those services.

The concession of these demands means an enormous increase in India's defensive strength against any foe; it means a reduction in taxation which at the rate it is now growing, must involve the ruin of the country. (Hear, hear.) These distinctions on the other hand cast a slur on our loyalty, accentuate race prejudices in a most invidious form and relegate Indians to the position of an inferior race and silently ensure the emasculation of our manhood. The disastrous consequences of this race question are already apparent. Englishmen and other European Colonists in South Africa and Australia refuse to treat us on terms of equality and justify their refusal on account of our degraded position in our own country. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, a section, I hope a very small section, of our fellow-subjects regard a foreign power of its own religion following a course of policy apparently abhorrent to the conscience of the English public, with feelings which, though unconsciously, took their origin in the refusal of Englishmen to treat them as fellow-citizens in reality and not merely in name. To this feeling of race superiority is also due the frequent contemptuous treatment of respectable people by soldiers, a treatment which renders them a terror to peaceful inhabitants, and which according to the confessions apparently believed by Government has led to the Poona tragedy. The racial feeling I refer to, is confirmed by the belief generally entertained in India that it is almost impossible to secure the conviction of a European accused of any heinous offence. (Hear, hear.) If that feeling is justified by the action of our authorities, then the position is deplorable. If the impression is unwarranted, then its origin must be due to the idea of inequality before law generally entertained. On this race question, no concession is possible. No

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compromise can be accepted so far as it lies in us. We must insist on perfect equality. Inequality means race inferiority, national abasement. Acquisition, therefore, of all civil rights conferred on Englishmen, removal of all disabilities on Indians as such—these must be our aim. (Hear, hear.)

THE POONA INCIDENTS.

I shall now briefly refer to the Poona plague operations and their unfortunate developments. This country was passing through a terrible ordeal. Poverty which may be said to be the normal condition of our masses deepened into famine. In the Bombay Presidency, it was followed by plague, a terrible disease for which no remedy has yet been discovered. The measures which the Government had to take for its suppression in Poona which was badly affected were said to have interfered with the domestic habits of the Hindus and Mahomedans; soldiers who were employed to enforce these Government measures were rightly or wrongly, generally believed to have insulted women and defiled places of worship. The result was prostration of the people. A feeling of helplessness came over them. In Western countries, the result would have been lawlessness. In Poona, many contented themselves with abandoning their homes. Some resigned themselves to sullen apathy and despair. There were a few who protested against Government measures, pointing out their unnecessary harshness. Amongst those who protested was Mr. Natu, a leading Poona Sirdar. His formal written complaints recently published in England disclose, if any reliance can be placed on them, a state of affairs which certainly demanded attention. Let me give you a brief summary of his complaints.

The inspection of houses by soldiers seems to have been carried out without notice by forcing open, very often unnecessarily when there were other means of entrance, the locks of the shops and the houses when the owners were absent and absolutely no attempt was made to protect the properties or the houses. No notice was taken of complaints concerning them. A Hindu lady was assaulted by a soldier and Mr. Natu reported the matter to the authorities producing the witnesses. No notice was vouchsafed. The soldiers were refractory and any complaint against them was regarded as obstruction. When a man fell ill many neighbouring families were taken to the segregation camp and left there without any covering to protect their body or any furniture, their property at home including horses, cows and sheep being left unprotected. A man was unnecessarily taken to the hospital and sent back as not being affected by plague to find his furniture destroyed and his poor wife and relatives forcibly removed and detained in the segregation camp. Temples were defiled by soldiers and his own temple was entered by them on account, Natu believes, of his impertinence in making a complaint. An old man who succeeded in satisfying the search party that he was not suffering from plague was detained in jail some hours for having obstructed the search party, the obstruction apparently consisting in the delay caused by him. Insult was the reward for the services of volunteers and their suggestions were treated with contumely. You all know how sensitive our Mahomedan fellow-subjects are about the privacy of their women. And when Mr. Natu suggested that the services of Mahomedan volunteers should be availed of, to search the Mahomedan quarter, he was told that his conduct was improper and his services voluntarily rendered were dispensed with. Mr. Natu brought all this to the notice of the officials, pointed out that the operations were carried on against the spirit of the rules and complained that there was a great amount of unrest. The Indian newspapers gave prominence to these and similar complaints. They compared the English Government to other Governments very much to the disadvantage of the former. *The Mahratta* complained, "Plague is more merciful to us than its human prototypes now reigning in the city.....The tyranny of the Plague Committee and its chosen instruments is yet too brutal to allow respectable people to breathe at ease." And it was added that "every one

of these grievances may be proved to the hilt if His Excellency is pleased to enquire into the details." These representations were certainly entitled to attentive consideration, however much the authorities might have disagreed with them. Their objects were honest, their methods were proper. Their language was not respectful, it was perhaps violent, but men dominated by feelings of distress are often carried beyond what strict prudence would dictate. (Hear, hear.) The violence seems to have been proportionate to the contempt with which the complaints were treated. But to the Indian mind the idea of creating a feeling of disaffection with a view to overthrow the English Government is simply ludicrous. (Hear, hear, cheers.) Language which to a lawyer savoured perhaps of sedition was only intended by its violence to attract attention, and such language was only caused by the bitter feeling that milder representations by a race not so law-abiding as the Indians would have received immediate and careful attention. However, while these plague operations were being carried out, the President of the Plague Committee, to the horror and alarm of the native community, was murdered on what happened to be the Jubilee celebration day. To the Indian mind it was clear that this was nothing more than an unfortunate coincidence. (Hear, hear.)

But its effect was very different in certain quarters. An Englishman in India is in a strange world ; with his energy, practical will and ideas of freedom, he fails to understand and perhaps despise a nation given up to metaphysical dreams which does not regard material prosperity as the great object of life. In other parts of the world under European sway, in Africa and America an alliance with a European is eagerly sought while in India where also he is master, he is regarded by the castes as impure whose touch is pollution. With such differences in thought and feeling, no wonder that ordinary Englishmen ignore the people entirely and do not try to understand them. Hence their limited comprehension. Not knowing the native mind they exaggerate the importance of trifles which only ruffle the surface of native feeling, and attribute to certain events a significance which however justifiable in England do not even deserve a passing notice in India. The difficulties of English administration based on this misunderstanding are increased by misrepresentations. Labouring under this incapacity to discover the mental condition of the Indian masses, the Anglo-Indian papers are not generally safe guides. In times of excitement in particular, some of them prove positively mischievous. (Shame.)

Thus, it is not a matter for surprise that a section of the Anglo-Indian Press discovered a deep design in the Poona murder. They found a pretext for the murder in the plague measures taken by Government. That the Native Press denounced such measures confirmed their suspicion. That the murder took place on the day of a great world-wide rejoicing proved to their satisfaction a deep-laid conspiracy which could have been planned only by educated cunning. Almost every incident that took place in Poona was pressed into the service to support this theory of conspiracy, and an attack was commenced on the Vernacular Press and the educated Indians, perhaps unexampled in its virulence since the Mutiny ; a gagging act was loudly demanded, the policy of imparting education to the Indians was questioned, the press in England was worked, and the Europeans were thrown into a panic. The attack on the educated Indians and the Vernacular Press was brutal and cowardly. It was suggested as a matter for regret that the native mind had forgotten the lessons of the last mutiny, that a fresh mutiny would clear the air, particularly as the Mahrattas were not in the show of 1857. It was insisted that the Native Press was seditious and was responsible for the murder, and a section of the Anglo-Indian Press demanded the punishment by name, of Mr. Tilak (cheers), the man who had strongly attacked and denounced the measures of Government. The unreasoning panic into which the Anglo-Indian community was driven by this malignant attack and its unfortunate success in inflaming the English public, forced, according to the English papers, the hands of the Secretary of State, and Lord Sandhurst had to take measures which, it is believed,

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he would never have sanctioned if he had remained a free agent. (Hear, hear.) Ostensibly to discover the murderer, but acting on the theory that the murders were the result of a conspiracy for which the Vernacular Press was responsible, the Government arrested the Natu brothers under the provisions of an old law intended for lawless times to secure the peace of the country. Mr. Tilak and the Editors of two Vernacular papers were prosecuted; and a punitive force was imposed on the Poona Municipality. The arrest of the Natu brothers was and must remain a great blunder. It recalls the worst days of irresponsible despotism. Liberty of person and property is a farce if you are liable to be arrested, imprisoned, and your property sequestered at the will and pleasure of Government without being brought to trial. (Hear, hear.) We shall before we part, I have no doubt, express our emphatic protest against this proceeding.

The Editor of one of the papers was tried by a judge without a jury and was convicted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment which can be explained only by the panic which seized the entire European community. Mr. Tilak was tried by a judge and jury. A European—he need not even be a subject of the Empress—may claim to be tried by a jury of whom at least one-half shall be Europeans. This is practically an efficient protection not only against the executive but against popular excitement. In the case of an Indian, the entire Anglo-Indian community may be most unreasonably and passionately prejudiced against him; he may be an object of violent antipathy to the other races; yet he cannot claim fair trial at the hands of his countrymen. (Shame.) He must submit to be quietly convicted after, it may be, the farce of a trial; for a trial seldom restrains men who are passionately excited, and the trial by jury, an institution intended for the protection of the prisoner in such circumstances proves a delusion and a snare by depriving the prisoner of the right of appeal. Mr. Tilak, there can be scarcely any doubt, would have claimed a trial by a jury of whom one-half were Indians, if to the Indian the law allowed the same protection that it affords to the European. If there is any offence in India which ought to be tried by a native jury, it is the offence of sedition. It was possible that a native jury who knew the language and who were in a more favorable position to form a correct judgment of the probable and intended effect of the articles on native mind would not have convicted; it was certain that a European jury in that state of public excitement would convict. By exercising its right of challenge the prosecution was able to secure a jury of six Europeans—the number necessary to secure a conviction—and three Indians, and the verdict was naturally 6 to 3. In a far stronger case tried by an experienced Chief Justice who had been trained in English courts, and retained the instincts of an Englishman, the Judge refused to accept the verdict of 7 to 2, when there was only one native on the jury. (Hear, hear.) In prison, these men, after conviction, have been treated as ordinary criminals. You are perhaps aware that, in England, a man convicted of sedition is not treated as an ordinary criminal, sedition being regarded a political offence, but in India apparently one is subject to the ordinary hardships of prison life. (Shame.)

This Poona incident enforces the necessity of ceaseless vigilance in keeping the English public correctly informed of whatever passes in India and of thus counteracting the mischievous effects of the dissemination of incorrect news. It emphasises the necessity of extending the system of trial by jury to India on the same conditions as it is granted to Europeans. It also shows that the Executive Government can deprive us of our liberty of person and property at its own will and pleasure. It has brought into disagreeable prominence the unsatisfactory nature of the law of sedition. The Government of India have announced their intention to alter such law in the light of recent events. We trust the Government will bear in mind that in the circumstances of this country, anything which checks freedom of public discussion is most deplorable. Such check may become a temporary, if dangerous bar to quiet and steady progress. The stream of our national

progress will nevertheless move on. It will become dry only when our holy rivers of India become dry. (Hear, hear.) Its progress at present under sympathetic guidance is smooth. Its unwise obstruction may compel underground passages or its overflow. (Hear, hear.) It is a sad commentary on a century of British rule that a Vernacular paper has had to close its office with these words: "It is no more now-a-days safe to conduct newspapers, hence we, who have other means of livelihood to support, make our exit, and do not feel any more necessity of attending the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow to offer explanations for certain writings." (Hear, hear, cheers.)

Though the Press prosecutions are over, the Government has not answered the question that will be asked by Posterity, and that is being asked by India now. Was there any foundation for the complaints made by these various men, some of them honorably distinguished? Why have they been led to commit those acts which have now been declared to be offences? If they are not justified, if they cannot prove their allegations, they cannot be condemned too strongly; they will then have proved a curse to our country for the mischief they have committed. If, on the other hand, it was a righteous indignation for the sufferings of their countrymen that led them to jail, it will be difficult to blame those who extend their sympathy to them. (Hear, hear.)

We deprecate most strongly any intemperate language in criticizing Government measures. We are bound to assume that any objectionable measure must have been due either to ignorance or to error of judgment. We have also to remember that after all our salvation lies in bringing home to the majority of the people of England our real wishes and feelings and that the persons whose actions are criticised are their own kith and kin, that the system of Government we attack was framed by men for whom they feel just respect and esteem. Any violence therefore will do us infinite harm, it may possibly prevent us from securing a hearing. A false, incorrect, or even doubtful allegation will discredit us in the eyes of Englishmen, and the cause of reform may be thereby put back for generations.

Let me say at once that in the remarks I make I deem it superfluous to proclaim our loyalty to the British throne or to the British constitution, or to add that we have not the slightest sympathy with any speech or writing which would regard a severance of our connexion as a desirable consummation. (Hear, hear.) We naturally take a pride in the lives of the great men who have lived for India, and we would draw the attention of our rulers to that part of our ancient history which we think they might usefully study. (Hear, hear.) But we are also aware that the present has its roots in the past and the past is responsible for our lowly condition. We, who claim equality at the hands of Englishmen, would deplore and resist any attempt to revive the days when any caste or class as such was privileged before the law, when a Brahmin, for instance, could claim immunity from punishment! We claim equality for all, Brahmins and Pariahs alike. It is this same feeling that prompts our criticism of any act on the part of our Rulers which may seem to recognize any inequality. It is by the removal of these inequalities before law between European and Indian and by the degree of self-government conceded to us that we measure our progress towards freedom.

Gentlemen, I have done. I am afraid I have wearied you with my lengthy remarks (voices—No, no), but I hope I have succeeded in placing before you clearly some points relating to our present political condition. We have no need to despair of our political future so long as we depend upon Great Britain, but let us at the same time be alive to our duties and responsibilities. (Hear, hear.) India expects great things from us; the whole civilized world is watching the changes coming over us. Shall we be content to leave India as it is, or shall we go on and do all in our power to lift it to a higher level. Years of subjection, nay, we may even say servitude, have sapped the strength of the Indian nation, dwarfed its growth, and stripped it of all that was grand and noble in it, and if

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India is ever to occupy a better position than she fills at the present moment and take her proper place in the scale of nations, it must be entirely due to the zealous efforts of her educated and enlightened sons. Let 'Nil desperandum' be our motto; let not 'insidious smile or angry frown' deter us from following the straight path of duty; and with the welfare and progress of our land as our end and aim, let us endeavour under a solemn sense of responsibility as well as loyalty to our country and to our sovereign, to bring about that glorious future which must inevitably crown our efforts. (Loud and continued cheers.)

MR. P. N. JOG (Berar No. 59 on the list) then gave a summary in the Marathi language of the Chairman's speech and the President's address.

MR. BHUPENDRANATH BASU (Bengal No. 664 on the list) :—I beg to propose three cheers for the President (cheers), and three more for his address. (Cheers.)

Election of Sub-
jects' Committee.

The President :—According to practice, the Secretary of the Reception Committee will read out the names of the gentlemen who form the Subjects' Committee.

THE SECRETARY, MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Berar No. 60 on the list) :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The names of the gentlemen sent up by the several Congress Committees are as follows :—

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS.

1. THE HON'BLE MR. C. SANKARAN NAIR (President).
2. MR. D. E. WACHA (Joint General Secretary).
3. " W. C. BONNERJEE (Standing Counsel, Bengal).
4. THE HON'BLE RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU (Standing Counsel, Madras).
5. MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (Chairman, Reception Committee).
6. " R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Secretary, Reception Committee).
7. " B. H. KARANDIKAR (Secretary, Reception Committee).

MADRAS.

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| 1. | SHRI SHRI PADMANABHA NARAIN DEO, 2nd Prince, Parla- | Madras. |
| | kimidi | |
| 2. | HON'BLE C. VIJARAGHAVA CHARIAR | Do. |
| 3. | " N. SUBBA ROW | Do. |
| 4. | MR. JOHN ADAM | Do. |
| 5. | " G. SUBRAMANIA IYER... .. | Do. |
| 6. | " P. RAMCHANDRA PILLAI | Do. |
| 7. | " V. RYRU NAMBIAR | Do. |
| 8. | " P. KESAVA PILLAI | Do. |
| 9. | " S. PALNY AUDI MOODLIAR | Do. |
| 10. | " K. P. ACHUTHA MENON | Do. |
| 11. | " A. C. PARTHASARATHY NAIDU | Do. |
| 12. | " T. M. APPU NEDANGADI | Do. |
| 13. | " M. RAMANJALU NAIDU | Do. |
| 14. | " M. GOPALA MENON | Do. |
| 15. | " PONNAMBALA MOODLIAR | Do. |
| 16. | " S. S. RAJA GURU | Do. |
| 17. | " G. VENKATA RANGA ROW | Do. |
| 18. | " S. SHRESHA SASTRIAR | Do. |
| 19. | " SEETHA RAMAIAH | Do. |
| 20. | " S. AUDINABAYANA ROW | Do. |

BOMBAY.

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| 1. | THE HON'BLE D. S. GARUD | Bombay. |
| 2. | MR. C. H. SETALVAD | Do. |
| 3. | " RUSTAM K. R. KAMA | Do. |
| 4. | PROF. G. K. GOKHALE | Do. |

POONA.

1.	MR. N. C. KELKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Poona.
2.	" S. G. DEVADHAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
3.	" KRISHNAJI ABAJI GURUJI ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.

First Day.
Election of Sub-
jects' Committee.

BERAR.

1.	RAO SAHEB DEORAO VINAYAK ...	...	...	...	...	...	Berar.
2.	MR. P. N. JOG ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
3.	" M. V. JOSHI ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
4.	" D. V. BHAGWAT ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
5.	DR. G. V. KHOT ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
6.	MR. PANDURANG GOVIND ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
7.	" B. N. MUDHOLKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
8.	" N. G. KETKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
9.	" L. C. BAPAT ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
10.	" S. M. DEO ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
11.	" M. S. BAPAT ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
12.	" GANESH NAGESH ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
13.	" V. H. DESHMUKH ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
14.	" Y. G. DESHPANDE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
15.	" YESHWANT VAMAN DIGHE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
16.	" V. K. KALE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
17.	" Y. G. KESKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
18.	" M. K. CHITNIS... ..	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
19.	" M. G. DAMLE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
20.	" B. R. ANGAL ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
21.	DR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
22.	MR. M. B. MARATHE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
23.	" W. N. JOG ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
24.	" SADASHIV NARAYAN ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
25.	" W. B. PIMPLIKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
26.	" D. G. PATWARDHAN ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
27.	" N. K. DATE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
28.	" G. N. KANE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
29.	" V. H. KARANDIKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
30.	" R. V. MAHAJANI ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1.	MR. BALVANTRAO MAHAJAN ...	...	...	...	...	...	Central Provinces.
2.	" BAPUBAO DADA... ..	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
3.	PROF. MUKERJEE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
4.	MR. K. S. BHAWALKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
5.	" D. N. KHARE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
6.	" HARI VAMAN KELKAR ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
7.	" RAJARAM SITARAM DIXIT ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
8.	" MADHARAO PADHYE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
9.	PROF. ACHYUT SITARAM SATHE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
10.	MR. KESHAO M. KAWALE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
11.	" KESHAO V. JOSHI ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
12.	" BHAGIRATHA PRASAD ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
13.	" GOVIND M. BADKAS ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
14.	" GUNESH WASUDEO SANE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
15.	PRINCIPAL K. G. TAMHAN ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
16.	MR. RAMPHAU BOBDE ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
17.	" BALIRAMPANT DESHMUKH ...	...	...	...	...	...	Do.

First Day.

Election of Subjects' Committee.

BENGAL.

1.	MR. J. GHOSAL	...	...	...	...	...	Calcutta.
2.	THE HON'BLE SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
3.	BABU KALIPRASANNA KAVYAVISHARAD	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
4.	" BHUPENDRANATH BASU	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
5.	" MOTI LAL GHOSE	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
6.	" HIBENDRANATH DUTT	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
7.	" AMRIT KRISHNA MULLICK	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
8.	DR. M. M. BOSE	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
9.	BABU SURESH CHUNDRASAMAJPATY	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
10.	DR. NIL RATAN SIRCAR	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
11.	MR. PRITHWIS CHUNDRASAMAJPATY	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
12.	" J. CHAUDHURI, Rajshahye Distt.	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
13.	BABU NILABUN CHANDRA CHATTERJEE (24 Pargunnahs)	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
14.	" UPENDRANATH SEN, Burdwan	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
15.	" HARIPRASAD CHATTERJEE, Nuddea	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
16.	" P. N. MUKERJEE, Nuddea	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
17.	" KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA, Maimansingh	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
18.	" RAJ KRISHNA SINHA, Maimansingh	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
19.	" AMBICA CHARAN MOZOOMDAR, Faridpur	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
20.	" BIPIN CHUNDRASAMAJPATY, Sylhet	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
21.	" RASH BEHARILAL MANDAR, Bhagalpur District	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
22.	" ANANT PRASAD MANDAR, Bhagalpur District	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
23.	" BOIKUNTH NATH SEN, Moorshidabad	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
24.	" HEMENDRA NATH SEN, Moorshidabad	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
25.	" BAIDYANATH SARKAR, Moorshidabad	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
26.	" MOHINI MOHUN CHAKRAVARTI, Babna	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
27.	" JNANENDRANATH BOSE, Midnapur	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
28.	" HEMENDRANATH BOSE, Midnapur	...	...	...	...	...	Do.

N. W. P. AND OUDH.

1.	PANDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DAR	...	...	...	...	...	Lucknow.
2.	BABU GANGA PRASAD VARMA	...	...	...	...	...	Do.
3.	LALA SOMESHWARDAS	...	...	...	...	...	Allahabad.
4.	MR. A. NUNDY	...	...	...	...	...	Gorakhpur.
5.	BABU JUGUL KISHORE	...	...	...	...	...	Benares.
6.	PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA	Allahabad.
7.	BABU JIVAN CHANDRA MUKERJEE	Do.

PUNJAB.

1.	BAKSHI JAISHI RAM	Punjab.
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I beg to propose that these gentlemen be appointed to serve on the Subjects' Committee.

Mr. J. Ghosal : I beg to second the proposal.

The President : It has been duly proposed and seconded that the gentlemen whose names have been read out to you do serve on the Subjects' Committee. Do you approve of the resolution ?

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President : We must now adjourn the Congress to 11-30 A. M. tomorrow. The members of the Subjects' Committee will meet in half an hour.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, 28th December 1897.

The Congress reassembled at 11-30 a.m.

The President: Gentlemen, the rules for the conduct of business will now be read to you by Mr. Ghosal.

Second Day.

Rules for the
conduct of busi-
ness.

Mr. J. Ghosal (Calcutta, No. 665 on the list): The following are the rules:—

1. On any point of order, the decision of the President shall be final, and no discussion shall be allowed thereupon.
2. No one who is not a Delegate will be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter.
3. Every Delegate must address the assembly from the platform.
4. The proposers, seconders and supporters of each resolution will be selected by the Subjects' Committee.
5. The President will allot the time during which each speaker can speak, and no one should exceed this without the special permission of the President. The President will sound his gong once to warn each speaker when the time allotted to him is drawing to a close, and he will sound it a second time when that period has elapsed; and should he consider that the speaker ought to cease speaking, the President will touch the gong again, when the speaker must, there and then, close his address.
6. Any Delegate, not selected, but who may wish to speak on any resolution, should send in his name and that of the Congress circle to which he belongs, legibly written on a piece of paper to the President, and may speak when called upon by the President to do so.
7. Any one wishing to propose any amendment to any resolution must send to the President a slip of paper containing the amendment, his own name and that of his seconder, as also the names of the Congress circles, to which they respectively belong; a similar slip should be handed to the Reporter.
8. Any one who wishes to propose a new subject for discussion by the Congress must give previous notice of it in writing to the President at the commencement of the sitting, with a copy of any resolution he wishes to propose, his own name, and the name of the Congress circle he belongs to.
9. No other business shall be brought forward before the Congress until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects' Committee have been disposed of.
10. But afterwards, if time permits, any Delegate, who shall have given notice in writing at the commencement of the sitting, to the President of his desire to have a particular subject discussed, or a definite resolution, which he sets forth, proposed, shall have a right to do so, and a Delegate who at any time previous to rising shall have given such notice may, with the permission of the President, rise and ask the President to take the sense of the assembly as to whether such a subject will be discussed. No speaking

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Rules for the
conduct of busi-
ness.

at this stage shall be allowed. The President will simply read out the subject and the proposed resolution and make any such remarks as he considers essential and take a vote of the assembly as to whether the subject shall or shall not be discussed. If the vote is in the affirmative, the proposer will then set forth the subject and the resolution he therein proposes with such explanations as he considers necessary, and then, after due discussion, the question will be disposed of in the usual way. If the vote is in the negative, the subject shall be at once dropped.

The President : I propose to allow ten minutes to proposers of resolutions and five minutes to seconders and other speakers. The first resolution will now be moved by Mr. D. E. Wacha.

Resolution I.
Frontier Policy.

MR. D. E. WACHA.

MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay, No. 53 on the list) :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen :—The resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows :—“That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the present Frontier policy of the Government of India is injurious to the best interests of the British Empire in general, and this country in particular, as it involves frequent military expeditions beyond the present limits of the British Indian Empire and causes great loss of valuable lives and public money ; and therefore entreats the British Nation to put a stop to this aggressive policy and to lay down that if such expeditions are found necessary, they being for Imperial purposes, the major portion of their expenses should be defrayed by the British Exchequer.”

This is a really threshed out subject. From the very date of its inception since 1885, we have discussed at almost every session of the Congress this question of military expenditure and the cost of the frontier wars arising out of the active prosecution of what is known as the “Forward Policy.” I doubt whether there has been a single sitting of the Congress when the subject has not been in one form or another discussed and perhaps no member of the Congress has spoken so often in great details on it as the person who is addressing you just now. (Cheers.) Thanks to the Chitral expedition and the recent events that have occurred in the Malakand Pass and in the Kurram Valley, we are once more constrained to express our opinion on this occasion, and that, too, in more emphatic terms than before. You are no doubt all familiar with the latest stages of what is called the frontier policy. Thanks to this policy, the whole public opinion of England has been aroused on the subject which in itself is a great gain, for, were it not for this particular expedition that has rivetted the attention of the world since July last and the heavy cost that it is going to entail on the Indian Exchequer, possibly, English opinion would not have been roused to the extent to which it has been. There is, however, one thing which I have pointedly to bring to your notice and it is this : that all the prophecies of the Congress in reference to military expenditure, the financial burdens that it entails on the country, and the evil consequences arising therefrom, have been slowly and steadily verified (hear, hear) ; so much so, that even the people of England are now appalled at the cost of the expedition following on the heels of what is now known to be the greatest famine of the century. That eminent member of the Cabinet, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Fowler and several other prominent members of Parliament have expressed themselves in favour of a contribution from the Imperial treasury towards the expenditure. You may, therefore, judge for yourselves how far the Congress deliberations and the prophecies on this subject have been verified. The Congress in many important matters, besides this, has vindicated itself from the date it was instituted to this day as could be seen from the events that have happened. Another point that I have to bring to your notice is this : That slowly and steadily the agitation of the Congress from year to year on some of the principal topics has borne and is about

to bear fruit. The agitation has had to be carried on for years together, sometimes under great difficulties, but it has eventually been crowned with success. Take, for instance, the Legislative Councils. It is we who agitated for their reform. It is our agitation that has led to their expansion since 1893. Similarly with the Punjab Legislative Council, with the Public Service, with the Royal Commission on the growth of expenditure, and other topics which the Congress brought to the notice of the Government during the past 12 years. Thus, our success in the past leads me to think that in the agitation that we are going to have at the present moment, we shall meet with similar good results. As they say, every evil has its good. The evils of famine and plague, combined with those of the costly expedition now going on on the frontier, have all brought in their train one good to us, and that one good is that the public opinion of England has been thoroughly aroused on the mischievous character of the forward policy. That fact is most significant. It means that we are nearing the first stage to success. (Cheers.) I need not travel over the same ground that I did in previous years. Yet I may briefly point out to you, what the principal causes are, apart from exchange—a secondary factor only,—which have led to the financial embarrassment of the Indian treasury for so many years past, particularly the embarrassment caused by the Military Department of the Indian Government. Firstly, under the Army Amalgamation Scheme, whereby Indian troops were amalgamated with the Queen's troops in 1859, India was made a joint partner with England in all army affairs, a joint partner surely but neither a predominant partner nor a partner who had any voice. No. India was simply coerced into a joint partnership with England without any voice in the management of the expenditure on her own army. This Amalgamation Scheme has been the fountain source of all the financial evils, which have since flown from it. It is to this ill-fated scheme of 1859, which was put into force against the united opinion of qualified experts of the day, that the country owes its present pecuniary condition. The second cause of all this appalling military expenditure that has gone on for the last 20 years is this precious "Forward Policy" which is now universally condemned. It originated in a minute based on a scheme of General John Jacob that was first submitted to Lord Canning's Government so far back as 1856 by Sir Henry Green, a distinguished Sindh Frontier officer, with reference to the policy the British Indian Government should adopt as regards the frontier *beyond* India's natural line of defence. The ultimate object aimed at was, of course, the absorption of the whole of the intervening tribal territories between India and Afghanistan which are the subject of so much attention at the present moment. It also aimed at the occupation of Afghanistan whenever the opportunity offered itself. It is historically inaccurate to say that this forward policy is of today or yesterday. There are records and blue-books; there are despatches and other State papers, which he who runs may read, showing that this forward policy is a *fixed* policy not of yesterday or of today, but one which dates, as far back as 1855. (Hear, hear.) It was in that year that General John Jacob, of Sind renown, seizing the opportunity afforded by the events of the Crimean war, had first framed his scheme, but the statesmanship of Lord Canning and the other gentlemen associated with him in the Government of the day put their foot on it; and so far General Jacob's minute was pigeonholed. But it was pigeonholed only for a time in order to be dragged out of its recess again and developed so as to be brought within the pale of practical politics by no less a person than Sir Henry Rawlinson, a dashing military officer who had served as Ambassador at Teheran, in Persia, of which he was greatly enamoured, of course, from the point of view of land grabbers. Earth hunger was as keen then as now. Sir Henry was a member of the India Council when he revised in 1865 the forward policy of General Jacob and Sir Henry Green. The principal point urged in that famous minute was that, owing to the advance of Russia near Central Asia, it was the duty of England also to make a move forward beyond the confines of Peshawar. It is this fatal minute which is bearing such evil fruit today. Most of you may be unaware of that minute of Sir Henry Rawlinson. It was

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Resolution I.
Frontier Policy.

Mr. D. E. WACHA.

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Resolution I.
Frontier Policy.

Mr. D. E. WACHA.

till lately buried in the ponderous tomes known as the Blue-books on Central Asia. But the forward policy has itself been instrumental in unearthing it. The Liberal Press has once more recalled it to public memory. I would strongly advise you, gentlemen and delegates, to read, mark and inwardly digest that minute in order to thoroughly understand the various phases of the forward policy originally sketched in 1856, developed for practical purposes in 1866, but actively carried into execution since 1876 when Quetta and Baluchistan were first acquired. It was in that year that Shere Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, was struggling with internal difficulties in his own dominions. Hence it was considered a most favourable opportunity by the Jingo party in power in England to seize it, make a move forward, and if possible to occupy Afghanistan. It was this party, at whose head was Mr. Disraeli, who invited Lord Northbrook, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to find a pretext for hostilities with the Amir. But His Lordship was a sagacious statesman who knew exactly what the invitation meant. He knew thoroughly well that once English soldiers put their foot beyond Peshawar there would be no halting. Step by step there would be an advance. Post after post would have to be occupied and fortified. The Government would be impelled to go forward and forward until none could say where it might be made to halt eventually. Lord Northbrook could easily forecast what the future of that policy would be. Hence when he was invited by Mr. Disraeli to find a *casus belli* with the Amir he courageously declined to do so and resigned office. He would, on no account, commit the people of India to so disastrous a policy. It is a pity that our present Viceroy, who is known to be a Liberal and a Home Ruler, should have failed to imitate the excellent example set to him by Lord Northbrook. (Hear, hear.) When the occupation of Chitral was ultimately resolved upon, he should have put his foot down on it as it practically meant another great move forward in the execution of the forward policy. He should have resigned his office saying, "I shall not have anything to do with it." It is a matter of regret he did nothing of the kind but cheerfully obeyed the mandate of Lord George Hamilton. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I need not wait to inform you that the real, active, forward policy began in 1876 and the first evil fruit of it was the Second Afghan war which cost 20 millions sterling. After that disastrous event the eyes of the people of England were opened and the Liberal Ministry of Mr. Gladstone came to our rescue by contributing five millions sterling towards that cost. (Cheers.) It also put a strong curb on that policy. But that check only lasted for a time. It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon that we had some breathing time. (Hear, hear.) It was he who extricated the country from the morass of financial embarrassment into which it was plunged by Lord Lytton's Government and once more put the whole of the Indian revenue and expenditure on a sound basis: so much so that when he left India, after having laid down his high office, the financial condition of the country was indeed all that could be desired. (Cheers.) He reduced taxation to the extent of three crores of rupees by remitting the duty on salt-tax, namely, making it Rs. 2 per maund; by abolishing all import duties save on arms and liquors; and by remitting other taxes which were known to be oppressive in certain parts of the Empire. In spite of this remission of 3 crores, Lord Ripon and Major Baring (now Lord Cromer) left the finances of India in such a healthy condition that the revenue balanced expenditure. But what happened afterwards? Lord Dufferin came and the policy was again put into motion. At first there was the Penjdeh scare which cost us 2 crores. But what followed that scare? The army was increased by thirty thousand troops of whom ten thousand were Europeans and twenty thousand natives. That has cost the country a permanent additional burden of 2½ millions sterling. Ladies and gentlemen, at this stage, I have to ask you to consider one important aspect of increased military expenditure. It is this: when that expenditure is increased it also adds to our sterling charges. The additional expenditure of 2½ millions sterling entails a further charge of exchange on the pay and pension of European soldiers and officers and all military and other requirements for which the military department relies on England

Our Home remittances are proportionately increased. With the increase of the Home remittances we have to incur a larger burden of exchange. Every pound added to the Home remittances means a corresponding additional charge for exchange, and in proportion to a lower exchange we have to pay more rupees for every pound sterling. This increased exchange, which is a corollary of increased military expenditure, further embarrasses our finances. The army was increased in 1885. But what was the first effect of that increase? We went to Burma and forcibly seized that province under a hollow pretext. It was really an invitation from the Rangoon and Manchester Chambers of Commerce. It was a mere delusion to talk of French intrigues. No. That was a pretext which has no solid foundation as the Blue-book on Upper Burmah plainly tells us. Upper Burma was acquired for purposes of trade. (Shame.) It was acquired because all the riches then dreamt of, including the ruby mines, may be carried away by British merchants. At the very first Congress held in Bombay we emphatically protested against this occupation of Upper Burmah and suggested that it might be made a Crown Colony independent of India. But it was never done. From that time forward Upper Burmah became a sort of white elephant to us. Although the military expenditure there has lately been reduced that new province has cost us 16 crores during the last 12 years. The province is not paying. A part of the revenue derived from Lower Burmah is applied to meet the cost of the administration of the Upper Province. And it is difficult to forecast when it will ever become paying. As soon as Upper Burmah was acquired and the dacoits—as the patriotic men who fought for their country's defence were absurdly called—were put down, a forward move was again made on the N. W. Frontier. Lord Roberts was the Commander-in-Chief. He is no doubt a popular soldier. He was the very first expert who had, sitting as a member of the Simla Army Commission, recorded his opinion, along with his colleagues, that for all purposes of internal defence and repelling external attack, fifty thousand soldiers were enough. But when he became Commander-in-Chief, he ignored his own deliberate opinion. He stultified himself. We entirely owe to his military ascendancy in the Imperial Council, which Lord Lansdowne was never able to check, almost all the financial evils from which we have been suffering. I need not travel over the history of the active forward policy during the last 12 years from 1885. I have here before me Parliamentary returns relating to the cost of the expeditions during the period. I will not refer to the details given in these returns. Suffice to say the expeditions have cost fully six crores, apart from the cost of the present one which is likely to exceed five crores. I may say that altogether from 1885 up to date our frontier expeditions have cost us well nigh eleven crores. Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to consider what these eleven crores mean. Suppose that these eleven crores had been saved, to what good purpose might the sum have not been applied? Why, the famine expenditure itself will not cost you eleven crores. We might have paid the entire famine expenditure and spent the balance on works of public utility like irrigation, education and so forth. Or, we might have saved the sum which would have diminished the borrowing to which the Imperial Government has lately been obliged to resort. If again you look at the military expenditure proper you will find that since 1886 the extra cost which it has entailed on this country amounts to thirty-three crores of rupees without exchange. The additional burden of military exchange, I may inform you, amounted in 10 years (from 1885 to 1894) to 14½ crores. How usefully might these thirty-three crores have been spent on objects of public utility? If not, we might have avoided all the enhanced and new taxation which has been imposed on this account and which aggregates twenty-two crores. These figures were all brought in evidence before the Royal Commission and they have not been contradicted. Had we not incurred this extra military expenditure there might not have arisen the necessity for raising a pie of that taxation of twenty-two crores. (Hear, hear.) In the first place the Government might have been able never to increase the salt duty. The increased duty has not yet been reduced,

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though promised from year to year. How can they when they want all the monies for the "forward rake"! Millions die of famine, many of whom rarely get a pinch of salt with their daily food. In a year of famine it is not necessary to tell you that salt is even more necessary than ever. They can find money enough for their frontier expeditions which have cost eleven crores in twelve years. But they never can find the two crores for remitting the enhanced duty on salt. (Shame.) I need not refer to the increase in the duty on petroleum. Neither should I wait to descant on the income tax and the heavy import duties. You are quite familiar with their history. Thus the situation at the present moment is indeed most critical. We have absolutely derived no advantage from these expeditions and from the increased army force. At the same time the country has gone backward and has just been able to extricate itself from the throes of a famine which is admitted to be the severest of the century. All other pressing domestic improvements have been hung up. Irrigation and other public works have been starved. So is education. So are other reforms. We have been crying for the separation of judicial from executive functions which would not cost, according to Mr. Jacob's evidence, half a crore, although that measure, if adopted, would confer the greatest boon on the people. Those who follow me, will no doubt inform you of what is now occurring for the one purpose of acquiring the barren rocks of the wild but independent tribes and of eventually absorbing the territory of the Amir of Afghanistan. We are spending crores of rupees which are an absolute waste. I call this waste criminal. (Hear, hear.) The expenditure is said to be incurred on securing British supremacy in the East. If that be so, those who wish to maintain it for Imperial purposes, must pay the expenses. The evils from which we are suffering are almost entirely owing to this so-called Imperial policy pursued for the maintenance of imperial interests. We have put forward our grievances on this subject from year to year, but it is a matter of regret that no attention has been paid to it. But as I said at the outset recent events have aroused public opinion in England and it is the duty of this Congress to educate and enlighten that opinion on the real state of matters. The Congress must strain every effort to discharge that duty. We have to bring to the notice of the British public how this forward policy has proved disastrous in every way, morally and materially, to the best interests of the country; how internal progress has been put back; how embarrassed have been our finances and how India is exhausted and unable to bear any further the heavy strain which may be out on its shoulders. In support of what I have observed, I would beg your leave before concluding, to read to you an extract or two from the pages of the "Nineteenth Century" for the current month. There is an article on this important subject, contributed by our late Finance Minister, Sir Auckland Colvin, than whom a stronger supporter of the Congress cause as regards the excessive growth of Military expenditure you cannot find. (Cheers.) You may remember that Sir Auckland Colvin has been persistently writing on this subject for the last four years. He wrote in 1894, in 1895, in 1896 and he writes again now. No retired official of his position and experience could speak with greater authority. In my opinion, we owe our heartfelt thanks to Sir Auckland Colvin for educating the British public on the real financial condition of India and the mischievous consequences of the forward policy which he did his best to avert when a member of the Government of India. (Hear, hear.) Sir Auckland Colvin observes as follows:—

"Taxation in India has in the last three years reached high water mark. So far as revenue has been kept abreast of expenditure, it has been only by reimposing taxation which had been taken off or by the addition of fresh fiscal burdens. I need not re-enter on the ground travelled over by me in previous years published in this Review in 1894 and 1895. The relief which may be hoped for from further improvement in exchange has almost reached the furthest limits which under the existing conditions of the currency

can be expected ; but insufficient as it is, is probably in excess of any relief which can be looked for were the mints to be reopened under the most favourable conditions. The artificial condition of the currency is a source of apprehension and of uncertainty to all alike, to the Government, to men of business, to the native bankers, and especially to all classes connected with agriculture—in other words, nine-tenths of the population. The resources of the country are drained temporarily by famine, the population harassed by plague, the relations of the Government and the people in more than one important direction are notoriously strained. There has never probably been a moment when India was less prepared to meet fresh financial obligations, or to add to its difficulties by embarking in enterprises of which the consequences to its finances, are likely to prove crushing though for the moment their full effect may not be apparent. It has been too much the custom in responsible quarters and men of either great political party in this country to speak in later years of the finances of India as though the political climate of India did not affect them. * * * * From 1838 to 1897, progress and advance beyond the Indus have always brought with them the arrest of progress to the east of it ; and it is on this account that leading natives of India, whether of the old and orthodox or the new University brand type so universally regard the present policy with disfavour. This too was the bedrock of Lord Lawrence's position. His strategic view may be open to criticism but his view of the strategical line to be adopted was a part only and not the most important part of his policy on this subject. No scheme of strategical frontier could be sound in Lord Lawrence's eyes which was not consistent with the progress of the country, the development of its resources and the contentment and loyalty of the people." (Cheers.)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think that those wise words of Sir Auckland Colvin will commend themselves to every unit of our population. Every one of you will, I take it for granted, agree with him that the relations between the rulers and the ruled are being strained and that our finances are being exhausted and drained by unfruitful expenditure and that Providence alone knows where and when it will stop. It is time therefore that at this critical juncture we once more raised our voice in condemnation of this forward policy and appealed to Great Britain that if this policy is to be maintained and not reversed, as we all earnestly desire, for maintaining British supremacy in the East, it is essential that in bare justice to India the cost of the expenditure arising out of that fateful policy should be borne to a large extent, if not wholly, by the British Treasury. (Applause.)

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (Madras, No. 8 on the list) :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to second this resolution and in doing so, I wish to add a few words to the eloquent and exhaustive speech that our distinguished friend Mr. Wacha has just made. He has said that the forward policy is not the Indian policy. It is not the invention of the statesmen responsible for the Government of India. It was imported from England. The true Indian policy was the policy of Lord Lawrence, a policy of masterly inactivity, a policy of prepared vigilance on the frontier and abstinence from all interference with the frontier tribes, a policy that was determined by a due consideration of the financial soundness of the Government of India, a policy founded upon the great truth that every policy which is not conducive to the prosperity and contentment of the people of India was unwise and impolitic. That is the true Indian policy. But this so-called forward policy we owe to the new Jingoism, the new military spirit, the new Imperialism of which the British people boast now-a-days ; and this policy has cost us an enormous drain of money. It has proved ruinous to the country. It has caused us enormous evil in more than one way. Not to speak of the enormous amount that has been spent in numerous expeditions beyond the frontier, it has, as Mr. Wacha said, practically put an end to all the improvements in the domestic administration of the country. This forward

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policy has absorbed all the funds available for the advancement of the people. You have read the estimate that has been formed by a very competent authority of the cost of these frontier expeditions. No less an authority than Colonel Hanna has said that these frontier expeditions have cost nearly seventy millions. Seventy millions have been literally flung away in the valleys and mountainous fortresses beyond the natural frontiers of India. Now remember, ladies and gentlemen, that the conquest of Burma is the continuation of the same policy and if you add that cost also the frontier policy has cost us a precious little sum of one hundred crores of rupees (Hear, hear)—a hundred crores of rupees in the face of famine and the numerous privations and sufferings which the people are chronically subjected to! Again in addition to the cost of the expeditions we have to estimate the cost which the continuation of this policy will entail. You may take it that wars and expeditions undertaken on or beyond the frontier will not end there. Once you enter into a war with these your supposed enemies, you will inevitably, in spite of your inclination, be led on to annex their countries and take upon yourselves the responsibility of administering them. Fancy, gentlemen, to the enormous cost of military expenditure already incurred will have to be added the cost of increasing the army which will be necessary if these frontier countries are to be occupied, and fancy also the enormous addition to the cost of carrying on the civil administration of these countries. Ladies and gentlemen already under the financial system of this country, the more settled and the more advanced parts of the country are made to pay for the progress of the less advanced and backward portions of the Empire. A great authority has said that these wars are undertaken in pursuance of that great sociological law, the law of evolution and the law of civilisation for crushing barbarism. Well, this may be a philanthropic mission indeed. But if that mission is to be undertaken by England, if the English people want to have that glory of crushing barbarism under the wheel of civilisation, let them pay for it. (Cheers.) They are welcome to do so, but not the poor half-starved Ramaswami of Madras. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Ramaswami of Madras has nothing to do with the civilisation of the Afridis or with the civilisation of the Pathans (a voice: "Not the Bengal Presidency either."). Nor the Bengal Presidency, you are perfectly right, nor I may add the peasant of Berar. What have we to do with the civilisation of the barbarians if they are barbarians living beyond the natural frontiers of India? It is enough if we pay for our own expenditure. There is a good deal to be done for the civilisation of our own people and their progress and why on earth should we be burdened with the cost of civilising the Afridis and the Pathans? (A voice: "Benevolence.") Let those who want benevolence pay for it. (Cheers.) What is the result of the forward policy? The result is, ladies and gentlemen, what 20 or 25 years ago was an Indian appendage, an Indian Empire, has ceased to be an Indian Empire; it is an Asiatic Empire. Burma and further border lands beyond the Hymalayas no more form a portion of India than Kamaschatka. The thrifty and the half-starved peasants of India are virtually paying for the Asiatic Empire. It is high time that this Congress do enter its emphatic protest against this frontier policy which has cost not only millions of money but is sure to cost much more in future and entirely absorb all the resources available for the good progress and advancement of the people. Therefore, after all, what is the practical result of this war that has been going on for several months? Are we sure that the great army of sixty thousand troops—well disciplined, valorous and superior—are we sure that this army has conquered these Pathans? Some say that Pathans have conquered the British army. (Laughter.) It is extremely doubtful and it looks as if they have to go on with another campaign of six months and Heaven only knows what that will cost. I am sure and you are all sure that if this forward policy were to continue, India will be absolutely crushed and there is no hope for India unless and until this forward policy is put an end to, knowing people say that it is not easy to induce the British tax-payer to pay for the cost of this expedition. If he will not pay and if the Indian people cannot afford to pay, how is this to go on? I have just read in a Bombay paper

that serious negotiations are being carried on to sell away our State Railways. What? Has it come to that? Has it come that the Government of India should sell away its State Railways in order to find the money to pay for this expedition? Nothing can be more shameful, more disastrous and more discreditable to the statesmanship and the good Government of this country. I will not detain you any further. With these words I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

MR. BOIKUNTHANATH SEN (Bengal, Murshidabad, No. 675 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen,—The resolution entrusted to me runs as follows:—“That in view of the fact that the calamities of famine and plague have dislocated the already seriously embarrassed finances of this country and crippled its limited resources, and that the military operations carried on, beyond the North-West Frontier, are for the protection of Imperial interests, this Congress prays that the British Parliament will, pending the settlement of the principle on which the military charges are to be apportioned between Great Britain and India, be pleased to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the present war.”

The first resolution which has just been adopted and this are rather of a cognate nature. A few observations by me by way of explanation perhaps will be quite sufficient. This is in fact a corollary as it were to the first. We believe in the poverty of India. Those who think otherwise and indulge themselves in the sweet idea of prosperity of India will, we hope, within a short time be convinced by the arguments and evidence which have been placed before them to change their opinion. The people of this country live from hand to mouth. Failures of two crops bring on famine. I won't go to the length of saying that the first touch of scarcity brings on famine. They are taxed very heavily. The Government of India with its income in round numbers of fifty millions has to meet the home charges by making a remittance of almost half of it. One-third again goes to meet the military expenditure. There is left a balance of about one-sixth for the internal administration of the empire, and you have already heard from the able mover of the first resolution how embarrassed the present position of the Government is with regard to the finances. You see then that the country is in an embarrassed condition with regard to its finances, that is the Government and the people taken together. The military operations beyond the north-western frontier are likely to cost a very large amount of money. No forecast or estimate can be accepted. We know from past experience with regard to the Afghan war and other wars how the estimates were originally made and what large amounts had actually to be spent from 2 to 31 in one instance, so that there is no knowing what the expedition that is going on now will cost us. Mr. Wacha says that it might cost us five crores, and I am not at all sanguine about that figure. It may be twenty. The Government is already in an embarrassed condition. The people are too poor to pay any further taxes. In ordinary circumstances, in the normally existing embarrassed condition of the finances the Government would not find sufficient funds to meet this military expenditure. But to our misfortune the normal condition of the finances has been disturbed by the appearance of calamities like famine and plague. The famine affected the agricultural and generally the land-owning interest altogether. The poor ryots could not reap their crops and the landlords also could not get their rents. There has been to a certain extent a diminution in the collection of the revenue too though inappreciable. Trade and commerce have been affected by the plague. It is not simply the affected area that has suffered, namely, Bombay and Punjab, but all other parts of the empire with which Bombay and Punjab had connection have suffered. So that the plague and the famine have again materially crippled the already embarrassed condition of the finances. The question is if the Government could not meet its demand for military expenditure under ordinary circumstances, while there is this abnormal condition introduced by these two

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calamities, how is the Indian Government to meet this little bill? There would be simply the necessity for developing its revenues. How is that possible? Practically it means imposing new taxes. The Government would be left no option. Ultimately the poor peasants throughout the empire will have to suffer. The famine-stricken people will have to pay. What will be the effect of all this? The Government will have to curtail its expenditure on subjects or rather objects which go to improve the intellectual, moral and material condition of the country. All these will have to be stopped. Consider again the interests for which the military operations have been carried on. In the resolution we find it stated that these operations are for the protection of the Imperial interests. This may be a controversial point because there are some who think that this frontier policy, that this aggressive policy is no aggressive policy at all but is absolutely necessary for the protection of India. Of course there is a difference of opinion. However, taking it for granted, that the policy adopted is right, there will undoubtedly come a time shortly before the Parliament to discuss this subject, because, if I mistake not, I believe it is section 55 of the Indian Government Act which provides that for expenditures on account of military operations beyond the limits of India proper the sanction of the Parliament will have to be received; so that the question whether this policy has been rightly followed or whether it has been wrongly followed will be a matter for discussion and debate in the Parliament. We are not concerned at present with the question as to whether it is a right policy or a wrong policy. The question is whether or not the military operations are for the protection of Imperial interests. Undoubtedly they are. Assuming that India is benefitted by these operations still are they not to extend the British rule to enlarge the Empire? These two objects will certainly be gained. Therefore the interest involved is of an Imperial nature. Such being the case, consider the fairness of payment by Indian peasants who have been living within the limits and boundaries of India proper and earning their livelihood by the sweat of their forehead. Consider these people being called upon and required to pay by the imposition of new taxes money for that which would benefit the British people. It is therefore but fair that the Imperial exchequer should make a substantial contribution if not pay the whole expenditure. If this war has been the result of a wrong policy we can claim that the whole amount ought to be paid by the Imperial exchequer. We would be quite content if the Parliament would order payment of a substantial contribution. This is a question on which perhaps we are not dreaming wildly. We remember the debates which took place during the Suakin expedition. Bearing in mind what passed then and bearing in mind also the evidence which has been placed before the Welby Commission, we certainly can entertain hopes that the Royal Commission would formulate certain principles according to which payment would be made proportionately in regard to the military operations of this nature. Pending this final settlement, what we pray is that, the Parliament may be pleased to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the present war. With these remarks I ask you, gentlemen, to adopt this resolution. (Cheers.)

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MR. JAISIRAM.

MR. JAISIRAM (Lahore, No. 650 on the list):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to second the resolution which has been read over to you by my predecessor. The grounds on which the apportionment of military charges between Great Britain and India is based are the calamities of famine which has recently prevailed in India and of the plague which is threatening all over the country; but assuming that there were no apprehensions of such calamities, I would still hold that we are entitled to a fair contribution from the English exchequer. For this, my grounds are these. The military operations in the North-western frontier are carried on in the prosecution of what they call the forward policy and this forward policy we have always deprecated. Secondly, the more you think the more you will find that this forward policy is being maintained and carried

on for the benefit of Great Britain and her people. Thirdly, I think that if Mr. Morley's theory of the breach of faith is correct—and I think there are reasons to believe that it is correct—there does not seem to be any reason why the Indian tax-payer should be held liable for the military charges of this expedition. Fourthly, there is also a precedent and that is the last Afghan war. Add to this the present financial situation and system regarding which facts have been summarised by Sir David Barbour. In one of his contributions he says :—

“The facts which I have brought to your notice may be briefly recapitulated—an eastern country governed in accordance with expensive western ideas; an immense and poor population; a narrow margin of possible additional revenue; a constant tendency for expenditure to outgrow revenue; a system of Government in India favourable to increase of and unfavourable to reduction of expenditure. No financial control by intelligent and well informed public opinion either in India or in England; an insufficient check on expenditure in India; a remote and imperfect control exercised from England; a revenue specially liable to fluctuations year to year and growing foreign payments.”

Gentlemen, we have always been complaining of the growing poverty of India. The recent famine has crippled our resources. The earthquakes have caused losses which are by no means inconsiderable. The war has already cost us many lives and our country is threatened by the plague, and under these circumstances I think that we are entitled to a fair contribution from the English exchequer. With these remarks I beg to second the resolution. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. S. M. DEO (Berar, Yeotmal, No. 546 on the list):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to propose the following resolution, and in doing so will explain in Marathi, for the benefit of those who do not know English what the previous speakers have said on the first two resolutions of which this is practically a part :—“That this Congress authorizes the President, to submit a petition to Parliament embodying the prayer contained in resolutions 1 and 2 under his hand on its behalf.”

Mr. S. M. DEO then addressed the meeting in Marathi and explained to them the reasons on which the demands made in the first two resolutions were based.

PANDIT SHYAM NARAYAN (Oudh, No. 652 on the list) in seconding the resolution addressed the assembly in Urdu.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (Allahabad, No. 655 on the list):—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The duty that has been allotted to me is to propose the third resolution which runs thus : “That this Congress rejoices that the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure was pleased to decide to admit the public to its proceedings and further desires to express its grateful acknowledgments for the opportunity afforded by the Honorable Commission to representative Indian witnesses to state fully the case on behalf of India. With regard to the 3 divisions of the reference the Congress desires most respectfully to submit the following prayers for the favourable consideration of the Honorable Commission.

- (i) As regards the Machinery to control Indian Expenditure, it is prayed—(1) that the non-official Members of the Viceroy's Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people, and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget; (2) that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be

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nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected Members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils, and (3) that each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to inquire into and report upon the financial condition of India ;

- (ii) As regards the progress of Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and the progress of the people, and that a large saving and a more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the public service ; and
- (iii) As regards apportionment of charge, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the Empire are involved ; and especially that the expenses of the present war beyond the frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Lastly, that it be an instruction to the President to submit a copy of this Resolution under his own signature to the Chairman of the Royal Commission with the least practicable delay."

Gentlemen, my task is easy. Every one of you who has either attended previous Congresses or who has studied Congress literature must be aware that this resolution only crystallises the opinions which have been repeatedly expressed at previous Congresses. Go through the reports of the Congresses of earlier years and you will find that almost every one of these propositions has been discussed at full length at previous sittings. Besides, the arguments necessary to support the prayers have been lately put forward so admirably and so fully by our honored friends, who appeared before the Royal Commission to give evidence on behalf of the Indian people, that it would be taking up your time unnecessarily were I to go into these reasons and explain those arguments. Gentlemen, you will perceive that, so far as the first prayer is concerned, regarding the machinery of control of Indian expenditure, at the very first sitting of Congress the question was discussed and there we desired the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State and asked for the appointment of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to control the expenditure of India in a better way than had been done. If to-day you are asked by this Congress to pass this resolution, it is only to put briefly in the form of a relief added to a complaint or petition, the case that you want the Commission to consider and also to put the stamp of your approval and to give your further support to all these resolutions which are scattered over the Congress reports of previous years. I hope that the fact of this resolution being passed by Congress to-day will further strengthen the hands of those honorable members of the Commission who are inclined—and I hope all of them are so inclined—to grant some concession, to recommend some measure of relief, in equity and justice, to the people of India in the matter of expenditure. (Cheers.) It will make it clear to them that the Congress representing the diverse provinces of India, representing at the least, to satisfy the most difficult mind, the most educated community of India, that this Congress supports this prayer in the best way it can. And if they want further to satisfy themselves of the constitution of the Congress, only in order that they may be better able to judge of the weight they should attach to these resolutions, let them look at the list of Delegates who have attended previous Congresses, and I am sure they will be satisfied that there is no province of India in which the very best portion of the educated community has not most strongly supported this resolution. (Cheers.) It is hardly necessary for me to detain you very long, but with your permission I will briefly say a few words before I resume my seat. You will admit that it is indisputable that the machinery to control Indian expenditure is at the best very defective and works very feebly so far as the interests of India are concerned. You know, gentlemen, that there is a clash of interests to a great extent. The Indian people are not represented in the Councils, either Executive or Legislative,

in the manner in which the British people are represented in the Parliament of England, so that they may have a voice in directing or controlling expenditure. The people who do form the Executive Council, the active portion of it are persons who are not the payers of taxes to use the words of the late Mr. Bright, but persons who are the spenders of the taxes,—both members of the Civil Service and of the Military Service. I do not mean to insinuate that they are reckless, that they are regardless of the interests of India. But when the question comes to be that they have to spend the money towards which they contribute but little, there is not the same anxious consideration shown as to how and when the money shall be found, as it would undoubtedly be if the money was largely to come out of their own pockets. There is further this difficulty that the House of Commons in England though nominally all powerful are practically powerless against them. Representations made against Government have failed in the past, have had very little effect. There is another instance which shows that the machinery is very feeble and is not sufficient to protect Indian interests. When you have other interests, which might be called the interests of the capitalists in England, you find that contracts have been entered into between companies for working this line or that line which has been proved to have been undertaken without due regard to the interests of India. In all this you will find that the machinery of control is very defective, and you have had lately a painful instance to support that view. Looking to the civil side of it only a few years ago you had an expenditure of a crore and a half of rupees added to the expenditure of the country in the way of exchange compensation allowance to the highly paid Civil Service of India. Gentlemen, is it possible that a proposal involving such a huge expenditure, at a time when the country could least bear it, could have been rushed through and carried out by the executive Government of any country in which the expenditure was properly controlled? And is there a single man who can deny that it was an act of great injustice to the people of India? With regard to the military side of the question, my esteemed friends, who have preceded me, have shown to you how burden after burden has been heaped upon the back of the poor Indian ryot—heaped without the least justification—by Burma being annexed to the Indian Empire, and by war being undertaken on the Afghan frontier,—the whole of this expenditure being laid upon the back of that poor Indian ryot. We protested in the strongest manner we could, at the very first Congress, as Mr. Wacha could say. We asked that if Burma should be annexed, England should defray the cost, and that Burma should be constituted a crown colony. But our voice was like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. And eighteen crores more were taken out of our revenues to meet the expenses of Upper Burma!! Then again, gentlemen, look at these frontier wars. These have been undertaken in the past and are being continued in the present without a due regard for Indian interests. On that point, however, I need not detain you longer, because we must be thankful that some of the great statesmen of the Liberal party in England have at last awakened to the seriousness of the situation, their liberal consciences have been stirred up, and I hope they will not rest satisfied until they obtain a reversal of that policy, which entails so much unnecessary expenditure on India and which has fearfully embarrassed the finances of this poor country. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, how is it that all this is going on under the otherwise generally speaking excellent administration of Great Britain? How is it that the money is so easily obtained? If a vote had to be obtained in the House of Commons for the borrowing of a crore of rupees there would be a discussion and a division in the House and the Ministers would have to give cogent reasons why the borrowing was necessary. Here the Government of India and the Secretary of State might decide at any moment to launch a loan of four or five crores of rupees. The borrowers find it easy enough to be extravagant. Those who have to find the money to save the money out of their own real income find it hard to spend more than their means justify. And so it is that the facility of borrowing and the absolute absence, I might say practically speaking, of any check upon the borrowing tendency of the Government of India which is sometimes

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supposed to be a matter of congratulation, but in this instance happens to be somewhat of a curse—I say that the facility with which the Government of India can borrow and the absence of any check have led them to multiply our national debt ever so large that now we stand indebted to over hundred crores. Gentlemen, if there were a discussion in the Council and we were permitted to question whether this loan was necessary or whether some of these things should not be put off for some time and whether the expenditure should not be curtailed in some other way, perhaps the necessity of borrowing would not be so great as it seems to be to the Government of India at present and perhaps the debt of India would not have multiplied so fast as it has in the past. Now coming to the civil aspect of the question, gentlemen, I have already referred to the exchange compensation allowance; I have already referred to the growth in military expenditure, and when you look at the total figure you find that it has been growing enormously. But has there been a proportionate increase in the capacity of the people to bear an increased taxation? Has there been a proportionate increase in the national income of the people of India? I wish there had been. If there had been a proportionate increase in the tax-paying capability of the people of India, no one would have rejoiced more than ourselves to find that it was so and no one would have been more glad than the Congress people and the people of India generally to contribute whatever was necessary to carry out the administration of the country in the most efficient manner. (Cheers.) Unfortunately, gentlemen, while our taxation has been multiplying by leaps and bounds, while our debt has been growing enormously, there has not been that increase in the national income which we might have expected under the rule of Great Britain. Coming then, gentlemen, to the proposals put forward to supply a check, what are they? Are they reasonable? Or would they hamper the Government in carrying on the administration of the country? I ask our strongest opponent, if there be any in this hall, to give this matter the closest consideration and to consider for himself, to ask his conscience whether the proposals that we put forward are not moderation and reasonableness themselves. What do we say? We say “make the members of the Council of the Viceroy of India more directly representative of the Indian people.” Just now you nominate them after they have undergone a very diluted process of election by a very small number of the members of certain Boards. We say “make them more directly representative”—we do not put forward any scheme—“in the best way you think proper, but do make them more representative.” You have them there, you must have them there, now that the Act has been passed. We only ask that they should have a better claim to speak in the name of the Indian people and that the people may have more confidence in them than they can now have under present circumstances by asking them to make them more directly representative of the people. Suppose this proposal is carried out, would the Government be hampered in carrying on its work? The official majority will always be strong in the Council; Government having the official majority will be able to carry out every proposal that it thinks it must in the interests of the Empire. And all that we would be entitled to do is to vote and to divide the Council. What would be the result, gentlemen, think for a moment, when Government know that these members of the Council have power to divide and discuss and vote in that fashion. All unsound proposals, at any rate all proposals the soundness of which and the necessity for which will not be supremely clear, would be kept back by the Government of India. Those only would be brought forward, as a rule, speaking generally,—some at least of those proposals that are so easily put forward and rushed forward, will not be rushed forward so easily and the Government will keep them back—those only will be brought forward that must be carried. They will undoubtedly be carried if the Government decide that they must be carried because they will have the official majority; but in the majority of instances the fact that the additional elected members of Council have recorded a vote against them have entered their protest and have divided the Council would exercise a very salutary check on the Government of India (cheers), and

would be very effective as a control. Then, gentlemen, what do we ask? Next we ask, that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State. You remember that times without number we asked for the abolition of that Council, we asked "if you don't abolish it, improve it, either end it or mend it." If you don't end it, pray mend it. As it stands it does so very little good, and I am sorry to say, as we believe, does us a lot of mischief. We ought to have one or two or more representative Indians, men like our esteemed friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (cheers) and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (loud and continued applause) who command the confidence of the entire people of India and whose presence there will be a guarantee that the Indian side of the question will be fairly and fully placed before the Council before it decides to take any definite action. It cannot be said that we cannot supply men who can usefully serve on the Council when I have given you these two instances. Then we suggest that a Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed. You can understand the importance of such a proposal. The report of such a Committee to the House of Commons will carry great weight in any recommendations that it may make, and the members of the House of Commons who cannot, as matters stand, give that attention and interest to Indian questions which our real welfare demands they should, will certainly be able to look at the report of the Select Committee and all the salient points will be easily and effectively discussed in Parliament to the great good of India and England too. Gentlemen, as regards the progress of expenditure, one thing that we recommend is that the unproductive expenditure should be reduced. Need I say anything to support that view? Who will say that such unproductive expenditure should be carried on, as it has been carried on in the past, while a reform of such urgency which would lead to the well-being of the people, as the separation of the executive and judicial functions or a reform of even greater emergency than that, *vis.*, the education of the poor of the country, is neglected and ignored practically. Considering the amount that is spent on frontier policy and on other matters, the amount spent on education is but a trifle. Who would say that the Government of India should not divert its attention to this question and spend more money upon this than it has done in the past? We say that a larger saving and more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the public service. Gentlemen, I do not know that I need dwell at great length upon the subject, but there are a few points connected with it which I beg of you to allow me to place before you. We have been so long under British rule. No honest Indian who has not lost his head can fail to recognise and freely acknowledge the great blessings that we have enjoyed, do enjoy under British rule. (Cheers.) But at the same time the education, that the British people themselves have imparted to us, and for which we feel thankful and for which they need not feel sorry—that same education has enabled us to understand many questions. The Government have lifted us to a certain level, but some people want to keep us hanging in the air. So we say to Government let us go up. Some Anglo-Indians wish that we should go down. But the English principles of constitutional Government are too strong to permit of that course being followed. We say "pull us up a little bit and we shall be more thankful and more loyal." Now what do we find? In these matters of service you find that during these many years numerous proofs, which can be seen in any direction that any man might throw his eyes upon, have been afforded of the loyalty, the deep-abiding loyalty, both of the princes and the people of India. (Cheers.) The Government are fully satisfied that the native army is loyal. Let us begin with that. Government have had a splendid proof of the loyalty of the brave Sikhs and of other soldiers that have been fighting on the frontier. The Government and the whole English-speaking world, the civilised world which has read accounts of the valorous deeds of the twenty-seven Sikhs who died at Sheergon (cheers), have generously and justly given the due measure of praise to the valorous Sikhs and other soldiers who have fought and died there for the glory of the British Crown. Now, gentlemen, we are happy to

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know that there is a universal feeling amongst Anglo-Indians and Indians also that the memory of these deeds should be properly perpetuated. I do not think that there can be any better course adopted to do that than to recognise that henceforward these restrictions which prevent Indians of merit in the army from rising to the topmost ladder of the service shall be no more; let it be remembered that these twenty-seven Sikhs who died at Sheergon have with their blood sealed the doom of that policy which prevents Indians who have served their sovereign and their country right loyally and valorously from rising, as European members of the service do rise, to the higher grades of the military service. (Cheers.) I am sure that any other recognition or reward of that merit, pardon me for saying so, becomes trifling so long as this has not been done. Gentlemen, that much for the native army. I must now be brief, for I have already trespassed a good deal upon your attention. Gentlemen, coming now to the Civil Services: In the Civil Service of the country you find that a great bulk of the work, the most important work, is carried on by Indian Agency. Government trust us with all that. It is only at the head of the district, it is only at the head of an executive body, that they insist upon having a European member in most instances. We say "is not the century of English rule during which you have entrusted us with your secrets, during which we have helped you to carry on the administration of the country to our good and to your glory, enough to satisfy you of the fidelity and trustworthiness of the natives who have received education and whom you have appointed to these services." If this is not so, then I say it is a very sad commentary upon the English rule in India. I claim it has been so, it is proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Indians to whatever posts they have been appointed, whether as High Court Judges or as Commissioners of Divisions or as Collectors of Districts or holding any other responsible situations, have been true to their salt and sovereign, they have acted as gentlemen of education and position as any European gentlemen of education and position would have acted under such circumstances. Where then is the justification, where then is the excuse for keeping up this state of things? Why not permit Indians more freely to join the service and to rise to the top, if they show the necessary merit and qualification for it. The result would be largely to the good of India and greatly to your glory. There would be a great saving effected in the administration of the country. So well informed a writer as Sir William Hunter has said that the interests of the administration demand now a larger substitution of the Indian element for the European. The money is not forthcoming, you have exhausted the resources of the country and if you go on paying for the services of European members of the service at the high rate you do and if you go on multiplying their number and thereby multiply the liability for exchange compensation, you will find that you will become bankrupt one day if you are not already far from it. Therefore people have suggested wisely that you should substitute a larger Indian element in the administration of the Empire. I need not dwell upon the other branches of administration. But is it at all becoming to the high civilisation of Great Britain, is it at all besitting, is it at all compatible with, the enlightened Government which has obtained for centuries in Great Britain, that the British Government should have to be told to take a leaf out of the pages of the great Mogul Emperor, to find a parallel for these things? Is it necessary for us to tell them that under the rule of Akbar & Todar Mall was appointed Finance Minister and a Birbal was appointed Governor? If these things happened in the days of Akbar, why should not they happen in the time of a far greater sovereign than Akbar—the great Queen-Empress of India? Well, gentlemen, I must close now. The third portion of the resolution is that which relates to the apportionment of charges. About that I need not say much; because several Members of Parliament and other influential men in England have already expressed the opinion that military and other charges should be borne partly by India and partly by England. Let me ask you one question. What prevents all these reforms from being carried out? I say the demon of distrust. I say lay him low. We ask our rulers

to do it. You will find that the weapon forced by the gentle hand of the Government and noble Queen of England, forced 40 years ago when she wrote out that Proclamation upon which we take our stand—the weapon is gentle and it will certainly destroy that demon of distrust, if you will only carry out the policy that was inaugurated by the Queen of England in the year 1858. If you honestly give effect to these pledges which Her Majesty gave us after the Mutiny, I am sure all this distress will give way and you will find the rulers will be able to repose greater trust in the people. Trust will beget trust which will add to the affection of the people and will add generally to the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants of the empire; and the glory to England will be great. England has begun with trusting the people; it began to trust us when it began to educate us, and now having trusted us for such a long time, having placed nearly three-fourths of the civil administration in our hands, having appointed us so largely to the army; acting upon that trust which has never yet been betrayed and which never shall be betrayed, does it become England now to ponder and say that it is not proper to employ Indians in the higher ranks of the service? Do away with distrust. Act upon the principles laid down by the Queen, and you will find that these principles will lead to great prosperity of the people, the curtailment of expenditure and to the enlistment of Indians in the higher grades and the stream of mutual good-will among the people and among the rulers and the ruled will flow more to the greater happiness of both and will lead to all those feelings of distrust, sometimes of desperation being done away with, which just now hamper the hands of Government and so much hamper the educated Indians. (Loud and continued applause.)

BABU HIRENDRĀ NATH DUTT (Bengal, No. 671 on the list):—Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the third resolution which has been commended to your acceptance in such an eloquent speech by Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya. You will find that the resolution makes reference to the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure. You know, gentlemen, that our experience of Commissions in the past has not been a very pleasant one, for the most part these Commissions have ended in smoke or at most they have laboured and brought forth a mouse, so that we are led to believe that what the late Lord Beaconsfield said about Commissions is true, *viz.*, that when there is a public clamour about any question, appoint a Royal Commission to silence it (laughter), as if to say that if Cerberus is howling throw a sop to him and the clamour will be silenced. But in the present case we are led to hope that substantial good will result from the labours of the present Royal Commission. You know Mr. Caine, who is one of the members of this Commission, when he came out to India and attended the last session of the Congress, assured us that the labours of the present Commission would show a result in the saving of a crore and a half to Indian revenue, and only the other day the Right Hon'ble Mr. Leonard Courtney, himself a member of the Royal Commission, speaking to his constituents, said: "It was no false anticipation to say that they (referring to the Royal Commission) would confirm the belief that India was an extremely poor country and the difficulty of raising revenue to meet the expenditure was one pressing always upon the Indian Government and at the present time pressing more seriously than ever." So that, here is an important admission, and I am led to believe that it has been extorted by the convincing case that our trusted representatives were able to make out on behalf of India, when giving evidence before the Royal Commission. (Cheers.) Coming now to the resolution itself, you will find that it is divided into three heads. The first has reference to the machinery to control Indian expenditure, the second to the progress of expenditure and the third to the apportionment of charges between India and England. So far as the third head is concerned, I do not think I need say one word about it because it has been exhaustively dealt with by the previous speakers. As to the first—I mean the machinery controlling Indian expenditure—I think I may safely say that there is no effective means of control

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at the present moment. There is, of course, the nominal control of the British House of Parliament, but you know that the Indian budget is, as a rule, discussed at the rag end of the session and then before empty benches. Then there is the Secretary of State and his Council, a Council made up for the most part of retired Anglo-Indians with their prejudices against the Indians, so that the Secretary of State and his Council generally say ditto to all that the Government out here does and sanctions. Then you have the Viceroy himself and the heads of the departments, but even in this instance I will quote for your information what a late Finance Minister, Sir Auckland Colvin, said when giving evidence before the Royal Commission. He says that the Government of India do not pay sufficient attention to what may be the financial results of the measures they adopt. So here you have an explicit statement by a late Finance Minister that the Government of India itself is helpless to control the expenditure of Indian revenue. The fact is that there is this military clique which rules at Simla and that it is their voice which is predominant. What we propose in the resolution is that certain reforms should be carried out in this respect which would ensure sufficient control being exercised over the Indian expenditure. In the first place we say that the non-official members of Council may be made more directly representative and that they should have the right to move amendments and divide the Council. You know, gentlemen, that at the present moment the discussion in Council, especially with regard to the budget, is more or less of an academic nature; it results in no substantial good either to Indian people or to the Government itself, so what we propose in the resolution is that honorable members should have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the budget. The good that would result from this proposal being carried out would be this: that whereas so far as the Government is concerned it would have its standing majority and that would serve as a sure expedient against its being defeated upon any of its measures, so far as the people are concerned you would have the focussing of the Indian opinion upon particular items of expenditure, so that in future when such expenditure is again incurred, the Government would be more careful in bringing it before the Council. With regard to the second recommendation that we make, it is this: that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. You know that the present Secretary of State, when lately interpellated in Parliament on this matter, admitted that this was a desirable consummation and that he was prepared to give effect to it, but that there was a great dearth of representatives to serve on the India Council. We say that that is not true. The eloquent mover of the resolution pointed to two names which you received with acclamation, and which showed that in your opinion as in my opinion there are experienced representative Indians who may very well represent us on the Indian Council. Besides these gentlemen that have been named, there is Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, a retired Commissioner, now residing in England. So that by giving a place to representative Indians the Secretary of State would be able to ascertain at first hand the native opinion on any particular topic and would be able to benefit by it. Thirdly, we ask that in each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to enquire into and report upon the financial condition of India. It has been said that Parliament is a deaf and dumb god but our faith in Parliament is great, and we believe that if a Select Committee be appointed it would serve our purpose of effectually controlling Indian finances. With these words, gentlemen, I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

MR. A. C. PARATHASARATHY NAIDU (Madras, No. 11 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution I am asked to support is a resolution of resolutions. It is an embodiment of more than one resolution, which ought to have been dealt with separately. Perhaps for pressure of time all the three have been merged into one, and in endeavouring to support it, one is required to conserve all his energy to bring his arguments to bear upon all the three items involved in it. I shall therefore, ladies and gentlemen, proceed to support it, in a manner that I may cover the resolution fully within the short time at my disposal. There is an old adage which says, 'where there is a fault there is a halt.' That our rulers should shut their doors against those wishing to have an insight into their doings suggests the question: are they faulty in their deeds? Presumption says that a Government ruling with sword and scales of justice is faultless. Then the question—why do they in certain cases try to conduct their proceedings in closed chambers, disallowing the public from taking part in their deliberations—is naturally suggested. Perhaps they have taken a peculiar fancy for the *purda-nashin* system. (Laughter.) Since they have thrown away their veil, perhaps under the warmth of the press pourings, we must, according to this resolution, thank our rulers. The fact of their allowing Indian witnesses, pay their fare to and fro, and give them a supply of warm clothing, is really worthy of our thanks, and while thanking let us hope that the result of the deliberations of the Royal Commission shall enlist the warmth of the Commissioners as readily as the supply of warm clothing against the cold of England. In all such Commissions all along official opinion prevailed and the concessions granted, namely, enrolling our honoured leaders like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and others as members of the Commission and inviting Indian witnesses to give their evidence are not unworthy of our thanks. We, the people of India, are traditionally known as a loyal and grateful nation. For the smallest favour shown to us, we are wont to show our gratefulness, and therefore for such a large favour we shall, as in duty bound, ever feel grateful. Forward policy or frontier war is justified by our rulers with the excuse that it is for our safety. That it is *not* needs no demonstration. By waging war against the tribes, innocent and ignorant tribes, our rulers incur their displeasure. They are a class of faithful men and once their enmity is incurred, our safety will be endangered, rather than insured. Therefore it is impolitic to hunt after the tribesmen of the frontier. Keeping them under subjugation and conserving a large force on the frontier are considered necessary to prevent an aggression on India by a foreign nation. I would suggest the desirability of avoiding these precautions, to allow the Russians to pounce upon India, then our Congress Volunteers and our Talimkhana Vustads with their *latties* will turn our enemies by their masterly dexterous handling, without the need for Martini rifles. (Cheers.) Why? How did Arjuna or Bhima wage war? The former with his bow and arrows (*Dhanushya*) and the latter with his *Gada* (club) achieved success against the overwhelming forces of the Kurus. Therefore, gentlemen, it is clear that the money spent on wars is a waste. The items of forward policy swell to such an extent that many useful items in the budget are dropped for want of funds, which become elastic for wasteful purposes. The claims of educational advancement such as technical, commercial, and industrial are lost sight of. Japan, for instance, gets her sons trained in Belgium and other European countries, and derives great benefit therefrom, not to say she is far more advanced in arts and industries than India. What is wasted in wars if spent in the establishment of such schools, and if our countrymen are trained similarly, our country may boast of being the producer of best cotton and hides. Now all our cotton and hides are exported to foreign countries, and when imported they assume new names, as *Viloyatee Ohumbda* and *Seemai Cheeti*. The curtailment of war expenses and the drafting largely into public service of native talent which has abundantly proved to be not a whit inferior, will leave a large surplus. As to the apportionment of charges, I consider it absolutely necessary that England should bear a large

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share. Though Burma was conquered, it is being utilised for the benefit of Englishmen, for, they are largely drafted into that country and they are the people that are benefitted by the Burman annexation. And yet, India should be called upon to pay for Burma is really unjust. As to the Viceroy's Council members being more representative, I have to state that, at present, the nominated officials are classed as non-officials as well as the elected, and consequently the elected—really non-officials—are placed under a great disadvantage in returning a proper representative to the Viceroy's Council. And the position of such returned representatives is really not enviable. In discussing the budget they have no voice to move amendments on the budget allotments. I would rather advocate the abolition of the State Secretary's Council. But, as such a time is not near, it is necessary that experienced and respected gentlemen of India should sit in the Council of the Secretary of State. When I say respectable gentlemen, pray do not understand me to mean gentlemen like Mr. Bhowanaghere. (Hisses.) Regarding the necessity of a Parliamentary Commission being appointed to report upon the fiscal condition of India, I would strongly urge its need and point out that while a Commission is appointed to inquire into and report upon the financial condition of England, India's financial condition should be left unaudited and unreported upon is unjust. It was in vogue in the good old days of the John Company, and therefore a prayer of the Congress for its renewal now is not unjust. With these remarks, I support the resolution and commend it for the unanimous acceptance of the Congress assembled, in view to its being communicated with the President's signature to the Royal Commission with the least practicable delay. (Cheers.)

MR. KESHAORAO JOSHI (Nagpur, No. 610 on the list) then addressed the meeting in Marathi in support of the resolution.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President: Gentlemen, the next resolution runs thus:—"Omnibus Resolution—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—"

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

And this Congress, concurring with its predecessors, records its protests:—

(a) Against the scheme of reorganisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, even those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Education Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, (the words of the Resolution being "In future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department

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will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial Service") advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

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

(c) Against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, appealing to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected.

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

And this Congress, also concurring with its predecessors, expresses its firm conviction :—

(a) That in the interests of the public the Medical Science and the Profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, (1) there should be only one Medical Military Service with two branches, one for the European Army and one for Native troops, worked on identical lines ; (2) the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with due regard to the utilization of indigenous talent, other things being equal ; and (3) there should be a thorough open inquiry into the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants with a view to the redressing of long standing anomalies and consequent grievances.

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

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

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

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

These resolutions have been thoroughly discussed at the previous Congresses ; and it is deemed unnecessary that proposers and seconders should put them before you formally. It has been suggested that they may be placed before you from the chair. I shall only ask one Marathi speaker to explain the gist of these propositions to those who do not understand English and shall afterwards take your votes upon the propositions.

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MR. V. H. KARANDIKAR (Berar, No. 98 on the list) then addressed the meeting in Marathi, explaining the propositions moved by the President.

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

The President : The next resolution runs in these terms :—

“That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, *viz.*, Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest, and Accounts, both in India and in England. This Congress would once again respectfully urge on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people and as the only adequate fulfilment of the pledges made to them.”

This resolution has also been discussed at the previous Congresses and adopted by them. It has been deemed unnecessary that it should be placed before you formally by a proposer and a seconder. I shall accordingly put it to the vote.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President : The next resolution runs as follows :—

“That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department gagging the Press in Territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, again enters its emphatic protest against the same and urges its cancellation without delay.”

I shall put this also to the vote.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President : It is now 2-30 p.m., and the Congress will adjourn for an hour.

The Congress re-assembled at 3-30 p.m.

The President : Mr. Adam will move the next resolution.

MR. JOHN ADAM (Madras, No. 5 on the list) who was received with loud cheers, said :—Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—The resolution which I have to put before you is worded as follows :—“That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the policy of government in provinces where the settlement of land revenue is periodical in reducing the duration of the settlement while enhancing its amount, and expresses its firm conviction that in the interests of the country it is absolutely necessary that the land revenue in such provinces should be permanently settled.”

Now, gentlemen, this is a resolution which has been spoken to so often and so exhaustively before this Congress that it might, like some of its predecessors, have almost been put from the chair without speech; and I am sure if that had been the case it would have met with your most hearty approbation. But the resolution is differentiated to a certain extent in this way that the evil is not what I might call a stationary evil but is an evil which is getting worse and worse as time goes on. Year after year the Government in various parts of the country are making their settlement operations more harsh and more severe, they are neglecting more and more the principles which have been laid down for their guidance by their great predecessors and they are causing the revenue demand to

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press more and more harshly upon the great bulk of the population. Therefore, perhaps, it is necessary that some few words at least should be uttered in support of this resolution so as to mark out its special importance. Fortunately as I have said it does not require many words, and also fortunately for me it is not a subject which lends itself to or demands very great eloquence. It is rather a dry subject which when it comes to be discussed in a speech requires for its full elucidation the entering into a mass of details which would be quite out of place here and which very few people who have not made a special study of the subject are able to understand. But the subject is one that can be understood by everyone. Its true eloquence lies in this that it touches the hearts and the stomachs of the great masses of the population of this country. (Hear, hear.) That is the kind of eloquence which is not confined to the Congress pandal but which enters into every home in the country, however poor that home may be; and not only does it thus personally affect every individual but, as we know, it is very largely responsible, if not wholly responsible, for the continual poverty and the ever-recurring fits of extreme misery which unfortunately afflict this country and especially the agricultural portion of it. In saying so I am in a fortunate position. I cannot be accused of saying anything which is chimerical or speculative or fanciful or prompted by any intent of unduly criticising Government or the policy of any portion of the administration, because I only say what has been uttered and repeated in the most emphatic words as true by until within a few years ago, I think, I may safely say, every statesman who has had to rule and govern the interests of this Empire; and not only by those whom we may call Indian Statesmen, for their expressions of policy have been approved, as we know, by the statesmen who have in England been assisting and guiding them in the administration of the country. I can hardly be accused of making extreme statements, or of urging as I have said, what is chimerical or speculative, when I am only repeating the words of men like Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, Sir Thomas Munro and Elphinstone, Wellesley and Canning, to have no more. Everyone of these great men and a host of others have over and over again in the most emphatic way repeated the expression of their opinion as to the want of a permanent settlement being the cause of the great evils which afflicted the masses of the population, and they have over and over again declared that the only safe, the only sound, wise and statesman-like policy for this country is to introduce throughout the whole of it principles of permanence of demand and fixity of tenure for the agricultural population. (Cheers.) As you know the question of permanent settlement was first pressed by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth. Here, I wish to utter this caution. There will be always a great deal to be said and much criticism offered as to the special details of any particular settlement, as to what parties ought to be settled with, what the amount ought to be and what the rules guiding it ought to be; there may be differences of opinion, there have been differences of opinion as to these; but there never has been any difference of opinion that the guiding principle of all should be permanence: that alone it is that can give confidence to the people. I quote you two sentences only of Sir John Shore, which show the principles upon which the first real British rulers of India were guided in that respect. He says "to render the value of what we possess permanent, our demands should be fixed." That was the first great principle, and he further says: "It is allowed that a considerable degree of inequality is a less evil than a very great degree of uncertainty." Those were the principles which he and Lord Cornwallis carried out. Lord Cornwallis said—I hope you will excuse me for just quoting one or two of his sentences—"The attention of Government ought therefore to be directed to render the assessment upon the lands as little burdensome as possible; this is to be accomplished only by fixing it." With reference to the Bengal settlement, there is a curious point to which I would call your attention because it is often used as an argument by those who are opposed to permanent settlement. They say Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore were themselves at variance upon certain points in connec-



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tion with the settlement and that argument is used for the purpose of leading those who do not know anything about the real facts to believe that there was some difference of opinion between them as to whether settlement should be permanent or not. But the fact was this: that the cause which led Sir John Shore to differ, to some extent, from Lord Cornwallis was only in respect to this, namely, as to the time at which and the circumstances under which the settlement should be made permanent, and the reason was this; as he states himself, that he was afraid that if the settlement was made permanent at that time with their imperfect knowledge, they would find afterwards *that they had inflicted on the country the misery of a rack-rent*. What Sir John Shore believed was that Lord Cornwallis was going too quick and that if this permanent settlement were made on that particular date they would find out afterwards, not that they had assessed the people too low and that they would be sorry that they could not raise the demand afterwards; but that they had assessed them too high and would be in the unfortunate position of being enabled to reduce the demand only after causing much misery. (Cheers.) That shows the principles by which those men were influenced. Passing over a long period of history I shall only trouble you with the opinions of two more who come at the other end of the line. It was in 1862 that we had the last great pronouncement upon this principle and as to what occurred there and as to what Lord Canning said. I do not think that I can do better than read to you, if you will allow me, two or three lines from an admirable little work which I hope everyone of you here who has not read will read—"England and India," by our friend Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt. (Cheers.) He says with reference to the period of 1862:—

"A terrible famine desolated the North-Western Provinces of India in 1860. Such relief as it was possible to organize was organized; and when the calamity was over, the new Viceroy tried to seek out the true preventive for such calamities. To an earnest and sympathetic administrator like Canning the true remedy revealed itself at once. He remarked that at each recurring land settlement the Government could increase its demand from the produce of the land. He marked that the extension of cultivation and improvement in the prices of crops could not, under such a system, benefit the Indian tenant as it would benefit the British farmer. He comprehended that under this system the people of India could save nothing, and could have nothing to fall back upon in years of bad harvest. And he had the courage to recommend that the Permanent Settlement, which had proved so beneficial to the people of Bengal, should be extended to other parts of India."

That was the matured opinion of Lord Canning seventy years after the Bengal permanent settlement and the continued experience of the administrators of the country. And in connection with it I would only ask you to listen to the words of the Secretary of State himself Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Viscount Halifax, in answer to the despatch of Lord Canning. Viscount Halifax writing as Secretary of State in July 1862 says:—

"After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue, not only to those immediately concerned 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 be hereafter fulfilled is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to insure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country."

I am sorry to have to trouble you with these quotations, but on a great subject like this I feel—you will agree with me—that our position is enormously strengthened when we can support ourselves by the opinions of men such as those from whose writings I have

quoted. Unfortunately a considerable change has since 1862 come over the policy of the Government of India and the Home Government with reference to fixing permanently the revenue settlement of the country, and we are now told, and told by a responsible authority, one who may be called almost the official exponent of the views of the Government on this point, Mr. Baden Powell, in his work on the Land Tenures of India, that it has now been demonstrated that not thirty years or twenty years but twelve to twenty years is about the best and most satisfactory period of settlement. So that from permanency we have come down to a period of twelve years. We had come to think that thirty years was perhaps the very minimum and we were beginning to be almost thankful for it, but this is what we are now told, and we know that in settlements that have taken place recently, those who are settled with are not even to be guaranteed any fixed time for settlement, but are told that probably twenty years will be the very maximum period of settlement, but they must not depend even on that. It is impossible on a subject like this to range over the whole of India, so if you will allow me I will just mention in a very few words what has occurred in the Districts of India with which I am best acquainted, the Madras Presidency, which as you know has a Ryotwari settlement, in which the period of settlement has hitherto been thirty years, and which is now undergoing the severe process of resettlement, as the Government of Madras calls it, upon strictly scientific principles.

It was in 1883 only that the Secretary of State in a despatch to the Government of India announced that any idea of a permanent settlement throughout the whole of India must be formally abandoned. That we know now, but very few people seem to have known it at the time and curiously enough the Madras Government itself seem to have been in total ignorance of the fact that the Secretary of State had laid down such a principle. At least it was ignorant until the year 1895. Up till that date the Government of Madras were fully under the impression that the old principles which had regulated the idea of settlement still existed and that their own settlement which was then in existence and which was then about to be renewed was permanent so far as the value and classification of soils was concerned, and that the only alteration they could make in the future would be in reference to the grain prices. In 1889 the Government of Madras in answer to a representation which had been made to them by a Committee which had been sitting upon agricultural subjects, impressing upon Government the value of permanent settlement, wrote as follows:—

“The recommendation that legislation should be undertaken for the purpose of defining authoritatively the status of the ryot need not be noticed at length, for it is made under a misapprehension of the real fact. . . . Nor has the Government any intention of revising the classification of soils. This principle has been repeatedly laid down and is very clearly stated in the Settlement Manual. The statement to the contrary in the Manual of Administration is incorrect and the re-classification of the Chidambaram Taluk is not a violation of the assurances of Government, as this taluk has never been settled on the system now followed throughout the rest of the Presidency.”

That was what Lord Connemara's Government said in 1889 and until 1895 the standing orders of the Board of Revenue in the Madras Presidency contained this passage. I quote from an edition of the standing orders issued so late as 1889 under the editorship of a very distinguished Madras native administrator, Mr. Chentsal Row, and these remained the instruction to Revenue Officers of the Presidency down to 1895.

“It is to be explained, however, to the ryots that there will be no re-classification of the soils or calculations of fresh grain values, that the rates of assessment will be revised entirely with reference to prices,—and that no attempt will be made to assess any additional value which may have been given to land by improvements effected by ryots, even if carried out by means of capital borrowed from Government.”

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In 1895 the settlement of one of the largest and wealthiest districts in the Madras Presidency was being carried out and there was very considerable agitation about the enormous enhancement which had been made in the district and it was pointed out to the Government that they were not carrying out their own rules and regulations. Then they made a great discovery. They found out that this despatch had been sent by the Secretary of State for India in 1883. It has never been explained whether the Government of India suppressed it and did not send it to the Government of Madras or whether the Government of Madras had forgotten all about it; and our friend the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Row and others in the Legislative Council have been unable to get a copy of this despatch. No one knows anything about it except that it contains the bare statement I have quoted that the idea of a permanent settlement should be finally abandoned. Then the Madras Government suddenly issued a notice cancelling the statement in the standing orders which I have just read to you and substituted this for it.

“ At each settlement and re-settlement of a District Government will fix at its discretion the period for which such settlement or re-settlement shall be in force. The Collector shall then notify the period in the District Gazette, and explain to the ryots that the new rates will not be liable to alteration during the currency of the settlement period; but on the expiry of the said period Government reserves to itself the right to revise the assessment in such manner as may then seem just and proper, either with reference solely to a rise or fall in prices, or with reference also to other considerations such as would require a re-classification of soils or a recalculation of the grain out-turns.”

So that all the revenue and settlement officers throughout the Madras Presidency that had been, ever since they came into the service, advising the ryots that they were to have no change except what might be necessitated by variation in grain prices, had simply been made utter fools of, have to eat their own words and tell the ryots, “ we were quite wrong in everything we told you; so far from having permanency of soil valuation and a possible variation of grain values at intervals of 30 years, you need only expect to have both altered and your settlement rates changed at any moment the Government desires.” The present arrangement can be stopped to-morrow, if Government chooses, and the whole calculation can be altered. Now, this is an evil which is increasing; the longer it is let alone, the more bold Government become in enhancing the settlement. In fact the only rule with reference to the demand seems to be to fix it at the maximum amount which can safely be extracted from the people; that is which will just not compel the people to abandon the land and so prevent anything at all being collected. Thus with reference to the settlement in Madras in one district the increase as shown by scientific principles came to something like 45 per cent. upon the revenue. The Government thought that was a little too much to extract and so they cut it down, not upon any principle at all, apparently to something like 25 per cent. and said that that would be sufficient. In the next district which came to be settled also on the same principles, the settlement officers showed that upon these principles the increase should be something like 70 per cent. which is still worse and consequently the amount was cut down to something like 33 per cent. It would be too long to go into here and to expose the absurdity of the scientific system but the scientific system really comes to nothing; because you can make a system which will produce any result you choose, and if the result turns out to be too big or too little you have nothing to do but to cut it down or enhance it without reference to any system whatever and that is what the Madras Government have been doing. There are only two reasons or what purport to be reasons which I have been able to find for this departure from the old policy and for this increase of assessment. These two reasons were formulated by the Board of Revenue in Madras in one of its orders. Those two reasons are: First “ the exigencies of

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the Government" and secondly "the re-adjustment of taxation in the interests of the general public." I will take the second of these first. We are told that it is necessary for the re-adjustment of taxation in the interests of the general public. I will not trouble you with quotations but long ago the very same specious argument was raised with reference to the permanent settlement in Bengal and was completely quashed by Lord Cornwallis. He said that if when one man's property improved and another man's property deteriorated they should take away from the man whose property had improved for the purpose of assisting the man whose property had not improved, such a course was no re-adjustment of taxation at all. It was nothing more or less than asserting that the whole land was entirely in the power of the Government to do with it just as it chose without consideration of any principle. Look at it with reference to settlement itself: if the re-settlement of a district is necessary for the re-adjustment of taxation one would think naturally that it would mean increasing the assessment on properties which had improved and decreasing the assessment on properties which had deteriorated or which had been originally too highly assessed; but although you find abundant instances where property which is supposed to have appreciated receives an enhanced taxation, do you ever find any instance in which property which has been overtaxed or has deteriorated receives a diminution of taxation? With reference to this very district of Tanjore, to which I have referred, the Government refused to go to the expense of re-assessing one-third of the district, and what was their reason for not re-assessing it? In their own words it was because that part of the country was so poor that there did not seem to be any chance of getting a higher revenue out of it. If they are going to bring in the principle of readjustment they should have said part of the enhancement of the rich portion should go to relieve the poverty of the other portion. But the latter is left to bear this heavy taxation, a taxation which made it so poor and kept it so poor that it cannot bear another pie put on it. On account of extreme demands, they enhanced enormously the assessment upon the other two-thirds of the district which they think is rich enough and wealthy enough to bear it. Then generally re-adjustment of taxation means increasing taxation on classes where it is too light and relieving from it where it is too heavy. Where is there anywhere throughout the whole of the country any relief from taxation? Is the income-tax or the salt-tax diminished? Is any tax in the country diminished so as to relieve one class of the population and throw a greater burden on another supposed more able to bear it? No, it is only the one class of the population whose financial burdens are enhanced and no relief is given to any other portion of the population. The second reason is the exigencies of Government. You all know that is the true reason and that is the only reason. It is not an argument, it is only a reason—"we must have money and this is the only way we can get it." They squeeze the agricultural population and owing to peculiar circumstances, peculiar habits and long established customs of the population, it is possible to thus obtain an enhanced revenue without actually driving the people off the land. The people in this country like those of many other countries are by inherited sentiment so attached to the land that the Government can go on practically to any extent increasing the agricultural rate of assessment without at the same time giving the people any real option as to whether or not they will accept it. With reference to that if you will allow me, I will just read to you a few lines by a gentleman who was a great authority on the subject, because it abolishes an argument which is very often urged and drawn from other countries. For instance, in my own country Scotland, the agriculturists, it is said, are glad to take thirty years leases and do not demand that they should have any permanency at all. That is a very specious argument; but when it is applied to Indian life, it is totally fallacious. A great authority in Madras a good many years ago, Mr. Dykes, who was then Collector of Salem, who has written a most interesting history of the Salem district, which like many other good books is now forgotten, and which contains really more information about the state of the country than many other more pretentious volumes, had made certain repre-

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sentations to the Madras Government with reference to the permanent settlement. He dealt with this argument, then apparently strongly urged, in the following terms:—

“Capital is freely sunk at home on a limited lease with an unconditional surrender at the end. A Scotch farmer, for example, will not hesitate to embark his whole fortune on 30 years. For, at the end of his lease, if he and his landlord can't agree as to terms for the future, he realizes his stock, &c., and moves with ease to where he can get land on terms that suit him better. But in India, it is not one, nor a thousand, but perhaps a hundred thousand ryots, that must take up this 30 years lease at the same time; and it is 100,000 ryots that must be prepared, when the lease is up, to realize also, at one and the same time, and move if necessary. But how is the agricultural stock of a district of ten or fifteen thousand square miles to be realized? And where are 100,000 ryots to go? The position of Scotch and Indian leaseholders at the end of the lease is very different; and this affects the whole question.”

“An unconditional lease leaves the agricultural capital of a whole district at the mercy of the officer chosen to revise the rates; and I fear that such a change in the Ryotwari Tenure will be felt more and more injuriously as the lease draws towards a close.”

“The whole of the agricultural population of the country is at the mercy of the settlement officers.” That, I am sure, is a state of things which will certainly not approve itself to my present audience. If further proof were required it would be found in the fact that the present system can only be worked by the greatest executive severity in good years and by remissions in any years falling below the ~~crest~~. ~~No system better calculated to make and keep a people poor could be devised than a rack-rent, collected by distraint and secured by compulsory remissions.~~ With reference to the reason I have just mentioned ~~the exigencies of Government~~, I do not think I need enter into that question at all; that really has to be dealt with from the other side of the shield and has already been spoken to this morning. The exigencies of Government arise, not because the revenue is too small but because the expenditure is too great. The true remedy which would alter the balance and which would give us some chance of getting some permanency and fixity of settlement and thereby increase the general wealth of the people must be by reducing the expenditure; then only and not till then will we be able to secure some of the benefits which we desire. Because if this money has to be spent, it has to be got somewhere. The Government of India say and feel they are driven to it; they cannot do anything else but take it where they can get it; that is under the present circumstances the only way they can get it is by enhancing the land revenue. If money is taken out of the pockets of the people and put into the pockets of Government to be spent on any purpose, whatever that purpose may be, the money cannot remain in the pockets of the people and as long as it is thus drained out of their pockets, there cannot be the slightest opportunity or chance of their rising above the scale of poverty in which so many at present exist. I am constantly told that there are plenty of rich ryots. Well of course you do find rich ryots in many places. You will find the brain of a ryot not of a uniform quality any more than that of other men; and plenty of them are both able and willing to rise above, indeed to rise upon their poorer neighbours. But that does not interfere with the general principle. These are not types of the general mass of the labouring and working population who at least in our part of the country, as I have heard even officials admit, are gradually being transformed from yeoman farmers as they should be, into agricultural slaves. Now, gentlemen, I am sorry I have detained you so long and exceeded my time, but really the subject is one of very great importance. It is one which requires to be kept continually pressed upon the mind of the Government here and of the Government at Home, but at the same time I fear it is a subject where we shall have very little chance of success unless

we succeed in our other objects, namely, the reduction of expenditure. We must keep this thing in view and remember that the great mass of the population are really, as I said before, in a state of poverty and misery, a state to which the rulers of any country ought never to subject their fellow-brethren. It is the universal opinion that there is no more sober, hardworking, industrious and frugal people than the rural population of this country, and it seems certainly a very hard thing—to say nothing less—that the fruit of their labour should be so poorly recompensed. (Cheers.) I hope therefore that you will carry this resolution which I have put before you with cordiality.

The HON. MR. D. S. GARUD (Bombay, No. 47 on the list) :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In seconding the resolution which has been so ably moved by Mr. Adams I will only follow him with a few remarks. The experiences we have passed through during the year now expiring—a year of floods, famine and pestilence—have accentuated the necessity of repeating this resolution which has been more than once passed by former Congresses. The agriculturist is the salt of the country, and however much and however long we may have to knock at the doors of Government for this essential improvement in his condition, it cannot be said to be trouble spent in vain. The agriculturist is the heart of the nation. He finds food not only for himself but for the laboring millions who make up the greater part of our village population; and we have seen during the last famine how when one harvest fails there is starvation throughout the country. This pinch, this helplessness, this necessity for support from outside is felt only in those provinces which are the subject of periodical revisions of assessment. It is for these provinces that the Government has found it necessary to provide an Agriculturists Relief Act—not for extraordinary visitations like famine but for ordinary times. It might be said that the ryot is an unthrifty animal and fixity of tenure will do him no good. He will always be head and neck in debt and it will only be the parasitical Marwadi who will benefit by any such measure as we ask for. Gentlemen, we all know that it is only those who are hopelessly involved that are always the greatest spendthrifts. Every man who can show a credit balance to his account will always be careful to keep his expenditure within it; and no considerations of show or popular applause will induce him to give the second place to considerations of economy. But that is not the condition of the ryot in our provinces. His normal condition is one of indebtedness and he does not stint any expense on marriage and other ceremonies because he feels that others have to pay for his wants. Periodical surveys are harmful in more ways than one. They induce a feeling of insecurity and discourage all improvements because the ryot knows that they will only add to his burdens. These revisions were hitherto made after every 30 years; but now-a-days it is thought proper to limit the term to 20, 12 and in some cases even to 10 years. Agriculture as our Marathi proverb goes is very onerous in its beginning. A ryot can hardly make a fair start before he is at least 5 or 10 years old. Before, therefore, he has time to breathe freely, so to speak the gaunt spectre of revision comes forth to scare him. This shortsighted policy is ruinous to the poor peasantry. And as to the ways of the survey officers they are simply mysterious. In favor of reduction no argument is so strong and no authority is so high that they must needs accept it. They look upon enhancement as their *raison de etre* and even the appearance of persons to be seen from a passing railway train is pressed into service as an argument for this purpose. How far such a system is beneficial is a problem which deserves the serious consideration of Government. I hope the united voice of you all will induce Government to retrace their steps. The longer the term of assessment the greater will be the healthy growth in the prosperity of the people. The term should not only be 30 but should be 60 or 90 years to enable Government to advance cautiously if need be. But that a permanent settlement is the final remedy for a great many ills there can be no doubt. If I may be allowed to adapt to present cir-

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circumstances the well known lines of Goldsmith I would say that a permanent settlement will create

A bold peasantry their country's pride,
Which once secure will every danger tide.

At this time owing to our evil stars a distrust of the people is engendered in the minds of Government,—with or without reason I will not stop to inquire. But I can say this with confidence that there can be no better safeguard against all apprehended internal dangers than a contented peasantry which a permanent settlement or its equivalent alone can ensure. They will be a standing example of loyalty and devotion to Government which will defy opposition. They will be a standing menace to the enemies of Government. They will be, for all purposes of internal peace, a force less costly but far more valuable, to Government than the army which is fighting others' cause beyond our frontiers. (Hear, hear.) It will be a greater guarantee of peace than the terrors of Reg. XXV of 1827 or the reactionary amendments which are proposed to be made in the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes. A statesman who will give a permanent settlement to all India will be the greatest benefactor not only of India but of the British Empire. May Amba, the guardian divinity of Amraoti, to whom allusion was made by the Chairman of the Reception Committee in his opening speech, inspire the great English statesmen who rule over this empire to rise equal to the situation. (Cheers.)

Mr. S. V. BHAGVAT (Berar, No. 68 on the list) then addressed the meeting in Marathi in support of the resolution to the following effect:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to speak a few words, as the time allotted to me is very short, on the most important subject of the Permanent Settlement of land revenue, the resolution moved by Mr. John Adams, barrister-at-law of Madras. This is not the first time that the present resolution has been brought before this august body, but every year since almost the birth of the Indian National Congress the subject has been discussed, resolutions passed and copies sent to India Government with a request to give due attention to it. But in vain.

In the year 1860 the N. W. Provinces of India unfortunately suffered from a severe famine. In 1861 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the causes of it. The Commission in an exhaustive report upon the evidence collected, earnestly recommended the extension of the Permanent Settlement of the land tax. This recommendation of the Commission was strongly supported by the highest authorities on the subject including Sir George Edmonstone, the Hon'ble Edmond Drummond and many others.

Gentlemen, it was a fortunate time to India,—perhaps the most remarkable period full of generosity and kind sentiments of the British Rule. The officers in whose hands the destinies of India rested then were almost all of the type of Karma and Dharma in their liberality and justice. On the receipt of the report of the Famine Commission, Lord Canning, the then Viceroy and Governor General of India, not only highly approved of the suggestions made by the Commission but went a step further and recommended the sale of waste lands free of land-tax and the permission to redeem the existing land revenue by the payment of an adequate sum of money, as a necessary measure to mitigate the evils of famines, and expressed his thorough belief that increased security and fixity of property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government will tend to create a class, which although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule.

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The Secretary of State in giving it his entire adhesion gave as his opinion that the advantages derived from a Permanent Settlement are not great only to those immediately connected with land but to the community generally, and is a measure directed by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India and to insure to the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country.

But, alas! Lord Canning, whose name has become an household word, retired and died, and a change of ministry drove away our dreams of Permanent Settlement. How much India suffered since then, it is impossible to state. Famine visitations have become periodical. Each time hundreds of thousands, nay millions, die of starvation. The late famine was of a serious nature and spread over the area of the whole country. The death-rate from starvation would have been enormous and unparalleled in the famine history of the whole world, but for the prompt measures adopted by the Government; great sympathy shown by the peoples of Great Britain, the British Colonies, and America, by their generous aid and the last but not the least the charitable nature of our own countrymen who spared nothing to save lives from starvation by opening poor houses all over the country and by giving charities.

Gentlemen, if you wish to have a real idea of the past and the present state of India, picture to yourselves a woman, once very beautiful, extremely lovely, most attractive, richly garmented, decorated with costly jewellery, and placed in happy circumstances; but now ghastly, pale, reduced to a mere skeleton of bones, with deep sunken eyes, wretchedly clad, exhausted and fatigued. In fact, she looks more like a dead than a living creature. Indeed her condition is bad enough to lead her to self-destruction but for one happy circumstance. Look there (pointing to the first of the three paintings that were hung on the pillars of the platform marked "Present," "Past" and "Future") she has given birth to a male-child. How glad, how happy she feels. See how carefully she has placed the baby on her lap and how fondly she is looking at it. She is surrounded by her dear and faithful friends, Messrs. Hume, Wedderburn, Bonnerjee, Dadabhai and many others, and they are also looking at it most wistfully (pointing to the second picture). That infant-child has this day grown into a lusty boy of twelve years, and is taken by his beloved mother with her friends to Her Majesty the Empress of India to be presented to her and the Empress is blessing him. The last picture shows the future earnest wish of the lad which is the real union among the subjects of Her Majesty the Empress of India.

Generous and kind hearted ladies and gentlemen, would you not like to sympathize with the woman in her abject state and try to restore her to her former state, as far as possible? If so, you could only do it by supporting the resolution moved by our learned friend, Mr. John Adam of Madras, which protests against the policy of Government in the provinces where the settlement of land revenue is periodical and proposes a fixed permanent settlement. (Cheers).

MR. D. N. KHARE (Central Provinces, No. 624 on the list) also addressed the meeting in Marathi.

MR. D. N. KHARE.

MR. PANDURANG BAPUJI, (Berar, No. 309 on the list) also addressed the meeting in Marathi to the following effect:—

MR. PANDURANG BAPUJI.

Mr. President, Ladies and Brother-delegates,—My predecessor Mr. Adams has just ably moved the proposition to introduce the system of Permanent Settlement, and I shall do my humble efforts to support the motion.

The proposition is, year after year, brought to the Congress platform and is there unanimously passed. But it is a matter of profound regret for me to observe that the Government have not yet done anything to give effect to our unanimous wish and prayer. It is beyond doubt that the cultivating classes will not be well off, as long as the concession

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Settlement.

Mr. PANDURANG
BARUJI.

of Permanent Settlement, so eagerly sought for, is not granted by the Imperial Government. The unfortunate feature of our situation, which we have bitterly to deplore, lies in the fact that the state of the people is hardly likely to be represented in its true light to the Imperial Government, even while the revision of assessment is actually in progress, by the officers entrusted with this responsible work. You may very well see how the things go on, when you attend to what little I beg to tell you in this connection.

Being a resident of Berar, my observations will, in a large measure, be confined to the state of things that locally obtains here. Since the time for revision of survey arrived, the work of making a revised survey of land, and consequent enhanced assessment is going on in each Taluk in the due order of sequence. To justify and support a scheme for the enhancement of assessment rates, the survey officers had to make the best of the statistical information they possessed of the houses, cattle and conveyances, &c., which were said to be rapidly increasing in number in each Taluk, and to make the external side of the popular condition a strong basis for the very sweet assertions importing that there could not exist any valid objections to the enhancement of the assessment rates, in so far as the people appeared to be happier and wealthier than before. These assertions and others of the like import find place in the reports which are submitted by these officers to the Government. On a report similar to the one alluded to having been submitted to the Local Government, the Berar Sarvajanic Sabha submitted a memorial protesting against the proposed enhancement, on the ground that the people were not sufficiently well off to be able to bear the enhanced rates of assessment. In spite of all these protests and representations, the assessment of Land Revenue was enhanced in conformity with the recommendations made by the survey officers. Collections have been directed to be made according to the new rates. The representations made by the survey officers were, it would be hence clear, deemed more worthy of weight and credit than these importunate prayers of the people for fairness and justice. However, the real state of the people could not for long lie concealed under borrowed charms. In 1896 the monsoons failed at the end and we had no good crops. Failure of crops was attended with starvation and wide misery. It is no exaggeration to say that the people, who were solely dependent on agricultural labour for their livelihood, could not hold their own against the famine distress, even for a period of two months. This will place you in a better position to conceive what wealth or means of subsistence this class of people possesses. Numbers were driven to earn their bread by working at the famine relief works. Such of the people as remained idle at home and had to sustain their life on the future hope of better days were compelled to drag on their miserable days by feeding upon scanty food mixed with rank and wild vegetables. The true picture of the famine-stricken families, and specially of the cultivating classes, can be better imagined than described by those who have had personal experience of the impoverished condition of villagers. Reduced to such a miserable state though they were, the cultivators could not on any account escape the pressing demand of the Government dues, which were realized by all means. What little phase of affluence is apparent in the surroundings of a cultivator is due not to any saving earned by him by field labour, but is mainly the outcome of his utter indebtedness to the creditors. The secret lies not far to seek. It is a serviceable device to be used to induce the creditors to advance loans. I may without hesitation say that Berar thus stands on the same footing with the other Provinces which Mr. Hume has truly described to be deeply involved in pecuniary embarrassment. To bear out the truth of this remark I only refer you to the statistical information contained in the local annual reports of the Registration Department and Judicial Administration. The extremely low percentage of the amounts, realized in execution of decrees, bears strongly on this question. No debt or claim is capable of full and immediate satisfaction except the Government demand of Land Revenue.

Some officers try to maintain that the people pay the Land Revenue punctually because they are lowly assessed. The truth is, however, that the people do their best to save the land which is the sole source of their livelihood, from being alienated in execution of the dreadful process which is in force for the collection of Land Revenue. It is for this sole object that the cultivators generally exert themselves to be punctual in the payment of the Government dues, despite all the difficulties and urgent wants of their own which are great, various and pressing.

The force and truth of this observation will easily come home to his mind, who has actually seen how the cultivators paid the Government dues or the Land Revenues, at a time when the distress of famine was bitterly felt all over the country. The horrors of famine of the last year, I believe, are quite fresh in your mind. This is not a mere idle chattering. Mr. Jones, some time Commissioner in Berar, has openly admitted that the people of Berar are very calm and obedient. The famine of 1877 was in some places as bad as that of the last year, but the Government dues were not, even then, left to be in arrears. This fact, as well as the fact that the Government dues are being promptly and regularly paid, even when the famine is devastating the country, will, I imagine, be sufficient to show that the Berar people are very obedient, submissive and helplessly poor. This peaceful trait of character and spirit of innocence of our people is, it seems, being unfortunately taken advantage of in the enhancement of the Land Revenue. One may naturally inquire why the people did not petition the Government, if the enhanced rates were oppressive. The answer to this is simple. It is now for the first time that the people of Berar see their Land Assessment enhanced so heavily. Further they are quite ignorant as to when, within what time, how and to whom, petitions are to be addressed. There is another point to be borne in mind in this connection. If a handful of some well-meaning gentlemen or villagers petition the Taluka or District Officers in this respect, they are naturally diffident of success. Partly the growing apathy of the people towards a public demonstration through fear of being exposed to public calumny or reprobation accounts for the inaction that is observable in the persons who are by virtue of their education or wealth entitled to a lead and following. I may say here, I think, without fear of contradiction, that as many as eighty-five people in a hundred have no other source of living than field labour, and that the majority of the people will thus be driven to much ruin and misery, if the assessment rates are so heavily increased. Under these circumstances then we all feel bound earnestly to beseech the Government to take compassion on the poor ryots and expedite the introduction of the system of a permanent settlement throughout the whole of India, as without it the condition of the people will hardly prosper.

With these few words I beg to second the proposition which was, as I have already said, very ably moved and eloquently expressed by Mr. Adams, and I request you to carry it unanimously.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

MR. J. CHOWDHRI (Bengal, No. 670 on the list):—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been called upon by the Chairman to move the following resolution:—

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

I cannot rise to move this resolution without failing to remind you of a memorable and illustrious name—the name of Mr. Manamohan Ghose (cheers),—intimately associated with the present resolution. You all know Mr. Manamohan Ghose was not only one of the

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BAPUJI.

Resolution VIII.

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MR. J. CHOWDHRI.

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Mr. J. CHOWDHRI.

pioneers of our political progress. His name was also associated with all causes of progress and reform in our country. Leaving aside the questions of public life I may say the present resolution fell within the province of his own profession. You all know that Mr. Ghose enjoyed the largest and longest criminal practice in Bengal. When I say that an Advocate of the High Court enjoyed the largest criminal practice in Bengal it is no exaggeration to say that he was one of the men who had the largest experience, if not the man who had the largest experience, in India as regards the administration of criminal justice in the mofussil. He had devoted the whole of his life-long labour for securing the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, because he in his practical work had experienced the difficulties and the drawbacks of the blending of the two which has made the administration of justice in our country a very difficult task and to a great extent prejudicial to the people who seek justice at the hands of the executive. You know that through his life-long labour Mr. Ghose collected a number of cases; and through thirty years of experience after making a special study of this subject, he presented a case for the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, which when he first put forward before the executive Government of Bengal, the civilians in a body laughed at and ridiculed him. But he persisted in putting it forward; and we know from the organs of English opinion that they now recognize that he was right (cheers), and the only objection that they can advance—I do not think it is a reasonable objection for not carrying out this reform—is that Government cannot afford it at present and that they have no money to spare. But with regard to that, the speakers who dealt with this subject in previous years have answered the case put forward by the Secretary of State and others who are for keeping the two functions together, I ask this Congress to press this subject from year to year till we have accomplished it. After the exposition of this subject by the late Mr Manamohan Ghose, it will be presumptuous on my part to add anything, but I may put forth two general grounds for this reform. The first is the question of the division of labour and the proper functions of the judiciary and executive require this change. You find the administration of criminal justice is not so popular in this country as the administration of civil justice is. You have heard from the report of the Public Service Commission and also on the authority of High Court Judges and the Advocates General and other high authorities that our Munsifs and Subordinate Judges are very efficient officers and a very few of their cases when they are brought up in appeal in Appellate Courts are reversed. Do you know what is the reason? Because they can administer justice without looking to the right or to the left. They decide the cases on the evidence and the records before them. But in what position are our Subordinate Magistrates? When they get a case they have not only to rely upon the evidence and records before them, but also they have to look back on what the Magistrate who is the responsible head of the District will think. He will perhaps call for an explanation as to why they had granted many adjournments. The case might require evidence to be taken from witnesses who are not forthcoming but the Magistrates dare not give adjournments. Again if the sentence is lenient the District Magistrate comes down upon the Sub-Magistrate and asks him why the sentence was so lenient. And then again if there are fewer convictions the Sub-Magistrate has to submit an explanation, so that he has to administer law under terror; and before this terror is taken away the administration of criminal justice cannot be considered to be satisfactory. I do not blame the District Magistrate. He is the head of the Police and administrative head of the District and as such he has to submit explanation. The figures do not disclose the nature of the cases. It is to his own interest and to the interest of the whole administration of the District that he must submit a good report. Unless the subordinate executives (i.e.) Joint and Deputy Magistrates are made entirely independent of the executive head of the District and unless they are empowered to administer justice on the records and evidence before them without looking to the right or to the left or behind

or front, there is no chance of getting impartial administration of criminal justice. With these few words I press this resolution upon your attention. (Cheers.)

Mr. C. H. SETALWAD (Bombay No. 54 on the list):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think that no words are required from me to support the resolution. The principle underlying the resolution has been so well understood and established and has received the support of two eminent Secretaries of State belonging to both parties, that it is superfluous on my part to say anything in support of the principle. To my mind the wonder is that even after acknowledgment of the soundness of that principle by two Secretaries of State the reform has not yet been carried out. When the two Secretaries of State acknowledged the soundness of the principle, the only way the authorities here delay the carrying out of the principle is by stating that the reform would entail considerable additional expenditure and that the country is not in a position to bear that expenditure. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta in Bombay and Mr. Dutt in Bengal formulated two schemes in which they pointed out that the reform could be carried out without any additional expenditure. However, the authorities have chosen to shelve the matter. And to my mind the real truth lies in the fact that, the executive authorities see in this reform the curtailment of their uncontrolled power and therefore they do not wish to carry out this reform. That is the real secret why the reform has not yet been carried out. It is absolutely necessary that we in this Congress should hammer at this question again and say to the Government in England that this reform which has been repeatedly acknowledged to be desirable by both parties should at once be given effect to. With these words I beg to second the proposition. Cheers).

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President: The next proposition runs in these terms:—"That this Congress is glad to note that the Government of India has appointed a Famine Commission and hopes that the Commission will institute a searching inquiry into the matter. At the same time this Congress once again desires to repeat its conviction that famines are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the Civil and Military departments, which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress, the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries." Gentlemen, with the exception of that reference to the Famine Commission, this is practically the resolution No. 12 at the last Congress when this subject was thoroughly discussed. It is believed that it is unnecessary to put forward speakers on this matter. I therefore put it from the chair.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President: The Congress will now be adjourned for the day and will re-assemble at 11-30 a.m. to-morrow. The members of the Subjects' Committee will meet here in half an hour.

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Resolution VIII.
Separation of
Judicial and
Executive Adminis-
tration.

MR. C. H. SETAL-
WAD.

Resolution IX.
Famine Com-
mission.

THE PRESIDENT.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, the 29th December, 1897.

The Congress reassembled at 11-30 A.M.

The President :—Gentlemen, the first resolution to be placed before you runs thus :—

“That this Congress expresses its heart-felt gratitude to the British public and to the peoples of the British Colonies, the United States of America and other foreign countries for the generous aid afforded by them to the starving millions of this country during the late dreadful visitation of famine, and also wishes to place on record its high appreciation of the services which many men and women—English and Indian—residing in this country rendered, and the pecuniary-help they gave for the relief of those afflicted by that calamity.

“And that it be an instruction to the various Congress Committees to raise a sum of a thousand pounds, to be sent to the Lord Mayor of London, on behalf of the Congress, in order that he might be pleased to put some memorial in some conspicuous part of London expressing the gratitude of the people of India for the help rendered to them during the time of the last famine.”

I think it is unnecessary that any speeches should be addressed to you on this resolution, and I, therefore, propose to take your votes on it. Those that are in favour of it will signify their intention in the usual way. (Voices “All, all;” some few cries of “No, no.”) Then I take it, it is carried, but not unanimously. I should like to point out that no speaker should exceed five minutes, and I should ask you, gentlemen, not to encourage breach of rules by saying “Go on, go on,” after I have given the signal to stop. The Hon’ble Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu will move the next resolution.

The Hon’ble Mr. N. SUBBA RAO (Madras, No. 4 on the list) :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The proposition which I have the honour to place before you runs as follows :—

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

At first sight this resolution may appear to be more of a provincial character, but a close examination of the wording and import of this resolution will show that it is imperial, that it is closely connected with England’s policy towards India, that it is closely connected with the intentions of the Queen-Empress as conveyed in the Proclamation of 1858, a proclamation according to which all subjects of Her Majesty in India should be placed on equal footing and should be admitted to all the offices irrespective of creed or colour. Hitherto, gentlemen, the chief plank in our Congress programme was the reform of the Legislative Councils of the country. That reform we have pressed on the attention of the Government here and in England year after year. Thanks to the efforts of the leaders of the Congress, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Bradlaugh (cheers), the reform has been accomplished. Though the concession granted by the Government has not been so liberal as we wished

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Resolution X.
Thanks for Famine
Relief Aid.

THE PRESIDENT.

Resolution XI.
Additional Coun-
cillor for Executive
Government.

MR. N. SUBBA RAO.

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Resolution XI.
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cillor for Executive
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it to be, still the concession has been of great benefit both to the rulers as well as to the ruled. It has been enforced in different provinces during the last four years, and both the rulers and the ruled, both the experts who manage the Government of the country, and the members who have been sent up under the new Act, have come to understand each other, and if we can summarize the results of the working of this new act, we may briefly say that though the additional members of Government sent up under the new act are expected to criticize the measures of Government and are recognized as useful adjuncts of the Council, their criticisms are received and taken into consideration in the way in which the Government best thinks proper and no more; and they are bound to criticise and the Government is bound to hear and no more; and therefore so far, we can say we have been attacking as it were the outer walls of the temple of the Government. We now press by this resolution to get into the inner portion of this temple, and try to reform that inner portion, for though this reform has been carried out for the last four years, the spirit of the administration has not changed; the spirit of isolation that has been the feature of the British administration in this country still continues and therefore it is the wish, object and aim of this Congress to fuse as it were both the rulers and the ruled (hear, hear), and to make them imbued with one indetical spirit in India. That is the aim and object of the Congress, and it is with that object we have been placing resolution after resolution before the Government, and it is to carry out that object that this resolution is moved. Though at first sight it may appear to apply to the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, still it is imperial in its character, and if properly carried out and extended in due course to the other Presidencies, it will bring about that spirit which we all so much desire. Gentlemen, we find that at present the administration of the experts, whose administration we value certainly very much, is shrouded with ignorance of the real wants and wishes of the people. This administration does not associate itself with those who have got the deepest insight into the aspirations and feelings of the people; and it is our earnest prayer that the Government of the country should associate itself with those who can best advise it with regard to the various measures which it takes in hand. It is hardly necessary for me to dilate upon the efforts of this administration. Recent events have brought this matter very forcibly to the minds of the rulers as well as the ruled. I say rulers more than the ruled, because it is more the object-lesson to the rulers of the country rather than to us. For when a shot is fired by a fanatic, who revels to be within the four walls of a prison, the Government of a Presidency loses its calm deliberative instincts and all on a sudden you find deportations take place, you find punitive Police placed upon an influential and loyal city, you find various other measures adopted by the Government which take us by surprise. And this course of conduct can only be explained on the hypothesis that there is ignorance reigning in the Council of Bombay. Gentlemen, the truth is that the Anglo-Indian mind does not move sufficiently forward to grasp the conditions of modern India. It does not move forward to grasp the conditions of the India of the Universities, the India of the Colleges and the India of the National Congress.

"What we have to choose," says a writer in the *Statesman*, "is between a really imperial policy and the settled continuance of simple officialism. While the English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times and by the symmetry of the shrine the pride of its own creation in which it lingers to offer incense to its past successful labours, the Indian mind has been marching on eager and anxious to expand its own sphere of action to do what it for its own part has to do. The solid strength of the Roman Empire consisted in the franchise of the Roman citizen being open to the conquered nations in proportion to the numerical strength and reality of their enfranchisement. The true idea of empire is radically inconsistent with such a policy, for Empire means extension of the rights of citizenship to all the races of which it consists."

I have made a long extract of this because it clearly embodies our views and our aspirations and the duty of the Government towards the people of the land. Therefore the question naturally arises: What is the remedy for this state of things? What are the measures to be adopted? What happened in Bombay will happen to-morrow in Madras or in Bengal or N. W. P., for where ignorance is supreme, where there is no close contact between the people and the rulers, there is many a misrepresentation and a distorted view taken of the conduct of the educated community and of the people at large; and therefore the question before us is what is the remedy that we should apply, what is the prayer with which we should go before the Government and what is the resolution which we should adopt for the betterment of the Indian Government? I submit that one of the essential requisites for the proper understanding of the Indian people is that the Executive Governments of Bombay and Madras should associate with themselves an Indian who is born and bred in the country, who understands the real feelings of his fellow-countrymen; and therefore we say that the Executive Government should consist of not two members as at present, but should have three members, that is, one more, and that one member should not be a member of the Indian Civil Service.

Gentlemen, you are all aware that in the highest Judicial Courts of the land, Natives are given seats to administer justice, and they are found competent to administer justice side by side with their English-brethren. The name of Sir T. Muthusami Iyer (cheers), the name of Mr. Telang of Bombay (cheers), the name of Mr. Gurudas Bannerji of Calcutta (cheers)—these and several others which we can easily recall—show how Indians are found fit to take their seats in the highest Judicial Courts of the land; and if they are found fit for seats in the Judicial Courts, should they be found wanting, if they have seats in the Executive Councils of the Government? Is it not strange that in this vast country where there is so much talent, gentlemen should go out of the British service and find employment in Native States? Is it not strange that a gentleman like Dewan Bahadur Srinivas Raghava Iyengar of Madras should seek the Dewanship of the Baroda State and could not rise to a position higher than that of the Inspector General of Registration? Is it not strange that Sir T. Madhaya-Rao should show all his talent in Travancore, Baroda and Indore? You can easily multiply instances to show that the present administration does not at all foster real talent in the country and does not at all try to march with the times and to allay the discontent that is caused by the isolated way in which the administration is carried on. (Hear, hear.)

Never before in the administration of this country was such a spectacle seen of divorcing knowledge from the administration of the country. We do not at all find fault with the present administrators, with regard to their good intentions, with regard to their capacity. What we complain against them is that they are wanting in that knowledge of and sympathy with the aspirations of the country which is necessary for the progressive conditions of this country. (Cheers.) I therefore submit this resolution to you for your acceptance, and I have no doubt that if real Indian statesmanship is associated with English statesmanship in the Government of different provinces, we shall not see the spectacle which we have witnessed in Bombay this year. (Cheers.)

MR. N. C. KELKAR (Bombay, No. 41 on the list):—Mr. President, Ladies and Countrymen,—I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition which has been so ably proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Row. There is much indeed to be said in favour of this proposition, but I shall confine myself only to the grounds over which the able proposer has not travelled. You must have observed, gentlemen, that the earlier part of the proposition contains or is based upon the supposition that it is a wise policy to appoint to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the services in India. I do not think that anybody could object to the wisdom of the policy, but if you

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Resolution XI
Additional Councillor for Executive Government.

Mr. N. SUBBA ROW.

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ask me whether it is a wise policy I shall have no hesitation in saying that it is a very wise policy. Of course it has to be admitted that so far the fruition of this policy has not been happy, because our actual experience is, whatever the sentiment or theory may be, that so far very few people who have come to administer the presidencies of Bombay and Madras could really be called English statesmen without a complete outrage upon the language. Our bitter experience has gone so far that sometimes, as you all know, we had to accept mere sportsmanship for statesmanship. (Hear, hear.) And, gentlemen, there is a good reason why this should be so. You know probably that in England they do not regard it as a high honour to be a provincial Governor in India. The Governorships of Madras and Bombay may be offered as a good reward for faithful and humble mediocrity, or otherwise they may be regarded as a training ground for the political colt to be broken in to be trained for the more ambitious and useful careers in the colonial Government and the Home Government; and on the other hand it has to be seen that men like Sir Richard Temple and Sir Bartle Frere rising from the inferior ranks of service in India have proved to the world that officers in the lower services can very well fill places of Governors of Presidencies. ~~These are the directions to that wise policy.~~ Still you have to admit that it is a very wise policy to bring out English statesmen of the real stamp to administer the executive Governments of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The administration of a presidency is not a small task, and it is of great trust, and though the work falls technically under the name of executive work, the man in the position of a Governor must have a very complete judicial temperament and he cannot be only an executive officer. He does not know much of the country or the people, but I suppose the ignorance in his case is only a blessing. It is good that he does not know, and it is obvious that he is not to concern himself with the details. He is to administer the presidency on principles only. His position is like the position of a man standing at the helm. A little change at the helm causes in the long run a great segment of area to be cut up in the course of the ship. So is the case of a Governor. If he is liberal, the whole administration is liberal; if he is a conservative, the whole administration becomes conservative. ~~Therefore what we want is that Englishmen~~ bread up in liberty and experienced in politics and possessing a balmy aroma of culture which we see is possessed by so many English statesmen should be sent out to India, and you cannot have a man of this description unless you import one from England. You know, gentlemen, what the present constitution of Bombay and Madras Governments is. There are only two members in the Council, and the third member is the Governor; and lately the tendency has been to take away the judicial element from the Council as much as possible and to put revenue members. We have seen it in Bombay in the latest nomination to a membership of the Bombay Council. Mr. Birdwood having retired, Sir Charles Ollivant, who is a member of the Revenue Department, was appointed to his place, while Mr. Justice Jardine, who was a member of the Judicial Department and a Judge of the High Court, and could have very well been the Judicial Member in the Council, had to retire because he was not appointed. It is absolutely necessary to move such a proposition as this, and place it before the Government for its acceptance. Of course we have no grudge against civilians. They are a class of very able officers certainly, but the thing is that having played the rôle of officialism, they become almost intolerable, and after they are placed in the Executive Council, it is almost sure that the administration does not become a very good one. The disadvantage of there being only two members lies in this: that these two members are executive officers. Suppose a pair of horses is yoked to a carriage, and both of them are fiery horses. They must naturally drive furiously and fall. In this way you see that if there are two members, and both are civilians, the administration will get into a bad way, and therefore we have to propose and put it from this Congress that the Executive Council should be a little more expanded, and a third member be added; and we should also go further and say that the third member should be, if possible, a native non-official, say the senior elected member of the Legislative Council. The original

Proposer has shown you that our people can be good Judges and able Councillors. I do not think that making laws and regulations for the country is more easy than the work in the Executive Councils, and I do not see why they should not be appointed Executive Council members as well. With these remarks I submit this proposition to your consideration. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The President :—The next proposition will be moved by the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea:

The Hon'ble BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA (Calcutta, No. 666 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the honour to move the following resolution :—

“That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and ease and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

“(a) This Congress therefore urges that none of these regulations should be put into force except after notification by the Local Government concerned that the circumstances contemplated by the preamble of Regulation exist in its Province or in some definite area within the Province, and that it intends, if necessary, to exercise the powers vested in it; and further that in no case should such powers extend to keeping a person arrested under them in custody for a period longer than three months without his being brought to trial before a Court of Justice.

“(b) That this Congress while feeling that the Government of Bombay must have acted under a sense of responsibility, in arresting the Sardars Natu under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, is yet of opinion, that, five months having now elapsed from such arrest, it is the duty of the Government, in the interests of justice, and also to allay the disquiet and uneasiness which has been created in the minds of the people at large by the arrest, to bring them—the Sardars Natu—to trial without delay, or, if the Government have no sufficient evidence against them to place before a Court of Justice to release them.”

Sir, in speaking to this resolution it is impossible that I should not advert for a moment to that magnificent speech which you delivered from the chair, and to which we all listened with so much interest and, for my part, with so much admiration. (Cheers.) You were pleased to observe, Sir, in the course of your presidential speech—and it is a remark so true, so pregnant, so aptly descriptive of the situation in which we find ourselves, that I thought it necessary to repeat it then and there, in the course of the observations which I addressed to this assembly in proposing you to the chair—in that speech, you, Sir, were pleased to remark that we have arduous duties before us. (Cheers.) Yes, Sir, there are solemn, grave, awful responsibilities imposed upon us by the exigencies of our present situation. (Hear, hear.) We meet to-day under circumstances of great difficulty and embarrassment. It seems as if the gods and men had combined against us, as if the portents of nature had entered into an unholy combination with the powers of men to pile misfortune upon misfortune upon us, until we have been driven to the very verge of desperation. (Cheers.) Last year we were confronted with what was properly described as the greatest famine of the century. This year we have the plague instead which bids fair to assume the proportions of a great national calamity. But these are visitations of nature to which we all must submit. (Cheers.) On the top of all this, we have a retrograde and repressive

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policy inaugurated by the Government of the day. (Shame.) We stand face to face with one of the greatest crises in the history of this country. The other day I was reading the *Englishman* newspaper, and the writer made an observation in the course of a leading article which attracted my attention. He said that a wave of unrest was passing through the length and breadth of the country. More truly might it be said that a wave of refection was sweeping across the high places of Government and was influencing the counsels of our rulers. (Hear, hear.) Our rulers have of late exhibited a marked tendency to make a departure from the ancient, the traditionary, the time-honoured policy of the Anglo-Indian administration, a policy which has covered the English name in India with imperishable renown and glory. (Cheers.) Let me take our rulers for a moment within the precincts of Parliament and invite them to listen to a debate which took place there in 1833—and let me whisper into their ears the words, the prophetic words, of one of the greatest Anglo-Indian administrators. (Cheers.) Macaulay, speaking from his place in Parliament in connection with the Charter Act of 1833 observed: "It may be that the public mind of India may so expand under our system as to outgrow that system and that our subjects being educated in western learning may crave for western institutions. I know not whether such a day will ever arrive, but when it does arrive, it will be the proudest day in the annals of England." (Cheers.) That very proud day has come. A succession of beneficent measures has hastened forward the advent of that day. I ask Englishmen to remember the traditions of their glorious history in India. Englishmen have given us high English education. They have given us a free press. They have conferred upon us the great boon of local self-government, one of the most potent educational agencies at the present moment in operation, and last but not least they have enlarged the councils upon a representative basis. I see before me and there are within the sound of my voice representatives of that great community. I ask them whether they are prepared to stifle in us those ambitions which they have awakened in our breasts (hear, hear), and put back the clock of progress? Yet that is exactly the tendency of that policy which unfortunately has developed itself of recent years in the administration of India. The murder of two British officers, a tragedy which we all deplore (hear, hear)—the murder of these two officers has led to the inauguration of a policy which, I am sure, our rulers themselves must condemn when they have recovered from the present excitement and have resumed the even tenor of their minds. We, men of the Congress, are the friends of peace and orderly Government. (Hear, hear.) We denounce violence; we condemn violent methods; for we believe in our heart of hearts that order is the first condition of political progress. (Hear, hear.) We know that violence must lead to repression, to the strengthening of the hands of the executive Government, to the suspension of the reign of law. Could we persuade ourselves for one moment to believe that these extraordinary proceedings of the Government of Lord Sandhurst were necessary in the interests of orderly Government, we, men of the Congress, would have accorded to them our unqualified and unstinted support. (Cheers.) But we regard them as unnecessary and therefore unwise, as a source of embarrassment to the Government and as dangerous to the liberty of the subject. That is the view we take with regard to these proceedings of the Bombay Government. We consider the quartering of the punitive Police at Poona as a mistake. We regard the imprisonment of Mr. Tilak (loud and continued applause and "hip, hip, Hurrah" the audience standing to their feet) and of the Poona editors as a still greater mistake. For Mr. Tilak my heart is full of sympathy. My feelings go forth to him in his prison home, (Cheers.) A nation is in tears. Speaking for myself—speaking, I may add, for the Indian press, I have no hesitation in saying that we believe Mr. Tilak to be innocent of the charges brought against him. (Loud and continued cheers.) The ends of technical justice may have been satisfied, but the ends of substantial justice have grievously failed. It is impossible for a native of India to be disloyal. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible for a native

of India of the attainments, the distinction and the unquestioned patriotism of Mr. Tilak (loud and continued cheers) to harbour sentiments of disloyalty towards the British Government. We know that with the maintenance of the British Empire is bound up the fulfilment of our political hopes and aspirations. In our present situation loyalty and patriotism are inseparably linked together. (Cheers.) The incarceration of the Natu brothers was a still graver mistake. It is a proceeding which will be condemned by all British subjects, by all friends of liberty in all parts of the world. British subjects, no matter in what part of the world their lot may be cast, no matter under what particular form of Government they may live, whether they be the free citizens of our self-governing colonies or the voiceless subjects of unrepresented dependencies, have all a hereditary and traditional interest in maintaining inviolate, free from encroachment of autocratic power, the invaluable possession of personal liberty which is the inalienable birth-right of British subjects and the indefeasible adjunct of British citizenship. Therefore, whenever violent hands are laid on that great right, the proceeding is calculated to send a thrill of horror throughout the length and breadth of the broad dominions of the Queen, which are linked together no less by common allegiance to a common sovereign than by the joint participation in the inestimable blessings of a great, free and noble constitution. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the voice of protest, therefore, which we raise here to-day will elicit a sympathetic response from the heart of every true born Briton and will be endorsed by the verdict of civilised mankind. Englishmen have won for themselves the *Magna Charta* and the *Habeas Corpus*. The principles which underlie those concessions are embalmed in their glorious constitution. The constitution, I have no hesitation in saying, is ours by birth-right (cheers); born British subjects, we are entitled to the privileges of British subjects. Who will filch away these rights from us? We are resolved and this Congress will take the pledge, you and I will enter into a solemn league and covenant. (Cheers.) Let it go forth from this hall, let it impregnate the public mind of India, we are resolved by every constitutional means that may be available to us to assert under the Providence of God (hear, hear) our rights as British subjects, not the least important of which is the inestimable right of personal liberty. (Loud cheers.) You, Sir, were pleased to say the other day that *civis Romanus sum* was the boast of the ancient world. *Civis Britannicus sum* is the distinction of the subjects of that Greater Britain to which we all belong. All English Governments, no matter in what part of the world they may be situated, are the offshoots, the emanations of that great constitution of which the *Habeas Corpus* and the *Magna Charta* are the key-stones. It was seriously contended by Mr. Anstey in the great Wahabi case which was tried by the High Court of Calcutta in 1870 that the Government of India acted *ultra vires* in enacting Regulation III of 1818 and other cognate regulations. Sir, I am not a lawyer and in this galaxy of distinguished lawyers I do not propose to discuss this question. I take my stand upon a higher ground, upon the much stronger consideration of expediency and justice, which are superior to all legal technicalities. If the Government possessed the right of enacting Regulation III of 1818 assuming that they had the right, the question that I want you to consider with me is whether the Government were wise, whether they were justified in arresting and detaining the Natu brothers. Well, Sir, at a very early stage of the case soon after the arrest of the Natu brothers Mr. Michael Davitt put a question in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) I think I understand the significance of that cheer. Of Mr. Michael Davitt it is impossible to speak at a gathering of my countrymen without according to his personality the tribute of our respect and admiration for his sympathy, his unstinted sympathy, in this the hour of our sorest need. (Cheers.) Well, Mr. Michael Davitt asked a question but got precious little in the way of information from Lord George Hamilton except this: that the Natu brothers had been arrested with the sanction of the Secretary of State. But even the most astute of diplomatists is not always able to keep things to himself, and on the

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occasion of the budget debate Lord George Hamilton somewhat admitted the public into his confidence. He gave the reasons for the arrest and detention of the Natu brothers. To these reasons, gentlemen, I desire to invite your attention for a minute or two. I need not read the extract from the proceedings of the debate in the House of Commons. What Lord George Hamilton said in substance was this: "there was a plot to subvert British rule, I suppose, among the Poona Brahmans" (laughter)—I am coming to the Poona Brahmans presently—"and it was believed that the arrest of the Natu brothers would lead to the unravelling of this plot." A plot! A conspiracy! Who are the conspirators and what are the objects of this conspiracy? Mind you, it is not a blatant demagogue or a congressman-like myself who speaks, but a minister of the crown—the responsible head of the Government of India. When he says that there is a plot, that there are conspirators, that the air is surcharged with sedition, we listen to him with both our ears wide open. I ask is there any evidence for this plot? There is absolutely none, and I will ask you to say also with me that there is none (cries of "None, none"). No, not a tittle of evidence in support of this extraordinary assumption. On the contrary, what evidence there is completely demolishes the theory of Lord George Hamilton. (Hear, hear.) Take the confession of Chapekar, poor unfortunate Chapekar. (Laughter.) (A European gentleman at the reporter's tables: "Is he the murderer"?) He may or may not be the murderer. We need not take a jump into the unknown like Lord George Hamilton and say that he is. Whether he is the murderer or not is a matter which has yet to be decided by a judicial tribunal. Now, gentlemen, let us take the confession of Damodar Chapekar. To that confession the dignity of official recognition has been extended. He has been treated as the veritable murderer. His confession has been duly recorded. He has been brought before the Magistrates time after time; witnesses have been examined upon the basis of his confession. To all intents and purposes his statement has been regarded as making important revelation of facts. What does Chapekar say about this conspiracy? Who are the conspirators? Himself and his worthy brother. (Laughter and cheers.) If you accept his statement it must be said, the Congress should say it and I will say it on your behalf, that it absolutely absolves the Poona Brahmans of all complicity in this so-called plot. (Cheers.) (A voice—"The gymnasium of the Natu brothers.") I will come to that point by and by. In the last century the great Edmund Burke, speaking from his place in the House of Commons, pleading for justice, pleading for mercy, pleading for the conciliation with America, made that ever memorable remark which ought to be engraved in characters of gold on the portals of the India Office: "I cannot frame an indictment against the whole nation." (Cheers.) But Lord George Hamilton has performed this impossible task (shame), and no doubt it is a matter of shame that upon evidence which would not justify the hanging of a dog or a cat, the Secretary of State should bring this grave charge against a community which in the past played an important part in the history of India (cheers)—I hope I am not guilty of sedition (laughter)—and which still constitutes the intellectual aristocracy of the Western Presidency (cheers), barring of course, my friend Mr. Wacha and a few Parsee gentlemen of light and leading associated in the work of the Congress. Now, I wish to turn to the point to which you have been kind enough to draw my attention. As regards the Natu brothers, what does Chapekar say? He says he knows nothing at all about the elder Natu; Taty Saheb he knows slightly, and only on one occasion he had been to the gymnasium kept by Taty Saheb. (Cries of "Is it enough?") Quite enough perhaps for the Government of India. (Laughter and cheers.) Nor is this all. Chapekar's statement is supported, completely supported, by the irresistible logic of facts. The murders were committed on the 22nd June. The arrests were made towards the end of July. (A voice—26th July.) That is still better. I ask, brother delegates, does it stand to reason, assuming that there was a conspiracy, that the conspirators slept over the matter for nearly

a whole month and at a time when the Government was paralysed and panic-stricken, at a time when nothing had been done to frustrate the designs of the conspirators? Does it stand to reason that they slept over this conspiracy for the period of a whole month, when they might have done something to give effect to their designs, and then quietly allowed themselves to be arrested? This is not the way of conspirators. This is not the way how Guy Fawkes acted on a memorable occasion. The moments are precious with conspirators. Now or never is the rule of all conspiracy. (Hear, hear.) There is thus not a particle of evidence to connect Natu brothers with any conspiracy, much less with the Poona tragedy; and yet they have been detained for five months without a trial and without a word of public explanation, and the Government of Bombay declined to take advantage of the splendid opportunity which offered itself the other day to explain the situation in reply to certain questions asked in the Bombay Council. They rejected that opportunity, evaded the points raised and refused all information. The Government was asked to state what were the grounds for the detention of the Natu brothers. Lord Sandhurst replied that they were detained for reasons of State. We did not want the authority of Lord Sandhurst to tell us that; we know that it was for reasons of State that they have been arrested and detained. We want to know—the public want to know—what these reasons of State are. We have a right to know what these reasons of State are. It is playing with the question, it is trifling with the matter to say that they were detained for reasons of State. Every now and then we are reminded of our obligations and our responsibilities. Have the Government no obligations? Are all the obligations on our side, and is it not the highest obligation of the Government to loyally, faithfully, and in all honesty of purpose, to give effect to Parliamentary statutes in the beneficent spirit in which those statutes have been conceived? I cannot help thinking that the answer of the Government involves disloyalty to Parliamentary statutes and affords a deliberate affront to the public sentiment and the people of India. I am sorry to have to speak of the Government of Bombay in these terms; I am sorry that I have not much affection for the Government of Bombay. Brother delegates, security of life and property are the great foundations upon which rests the vast, the stupendous, the colossal fabric of British rule in India. What becomes then of these inestimable blessings if at any moment your property may be confiscated, and you may be arrested, kept in custody for months together, without a trial and without a word of explanation? What becomes of the boasted vaunt of the boon of personal liberty and personal security under British rule under these circumstances? Well, brother delegates, I think that under the circumstances we are justified in pressing, if not for the repeal, at any rate, for a substantial modification of these regulations. There are three regulations bearing upon this matter—Regulation III of 1818 of Bengal, Regulation II of 1819 of Madras, and Regulation XXV of 1827 of Bombay. These regulations arm the Government with the power of detaining any person in custody for the reasons set forth in the preamble. The reasons stated in the preamble are these: "The maintenance of the alliances between the British Government and foreign States, the preservation of tranquillity in the protected Native States and the security of the British territory against internal commotion." These regulations were passed in 1818, 1819 and 1827. This is the year of Grace 1897. The most recent of the regulations therefore was passed seventy years back, only nine years after the domination of the Peshwas had come to an end. There might have been some justification for these regulations in those early times when the British Empire was yet in its infancy, and when there were so many elements which constituted a danger to the State. Is there any the smallest justification for them at the present moment? (Cries of "None.") None whatever—I entirely agree with you. We have a vast and stupendous fabric of law reared up by the genius and labours of a succession of eminent lawyers—one of the most magnificent systems of jurisprudence that the world has ever seen. Are not our laws amply

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sufficient to meet all possible and impossible cases of crime that may occur? To say that these regulations are necessary is to say that our legal system is defective. Lord George Hamilton has indeed come forward with an explanation in justification of these regulations. I need not read to you the exact words of that explanation. This is what he says in substance. He says that in India there is a large fund of religious and political fanaticism. Fund of fanaticism sounds queer, but that is the language of the Secretary of State and I bow to it. (Laughter.) The existence of religious fanaticism I admit, but political fanaticism I have never heard of. If the Secretary of State is cognizant of such a thing, he knows more than most people conversant with Indian affairs. This religious and political fanaticism, he proceeds to describe, is more dangerous than dynamite,—it might explode at any moment and subvert the empire. In order to be furnished with necessary safeguards against this religious fanaticism, it is necessary, says Lord George Hamilton, that we should be provided with special powers, with a reserve of power. I am prepared to meet Lord George Hamilton on his own ground. Every Government, being the fountain of authority, the repository of sovereign power, necessarily possesses this reserve of power which it can always employ to meet the exigencies of State. Look at the state of Ireland. Ireland has been in a condition of chronic disaffection for the last six centuries. Has it been necessary to provide the Government of Ireland with a reserve of power to be employed for purposes of coercion? Nothing of the sort. When repressive measures had to be resorted to, all that was done was that the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended. Look at the extraordinary powers which the Home Secretary possesses. The Home Secretary can arrest and keep in custody anybody he likes, but he must, before he leaves office, bring in an Indemnity Bill before Parliament which affords him an opportunity for justification and his opponents an opportunity for criticism. We want much less than what was necessary for Ireland. We don't want, at least for the present, that the *Habeas Corpus* should be extended to the interior. We would of course gladly have it if we could get it (hear, hear); but the probabilities are that we can't get it. Therefore our suggestion is this: that the regulations should be suspended by legislative enactment, and that if it be necessary to revive any of the regulations, then a proclamation should be issued in respect of a definite area, stating the reasons for the issue of such proclamation, and in any case, if a person is arrested under the regulation, he is to be kept in custody only for three months and no longer. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know that I should be justified in detaining you any longer. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") We have recorded our protest. We have done our duty. The Government of India may change its policy, but we, the men of the Congress, true to ourselves, remain firm in our allegiance to those principles which gave birth to the Congress movement, and which will ensure to it its abiding utility. Now as of old, we raised aloft the banner of constitutionalism on which are engraved in characters of light the words "devotion to the British Crown and the sacred interests of our country." (Cheers.) Now as of old, we wish for the permanence of the British rule. (Hear, hear.) Now as of old, we wish to see that rule consecrated by the ties of eternal justice and the principles of universal freedom. We wish to see that rule ennobled and solidified by the frank and cordial acceptance by our rulers of the true principles of British administration. (Cheers.) We appeal to them to abjure despotic methods. Despotism has been banished from Europe. Banished by whom? By England, the august mother of free nations. (Cheers.) And it is her high mission in Asia to supplant despotic methods by the forms of constitutional Government. Our rulers cannot remain stationary. Lord Lansdowne said on a great occasion that men and things cannot stand still in this Empire of the Queen. Nor can they go back. By this irresistible mandate of nature, by the ordinances of divine Providence, they are bound to press forward in that career of beneficence and progress which has added to the stability of British rule in India and which has won for it the lasting gratitude of the teeming millions of my

countrymen. To us it is a matter of inexpressible regret that in this year of the Jubilee, while the rest of the Empire are rejoicing in the accession of enlarged freedom, of extended trade, and of universal happiness, we the people of India should have to deplore the retrograde policy of the Government of India; and the bitterness of this disappointment is intensified by the reflection that in the past, in all celebrations connected with the august personality of our gracious Sovereign (cheers) a substantial boon was conferred, or at any rate the promise of a substantial boon was made. In 1857 when Her Majesty undertook the Government of this country, she consecrated her connection by the issue of that proclamation which is our Magna Charta (cheers), our watch-word, our battle-cry, the gospel of our political deliverance. In 1877, when Her Gracious Majesty assumed the Imperial title, the solemn promise was made for the wider employment of the people of India in the public service of their country. In 1887, when the Jubilee was celebrated, Lord Dufferin foreshadowed the expansion of the councils on a representative basis, and what have we got in the year 1897, in connection with the crowning celebration of the most glorious reign that the world has ever seen? A profusion of titles and decorations conferred upon persons, some of whom are men like Sir Manchurjee Bhowmagree (cries of "Shame"), followed by a policy of repression and retrogression. But I do not despair. There are elements of hope that cheer and stimulate us in the depth of our despondency. The attention of the British public has been prominently called to Indian questions. We have only met with a temporary check. It may be in the words of Mr. Gladstone (cheers), whose birthday is to-day, that the banner which we hold aloft may droop in our sinking hands, but there can be no doubt that others will rise, who born in happier times and under more fortunate conditions and aided by the irresistible forces which silently develop themselves in the bosom of society, will carry that flag, if not, to an easy, at any rate, to an assured victory. The noblest heritage that we can leave to our children is the heritage of enlarged rights, safeguarded by the loyal devotion and fervent enthusiasm of an emancipated people. If we are not able to do that, let us see to it that the rights and privileges which have come down to us from the past, and which we hope to transmit to those who come after us, may remain unimpaired and untarnished. It is inspired by such feelings and animated by such convictions that we desire to record this emphatic protest against these arbitrary proceedings of the Government, and I am sure, having regard to the justice of our cause and the righteousness of our demand, the great God of nations who silently and slowly but with irresistible might leads kingdoms and communities onwards to their destined ends will vouchsafe to our prayer his choicest blessings in plentiful abundance. (Loud and continued applause.)

MR. R. K. R. CAMA (Bombay, No. 55 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the splendid and exhaustive speech that you have just heard and which you and I would have been pleased to have heard for the whole day (cheers), I rise to second this proposition with great diffidence. But, gentlemen, we must progress, and therefore I will say a few words, and hope you will give attention to the same. Gentlemen, the Regulation about which this resolution is framed, was passed so far back as the year 1827 in Bombay. That Regulation states in its preamble the reasons why the Regulation was enacted: "whereas for reasons of State embracing the due maintenance of the alliance formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of Native States entitled to its protection and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion." Well, gentlemen, you see that looking over those troublous times when the British power in this country was in its infancy, and looking to the preamble of this Regulation which I have just read, it is perfectly clear that this enactment was made to be used in times of great danger and difficulty when there was any apprehension of foreign invasion or internal rebellion. This was 70 years ago. During that period India

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has progressed under the beneficent rule of the Queen-Empress of India, so far as it can make that progress, by coming into contact with western civilisation. Gentlemen, since the Government of India passed to the Queen-Empress, we all know that the British rule has been well established and well founded, not only on its own strength, but also on the contentment and loyalty of the people of India. Then, gentlemen, that being so, it may be asked, "How is it that for so many years we have stopped quiet and not done anything to get this enactment repealed?" As far as Bombay Presidency was concerned, the Government and the people all took it that this enactment was a dead and obsolete one. Then, gentlemen, in July last, as you all know, the public was startled to hear of the arrest of two influential citizens of Poona, and the public were alarmed and disappointed at what had taken place. They were alarmed because the public naturally thought that the Government acting under wise statesmanship must have some kind of grave apprehension for internal rebellion or foreign invasion. Then, again, the public were very much disappointed because the Government, after its power was established for a full century, displayed a want of confidence in its own strength and in the benevolence of its own rule over the people of India. Gentlemen, what took place, as you know, was this. In June last, unfortunately on the Jubilee day of the Queen two British officers were most deplorably and lamentably murdered in cold blood. A month after that, the Government put into motion this Regulation and resorted to an absolute and, so to say, barbarous and uncivilised mode of arresting the Natu brothers under powers vested in them under this Regulation. It requires no words from me, gentlemen, to tell you how repugnant to all notions of British liberty and British freedom are such actions of State. Let us therefore see what the highest authority in the land—I mean the Secretary of State for India—had to say in defence of this action. Gentlemen, this statement was made at the last debate on the Indian Budget when I was present in the House and what attracted me most was this :—

"Every Government in the world—whether it were the Democratic Republic of the United States, or the Republic of France, or one of the autocratic monarchies of Europe—must have a reserve of power for times of emergency. All Governments obtained additional powers when they had to deal with exceptional difficulties, either by the temporary suspension of constitutional rights or by special legislation. But, as a rule, the difficulties with which they had to deal were so gradual that they afford time to obtain the powers in a leisurely way. But in India the religious and political atmosphere was charged with electricity. The liberties of the British constitution did not apply, for instance, to criminal lunatics; and in India, almost without warning, an apparently peaceful population might suddenly become as dangerous as criminal lunatics, with but one object before them—to murder the class alien to them."

Gentlemen, this apology in short comes to this: that we are all a set of criminal lunatics, and if Lord George Hamilton sincerely believes that the population of India consists of criminal lunatics, well, I should ask, whether the lunacy has overtaken him or us. (Laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, this plea as put forward by a responsible Minister of State solemnly in the House cannot stand for a moment and for this reason; that since 1827 the criminal law in India has been codified in all its branches. Any offence against person or property, or against the State or society, can be dealt with by the ordinary laws of the realm. Then, again, gentlemen, the Governor-General and Viceroy in Council can at any moment, within a very short time, in a few hours, pass an enactment legislating for the whole of India; nay, he has even the power, without his council, to enact any law or pass any enactment for the safety of the Empire. Then, gentlemen, with this reserve power and with the criminal law in the land, I submit that the plea of Lord George Hamilton cannot stand for a moment. Now, gentlemen, coming to the Natu brothers what happened was this. There were the unfortunate murders on

the 22nd June. The Government offered a reward to find out the murderers, but because the executive or because the Police were incompetent to find out the cause of the murders, after waiting for nearly a month, they put this law into motion with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, because gentlemen in England at that time were misled. First there were these murders. Then there were the Chitpur riots in Calcutta. People in England do not know where Poona is and where Calcutta is. (Laughter.) Then there came the beginning of the frontier troubles. They put the whole thing into one, and they said that there was unrest throughout the length and breadth of India. The Secretary of State there was also misled into this belief, I am sorry to say, by an Indian gentleman who now sits in the House of Commons (shame); and owing to questions on the subject put by him in the House, this Regulation was, I believe, put into motion. (A voice—"Traitor.") Then, gentlemen, I shall just read to you the grounds on which these men were arrested.

"These two native gentlemen who had been arrested were notorious men, and this was not the first time that they had been brought before the notice of the public. He believed that the authorities at Bombay were within their rights in the action which they had taken, and the result of the proceedings would be to unravel the plot that had been formed."

It is five months now, gentlemen. We of the Congress are entitled to know the unravelling of the plot which was then anticipated. We know how far these anticipations were fulfilled. Damodar Chapekar is now said to be the murderer. There is Lord George Hamilton, who says that there is religious and political fanaticism in India. There is Lord Sandhurst in the Council of Bombay, who only lately said that this was done because there was internal commotion. There is then the Chief Justice of Bombay, who recently in the Pratoda case said that these were times of profound peace. Then, gentlemen, I ask you who is right, whether Lord George Hamilton, or Lord Sandhurst, or the Chief Justice of Bombay, or Damodar Chapekar? We are in this confusion. What we now ask is this: that no doubt the Government has apparently made a mistake, this is a power which has to be used in times of great emergency, this power should therefore not remain in the statute book in the naked state in which we now find it, but there should be certain limitations. There should be a proclamation issued in which the Government should give justifiable reasons for putting the law in motion and the person arrested should at the most be only confined in prison for not more than three months; and he should be brought to trial thereafter. You must understand, gentlemen, that in putting this resolution I in no way say at present that the Natu brothers are guilty or not guilty, but the public are entitled to know whether they are guilty or not, and it is an obligation on the Government to inform the public one way or the other, that is to say, either they are guilty, or not guilty, and if they are called guilty they must be allowed to vindicate their innocence. (Cheers.)

MR. P. KESAVA PILLAI (Madras, No. 25 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On this important subject I think there can possibly be no difference of opinion in this Congress pendal. Mr. Banerjee has voiced the opinion of Bengal and given an articulate expression to the educated opinion throughout the country and the seconder has voiced the Bombay opinion. I should say a few words on behalf of the people of Madras, and especially the people in the mofussil. Gentlemen, I think the Government would be wise in acting up to the recommendation contained in this resolution, for it is creating a sort of distrust among the people. Gentlemen, the people, we know, have faith in British justice and fair play. But there are circumstances that have been tending to create a sort of distrust in their minds about the boasted equality and security of person and other things that have been stated over and over again by the people that are governing us. For instance, take the treatment of prisoners in jails,

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and the acquittal of Europeans accused of murder. As regards the treatment in jails, I will give you an instance. There was a Eurasian (employed on a petty salary) convicted of theft of a parcel of silver and gold at Guntakal and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. He is in the Coimbatore Jail, and is given bread, rice, curry and everything; whereas the Hon'ble Mr. Tilak is only given "javar" and other things worth about two annas. (Shame.) That Eurasian is blacker than myself. (Laughter.) You can see from that what an invidious distinction they are making, and these facts are not lost on the common people. As regards the acquittal of Europeans accused of murders, you know that they are not only acquitted, but insult is added to injury, by the enunciation of a monstrous theory. These things are not lost on the people; they reach them in the shape of reports though sometimes distorted, because people do not read newspapers. Added to these things, we now come to the plague regulations. These people have exaggerated notions of plague regulations. Some of them are still unknown. Take again the arrest of Natu brothers. These have shaken the faith of the people in British justice to a considerable extent. They could not conceive of people who preach brotherhood to men and tell us that they are leading the people, while the higher classes of people are looking down socially on the lower classes and regard the submerged tenth as inferior beings. They only preach, but they are unable to act up to the ideals which they set up. They say that civilisation and barbarism could co-exist in the administration of a country, but they say that that could not be on the frontiers of India. Now, gentlemen, we have still got some faith. There is a ray of hope in this gloomy picture, for this reason. The British people have been generous enough to offer magnificent help to the famished people of this country. Russia acted on the principle that we are all made of the same blood in according help to us in our distress, and I believe the English people have been actuated by the same high feeling and sense of justice and sent us magnificent sums for the relief of the poor people of this country. If these people are convinced of the inequitable procedure and actions of the Government in this country, I believe they would insist on the Government of India doing unto us as they would be done by and would also insist that the policy of ruling us with rashness should come to an end. With these few remarks I support the resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. NUNDY.

MR. ALFRED NUNDY (N. W. P., No. 659 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to support this resolution on behalf of the North-West Provinces. I do so with the greatest pleasure; and the reason which has led me to leave my usual comfortable place of a non-speaking delegate on this occasion is that we have not as yet had a single speaker who could speak on behalf of the community to which I belong. I mean the Indian Christian community. As most of you are aware, we have at previous Congresses had the proud privilege of being represented by one who is not only a distinguished member of the community to which I belong, but who, I am proud to say, is reckoned as one of the warmest supporters and as one of the leaders of the Congress. I mean Mr. Kali Churn Bannerji. (Cheers.) It was a matter of great regret to me to learn on my arrival here that at the last moment, owing to illness, he was prevented from attending this Congress. I therefore felt it my duty to come forward and say a few words, not only in support of this resolution, but by way of showing the approval and acquiescence of the members of the community to which I belong, as to the resolutions which have been passed and which may be passed. As regards this resolution which I have been asked to support, I cannot presume to add anything to what has been said by the speakers who have preceded me. I shall only just say this: that this is a resolution which affects all communities, Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians, &c. To-day, it is a Hindu who is a victim to this obnoxious regulation. To-morrow it may be a Mahomedan and the third day a Christian. (Cheers.) Anything therefore that is done to mitigate the stringency of this regulation will be a relief to all communities. With these few words I beg to support the resolution on behalf of the North-West Provinces, and also on behalf of that larger constituency, the Indian Christian community. (Cheers.)

MR. V. K. KALE (Berar, No. 91 on the list) then supported the resolution in Marathi.

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The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President :—The next proposition will be moved by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (Calcutta, No. 661 on the list) said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Resolution, which I have to submit for your consideration, was rather hastily drafted last evening, at the meeting of the Subjects Committee, and does not read as well as I should like it to do. We were unanimous as to the lines on which it should proceed, but owing to want of time we were not able to give it a proper shape. I will give it to you as it stands, but I must ask you to empower me to recast it on its present lines. (Cries of " Yes, yes," from all parts of the house.) The Resolution is this* :—

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That this Congress views with alarm and anxiety the changes proposed in the existing law of sedition which will deal an irreparable blow to liberty of speech and the freedom of the Press ; and this Congress is of opinion that regard being had to the circumstances of the country the law of sedition should be so amended as to bring within its provisions such articles and speeches only as instigate people not to render lawful obedience to the authority of Government or to resist the law by force in accordance with the views of Sir James Stephen. And further that no trial should be by a Magistrate but that all trials for sedition should be before a Court of Sessions or a High Court and by a jury not less than half of whom should be the countrymen of the accused.

That a copy of this Resolution be submitted to the Legislative Council by the President.

As you will see it is a long resolution, but it need scarcely be said that it is one of immense importance. Changes in the law are always to be deprecated. When a law has been in operation for some time, people get accustomed to it, get to know what it is that they have to do or refrain from doing, so as to be well within its provisions and not infringe it in any way. More specially is it the case with regard to the criminal law which, as a general rule, touches the more ignorant classes amongst the community. If the law is altered, it creates a kind of chaos in the minds of the people, and it takes them long before they get accustomed to the altered state of things again. Unless, therefore, imperative reasons of State demand the alteration of the law, it ought to be left untouched. No such imperative reasons, so far as one can gather from the official Gazettes and other public prints, were given when the bill to amend the law of sedition was introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council, and, speaking for myself, I am not aware of any that necessitates any change in the present law.

* Note.—The Resolution as finally recast is here inserted.—EDITOR.

That this Congress views with alarm and anxiety the changes proposed in the existing law of sedition as defined in Section 124A, and of circulating false reports as defined in Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code, and is of opinion that Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code requires amendment, not in the direction of greater stringency but in that of greater freedom, and if the law of sedition in India is to be made the same as it is in England, the administration of it ought to be safeguarded substantially in the same way as it is there, namely, that the trial of accused persons must always be by jury, at least one half of whom should be persons of the same nationality as the accused, and that their verdict should be unanimous. And this Congress strongly protests against cases of sedition being made triable by Magistrates and not by Courts of Sessions and High Courts exclusively, as heretofore, and against the proposal to invest District Magistrates with the power of calling upon persons who, in their opinion, disseminate disaffection, to find sureties of good behaviour for twelve months. This Congress is further of opinion that the changes in the law now proposed will be altogether at variance with the pledges given by Sir James FitzJames Stephen when passing Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code through the Council and will deal an irreparable blow to liberty of speech and freedom of the press, thus retarding the progress of the country and creating terror instead of confidence in the minds of the people.

That a copy of this Resolution be submitted to the Legislative Council by the President.

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In the Penal Code, as it was originally passed by the old Legislative Council of India, there was no specific provision against sedition. Whether the Law Commissioners or the Legislative Council left it out purposely as not being required in the circumstances of India, or inadvertently, as Sir James FitzJames Stephen seemed to think when dealing with Section 124A, it is difficult to say. It is still more difficult to say what had taken place in the country which necessitated the passing in 1870 of Section 124A. At any rate from 1860 to 1870, when provision was made against sedition for the first time in this country, the Government of India remained as strong as ever it was before or has ever been since; and I do not know that we ever heard the cry of sedition during that period. From 1870 to the present time the country has gone on making good progress and, but for the unfortunate events which happened at Poona on Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee day, I do not suppose we should have heard anything about any sedition in the country such as would necessitate a change in the law. The existing law was explained not long ago by Mr. Justice Strachey of the Bombay High Court at Mr. Tilak's trial. I venture to think that there is not a man amongst us here, nor amongst the natives of this country generally, who believes that the explanation given by Mr. Justice Strachey in his summing up at that trial was a proper explanation of the law. (Loud cheers.) I will go further and say that it was a travesty of the law. (Cheers.) But even that travesty of the law is, it seems to me, better than the new bill which Mr. Chalmers has just introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council. Under Mr. Strachey's interpretation of the law even his idea that "disaffection" means "want of affection," we at any rate know where we stand and will be able to take care of ourselves, and not bring ourselves into the jeopardy which has unfortunately overtaken Mr. Tilak. (Cheers.) But if the present bill passes into law it is not too much to say that no public speaker, no writer in the public press would be safe. The introduction of the words "ill-will," "hatred," "contempt," into the section will make confusion worse confounded. As Sir Charles Farren, the Chief Justice of Bombay, said the other day, this is a time of profound peace in this country. I will add that that learned Judge was well within the truth in saying so, and seeing that the law of sedition as authoritatively laid down by the Bombay High Court is not any too lenient towards the people, where, I ask, is the necessity for any change in the law and change in the direction of Mr. Chalmers' Bill? (Loud cries of "No, no," and cheers.) The proposed measure shows an utter distrust of the people on the part of the Government. (Cheers.) What we have done to deserve this distrust I cannot make out. We are, as a people, perfectly loyal to the Government as established by law and have never dreamt of subverting it or of rendering any help active or passive to its enemies to subvert it. The present generation have known no other Government except this, and our rulers are never weary of reminding those of us who require reforms that our people, as a whole, are so bigotedly conservative, that they do not relish any change. Yet, why in this matter of the law of sedition the Government should think that the people desire a change of Government is one of those conundrums which no one can understand. (Loud cheers.) It is possible that the Government feel that they have done nothing to draw unto themselves the loyalty of the Indian people, and it is possible that that is the reason why they distrust us. It is the case of conscience making cowards of us all. But the Government need have no apprehension on that subject at all. (Cheers.) We are all loyal and not only have all responsible persons in the country openly said so, but they have by their acts and deeds proved that they are so. Nobody pretends that the British Government in India is the best of all possible Governments in the world. It has no doubt its defects. But, the defects notwithstanding, it is a good Government, and we are not likely to have any better. So we have given in our adhesion to it, and despite all distrust on the part of our present rulers, we for our part will not swerve from our duty to maintain and support the Government. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Chalmers to make his proposed amendment of the law palatable to us says that his only object in proposing the amendments is to assimilate the law of sedition in this country with the law on the same subject as it exists in England. Well, I have no objection at all to the law of sedition in this country being made the same as the law of sedition in England, provided, of course, Mr. Chalmers gives us in this country the same machinery for the administration of the law here as exists in England. In England, as we all know, trials for sedition are held before a judge, who is a countryman of the prisoner, and by a jury, who are also countrymen of the prisoner, and no trial can take place unless a true bill has been found against the prisoner by a grand jury, who are also countrymen of the prisoner. Let Mr. Chalmers give us this mode of trial, and we shall hail him, however severe he may make the law, as the greatest lawgiver that has ever come to this country. (Loud cheers.) But does he intend to do so? No. (Cheers.) So far from doing so, he is trying in his amendments of the Criminal Procedure Code to empower district magistrates to try cases of sedition—district magistrates who are officers of Government in the strict sense of the term and whose promotion entirely depends upon the good-will of the Government for the time being. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") The present machinery for trial of cases of sedition in this country is bad enough in all conscience. In the Presidency towns such trials must be had by jury. But so far as Her Majesty's British Indian subjects are concerned, that jury may consist entirely of Europeans, and not a single one of them need know the language in which the seditious speech is alleged to have been made or the seditious article to have been written. That is appalling enough, but to entrust trials for sedition to district magistrates is still more appalling. I do not think, I say so with all submission to Mr. Chalmers, that his Bill proceeds on the lines of the English law of sedition at all. He is entirely mistaken in thinking it does. But assuming it does, Mr. Chalmers is prepared to give us the poison in the shape of his amendment, and not the antidote to the poison in the shape of the English machinery for its administration.

I should have thought that seeing that the country has just been passing through the last of a very severe affliction in the shape of famine, that there has been a recrudescence of the plague in various parts of it, and that other circumstances, notably the press prosecutions in the Bombay Presidency, have stirred the mind of the people to its very depth, this is just the time where a wise legislator, even if there was necessity for it, would hesitate long before embarking on a process of action which is sure to give rise, as Mr. Chalmers' Bill has undoubtedly given rise, to great terror on the part of the people. But we, of course, according to our rulers, have no idea of the proper time and occasion for changes in the law. Lord Elgin's Government are all wise, and I am afraid that notwithstanding our protest, and I make bold to say the protest of every right thinking person in the country which will go to the Government, this Bill will be forced into law. All the protests will be in vain. We must, however, carry our protest before a higher authority than even Lord Elgin's Government. We must go before the British Public. We must explain to them how the agents they have sent to govern the country on their behalf and in their name are dealing with the people, that is dealing in a manner wholly unworthy of the British name and the British love of freedom. And if we can convince them that we are right, I have no doubt that the British nation will rise in their wrath and free us from the trammels which Lord Elgin and his Councillors are forging for us. (Loud prolonged cheering.)

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Berar, No. 60 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The proposition which has been moved by our revered leader and friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee is one which demands serious consideration from us. It refers to a matter which is of the gravest and most serious import. It refers to a threatened invasion over freedom of speech and liberty of the Press which were granted to us by the British Government. It means a movement backward. It means a depriva-

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tion of what you had obtained before. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, when that curious charge to the jury was delivered in the Bombay High Court only a few months ago, it was felt generally in the country that section 124A as it stood required to be amended. The general feeling was that an amendment should take place, not in the manner in which it has been brought forward, but in an altogether different manner. Everywhere the feeling was that the principles expounded by Mr. Justice Strachey were not the principles that were embodied in the law of England, and that some of the most important portions of the charge were entirely opposed to that law, and our demand was that our law should be brought into conformity with the law of England,—conformity not only with regard to the Penal Sections but also with regard to the machinery that was to administer the law. We thought that the British Government here would see that the law as contained in the existing section 124A was unduly severe, and that in State trials a different kind of machinery was necessary from what would be found sufficient in ordinary cases of theft or rioting. On the contrary, what we now find done is that by a curious disregard of the usual rules of practice, an amendment to Section 124A is brought forward which makes the law harsher than before, and an addition is given to the powers of Magistrates and to the powers of the Police which never existed in the criminal law of India. It is said by the hon'ble gentleman who moved the Bill that it is intended to bring our law into conformity with the law of England. Now, gentlemen, it may appear presumptuous on my part to question what the hon'ble gentleman has said, but reading once again the English law from the books available to me, I am forced to the conclusion that there has been some misapprehension, and the section which is proposed is not certainly in accordance with the English law. (Hear, hear.) The first thing to which I would direct your attention is explanation 2 which runs thus:—"Comments on the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not constitute an offence." In the first portion of the section what is said is this:—"Whoever by words either spoken or written or by signs or by visible representations, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt or excites or attempts to excite, disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government or promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or ill-will between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added or with imprisonment which may extend to ten years, to which fine may be added or with fine." There are two explanations appended to this, and amongst these explanations explanation 2 is given which is considered as affording a sufficient guarantee for the freedom of speech and freedom of the Press, the existence of which is considered essential by the Government and the hon'ble member. Now, with regard to that I would only ask you to see that as the explanation stands, what is said is this that there may be comments on the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, but those comments should be made in such a manner as not to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection. One may respectfully enquire of the honourable gentleman who has drawn up this section what he means when he speaks of exciting hatred or contempt? In the enacting part of the section itself there is a similar ambiguity—"Hatred" against whom? "contempt" of whom? This has thus to be made clear. Then, what is the meaning to be attached to the expression "exciting contempt?" Hatred is a term which you and I and all the people in the country can understand. But "contempt" is an extremely vague word. Take, for instance, the first resolution which was passed by the Congress with regard to the frontier policy, a matter in which not only we of the Congress agree in condemning the policy of the Government, but even non-official Europeans and members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce are in a line with us, and have pronounced that the frontier policy of the Government of India is one which is doing harm to the Nation. Now, gentlemen, when you censure a certain

policy or a certain measure of the Government, do you thereby excite admiration for that measure or its authors, or do you not thereby excite some measure of "contempt" for it and its authors? If criticism is to be of any value it should, while it is fair, be at the same time effective. And whatever criticism is effective, must certainly produce a conviction that what is being done is wrong, and when it is shown that the measure is wrong it can be easily said that contempt was roused in the minds of the people. Practically, therefore, it comes to this: That there should be no criticism of any Government measure, however wrong in principle or mistaken that measure may be. I ask every Englishman who cares for the interest of England and India, whether this would be a desirable state of things.

Gentlemen, I shall read to you what the English law of sedition is. I cannot read to you the whole thing. I shall only give you a small extract from one work only. "On the other hand, no criticism of the Government or its acts, however severe; no disapprobation; however serious or strongly expressed, amounts to sedition, where it takes the form of free and fair discussion, and where its object is to reform grievances, not to excite disaffection. 'Journalists are entitled to criticize the conduct and intentions of those entrusted with the administration of the Government. They are entitled to canvass, and, if necessary, censure either the acts or proceedings of Parliament, and are entitled to point out any grievances under which the people labour.'"

This, gentlemen, is the English law, and I say that the proposed Indian law is not in accordance with this law, in spite of the high authority of the person who says so. (A voice "Whose authority?") The Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers', Sir. Secondly, I say it is worse than the present Indian law. As Mr. Bonnerjee has pointed out the existing explanation of 124A affords us a far better security than the two explanations proposed to be appended to the new section. Both under the English and the Indian law a criminal intent is of the essence of the offence. In his anxiety to remove from the law of the land a section which did not appear to him "as a model of clear drafting," the learned law-member has—let us hope, through oversight—dropped the most important thing. If, in trying to escape from a burning house I knock a man down accidentally and injure him, the law will hold me guiltless. But if a man, who is deprived of the fruits of his capital and labour by the so-called "Revision" operations of the Settlement Department, presents a petition to the Government showing the injustice done to him and *praying* for redress he is to be hauled up before a magistrate and sentenced to imprisonment or transportation! Thirdly, there is a further thing which is proposed to be done. Till now the trials for offences under section 124A in the mofussil could take place only before the Sessions Judges and in the Presidency towns before the High Courts. Now the power is proposed to be given to First Class Magistrates and Presidency Magistrates. That is to say, to persons who so far as the mofussil is concerned, certainly are under the executive control of District Magistrates—that is, in fact of those who in many cases originate these prosecutions. The result will be this, that in no case can we be certain that even legitimate and most necessary criticism can safely be made. I think that neither in the interests of the governors nor in the interests of the governed is it safe that this should be so. The British Government by its very nature is a liberal Government, and constituted as that Government is, it is necessary for it to know the feelings and wants of the people. But if ordinary criticism made with the most *bona fide* purposes is to be rendered unsafe, the effect of it will be that nobody will think it safe to apprise the Government of what goes on. The result will be that the administration of the country in every form will deteriorate, and both the governors and the governed will suffer by it. I therefore say, gentlemen, that in the interests of the governors and the governed, this change should not take place, and we ask that trials should take place before a Sessions Court or the High Court, that the trials should be by jury, and

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that half at least of the jury should be composed of the countrymen of the accused. That is for this reason : As you saw in the Tilak case, there are utterances given in the language of the prisoner, and if persons who cannot understand the language sit as jury, it cannot be fairly called a trial by jury at all. We next come to the addition which is proposed to be made to our law of sedition. The reason advanced for it is that it is sedition under English law to promote or *attempt* to promote feelings of enmity between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. I am doubtful, ladies and gentlemen, of the correctness of the statement that "attempting to promote" is an offence under English law. But assuming it is so, to the argument that a certain thing being an offence under the English law it should be an offence under the Indian law, it is only sufficient to reply that the safeguards which exist in England ought also in fairness to be introduced here.

Then comes an alteration in section 505 by which the publication of rumours or reports which turn out to be false is rendered penal, even though there may have been at the time of the publication a perfectly *bona fide* belief in the truth of the rumour. And then further by a reversal of the ordinary canons of justice it is to be enacted that it is not the prosecution who have to prove the guilt of the accused, but that it is the accused who has to prove his innocence. I am not aware of any case having arisen under section 505. I have not come across any in the Law Reports. I trust I shall not be considered guilty of exciting "contempt" against the Legislature if I ask whether there was any case in which the existing section was found to have produced failure of justice.

Not content with forging such iron chains for legitimate and honest criticism, a kind of gag is next provided for. By a most wonderful addition to the section dealing with the taking of security from persons of bad livelihood, it is proposed that persons who in the opinion of the magistrate are likely to disseminate obscene or seditious or defamatory matter are to be called upon to give security, and in case they fail to do so, they are to be sent to jail, along with thieves and receivers of stolen property. There is to be no trial. No meeting can be held, no petition for redress drawn up, without risk of this danger.

Will those who advocate such measures pause to consider their effect upon the Government of the country? Autocrats in the Mofussil who resent criticism, who denounce even the ordinary procedure of appeal may welcome such provisions. To unbiased Englishmen they must appear as devices worthy of Turkish Pashas, and not measures to be brought forward by those who have respect for the genius of British policy and the traditions of the British race. I say, gentlemen, the whole of this proposed change is a dangerous innovation, and it distinctly shows that the Government is pursuing a most retrograde policy calculated to produce irreparable harm, and it is our duty to move them not to take this false step. With these words I commend the proposition to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

PANDIT B. NAR-
RAIN DAR.

PANDIT B. NARRAIN DAR (Lucknow, No. 653 on the list) :—Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—If there is any question which has agitated the mind more deeply than another, it is the one which forms the subject-matter of the Resolution which I have the honour to support. The law of sedition has, in some form or other, been the topic of newspapers and public utterances and of Government pronouncements; and the subject was so important, that the public feeling upon the subject was so excited that it was a natural expectation on the part of the people that if the Government proceeds in this matter it will proceed with the greatest caution, that it will consult the voice of the country, and that whatever step it takes will be taken in due time. In all these three respects, gentlemen, I think that the amendment which is to be brought before the Legislative Council fails. It has been thrust upon the Legislative Council with the utmost possible haste. It has been forced upon the Legislative Council, without giving the country any opportunity to express its opinion upon it, and also it has been introduced at a time

when it was most inopportune that it should be introduced, because the general impression in the country is that it would not have been introduced but for the unfortunate murder of two European officials. This is the feeling. Now, Sir, I know that the law member of the Legislative Council said that it was a law which was not meant for any particular class, and it was upon that very ground that they were not prepared to recommend the re-enactment of the Vernacular Press Act. But, Sir, in view of the fact, in view of the circumstances under which this amendment has been brought forward, I am sure it will be difficult for people of this country to believe that it would have been brought forward, if it were not that by the present amendment the liberty of the Native Press only was aimed at. There are three things to be considered with regard to every measure that is brought before the Legislative Council. First, whether the evil which is intended to be cured does really exist. The second thing that is to be considered is whether the measure is efficacious enough to cure that evil ; and the third point to be considered is whether, while it cures the evil, it does not give birth to worse evils than the one it cures. Well, Sir, I shall have no difficulty in showing you that there is no necessity for such a measure as is now before the Legislative Council, nor even if it were passed into law it will meet the necessity of the hour, nor if it does meet it, will it fail to create worse evils than those it is supposed to cure. Now, Sir, it must be first shown that in the country there is an amount of sedition that requires repression ; that in the Native Press there is an amount of disloyal feeling which must be checked by law. I do not know what may be the state of the Press exactly at this time, but I am sure that some twenty-one years ago a similar cry was raised when similar steps were in contemplation, that is to say in 1876. At that time Lord Hobhouse, who, by a strange irony of fate, was one of those who declined to admit the appeal in the Tilak case, recorded a minute which is worth reading to-day, and in that minute while speaking of the comparative merits of the Vernacular and the English Press, and also giving his opinion as to whether the Press was violent and seditious and whether keeping in view the state of the English Press in India, the Government was justified or not in taking any extreme step to put down the liberty of the Press, he said :—

“ As regards the principal subject on which the English and Native newspapers differ in form, there is no difference in spirit,—I mean the subject of class preferences. The English papers do not frequently attack the Government about it, because their own class is dominant. But let there be any attempt to treat classes with more even-handed justice than has been customary, and see what happens. Why, outcries and menaces, compared to which the complaints of the native newspapers are gentle murmurs. In the Mearns case, I forget whether it was one of the newspapers or one of the speakers at a public meeting in Calcutta, who threatened that the European community would be in a state of rebellion if that plain act of justice were maintained. Whoever was guilty of that particular piece of folly, the language of the English newspapers was outrageously violent against the Jessore magistrate, Mr. Justice Phear, and Sir Richard Couch, and threatened the Government with all sorts of disasters, if it supported the sentence. In the Fuller case we are now experiencing a manifestation of the same spirit, though in a milder form. According to English newspapers, our action is lawless, tyrannical, and foolish, and can only be accounted for by the union of gross ignorance with sinister motives. I believe that if we go further back into our history, *e.g.*, to the Black Act, we shall find that the violence and folly of the Anglo-Indian Press upon any proposal to treat the European and Asiatic communities more nearly on an equality used to be greater than they are now.”

Supposing this sentiment is right, and if so far as the violence of language is concerned, there is not much to choose between the English papers and the papers edited by Indian editors, is there any greater reason for enacting such an enactment now than there was in 1876 which Lord Hobhouse who was well acquainted with the condition of

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India, deplored and condemned in the strongest terms possible. But apart from that when the Government say that there is a good deal of sedition in the country which requires repression, what does it show? It shows that fifty years of English rule in India has failed; that the more our education has advanced, the more we have become intimate with English life, the more we have identified ourselves with English sentiment and Western ideas which influence our social life, the more we have come to dislike the English people and hate them,—the more we have come to know them, the more we have come to hate them. I do not know if that does not throw a greater slur upon the English people and the English Government than on the Indian people. Now coming to the second point, supposing for one moment that there is an amount of sedition which requires repression, some kind of check,—is this the measure which is required by the necessities of the times? Well, upon that point I shall again refer to the minute of Lord Hobhouse in which he happened to remark thus: “We have now in our law as much precaution against seditious writing as the original framers of the Code, the Law Commissioners of 1860, the Committee who settled the Code of 1860, and the Committee who settled the supplementary Act of 1870, considered necessary, viz., a penalty for exciting or attempting to excite feelings of disaffection. We ought to have a clear case for taking further powers without trying the efficacy of the law we have enacted after so much deliberation.”

Now, the Government of India having during this year taken very clear steps to see whether the law is efficacious, did any of the High Courts that have had the chance of trying sedition cases ever since seditious prosecutions came into fashion, feel the slightest doubt as to the clearness of the law upon the meaning of the section 124A? I think the first prosecution took place in Bengal, and in that case Sir Comer Petheram did not express any doubt as to the meaning of section 124A. The second important prosecution that took place was in Bombay, in which Mr. Justice Strachey did not express any doubt, and the Privy Council now have accepted more or less the summing up of Mr. Justice Strachey. It cannot be said that with regard to the efficacy of the law there could be any possible doubt whatever. It is a different thing whether we accept the interpretation by these judges, whether we are satisfied with the way in which they interpreted section 124A. So far as the sufficiency of the law is concerned, so far as the efficacy of it in punishing offenders under that section is concerned, there cannot be the slightest doubt that any of the High Courts have had any difficulty in dealing with this matter; but if there was any doubt and if the Government of India thought that the point was one which required clearness, I submit they ought to have gone back to the interpretation put upon the section by the framer of that section. If they wanted to differ from him they should have brought forward a clear case as to why the interpretation put upon the section by the framer himself was not sufficient to meet the necessities of the times. Now, Sir, upon this point, although I have not got the exact wording of Sir James FitzJames Stephen, yet Lord Hobhouse quotes him. He says:—

“When the Act XXVII of 1870 was under discussion, the Native Associations complained of the vagueness of the 5th section, and asked how they were to know whether they were obeying the law or transgressing it. Mr. Stephen answered them to this effect: ‘Go to the English newspapers; whatever they say you may say: that any body should want to be more offensive than they are is inconceivable.’ But that arrangement will be turned against us if we lay down that the very same thing shall be innocent if said by an English newspaper, and criminal if said by a native one.”

I think that is clear enough and nobody can have the slightest doubt that if there was any meaning which Sir James Stephen meant to read into that section, it is the meaning that he so tersely expressed. If the Government of India are not satisfied with that meaning, they ought to have come forward with a fuller explanation for making a departure

and for making the sedition law more stringent and more impracticable than before. My time is drawing near, and I must at once hasten to the third point of my remarks upon this subject, viz., we have also to consider this fact: do the violent writings in the press and the disloyal feeling, if it exists in the country, actually stand in the relation of cause and effect? Are people disloyal because newspapers write violently? I believe that there is an amount of discontent and unrest in this country. Even granting that there is disloyalty in a certain section of the people, is it because the press has made them disloyal? Or has the disloyalty existed before? In their opinion when certain grievances are not remedied, papers write in a particular tone because the papers say that a certain kind of writing is to the taste of a certain community. I do not believe it. I simply believe that there is a certain amount of unrest and discontent, a feeling very natural when legitimate wants and legitimate grievances of any section of the community are slighted and ignored. Coming to the third point as to whether if you pass such a law as this, it will not, while it cures the evil, give rise to greater and worse evils than the one which it is intended to cure, the first effect of such a law would be that while on all hands it is admitted by the Government, by the people and by every section of the public that it is only the lower sort of journals that abuse their liberty, it will not affect the higher class of journals. That may be a very good solution for the lower sort of journals, but I am afraid that will not have a good effect so far as the liberty of the press is concerned. You repress all presses, you place upon them a law which may be put into force against them at any moment. There is no use saying that it affects the lower class of journals and not the higher class. You have to bear in mind that the one certain effect of this measure will be—it may be for a time only—that when the measure is passed, both the higher and the lower classes of journals will certainly not write as frankly and openly as they at present do, and I am sure that will be a greater loss to Government than to the people themselves. So far as the Vernacular Press is concerned—there is not the slightest doubt it is the Vernacular Press that is in the eyes of the Indian Government more than anything else—this is what was said about it in 1876 by one of the members of the India Council at the time, who recorded a minute against the proposed measure of Lord Lytton:

“Nor do I think that Mr. Eden rightly estimates the fidelity of the Vernacular Press—unreasonable though it often is—as an index of Native feeling and thought. Look at from our point of view, its tone is natural, for the sympathy and appreciation of an Oriental people is probably beyond the reach of an alien bureau and foreign despotic Government; while its criticism—hostile as it often is—is generally precisely what is to be looked for under the circumstances, and rarely goes, in substance, beyond strong difference of opinion where such is quite reasonable. Inconvenient, therefore, though the extravagance and occasional want of loyalty evinced by the Vernacular Press may be, we possess in it a useful barometer of Native feeling and sentiment; a barometer such as no menaced or sycophant Press could possibly continue to be. There is an appreciable safety in knowing the worst that even our discontented subjects are thinking of our measures and administration; and the experience of other countries (than England) to which Mr. Eden alludes, has shown that a restricted Press is no guarantee for the loyalty of their subjects or dissatisfied nationalities. There are disadvantages—and grave ones—in having existing discontent and hostile criticism formulated and circulated amongst the people; but, on the whole, I think the balance of political advantage is in favor of an unmenaced Press even in India.”

This was the opinion with regard to the Native Press of men who were well acquainted with the conditions of this country and with the Press of this country. The worst effect of this measure will be, which I need not remind you of, that it will create at a time of peace and quiet an unnecessary distrust in the minds of the people, so far as the action of the Government is concerned. I think, Sir, that in every country

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where foreign rule exists, confidence and affection are amongst the strongest guarantees for that Government; and anything that shakes the liberty of the Press, anything that casts the slightest shadow upon the honesty, upon the fidelity and the loyalty of the people is a thing injurious more to Government itself, perhaps, than to the people over whom it rules. Now, Sir, such was not the policy of past statesmen, and if you read the speeches of Lord Metcalf and Lord Macaulay, you will find that at a time when education had not so far advanced, when India was more backward, when English institutions were even less understood than now, they were prepared to grant full privileges to the press and abide by the good they had done. For the present there is a reaction in that policy. We have now a conservative Secretary of State, backed by a strong conservative majority. We have the policy of reaction in full swing. It was while fighting against this policy of reaction that Mr. Tilak fell, and our only satisfaction is that while he fell, he kept the faith. I have not the slightest doubt that this policy will not last long. The forces of nature are against it, the sentiments of the English people are against it; and I have not the slightest doubt that as long as Englishmen are what they are, as long as the Queen's proclamation is religiously followed by her trusted Viceroys, and as long as Indian people cherish the desire to live under that English rule and look upon that rule as a sure pledge and a sign, under God's Providence, of progress and freedom, so long I have not the slightest doubt we shall resist all attempts to infringe the liberty of the people of this country and protest against all such attempts, and so long we shall try to vindicate those principles and those traditions which it is the highest glory of England to have taught us to revere and regard. (Cheers.)

MR. A. C. MUZUM-
DAR.

MR. A. C. MUZUMDAR (Bengal, No. 688 on the list):—Brother Delegates,—We all feel that we meet here this year under the portentous shadow of a great crisis. The year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven of the Christian era shall long be remembered in this country as one fraught with untold miseries and disasters to the millions of Indian people. As fate would have it, the year of a glorious record-reign has been a year of gloomy record-calamities to us. In fact, if there were a Dryden among us now, it would indeed be his *Annus Mirabilis*. Famine, plague, pestilence and earthquake have been devastating the country from one end to the other. Millions of souls, such as might have densely populated a whole country, have fallen in the hands of an inscrutable Providence; while yet the flower of the army—the bulwark of the Empire—are still being sacrificed by hundreds and thousands to a fatuous policy in the bleak, barren mountain fastnesses of Afghanistan. But, gentlemen, the worst was yet to have happened, and alas! it has come to happen at last. For some years past sordid correspondents and venal journalists had been trying their best persistently to calumniate us, brand us with disloyalty and poison the mind of Government against us. Confident, however, of our own innocence, and still more confident of the greatness of the constitution under which we live, we have always afforded to treat such base libels and calumnies with scorn. But now we have been openly charged and condemned by the State itself for sedition! Gentlemen, born of a people whose ancestors often sacrificed their own children for the supposed welfare of their kings, we disdain to hear lessons of loyalty from those whose liberties are bathed and consecrated in royal blood. But brother delegates, however violent the accusation may be to our feelings, we are now upon our trial and must answer the charge. First, then, gentlemen, conceding for argument's sake—and argument's sake only—that there is sedition in this country, and that both Lord Sandhurst and Lord George Hamilton have in their unerring vision almost simultaneously seen its horrid spectre rising out of its bloody grave of 1857; or to speak more logically in an age of scientific researches, that both Sir Charles Elliott and Sir Lepel Griffin have through close application to political bacteriology, since their retirement on pension, discovered an abnormal existence of sedition bacillus in the Indian atmosphere, does not such a concession, I seriously ask,

involve a tacit admission of incompetency and bunglings somewhere? Where there is disloyalty, there is discontent. And a sudden outburst of discontent after a hundred and fifty years of settled Government—a Government that has unquestionably conferred a thousand and one blessings upon the Indian people—must presuppose mismanagement of no ordinary description at least in some quarter. (Cheers.) Sedition never grows like mushroom; it must have its seeds sown by some one. And then, gentlemen, where is the sedition? Sedition in this country, as has been told by our distinguished leader Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, at present is only a bugbear which exists nowhere except in the wild and oppressed imagination of some people who are naturally jealous of the rising generation of the Indian races. Gentlemen, for what and for whom should we be seditious? Is there any shadow of the Moghul still hovering about the country that is beckoning us to raise the crescent standard on the mouldering walls of Delhi? Is there a Peshwa in the Deccan who is still harping on the dreams of a Maharatta Empire? Then for whom should we be seditious? We can only be seditious either for Russia or for anarchy. And lives there a thinking man in this country, who does not see that there is not much to choose between these two? No, it is our best interest and truest patriotism to maintain British supremacy in India. It is no frothy sentiment of gushing loyalty, but the simplest dictates of commonsense and self-interest. I am free to confess that I like English Government not for England and Englishmen, but for India and the Indian people. (Hear, hear.) England might still be England without India; but India without England would be nowhere at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) In the language of Sir Wilfrid Laurier—pardon me, gentlemen, I have used the name of a Canadian; but what has been said can no longer be unsaid—in the language of the great Canadian Premier, “If we were to cease to be British subjects now, the loss would be certainly ours.” Then wherefore this drastic and retrograde measure? Lord Lytton had gagged the Indian Press, but even he did not gag the Indian people. It was reserved for your Radical Viceroy to forge fetters for both the Indian Press and the Indian public at the same time in one stroke of his pen. Lord Lytton’s violent measure was at once removed from the statute book by his great liberal successor; and is it to avoid such a contingency that under the garb of dealing with extra-territorial offences Lord Elgin’s Government has undertaken by an indirect move to gag both the press and the public by changing the general substantive law of the country? At all events it is altogether an unique proceeding, first to obtain a novel interpretation which is dangerous and unsound, and then hasten to make this bad law sound and good by legislative enactment. (Cheers.) Was it that the Government of Lord Elgin was afraid that if some time were given, some of the other High Courts might interpret it differently. (Voice—‘possibly.’) There is certainly an indecent haste about the matter which may not unnaturally lead to a suspicion that Government is most anxious not to allow any time for any other High Court to express a different interpretation and thereby defeat its object and embarrass its situation. Mr. Chalmers tells us that he is anxious to assimilate the Indian law to the English law on the subject. I am afraid his English dose is a little too strong for the Indian system, and our distinguished leader, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, has told you that we are still prepared for much stronger doses if only the prescription will contain a proper and stronger diet. The spirit of the measure is self-contradictory and, therefore, stands self-condemned. For while the gravity of the offence is further accentuated by enhancing the penalty from 3 to 10 years, its importance is curiously diminished by relegating its cognizance within the competency of the inferior courts. The mischiefs of the proposed change are quite obvious, and I leave its other defects to be dealt with by independent critics. There are many flaws in the Bill which, I believe, ought rather to be left to private criticism and to criticism of the press than form the subject of public deliberation in an assembly of this description. In the name of fairness, in the name of the British constitution, we solemnly protest against this drastic and dangerous measure. We desire to raise our warning voice against a deplorable mistake which the Government is about to commit, but which, we trust, may yet be averted. (Cheers.)

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MUNSHI ABDUL
TALIB.

MUNSHI ABDUL TALIB :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should not have come on the platform to address you after the illustrious speeches that have just been delivered, had I not been ordered by the President and the Delegates. I come here simply to obey you, and I could not venture to disobey you. As far as the debate itself is concerned, I think I am not competent to deal with it so well as it has been already dealt with ; I have to add only a few remarks, and that is as to what sedition means, that word which just now is in the mouth of every one. Looked at from the Congress point of view, that is from the view in which Congress people take it, it means nothing more than a suspicion existing in the mind of the foreign rulers ruling over a country with which they are very little acquainted. What is the condition of the country ? The condition of the country is that people are imported here in India to govern a nation with which they are not at all acquainted, and in only a very few years they are raised to the very high grades of magistrates of the first class, district magistrates and sessions judges. So, it is from their doing that you see that this mischief comes out. If any hint is suggested to them for reform, they impute it to sedition, and they say that the people of India are revolting against justice and against the good institutions established by the British Government. But that is not really the case. What the people ask and what they suggest is as to what ought to be, what is the proper thing,—what ought to be retained for the people of India. The officials, however, take a contrary view. They say “these men rebel against us.” But that is not the case. What is called sedition in India is nothing more than wise counsel, and it is wise suggestion for a reform which ought to exist for the people of India in general. Now, again, the law of sedition may be taken and be dealt with under the head of public law. As you know, in the Indian public or criminal law there is one person who acts as arbitrator, but in point of fact is as well as one of the plaintiffs or as well as one of the parties to the question.—It is quite impossible in such a case that the arbitrator who has his interest involved in the question should be impartial, unless he raises himself out of the sphere of prejudice which has been surrounding him altogether and removes himself out of this atmosphere. If he raises himself out of this atmosphere, he can deal impartially, and then only he can do justice, and at no other time. In this case magistrates having their own interests involved, because it is they who say that the parties who have been brought before them are seditious, are incompetent because they are new imported men, quite unaccustomed to the customs of the country. In the other case they may have their own interests involved, and therefore it is necessary that the question of trying and settling the question of sedition should not be entrusted to one individual, but ought to be placed before more than one person whereby the question of one's influence, individuality, and being interested or actuated with certain motives of his own, may be eliminated or taken outside. That is, if you have some two or three persons associated with the magistrate who is trying the question of sedition, the case can be easily tried. Does any court of this nature exist in India ? One is the Court of Sessions, the other is the High Court. No, these two courts can deal with the question easily because in the first instance they consist of more persons than one with whom the question can be safely entrusted. As far as the High Court is concerned, you can see that because it is instituted by Royal Charter it can very easily and impartially deal with the question, because it is quite an independent arbitrator to the two persons quarrelling. Again, in the High Court it cannot be entrusted to one individual, because one individual is liable to be carried away by his own private ideas, and therefore it ought to be entrusted to more members than one. These members can easily decide the question in which they are not involved.

MR. G. N. KANE (Berar, No. 94 on the list) then addressed the meeting in Marathi in support of the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. JOHN ADAM (Madras, No. 5 on the list) :—Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am unfortunate to come before you a second time with a resolution upon a rather dry and technical subject. In any other country in the world it would seem very remarkable in a discussion upon Criminal Procedure to find any one in the audience except lawyers and criminals as being the only parties who might, one would think, be affected by a measure of this nature. But, for reasons which I need not enter upon particularly, the population of this country takes as much interest in the Criminal Procedure Code as people in other countries are ignorant of it. The resolution which I have to place before you is in the following terms :—

“That this Congress desires to record its protest against the Criminal Procedure Bill of 1897 now pending before the Imperial Legislative Council as being a retrograde and reactionary measure, which will add to the already large powers of the police, invest magistrates with a discretionary authority which they do not now possess, and curtail the powers of the High Courts, all to the extreme prejudice of accused persons.”

Gentlemen, this Criminal Procedure Bill of 1897 is not like one of the exceptional measures with which we have just been dealing. A late judge of the Calcutta High Court has been on special duty for a year in making what is called the decennial revision of the Criminal Procedure Code, although as a matter of fact fifteen years have elapsed since the last revision. We are told by Government that it has been usual, and that it is wise to revise from time to time the Codes so as to clear up any difficulties which may have been found in their interpretation and add any improvements which the course of time has found to be necessary—a principle which, perhaps, is all very well in itself; but this last revision of the Code which has been produced before us does not, as the resolution states, and as I hope I shall be able in a very few words to show you, really carry out in any way what we have always understood to be the intention of these revisions. In fact, if you come to look at it you will find that with two exceptions, *viz.*, the provisions as to first offenders copied from the English law, which was originally intended to be introduced as a separate bill, and in fact which was introduced as a separate bill, but which has now been withdrawn—and the provisions enabling persons who cannot find security to be placed under police surveillance and not sent to jail, I do not think that there is a single improvement introduced into this Bill, there is not a single line added or altered in the direction of progress in the Criminal Procedure Code. As to clearing up doubts which may have arisen, these are infinitesimally few in number, two or three at the very most, and where they have been cleared up, they have been cleared up on the side of making the law more severe against accused persons. But besides that we have a large number of additions to the Bill all tending to produce the three results which are set out in the resolution. Now, I think you will admit that in the first place if the bill adds to the already large powers of the police it must be a retrograde and unwelcome measure. I, like a great many more here, spend a great part of my time in warring against the police, and I certainly do not wish them to be armed with more powerful weapons to enable them to fight better than they do now. But seriously, with all respect to the police, their general character throughout the country is not such as to make any of us desire that they should be armed with larger powers than they now possess. Then secondly, we say that it invests magistrates with discretionary authority which they do not now possess. Here again to increase in important matters the discretionary powers of the magistrates must be regarded as a retrograde measure. We have already discussed and passed a resolution with reference to the separation of the judicial, or more properly speaking, the magisterial and the executive functions, and we know that magisterial powers are very often and to a very large extent exercised by men who, however well-meaning they may be, have neither the training nor the experience nor the ability to act with discretion in the sense in which discretion is used in any form of legal procedure.

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(Hear, hear, and cheers.) With regard to many of them it is not their fault, for as I have said they have not had the training. It is not their business to be magistrates. It is merely a sort of off-shoot of their regular work, and they probably have never heard of the definitions which great lawyers have laid down as to what is meant by discretion or judicial discretion. I believe it was Lord Mansfield who said that discretion in a legal sense means—"sound discretion-guided by law." "The magistrate must be guided by law and not by humour"—not by the mere whim of what he thinks he would like to do. That is not discretion in the legal sense. Discretion guided by legal principles would compel a man in the exercise of his discretion even to do the very thing that he would not personally wish to do. The third point which we say is bad and retrograde is the provision to curtail the powers of the High Court. I do not think I need say a word in support of the principle that if the Bill curtails the powers of the High Court it must be retrograde and reactionary. The extreme powers of the High Court granted under the Charters have always been looked up to as, in the last resort, the palladium of the accused person. There he feels that however hopeless, he has at least one friend, the Judge. High Courts, I know, are not faultless; sometimes one High Court takes one view of its duties and another High Court another. The Madras High Court sometimes does not think very highly of the decision of the Allahabad High Court or even the Calcutta High Court; and doubtless these High Courts repay the compliments. But of one thing we are always certain. We always feel that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice every High Court is guided by a sense of justice, and will do all in its power to redress inequalities and irregularities, or failures of justice which may happen amongst subordinate magistrates; and to curtail its power of doing so and practically to cut away such safeguards must do an infinity of harm. Therefore, gentlemen, if these propositions can be sustained, then I presume you will have no difficulty in accepting the resolution which I have been asked to put before you. But it is one thing to say that this is the effect of the Bill, and it is another thing to show from the Bill itself that that is a correct statement of its effect, and I must ask you to bear with me for a few minutes while I point out some of the new provisions of the Bill which, in my opinion, and I believe in your opinion, will lead you to the conclusion at which I have arrived. I shall try to do so very shortly, and I hope I will not weary you while I am reading them. The first amendment is in paragraph 10 of the Bill in section 10, sub-section 2. There is a new provision altogether which says that "The local Government may from time to time appoint any magistrate of the first class to be an additional district magistrate for a period not exceeding three months, and such additional district magistrate shall have all or any of the powers of a district magistrate under this Code that the local Government may direct." It is not very clear why this extreme power should be given of appointing an additional district magistrate, but it is quite evident how the matter might be worked, and what we have to consider is not the mere harmless appearance of these things on paper, but how they may be worked in practice by any Government or any authority which wishes to use the powers given to it to the extreme extent. Now, it is quite clear that what any Government might do is this: if they had a district magistrate in a district who they thought was not quite strong enough for their special purpose, they have nothing else to do but to say "here are a number of cases of a particular nature which ought to be dealt with severely and strongly, and the district magistrate is a good fellow, but he is rather weak," and they can take one of the strongest men they have and say "you go down to that district as additional magistrate and we give you all the powers of a district magistrate, and you can do anything in that district which a district magistrate can do;" for the provision distinctly says that he is to have all or any of the powers of a district magistrate, while that magistrate is still in his own district. The next point to which I would refer—I am only picking out the worst of them—is comparatively small, but

it shows the tendency of the Bill throughout. This is a proviso to section 21 whereby a Chief Presidency Magistrate is given the same power over other magistrates as a district magistrate has over magistrates subordinate to him. That, of course, affects only presidency towns, but still it is quite a new idea altogether; and unless there is some reason for it, which we are not told, it seems a very reactionary and retrograde measure indeed, and betrays an unwarranted distrust of the junior magistrates who are usually natives.

Section 42 introduces a new section which again, as you will see, may be worked in a most oppressive manner. That is a well-known clause that every person is bound to assist a magistrate or police officer reasonably demanding his aid, whether within or without the presidency towns, and then it gives various occasions on which persons are bound to assist a magistrate or police officer, but this is added as a last clause. "In the suppression of a riot or an affray or the dispersion of an unlawful assembly or an assembly of five or more persons likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace." Read by itself every person is bound to assist a police officer to disperse an assembly of five or more persons, so that any police officer according to this walking along the street and seeing five people talking together, and taking it into his head that they are likely to cause a quarrel, may call upon those around them to come and help him in dispersing such an assembly. The reasons in the statement of objects and reasons are, I don't wish to say, disingenuous; they certainly do not represent the actual facts and show at least a considerable amount of ignorance on the part of the person who really drew them up. The reason is that it merely incorporates section 128. Now, section 128 is the well known section which corresponds to some extent to our English "reading of the Riot Act," and the first important difference between that section and this section 128 restricts the power to station-house officers. This new clause reads "any police officer" not even a man in the position of a station-house officer. The present law contemplates at least a resort to a police station before these measures can be taken, and that section, as you know, *viz.*, section 128 also lays down various regulations as to the ordering of people to disperse, and the people showing a determination not to disperse—in fact, it safeguards the provision in every way. Whereas in this new section merely for the purpose of reproduction we are told it is introduced without any safeguards. I think you will agree with me that it is an extremely dangerous power to give to a simple policeman. Section 54 (3) gives the local Government power to direct that the provisions of this Code relating to arrest without warrant shall apply to village policemen or chaukidars. That is to say, village policemen or chaukidars will on notification by the local Government have the same power to arrest as an enrolled policeman under Act V of 1861. You might say that would be rather a harmless thing, because you know there is the provision in section 61 which states that when a prisoner is so arrested he shall be brought before a magistrate within twenty-four hours, allowance being made for the time necessary to bring him before a magistrate; but in this particular section 61 a new sub-clause is added: "The provisions of this section refer only to detention by a police officer enrolled under Act V of 1861." That clause is especially intended to exclude village policemen or chaukidars, so that the result will be that a village policeman or chaukidar can arrest any one he likes without a warrant, and can keep him in custody as long as he likes without bringing him before a magistrate, and it is not until he chooses to, or till the enrolled police are ready and tell him to do it that he need hand him over to the proper police authorities and place him before a magistrate. The reason given is that if the provision were applied to village police, the time for detention might expire before he can be brought before a magistrate.

If the time given is twenty-four hours plus travelling time, I do not see why the provision could not apply equally to both. In section 68 there are three words added—I do not know what the reason is. There is no excuse for it; it seems to be a change in procedure which might be worked with a great deal of irregularity, *i.e.*, as to the service of

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summonses. The present rule says, "such summons shall be served by a police officer or subject to such rules as the local Government may prescribe in this behalf by an officer of the court issuing it," but now we have the words added, "or other public servant;" so that any public servant may be called upon to serve police summonses by the court or the magistrate who issues it, and every public servant is temporarily for the time being turned into a policeman. Then in sections 83, 85 and 86, which deal with the service of warrants outside the jurisdiction of the court issuing them, as you know, the present rule is, when the warrant is sent it must go either to the magistrate or the Commissioner of Police, and then it is served on the person who is arrested, who may or may not be the person wanted and who must be brought before the magistrate or Commissioner of Police to be assured that it is the right person to be arrested, that the warrant is correct, and then under his authority the accused person is sent to the court from which the warrant originated. To all these sections they have added "or District Superintendent" of Police, so that District Superintendents of Police can now do what the magistrate previously or the Commissioner of Police alone had power to do. These warrants can be executed, one can imagine, in a large number of cases where no harm can come, but at the same time it is very dangerous for these warrants can go all over the country never going out of the hands of the subordinate police. Then there is another provision introduced which I consider is one which, knowing the police as we do, may be worked as a great engine of oppression. That is in the general provision relating to searches. A good many people have not got much confidence in the discretion of the police in the matter of conducting searches, and we also know that searches as they are conducted are very often a great means of oppression. With reference to searches this clause has been added, "where any person *in or about* such place is reasonably suspected of concealing about his person any article for which search should be made, such person may be searched in manner provided by sections 51 and 52." There is no preliminary order necessary. It is not a magistrate that directs a person to be searched, but the police coming to execute the search may, simply because they think some person may be concealing something, search every man, woman and child they find about the place they are going to search. This may be used as a great engine of oppression. There is another clause with reference to persons giving security for good behaviour. If you do find a man who is desperate and dangerous to the community, he certainly ought to be locked up. The unfortunate thing is who is to judge and decide whether a man is so desperate and dangerous that he cannot be allowed to go abroad without incurring great hazard and danger to the community. In a public nuisance section again, it is stated, as you know, that if a person who is accused of having committed a nuisance demands a jury, he can have the matter enquired into by a jury. The new law, if carried out, will be—if the jury find that the order of the magistrate is reasonable and proper, the magistrate shall make it absolute; and the new clause says that if the magistrate is of opinion that there has been misconduct on the part of the jury, he may order a fresh jury; and the proceedings shall then commence *de novo*. If the jury agrees with the magistrate, well and good; but if they disagree with him, the magistrate can have another jury and go over the whole proceedings again. The next matter is one of the greatest importance. I will not discuss it here; it has been much before the public lately. That is the incorporation of a recent decision of the Allahabad High Court with reference to depositions taken by the police at preliminary enquiries. The amendment orders that this shall be considered as part of the police diaries, and therefore shall not be used except as provided in other portions of the Code, that is, practically they shall not be used in favour of the accused but they can be used against him. I need not, as I have said, discuss it, but there is no doubt that it must act most prejudicially against the accused to be unable in any way to check the first statements which have been made by persons interested with reference to the crime with which he is accused. Another important point which I need not dilate upon

is the cross-examination of the accused and of prosecution witnesses and the reserving of cross-examination. There is no doubt, and I am quite willing to admit it that the power to reserve cross-examination is very often abused by members of my profession, especially in the mofussil, and I also think that sometimes the reservation of cross-examination tells rather against the accused than in his favour. That I am quite willing to admit, but there is also very great danger on the other side in taking the cross-examination of witnesses one by one as they come. The danger does not arise so much in England for instance, or in ordinary countries, and it would not arise here as a rule except in very exceptional cases where you could continue the enquiry as it ought to be continued, if you had magistrates who had no other work to do—from day to day until the enquiry is finished. But what happens at present is, we have the enquiry for a day or two in one place, and a fortnight or three weeks afterwards we are asked to proceed to some other part of the country where the magistrate is in camp; two or three witnesses are examined, and the case goes on in that way, so that if the first two prosecution witnesses, who have been cross-examined in the beginning, have broken down completely, then by the next fortnight the prosecution have time to get up completely a new case, and thus the cross-examination of those witnesses is nullified. Though under a proper system of magistracy and continuous trials, it would not perhaps be necessary to reserve cross-examination, still we can see that in the present system of administration of justice by mofussil magistrates, it is a most fatal and retrograde action to refuse the right and will tell heavily against the accused. I have only three more instances to urge. In section 439, i.e., the revision section, it is said in sub-section (5) "where under this Code an appeal lies and no appeal is brought, no proceedings by way of revision shall be entertained, and except as provided by this Code, no proceedings by way of appeal or revision shall be entertained," that is to say, ~~it cuts away the whole of the powers of the High Court under the Charter; no powers of appeal or revision will be left except such as are specially provided under this Code, and these are diminished.~~ That is a curtailing of the old powers of the High Court which, I am sure, for many reasons which I need not enumerate, everyone of us would most deeply regret—every one of us who are interested in the fair administration of justice and in avoiding what one of the ablest of our English judges only the other day described as the greatest of all tragedies, the conviction of an innocent person. I am afraid this Code as amended shows very little sense of the tragedy when an innocent person is wrongfully convicted. As to section 498, which is the Bail section, the second clause has been a very great safeguard. It reads "and the High Court or Court of Session may, in any case, whether there be an appeal on conviction or not, direct that any person be admitted to bail or that the bail required by a police officer or magistrate be reduced." That section is printed as it stands, but in the statement of objects and reasons, it is stated that it is reserved for consideration whether the words "or Court of Session" should not be left out, so that Mr. Chalmers proposes to leave out the words "Court of Session" the effect of which will be that the power to grant bail will be given only to the High Courts, so that every person would have to go to the High Court instead of going to his own Court of Session which he has the opportunity of doing now. There is one other point to which I will draw your attention, and that is sub-section 8 of section 526—the present 526 A.—with reference to transfers. As we know, it compels the Court to adjourn cases for the purpose of giving the accused the opportunity of applying for a transfer from the magistrate trying him. To that section has been added this sub-section in parenthesis, "unless it is of opinion that the application is made for the purpose of delay or otherwise prejudicing the course of justice." That is to say, instead of having an absolute right to go and apply to a superior tribunal for transfer, the accused is solely left to the mercy of the Court from which the transfer is desired, and the presiding magistrate is often most mortally offended when such an application is made, because he takes it as a sort of personal insult. I do not see why that should be the case, but so it often is. At present, if the application is made in proper time and in a proper way, he is

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obliged to grant it ; if not, a person has the opportunity to apply to the High Court, but that right is swept away because it is to be left altogether to the discretion of the magistrate, and if the latter chooses to think that the applicant wishes to cause delay, he would not grant it. I need not trouble you any more ; I have selected the most important of the alterations, and I think I have said sufficient to prove to you that the effect of all these amendments taken together is that which is stated in the resolution which I have put before you. I have not suggested any improvements which might be introduced at the period of revision. If it were an ordinary occasion, we might spend our time in suggesting improvements, but unfortunately we have to spend our time instead in deprecating and opposing the amendments that are suggested. Therefore I must content myself, at least at present, with having pointed out to you what I consider to be the most serious defects in the amended Bill. I hope our representatives upon the Viceroy's Council will take care, as far as they can, that this Bill is not passed in its present form. I have great pleasure in proposing the resolution which I read to you at the commencement. (Cheers.)

MR. HARIPRASAD
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MR. HARIPRASAD CHATARJI (Kriahnagar, Bengal No. 684 on the list) :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The resolution which I have come to second was proposed ably by Mr. Adam, and he has practically dwelt upon almost every section which could have been laid hold of by a lawyer ; but still I consider that some of the important changes ought to be spoken to, though very briefly. One of the most important changes that have been proposed to be made in the Criminal Procedure Code is section 109, which was not introduced into the Bill when it was first presented in the Viceroy's Legislative Council on the 15th of October 1897, but which has recently been introduced into the Council. This section 109 reads in a somewhat different form. It says that unless a man who misbehaves himself is able to ~~and sureties to be of good~~ behaviour for a term not exceeding twelve months, he is to be brought under the purview of ordinary section 109, and that from the words of the hon'ble member who proposed this amendment, it appears that the machinery may operate as an effective warning. It has been stated there that the Council of the Government of India refused to take any action about gagging the press ; but this must have been meant doing so in a direct manner, knowing the effect of the Act, as it would place in the hands of the executive an engine of control of the press which in many cases might be so used as completely to stifle free discussion. It would seem also from the remark that was made at the time, that the High Court and the Courts of revision would see that provision is not used in any way oppressively—that there is no right of appeal under section 109. Therefore there is another reason—stronger reason—why this amendment should not be introduced into the Code. Moreover, you have heard many speakers who spoke about sedition law and section 124A, say that there is the precaution that a prosecution cannot be undertaken without the sanction of the local Government or the Governor-General in Council ; but in a case under section 109, no such sanction is necessary ; the magistrate of the district will himself be empowered under the law that is going to be enacted, to prosecute persons under this section, and we do not know whether persons who either by their writings or their speeches have made themselves obnoxious to the district authorities, will not find themselves placed in a queer position when they have to be tried by the same authorities. As to the proposals made regarding curtailing the accused's right of inspecting police diaries, I shall only state to you one of the grounds that were put forward by one of the judges of the Allahabad High Court ; and it is this : that if a person who gave his deposition before the police was going to be examined in a case as a witness, his statement to the police will not be relied upon and will not be allowed to be placed before the Court to test the truth of what has been stated at some earlier stage of the proceedings by which the accused person might help himself. But, gentlemen, you will find these provisions have been criticised more or less in the different newspapers of the

country. One point I wish to lay stress upon is about the accused's right to apply for a transfer, which is now going to be limited, before any evidence has been taken. Many of the Judges of the High Court know that after the trial has commenced, many of the Judges make some remarks to show in what way they will decide the case; and these form the grounds for application for transfer to the High Court; and if this right of transfer is only to be exercised before any evidence is taken, these grounds will altogether be left out. There is another provision that has been dilated upon by our respected leader Mr. John Adam, namely, section 257, clause 2. That clause is very mischievous, because in our part of the country, that is, in the mofussil, in almost all places, the accused persons do not know what the charge is; they are taken before a magistrate, and on the first day they are sent up, the evidence of the prosecution witness is taken, and also they have the opportunity of cross-examining them. Unless they give the information to the pleaders, they cannot successfully cross-examine the witness, and that is the only opportunity of cross-examining the witnesses, because in the later stage of the case, they will not be allowed to avail themselves of the opportunity which they now have of further cross-examining the prosecution witnesses. I can say that if this provision is enacted into law, this will work injuriously and to the detriment of accused persons. With these words I beg to second the proposition.

PUNDIT K. P. KAVYA BISHARAD (Bengal, No. 686 on the list):—Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You need not be afraid that I am going to inflict upon you a speech in support of this resolution. I should say that this Bill has been proposed in order to make you feel that our laws move. Well, you may call this move a retrograde and reactionary movement; nevertheless it moves, but I should say that I have a greater affection for the Act as it is, than for the Bill as it is proposed. I have a greater affection for it. I have got no Morris's Dictionary with me to define the meaning of the word 'affection.' The greater reason therefore there is for me to heartily support this resolution which is before you without any speech at all.

MR. PANDURANG GOVIND (Berar, No. 64 on the list) addressed the meeting in Urdu, in support of the resolution to the following effect:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The proposed resolution now before you is about the Bill of 1897, for the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The reasons for this resolution were fully given to you by Messrs. Adam, Hari-prasad Chatterjee, pleader of Krishnagar, and Pandit K. P. Kavya Bisharad of Bengal, and I am now called upon to explain the amendment briefly in Urdu to those of the audience who do not understand English.

I must beg pardon of the gentlemen who could follow and have appreciated my predecessors' speeches on the subject, because they will have to spend in vain the time which will be occupied in my address to this assembly in Urdu.

There are so many objections to the Bill that to fully explain them all, it will take a very long time indeed. I will therefore attempt to bring only a few of them to your notice, to convince you that the amendments embodied in the Bill are not calculated to improve and simplify the present Law of Criminal Procedure, but on the contrary are such that if they are passed, they will be very good weapons of oppression.

In the first place, you will notice that the local Government is by para. 3, section 54, authorized to apply all the provisions of this Code relating to arrest without warrant with such modifications as they may like, to village Police (or Jaglias as we call them in this province). These are not enrolled under the Police Act, and it being nowhere

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provided within what time the person or persons arrested by a member of this Jaglia force are to be brought before a magistrate, it may so happen that any person may be arrested by a Jaglia and kept for a longer time in custody than the time (24 hours) within which the regular police are bound to produce such arrested person before a magistrate. An unscrupulous police officer, by getting a Jaglia to arrest a person, can gain the advantage of keeping such arrested person for a long time without having to trouble himself to obtain an order of remand from a magistrate, who can grant such remand for good reasons only.

Gentlemen, you know the worth of our Jaglias very well. They are merely tools in the hands of Patels and have to work under police directions. A police officer, who intends to keep any person in arrest for more than the time he is authorized by law, can do so by telling a Jaglia to arrest that person, instead of arresting him personally. This provision is therefore a powerful weapon likely to be used in taking harsh and unjust proceedings against an unfortunate innocent person.

Secondly, I beg to draw your attention to the provisions under section 118 in which discretion is given to the magistrate to order that any person shall be placed under police supervision for a term not exceeding three years, for keeping the peace or maintaining good behaviour, instead of demanding security from him. Now, you all will be able to see how the magistrate is strongly armed by this provision to add more injury and annoyance to the person brought before him, under Chapter VIII of this Code for security for keeping the peace and remaining in what is called good behaviour.

Thirdly, then section 172 is copied word for word from the present Code—in not allowing an accused person to have the use and the inspection of the statements made by any witness before a police officer and recorded by him. We have, under the authority of the cases decided by the Calcutta and Bombay High Courts, obtained up to this time the inspection of such statements and cross-examined the witnesses for the prosecution on those statements. But the Allahabad High Court, differing in a recent case from the Calcutta High Court, decided that an accused person has no such right. All my professional brethren present here know very well that we have in many cases succeeded in exposing a false case by having inspection of the statements recorded by the police, and by contradicting with the aid of such statements unscrupulous witnesses who have altered their story. If the inspection and use of statements is refused, as is proposed by the Bill under consideration, there are no good means left to the accused in prison to find out and to show to the Court the weak points in the case brought against him, and which may have been subsequently strengthened by concocted evidence.

I must now go to Chapter XLIV and read Para. VIII, sub-section IV of section 526. This section provides that the notice of the intention of making application for the transfer of any case should be given before the hearing has commenced, and the applicant must satisfy the court in which the case is pending that the application is not made for the purpose of delay or will otherwise be prejudicial to the course of justice.

Gentlemen, in a number of cases we find that a proper cause for making application for transfer arises after the commencement of the trial or inquiry. Under the present Bill not only will it be that there will be no remedy for cases like this, but even for an application before the commencement of the trial, an accused person must satisfy the court from which he would wish to withdraw his case, that his intention is not to cause delay or otherwise prejudice the course of justice. Under this vague and very generally worded provision, I think no application for transfer can be made, unless it is well supported by the court itself in which the case is pending.

Gentlemen, I am now told that my time is over. I therefore add one more point, and that is about the curtailment of the revisional powers of the High Court. In my judgment this provision will prove a most injurious one, especially in a province like Berar, where a great many people are utterly ignorant, and several have no means of getting the assistance of legal advisers. Though I have no actual figures here in my hand to show in how many cases the High Court of this province thought it necessary to exercise of its own accord its revisional powers in cases decided by subordinate courts, in order that real justice should be done, I can assure you that there are many cases which come under this head in which orders and sentences were quashed by the High Court. By restricting the High Court to exercise its revisional jurisdiction, a further bar will be created for closing the doors of justice against accused persons.

On the grounds submitted by me and by my predecessors, I hope you will unanimously vote for the proposition moved by Mr. Adam.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The President:—It is now 3-30 P. M. and we will adjourn for half an hour.

The Congress reassembled at 4-10. P. M.

Mr. J. GHOSAL (Calcutta, No. 665 on the list):—With the permission of the President, I should like to say that gentlemen who were delegates to the last Congress at Calcutta will get their copies of the report by calling at the Secretaries' office in this compound. Those that want to purchase them will also get them there at one rupee each.

The President:—Gentlemen and delegates, I have to ask you to authorise me to send in your name a telegram of congratulation to Mr. W. E. Gladstone. (Cheers.) He is completing his eighty-ninth year this day.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee:—I have to propose three cheers for Mr. Gladstone.

The audience rising to their feet, and waving their handkerchiefs, heartily responded to this call.

The President:—After that cheering, I take it that I have your permission to send that telegram.

Gentlemen, I put the next resolution which runs as follows:—

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

This is one of those resolutions which we have discussed often, and on which we are agreed. No discussion is needed, and I therefore put it from the chair.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. P. N. Joo (Berar, No. 59 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall, with your permission, read out to you the proposition that I am called upon to move.

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

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Berar.

Mr. P. N. Joo.

Gentlemen, I am sure that if we had proposed this proposition at any other session of the Congress except the present one, the prayer contained in it would have been granted as soon as it was made. It is said with regard to this proposition that the Berars, or to use the official designation the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, or to use its telegraphic designation H. A. D. is a unique province; it is neither in British India nor in a Native State; it is an amphibious animal, it is neither a land nor a water creature, it is a frog; how can you ask the Government of India to pass laws for you in its Legislative Council? I say there is that difficulty, it is true, but we need not be afraid of that difficulty. The Bombay Government, to be accurate as a lawyer has to be, has decided that question and removed that difficulty by holding and deciding that the position of the Government of India with regard to the Berars or Hyderabad Assigned Districts is the position of a mortgagee, and that lawyers at least will recognise that in that position the Government of India is a mortgagee in possession; and in equity and in law a mortgagee in possession is bound to manage the property mortgaged to him as a prudent man would manage it as if the property were his, that is the mortgagee's own. If that is the case, we ask that the Government of India should pass all our laws, inasmuch as the Government of India passes laws for British India proper, after a full discussion in the Legislative Council. We ask that they are bound, according to the principle enunciated in that legal maxim, to so administer and manage this province as if it were part of British India. And then, gentlemen, with regard to the many reforms asked for by this Congress, it has been often times the case that an excuse is put forward. "Yes," they say, "your reforms are reasonable, they are desirable, but we have not got funds." But the reform we pray for in this proposition would not cost the Government of India one pie more, nor would it create any demand on the time at the disposal of the necessarily hard-worked Legislative Council of the Government of India. It will at the same time guarantee to us the benefit of the wisdom that is supposed to be inherent in the multiplicity of Council. Gentlemen, you might ask me whether there is any justification for asking the prayer contained in the resolution, and with your permission I cite one instance, and one is as good as many. In the notification which the Government of India issued making the Criminal Procedure Code applicable to the Berars appears a curious provision which illustrates my meaning. I shall, in order not to take up your time unnecessarily, read the provision to which I allude. "Provided also that for the purpose of facilitating the application of the provision of the Code hereby applied, any Court in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts may construe them with such alterations not affecting the substance as may be necessary or proper to adopt them, to the matter before the Court." Now, gentlemen, you will agree with me that this is the widest discretion that could possibly be conceived to repose in a magistrate. They could make any alteration in the Criminal Procedure Code in administering law in any case before the Court. Well, now, is that reasonable? I am willing to believe that this was never deliberately intended, but that is the principal reason why we ask for the reform; it is to provide against oversights of this character. We ask that the laws enacted for Hyderabad Assigned Districts shall be passed by the Governor-General in the Legislative Council, and not in the Executive Council. If we were to press the principle up to the furthest limit, viz., the principle that a mortgagee in possession is bound to manage the mortgaged property as a prudent man would manage it as if it were his own, we can even go further and expect the Queen to send one of her younger sons to rule over us as King, the Zemindars and the big land-owners constituting the aristocracy and the rest of us forming the House of Commons. (Cheers.) But we do not ask for such a reform as that. We come with the humble prayer that the laws to be made applicable to Hyderabad Assigned Districts shall be passed in the Legislative Council of the Government of India. I think what I have said is quite enough to justify the prayer contained in that resolution; and in that spirit

I place it before you for your unanimous acceptance. There is likely to be an impression created in the minds of some of the people who are loyal subjects of His Highness the Nizam that in doing, what I ask, should be done, we might be jeopardising the interests of His Highness the Nizam. I say we intend nothing of the kind. I do not see that there is any reason to doubt that this is only what we want in the interests of justice, and that it can by no means affect the rights of His Highness the Nizam.

MR. SHEORATANSINGH (Berar, No. 313 on the list), in seconding the resolution, addressed the meeting in Hindustani.

MR. GULAM AHMED KHAN (Berar, No. 590 on the list) also addressed the meeting in Hindustani, of which the following is the purport:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am a Mahomedan delegate from Berar, and am proud to tell you that I am not a follower of Sir Sayad Ahmad.

There is little in what I have got to say which could convey any new information to a learned body like this, but since the President has been pleased to place his behest upon me that I should support the learned and eloquent speakers who preceded me, I feel it incumbent upon me to respect that command and to add by a weak voice to that of my friends.

Gentlemen, you know that Berar is a Province assigned to the British Government by His Highness the Nizam for certain purposes. The officers entrusted with the administration of this province are appointed by the Government of India. Though Berar is not a part of British India, the Governor-General in Council exercises the same authority over it as he does over the provinces which constitute British India. In the matter of legislation, however, our laws are framed not by the Legislative Council, but are imposed upon us by a notification issued by the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council as an executive measure. The disadvantage of this system is that in several instances the laws and regulations made applicable to us are unsuitable and do not meet with our requirements. The general laws extended to Berar are, it is true, considered in detail in the Legislative Council. But even with regard to those laws we often find that modifications are made which are not beneficial to us. Mr. Jog, the gentleman who moved this resolution, gave you an instance of the manner in which this power is exercised. There are many regulations enacted specially for Berar. It is with regard to the manner in which these are framed that our complaint lies. Affect though they do hundreds of thousands of people, none of their representatives or their leaders have any opportunity to put forth their views with regard to the provisions contained in them before their enactment and publication. To notice only one of such laws, there is the Forest Law and the rules under it. I admit without hesitation the necessity of conserving forests. But the rules to be framed for this purpose ought not to be oppressive and unnecessarily vexatious. As a landholder and a man moving every day among the people of the villages, it is my lot to hear the bitterest complaints against the forest regulations. I am sure that if before framing these laws and regulations an opportunity were given to those concerned or feeling interest in the matter to express their views, the rules would be infinitely less harsh and unsuitable without losing anything in the point of efficacy. There is no reason why Berar should be in less favourable position than the Districts of British India, and I earnestly trust that Government will accord to it the same rights and status as are accorded to the latter.

MR. RAMANJULU NAIDU (Madras, No. 13 on the list):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution I have been called upon to move is as follows:—

“That this Congress prays that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the causes of periodical famines and the remedies for the prevention of the same.”

Third Day.

Resolution XVI.
Improvement in
the method of
legislation for
Berar.

MR. P. N. JOG.

MR. SHEORATAN-
SINGH.

MR. GULAM AHMED
KHAN.

Resolution XVII.
Extension of the
scope of the
Famine Com-
mission.

MR. RAMANJULU
NAIDU.

Third Day.

Resolution XVII.
Extension of the
scope of the
Famine Com-
mission.

MR. RAMANJULU
NAIDU.

This resolution is really a very important one. I hold in my hand the report of the Famine Commission presented to both the Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty after the close of that great and unprecedented Famine of 1877-78. It discloses the horrors committed by that famine. I have no time to read even extracts from it. By passing this resolution we very much strengthen the hands of those members of Parliament who have so kindly and sympathetically submitted recently a memorial to the Secretary of State for India recommending a great extension of irrigation in India as safeguards against famines. The *Blackwood Magazine* has published this memorial, and the *Hindu* of 24th instant had extracts from it. I will read the extracts later on if I have time. The memorial referred to covers the Deccan Districts in the Madras Presidency which I belong to. Our rainfall is very precarious and scanty. I still remember the great horrors of that great and unprecedented famine of 1877-78. I also remember the horrible-looking skeletons of dead bodies which were lying unburied by road sides in the District. People fled away, leaving their children to the tender mercies of the Almighty, and in addition all cattle perished. In 1854 our district had terrible famine, again in 1865, again in 1876, in 1891 and in the one just closed. Before we recover from the effects of one famine, another is ready to overtake us. To prevent these periodical visitations of famine, the Government have absolutely done nothing, nor have they adopted the wise recommendations of those who, by their enquiring skill, proposed to avert famines by sound irrigation works, viz., General Sir Arthur Cotton and General Fischer, both of the Royal Engineer Corps. Both these officers carefully investigated and designed a project for Deccan Districts in Madras calculated to irrigate one hundred thousand acres of land. This they designed for us as a perfect safeguard against all famines as they did for Godavery and some southern districts in the Madras Presidency, and the people living about the places where waters of those grand rivers are taken are the happiest indeed. Similar safeguards were suggested for our side by these very officers, but we have not been fortunate enough to enjoy the benefits of their disinterested labors. We have a very sympathetic Governor in the person of H. E. Sir Arthur Havelock, who is very much in favor of extension of irrigation in the Madras Presidency, and it is time that we strengthen the hands of such a sympathetic ruler and those kind members of Parliament who have submitted the memorial referred to on our behalf to the Secretary of State. The Commission now sitting should be thoroughly recast, should be thoroughly representative, and their enquiries should be far wider and not of a hole and corner fashion, as is the case very often. They must go from place to place and make patient enquiries, and if possible, some members of it must go to England to explain matters. One of the designers of that great and grand project, viz., General Fischer, R.E., is still in India. He should be put on the Commission. Engineers of to-day differ from those two pioneers of irrigation, as it was the case the other day among doctors in a recent plague case at the Madras General Hospital. It is for this reason also, apart from others, that one of the earliest projectors who fortunately is still in India should be put on the Commission. As I said just now, the Government have done nothing to prevent famines on our side, but simply as in duty bound find money enough from their enormous borrowing powers to alleviate distress when one occurs, and they go further than this by going abegging in the name of the people of India for alms. This is a pitiable and hand-to-mouth policy indeed. I also ask you, gentlemen, to authorize the President to send a copy of this resolution to Sir William Wedderburn for presentation to the Secretary of State. We have a large number of members of Parliament in sympathy with us outside our British Committee in England, who have submitted the memorial referred to, on our behalf, for extension of sound irrigation works to prevent recurrence of famines. At present the budget allotment for irrigation is very small when compared with allotments for railway extensions. Rs. 7,75,000 was provided for irrigation works, while 14 times as much was provided for railways. If I remember aright, I read recently that for the last 30 years our railways, both State and Guaranteed, are work-

ing at a loss of some 60 crores of rupees. If this sum at least was spent on irrigation, our famines would have disappeared. With these observations I commend the resolution to you for your acceptance. (Cheers.)

PROFESSOR A. S. SATHÉ (Poona, No. 42 on the list) :—Mr. President and Gentlemen,— I beg to second the famine proposition just now proposed by my friend from Madras. This is a proposition which affects the millions of India, and it is one of those propositions which go to prove that the Congress is a body which cares not for its own individual members, but for also those helpless millions who have got no voice, who have got no representatives and whose cry is like that of one crying in the wilderness. Gentlemen, this question of famine is one which affects much more the masses than the classes, and the Congress will earn the eternal gratitude of the nation by taking up the famine cause in right earnest. The famine of last year has revealed to us in all its ghastliness the chronic poverty of the masses, and let us say in all our gratefulness, in all our gratitude, it has also shown to us the enormous strength of the Government in coping with such a calamity. We should be grateful for what has been done for us, though at the same time we are sorry for the devastation caused by the famine. Five hundred years ago in 1396, this blessed land of ours, this glorious Maharashtra was devastated from beginning to end by a famine. It is still sung in song, and still told in story, that a famine named Durga Devi famine lasted for more than twelve years and devastated the whole nation. After 500 years, in 1896, we see another famine of the same nature, a famine which has been aptly termed as the greatest calamity of the whole century. This greatest calamity of the century has been revealed to us, and we are to consider it not as a temporary famine, not as a temporary calamity, but as one whose roots lie deep somewhere; and it would require our best energies to cope with it. Gentlemen, we must be thankful for what has been done for us by the Government, and also for what has been done for us by the world at large. This demon of famine required for its total suppression the energies of the most powerful nation in the world as well as the benevolence of the whole world. And while being thankful to all of them, we must set ourselves in right earnest to cope with these ever recurring famines to find out their true origin and just hit the right nail on the head. At the present time the enemy lies prostrate before us. The victory, if any, has been achieved, thanks to the work of many of you, thanks for the benevolence of the world at large, and thanks to the good men of the Government. Yet we ought not to forget that a greater duty lies before us; we ought to collect all our evidence, sum up all our experience, and while collecting our experience, we must set them in a whole and arranged form before the benevolent British public. We must convince them as to the whole state of affairs in India, so that they will be able to strike at the very root of all evils and undo the mischief that has been caused by the famines lasting for more than a century. Here is a picture of the last famine (*showing a picture*). While you are assembled in this pandal, you will be rather horrified to see the skeleton at the feast which terrifies all of us; but we must not be terrified, we must set ourselves in right earnest and work against famine. Gentlemen, these famines are not temporary. It would be mere blindness to assert that the famine is a temporary calamity; it would be a supremely irrational optimism to say that it will be stamped out in a single year or a single day. It is a growth of a bad system of working, of a sort of bungling carried on for over a century; and though we may differ in principles, officials and non-officials are at one on this point, viz., that the famine has caused a very great moral and intellectual devastation throughout the length and breadth of this land. Some officials assert that the poverty of the masses, the recurrence of the famine and their utter and total prostration by the famine, in a single year, is caused by nature or caused by their own high living, their imprudence and so forth. I think this is rather a way of shelving off responsibility on poor helpless shoulders; this is a sort of official bungling, and official apologists, however powerful they might be, will have to succumb

Third Day.

Resolution XVII.
Extension of the
scope of the
Famine
Commission.

PROFESSOR A. S.
SATHÉ.

Third Day.

Resolution XVII.
Extension of the
scope of the
Famine
Commission.

PROFESSOR A. S.
SATHU.

to facts—facts which tell too powerfully that the famine is a work of bad administration. (Cheers.) One of our most distinguished Professors, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, and that noble-minded Scotchman who just now preceded me, Mr. John Adam, have stated that our masses, our ryots, are the most sober, the most free from vice and the most industrious. I need only add my humble voice to say that they are so. Their poverty is not due to extravagance or internal causes, but due to causes which come from outside; and to these causes we must apply our remedy. I shall only describe to you in brief a very few of those causes. Firstly, there is no irrigation amongst us. There are so many railways, and it has been asserted over and over again by official apologists that they have been the means of checking the famine. But, gentlemen, there is one fallacy in that. Our famine is a famine of money and not of grain. We have got enough of grain, but the poor ryot has not got a single pie to buy grain in the time of famine. That is why our ryot is poor. Construct railways howmuchsoever you might, they will only help the English trade, but will in no way alleviate the distress of the poor masses. What we want is irrigation. We also want that these frontier expeditions which in the single year of 1896 have cost us much more than all the famines of this century should be put a stop to. We also want remission as well as suspension of revenue in times of the utmost distress to poor ryots, so that they may not be driven into the meshes of the sowcar. We want all these matters to be enquired into, and that the enquiry to be conducted by the Commission ought to be on these lines. Sir William Wedderburn hit the right nail on the head when he asked for a village to village enquiry, and when he asked for a Royal Commission on Indian expenditure, he did not get it and was unceremoniously refused. However, let us make the best of our opportunity. When we have got one Commission already, let us request the Government, and let us at the same time be moderate in our request, and ask them to instruct the Commission to enquire into the real causes of the famine. Gentlemen, this is the subject-matter of our mournful murmur over a long time. I hope that one day all our complaints may be satisfied at least on this head. When we ask this we shall perhaps be charged with being seditious. Poor ignorant men, who do not know our loyal feelings, who do not know that we are loyal by instinct and obedient by interest, say that we trouble the Government by advocating helpless righteousness. But our duty ought to be performed, and duty alone would touch the British heart, evoke British admiration and enable the British Government to give us what we want. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution XVIII.
Vote of confidence
in Mr. Dadabhai
Naoroji.

THE HON. RAI
BAHADUR P.
ANANDA CHARLU.

THE HON'BLE RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU (Madras, No. 2 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am not before you to make a speech for the best of all reasons that presently you will practically prevent me from making a speech. I am perfectly sure I know you better than you know yourselves, because as soon as I read the proposition, you will substitute a hundredfold of cheers, and thus prevent me from uttering a single word. I put forward the challenge, and I am sure the challenge will be answered. Now listen to the proposition and wait till the end:—

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

I have defeated you because you have prevented me from making a speech.

BABU MOTI LAL
GHOSE.

BABU MOTI LAL GHOSH (Calcutta, No. 673 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I come before you simply to second the resolution which has just been proposed by my esteemed friend Mr. Ananda Charlu. It is a very apt proposition, and it is a very agreeable one too; and I have therefore great pleasure in

seconding it. He is our grand old man, and we wish him long life, that he may serve our country in the way in which he has been serving it all these years. With these words I second the resolution.

Third Day.

The proposition was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President:—I will move the next proposition:—

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

Resolution XIX.
Vote of thanks to
Sir W. Wedderburn
and the British
Committee.

THE PRESIDENT.

And that a sum of rupees sixty thousand be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and cost of the Congress publication “India,” and also for the expenses of the Joint General Secretary’s office, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1898.”

The resolution was carried unanimously with enthusiastic applause.

The President:—I also move the next proposition:

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

Resolution XX.
Appointments of
the General and
Joint Secretaries.

THE PRESIDENT.

The resolution was carried with acclamation, the mention of the name of Mr. Hume evoking a chorus of enthusiastic cheering.

THE HON’BLE RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU (Madras, No. 2 on the list):—Brethren,—I am now before you not in my individual capacity; I represent the whole of my Presidency and I am their spokesman, and I am commissioned to ask you to accept the invitation from Madras to hold the next session of the Congress in that Presidency. The actual town may have to be fixed upon later on. I am emboldened to make this request among others for this reason that the Rajah of Ramnad, who gave us no less than Rs. 10,000 during the last Congress at Madras, has given us his hearty sympathy, and therefore great support. But I must at the same time request you to remember that portions of the Madras Presidency have also suffered from famine, and other portions may suffer from famine in the coming year. (Voices “We hope not.”) My request therefore, which I couple with the invitation, is that you will come prepared to take the best that we can give, as the very best can do no more. (Cheers.)

Resolution XXI.
Meeting Place of
the 14th Congress.

THE HON. RAI
BAHADUR P.
ANANDA CHARLU.

THE HON’BLE N. SUBBA RAO (Madras, No. 4 on the list):—I join with my Hon’ble friend Mr. Ananda Charlu in the request which he has made to you that you should all come over to Madras this time next year.

THE HON. N.
SUBBA RAO.

The President:—I take it that the invitation is accepted.

BABU BHUPENDRANATH BASU (Calcutta, No. 664 on the list):—Gentlemen,—Upon me has devolved the very pleasant duty of returning thanks to the Reception Committee of Berar (cheers) for the splendid reception that they have accorded to us. The duty is certainly pleasant, but the task is difficult, for, gentlemen, you must admit that it is very difficult for any one of us to give voice to our feelings at the splendid hospitality of which we have been the recipients. Gentlemen, I betray no secret when I say that when some time before the last Congress was held in Calcutta doubts were entertained having regard to the dark shadow of plague which was just rising above the western horizon of India, that probably the Congress sitting at Calcutta would not be a success, and that it would be better in the interests of India to postpone the sittings of the Congress in Calcutta last year. Gentlemen, thanks to the energy of my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and the wise counsel of Mr. Wacha, we at last resolved, come what might, that the

Resolution XXII.
Vote of thanks
to the Reception
Committee.

BABU BHUPENDRA-
NATH BASU.

Third Day.
 Resolution XXII.
 Vote of thanks
 to the Reception
 Committee.
 BABU BHUPENDRA-
 NATH BASU.

Congress should be held and the Congress was held. If there was difficulty in Calcutta last year about holding the Congress, you can well imagine what the difficulties at Amraoti must have been this year. The shadow of plague darkened and enveloped in its fatal folds the fairest city in western India. Gentlemen, the gaunt spectre of famine was stalking through the land claiming its victims by thousands, and we had the rattle of the earthquake vibrating in the eastern provinces of India and bringing ruin in its train. Added to these calamities and difficulties, the atmosphere was surcharged with sedition, or to speak more accurately, with supposed sedition. These were great and seemingly insuperable difficulties in our way; but, gentlemen, notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Reception Committee of Amraoti have made it possible for us to hold this Congress which it was most necessary we should hold this year. Gentlemen, to them we owe our heartiest thanks because it was due to their efforts, and through their efforts that we have been able to hold our sittings this year at all. Gentlemen, in Calcutta you remember even before this Congress was held, a suggestion was thrown forward that having regard to the plague operations, it would not be wise, probably it would not be possible, to hold the Congress this year; but our friends at Amraoti set their faces against such a suggestion; they said like true Maharatas of old that they invited us from Calcutta to meet at Amraoti and, come what might, they would stick to their invitation. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, the result of the last three days has shown us that whatever may have come, the old Maharatta blood has not yet gone from them. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, we have to return our thanks not only to members of the Reception Committee who have each and all of them striven to do their best, but we must not forget the Volunteers. (Cheers.) We know that leaving aside all personal considerations and considerations of caste, status and social position, they have tried to serve us and have served us as menial servants. (Hear, hear.) They have attended unto all our wants, and they have made our journey to this province in this year a source of great comfort and enjoyment. (Hear, hear.) We have witnessed the reception in other provinces of India. The metropolis and principal city in western India which prides in the motto of being *prima in Indis* has given us a splendid reception in days gone by. We have assembled in the metropolis of British India, we have assembled in the city of the old lion of the Punjab. We have also assembled in the chief city of the North-West Provinces. We have also assembled in the city of those gentlemen of the south to whom, if to anybody, the Congress owes much of its success. But we can say that nowhere in India have the enthusiasm, devotion and loyalty that we have witnessed in this place been exceeded; and the only way in which we can return our thanks for the splendid hospitality is to pray that the other provinces may follow the example which has been set before us by the people of Berar, and they may strive to emulate them in their enthusiasm and earnestness. (Cheers.)

MR. C. H. SETAL-
 WAD.

MR. C. H. SETALWAD (Bombay, No. 54 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I, as representing Bombay, wish to join in this vote of thanks because we feel that the Bombay people were the most to contribute to the anxieties and troubles that the Berar Committee had to go through. They did their best for us, they were anxious as to what the next day would bring, because the quarantine rules to prevent the importation of plague into Berar roused the authorities into vigilance which raised difficulties in the way of the Berar Committee, and it was owing to their very nice arrangements that we, a few at least, from Bombay, were able to come at all. I, therefore, tender heart-felt thanks to the Berar Committee on behalf of the Bombay delegates.

DR. M. M. BOSZ.

DR. M. M. BOSZ (Calcutta, No. 667 on the list):—I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution of vote of thanks to the Reception Committee of Berar and to the Volunteers who have so disinterestedly worked for the success of the Congress.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (Madras, No. 8 on the list):—I most cordially join my predecessors in supporting this vote of thanks to the Amraoti Reception Committee. It is impossible not to be struck with the marvellous power of organisation, the sudden resources they have developed in bringing about this Congress. We appreciate and heartily feel for the hospitality and kindness they have shewn us and only wish that the other Presidencies with greater pretensions would come up to the standard which our Berar friends have shown.

The President:—I think it is unnecessary for me to put it to the vote.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

On the motion of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee three cheers were given to the Reception Committee of Berar and to the Volunteers.

MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (Berar, No. 58 on the list):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It devolves upon me as chairman of the Reception Committee to acknowledge this vote of thanks which you have carried so unanimously and with such great acclamation. In my heart of hearts I sincerely wish that we deserve it. If I am not satisfied myself, I am very pleased to see that you are. Our joys are your joys, our success is your success. Gentlemen, I will not be long over this and I shall now call upon Babu Bipin Chandra Pal to propose the vote of thanks to the President.

BABU BIPIN CHANDRA PAL (Calcutta, No. 687 on the list):—Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been called upon to propose a resolution that does not appear upon the paper in your hands, but which, I am perfectly sure, is imprinted on the tablet of your hearts. (Cheers.) The resolution, viz., to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our worthy President Mr. Sankaran Nair, who is, I understand, the uncrowned king of the rising generation of educated Madras and who has been the crowned king of this great National Congress this year. Personal references on occasions like this are permissible and I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you will forgive me for making one or two personal references here. I had the honor of making Mr. Sankaran Nair's acquaintance ten years ago when we met for the first time in 1887 in Madras. Then Mr. Sankaran Nair was in charge of the camp where the Bengal delegates were located, and we have ever cherished the recollection of those days when Mr. Sankaran Nair, your worthy President here, served us as an humble servant. The subaltern of 1887 is the honored General of the campaign here, and this present campaign, ladies and gentlemen, we all know, has not been a mere mock fight. We have passed through a dark year in the year of grace 1897; difficult problems faced us; when we met in this Congress we did not know what to do, what to speak, how to frame our resolutions, how to guide our counsels. Feelings were high in every quarter and each one of us wanted to speak out those high feelings in this Congress which if we had spoken we might have relieved ourselves, but which would have imposed a heavy weight upon this great national movement; but under the wise guidance of Mr. Sankaran Nair we have steered clear of the rock of sedition on the one hand and the shoals and quicksands of cowardice on the other. We have proved that we are not seditious. But, if we are loyal, we have proved that we are loyal not to persons but to principles. We are loyal to the British constitution, to the great Government of India upon whose existence and permanence depends the fruition of our hopes and aspirations. (Cheers.) Governors and Governors-General come and go; they have been brought here by a favorable turn in the political circumstances of England; and to-morrow who knows they will be sent out by another turn in that political wheel. Their connection with the Government of India is transitory and ephemeral, but our connection will last through ages and it is abiding. Our interest in the Government of India is not due to the enjoyment of office or to official patronage, but it is due to the connection formed

Third Day.

Resolution XXII.

Vote of thanks to the Reception Committee.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

Acknowledgment of thanks.

MR. G. S. KHAPARDE.

Resolution XXIII.

Vote of thanks to the Chair.

BABU BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Third Day.

Resolution XXIII.
Vote of thanks
to the Chair.

BABU BIPIN
CHANDRA PAL.

by providence, a relation formed by God himself for the salvation of India and the amelioration of the helpless condition of our people. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the message that your accredited representative will have to carry to Government this year is, we all know, a message of grief and groaning, and he will have to carry this message, for ought we know, judging from the present temperament of the Government, to exceedingly angry minds and unsympathetic ears. But we had it from the wisdom of the presidential speech, from the firmness of the tone of that speech and from the statesmanlike way in which he spoke of the great problem that faces us—we had it from the very beginning—that our President would speak in no uncertain terms, would not be cowed down by frowns or deviate from the straight path of duty by official browbeating. He has said the truth and will say it again, we know, in bold and certain terms to an angry and agitated Government. He has led our Councils all these days with sweet reasonableness, with firmness and yet with courtesy which we all admire and for which we all thank him. I will not take up your time by dwelling any further on this subject, but I will simply propose this resolution which I know is not a formal affair with you and me, but we speak out from our hearts when we say that we thank you, Sir, for the exceedingly great service that you have done to the cause by occupying this chair and guiding our deliberations. (Loud and continued cheers.) I don't think it necessary that this resolution should be seconded. It may be carried with acclamation. (Cheers.)

The proposition was carried by acclamation.

President's reply.

PRESIDENT.

The President :—Gentlemen,—I thank you for this vote of thanks. My feelings would not allow me to make a speech. However, I cannot help telling you that I have been deprived of one high privilege here and that is of thanking the Reception Committee and the Volunteers myself. That has always been the high privilege of the President of the Congress and, therefore, I have only to associate myself with those speakers Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and others in their thanks to the Reception Committee and the Volunteers, for the great help they have rendered to us. If we have succeeded in carrying the Congress to a successful termination, it is not due so much to my own humble efforts, whatever they might have been, but much more to the moderation of the various delegates who have assembled here and who did not come here with views which were not in agreement on the various important questions that are agitating the country. I have, therefore, to thank all the delegates who have come here and helped me to carry the Congress to a successful termination. I hope, gentlemen, to meet you at Madras again next year about this time. We trust to meet there most of the delegates from the various provinces though we can scarcely expect all delegates from Berar to come there. We shall be happy and we shall try as best as we can to render you such welcome as is in our power. With these remarks I must now declare the thirteenth National Congress dissolved. (Loud and prolonged cheering, the audience rising.)

The Congress then dissolved at 5-10 p.m. amid cheers for the Queen-Empress and the Congress.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

Thirteenth Indian National Congress,

HELD AT AMRAOTI, DECEMBER 1897.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Casts.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
1	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	The Hon. Mr. C. Sankaran Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nair.	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897. Also at a meeting of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, held on 15th December 1897. Also at a meeting held at Calicut.
2	"	"	"	The Hon. Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, B. A., B. L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras, and Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897.
3	"	"	"	The Hon. Mr. C. Vijaya Raghava Chariar, B. A.	"	Pleader, District Court, Salem, and Member of the Madras Legislative Council.	Do. Also at a public meeting held at Salem, on 21st December 1897.
4	"	"	"	The Hon. Mr. N. Subbarow, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil, and Member, Legislative Council, Madras.	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897. Also at a public meeting held at Gantoor, on 19th December 1897. And at a public meeting held at Rajamahendri, Godavari District, on 17th December 1897.
5	"	"	"	Mr. John Adam, M. A.	European, Christian.	Bar.-at-Law, Madras...	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897. Also at a meeting of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, held on 15th December 1897.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
6	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Mr. G. Venkat Rang- rao, M. A.	Brahmin.	Secretary to the Board of Trustees, Pache- appa's Charities, Madras.	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897, and by the Madras Mahajana Sabha on 15th December 1897 and by the Triplicane Literary Society.
7	"	"	"	" S. Vira Raghava Chariar.	"	Note Registrar, Madras Bank, Madras.	"
8	"	"	"	" G. Subramania Iyer, B. A.	"	Editor "The Hindu," Madras.	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897. Also at a meeting of the Madras Maha- jana Sabha, held on 15th December 1897.
9	"	"	"	" T. M. Appu Ne- dangadi, B. A., B. L.	Hindu, Smartha.	High Court Vakil ...	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897. Also at meetings held at Calicut, Pal- ghat and Malabar.
10	"	"	"	" V. Ryrn Nambiar, B. A., B. L.	Hindu, Nair.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	Do. Also at a meeting of the Madras Maha- jana Sabha, held on 15th December 1897.
11	"	"	"	" A. C. Parthasara- thi Naidu.	Hindu.	Editor "Andhrapraka- sika," Madras.	At a public meeting held at Madras, on 6th December 1897. Also by the Madras Mahajana Sabha, on 15th December 1897.
12	"	"	"	" S. Ramchandra Iyer.	Brahmin.	Reporter to "The Hindu" of Madras.	At a meeting of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, held on 15th December 1897.
13	"	"	Bellary.	" M. Ramanjalu Nai- du.	Hindu.	Merchant, Bellary ...	"
14	"	"	Tinne- velli.	" S. Palani Audi Moodliar, B. A.	Moodliar.	Pleader, Palankota ...	At a public meeting held at Tinneveli, on 7th December 1897.
15	"	"	Madura.	" T. Ponnambola Moodliar, B. A.	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, Uttampollam, Ma- dura.	At a public meeting held at Madura, on 16th December 1897.
16	"	"	Cudda- pah.	" S. Audi Narayan Rao.	Brahmin.	School Master, Cud- daph.	At a public meeting held on 20th Decem- ber 1897.
17	"	"	Ganjam.	" Rungabhatta Gun- niah Shastri Garu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Proprietor "Shri Saras- wati" Press, and Member and Secre- tary, Hindu Temple Committee, Berham- pur.	At a meeting of the Berhampur Associa- tion, held on 15th December 1897.

Number	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address	How and When Elected.
18	Madras.	Madras	Godavari District.	Mr. Duggirala Devalraju Pantulu Garu	Brahmin.	Inamdar, Cocanada ...	At a meeting of the Godavari District Association, held on 2nd December 1897.
19	"	"	Trichinopoly.	" R. R. T. V. Swaminath Iyer Aul, B.A., L.T.	Hindu Sinita.	Assistant Prof. of Mathematics, S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly.	At a public meeting, held on 19th December 1897.
20	"	"	Negapatam.	" P. Kanaka Sabhapati Sastriar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Negapatam...	At a public meeting held at Negapatam, on 19th December 1897.
21	"	"	Palghat.	" K. P. Achhnta Menon	Hindu Nair.	Pleader and Special Magistrate, Palghat.	At a public meeting held at Palghat, on 5th December 1897.
22	"	"	"	" R. Sekhara Menon, B.A.	"	Pleader, Palghat ...	"
23	"	"	Calicut.	" Mullasserri Gopal Menon, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Honorary Magistrate, Calicut.	At a public meeting held at Calicut, on 7th December 1897.
24	"	"	"	" K. V. Karunakar Menon, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Calicut.	"
25	"	"	Gooty (Anantpur District.)	" P. Keshao Pillai.	Hindu.	Pleader, Gooty ...	At a public meeting of the People's Association held at Gooty, on 24th November 1897.
26	"	"	"	" S. Shesha Shastriar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Penukonda...	"
27	"	"	"	" T. Shivashankaram Pillai.	Hindu.	"	"
28	"	"	"	" R. Subba Row.	Brahmin.	Landholder, Gooty ...	"
29	"	"	"	" M. Nagasa Row.	"	Pleader, Gooty ...	"
30	"	"	Salem	" A. Azeemuddin Saheb.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Vaniembady (Salem District)..	At a public meeting held at Vaniembady, on 21st December 1897.
31	"	"	"	" Abubakar Saheb...	"	"	"
32	"	"	"	" M-hamad Akbar Saheb.	"	"	"
33	"	"	"	" Patil Abdul Rahim Saheb.	"	"	"
34	"	"	Parlakimidi.	" Shri Shri Padmanabha Narayan Deo Garu.	Kshatriya of the family of the Uriasa Gajspatty.	Second Prince of Parlakimidi (Ganjam District).	At a public meeting held at Parlakimidi, on 12th December 1897.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
35	Madras.	Madras.	Parlakimidi.	Mr. A. Santan Rama Iyengar Aurghal, B.A., L.T.	Viashnava Iyengar Brahmin.	First Assistant Teacher, Maharaja's College, Parlakimidi.	At a public meeting held at Parlakimidi, on 12th December 1897.
36	"	"	"	Babu S. S. Raja Guru, B. A.	Uriya Brahmin.	Chairman, Municipal Committee, Editor "Gaujam News," and member Taluk and District Boards, Parlakimidi.	"
37	"	"	"	Mr. B. K. Dwayapayana Row Pantulu Garu.	Hindu, Madhwa Brahmin.	Secretary, Utkal Hitaishini Samaj, and the Local Congress Subcommittee, Parlakimidi.	"
38	"	"	"	Babu Appanah Panda.	Uriya Brahmin.	Assistant Teacher, Maharaja's College, Parlakimidi.	"
39	Government of India.	"	Secunderabad.	The Hon. Pondicherry Ramchandra Pillai.	Vaishnava.	High Court Pleader, Member, Legislative Council, Hyderabad (Deccan), and Secretary, People's Association, Secunderabad.	At a public meeting held at Secunderabad, on 19th December 1897.
40	"	"	"	Mr. Amirtha Sethurama Aiyar, B. A.	Hindu, Smartha.	Assistant Teacher, Mahbub College, and Joint Secretary, Hindu Social Reform Association, Secunderabad.	"
41	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	" Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar, B. A., LL. B.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Professor, Law Class, and Editor, "Kesar" and "Maharatta," Poona.	At a meeting of the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha, held on 2nd December 1897. Also by the Deccan Standing Congress Committee, on 6th December 1897.
42	"	"	"	" Achyut Sitaram Sathe, M. A., B. L.	"	At a meeting of the Deccan Standing Congress Committee, held on 6th December 1897; at a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897; at a public meeting held at Nagpur, on 11th December 1897; and also at a meeting of the Katol Loka Sabha, held on 21st December 1897.

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43	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Professor G. K. Gokhale, B. A.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Professor, Fergusson College, Poona.	At a meeting of the Deccan Standing Congress Committee, held on 6th December 1897. Also by the Bombay Presidency Association, on 18th December 1897. And also by the Deccan Sabha of Poona.
44	"	"	"	" Shivaram Mahadeo Parauspe, M. A.	"	Honorary Secretary, Sarvajanika Sabha Poona.	At a meeting of the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha, held on 2nd December 1897. Also by the Deccan Standing Congress Committee, on 6th December 1897.
45	"	"	"	" Dhondo Keshao Karve, B. A.	"	Professor, Fergusson College, Poona.	At a meeting of the Deccan Standing Congress Committee, held on 6th December 1897.
46	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Ganesh Devadhar, B. A.	"	Teacher, New English School, Poona.	"
47	"	"	Dhulia.	The Hon. Mr. Dhondo Shamrao Garud, B. A.	"	Member, Bombay Legislative Council, and High Court Solicitor and Pleader, Dhulia.	At a public meeting held at Dhulia, on 12th December 1897.
48	"	"	Bhusawal.	Rao Saheb Vitthal Govind Dastane.	"	Pleader, Bhusawal ...	At a public meeting held at Bhusawal, on 20th December 1897.
49	"	"	Satara.	Mr. Govind Ramchandra Karandirkar, M. B., M. S.	"	Homœopathic Practitioner, Satara.	At a public meeting held at Satara, on 10th December 1897.
50	"	"	"	" Laxman Sadaashiv Pradhan.	Prabhu.	Agent, Life Insurance Company.	Do. Also at a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
51	"	"	Dharwar.	" Krishnaji Abaji Guruji.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	General Merchant, Dharwar.	At a public meeting held at Dharwar, on 15th December 1897.
52	"	"	Pandharpur.	" Vinayak Shivaji Jag.	"	Pleader, Pandharpur...	At a public meeting held at Pandharpur, on 5th December 1897.
53	"	Bombay.	Bombay.	" D. E. Wacha ...	Parsi.	Mill Agent, Municipal Commissioner and Editor, "Kaiser-i-Hind," Bombay.	At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association, held on 13th December 1897.

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54	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalwad, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Bombay.	At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association, held on 13th December 1897. Also by the Gujarath Sabha (Ahmedabad), on 19th November 1897.
55	"	"	"	" Rustam K. R. Kama, B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Solicitor and Attorney, High Court, Bombay.	At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association, held on 13th December 1897.
56	"	"	"	" Deochand Uttamchand Parekh, B.A., (Cantab) M.B.A.S.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Bombay.	"
57	"	"	"	Dr. P. J. Swamy ...	"	Bombay ...	"
58	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Ganesh Shrikishna Khaparde, B.A., LL.B.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Vice-Chairman, City Municipality, and Landholder, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897. Also at a General Committee's meeting of the Berar Sarvanjanik Sabha, held on 12th December 1897.
59	"	"	"	" Pralhad Narayan Jog, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Money-lender, Amraoti.	"
60	"	"	"	" Rangnath Narsinh Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Vice-Chairman, City Municipality, and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
61	"	"	"	" Moro Vishwanath Joshi, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader and Landholder, Amraoti.	Do. Also at a public meeting held at Satara, on 10th December 1897.
62	"	"	"	" Malbar Khanderao Chitnis, B.A., LL.B.	Prabhu.	High Court Pleader, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897. Also at a public meeting held at Satara, on 10th December 1897.
63	"	"	"	" Balvant Ramchandra Angal, B.A., LL.B.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	"
64	"	"	"	" Pandurang Govind	"	High Court Pleader and Landholder, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897. Also at a General Committee's meeting of the Berar Sarvanjanik Sabha, held on 12th December 1897.

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65	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Mahadeo Ganga-dhar Damle, B.A., LL.B.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
66	"	"	"	Dr. Govind Vyankaji Khot, L. M. & S.	Sarasvata Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Amraoti.	"
67	"	"	"	Mr. Balvantrao Nar-sinh Mudholkar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Retired Deputy Educational Inspector, Amraoti.	Do. Also at a General Committee's meeting of the Berar Sarva-janik Sabha, held on 12th December 1897.
68	"	"	"	" Sadashiv Vishnuu Bhagwat.	"	Retired Local Fund Overseer, Amraoti...	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
69	"	"	"	" Balkrishna H a r i Karandikar.	"	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	Do. Also at a General Committee's meeting of the Berar Sarva-janik Sabha, held on 12th December 1897.
70	"	"	"	Dr. Ramchandra Nar-sinh Mudholkar, L. M. & S.	"	Medical Practitioner, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
71	"	"	"	Mr. Shrikrishna Bapuji alias Nana Chimote.	"	Banker and Money-lender, Amraoti.	Do. Also by the Berar Sarva-janik S a b h a, on 12th December 1897.
72	"	"	"	" Vishwanath R a g h u n a t h Joshi.	"	Government Pensioner, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
73	"	"	"	" Savalaram Laxman Oke.	"	Banker, Money-lender and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
74	"	"	"	" Bapuji Ballal Marathe.	"	Pensioner, Amraoti ...	"
75	"	"	"	" Bhaskar Waman Joshi, B.A., LL. B.	"	High Court Pleader, Amraoti.	"
76	"	"	"	" Moro B h i k a j i Agashe, B.A., LL.B.	"	Landholder, Amraoti.	"
77	"	"	"	" Narayan Balkrishna Kadhi, B.A.	"	Head Master, Private High School, Amraoti.	"
78	"	"	"	" Gopalrao Khushalrao Deshpande.	"	High Court Pleader and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
79	"	"	"	" J. Moreau	European Christian.	Retired Engineer, Amraoti.	"

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80	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Erickson	American Christian.	American Missionary, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
81	"	"	"	Rev. Timothy Shivararam.	Native Christian.	Pastor, Free Church Congregation, Amraoti.	"
82	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Gopal Deshpande, B. A., LL. B.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Amraoti.	"
83	"	"	"	" Vasudeo V a m a n Mule, B. A.	"	Teacher, Private High School, Amraoti.	"
84	"	"	"	" Vinayak Savalaram Oke.	"	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	"
85	"	"	"	" Padmanabha Raoji Dande.	"	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	"
86	"	"	"	" Sadashiv Narayan.	"	High Court Pleader, Amraoti.	"
87	"	"	"	" Narayan Govind Ketkar.	"	Pleader, Amraoti ...	Do. Also by the Berar Sarvajanik S a b h a, on 12th December 1897.
88	"	"	"	" Raoji Ramkrishna Hambarde.	"	General Merchant and Banker, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
89	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Renko Dole.	"	Banker, Landholder and Vice-Chairman, District Board, Amraoti.	"
90	"	"	"	" Janardan Narayan Shastri.	"	Pleader and Inamdar, Amraoti.	"
91	"	"	"	" Vishwanath Kashinath Kale.	"	Pleader and Secretary City Municipality, Amraoti.	"
92	"	"	"	" Baliram M e g h a sham Pimple.	"	Pleader, Amraoti ...	"
93	"	"	"	" Wasudeo Narayan Jog.	"	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	"
94	"	"	"	" Govind Narayan Kane.	Native Christian.	Pleader, Amraoti ...	"
95	"	"	"	" Moreswar Bapuji Marathe.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	"	Do. Also by the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha, on 12th December 1897.

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96	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Babaji Mahadeo Dixit.	Prabhu.	Pleader, Amraoti ...	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
97	"	"	"	" Yeshwant Govind Keskar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Editor and Proprietor "The Pramoda Sindhu," Amraoti.	Do. Also by the Berar Sarvajanic Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
98	"	"	"	" Vishnu Hari Karandikar.	"	Joint Editor "The Pramoda Sindhu," Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
99	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Balkrishna Kevale.	"	Banker and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
100	"	"	"	" Vyankatesh Ramchandra Mudholkar.	"	Editor and Proprietor "The Vaidarbha," Amraoti.	"
101	"	"	"	" Keshao Laxman Asnare.	"	Pleader, Amraoti ...	"
102	"	"	"	" Umakant Sadashiv Deshmukh, B. A., B. L.	"	Watandar Deshmukh and High Court Pleader, Amraoti.	"
103	"	"	"	" Yeshwant Govind Deshpande, B. A., B. L.	"	Watandar Deshpande and Landholder, Anjansingi.	"
104	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Annaji Deshpande.	"	Pleader, Amraoti ...	"
105	"	"	"	" Jagannath Bapuji Akut.	"	Consulting Private Engineer, Amraoti.	"
106	"	"	"	" Narayan Balkrishna Pendke.	"	Banker and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
107	"	"	"	" Keshao Balkrishna Pendke.	"	"	"
108	"	"	"	" Prabhakar Vishnu Mankikar, B.A.	"	Amraoti ...	"
109	"	"	"	" S. A. Yardi ...	Native Christian.	"	"
110	"	"	"	" Trimbak Waman Joshi.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	"	"
111	"	"	"	" Sakharam Chimnaji Gole.	"	Pleader and Secretary Taluk Board, Morsi, and Member, District Board, Amraoti.	"
112	"	"	"	" Ganesh Laxman Sahasrabudhe.	"	Pensioner, Poona ...	"
113	"	"	"	" A. Meherban ...	Parai.	Landholder, Amraoti...	"

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114	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. S. N. Kama ...	Parsi.	Landholder, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
115	"	"	"	" Vitthal Govind Ketkar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pensioner, Amraoti ...	"
116	"	"	"	" Baliram Garoda Kevale.	"	Banker and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
117	"	"	"	" Ganesh Dhondeo Abhyankar.	"	Contractor, Amraoti ...	"
118	"	"	"	" Shaikh Abdul Hussein Shaikh Ibrahimji.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Amraoti ...	"
119	"	"	"	" Dhansa Fakirsa Teli.	Teli.	Saraf, Amraoti ...	"
120	"	"	"	" Hormusji J. Vajifdar.	Parsi.	Agent, Spinning and Weaving Mills, Badnera.	"
121	"	"	"	" Narayan Ramchandra Pendse.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Badnera ..	"
122	"	"	"	" Vithal Balvant Deshpande.	"	Pensioner, Amraoti ...	"
123	"	"	"	" B. Laxman Pillai.	Hindu.	Agent, Harvey Sabhapaty, Amraoti.	"
124	"	"	"	" Shivappa Gurappa.	Lingayat Wani.	Contractor, Amraoti ...	"
125	"	"	"	" Yeshwantrao Mahadeo Hazarnavis.	Prabhu.	Retired Tahsildar, Amraoti.	"
126	"	"	"	" Shrikrishna Govind Mote.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder, Amraoti.	"
127	"	"	"	" Keshao Sitaram Bhadang.	"	"	"
128	"	"	"	" Shamrao Kaleshwar Deshpande.	"	Pleader and Landholder, Morsi.	"
129	"	"	"	" Laxman Kaleshwar Deshpande.	"	Landholder and private servant, Morsi.	"
130	"	"	"	" Ramrao Kaleshwar Deshpande.	"	"	"
131	"	"	"	" Dhondo Moreshwar Khare.	"	Pleader and Member, Taluk Board, Morsi.	"
132	"	"	"	" Jagannath Bhaya.	Marwadi.	Agent to Chaturbhuj Jagannath, Amraoti.	"
133	"	"	"	" Balvant Trimbak.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Amraoti ...	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Casts.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
134	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Bhimrao Bapuji...	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Badnera ...	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
135	"	"	"	" Mahamadkhan walad Muradkhan.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Amraoti ...	"
136	"	"	"	" Tukaram Sakharam.	Maratha.	Moneylender and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
137	"	"	"	" Sitaram Sakharam Deshmukh.	"	"	"
138	"	"	"	" Krishna Shastri Athavale.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pensioner, Amraoti ...	"
139	"	"	"	" Narayan Daulatji Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Landholder, Pusda, Taluk Amraoti.	"
140	"	"	"	" Raghavendra Sakharam Kattagiri.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Amraoti. ...	"
141	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Madhao alias Baba Patil.	"	Landholder, Banker and Member, Taluk Board, Varud.	"
142	"	"	"	" Motilal Khupchand.	Parwar.	Cloth Merchant, Amraoti.	"
143	"	"	"	" Govind Bapuji ...	Gurao.	"	"
144	"	"	"	" Khushalsing Budusing.	Rajput.	Banker and Saraf, Amraoti.	"
145	"	"	"	" Jiwaji walad Bapuji.	Kunbi.	Moneylender and Landholder, Pusda.	"
146	"	"	"	" Laxmendas Bhikamchand.	Marwadi.	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
147	"	"	"	" Ganeshdas Motilal.	"	"	"
148	"	"	"	" Balakdas Adhikari.	Bairagi.	Adhikari, Bade Balaji Temple, Amraoti.	"
149	"	"	"	" Tanba Bandoba ...	Hindu.	General Merchant, Amraoti.	"
150	"	"	"	" Bhuji Appa ...	Lingayat Wani.	Grocer, Amraoti ...	"
151	"	"	"	" Sardarsing Umraosing.	Kshatriya.	Banker and Landholder, Nandgaopeth.	"
152	"	"	"	" Ramcharandas Mahant.	Bairagi.	Jagirdar of Jamgam and Mahant of Bade Balaji Temple, Amraoti.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
153	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Abdul Alli Allabakas.	Mahomedan Bhoi.	General and Stationery Merchant, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
154	"	"	"	" Shaikh Vallibhai Mulla Allabax.	Mahomedan.	Cloth Merchant, Amraoti.	"
155	"	"	"	" Mahamad Alli Daudbhai.	"	"	"
156	"	"	"	" Mulla Ahmad Alli Shaikh Mahamad Alli.	"	"	"
157	"	"	"	" Ahmad Alli Mulla Rasul Alli.	"	"	"
158	"	"	"	" Bapu Miyan ...	"	Landholder, Z a d a, Taluka Chandur.	"
159	"	"	"	" Ganpatrao Nana...	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker and Landholder, Mangrul Dastgir.	"
160	"	"	"	" Ghamji Shivalal...	Marwadi.	"	"
161	"	"	"	" Sangidas Biharilal.	"	"	"
162	"	"	"	" Jaisiram Biharilal.	"	"	"
163	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Mahadeo Deshpande.	Prabhu.	Landholder and Stationery Shopkeeper, Amraoti.	"
164	"	"	"	" Bahiraodan Jethamal.	Marwadi.	Money-lender, Amraoti.	"
165	"	"	"	" Janardan Savalaram Oke.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Cloth Merchant, Amraoti.	"
166	"	"	"	" Ganeshran Marwadi.	Marwadi.	Sawkar, Khanapur ...	"
167	"	"	"	" Pandurang Shiya-ram.	Hindu.	Landholder ...	"
168	"	"	"	" Mahamad Shakurwalad Gooda Ahmad.	Mahomedan.	"	"
169	"	"	"	" Vikram Pandurang.	Hindu.	Banker and Landholder, Varud.	"
170	"	"	"	" Ayedan Sangvidas Mota.	Mahesari.	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
171	"	"	"	" Tularam Sangidas.	"	"	"
172	"	"	"	" Pandurang Suryabhan.	Rajput.	Banker and Landholder, Gaoner Talegaon, Taluk Chandur.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
173	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Tukaram Shamrao.	Maratha.	Landholder	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
174	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Yeshwant Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Watandar, Landholder and Moneylender, Amner.	"
175	"	"	"	" Deomansa Tavanas.	Hindu Lada.	Merchant, Amraoti ...	"
176	"	"	"	" Narayan Lalji ...	Maratha.	Landholder, Nandura Buzruk.	"
177	"	"	"	" Janrao Malharrao Kale.	"	Landholder and Moneylender, Varud.	"
178	"	"	"	" Martandrao Tukaram Kale.	"	"	"
179	"	"	"	" Gangaram Bajirao Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder, Mangrul Dastgir.	"
180	"	"	"	" Malukchand Chaturbhuj.	Agarwala.	Moneylender, Amraoti.	"
181	"	"	"	" Laxman Gopal ...	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder and Moneylender, Hivarkhed.	"
182	"	"	"	" Deorao Jayasing...	Maratha.	Landholder and Moneylender.	"
183	"	"	"	" Tikaram walad Shivaram.	Kunbi.	Banker and Landholder, Varkhed.	"
184	"	"	"	" Chhotu Ramchandra.	Khatri.	Dalal and Merchant, Amraoti.	"
185	"	"	"	" Baijanath Ramgopal.	Mahesari.	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
186	"	"	"	" Gopalrao D. Mehta.	Gujarathi.	Engineer to Mohanlal Kahandas, Amraoti.	"
187	"	"	"	" Ramji Trimbak Kannao.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker and Merchant, Karanja.	"
188	"	"	"	" Laxman Ramkrishna Ghude.	"	Banker and Landholder, Karanja.	"
189	"	"	"	" Narsinga Rukhabasa.	Hindu Lada.	Banker, Karanja ...	"
190	"	"	"	" Gangasa Sawaji ...	"	Merchant, Karanja ...	"
191	"	"	"	" Dhondba Bapuji Kide.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker and Landholder, Karanja.	"
192	"	"	"	" Keshao Balvant Deshpande.	"	Landholder and Moneylender, Mangrul Dastgir.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
193	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Ramji Patil ...	Maratha.	Landholder, Karanja.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
194	"	"	"	" Moropant R a mchandra Pandit.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	General Merchant and Landholder, Murtizapur.	"
195	"	"	"	" Ramkisan Sakharam Pethe.	Kalal.	Landholder and Sawkar, Morsi.	"
196	"	"	"	" Jaffarji Hiptullahai.	Mahomedan Bohri.	General Merchant, Amraoti.	"
197	"	"	"	" Mahanandram Laxminarayan.	Marwadi.	Banker and Landholder, Anjansingi.	"
198	"	"	"	" Bhiyaraj Tikamdas.	"	"	"
199	"	"	"	" Nagoji Bhagwant..	Jain.	"	"
200	"	"	"	" Kasturchand Deokaran.	Marwadi.	Banker and Landholder, Warha.	"
201	"	"	"	" Chaotmal Marwadi.	"	"	"
202	"	"	"	" Sakharam Badre...	Maratha.	Landholder, Warha	"
203	"	"	"	" Dinaji Maladhure...	Hindu Mali	"	"
204	"	"	"	" Siteram Marwadi..	Marwadi.	Sawkar, Mozri	"
205	"	"	"	" Padamsi Rupram..	"	Banker and Landholder, Nimbhora.	"
206	"	"	"	" Padamsi Nathmal.	"	Banker and Landholder, Wathoda.	"
207.	"	"	"	" Ganeshdas Kundamal.	"	Banker and Landholder, Tiwasa.	"
208	"	"	"	" Mojiram Gangaram.	"	"	"
209	"	"	"	" Nandlal Keshaldas.	"	"	"
210	"	"	"	" Yeshwantrao Dadoji.	Maratha.	Landholder, Tiwasa ...	"
211	"	"	"	" Damodar Rajaram Kawale.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder, Amraoti..	"
212	"	"	"	" Lalchand Hukumchand.	Marwadi.	Banker and Landholder, Thugaon.	"
213	"	"	"	" Shaikh Ismail Shaikh Rahiman.	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Amraoti..	"

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214	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Lahuram Hiralal.	Kalal.	Contractor, Amraoti...	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
215	"	"	"	" Baljarsing Mahitapsing.	Rajput.	Banker and Landholder, Sirasgaon Ksba.	"
216	"	"	"	" Gangabisan Davalatrau.	Marwadi.	Sawkar and Landholder, Katpur, T. Morsi.	"
217	"	"	"	" Chandanmal Rajaram.	"	"	"
218	"	"	"	" Manguiram Ramlal.	"	Sawkar, Landholder and Member Taluk Board, Khanapur.	"
219	"	"	"	" B. M. Molile ...	Prabhu.	Agent to Commercial Union Insurance Company, Amraoti.	"
220	"	"	"	" Hanmantram Dalsukdas.	Hindu Shrawagi.	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
221	"	"	"	" Nemasa Lad ...	Lada.	Cloth Merchant, Amraoti.	"
222	"	"	"	" Amolakchaud ...	Marwadi.	Banker and Landholder, Amraoti.	"
223	"	"	"	" Maruti Naik Dange.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker and Landholder, Kurha.	"
224	"	"	"	" Khivaraj Liladhar.	Marwadi.	"	"
225	"	"	"	" Bansidhar Ramchandra, owner of the firm of Harjimal Balmukund.	"	Banker and Landholder, Amraoti and Balgam.	"
226	"	"	"	" Shivachand Ramchandra, owner of the firm of Harjimal Balmukund.	"	"	"
227	"	"	"	" Girdharilal Jankiprasad.	Chhatarpure.	Banker and Cloth Merchant, Amraoti.	"
228	"	"	"	" Sunderdas Ramdas Udasi.	Udasi.	Landholder, Amraoti.	"
229	"	"	"	" Ramprasad Jankiprasad.	Chhatarpure.	Banker and General Merchant, Amraoti.	"
230	"	"	"	" Mannulal Jankiprasad.	"	"	"
231	"	"	"	" Samirmal Bahiradan.	Marwadi.	Agent to Kisanchari Murlidhar, Amraoti.	"

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232	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Sewadas Pujari Guru Jagannathdas of B a d e Balaji.	Udasi.	Pujari, Amraoti.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
233	"	"	"	" Narayanrao Bind..	Sonar.	Agent to Oriental Life Insurance Company, Clerk, B a d n e r a Mills, Badnera,	"
234	"	"	"	" Krishnasa Puns Kalal.	Kalal.	Landholder, Merchant and Sawkar, Sirul.	"
235	"	"	"	" Sunderdas Jwala- prasad.	Udasi.	Money-lender, Am- raoti.	"
236	"	"	"	" Motiram Harjes- ram,	Marwadi.	Money-lender, Thu- gaon,	"
237	"	"	"	" Allisaheb walad Mahamad Saheb,	Mahome- dan.	Jagirdar and Mukhtiar, Nandgaou.	"
238	"	"	"	" Ramkrishna Bali- ram Kide.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Merchant and Land- holder, Karanja.	"
239	"	"	"	Munshi Bashir Ahmad,	Mahome- dan.	Bookbiuder, Amraoti.	"
240	"	"	"	Munshi Fazal Ah- mad,	"	"	"
241	"	"	"	Mr. K. D. Chavan ...	Kshatriya Arya,	Landholder and Pho- tographer, Amraoti.	"
242	"	"	"	" Gokuldas Rikhab- das, owner of the firm of Ganeshdas Thakurdas,	Mahesari,	Banker, Amraoti	"
243	"	"	"	" Ramdhandas Ri- khabdas, owner of the firm of Ganesh- das Thakurdas,	"	"	"
244	"	"	"	" Ganeshdas Ke- shaodas.	"	"	"
245	"	"	"	" Shrikisan D a s Daga.	"	Agent to Ganeshdas Keshadodas, Amraoti.	"
246	"	"	"	" Birdichand Kapur- chand,	Marwadi.	Banker, Amraoti	"
247	"	"	"	" Maniram Bagdi, Munim of Ganesh- das Bulakhidas,	"	"	"
248	"	"	"	" Dharamchand Ke- sarichand.	"	"	"
249	"	"	"	" Dadaji Gangadhar Dharaskar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	"	"

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250	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Mojiram Baldeo...	Marwadi.	Banker, Amraoti ...	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
251	"	"	"	" Shriram Rupram...	"	Landholder, Banker and Merchant, Hiverkhed.	"
252	"	"	"	" Pandurang Kunarsa.	Sonar.	Landholder, Morsi. ...	"
253	"	"	"	" Jairam Keshava Asnare, B. A.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Amraoti ...	"
254	"	"	"	" Ambadas Laxman Deorankar.	Gurao.	Landholder and Saraf, Amraoti.	"
255	"	"	"	" Vitthalesa Narayansa.	Patwi.	Cloth Merchant, Amraoti.	"
256	"	"	"	" Manmal Gulabchand.	Marwadi.	Cloth Merchant, Amraoti.	"
257	"	"	"	" Jaisiram Bissa. ...	Marwadi Brahmin.	Agent to Shriram Rupram, Hiverkhed.	"
258	"	"	"	" Wasudeorao Govind.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Agent to Shriram Rupram, Amraoti.	"
259	"	"	"	" Hukumchand Bachharaj.	Mahesri Marwadi.	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
260	"	"	"	" Takhatmal Shrivallabh.	"	"	"
261	"	"	"	" Jairandas Ramchandra.	"	Banker, Dhamangaon..	"
262	"	"	"	" Ballabdas. ...	"	Agent to Ballabdas Ramchandra, Amraoti.	"
263	"	"	"	" Abdul Alli walad Mahamad Alli.	Mahomedan Bohri.	Stationery and Glassware Merchant, Amraoti.	"
264	"	"	"	" Baliram Vithoba...	Simpi.	Cloth Merchant, Warha.	"
265	"	"	"	" Janardan Ganesh Maldhure.	Mali.	Banker and Landholder, Warha.	"
266	"	"	"	" Abaji Tukaram Panse.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Moneylender, Mangrol Dastgir.	"
267	"	"	"	" Lachiappa Chinappa.	Wani.	Grocer, Amraoti ...	"
268	"	"	"	" Sadakshari Aya Gura Mahadling Aya.	Lingayat Wani.	Religious Teacher, Amraoti.	"

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269	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Jaikumar Devidas Chawara.	Jain.	Banker and Landholder, Karanja.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
270	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Raghao Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Deshpande and Member Amraoti District Board, Badnera.	"
271	"	"	"	" Kesarichand Manikchand Malte.	Jain.	Shopkeeper, Amraoti.	"
272	"	"	"	" Tukaram Baglaji ..	Sonar.	Mukhtiar, Amraoti ...	"
273	"	"	"	" Vishwaji Powar ...	Mali.	Sawkar and Landholder, Balgaon.	"
274	"	"	"	" Ganesh Mahadeo Dixit.	Prabhu.	Amraoti ...	"
275	"	"	"	" Laxmi Narayanji Shet.	Marwadi.	Landholder and Moneylender, Pardi.	"
276	"	"	"	" Bachharaj Agent to Shriram Shaligram.	"	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
277	"	"	"	" Rajmal Dinaji ...	Mali.	Banker and Landholder, Balgaon.	"
278	"	"	"	" Sunderlal Shaligram, owner of the firm of Shriram Shaligram.	Marwadi.	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
279	"	"	"	" Ramsuk Puranmal.	"	Moneylender, Amraoti.	"
280	"	"	"	" Chauthamal Shivanath.	"	Sawkar ...	"
281	"	"	"	" Prayagji Liladhar..	Bhatia.	Agent to Mulji Jetha and Company, Amraoti.	"
282	"	"	"	" Shivashankar Bias.	Marwadi.	Agent to Sangvidas Mota, Amraoti.	"
283	"	"	"	" Anandrao Sitaram.	Maratha.	Banker and Landholder, Bhambora.	"
284	"	"	"	" Bhikamchand Nandlal.	Marwadi.	Banker, Tiwasa ...	"
285	"	"	"	Munshi Amir Husen Rahim Bax.	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Badnera ..	"
286	"	"	"	Mr. Vitthaldas Chandrabhan Bai-thi.	Hindu.	Dalal and Banker, Amraoti.	"
287	"	"	"	" Bisau Dayal ...	Agarwala.	Banker and Landholder, Amraoti.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress. Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
288	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Govind Diwakar Talukdar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Wutandar and Landholder, Varud.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti on 19th December 1897.
289	"	"	"	" Muktaprasad ...	Chhatrapura.	Banker, Amraoti ...	"
290	"	"	"	" Gulam Alli ...	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Amraoti.	"
291	"	"	"	" Shaffakat Sahab...	"	"	"
292	"	"	"	" Mahamad Huseen..	"	"	"
293	"	"	"	" Mahamad Ibrahim	"	"	"
294	"	"	"	" Sharakat Alli ...	"	"	"
295	"	"	"	" Mahamad Ibrahim.	"	Merohant, Amraoti ...	"
296	"	"	"	" Karim Khan ...	"	Shopkeeper ...	"
297	"	"	"	" Shaikh Mustan ...	"	"	"
298	"	"	Akola.	Rao Sahab Deorao Vinayak Digaambar.	Muharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader and Landholder, Akola.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897. Also by the Berar Sarvajauka Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
299	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagwat, B.A., LL.B.	"	"	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
300	"	"	"	" Narayan Kashinath Date, B.A.	"	Pleader, Akola ...	"
301	"	"	"	" Damodar Ganesh Patwardhan, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Akola.	"
302	"	"	"	" Vithal Ranguath Tare, B.A., LL.B.	"	"	"
303	"	"	"	" Keshao Govind Damle, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, and Secretary, Municipality, Akola.	"
304	"	"	"	" Shankar Govind...	"	Pleader, Akola ...	"
305	"	"	"	" Dattatraya Krishna Kolatkar.	"	Medical Practitioner, Akola.	"
306	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Vishnu Mahajani, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Akola.	"
307	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Martand Gupte.	Prabhu.	Pleader, Akola ...	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Denomination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
308	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Pandurang Bapuji Rajandekar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Moneylender, Landholder and Member, District Board, Akola.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897. Also by the Berar Sarvajanika Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
309	"	"	"	" Balvant Vinayak Digambar.	"	Banker and Landholder, Akola.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
310	"	"	"	" Hari Ramchandra Anvikar.	"	Editor, "Shudha Vardhi," Akola.	"
311	"	"	"	" Abaji Mairal ...	"	Pleader, Akola ...	"
312	"	"	"	" Shivaratausinh Varma.	Rajput Kshatriya Arya.	Landholder and Merchant, Patur Shekh Babu.	Do. Also by the Berar Sarvajanika Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
313	"	"	"	" Hansilal Panachand.	Agarwala.	Banker, Balapur ...	"
314	"	"	"	" Maruti Ganesh Asarkar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder, Moneylender, Member, Local Board, and Municipal Commissioner, Akot.	"
315	"	"	"	" Kalekhan Saudagar.	Mahomedan.	Contractor, Patur ...	"
316	"	"	"	" Govindsinh Varma.	Kshatriya Arya.	Merchant, Patur Shekh Babu.	"
317	"	"	"	" Popatlal Parasharam.	Agarwala.	Banker, Balapur ...	"
318	"	"	"	" Jaikrishna Bagaji.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker's Agent, Municipal and District Board Member.	"
319	"	"	"	" Laxman Govind Oke.	"	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Akola.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
320	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Trimbak.	Hindu.	Native Doctor, Akola.	"
321	"	"	"	" Shivaram Anant Panat.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Agent to private banking firm, Khamgaon.	"
322	"	"	"	" Kasturchand Bhikamchand.	Marwadi.	Banker and Merchant, Khamgaon.	"
323	"	"	"	" Ganeshdas Bhattar	"	"	"
324	"	"	"	" Raoji Raghao Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder and Watan-dar.	"

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325	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Bachulal Nanakram.	Agarwala.	Landholder and Banker, Barsi Takli.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
326	"	"	"	" Ratanlal Mohanlal	"	Banker, Barsi Takli ...	"
327	"	"	"	" Gangadhar B a l - krishna.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Khamgaon ...	"
328	"	"	"	" Sakharam H a n - mant.	"	"	"
329	"	"	"	" Ekanath A b a j i Mahajan.	"	General Agent to a Jagirdar and Landholder, Akola.	"
330	"	"	"	" Gopalrao Madhavrao.	"	Landholder and Jagirdar, Khamgaon.	"
331	"	"	"	" Vaman Laxman ...	"	Pleader, Khamgaon ...	"
332	"	"	"	" Motilal Bansilal ...	Agarwala.	Banker and Landholder, Akola.	"
333	"	"	"	" Lalji Vithoba Patil	Kunbi.	Landholder and Banker, Savre, Taluk Akot.	"
334	"	"	"	" Kashinath S h a - kar Appa.	Hindu.	Banker, Adgaon ...	"
335	"	"	"	" Sadashiv Keshavrao.	"	Watandar and Banker, Panchagawhan.	"
336	"	"	"	" Vishwanath Ramji Jodh.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker, Akot ...	Do. Also by the Berar Servajanika Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
337	"	"	"	" Vithoba Punjaji ...	Hindu.	Landholder and Moneylender, Nakasi.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
338	"	"	"	" Vithoba Ramji ...	Kunbi.	Landholder, Kharale...	"
339	"	"	"	" Gunavant R a m - chandra.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker and Merchant, Akot.	"
340	"	"	"	" Balaji H a r s i n g Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Watandar and Landholder, Rahita, Taluk Akot.	"
341	"	"	"	" Krishnaji E k a j i Deshmukh.	"	"	"
342	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Vithoba.	Hindu.	Landholder, Mahuli ...	"
343	"	"	"	" Chandrabhan Ra-ghoji.	"	Landholder and Moneylender, Akola.	"

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344	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Damodar Waman Brabma.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Private Servant, Khamgaon.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
345	"	"	"	" Nanakram Gangaram.	Hindu, Agarwals.	Banker and Landholder, Panchagawan.	"
346	"	"	"	" Biharilal Hiralal...	"	"	"
347	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Ganesh	Hindu.	Pleaser, Telhara ...	"
348	"	"	"	" Namdeo Sonaji ...	"	Landholder and Moneylender, Boregaon.	"
349	"	"	"	" Ganeshdas Surajmal.	Marwadi.	Moneylender, Andura.	"
350	"	"	"	" Chimanlal Shankardas.	"	"	"
351	"	"	"	" Bhagwant Damodar Thombre.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Clerk, private firm, Khamgaon.	"
352	"	"	"	" Keshao Waman Brahma.	"	Private Servant, Khamgaon.	"
353	"	"	"	" Gopaldas Narayandas.	Jain.	Banker and Merchant, Balapur.	"
354	"	"	"	" Achyut Gopal ...	Hindu.	Deshpande and landholder, Adgaon.	"
355	"	"	"	" Shriram Khetsidas.	Marwadi.	Moneylender, Balapur.	"
356	"	"	"	" Tulaji Maruti ...	Kunbi.	Landholder, Barsi Takli.	"
357	"	"	"	" Narayan Sonaji Teli.	Teli.	Sawkar, Deodhari ...	"
358	"	"	"	" Kisan Sitaram ...	Kunbi.	Landholder, Daga dparwa.	"
359	"	"	"	" Sakharam Narayan.	"	"	"
360	"	"	"	" Daulat Nanaji ...	"	"	"
361	"	"	"	" Raoji Shidhoji ...	"	Landholder, Wakhera.	"
362	"	"	"	" Janba Wagaji ...	"	Landholder, Deodhari.	"
363	"	"	"	" Ganpatrao Chandrabhan.	"	Landholder, Barsi Takli.	"
364	"	"	"	" Anandrao Harsing.	"	Watandar and Landholder, Barsi Takli.	"
365	"	"	"	" Sawaji Sonaji Deshmukh.	"	Landholder, Shegaon...	"

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366	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Anant Tatyaji Korde.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	General Merchant and Municipal Commissioner, Akola.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
367	"	"	"	" Bapu Balaji Sabne.	"	Banker, Khamgaon ...	"
368	"	"	"	" Hara khand Gulabchand.	Gujarathi.	Banker and Merchant, Telhara.	"
369	"	"	"	" Keshao Parasharam Ambdekar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder and Moneylender, Telhara.	"
370	"	"	"	" Narayan Rangnath Tagde.	"	"	"
371	"	"	"	" Sadshiv Ramji Mankar.	Hindu.	Landholder, Adgaon...	"
372	"	"	"	" Shankarrao Deshmukh.	"	Landholder, Akola ...	"
373	"	"	"	" Purnshottam Achyutrao Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Deshpande and Jagirdar, Balapur.	"
374	"	"	"	" Shrikrishna Amrit Deshpande.	"	Landholder, Akola ...	"
375	"	"	"	" Ramrao Gopal Deshpande.	"	Landholder and Wataudar, Akola.	"
376	"	"	"	" Bhagusing Chaining.	Rajput.	Private Servant, Balapur.	"
377	"	"	"	" Kanhayalal Hemchand.	Agarwala.	Merchant, Balapur ...	"
378	"	"	"	" Ruprao Zabaji ...	Hindu.	Landholder, Dongargaon.	"
379	"	"	"	" Jawarimal Shankardaa.	Marwadi.	Moneylender, Andura.	"
380	"	"	"	Munshi Sham Ahmad.	Mahomedan.	Moneylender, Patur ...	"
381	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Radarfa walad Mahamad Saheb.	"	Ijardar, Akola ...	"
382	"	"	"	" Narayan Laxman.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Sawkar, Akola ...	"
383	"	"	"	" Yeshwant Govind Hundivala.	"	Agent of Deshmukh and Member Taluk Board, Balapur.	"
384	"	"	"	" Dhondi Bapu walad Narayan Bapu.	Hindu.	Landholder, Akola ...	"

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385	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Dinkarrao Bhagwantrao.	Maratha.	Landholder and Money-lender, Akola.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
386	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Wasudeo Kolatkar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	General Merchant and Photographer, Akola	"
387	"	"	"	" Narayan Sakharam.	Hindu.	Landholder, Ugwa ...	"
388	"	"	"	" Yadueshwar Anant Vaidya.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pensioner and Manager of an Industrial Class, Akola.	"
389	"	"	"	" Anandrao Ambadas Lote.	"	Agent of a Banker, Balapur.	"
390	"	"	"	" Jiwaba Dada Sonar.	Sonar.	Goldsmith, Akola ...	"
391	"	"	"	" Harikrishna Shamrao Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Watandar, Jagirdar and Landholder, Balapur.	"
392	"	"	"	" Shivalal Gulabchand, Agent to Govindram Bhikamdas, Dukan Telhara.	Marwadi.	Banker, Akola ...	"
393	"	"	"	" Tukaram Gambbirji Patil.	Kunbi.	Landholder, Akola ...	"
394	"	"	"	" Shriram Shaligram.	Marwadi.	Banker, Khamgaon ...	"
395	"	"	"	" Narayan Trimbak.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Agent, Khamgaon ...	"
396	"	"	"	" Pandurang Bhalchandra.	"	Agent, Akola ...	"
397	"	"	"	" Hiralal Rewadas...	Hindu.	Sawkar, Ugwa ...	"
398	"	"	"	" Dhanji Jadhaoji Bhatia.	Bhatia.	Merchant, Akola ...	"
399	"	"	"	" V. Dharampuri Narsaiya.	Telanga.	Watchmaker, Akola...	"
400	"	"	"	" Annaji Keshav Sukhatme.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Agent to New Mofussil Co., Shegaon.	"
401	"	"	"	" Gopal Vishnu Raste.	"	Agent, Akola ...	"
402	"	"	"	" Umrao Zamsing ...	Hindu.	Moneylender, Khamgaon.	"
403	"	"	"	" Sandoba Khushalji Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Landholder, Rahita ...	"

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404	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Ganesh Daji Joshi.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Moneylender and Landholder, Telhara.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
405	"	"	"	" Madharnao Ramchandra Tipnis.	Prabhu.	Pleader, Telhara ...	"
406	"	"	"	" Anant Vishnu Bhagwat.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	"	"
407	"	"	"	" Purushottam Shastri.	"	Shastri, Akot ...	"
408	"	"	"	" Raoji Moreshwar..	"	Moneylender and Merchant, Khamgaon.	"
409	"	"	"	" Govind Keshao ...	"	Banker, Mategaon ...	"
410	"	"	"	" Trimbak Waman..	"	Jagirdar, Tuuki ...	"
411	"	"	"	" Renkodas Balvant.	"	"	"
412	"	"	"	" Ramrao Govind ...	"	"	"
413	"	"	"	" Ramrao Laxman...	"	"	"
414	"	"	"	" Gurupratap Govindram.	Marwadi.	Banker, Akola ...	"
415	"	"	"	" Surajmal Govindram.	"	"	"
416	"	"	"	" Kisan Chandra-bhan.	Hindu.	Landholder, Akot ..	"
417	"	"	"	" Ganesh Haumant Thombre.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder & Moneylender, Akot.	"
418	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Waman	"	Pleader, Khamgaon ...	"
419	"	"	"	" Atmaram Limbaji.	Hindu.	Artist, Khamgaon ...	"
420	"	"	"	" Shrikumar Kisan-sivaram Mansabdar.	Rajput Kshatriya Arya.	Zamindar, Patur Shekh Babu.	"
421	"	"	"	" Deorao Bhagwant Nargunde.	Hindu.	Munim, Patur Shekh Babu.	"
422	"	"	"	" Lalusing Varma...	Rajput Kshatriya Arya.	Landholder, Patur ...	"
423	"	"	"	" Hiralal Bagdi ...	Marwadi.	Merchant and Agent to a Banker, Akola.	"
424	"	"	"	Moulvi Ashagar Husen.	Mahomedan.	Jagirdar, Patur ...	"
425	"	"	"	Mr. Balkisandas Purushottamdas.	Hindu.	Banker and Landholder, Akolkhede, Taluk Akot.	"

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426	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Motiram Shivaram Patil.	Hindu.	Landholder, Manchampur, Taluk Akot.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
427	"	"	"	" Premasukdas Marwadi.	Marwadi.	Agent to a Sowkar ...	"
428	"	"	"	" Yeshwant Ramchandra.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker, Jalgaon, District Akola.	"
429	"	"	"	" Gopal Ganesh ...	"	"	"
430	"	"	"	" Raibhan Nathuji.	Kuubi.	Landholder and Moneylender, Manchampur, Taluk Akot.	"
431	"	"	"	" Nansukdas Gokuldas.	Marwadi.	Banker and Merchant, Khamgaon.	"
432	"	"	"	" Mahamad Hanif...	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Patur ...	"
433	"	"	"	" Mahamad Ibrahim.	"	"	"
434	"	"	"	" Ahmadkhan walad Husenkhan.	"	Landholder, Mehkar...	"
435	"	"	"	" Malhakhan ...	"	Landholder, Akola ...	"
436	"	"	"	" Syed Altaf Husen.	"	"	"
437	"	"	"	" Shaikh Ahwad ...	"	"	"
438	"	"	"	" Surajuddin ...	"	"	"
439	"	"	"	" Syed Kasim ...	"	Landholder, Patur ...	"
440	"	"	"	" Mahamed Ali ...	"	"	"
441	"	"	"	" Abdul Allims ...	"	"	"
442	"	"	"	" Mahamad Munir..	"	"	"
443	"	"	"	" Mahamad Yakub.	"	"	"
444	"	"	"	" Johar Mahamad...	"	"	"
445	"	"	"	" Zainullabuddin ...	"	"	"
446	"	"	"	Munshi Rajuddin ...	"	Landholder, Akola ...	"
447	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Govind Damle.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	"	"
448	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Yeshwant Samudra.	"	Munim, Khamgaon ...	"
449	"	"	"	" Shamlal Ukardas.	Jain.	Banker, Khamgaon ...	"
450	"	"	"	" Premasukdas Rathi.	Marwadi.	"	"

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451	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Rodgers	American Christian.	Manager, School of Industry, Akola.	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
452	"	"	"	" Narayan R a m c h a n d r a Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Watandar and Jagirdar, Balapur.	"
453	"	"	"	" Vinayak Moreswar.	"	Landholder and Moneylender, Telhara	"
454	"	"	"	" Gangadhar Ganesh Joshi.	"	"	"
455	"	"	"	" Raoji Janu Mali..	Kunbi.	Landholder, B a r s i Takli.	"
456	"	"	"	" Bhagwan U d e bhan.	"	Landholder, Tiwasa ...	"
457	"	"	"	" Zingo Sakharan...	"	Landholder, B a r s i Takli.	"
458	"	"	"	" Motiram Kisan-sing.	Hindu.	Landholder, Moneylender & Merchant, Ghusar.	"
459	"	"	"	" Gotusing Dagadusing.	"	"	"
460	"	"	"	" Eknath Atmaram.	Sonar.	Goldsmith, Akola ...	"
461	"	"	"	" Prithwiraj ...	Marwadi.	Sawkar, Akola ...	"
462	"	"	"	" Dhondu M o r e shwar Hingwe.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Secretary, New Ginning Co., Akot.	"
463	"	"	"	" Janardan Abaji Mahajan.	"	Secretary, N a t i v e Cotton G. P. and S. Co., Akola.	"
464	"	"	"	" Vishwanath Sada-shiv.	"	Pleader, Khamgaon ...	"
465	"	"	"	" Gulam A h m a d w a l a d P y a r Mahamad.	Mahomedan.	Moneylender, Mehkar.	"
466	"	"	"	" Laxmidas Mahidas	Marwadi.	Banker and Merchant, Khamgaon.	"
467	"	"	"	" Bachulal Govindlal	Hindu.	Banker, Akola ...	"
468	"	"	"	" Jeggannath Jitmal.	Marwadi.	Banker and Merchant, Akola.	"
469	"	"	"	" Mahamad A l l i Saheb.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Patur ...	"
470	"	"	"	M u n s h i Nizamuddin.	"	"	"

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471	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Lalkhan Soudagar.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Patur ...	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
472	"	"	"	" Lalkhan Roshankhan.	"	Landholder, Patur ...	"
473	"	"	"	Munshi Abutabha Jagirdar.	"	"	"
474	"	"	"	Mr. Vithoba Ramji Patil.	Hindu.	Landholder, Mahagaon.	"
475	"	"	"	" Rashiuddin Jagirdar.	Mahomedan.	Jagirdar, Patur ...	"
476	"	"	"	Nawab Mahamuddin Saheb.	"	"	"
477	"	"	"	Mr. Shaikh Chhotubhai.	"	Merchant and Landholder, Patur.	"
478	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Dinkar Deshpande, B.A.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder, Balapur.	"
479	"	"	"	" Bhawani Sakharam.	Wani.	Sawkar, Deodhari ...	"
480	"	"	"	" Baburao Hari Patil.	Kunbi.	Landholder, Barsi Takli.	"
481	"	"	"	" Maruti Sonaji Patil.	"	"	"
482	"	"	"	" Parasharam Daryaji.	"	"	"
483	"	"	"	" Ganu Ramji ...	"	"	"
484	"	"	"	" Raoji Vikramji ...	"	"	"
485	"	"	"	" Sadashiv Harbaji.	"	"	"
486	"	"	"	" Ganu Narayan ...	"	"	"
487	"	"	"	" Shivram Sakharam.	"	"	"
488	"	"	"	" Atmaram Laxmanji.	"	"	"
489	"	"	"	" Ganpat Ramji Zod.	"	"	"
490	"	"	"	" Zango Sadashiv Patil.	"	"	"
491	"	"	"	" Parasharam Vithoba.	"	Landholder, Chaugson	"
492	"	"	"	" Appaji Vyankatesh, Agent to Babuji Sakharam.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder & Banker..	"

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493	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Savatram Ramprasad.	Marwadi.	Landholder	At a public meeting held at Akola, on 19th December 1897.
494	"	"	"	" Ramrao Nagorao.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder & Moneylender.	"
495	"	"	"	" Ramdhan Brijraj.	Marwadi.	Moneylender ...	"
496	"	"	Ellichpur.	" Khushalrao Narayanrao Pangarkar, B.A., LL.B.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court and Landholder, Ellichpur.	At a public meeting held at Ellichpur, on 5th December 1897. Also by the Berar Sarvajanika Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
497	"	"	"	" Purushottam Bhagwantrao Deshpande.	"	Inamdar and Deshpande, Ellichpur.	"
498	"	"	"	" Vyankatrao Hanmantrao Deshmukh.	"	Jagirdar and Deshmukh, Ellichpur.	"
499	"	"	"	" Ganesh Nagesh Sahasrabudhe.	"	District Court Pleader, Ellichpur.	"
500	"	"	"	" Narayan Ramchandra Gadhikar.	"	Secretary, Civil Station Municipality, and District Court Pleader, Ellichpur.	"
501	"	"	"	" Narharrao Bhagwantrao Deshpande,	"	Inamdar and Deshpande, Ellichpur.	"
502	"	"	"	" Vitthal Purushottam Ganorkar.	"	Moneylender and Landholder, Daryapur.	"
503	"	"	"	" Ramrao Sadashiv Sadhu.	"	Landholder, Ellichpur City.	"
504	"	"	"	" Yeshwantrao Narayan Deshpande.	"	Moneylender and Landholder, Anjanagaon.	At a public meeting held at Ellichpur, on 5th December 1897.
505	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Krishna Dange.	Krishnapakshi.	District Court Pleader, Ellichpur.	"
506	"	"	"	" Pralhadrao Vitthal Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder and Moneylender, Anjanagaon.	"
507	"	"	"	" Bapurao Mahadeo Pendsa.	"	District Court Pleader, Ellichpur.	"
508	"	"	"	" Gangadhar Narayan Jagdale.	"	Pleader, Civil Court, Daryapur.	"

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509	Government of India.	Berar.	Ellichpur.	Mr. Rajaram walad Vithoba.	Kunbi.	Landholder and Moneylender, Towler, District Ellichpur.	At a public meeting held at Ellichpur, on 5th December 1897.
510	"	"	"	" Hanmantrao Ramrao Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Landholder and Moneylender, Daryapur.	"
511	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Ramchandra Oke.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Civil Court, Daryapur.	"
512	"	"	"	" Govind Sonaji Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Inamdar and Landholder, Shivar.	"
513	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Gamlaji.	Kunbi.	Landholder, Hingni Govindgaon.	"
514	"	"	"	" Ganeshpuri Laxmanpuri Gosawi.	Hindu Gosawi.	Moneylender and Landholder, Kakda.	"
515	"	"	"	" Vaman Balvant ...	Hindu.	Landholder, Singapur.	"
516	"	"	"	" Zangoji walad Shrawanji.	Kunbi.	Landholder, Gavar-khed.	"
517	"	"	"	" Bhagwansa Rukhabsa Sawkar.	Lada.	Moneylender and Landholder, Ellichpur.	"
518	"	"	"	" Sakharam Mukaji Rauta.	Kunbi.	Moneylender and Landholder, Chandur Bazar.	"
519	"	"	"	" Mahadeo walad Kondaji Patil.	"	Landholder and Moneylender, Bhugaon.	"
520	"	"	"	" Narayan Laxman Ganorkar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Moneylender and Landholder, Daryapur.	"
521	"	"	"	" Mungilal Hukumchand.	Agarwala.	Merchant, Ellichpur Cantonment.	"
522	"	"	"	" Deorao Nagorao...	Kunbi.	Landholder, Kolha ...	"
523	"	"	"	" Hariharrao Madharao Deshmukh.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Jagirdar and Deshmukh, Ellichpur City.	"
524	"	"	"	" Champalal Motilal Sawkar.	Agarwala.	Merchant and Moneylender, Paratwada.	"
525	"	"	"	" Santokiram Chautmal.	"	Moneylender and Landholder, Singapur.	"
526	"	"	"	" Gopal Annaji Saraf.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Moneylender and Landholder, Paratwada.	"

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527	Government of India.	Berar.	Ellichpur.	Mr. Shivnarayan Jawharmal.	Agarwala.	Moneylender and Landholder, Wadnergangai.	At a public meeting held at Ellichpur, on 5th December 1897.
528	"	"	"	" Rajaram Ramrao.	Kunbi.	"	"
529	"	"	"	" Bajirao Tukaramji.	"	Landholder and Moneylender, Kolha.	"
530	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Indraraj.	Agarwala.	Landholder and Moneylender, Ellichpur.	"
531	"	"	"	" Harlal Ramsuk ...	"	Moneylender and Landholder, Kokarda.	"
532	"	"	"	" Chunnilal Shivbucharai.	Kayastha.	Moneylender, Ellichpur City.	"
533	"	"	"	" Balvant Rao ...	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Ellichpur City ...	"
534	"	"	"	" Ramdin Shaligram.	Pardesi.	Moneylender and Landholder, Chendkapur.	"
535	"	"	"	" Chimanlal Gulabchand.	Mahesari.	Moneylender and Landholder, Wansa.	"
536	"	"	"	" Shamrao Gangarao.	Kunbi.	Moneylender and Landholder, Talwel.	"
537	"	"	"	" Daolatsing Narayansing.	Rajput.	Moneylender and Landholder, Daryapur.	"
538	"	"	"	" Govind Sitaram Rabdi.	Hindu.	Editor, "Prabhat," Ellichpur.	"
539	"	"	"	" Shripad Damle.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Moneylender and Landholder, Paratwada.	"
540	"	"	Wun.	" Gopal Narayan Bhat.	"	Pleader, Ijardar and Municipal Secretary, Yeotmal.	At a public meeting held at Yeotmal, on 5th December 1897. Also by the Berar Sarvajanika Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
541	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Ganesh Mundle, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Ijardar and Municipal Vice-Chairman, Yeotmal.	At a public meeting held at Yeotmal, on 5th December 1897. By the Bombay Presidency Association, on 13th December 1897. Also at a public meeting held at Satara, on 10th December 1897.

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542	Government of India.	Berar.	Wun.	Mr. Laxman Chintaman Bapat.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader and Ijardar, Yeotmal.	At a public meeting held at Yeotmal, on 5th December 1897.
543	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Rangunath Bapat.	"	Pleader, Ijardar, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board, Yeotmal.	"
544	"	"	"	" Baliram Raghao Sastikar.	"	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Commissioner, Yeotmal.	"
545	"	"	"	" Sadashiv Moreshwar Deo.	"	Pleader and Ijardar, Yeotmal.	"
546	"	"	"	" Yeshwant Deorao Deshmukh.	Wani.	Jagirdar and Ijardar Deshmukh, Parwa, Taluk Kelapur.	"
547	"	"	"	" Vyankatesh Koner Bhedi.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Sawkar, Ijardar and Member, District Board, Wun.	"
548	"	"	"	" Bhojanaik Ramunaik.	Banjari.	Ijardar, Yawali Karegaon, Taluk Yeotmal.	"
549	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Ganpatrao Deshmukh.	Wani.	Ijardar and Jagirdar, Parwa, Taluk Kelapur.	"
550	"	"	"	" Balvant Ramchandra Landge.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Ijardar and Landholder, Yeotmal.	"
551	"	"	"	" Keshao Rajaram Komati.	Komati.	Ijardar and Sawkar, Borgaon, Taluk Darwah.	"
552	"	"	"	" Hari Vitthal Subhedar.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Ijardar, Tiwasa, Taluk Yeotmal.	"
553	"	"	"	" Sadashiv Anandrao Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Member, District Board, Yeotmal.	"
554	"	"	"	" Sambhashiv Krishna Kale.	Wani.	Ijardar and Sawkar ...	"
555	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Govind Rinkar.	Hindu Teli.	Ijardar, Sonegaon, Taluk Yeotmal.	"
556	"	"	"	" Bajirao Yeshwant- rao Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Ijardar and Landholder, Umri, Taluk Darwah.	"
557	"	"	"	" Pandurang Ganpatrao Deshmukh.	"	"	"
558	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Rajaram Komati.	Komati.	Ijardar, Darwah ...	"
559	"	"	"	" Bapurao Sambhashiv Deshmukh.	Wani.	Ijardar, Kelapur ...	"

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560	Government of India.	Berar.	Wun.	Mr. Narayan Ramu Naik.	Banjari.	Ijardar, Yeotmal ...	At a public meeting held at Yeotmal, on 5th December 1897.
561	"	"	"	" Maruti Undraji ...	Sonar.	Sawkar, Watkhed, Taluk Yeotmal.	"
562	"	"	"	" Tukaram Diwaji...	Kunbi.	Landholder and Moneylender, Yeotmal.	"
563	"	"	"	" Maruti Bajirao Jankar.	Hindu Hatkar.	Ijardar and Moneylender, Kopra, Taluk Yeotmal.	"
564	"	"	"	" Anandrao Amritrao.	Maratha.	Ijardar and Member, Taluk Board, Yeotmal.	"
565	"	"	"	" Atmaram Ganesh Mundle.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Trader, Yeotmal ...	"
566	"	"	"	" Dinkar Krishna Deshmukh.	"	Ijardar and Member, District Board, Wun.	"
567	"	"	"	" Dadusing Sonaji Deshmukh.	Rajput.	Landholder, Yeotmal.	"
568	"	"	"	" Yeshwant Pandurang Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	"	"
569	"	"	Buldana.	" Vaman Vyankatesh Joshi.	"	Priesthood, Malkapur..	At a public meeting held at Malkapur, on 19th December 1897.
570	"	"	"	" Harisa Vishwanathsa.	Vaishya.	Moneylender, Malkapur.	"
571	"	"	"	" Vishnu Mahadeo Sonar.	Sonar.	"	"
572	"	"	"	" Hormusji Palanjee.	Parsee.	Merchant, Malkapur...	"
573	"	"	"	" Pestonji Manikji...	"	"	"
574	"	"	"	" A. Dadabhai ...	"	"	"
575	"	"	"	" Sitaram Maruti ...	Kunbi.	Moneylender and Landholder, Dharrangaon, Taluk Malkapur.	"
576	"	"	"	" Shankar Anandrao Deshpande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Sawkar, Chikhli ...	At a public meeting held at Buldana, on 23rd December 1897.
577	"	"	"	" Vishnu Mahadeo Deshpande.	"	Landholder, Borakheddi, Taluk Chikhli.	"
578	"	"	"	" Shrikrishna Chinnaji Deshpande.	"	Pleader, Buldana ...	"
579	"	"	"	" Annaji Ramchandra Pimprikar.	"	"	"

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580	Government of India.	Berar.	Buldana.	Mr. Amrit Waman Dalal.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Sawkar, Buldana ...	At a public meeting held at Buldana, on 23rd December 1897.
581	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Sakharan Bapat, B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader, Buldana ...	"
582	"	"	"	" Vishnusa Balkrishnasa Sawaji.	Vaishya.	Banker and Landholder, Malkapur.	At a public meeting held at Malkapur, on 19th December 1897.
583	"	"	"	" Raoji Raghao Tagde.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Malkapur ...	"
584	"	"	"	" Hari Gopal Pendse.	"	"	"
585	"	"	"	" Ganesh Waman Soman.	"	"	"
586	"	"	"	" Damodar Hari Ranade,	"	"	"
587	"	"	"	" Wasudeo Balaji Pimplikar,	"	"	Do. Also by the Berar Sarvajanika Sabha, on 12th December 1897.
588	"	"	"	" Chimanlal Nathmal,	Marwadi.	Banker and Landholder,	At a public meeting held at Malkapur, on 19th December 1897.
589	"	"	"	" Gulam Ahmadkhan Soudagar,	Mahomedan,	Landholder, Pimpalgaon Raja, Taluk Balapur.	At a General Committee's meeting of the Berar Sarvajanika Sabha, held on 12th December 1897,
590	"	"	Basim.	" Govind Mohaniraj Raodeo,	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Hingoli ...	At a public meeting held at Basim, on 19th December 1897.
591	"	"	"	" Yeshwant Vaman Dighe.	"	Pleader and Member, District Board, Basim,	"
592	"	"	"	" Shesharao Raghunath.	"	Pleader, Basim ...	"
593	"	"	"	" Vyankatesh Balkrishna Deshpande.	"	"	"
594	"	"	"	" Vinayak Vishnu Gokhale.	"	"	"
595	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Ramji Ghisad.	"	Moneylender, Basim,	"

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596	Government of India.	Berar.	Basim.	Mr. Chimanrao Trim-bak Pandę.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder, Risod, Taluk Basim.	At a public meeting held at Basim, on 19th December 1897.
597	"	"	"	" Beharilal Haribhat.	Marwadi.	Banker, Risod, Taluk Basim.	"
598	"	"	"	Raja Kashirao Shankarrao.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Jagirdar, Basim	"
599	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Lala Bhagiratha Prasad, B.A.	Hindu Kalar.	Itwari Darwaja, Nagpur.	At a public meeting held at Nagpur, on 11th December 1897. Also at a public meeting held at Bilaspur, on 4th December 1897.
600	"	"	"	Mr. Chintaman Hari Marathe.	Vedic Brahmin.	Agent to Gopalrao Buti, Nagpur.	At a public meeting held at Nagpur, on 11th December 1897.
601	"	"	"	" Waman Gopal Joshi, B.A.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Editor, "Deshasevak," and Head Master, Sitabuldi High School, Nagpur.	"
602	"	"	"	" Keshao Gopal Tamhan, M.A.	"	Principal and Professor, Morris College, Nagpur.	"
603	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Balvantrao Mahajan.	"	Pleader, Nagpur	"
604	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Keshao Shivaram Bhawalkar.	"	Pensioned Extra Assistant Commissioner, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.	"
605	"	"	"	Mr. Sadashiv Vishnu Paranspe, B.A.	"	Teacher, Sitabuldi Aided School, Nagpur.	"
606	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Krishna Padhye, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader and Editor, "Deshasevak," Nagpur.	"
607	"	"	"	" Hari Mahadeo Pandit	"	Editor, "Vividhanyanavistara" and Deputy Manager, Bhonsla Estate, Nagpur.	"
608	"	"	"	" Narayan Ballal Chiplunkar.	"	Landholder and Banker, care of H. M. Pandit, Esq., Nagpur.	"
609	"	"	"	" Keshao Vinayak Joshi, B.A.	"	Head Master, "Neill City School," Nagpur.	"

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610	Central Provinces,	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Amrit Laxman Dighe, M.A., B.L.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Nagpur...	At a public meeting held at Nagpur, on 11th December 1897.
611	"	"	"	" Ganesh Wasudeo Sane.	"	Contractor, G. I. P. R., and Cloth Merchant, Jubbulpore.	"
612	"	"	"	" Laxman Dajiba Gadre, B.A., L.M. & s.	"	Medical Practitioner, Nagpur.	"
613	"	"	"	" Vishnu Mahadeo Jakatdar, B.A.	"	Teacher, "Hislop College," Nagpur.	"
614	"	"	"	Mrs. Tulsabai Bhishma	"	Nagpur	"
615	"	"	"	Mr. Raoji Kashinath Gokhale.	"	Pleader, Nagpur	"
616	"	"	"	Raja Naoljirao Saheb Gujar.	Maratha.	Rais and Landholder, Nagpur.	"
617	"	"	"	Mr. Bapurao D a d a , M.A.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Nagpur	"
618	"	"	"	" Govind Meghasham Badkas.	"	"	"
619	"	"	"	" Rajaram Sitaram Dixit.	"	Contractor, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.	"
620	"	"	"	" Priyansh Mukopadhyaya, M.A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Professor, "Morris College," Nagpur.	Do. Also at a public meeting held at Nardia Krishnagar, on 7th December 1897.
621	"	"	"	" Ghanasham Laxman Leuskar, B.A.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Landholder and Malguzar, Nagpur.	At a public meeting held at Nagpur, on 11th. December 1897.
622	"	"	Wardha.	" Hari Waman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Wardha	At a public meeting held at Wardha, on 24th December 1897.
623	"	"	"	" Damodar Nilkanth Khare, B.A. LL.B.	"	"	"
624	"	"	"	" Kesharao Mahadeo Kawale.	"	"	"
625	"	"	"	" Purushottam Vithal Gole.	"	Pleader, Arwi...	"
626	"	"	"	" Purushottam Ganesh Paranspe.	"	Pleader, Wardha	"
627	"	"	"	" Narayan Keshao Kawale.	"	Landholder, Wardha...	"

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628	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Wardha.	Mr. Vinayak Madhavrao Deshmukh.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Malguzar and Banker, Wardha.	At a public meeting held at Wardha, on 24th December 1897.
629	"	"	"	" Daji Jiram Pande, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader and Vice-president, Municipality, Wardha.	"
630	"	"	Ashti (District Wardha.)	" Raghunath Keshao Deshpande.	"	Landholder, Banker and Malguzar, Ashti.	At a public meeting held at Ashti, on 21st December 1897.
631	"	"	"	" Kashinath Keshao Deshpande.	"	Malguzar, Ashti	"
632	"	"	"	" Murhari Ambadas Deshpande.	"	Malguzar and Jamedar, Ashti.	"
633	"	"	"	" Laxman Rajaram Atre, B.A.	"	Malguzar and Landholder, Ashti.	"
634	"	"	"	" Ambadas Atmaram Deshpande.	"	Member, Local Board, Arvi; Malguzar and Banker, Ashti.	"
635	"	"	"	" Raoji Narayan Rajakarane.	"	Malguzar, Ashti	"
636	"	"	"	" Gopal Hirala Chhatarpure.	Chhatarpure Bania.	Malguzar, Sawkar and Banker, Ashti.	"
637	"	"	Chanda.	" Baliram Narayan Deshmukh, B.A., B.L.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder, Chanda.	At a public meeting held at Chanda, on 18th December 1897.
638	"	"	"	" Banailal Ganpatlal.	Hindu Khatri.	Landholder and Thekedar, Chanda.	"
639	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Raghunath Bobde.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Landholder and Secretary, Municipality, Chanda.	"
640	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Atmaram Deshpande.	"	Landholder, Malguzar and Watandar, Mool, Chanda.	"
641	"	"	Raj Nandgaon.	Pandit Bhagwandatta Serotia.	Brahmin.	Manager, "Balaram Press," Raj Nandgaon, District Raipur.	At a public meeting held at Raj Nandgaon, on 5th December 1897.
642	"	"	"	Pandit Bidhata Prasad Sharma.	"	Merchant, Raj Nandgaon.	"
643	"	"	Saugor.	Pandit Bhawani Shankar.	Kankubj Brahmin.	Zamindar and Merchant, Saugor.	At a public meeting held at Saugor, on 5th December 1897.
644	"	"	Katol Tahsil.	Mr. Nagorao Mankar...	Kunbi.	Malguzar, Paradsinga, District Nagpur.	At a public meeting of the Katol Loka Sabha, held on 21st December 1897.

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645	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Katol Tahsil.	Mr. Manik Nagorao Mankar.	Kunbi.	Malguzar, Paradsinga, District Nagpur.	At a public meeting of the Katol Loka Sabha, held on 21st December 1897. Also at a public meeting held at Amraoti, on 19th December 1897.
646	"	"	Khandwa.	" Moti Bulasa, B.A...	Wani.	Life Member of the Deccan Education Society and Teacher, New English School, Poona.	At a public meeting held at Khandwa, on 24th December 1897.
647	"	"	Betul.	" Ramchandra Banarjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Landholder, Betul ...	At a public meeting held at Betul, on 19th December 1897.
648	"	"	"	" Bhimraj Chaudhari.	Marwadi Bania.	Trader and Mukhtiar, Badnur, Zilla h Betul.	"
649	Panjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Bakshi Jaisi Ram.....	Punjabi Hindu Mahajan Bakshi.	Pleaser, Chief Court Punjaub, Anarkali Street, Lahore.	At a public meeting held at Lahore, on 12th December 1897.
650	N. W. P. and Oudh.	Lucknow.	Lucknow.	Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma.	Khatri.	Proprietor, "The Advocate" and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	At a public meeting of the Rifah-i-Am. Association, held on 20th December 1897.
651	"	"	"	Pandit Sham Narayan.	Brahmin.	Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	"
652	"	"	"	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.	"	Law-lecturer and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	"
653	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta.	"	Professor, Sanskrit Kayastha Pathashala, Allahabad.	At a public meeting of the Kayastha Pathashala, held on 11th December 1897.
654	"	"	"	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader and Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Allahabad.	"
655	"	"	"	Pandit Deokinandan Tiwari.	"	Editor, "Natyapatra," Allahabad.	At a public meeting held on 18th December 1897.
656	"	"	"	Pandit Laxmi Narayan.	"	Trader, Allahabad ...	"
657	"	"	Aligarh.	Babu Laxmi Narayan, B.A.	Kayastha.	Pleaser, Aligarh ...	At a public meeting, held at Aligarh, on 20th December 1897.

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658	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Gorakhpur.	Mr. A. Nuudy ...	Christian.	Barrister-at-law, Gorakhpur.	At a public meeting held at Gorakhpur, on 21st December 1897. Also by the Indian Association, Calcutta, on 20th November 1897.
659	"	Benares.	Benares.	Babu Jugul Kishore...	Hindu Khatri.	Zamindar and Banker, Benares.	At a public meeting held at Benares, on 5th December 1897.
660	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee..	Bengali Brahmin.	Barrister-at-law and Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Committee of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division, held on 23rd December 1897.
661	"	"	"	Babu Suresh Ghandra Samajpati.	Hindu Brahmin.	Journalist, Editor, "Sahitya," 50, Huny Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	"
662	"	"	"	Dr. Nilaratan Sarcar, M.A., M.D.	Brahmo.	Medical Practitioner and Fellow, Calcutta University, 61, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	Do. Also by the Indian Association, Calcutta, on 20th November 1897. Also by the people of Diamond Harbour.
663	"	"	"	Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Attorney-at-law, Fellow, Calcutta University and Municipal Commissioner, 14, Baram Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Northern M. Electoral Division, held on 23rd December 1897.
664	"	"	British Indian Association.	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Hindu Bengali Brahmin.	Zamindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta, Secretary, Government Bethune Female College, 23, Baligunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the British Indian Association, held on 18th December 1897; at a meeting of the Progressive Union, held on 17th December 1897; and also at a meeting of the Chandernagore Association, held on 19th December 1897.
665	"	"	Calcutta.	The Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.	"	Member, Legislative Council; Professor, Ripon College; Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Chairman, North Barrackpore Municipality, Editor, "The Bengalee," and Secretary, Indian Association, 33, Neogipukur, East Lane, Taltollah, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Calcutta Progressive Union, held on 17th December 1897.

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666	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Calcutta.	Dr. Mohini Mohan Bose, M.D., L.B.C.P. (Edin.)	Brahmo.	Physician and Surgeon, Honorary Magistrate and Zamindar, 64/2, Raja Bazar, Harrison Road P.O., Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Indian Association, held on 20th November 1897.
667	"	"	"	Mr. Jatindra Mohan Bose.	Bengali Brahmin.	Manufacturing Perfumer, 62, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.	"
668	"	"	"	Prithwis Chandra Roy.	Hindu Kayastha	Zamindar and Author, 35/2, Beaden Street, Calcutta.	Do. Also by the N. M. E. Division; on 23rd December 1897. Also at a public meeting held at Faridpur, on 20th November 1897. Also by the Calcutta Standing Congress Committee.
669	"	"	"	J. Chaudhari, M.A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Barrister-at-law, 3, Hastings Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Calcutta Progressive Union, held on 17th December 1897. Also by the Pabna people.
670	"	"	"	Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt.	Bengali Kayastha	Attorney-at-law, Calcutta.	At an Executive Committee meeting of the Indian Relief Society, held on 17th December 1897.
671	"	"	"	Babu Amrit Krishna Mullick, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Calcutta.	"
672	"	"	"	Babu Moti Lal Ghose.	"	Editor, "Amrit Bazar Patrika," Calcutta.	"
673	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, B.A.	Brahmo.	Editor, "Sanjivani," 6, College Square, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Indian Association, held on 20th November 1897.
674	"	Murshidabad.	Berhampur.	Babu Boikunt Nath Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, Zamindar and Honorary Magistrate, Berhampur.	At a public meeting, held on 29th November 1897. Also at a meeting of the Murshidabad Association, held on 18th December 1897.
675	"	"	"	Babu Hemendra Nath Sen, B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader and Zamindar, Berhampur.	"
676	"	"	"	Babu Baidya Nath Sarcar.	Hindu Kayastha.	Contractor, Berhampur.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, Dero- mination and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and When Elected.
677	Bengal.	Rajshahy.	Rampur-Beaulah	Babu Jatindra Mohan Bagchi, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader, Rajshahy ...	At a public meeting of the Rajshahy Association, held on 10th December 1897.
678	"	Barisal.	Backerganj.	Mr. Nalini Bhushan Gupta.	Brahmo.	Barrister-at-law, Backerganj.	At a public meeting held on 12th December 1897.
679	"	Calcutta	Barnagore.	Babu Nilaran Chandra Chatterjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Journalist, Bernagore..	At a public meeting held at Bernagore, on 12th December 1897.
680	"	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur.	Pandit Munindra Kishore Jha.	"	Private Tutor and Landholder.	At a public meeting held at Moorho, on 19th December 1897.
681	"	"	"	Babu Anant Prasad Mandar.	Hindu Gope.	Zamindar ...	"
682	"	"	"	Babu Rash Beharilal Mandar.	"	Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate and Member, Local Board.	"
683	"	Calcutta.	Nadikrishnagar.	Babu Hariprasad Chatterjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate, Nadikrishnagar.	At a public meeting held on 7th December 1897.
684	"	"	Burdwan, Kalna.	Mr. Kaviraj Upendra Nath Sen.	Bengali Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner...	At a meeting of the Branch Indian Association, held on 16th December 1897.
685	"	"	Burdwan, Hoogli.	Pandit Kaliprasanna Kavyavisharad.	Bengali Brahmin.	Editor, "Hitabadi," 33, Balaram Bose's Ghat Road, Bhowanipore.	Do. Also at a meeting of the Progressive Union, held on 17th December 1897. Also at a meeting of the British Chandernagore Association, held on 19th December 1897.
686	"	"	Sylhet.	Babu Bipin Chandra Pal.	Brahmo.	Preacher and Journalist, Sylhet.	At a public meeting held on 24th December 1897.
687	"	Faridpur.	Faridpur.	Babu Ambica Charan Muzumdar, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Vaidya.	Pleader, Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate, and Chairman, Municipality, Faridpur.	At a public meeting held at Faridpur, on 20th November 1897. Also by the Dacca Manikdesa Hita-Sadhini Sabha, on 28th November 1897. And also by the Executive Committee of the Faridpur Surhidava, on 20th December 1897.

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688	Bengal.	Calcutta	Midnapur.	Babu Hemendra Nath Bose, B.A.	Bengali Kayastha.	Aliganj, Midnapur ...	At a public meeting held at Midnapur, on 18th December 1897.
689	"	"	"	Babu Manindra Nath Bose.	Kayastha Brahma.	Teacher, Midnapur College, Midnapur.	
690	"	Mymensingh.	Mymensingh.	Babu Rajkrishna Singh, B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Zamindar, Pleader, and Member, District Board, Mymensingh.	At a public meeting held at Mymensingh, on 11th December 1897.
691	"	Pabna.	Pabna.	Babu Bapin Chandra Pal.	Hindu Shudra.	Teacher, Pabna Institution, and Merchant, Pabna.	At a meeting of the Pabna Institution, held on 15th December 1897.
692	"	"	"	Babu Mohini Mohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate, Pabna.	